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Aston Cokain and His Adapter Nahum Tate.

Arthur H. Scouten

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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ASTON COKAIN AND HIS ADAPTER NAHUM TATE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in The Department of English

By
Arthur Hawley Scouten
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1938
A.B., Louisiana State University, 1935
1942
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monumental edition of the plays of John Webster has been used a model for the thesis, and no study of the drama of seventeenth century England would be complete without a tribute to the compilations of the Reverend John Genest.

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THE ABSTRACT

The present edition of *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*, by Aston Cokain, and *A Duke and No Duke*, by Nahum Tate, has been prepared with five special purposes in view: (1) to achieve an authentic text based on the original editions; (2) to set forth a more complete account of Cokain than has been compiled hitherto; (3) to trace the various manifestations of a *commedia dell' arte* theme throughout two centuries of the English theatre; (4) to indicate the changing trends of literary taste in the Neo-classic period as illustrated by Tate's adaptation, in "a more refin'd age," of a play designed for a Renaissance audience; and (5) to provide additional information concerning the background of the eighteenth century afterpiece.

*Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince* warrants some consideration in English literary history in that it represents the chief tangible evidence of the connection between Elizabethan drama and the *commedia dell' arte*. Of course, the London audiences had become familiar with the masks of the Italian popular comedy as a result of visits by continental troupes, and modern scholars are placing more emphasis on possible Shakespearean sources in the Italian improvised comedy, but the only English Renaissance play which has been proved beyond doubt to be based directly on the *commedia*
dell' arte is Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince.

The author, too, merits some attention. Born of an ancient family of the nobility, educated at both the universities, and polished by his travels through France and Italy, he remains an amateur dramatist, in striking contrast to the trained playwrights of the London theatres. Anxious to preserve for posterity a record of his literary activity, Cokain tells in verse of his Chaucerian readings, of his acquaintances among the great Elizabethan dramatists, of the visits to the Apollo Club at the Devil's Tavern, and of his study of Machiavelli "in the originals." He fulminates over the errors of Moseley and Robinson in their 1647 folio of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, and in so doing provided evidence for modern scholars to use in establishing the authorship of plays attributed to these famous collaborators.

A poetaster of the late Restoration, Nahum Tate, transformed Cokain's comedy into a three-act farce to suit the taste of the Drury Lane audiences, and the changes made offer excellent examples of the new point of view in the Neo-classic era. Feeling that some justification was needed for participating in the new theatrical vogue, the adapter of King Lear composed a lengthy defense of farce in which he attempted to prove by citations from the classics that the great authors of ancient times had also written farces, thereby placing the ultimate stamp of approval on this
dramatic genre. A detailed analysis of Tate's alteration of Trappolin, together with his apologia, has been made; and certain conclusions have been reached from the examination of his methods of adaptation. These conclusions may be separated into two groups: (1) the devices peculiar to Tate's style, and (2) those which are characteristic of the entire age. Tate's system of reworking a play was to adopt a passage or scene in its entirety, or else to rewrite it completely. His other special method of revision is called 'Tatefication,' a word coined to name his invariable habit of bungling beautiful passages of poetry in attempting to 'improve' them.

The general tendencies illustrated by Tate's techniques of alteration are as follows: (1) his fondness for inserting political allusions, a practice employed by many of his contemporaries; (2) in tampering with plots, he exemplifies an outstanding trait of his age—oversimplification; (3) in sharp contrast with the frank language of his Elizabethan originals, his diction is extremely prurient and licentious; and finally, (4) he displays a set of contradictory attitudes, a tendency shared by other writers of the period. For example, in one passage he stresses "Injur'd Innocence" and "Artless Beauty," representing the point of view of Banks, Otway, and Rowe in the new pathetic tragedies written to cater to rising plebeian audiences; whereas, in the same scene he manifests the
Neo-classic outlook by putting emphasis on the "Pomp of Nature." Moreover, Tate was highly successful with his methods of revising Cokain's play, for A Duke and No Duke held the London stage for a century and a half after it was first produced.
INTRODUCTION

I. Aston Cokain: His Life and Works

A. Name and Ancestry:

Very little is known of the seventeenth century poet Aston Cokain save what he himself recorded in his poems. The origin of his name is not known, and modern explanations which connect it with Middle English Cockaign\(^1\) or French coquin\(^2\) serve only to obscure the genuine etymology of the word. Furthermore, there exist so many different forms of this name that it becomes a difficult matter to decide which form should be used in referring to this poet. No

\(^1\)The Middle English forms Cockaigne, cokaygne, cockagne are probably derived from Old French cocaigne, and are presumably cognate with Spanish cucana, Portuguese cucanha, Italian cocagna, Medieval Latin cocania—all based on Latin coquinus or coquina. The earliest extant spelling in English is found in the thirteenth century poem "The Land of Cockaign," a work which was based on a thirteenth century French fabliau cocaigne. The word meant "an imaginary country of luxury and idleness, the home of gluttons." Because it seems unlikely that a family would adopt a word of such pejorative connotation as a patronymic, and because the Cockayne family name is found in records over a century prior to the first notice of the fabliau cocaigne, it seems that there is no connection between the two words.

\(^2\)Baring-Gould suggested that the poet's name was derived from French coquin (scoundrel, rogue). One can only fall back on the impressionistic school of philology and conclude that it seems very strange for a family to adopt a word with this meaning as a patronymic.
fewer than eleven variant forms of his surname have been found. Since no uniform spelling has been adopted by modern scholars, some examination of these variant spellings may be undertaken in order to ascertain which form should be considered authentic. For convenience, each variant will be presented chronologically within its alphabetical sequence.

The form Cockailn was used by the poet’s paternal grandfather, Sir Thomas Cockayne, in the signature to the latter’s dedicatory epistle prefixed to his Short Treatise of Hunting, a work published in 1591. This spelling is first used of Aston in C. Wilkins’ engraving of the portrait of the poet on the frontispiece of Small Poems of Divers Sorts in 1658. The next use of this spelling is by that famous literary sleuth, Gerard Langbaine, in 1688. Gildon, in 1699, used this form, as did Thomas Whincop in his "List of All the Dramatic Authors..." affixed to his tragedy Scanderbeg. David Erskine Baker also used this

2 By Sir Aston Cokain (London, 1658); cf. The British Bibliographer, II, 450.
3 Momus Triumphans; or, The Plagiaries of the English Stage (London, 1688), p. 4.
form in his *Biographia Dramatica*, and this is the form used in the *Universal Biographical Dictionary*. Among modern scholars, this form is used by Allardyce Nicoll in his *British Drama* and his *History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700*, and by Hebel and Hudson.

The spelling Cockaine is found in the following entry from the Parish Registers of Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire, of the poet's birth: "1608 Dec 20 Astonus filius Mr. Thomae Cockaine." This form is again used in the poet's petition in 1633 to the House of Lords for permission to borrow two thousand pounds for his sisters' dowries. The biographer Anthony Wood used this form in his *Athenae Oxonienses*, and it is also found in *The English Baronetage*.

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1 *Or, a Companion to the Stage* (London, 1782), I, 91.
2 Hartford, 1844, p. 128.
3 New York, 1925, p. 249.
4 Cambridge, 1928, p. 356.
6 As quoted by Andreas Edward Cokayne, *Cockayne Memoranda: Collections Towards a Historical Record of the Family of Cockayne* (London, 1873), p. 21.
7 *Royal Composition Papers* (First Series), Vol. XV, Fol. 863, as quoted by Cokayne, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-136.
8 Ed. P. I. Bliss (London, 1813), IV, 128.
9 London, 1741, I, 16.
and in Edmund Lodge's *Peerage,* William Gifford adopted this form in his life of Massinger prefixed to his first edition of Massinger's works. The bibliographer Allibone also lists it in his account of the poet.

The form Cockayn is found only in William Godbid's pirated edition of *The Obstinate Lady* in 1657, although Allibone also enters this spelling as another variant form of the poet's name.

The form Cockayne is first found in an entry of 1650 in *The Historical Manuscript Commission Reports.* It is the form used on the title-page of the re-issue of the poet's works in 1662. It is also found in an article on the poet in *The Gentleman's Magazine.* P. E. Bliss used this form in his edition of Anthony a Wood. Gifford

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5. Loc. cit.
7. Poems (London, 1662), as re-issued by Philip Stephens.
8. 1797, II, 599.
also used it in his second edition of Massinger's plays, and the same form is adopted by Francis Cunningham in his edition of Massinger. Andreas Edward Cockayne (or Cokayne) attempted to establish this spelling as the authentic form in his history of the Cockayne family. W. W. Greg adopted this spelling in his mention of the poet's Masque at Bretbie, and the same orthography is employed by Felix Schelling in his Elizabetban Drama. Emil Koeppel, in his account of Massinger in The Cambridge History of English Literature, adopts the same form, as does Edward Sugden. It again appears in Charles Mills Gayley's edition of Elizabethan plays, and in Montague Summers' Bibliography of Restoration

1The Plays of Philip Massinger (New York, 1860), p. xx.

2The Plays of Philip Massinger (London, 1868), p. xvi. On p. 634 Cunningham quotes a dedication by Massinger in which that dramatist spells the name Cockayne, but Cunningham may have employed this spelling for uniformity.

3Cockayne Memoranda: Collections Towards a Historical Record of the Family of Cockayne (London, 1869), p. 35, et. seq. It will be noted that even the historian of the family could not spell his own name in the same way. In the second edition of the above work he spells his name Cokayne, striking out the c before the k.


5Boston, 1908, II, 281.

6New York, 1910, VI, 164.

7A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists (Manchester, 1925), p. 681.

8Representative English Comedies (New York, 1926), III, xci.
Drama. 1

There is considerable documentation to show that the spelling Cokain would represent the standard form of the poet's surname. The earliest illustration of this spelling is found in the antiquarian Sir William Dugdale's monumental work Antiquities of Warwickshire of 1656. 2 But the chief reason for adopting this form is that it is found on the title page of the first authorized edition of the poet's works, Small Poems of Divers Sorts, printed in 1658. 3 This form is also found on the title-page of the 1658 edition of The Obstinate Lady, 4 and on the title-page of Trappolin Credute Principe in the same year. 5 Cokain is the form used on the title-page of the poet's Tragedy of Ovid. 6 Francis Kirkman, in his re-issue of the poet's works in 1669, uses the same form. 7 In 1758 there appeared a new printing of Tate's A Duke and No Duke attributed to Sir

2 London, 1656, p. 808.
3 Loc. cit., hereinafter called Small Poems.
5 Small Poems, p. 411.
6 Choice Poems of Several Sorts (London, 1669).
7 Ibid.
Aston Cokain. This form is employed in the third edition of the *Biographia Dramatica*, by the Reverend John Genest, and again by Allibone. Then in 1874 appeared the first critical edition of Cokain's plays, edited by James Maitment and W. H. Logan. Since this form appears in the first authentic printing of the poet's works, a definite tradition in favor of this spelling is thus established. Aside from this edition, and the previously cited family history by Andreas Cockayne, the only other full-length work dealing with the poet is a German doctoral dissertation by H. Spaeman. His adoption of the same spelling would still further support Cokain as the established orthography. Many other historians of English drama

1 Printed by J. Turner.
3 Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830 (Bath, 1832), I, 444.
5 The Dramatic Works of Sir Aston Cokain (Edinburgh, 1874).
6 Loc. cit.
7 Aston Cokains Werke (Munster, 1923).
8 Loc. cit.
employ this form, including F. G. Fleay, G. C. Macauley, Allardyce Nicoll, W. J. Lawrence, E. H. C. Oliphant, Alfred Harbage, and on down to the most recent article on the poet, by Ernst Mathews in 1942.

The first use of the form Cokaine appears in the poet's printed signature to his dedicatory verses prefixed to the 1647 Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher. It is used again in the printed signature for Cokain's elegiac verses contributed in memory of Henry Hastings. Furthermore, the very first printed work of Cokain's, his translation of


2 In the C.H.E.L., op. cit., VIII, 473.

3 Nicoll spells the name a different way almost every time he refers to this author. Here the references are to A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700-1750 (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 142, 423, and British Drama, op. cit., p. 516.


7 "Cokain's The Obstinate Lady and the Araucana," Modern Language Notes, LVII (1942), 57-58.


9 Lachrymae Musarum: The Tears of the Muses; Exprest in Elegies; Written by divers persons of Nobility and Worth, Upon the death of the most hopeful, Henry Lord Hastings Onely Son of the Right Honourable Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon Heir General of the high born Prince George Duke of Clarence, Brother to King Edward the Fourth. Collected by R. B. (London, 1650), p. 7.
Dianea, carries the spelling Cokaine on the title-page.\(^1\)

In fact, there is considerable documentation in the con-
temporary records for this spelling. There is a draft of
an Act of Parliament in 1662 to permit the sale of some
lands of Cokain which employs this spelling.\(^2\) And then
there is the entry of the poet's death, as recorded in the
Parish Registers of Polesworth Church, Warwickshire, which
reads as follows: "1683/4 February 13 S\(^F\) Aston Cokaine
buried...."\(^3\) The same spelling is found in Allibene's
bibliographical work,\(^4\) in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*,\(^5\)
in Mary A. Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Ital-
ian*,\(^6\) in Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*,\(^7\) and
in J. Q. Adams' *Shakespearean Playhouses*.\(^8\) And finally,
this is the form used in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.\(^9\)

\(^1\) London, 1654, although Oldys, in his MS notes to Langbaine,
states that there was a printing of this work in 1643
(*Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. *cit.*, IV, 129), a statement
unqualified by surviving records.

\(^2\) From the Calendar of the House of Lords in *The Seventh
Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manu-

\(^3\) As quoted by Andreas Edward Cokayne, *op. cit.*., 1873


\(^5\) London, 1892, I, 298.


\(^7\) *Ed. cit.*, III, 419.

\(^8\) Boston, 1917, p. 233.

\(^9\) *A New Dictionary on Historical Principles*, edd. James A.
H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions
(Oxford, 1933), II, 514; VI, 281. Hereinafter cited as the *NED.*
Cokayn is found but once.\textsuperscript{1} It is used on the title-page of the printer Godbid's re-issue in 1658 of Cokain's Small Poems.

The form Cokayne is a modern spelling, and I have not found any illustration prior to 1873.\textsuperscript{2} It has been employed considerably, however, as a result of its popularization by the Library of Congress, where all entries for this poet are spelled Cokayne. It is also used by Joseph Gillow,\textsuperscript{3} Allibone,\textsuperscript{4} George Edward Cokayne,\textsuperscript{5} W. W. Greg,\textsuperscript{6} G. C. Macaulay,\textsuperscript{7} The Dictionary of National Biography,\textsuperscript{8} The Complete Peerage,\textsuperscript{9} Kathleen

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}A Chain of Golden Poems, by Sir Aston Cokayn (London, 1658).
\item \textsuperscript{2}In the 1873 edition of Andreas E. Cokayne, loc. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{3}A Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics (London, n. d.), I, 528.
\item \textsuperscript{4}Op. cit., I, 401.
\item \textsuperscript{5}In his genealogy of the Cockayne family, "Cockayne Pedigree," Miscellanea genealogica et Heraldics, Third Series (London, 1899), III, 1-18.
\item \textsuperscript{6}A List of English Plays Written before 1643 and Printed before 1700 (London, 1900), p. 22.
\item \textsuperscript{7}In C.H.E.L., op. cit., VI, 129.
\item \textsuperscript{8}Edd. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London, 1921), IV, hereinafter cited as the DNB.
\item \textsuperscript{9}Of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, edd. H. A. Double-day, Duncan Warrand, and Lord Howard de Waldron (London, 1926), VI, 659.
\end{itemize}
M. Lea, 1 H. J. Grierson and G. Bullough, 2 Allardyce Nicoll, 3
Montague Summers, 4 Bessey, 5 Burke, 6 G. E. Bentley, 7 and
the recent Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature. 8

The variant Cockeyn is listed only in Lodge's Peerage. 9

There is only one surviving specimen of the poet's
own handwriting, and that is his will. 10 This interesting
holograph reads as follows: "I, Aston Cokine, of Derbie,
Barronett, being of...." (signed) "Aston Cokine." 11 This
entry is probably the most significant of all, for here

1 Italian Popular Comedy (Oxford, 1934), I, 191, et seq.,
and "Sir Aston Cokayne and the 'the Commedia dell'
'Arte,' "Modern Language Review, XXIII (1928), 47.
This article will be cited as the MLR.

2 The Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse (Oxford,
1929), p. 287.


5 Granger's Index to Poetry and Recitations (Chicago, 1940),
p. 669.

6 Burke's Peerage and Heraldic History of the Peerage

7 The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1941), II, 476.

8 Ed. F. W. Bateson (New York, 1941), I, 642.

9 Loc. cit.

10 The facsimile reproduction of the will is found in
Andreas E. Cockayne's Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed.,
op. cit., pp. 124-125.

11 Loc. cit.
the spelling betrays the etymology. The poet was in his seventy-sixth year when he drew up this document and presumably signed his name just as he pronounced it. Since this form represents the only known signature of the poet, the most scholarly method to pursue would be to use it throughout this thesis. This is, however, a pragmatic objection: no one would know what person was intended, since there is no known example of this spelling.

The remaining variant, Cockyn, as listed in Lodge's Peerage, adds some justification to the authenticity of the previous form, as well as providing a further indication of the etymology of the name.

In conclusion, it can be seen that three forms are most widely used: Cockayne, Cokain, and Cokayne. The first is of some importance since it is the orthography adopted by the family historian, Andreas E. Cockayne; consequently, it will be employed throughout this thesis in any reference to the family. The last variant, though appearing widely as a result of the Library of Congress endorsement, has no historical justification and therefore may be disregarded. The form Cokain is found in the first authorized publication of the author's works, in the only critical edition of his plays, and in the only full-length study of the poet, Spaeman's doctoral thesis. Accordingly, it will be used throughout this thesis in all references to

\(^1\) Loc. cit.
Andreas Edward Cookayne commences his account of the family of cockayne by saying:

It is certain that the ancient family of Cockayne were settled about the middle of the twelfth century at Ashbourne in the county of Derby, where for many generations they resided and flourished, possessing large estates in that county, besides considerable other property brought into the family by their various marriages.¹

Aston Cokain himself considered his ancestry to be of even greater antiquity. In some verses addressed to John Cokaine, he presents his theory as follows:

When at your Pigeon-house we meet sometime
(Though bawling Puritans call it a crime)
And pleasant hours from serious thoughts do steal
With a fine little glass, and temperate ale,
Talk of Sir Cokaine, and how near
He was allied to Will the Conquerer,
Liv'd in his reign at Hanningham Castle.²

To this last line Cokain spends a footnote which reads,

Attested by the same Mr. John Cokaine of Rushton, my Lords Cousin Germane, who had an ancient evidence to prove it.³

The following genealogical record, based on the genealogies of Andreas E. Cockayne⁴ and George Edward Cokayne⁵ will

---

²Small Poems, p. 197.
³Loc. cit. The "my Lords Cousin" refers to Viscount Cullen.
⁴The above genealogy is based primarily on that given in the appendix of the 1869 edition of Andreas Cockayne's work.
⁵Cokayne Pedigree, op. cit., III, 1-18. All extracts from this work will be documented by footnotes.
illustrate just how far back the family can be traced:

John Cockayne\(^1\) of Ashbourne, ca. 1140.

Andreas Cockayne of Ashbourne (1154-1189)

William Cockayne of Ashbourne m. Sarah, daughter of Adam

William Cockayne of Ashbourne m. Alice, daughter of Hugh
de Dalbury

Roger Cockayne of Ashbourne (ca., 1284) m. Elizabeth

William Cockayne of Ashbourne (1299-1323) m. Sarah

John Cockayne of Ashbourne (1305-1332\(^5\)) m. the daughter
of Sir William de Kniveton

John Cockayne\(^4\) of Ashbourne m. Laetitia

Sir John Cockayne (d. 1372) m. Cecilia, daughter of
Robert Ireton

Edmund Cockayne of Ashbourne m. Elizabeth, daughter of
Sir Richard de Herthull, of Pooley

Sir John Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (d. 1447\(^6\))
m. Isabel, daughter of Sir Hugh Shirley.

John Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (d. 1505) m. Agnes,
daughter of Sir R. Vernon of Haddon Hall

Thomas Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (d. 1488) m.
Agnes daughter of Robert Barlow

---

\(^1\)Not the true spelling, but that used by the compiler of
this genealogy.

\(^2\)Cokayne Pedigree, loc. cit.

\(^3\)Cokayne, ibid., gives 1335.

\(^4\)Member of Parliament for Lancaster in 1348, English
Baronetage, op. cit., I, 16.

\(^5\)Killed at Shrewsbury, 1404.

\(^6\)Died in 1438, DNB, IV, 682.
Sir Thomas Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (1479-1537) / m. Barbara, daughter of John Fitzherbert

Francis Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (d. 1538) m. Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Marrow

Sir Thomas Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (1519-1592) / m. Dorothy, daughter of Sir H. Ferrers

Sir Edward Cockayne (1554-1606) m. Jane, daughter of N. Ashby

Thomas Cockayne (1587-1638) m. Ann, daughter of Sir John Stanhope, of Elvaston

Sir Aston Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (1608-1684) m. Mary, daughter of Sir Gilbert Kniveton.

Aston Cockayne differed from almost all of the dramatic poets of his era in that he belonged to an ancient family of the nobility, a family which was closely related to many of the oldest heraldic lines in the kingdom. Even the members of the Tudor dynasty were related to the Cockaynes. And Aston Cockayne was very proud of all these relations, in fact, so proud that he mentions no less than seventy-two kinspeople of noble rank in his Small Poems.

Of those bearing the family name, Sir William Cockayne, Lord Mayor of London, was the most famous. He was a sixth

1 Cockayne Pedigree, op. cit., p. 6.

2 Andreas Cockayne makes a strange error here in calling this knight Francis instead of Edward. Cf. DNB, IV, 680.

3 George Cockayne (Cockayne Pedigree, op. cit., p. 7.) lists Thomas as an older brother of Aston, but see the DNB, IV, 682.

4 Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 22.
cousin to Aston Cockaine. Of Sir William it has been said
"that his spreading boughs and fair branches have given
both shade and shelter to some of the goodliest families
of England." ¹ His oldest son, Charles Cockayne, was created
Baron and Viscount Cullen.² Cockain refers to him in his
poems as Lord Cockaine.³ Cockain twice mentions Lady Mary
Cockayne, the wife of Viscount Cullen, and daughter of
Henry O'Brien, fifth earl of Thomond.⁴ He dedicated his
translation of Loredano's Diana to her. In another poem
he alludes to her son Brien Cockayne, Viscount Cullen
after his father.⁵ This Brien Cockayne married Elizabeth
Trentham, which gave Aston a double kinship with the
Trentham family, as well as with the London Cockaynes,
since Lady Anne Trentham was the grandmother of both

¹ His sons-in-law were (1) Charles Howard, second Earl
of Nottingham; (2) Sir Hatton Fermor, ancestor of the
earls of Pomeroy; (3) John Ramsay, created Earl of
Holderness; (4) Montague Bertie, second Earl of
Lindsey, ancestor of the dukes of Ancaster; (5)
John Carey, second Earl of Dower; (6) Viscount Fanshawe; and (7) James Sheffield, son of the Earl of
Mulgrave. DNB, IV, 684.


³ Small Poems, pp. 192, 197.

⁴ Cockayne Memoranda, 1873 ed., op. cit., p. 71; Complete

⁵ Complete Peerage, loc. cit.; Small Poems, p. 195.
Elizabeth Trentham and Aston Cokain. 1

It was through his mother, Anne Stanhope, that Cokain was related to such well-known families as the Stanhopes, the Hastings, the Bretts, and the Mohuns. Anne Stanhope was the daughter of Sir John Stanhope of Elvaston by his second wife, Catherine, 2 the daughter of Sir Thomas Trentham. By this second marriage there were also five other children. One was Cordelia, who married first Sir Roger Aston, for whom the poet was named. 3 Sir Roger Aston's first wife was Mary Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree. 4 After Sir Roger's death, Lady Aston then married Lord John Mohun, Baron of Okehampton. 5 Lord Mohun's great grandson was the notorious rake of the late Restoration who was accused of having murdered the actor William Mountfort. 6 Aston Cokain mentions Lord Mohun in a poem as his "Uncle-

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1 Small Poems, p. 178.
2 Doyle, Official Baronetage, op. cit., I, 370; Burke's Peerage, op. cit., p. 710; Complete Peerage, op. cit., III, 180. However The Complete Peerage, IX, 256, and the DNB, IV, 680, give the name as Dorothy.
3 Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 41.
5 Ibid., IX, 25.
They were evidently very friendly, for Cokain showed
Mohun some plays by Massinger, and Lord Mohun sent Massinger
some money by Cokain. Another child of Sir John Stanhope
by this second marriage was a son, Sir John Stanhope, who
married Olive, the daughter of the Earl of Beresford. Their
daughter Olive married the poet Charles Cotton. Cotton was an intimate friend of Cokain's for at least
thirty years. Cokain addresses several poems to his
cousin, Cotton's wife, and mentions her five times in
other poems.

The most important member of the Stanhope family,
however, was Philip, the son of Sir John Stanhope by his
first marriage. Philip Stanhope was created the first
Earl of Chesterfield in 1628, after having been made
Baron Stanhope of Shelford in 1616. He first married
Catherine Hastings, the daughter of Francis Hastings, the
fourth earl of Huntington, one of the most powerful families

1 Small Poems, p. 80.
2 Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 18; Cunningham, ed. cit.,
pp. xvi-xvii; Small Poems, p. 99.
3 Burke, op. cit., p. 1191; Complete Peerage, op. cit.,
III, 180.
4 Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 41; DNB, IV,
1223; Charles J. Sembower, The Life and Poetry of
5 DNB, IV, 1223-5.
7 Complete Peerage, op. cit., III, 180.
of the English nobility. It was before the first Earl of Chesterfield and his Countess that Aston Cokain's masque, "A Masque at Bretbie," was performed on 'Twelfth Night', January, 1639/40, with two of their Sons Acting in it." It is difficult, however, to ascertain just who these two sons were. The records of the genealogists disagree considerably on the identification of these children. According to the historian Edmund Lodge, the children of the Earl of Chesterfield were as follows:

By the first marriage these sons:
1. John, died young
2. Henry, Lord Stanhope, died before his father, in 1634.
3. Charles, died in 1645
4. Edward, died under age
5. William, died under age
6. Thomas, died under age
7. Michael, died under age
8. George, died under age
9. Ferdinando Stanhope, killed in battle in 1643.
10. Philip, killed at Shelford
11. Arthur, ancestor of the present Earl

By the second wife:
1. Alexander,

From this record it would appear that Arthur and Alexander would be the younger sons, but the marriage of the Earl to Catherine Hastings took place in 1605, and even Philip was killed during the wars; so it would seem that there would not be two small sons. Lodge's account may not be correct,

1 Loc. cit.; Small Poems, pp. 137, 244.
2 Small Poems, pp. 118-128; Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 196.
however, for Charles Firth, in the DNB, lists only six children by the first marriage, to wit:

1. John, who died in 1625.
2. Henry, died in 1634, but who married Catherine, the daughter of Lord Wotton, and whose male issue, Philip, became the one who carried on the family line, being the second earl of Chesterfield, marrying the daughter of the Earl of Northumberland and having male issue.
3. Charles, who died in 1645.
4. Ferdinanda, who died in 1644.
5. Philip, died in 1645.

Now according to Collins' Peerage of England, the second wife of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield, was Anne, daughter of Sir John Packington of Westwood, and the widow of Sir Humphrey Ferrers of Tamworth Castle. By this wife Lodge claimed that there was but one son, Alexander, who became Ambassador to Spain. But in the nineteenth century George Philip Stanhope successfully claimed the earldom, in a case presented before the House of Lords, on the basis of there being another son, named George, by this second wife, Anne Packington. George Stanhope, with other proof, used Cokain's Masque at Bretbie as evidence that there were two sons. And indeed it would seem strange

1 XVIII, 909-910.
2 Loc. cit.
3 London, 1710, second edition, as quoted by Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 3.
4 Loc. cit.
5 Loc. cit.; Burke's Peerage, op. cit., p. 555.
6 Maidment and Logan, loc. cit.
for Cokain to present this masque with two of the sons of the Earl of Chesterfield acting in it unless there were two such sons. The passage from the Masque at Bretbie is as follows:

The Anti-Masque

SATYRS rudely but decently attired, stuck with flowers, and bay-chaplets on their heads, come in, and dance as many several antics, and in as many several shapes, as shall be necessary. Being ready to depart, two excellent youths, in rich apparel come striving in together, to whom the Lar speaks.

Lar. What do you mean, sweet boys, to interrupt our sports?
I pray you leave your wrestling thus,
And do not strike your skins, too soft for blows.

1 Boy. He would outrun me, and be kiss'd before me.
2 Boy. And he would leave me among these dreadful Satyrs.

Lar. Whence come you?
1 Boy. We both were left i' th' woods, and tempted by such things as these to live abroad with them.

Lar. What would you have?
1 Boy. I would go to my father.
2 Boy. And I unto my mother.

Lar. Who is your father?
1 Boy. The ever-honour'd Earl of Chesterfield....

The two sons then were Alexander and George.  

Most of the sons of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield, were, as has been shown, killed in battle in the civil wars. The seventh son, Colonel Michael Stanhope, was killed in a battle at Willoughby, and Cokain composed a poem about the untimely death.  

1 Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 11.
2 Harbage, loc. cit.
3 Small Poems, p. 182.
their father's castle, and Cokain wrote an epitaph in memory of Ferdinando.¹

Cokain was also very proud of his relationship with the Huntington family. He addressed two poems to Ferdinando, sixth earl of Huntington, the brother of Catherine, who was the first wife of Philip, first earl of Chesterfield.² Ferdinando, Lord Hastings, lived at Ashby de la Zouche, Donnington Park, seven miles from Cokain's home, and Cokain preserved this data in verse.³ Lord Hastings married Lucy Davies, the daughter of Sir John Davies the poet, another friend of Cokain's.⁴ Their child, Henry Hastings, the first son and heir-apparent, born in 1630, died of small-pox in 1649. The Lachrymae Musarum, a collection of elegies on Henry Hastings, was published in 1650.⁵ Dryden, Herrick, and Andrew Marvell all contributed to this collection, and Cokain, of course, presented his elegy on the loss of his relative.⁶ Another Henry Hastings,

¹Ibid., p. 187; Lodge, loc. cit., states that Philip was killed at Shelford, but that Ferdinando was killed in 1643. Firth (DNB, XVIII, 909) states that Ferdinando was killed in 1644 and that Philip died in 1645. The Complete Peerage, op. cit., III, 180, states that both were killed at the same time.

²Small Poems, pp. 84, 229; Complete Peerage, op. cit., VI, 658.

³Small Poems, p. 229.


⁵See p. xx.

⁶Small Poems, p. 69; Lachrymae Musarum, op. cit., pp. 4-7.
Baron of Loughborough and brother to Ferdinado, sixth earl of Huntington, was a companion of Cokain's. Baron Loughborough was a distinguished Loyalist, and once fled England in the company of Cokain. Of course Cokain had many other relatives of nobility, but these few have been cited to show Cokain's general background, environment, associations, and attitude toward life, all of which separated him considerably from the professional dramatists of his time.

B. The Life:

Aston Cokain was born at Elvaston, in Derbyshire, almost in the very center of England, toward the close of the year 1608, being baptized in Ashbourne Church on December 20 of that year. Elvaston, now known as Alvaston, was the residence of his maternal grandfather, Sir John

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1 There is no general agreement with regard to the date of Cokain's birth. David Erskine Baker, in his Biography Dramatica, op. cit., I, 91, states that Cokain was born in 1606 at Ashbourne. Anthony à Wood, in his Athenae Oxonienses, op. cit., IV, 128, states that Cokain was born at Ashbourne on December 28, 1608. Maidment and Logan, in the only modern edition of Cokain's plays, The Dramatic Works of Aston Cokain, ed. cit., also maintain that Cokain was born on December 28, 1608. But Andreas Cockayne, the historian of the Cockayne family, in the 1873 edition of his Cockayne Memoranda, op. cit., p. 10, presents the record from the Parish Registers of Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire, which has the following entry: "1608 Dec 20 Astonus filius Mr Thomas Cockaine." Montague Summers, in his Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 242, adheres to this entry from the Ashbourne Church Registers, pointing out that Cokain was born at Elvaston. George Edward Cockayne's account of Aston Cokain in the DNB, IV, 680, also follows the entry from the Parish Registers. Aston Cokain himself, in his Small Poems, p. 184, testifies that he was born at Elvaston. The matter of his birthplace is of some consequence, not only in attempting to establish definitely where he was born, but also because definite proof that he was born at Elvaston has some bearing on the family quarrel between his father and mother, a quarrel which had disastrous effects on the father, and possibly on the son. One of the two great manorial seats of the Cockaynes was at Ashbourne, whereas Elvaston, as has been stated, was the residence of Anne Cockayne's father, Sir John Stanhope. Since Aston was born at Elvaston, but was taken very properly to Ashbourne, the family seat, for the baptismal ceremony, it may seem that the rift between Cokain's parents had already commenced, the first child being born at the mother's home and not at the father's.
Stanhope. Aston's father was Thomas Cockayne, the lexicographer. He was born at Mapleton, Derbyshire, on January 21, 1587. He was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, but left without taking a degree. About 1607 he married Anne Stanhope, the daughter of Sir John Stanhope. George Edward Cokayne, in tracing the Cockayne pedigree, declared Thomas to have been the older son, but the record of the Ashbourne Church Registers definitely disproves this statement, listing Aston as being born in 1608, and Thomas in 1610. There were no other sons born to Thomas and Anne Cockayne, but five girls were born in successive years. These daughters were as follows: Lucy, who died unmarried; Isabella, who died at the age of eighteen; Katherine, who married a man named Weston; Ann, who married Sir Francis Boteler; and Lettice, who married Gilbert Armstrong.

1DNB, IV, 683; and Cokayn's testimony in Small Poems, p. 228.
2DNB, loc. cit.
3Complete Peerage, III, 181; Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 41.
4Cockayne Memoranda, 1873 ed., op. cit., p. 10; Cokayne Pedigree, loc. cit.
5Small Poems, p. 226; DNB, IV, 680, 683; Cokayne Pedigree, loc. cit.
Sometime shortly after the marriage between Anne Stanhope and Thomas Cockayne an estrangement arose between the couple that doubtless had great significance in conditioning the behavior pattern of young Aston. The trouble between Thomas Cockayne and his wife increased until the husband finally abandoned his wife and children and fled to London, living there under the assumed name of Browne until his death in 1638.¹ Such conduct appears strange and mysterious, but contemporary writers are silent on this topic. There is no way of knowing when or how this trouble developed. The fact that Aston was born at his mother's home points, although without certainty, to a break between the couple soon after their marriage in 1607. A child might be as much as a year old before he was baptized, and since Aston was taken to Ashbourne Church for the ceremony, we may assume that he was at least a few weeks old in order for the trip to be made. Although six more children were born after Aston, we have the definite testimony of the one-time poet, then preacher, John Donne, to the effect that this estrangement between the parents had occurred before all the children were born. The child Thomas died young, and upon hearing of this untimely death, John Donne, who corresponded regularly with Mrs. Anne Cockayne, wrote

¹Ibid., p. 36; DNB, IV, 683.
the following letter of condolence to the bereaved mother:

The perverseness of the father put you to such a necessity of hiding your sons, as that this son is scarcely more out of your sight by being laid underground, than he was before. And perchance you have been longer time, at some time, from meeting and seeing one another in this world, than you shall be now from meeting in the glory of the Resurrection. That may come sooner than you looked he should come from the Bath.¹

This letter of John Donne's is in the characteristically involved and complicated style peculiar to the author. It hints at a number of possibilities. What sort of persecution was Anne Cockayne enduring? Did Thomas Cockayne intend some physical violence on his sons? Had he previously attempted to abduct these two boys? Was Anne Cockayne actually hiding her children? Had she sent the child Thomas down to take the mineral waters at Bath? The Cockayne family were staunch Roman Catholics, but Thomas Cockayne was a heretic. He was evidently not only a Protestant, but also a rabid and fanatic Non-conformist. This fact may help to clarify the problem. Although Thomas Cockayne is listed as a lexicographer, the full title of his magnum opus offers a clue to the interpretation that he was a religious fanatic. According to Anthony Wood this title was an "English-Greek lexicon, containing all the derivations and various significations of all the words in the New Testament, with a complete

¹As quoted by Cockayne, Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., p. 37.
"index in Greek and Latin," together with an "Explanation on Romans II, with all the Greek dialects in the New Testament."¹ The second chapter of Romans, it will be recalled, lends itself very readily to those of a Non-conformist turn of mind. Furthermore, this work of Cockayne's is listed in Wilson's Dissenting Churches, which is circumstantial evidence that its author was a dissenter.² Thomas Cockayne is listed with a group of Dissenters in the Cambridge History of English Literature,³ but no documentation for this statement is provided therein. However, a remote cousin of Cockayne's, one George Cockayne, was prominent Nonconformist preacher, a favorite of Oliver Cromwell, and ordered by him to preach before the House of Commons in 1648.⁴ When Thomas Cockayne's Lexicon was published in 1658, George Cockayne wrote a commendatory letter for it.⁵ We can hardly believe that a Puritan of such a type, so fanatic that he condemned both the established church and the Quakers, would have praised this work by Thomas Cockayne had not that

¹As quoted by the DNB, IV, 683.
²DNB, III, 270-281.
³CHRL, VII, 358.
⁴DNB, IV, 681.
⁵Loc. cit.
author been of the same belief as he was himself.

This explanation, then, may throw some light on the statement that when Cockayne abandoned his family he went into hiding in London under an assumed name. Enough aristocrats of this era who belonged to the social strata of the Cockaynes went to London and disgraced themselves without being apprehended by anyone. Hence there must have existed some reason for Cockayne to feel that he must conceal himself. But if the conjecture previously made is true, and Cockayne was a Nonconformist, that fact would provide such a reason for concealment. It must be remembered that he belonged to an old and wealthy English family. Furthermore, at the very time when he went to London, probably about 1615, his cousin Sir William Cockayne was Lord Mayor of London. And it will be shown later that these two branches of the Cockayne family were intimate, for young Aston later borrowed large sums from the London Cockaynes, and he mentions them in his poems as well.¹ Whatever the true situation may have been, it is certain that the estrangement between his parents and his father's subsequent abandonment of his home and family had definite effects on the son. Surely Aston Cokain's inordinate pride in his family name, his relatives, and his ancient lineage may be

¹See pp. xxviii-xxix.
traced to this source.

The poet's childhood days were spent at Ashbourne, one of his two ancestral estates, at Elvaston, with his grandparents, and at Ashby de la Zouche, the estate of the Huntington's. He received an excellent education. As a boy he was sent to school at Chenies, in Buckinghamshire. Here he studied under the antiquarian Peter Allibond. From there he went to Cambridge University, entering Trinity College. His tutor was Robert Creyghton, D.D., and Professor of Greek. In Small Poems are some lines addressed to his tutor:

To Mr. Robert Creighton Dr. of Divinity, formerly Orator and Greek Professor of the University of Cambridge.

"You were my tutor...." After Cokain left Cambridge, his mother sent him to the Inns of Court to study law. Once in London, young Cokain soon neglected his books, and entered into the full swing

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2DNB, IV, 680; Small Poems, p. 138.
3DNB, loc. cit.; Small Poems, p. 226.
4Baker, op. cit., I, 91-2; Small Poems, p. 237; DNB, loc. cit.
5Small Poems, loc. cit.
6Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 132; Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 41.
of metropolitan life, for he shortly gained admittance into one of the most select, certainly the most famous of drinking clubs in London—the Apollo.¹ Although Robert Bell does not include Cokain in the standard list of members of the Apollo Club,² there is some evidence to show that Cokain was not unknown at the Devil's Tavern. Underneath C. Wilkins' engraving of Cokain's portrait prefixed to Small Poems is the following verse:

Come, reader, draw thy purse, and be a guest
To our Parnassus; 'tis the Muses' feast.
The entertainment needs must be divine:
Apollo's the host, where Cockain's head's the sign.³

Cokain also mentions one of the drawers, or waiters, at the Devil Tavern, one Tom Mullins.⁴ It was here that he met Ben Jonson, Sir John Suckling, Thomas Randolph, and many others of the famous Apollo Club.⁵ And it was here that he borrowed a copy of Lucan from the poet and translator Thomas May.⁶ He stayed in London from about 1630 to about 1632, although sometime during this period he may have attended Oxford University, as attested doubtfully by Anthony a Wood.⁷ During these two years

¹Small Poems, p. 159.
³Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. xix.
⁴Small Poems, p. 189.
⁵Ibid., pp. 159, 234.
⁶Ibid., p. 44.
it appears that Cokain may have lived a rather prodigal life, for he found it necessary to borrow two thousand pounds from William Stanhope, his cousin, and from Sir Thomas Hutchinson, his mother's sister's husband. He borrowed this amount from these two men under the pretense of needing ready money for a dowry should his sisters Lucy and Lettice marry. Under the terms of the loan he was supposed to reserve half of the total sum strictly for the dowry. The date of the loan, according to the petition in The Royal Composition Papers, is June 23, "8th Charles." Since James I died on February 27, 1625, the "8th Charles" would extend from February 28, 1632 until February 27, 1633. If this dating be correct, then Cokain very probably borrowed the entire sum for the real purpose of making his first Italian trip. There are two items which document my assumption: first, the petition in the above mentioned Royal Composition Papers is based on a complaint that Cokain spent the entire loan himself, and second, the time element, i.e., if he left for his Italian trip, a two years' stay, on July 16, 1632, he must have borrowed the money prior to that date in order to have secured the loan in the "8th Charles."

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2 Loc. cit.

3 Loc. cit.
It seems strange that Cokain found it necessary to borrow this money. As has been stated before, his family was very wealthy. Of course, Thomas Cockayne was keeping all the proceeds from the estate at Pooley.\footnote{DNB, IV, 680.} Then too, from the fact that one is wealthy it does not follow that one always has plenty of ready cash. But whatever the reason, the thing to be remembered is that this was the first of a long series of loans, notes and mortgages contracted by Cokain over a fifty-year period through which he finally lost beyond recall every penny, every inch of land, of the great and wealthy estate accumulated by his ancestors during the previous six hundred years.

At any rate, Aston Cokain set out on July 16, 1632, for an extended trip through France and Italy.\footnote{Loc. cit.} In a long poem to his son he set forth an elaborate account of this trip, stating exactly how long he stayed at each place he visited, and as a result of this dating it seems that he returned to London in August, 1633.\footnote{Small Poems, pp. 93-97.} Various writers on Cokain do not agree on this dating. In The Lives of the Poets, attributed to Theophilus Cibber, it is positively stated that Cokain went abroad with the tempestuous Sir Kenelm Digby and stayed for a twelve year period.\footnote{II, 216, as quoted by Baker, op. cit., I, 91.}
Joseph Gillow, in his Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, also states that Cokain's companion was Sir Kenelm Digby.¹ The poet himself states that he travelled with a Mr. Maurice La Meir, "alias Ardenville."² Cokain also states that he spent six months in Venice.³ It was in Venice that Cokain saw the Affezionati, a prominent troupe of the Italian commedia dell'arte, twice perform a lively comedy that featured the Zanni Trappolin.⁴ On October 11, 1632, Cokain entered himself as a student at the University of Padua.⁵

With regard to the conflicting accounts of the length of his trip abroad, it appears that his own account must be correct, for late in 1633 he married Mary, the daughter of Sir Gilbert Knyveton, Baronet, of Mercaston, Derbyshire.⁶ The couple made their residence at Ashbourne. Apparently Cokain again went to Europe, for Alfred Harbage states that "In 1635, while residing in Venice, he translated Dianea, the Italian romance of Loredano."⁷ Harbage

²Small Poems, p. 192.
³Ibid., p. 414.
⁶The Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 242
⁷Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133.
documents this statement with a footnote explaining that though the translation was not published until 1654, the author's manuscript is dated October 25, 1655, at Venice.¹

He probably returned to England in this year, for his son, Thomas, was born on May 8, 1636.² On January 27, 1638/9, the poet's father, who was living at Gray's Inn Lane, died and was buried at St. Giles in the Fields's Church.³

Cokain now succeeded to his family inheritance at Pooley, Warwickshire, where he was to spend the greater part of the rest of his life.⁴ The estate at Ashbourne went to his mother, and Cokain did not receive it until her death.⁵ At this time Cokain had offended his mother in some way, and the two were apparently never reconciled.⁶

He was, of course, on excellent terms with her relatives, for in January of this year his masque had been produced at Bretbie for the Earl of Chesterfield.⁷

Although Cokain was apparently living a quiet life

¹Loc. cit.
²DNB, IV, 680.
³Loc. cit.
⁴Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. xi.
⁵Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 36.
⁶Loc. cit.
⁷Small Poems, p. 118.
at Pooley, it seems that he soon must have been taking some part in the civil strife now raging, for he received two rewards for his services to King Charles I. The nature of these rewards brings up the disputed problem of the baronetcy. Just as there is no agreement on the part of Cokain's chroniclers with regard to the spelling of his name or the date and place of his birth, there is no agreement concerning the authenticity of the baronetcy.

The most perplexing aspect of this situation is that one of the strongest pieces of evidence supporting Cokain's claim to the baronetcy is the direct statement previously quoted from the herald and antiquarian William Dugdale. Yet the patent of baronetcy was never enrolled, and it would have been Dugdale's business to enroll it because of his position as herald for Warwickshire. Anthony à Wood did not believe that Cokain was ever created a baronet, stating the case as follows:

During the time of the civil wars he suffered much for...the king's cause, (he) pretended then to be a barronet made by King Charles I. after he, by violence, had left the parliament, about 10 Jan. 1641, yet not deemed so to be by the officers of arms, because no patent was enrolled to justify it, nor any mention of it made in the docquet-books belonging to the clerk of the crown in chancery, where all patents are taken.

1See Introduction, p. xvii. Dugdale states that "Sir Aston was created a baronet on the 10th of January, 1641" (op. cit., p. 808.)
notice of, which pass the great seal.¹

It is very reasonable to suppose that later chroniclers of Cokain decided not to list Cokain as a baronet on the basis of this statement by Anthony à Wood. But I am inclined to believe that Wood had not examined all the evidence. In the records of the House of Lords there is an entry for February 4, 1661/2, which reads as follows:

Draft of an Act for the sale of some of the lands of Sir Aston Cokaine, Baronet....²

It would seem very strange for the Calendar of the House of Lords to erroneously designate Cokain as a baronet. Heraldic rank was one of the few remaining features from the old regime that the aristocracy of the Restoration could cling to, and they paid great attention to rank and title accordingly. The House of Lords has always been very conservative in this particular respect, acting very slowly with regard to claims to nobility, and jealously guarding its privileged character. An examination of the many appendices to The Complete Peerage³ will show the House of Lords would reject apparently strong claims to the baronetcy. On the basis of this entry, then, it seems safe to state that King Charles I actually created Aston Cokain a

¹Athenae Oxonienses, op. cit., IV, 126.
baronet in reward for his services on January 10, 1641, the date cited by William Dugdale.\(^1\)

The other reward received by Cokain was an honorary degree. "On February 21, 1643," states Alfred Harbage, "Oxford, which by this time was distributing degrees in reward for loyalty, conferred an M.A. upon him."\(^2\) By this time Cokain was also suffering heavily for the Royalist cause, for his name appears among the 'compounders' at the sum of £356, and the fines inflicted upon him as a 'popish

\(^1\)Op. cit., p. 808. One other item of documentation might be cited. In the Journals of the House of Commons, on the date of May 18, 1646, there is the record of a pass granted to "Col. Henry Hastings with his relative Sir Aston Cockayne." (IV, 548, as quoted in the DNB, IX, 129.) On the basis of the entry from the Calendar of the House of Lords, however, I feel certain that Cokain was actually created a baronet. Nevertheless I have not used the title (Sir Aston) in this thesis. The reason for this omission is not that I doubt the authenticity of my documentation; on the contrary, I consider the inclusion of the entry from the Calendar of the House of Lords as a substantial contribution and addition to previous accounts of Cokain, for no other chronicler of Cokain has mentioned this entry. However I wished to correspond with the proper heraldic authorities in England with regard to obtaining a formal authorization for applying the title to Cokain. Since that country has been at war for the past two and a half years, I have been unable to receive such certification.

\(^2\)Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133; Alumni Oxonienses, op. cit., I, 298.
delinquent' were probably much heavier.¹

After the defeat at the Battle of Naseby, Henry Hastings, Baron Loughborough, took his troop to Ashby de la Zouche, where he was surrounded by the Puritans, and a series of skirmishes took place.² Cokain was with Hastings at this time, and bore arms at the ancient battle ground of Ashby de la Zouche where he had played as a boy, aiding in the defense of that castle in which Mary Queen of Scots had been imprisoned, and which was so fiercely besieged by the Black Knight and his motley cohorts in Scott's romantic novel Ivanhoe, but which was now enduring a genuine siege from the Puritans. Hastings and his companions held out until February 28, 1645/6, and when they surrendered they got terms which permitted Hastings and Cokain either to join the royalist garrison at Worcester, or to leave England.³ He and Cokain decided to depart the country and were accordingly granted a pass.⁴

Cokain must have returned shortly to England, for on Christmas Day, 1646, he borrowed three hundred pounds from his friend Thomas Bancroft, the dramatist.⁵

¹DNB, IV, 681.
²Ibid., IX, 129.
³Loc. cit.; Small Poems, p. 181.
⁴See p. 11, note 1.
following years his financial situation grew worse. He had borrowed almost a thousand pounds from Sir William Cockayne, governor of the East India Company, another thousand pounds from Francis Cockayne and John Allen, and a total of over four thousand pounds from other persons. As a result, he was sued and subsequently imprisoned for debt. From his cell in Winchelsea he petitioned Parliament for a settlement and for permission to sell more of his property.

Nothing more is heard of Cokain for the next eight or nine years, so it may be presumed that he returned to Pooley to enjoy his "fine little glass," and to continue his association with his friend and neighbor, Charles Cotton. He had evidently left London in such haste that he failed to bring his manuscript of Trappolin and The Obstinate Lady, plays that he had written twenty years before. He was keeping in touch with the literary world, for he hailed the 1653 Folio of Brome's works with a long poem mourning the decay of the English stage.

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2Cockayne Memoranda, op. cit., pp. 136-140.
3Loc. cit.
4Loc. cit.
5Small Poems, pp. 91, 418.
6See the Preface to Small Poems.
In 1658 Cokain allowed his poems to go to press, after making a quick trip to London to investigate the pirated edition of 1657. Upon his return to Pooley he commenced the composition of The Tragedy of Ovid.

The Restoration in 1660 brought relief to many members of the English nobility, but it brought no surcease from trouble for Aston Cokain. In 1661 he was in dire financial straits, and he applied to the House of Lords for permission to sell some more of his property and to get a settlement on the rest. Finally, in 1664, his mother died, and Cokain was at last able to secure the rich ancestral estate at Ashbourne. It was mandatory upon Anne Cockayne to will that estate to the only surviving son and heir, but the opening line of her will indicates the bitterness that existed between the two:

...First, I give and bequeath unto my son the featherbed he lies upon.

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1See the Preface to Small Poems.

2Small Poems, p. 414.

3See supra p. 1.

4Cockayne Memoranda, 1873 ed., op. cit., p. 121; DNB, IV, 680.

5According to the analysis of Andreas Cockayne, loc. cit.

6Cockayne Memoranda, loc. cit. It may be of some interest to note that she bequested to her grandson (Thomas Cokain) her copies of the sermons of Bishop Launcelot Andrewes and John Donne.
He was not able to retain this valuable property very long, for in 1671 the records show that he joined with his son in selling it to Sir William Boothby. Montague Summers attributes the loss of Ashbourne to religious persecutions, saying that "During the frenzy of Oates' plot the persecutions in Lancashire and Derbyshire were especially bitter, and Cokayne was obliged to sell all his estates...." But the historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth century unanimously censure Cokayne as a wastrel and a drunkard who rioted and wasted away the patrimony of six centuries, and these writers would hardly have presented such an interpretation if it were true that Cokayne lost his estates as a result of religious persecution. There is a jingle from Cokayne's The Obstinate Lady that may serve as a commentary on the real cause of the poet's financial troubles:

Of six shilling beer I care not to hear,
A barrel's not worth a carret,
I as others think, that there is no drink Like unto Jack, white wine, and Claret.

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1 Baker, op. cit., I, 92.
4 Small Poems, p. 300.
Cokain's son and heir, Thomas, died in the next few years, and the poet continued to run through his inheritance until, in 1683, he was forced to sell his beloved Pooley to a Humphrey Jennings, reserving, however, an annuity for the rest of his life.¹

It must have been a solitary life now for the aged poet. His old friend Charles Cotton was no longer a neighbor, having lost his estate and gone into bankruptcy in 1681.² Nor did Cokain's wife survive the loss of Pooley very long, for the Parish Church records of Polesworth carry the following entry: "1683 May 14 The Lady Mary Cokaine ye wife of Sr Aston Cokaine buried...."³ Ashton Cokain, now seventy-five years old, a ruined man, finally rented a furnished room at Derby. On February 6, 1683/4, he inscribed his last will and testament, leaving his daughter Isabelle eighty shillings to buy his grandfather's rings out of pawn.⁴ His entire estate was valued at seventy-nine pounds.⁵ Anthony à Wood, although guilty of many factual errors in his account of Cokain, rose to the heights of his own peculiar prose style in describing the

¹Baker, op. cit., I, 92; Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. xi.
²DNB, IV, 1224.
³As quoted by Cockayne, 1873 ed., op. cit., p. 10.
⁴As transcribed by Cockayne, op. cit., pp. 124-6.
⁵Loc. cit.
At length, after he had lived beyond the age of man, yielded up his last breath at Derby, upon the breaking of the great frost in Feb. in sixteen hundred eighty and three: whereupon his body being conveyed to Polesworth in Warwickshire before mention'd, was privately buried there on the 13th of the same month in the chancel of the church there.¹

C. Literary Activity:

**A Praeludium to Mr. Richard Bromes Plays.**

Then we shall still have Plays, and though they may Not them in their full Glories yet display; Yet we may please our selves by reading them, Till a more noble Act this Act condemn. Happy will that day be, which will advance This Land from durt of precise Ignorance; Distinguish moral ventue, and rich wit, And graceful Action, from an unfit Parenthesis of Coughes, and Hums and Haes, Threshing of Cushions, and Tautologies: Then the dull zelots shall give way, and fly, Or be converted by bright Foesy:

...Then shall learn'd Johnson reasseume his Seat, Revive the Phoenix by a second heat, Create the Globe anew, and people it, By those that Flock to surfeite on his wit. Judicious Beaumont, an th'ingenious soul Of Fletcher too may move without control. Shakespeare (most rich in humours) entertain The croudted theatres with his happy vein. D'Avenant, and Massinger, and Sherly then Shall be cri'd up again for famous men:

...Black and White-Friars too small flourish again, Though here have been none since Queen Mary's reign: Our theatres of lower note in those More happy days shall scorn the rustic prose Of a Jack-Pudding, and will please the Rout With wit enough to bear their Credit out. The Fortune will be lucky, see no more Her Benches bare as they have stood before: The Bull take courage from applauses given, To echo to the Taurus in the heaven: Lastly, Saint James may no Aversion show, That Socks and Buskins tread his Stage below. May this time quickly come, these days of bliss Drive Ignorance down to the dark Abyss: Then (with a justly attributed praise) We'll change our faded Brome to deathless Bays. 

Aston Cokain, 1653.

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In terms of his own culture pattern Aston Cokain was a highly educated man. As has been stated, he studied at Oxford, Cambridge, the Inns of Court, and the University of Padua. He had an excellent foundation in the classics, a fact attested by the many references to them throughout his writings. Furthermore, he was widely acquainted with the most prominent literary men of his time. Nor was Cokain at all backward about admitting this acquaintance-ship with the wits. In a poem to his "...honoured Cousin, Mr. Charles Cotton, Junior," he lists a number of these writers:

Donne, Suckling, Randolph, Drayton, Massinger Habbington, Sandy's, May my Acquaintance were; Johnson, Chapman, and Holland I have seen....

That John Donne was a close friend of the family has already been stated. One of Cokain's poems is entitled, "To my friend Mr. Thomas Randolph on his Play called the Enter-ment, Printed by the name of the Muses Looking Glass." Cokain also wrote an elegy on the death of Drayton, entitled "On the Death of my very good friend Mr. Michael Drayton." Since Drayton died in 1631, at the age of

1Ibid., p. (2) 34.

2Randolph died in 1634/5, and the earliest known edition of this play is dated 1638 (Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1875).

3Small Poems, p. 66.
sixty-seven, Cokain could not have known him long. Massinger is mentioned again and again, and Cokain wrote an epitaph on "Mr. John Fletcher and Mr. Philip Massinger."\(^1\) He must have known May personally, for he borrowed the latter's copy of Lucan, which May had translated, and sent it to his own mistress.\(^2\) Among the other literary men of the day whom Cokain knew were Thomas Filkington,\(^3\) Alexander Brome,\(^4\) George Buchanan,\(^5\) and Richard Lovelace.\(^6\) Cokain was apparently an intimate friend of Thomas Bancroft, for he not only borrowed money from him, but he also mentioned him in four poems.\(^7\) And for fear that it may thought that Cokain was exaggerating about his friendship

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 186.
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 44.
\(^3\)Cokain wrote a funeral elegy on the death of the musician and Poet Thomas Filkington (Small Poems, p. 77.)
\(^4\)Alexander Brome, or Broome, editor of Covent Garden Drollery (London, 1672) is mentioned by Cokain as having translated Lucretius. (Small Poems, p. 204.)
\(^5\)Buchanan is mentioned in a poem by Cokain on the delights of London life. (Small Poems, p. 45.)
\(^6\)The lyric poet Richard Lovelace stayed at Cotton's house for some time during the civil wars, and Cokain met him at that time. (Anthony & Wood, op. cit., III, 462-463.)
\(^7\)Small Poems, pp. 103, 112, 116, 156; Bancroft also wrote a commendatory poem prefixed to Cokain's Small Poems.
with these celebrities, it must be said that he was mentioned by many of them. A stanza from one of Bancroft’s verses on Cokain is as follows:

He that with learning vertue does combine,
May, tho’ a laick, passe for a divine
Piece of perfection; such to all men’s sight
Appeares yourselfe.¹

Cokain met many of his literary acquaintances at the Devil Tavern. Cokain and Cotton were close friends. The latter was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, under the tutor Ralph Rawson, the scholar who was ejected by the parliamentary visitors in 1648.² In a poem Cokain praises Rawson highly and writes as if he had known him well.³

As shown in the selection quoted from A Praeludium to Brome’s Plays, Cokain was well informed on the theatrical conditions of the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline stage. He wrote a poem in praise of the actor John Honey-moon, or Honeyman.⁴ As Harbage points out, The Obstinate Lady contains many references to the pre-war stage, including comments on the Cockpit and Blackfriars, sarcastic jibes at the courtesans in the audience, and the following

¹DNB, IV, 681.
³Small Poems, p. 207.
⁴Ibid., p. 140; Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, op. cit., II, 476-8.
important reference to theatrical advertisements:

...and set the papers
On publick places by the Play-Bills.¹

In the previously cited poem on Randolph's Entertainment, Cokain states that the acting of the play required over two hours.² Cokain also received Fletcher's play, The Mad Lover, in manuscript and kept it for some time.³ He was very fond of Fletcher's Bonduc.⁴ He also praised in verse The Emperor of the East and The Maid of Honor by Massinger,⁵ as well as Bancroft's Heroick Lover,⁶ but it must be recalled that he was under obligation to Bancroft.

But Cokain's highest encomiums were reserved for Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. He particularly liked The Taming of the Shrew, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra, and Hamlet.⁷ Although he does not mention Much Ado and Measure

¹Small Poems, p. 360. Also see the Prologue and Epilogue to this play. Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133. The reference to the play-bills is important because modern scholars in this field are not in agreement about the existence of play-bills in Elizabethan times.

²Small Poems, p. 98.
³Ibid., p. 101.
⁴Ibid., p. 102.
⁵Ibid., pp. 99-100.
⁶Ibid., p. 122.
for Measure directly, he borrowed from both of these comedies in his own play, Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince.¹

A true lover of the best poetry, states Cokain, is this:

He is an able lad indeed, and likes Arcadian Pastorals, and (willing) strikes A Piaudite to th's Epilogues of those Happy Inventions Shukspere did compose; Beaumont and Fletcher he will listen to, And allow Johnsons method high and true.²

Again, in the Prologue to The Obstinate Lady, Cokain indicates his knowledge of contemporary literary criticism by saying:

...for if y'are come to day In expectation of a faultless play, Writ by learn'd Johnson....³

In their selection of comments by seventeenth century authors on the topic of "metaphysical poetry," Hebel and Hudson⁴ include an extract from one of Cokain's poems, thereby attempting to connect him with this controversial topic of literary criticism. The poem is "A Funeral Elegy on my dear Cousin, Mistress Elizabeth Reppington," and the extract in question is as follows:

Stifle therefore, my muse, at their first birth All thoughts that may reflect upon the earth;

¹Act I, Scene ii.
²Small Poems, p. 27. Note the echo from Horace in line 3.
³Ibid., p. 291.
⁴Poetry of the English Renaissance, op. cit., p. 906.
lix

Be metaphysical, disdaining to
Fix upon anything that is below.¹

However, it must be observed that this reference is in connection with a funeral elegy, and the single word should not be wrenched away from its context; that is, Cokain, in a poem on the death of this girl, is using the word metaphysical in what the NED refers to as a "pseudo-etymological sense, beyond what is physical... applied especially in explicit contrast to physical... (thus) immaterial, incorporeal." Since the girl is dead, has left this earth, argues Cokain, his Muse should not be a mundane.²

Aston Cokain was fond of earlier English writers, and comments judiciously upon them. For example, of Chaucer he writes:

Our good old Chaucer some despise: and why? Because say they he writeth barbarously. Blame him not (Ignorants) but your selves, that do Not at these years your native language know.³

In the previously cited elegy on Drayton, Cokain praises Sir Philip Sidney in a rather neat couplet:

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¹ Loc. cit.

² See the NED, where many authors of the seventeenth century are quoted as having used the word in this sense.

³ Small Poems, p. 155.
And so is Sydney, whom we yet admire,
lighting our little Torches at his fire.  

Edmund Spenser is also praised in several of Cokain's verses, the most interesting being "The Remedy of Love":

There Spencers Tomb thou likewise maist behold,
Which he deserv'd, were it made of gold:
If, honour'd Colin, thou hadst liv'd so long,
As to have finish'd thy Faery Song.

In The Obstinate Lady Cokain refers to "the learned Hol-inshed."

Aston Cokain was also well-read in the Renaissance literature of other countries. He mentions Cervantes's Don Quixte several times in The Obstinate Lady, and in one poem quotes from it directly. In a recent article Ernst G. Mathews points out that Cokain was familiar with Alonso de Ercilla y Zuniga's epic of the struggle for Chile, La Araucana. Cokain inserts into his play an entire stanza from this epic, as well as an allusion to Tucapel, one of the great warriors of the Arauco Indians.

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1Ibid., p. 66; It must be admitted, of course, that Cokain lit a very small torch for himself; but the point is that Cokain recognizes Sidney's influence on later poets of that period.

2Ibid., p. 8; also cf. pp. 66, 155.

3Ibid., p. 318.

4Ibid., pp. 171-172, and see pp. 318ff.

5Modern Language Notes, op. cit., CVII (January, 1942), 57-8.

6loc. cit.
In another poem Cokain shows his familiarity with the Romance of the Rose, even using the French title.\(^1\) He mentions a painting by Titian in other lines,\(^2\) and still elsewhere he praises Petrarch by saying:

\[
\text{Petrarch, for the neat Sonnets he did frame in Laura's praise, obtain'd a Poets name.}\(^3\)
\]

Encouraged by a Colonel Stamford, as previously stated, he translated Giovanni Francisco Loredano's metrical romance, Dianca.\(^4\)

Aston Cokain was very much impressed by Machiavelli. One of the counsellors in Trappolin is named Machiavil, after the author of The Prince. In a poem addressed to Charles Cotton, Cokain maintains that he has read all of Machiavelli, and in the Italian besides:

\[
\text{D'Avila, Bentivoglio, Guicciardine, and Machiavil the subtle Florentine, (In their Originals) I have read through, Thanks to your Library, and to you.}\(^5\)
\]

Cokain indicates his knowledge of 'the subtle Florentine' again by saying, "Telling you fam'd Nick Machiavil writ playes."\(^6\) Cokain was also familiar with other Italian writers besides those cited in the lines above, for in

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\(^1\)Small Poems, p. 105.
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 68.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 45.
\(^5\)Small Poems, p. 231.
\(^6\)Ibid., p. 222.
Trappolin he mentions Torquato Tasso, Ariosto, and others.\textsuperscript{1}

The Don Juan theme present in Cokain's The Tragedy of Ovid indicates that Cokain had seen other performances of the Commedia dell' arte beside those which provided his Trappolin. Hence it can be seen that Cokain was a very well read person, only a selection of his references to literature having been cited in the preceding pages. There is, however, yet another phase of his ventures in literary criticism which is of some significance, and that is his part in the establishment of the Beaumont-Fletcher-Massinger canon.

With regard to the authorship of the plays collected in the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, Oliphant states, "Of the presence of Massinger there can be no doubt. Cokaine mentions the fact no less than three times."\textsuperscript{2} He then quotes these citations in part. The first is a poem of Cokain's addressed to Humphrey Moseley and Humphrey Robinson, the publishers of the 1647 folio:

\begin{quote}
In the large book of Playes you late did print
(In Beaumonts and in Fletchers name) why in't
Did you not Justice? Give to each his due?\textsuperscript{3}
For Beaumont (in those many) writ in few:
And Massinger in other few; The Main
Being sole issues of sweet Fletchers brain.
But how came I (you ask) so much to know?
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{1}See the text of Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince, pp. 43-44.

\textsuperscript{2}The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, op. cit., p. 17.

\textsuperscript{3}In reading this line, delete the interrogation point after justice and read give for Give.
In this interesting protest it would appear that not only were Moseley and Robinson incorrectly attributing these plays to but two authors, but that they also had omitted some of the older plays on which Beaumont and Fletcher had collaborated in the early years of their literary partnership. That Cokain was correct in this last statement is readily proved by turning to the list of plays written by Beaumont and Fletcher, but which are omitted from the 1647 folio. In examining this complete list one can find the very plays which are usually printed in anthologies as the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, such as *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, *A King and No King*, and the burlesque *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. These four plays are not included in the 1647 folio. Professor Oliphant, with all his critical acumen in dealing with the problem of authorship, has missed this point. Furthermore, it will be noticed that these plays, just cited, are the early plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, none of them being later than 1610. But

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1 *Small Poems*, p. 217.
2 Cf. the list of 34 plays and a masque in the 1647 folio.
3 In the order listed the dates are ca. 1610, ca. 1609, ca. 1609, and 1610, according to a majority of the scholars who have worked on the dating of Elizabethan plays. Note that very few of the plays of the 1647 folio were acted prior to the death of Beaumont.
even though Oliphant depends on the information of Cokain concerning the multiple authorship of the plays in the 1647 folio, he does not seem to utilize the suggestion about printing 'the old one's in one volume too' with regard to the dating of the plays in question. An examination of the dates of production of the plays by Beaumont and Fletcher omitted from the 1647 folio will show that Cokain was accurate in his statement.

Oliphant then continues by giving the following quotation from a poem addressed by Cokain to Charles Cotton:

Had Beaumont lived when this Edition came Forth, and behold his ever living name Before Plays that he never writ, how he Had frowned and blush'd at such Impiety? His own Renowne no such addition needs To have a fame sprung from another's deedes. And my good friend old Philip Massinger With Fletcher writ in some that we see there.  

This quotation is followed by one line from Cokain's epitaph on Massinger,

Plays they did write together, were great friends.  

To this last line Oliphant appends a footnote which reads as follows:

Can Massinger, who was the poet's good friend, be 'Fletcher's chief bosome-friend,' who was Cokaine's informant, according to the first of these extracts?  

Before any attempt to answer Professor Oliphant's

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1 As quoted by Oliphant, op. cit., p. 16.
2 loc. cit.
3 loc. cit.
question can be made, these quotations must be given in full:

I wonder (Cousin) that you would permit
So great an Injury to Fletcher's wit,
Your friend and old Companion, that his fame
Should be divided to another's name.
If Beaumont had writ those Plays, it had been
Against his merits a detracting Sin,
Had they been attributed also to
Fletcher. They were two wits, and friends, and who
Robbed from the one to glorify the other
Of these great memories is a partial Lover.
Had Beaumont liv'd when this Edition came
Forth, and beheld his ever living name
Before Plays that he never writ, how he
Had frown'd and blush'd at such Impiety?
His own Renown no such Addition needs
To have a Fame sprung from another's deedes.
And my good friend Old Philip Massinger
With Fletcher writ in some that we see there.
But you may blame the Printers; yet you might
Perhaps have won them to do Fletcher right,
Would you have took the pains: For what a foul
And unexcusable fault it is (that whole
Volume of plays being almost every one
After the death of Beaumont writ) that none
Would certifie them so much? I wish as free
Y'had told the Printers this, as you did me.
Surely you was to blame: A Forreign wit
Owes in such manner what an English writ:

Here Cokain points out again that almost all of the plays
in the 1647 folio were written after the death of Beaumont.
The last quotation is taken from the epitaph on Massinger:

In the same grave Fletcher was buried, here
Lyes the stage poet Philip Massinger:
Playes did they write together, were great friends:
And now one grave includes them at their ends:
So whom on earth nothing did part, beneath
Here, in their names, they lie in spite of death.

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1 Small Poems, pp. 91-2.
2 Ibid., p. 186.
With regard to Professor Oliphant's query, authentic data can be presented to show that Cokain and Massinger were very well acquainted. About 1630, when young Aston Cokain was wasting his patrimony in London taverns, he became very much interested in the dramas of his fellow Catholic, Philip Massinger. He even carried some of the quartos of Massinger's plays to Lord John Mohun, Cokain's 'Uncle-in-law'. Among these plays were The Duke of Milan and The Maid of Honor. Lord Mohun was pleased with these plays and rewarded the dramatist with a considerable gift, and he sent this gift with Cokain as the bearer; that is, Mohun not only "commissioned his nephew to express his satisfaction, but to present the writer 'with a token of his love and intended favour'." 2 Massinger's current play was The Emperour of the East, licensed March 11, 1631, and upon receipt of the handsome gift from Mohun, Massinger promptly dedicated this tragi-comedy to the baron. 3 The following is an extract from this dedication:

To the Right Honourable, and my especial good Lord, John Lord Mohun, Baron of Okehampton

...But this admitting no further dilation in this place, may your lordship please, and with all possible brevity, to understand the reasons why I am, in humble thankfulness, ambitious to shelter this poem under the wings of your honourable protection. My worthy friend, Mr. Aston Cockayne, your nephew, to my extraordinary

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1 Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 18.
2 Small Poems, p. 99.
3 Cunningham, ed. cit., pp. xvi-xvii; Gifford, 1813 ed., op. cit., I, 49.
content, delivered to me that your Lordship, at your
vacant hours, sometimes vouchsafed to peruse such
trifles of mine as have passed the press, and not
alone warranted them in your gentle suffrage, but
disdained not to bestow a remembrance of your love,
and intended favour to me....

Since Massinger states that he derived 'extraordinary con-
tent's from the 'remembrance' of Lord Mohun, and since Cokain
was sent in person with the gift by Lord Mohun, it seems
definite evidence that Cokain and Massinger were 'bosome-
friends.' But though this statement seems certain, it does
not necessarily follow that Massinger was Cokain's inform­
ant on the authorship of the plays in the 1647 folio. In
the first part of Cokain's epistle to Cotton, the section
omitted by Oliphant, the writer clearly and explicitly
states that his informant was Charles Cotton. And there is
evidence to show that Fletcher and Cotton were acquainted.2

As a matter of fact, Cokain himself knew Fletcher, and
borrowed the latter's manuscript of The Mad Lover; in fact,
Cokain's statement with regard to this play is the only
extant external evidence to show that Fletcher was its author.3

In summary, then, Cokain's contributions to this entire
problem are these: he pointed out that most of the plays in
the 1647 folio were written after Beaumont's death; that the
authentic collaborations of Beaumont and Fletcher were
chiefly omitted from this folio; that Fletcher was the sole
author of The Mad Lover; that Fletcher and Massinger col-

1Cunningham, op. cit., p. 634.
2DNB, IV, 1224.
3Oliphant, op. cit., p. 142.
Small
P O E M S
of
Divers forts

Written by
Sir ASTON COKAIN.

LONDON Printed by Wil. Godbid, 1658.
laborated in writing the plays of the 1647 folio; and that these two poets were buried in one grave.

Aston Cokain composed both dramatic and non-dramatic poetry. He wrote several hundred short poems in tetrameter or pentameter couplets, verses which contain as many hundred factual items of interest to the literary historian and the genealogist, but which are of negligible poetic value. In addition to his verses about persons, books, or places, he attempted some translations of extracts from classical authors. His one long non-dramatic work was a translation of Loredano's romance, Dianea.

He was very fond of preparing masques, inserting one in Trappolin, and two in The Tragedy of Ovid in addition to the previously mentioned Masque at Brebie. This latter piece, presented on Twelfth Night, 1638/9, for the Earl of Chesterfield, is written in rough blank verse that practically defies scansion. The masque also contains four lyrics. The first is in iambic trimeter couplets, with a monometer tailrime. The second is a lyric in three sestets, with iambic tetrameter lines rimeing ababcc, the final lines being identical, thus constituting a refrain or chorus. The third song contains two ten-lined stanzas in iambic tetrameter couplets, the final couplets of each stanza being identical.

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1 Greg, A List of Masques, op. cit., p. 4.
2 Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 10.
The last song is a ten-lined stanza in iambic tetrameters, with a rime pattern of \textit{ababcdcdee}.\textsuperscript{1} The argument of the masque is the description of the delights of the rural scene as contrasted with the delights of the court. Alfred Harbage points out that the piece drawn on both Spenser and Milton.\textsuperscript{2}

After preparing \textit{Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince}, Cokain's next dramatic work was \textit{The Obstinate Lady}, a tragi-comedy composed many years before the closing of the theatres.\textsuperscript{3} And it seems that the appearance of a pirated edition of this play in 1657 was the cause for Cokain's decision to have all his work printed. Why someone should want to publish a pirated edition of such a thoroughly bad play as \textit{The Obstinate Lady} is certainly a mystery. But the fact remains that the publisher William Godbid printed the play in quarto without the knowledge or consent of the author.\textsuperscript{4} Cokain's manuscript, moreover, was truncated in that the last page was missing, and Godbid had accordingly supplied a new and different conclusion to the play.\textsuperscript{5} At any rate, Cokain must have come to London, searched out the publisher, and persuaded him to collect the rest of the poet's works; for in the following year the complete works appeared under

\textsuperscript{1}Loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{2}Cavalier Drama, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 196.

\textsuperscript{3}Maudment and Logan, \textit{ed. cit.}, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{4}Loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{5}Loc. cit.
the title Small Poems of Divers Sorts. This volume contains such an interesting preface that it may well be quoted here, partly because it illustrates the seventeenth century custom of authors' manuscripts circulating from one person to another, and partly because it indirectly reveals proof that Cokain's blank verse was so bad that it could scarcely be scanned.

THE AUTHORS APOLOGY TO THE READER

These poor trifles (courteous Reader) had not now become so troublesome to the World, if it had been in my power to have prevented them: for at my going once out of London, I left them with a friend of mine, who dying, they were dispersed into divers hands. Mr. William Godbid got my Obstinate Lady, and though he found it with the last leaf torn out, wherein my conclusion to the play with the epilogue were, he procured some acquaintance of his to supply the defect at the end, and so printed it. And though that comedy be very much of it writ in number, he put it forth as if the most part of it were prose.... I was fearful my Trappolin, and the other Poems should have run the like misfortune: and therefore made a diligent enquiring after them, and when I had found them out could not get them delivered without parting with some money, and promising my honest friend Mr. W. Godbid (after I had afforded them some small correction) I would bestow them on him, with my consent, for the Press: For indeed without his (assistance) I should not have recovered them out of a gentle-mans hands whom I will forbear to name.

And when the book was printed it contained the poems, the Masque at Bretbie, The Obstinate Lady, and Trappolin.

The Obstinate Lady is based directly upon Massinger's drama A Very Woman.¹ It is called a comedy and is highly

¹Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 135; Cunninham, ed. cit., p. xxiv.
imitative of the plays of the Caroline period.

The plot of the play is as follows: Lucora, 'the Obstinate Lady', has again repulsed her lover Carionil, and, according to her father's wishes, is going to marry Falorus. The rejected Carionil attempts a final interview with Lucora, but is thwarted by his successful rival. A duel is prevented by the bystanders. All this time Carionil has been attended by a page, Anclethe, who is really a girl, the sister of Lucora, but who is disguised as a boy. Carionil now receives a harsh letter from Lucora and stabs himself. Anclethe (her real name is Cleanthe) bewails the fact that Carionil has stabbed himself for love of Lucora, whereas she herself is in love with Carionil. Hence she decides to kill herself, but is prevented by Falorus. Carionil now recovers, but his page and Falorus hide him and give out the news that he died for love. Carionil now comes to court disguised as a Negro prince, and Lucora at once becomes enamoured of him. Falorus is now perturbed over the violation of the Platonic code of friendship. Lucora promises to elope to Ethiopia with Carionil, but at the appointed time for this departure Carionil suddenly rebukes Lucora for being an 'obstinate lady' and spurns her. Carionil now discovers the identity of his page and marries her. She in turn persuades Lucora to marry Falorus, and all ends happily. Meanwhile, throughout the first three acts of the play, Rosinda, mother to Lucora and Cleanthe, has remained
around the court incognito, pretending to be finding out whether or not her husband is faithful to her. As Summers says, "the sentiments, the situations, and the characters are too artificial and strained to arouse, much less to enchain, any interest in these scenes."  

The device of the love-lorn page was often utilized in the contemporary drama, but Cokain's treatment seems to follow Beaumont and Fletcher's Philaster. The play was probably unacted, and there is no way to prove exactly when it was written; but, as Harbage points out, the allusions to the Cockpit and Blackfriars indicate that the play was prepared before 1642. As a matter of fact, Cokain probably wrote it during his sojourn in London, ca. 1630-32.

The Tragedy of Ovid represents Cokain's final dramatic effort. It was written shortly before its publication in 1662, as stated in the prologue. The plot is given in Montague Summers' Playhouse of Pepys, and the only fact in regard to it, pertinent to this thesis, is the inclusion of a sub-plot based on the Don Juan motif. The presence

1Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 242.
2Annals of English Drama, op. cit., p. 112.
3Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 134.
4"I tell you, though our play is new, 'tis writ After an ill old mode, with little wit; For in it there is a devil and a fool— Such sights as boys affect that go to school."
of this fable suggests that Cokain had witnessed a commedia
dell' arte performance of a play on the Don Juan theme, for
existing scenarii include several plays on such a story.
But before discussing the source Cokain's treatment of the
theme must be briefly sketched. In The Tragedy of Ovid
appears a Spanish captain named Hannibal, together with a
sly servant named Cacala. They encounter a man hanged on
a gibbet. Captain Hannibal invites the hanged man to supper.
The spectre accepts and appears at the meal, much to the
consternation of Cacala. The ghost then returns the invi­
tation, and Hannibal promises to attend. At supper the two
atheists exchange stories of their various crimes. They
are entertained by a masque presenting the judges of Hades
and the Furies. Another masque is performed, a performance
which is concluded by the devils carrying Hannibal off to
perdition. As may be observed from this synopsis, there is
no mention of Hannibal's exploits with women. This version
would then point toward Il Ateista Fulminato, which work is
stated by Langbaine as Cokain's source.¹ This Italian play
is also termed Cokain's source on the statement of M. Simone
Brouwer, who found a draft of the scenario in a collection
in a Roman library.² Ricciboni tells of a Convitato di
Pietra presented by a commedia dell' arte company as early

¹ Op. cit.,
² Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 246.
In 1650, there appeared *Il Convitato di Pietra*, by Jacinto Andria Cicognini, followed by Onofrio Giliberto's *Convitato di Pietra*, a work printed at Naples in 1652. It seems fairly evident that this theme had long been present on the Italian stage, and it seems reasonable to presume that Cokain saw a presentation of the Don Juan theme during one of his Italian trips.

The rest of Cokain's tragedy is based on Ovid's *Elegies* and on Ford's *The Broken Heart*, together with a scene from Pele's *Arraignment of Paris*. It is supposed that the drama was unacted, but Whincop states that "Ovid's Tragedy" was not acted until the year 1669. It is possible that Shadwell could have seen this presentation, if Whincop be correct, and drawn on it for his *Libertine*. Montague Summers suggests that Cokain may even have been the person who told the story of Don Juan to Shadwell.

In summarizing these works by Cokain, it may be observed that he was highly imitative in style, his tone and diction modelled after the contemporary modes of Caroline dramatists. It must also be stated that Cokain's plays are very weak and that the verse is halting and awkward. It is only in *Trappolin* that Cokain made any contribution to English drama.

1 As quoted by Summers, Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell (London, 1927), I, cxxviii-cxxix.
2 *Loc. cit.*
3 Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 135.
4 Scanderberg, op. cit., p. 101
5 Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 175.
II. Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince

A. Sources:

In *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*, Aston Cokain made a valid contribution to English drama in that this comedy is the chief tangible evidence of the connection between the two contemporary stages, the Elizabethan and the Italian popular comedy, or the *commedia dell' arte*. Of course, there are many references to the masks of the *commedia dell' arte* in England during the Elizabethan period. Thomas Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, proposes to omit "all the Doctors, Zawnyes, Pantalones, Harlakeenes" from his panegyric.¹ George Wilkins, in his tragi-comedy *The Miseries of Mariage*, ca. 1607, makes one of his characters comment on the foolish action of another by saying,

'Sfoot, the knight would have made an excellent Zany, in an Italian comedy."²

Ben Jonson, in *Everyman Out of His Humour* (1599), uses the following simile:

He's like a Zany to a Tumbler
That tries tricks after him to make men laugh.³

Captain Jenkins, in Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho!*, says:

Your Norfolk tumblers are but zanies to cony

³IV, 1.
catching punks.\(^1\)

The mimicry of the Zanni in the Commedia dell'arte is alluded to by Massinger in The Bashful Lover:

\[\ldots\text{give me leave at distance}
\text{To zany it.}\]^2

Malvolio, in Twelfth Night, says, "I take these wise men, that crow so at these set kind of fools, no better than the fools zanies."\(^3\) And Lucentio, in explaining the purpose of Cermio's disguise in The Taming of the Shrew, speaks of beguiling the "old pantaloon."\(^4\) Other masks of the commedia dell'arte, such as the Magnifico, are mentioned in several Elizabethan plays.\(^5\) Marston, in the revised edition of The Malcontent (1604), refers to the popular Harlequin.\(^6\)

There is plenty of evidence to show that the Elizabethan public was quite familiar with the Italian improvised comedy. Note the harsh indictment by Nashe, who was, as K. M. Lea points out, no squeamish moralist:

\[\text{Our Players are not as the players beyond the sea, a sort of squirting baudie Comedians, that have Whores & common Curtizans to playe womens partes, \\& forbear no immodest speech, or unchaste action that it may procure laughter, but} \]

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\(^2\)Cunningham, ed. cit., p. 557.

\(^3\)I, v, 95-6.

\(^4\)III, i, 377.


\(^6\)III, i, 98.
our Scæane is more statelye furnisht than ever
it was in the time of Roscius, our representations
honourable & full of gallant resolution, not
consisting like theirs of Pantaloun, a Whore
& a Zanie, but of Emperors, Kings & Princes.

Performances of Italian comedians were frequent in
Elizabethan England from 1547 on down through the years. 2
E. K. Chambers and K. M. Lea have found records of such per­
fomances not only at the court, but also in various English
towns. 3 A scene from John Day's Travailes of the Three
English Brothers (1607) illustrates what the practice of
these travelling Italian companies may have been. 4 In this
scene the famous comedian Will Kemp is called upon to 'help'
the Italian 'Herlaken' with the performance, and the ensuing
performance is pure commedia dell' arte, albeit some rough
English humor is thrown in for good measure. Another
reference to the extempore acting of the Italian commedia
dell' arte is made by Hieronimo in The Spanish Tragedy (1586)
when he says:

The Italian comedians are so shart of wit,
That in one hours mediation

1 As quoted by Lea, op. cit., II, 381.


4 This scene is quoted in full by Lea, op. cit., 381-4, and Nicoll, op. cit., 279-280.
The would perform anything in action.¹

Not only are the Italian companies and the masks of the *commedia dell'arte* frequently mentioned in Elizabethan literature, but there are also several plays probably based on scenarii of the *commedia dell'arte*. These plays are as follows: The anonymous *Wit of a Woman* (ca. 1604); Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* (1598), which may be taken from *La due Trappolini*; Jack Drum's *Entertainment*; or, the *comedia of Pasquill and Katherine* (1600), possibly by John Marston; David Oge Barry's *Ram Alley; or, Merry Tricks* (1608), which may have been adapted from the Italian play *La Schiava*; The *City Gallant; or, Greene's Tu Quoque* (1614, by J. Cooke, a play which was probably based on *Il Finto Servo*; and R. Tailor's *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl.*²

Shakespeare's use of plots, episodes, and lazzi from the *commedia dell'arte* has been discussed and investigated by many scholars. The plays in question are as follows: the basket scene from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*;³ the subplot of *The Taming of the Shrew.*⁴

¹As quoted by Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 385; however, all modern editions of this play that I have seen read tragedians for comedians in this passage.

²See the analyses of these plays and their probable Italian sources in Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 408-430.

³Cf. ibid., II, 431-4, and the text of the scenario of *Li Tre Becchi* on pp. 580-4.

⁴Ibid., II, 377; Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
the comic scenes from Measure for Measure;¹ the actions of Autolycus in The Winter's Tale;² the entire plot of The Comedy of Errors;³ the main framework of the plot in The Tempest;⁴ and the 'Seven Ages' speech in As You Like It.⁵

Of this last reference, Allardyce Nicoll suggests that,

Shakespeare's imagination had been fired by witnessing the Italian amoroso⁶ (lover), Capitano (soldier), Dottore (justice), and Pantalone whom he has thus introduced at their appropriate cues.⁷

However, as can be observed from the authorities on Elizabethan drama, there is no absolute proof that Shake-


²Nicoll, loc. cit.


⁶The established term is Innamorato.

⁷Nicoll, loc. cit.
peare was drawing on specific performances of the commedia dell' arte, nor is there general agreement on the indebtedness of Shakespeare to the Italian improvised comedy. No such difficulties arise with regard to the source of Cokain's Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince.

A considerable mass of evidence can be assembled to prove that Cokain composed his comedy directly upon an Italian improvised comedy which he had seen performed. His own testimony may be taken first. In the Prologue to Trappolin he states:

Gallants, be't known as yet we cannot say
To whom you are beholding for this play;
But this our Poet hath licens'd us to tell,
Ingenious Italy hath lik'd it well:
Yet is it no translation; for he nere
But twice in Venice did it ever hear;
There it did take....

In the Epilogue Cokain returns to the topic of the source:

...for here it was not writ
In sweet repose end fluencies of wit;
But far remote at Home begun, half made
At Naples, at Paris the conclusion had.

Thoroughly documented proof has already been submitted to show that Cokain was in Italy in 1632-1633. And in Cokain's versified description to his son of this first Italian trip he says that he arrived at Rome toward the end of his trip (about June 1, 1633), stayed there three weeks, went to Naples, where he stayed three weeks, and, after a trip to

1 Small Poems, p. 413.
2 Ibid., p. (528).
3 See ante, pp. xlvi-xlvii.
Mt. Vesuvius, sailed to Genoa and on to Marseilles, and then by land to Paris. According to his own testimony, then, Cokain's play was composed between June and September of 1633.

Modern scholarship has found nine different scenarii of commedia dell'arte plays that deal with the theme of a rogue as a 'suppos'd Prince'. None of these nine scenarii exactly duplicates the story as written by Cokain. To explain these deviations, it is necessary to present a brief account of the nature of the commedia dell'arte and a description of the technical term scenarii as used in the Italian improvised comedy. The definition of the commedia dell'arte is given by Karl Mantzius:

Comedy of art means improvised comedy, unwritten drama, in which only the indispensable course of the play, the outline of the action, was constructed and written down by the author, while the dialogue, jokes, outbursts of feeling, characterization, everything in fact, were left to the actor. Herein lay its importance, and this is what gave it the peculiar stamp of professional comedy.

The commedia dell'arte, states Mantzius, "must necessarily be performed by professionals." The actors of this popular comedy were trained over a long period for the respective roles or masks which they would portray. They

1 Small Poems, pp. 95-7.


4 Ibid., II, 212.
memorized speeches, conceits, and set phrases for particular situations. They learned various lazzi.

A lazzo is a trick, or piece of stage business, used to interrupt the main action of a play. Charlie Chaplin trapped in a revolving door is an illustration of a lazzo. This example from the modern cinema is particularly apt, for it shows the ephemeral nature of a lazzo, i.e., Chaplin's joke about the intricacies of the revolving door is comic only when that scientific achievement was new. The public, now accustomed to revolving doors, would no longer consider this joke extremely funny. Veteran actors, such as our modern Marx brothers, always accumulate a great number of lazzi to be used at various times. The lazzi which a specific Zanni or Pulchinello had learned would be inserted in different plays. Hence there are certain points of similarity between many of the Italian improvised comedies.

The next item of importance here is that "No true commedia dell' arte had a complete text." 2 This characteristic must be kept in mind with regard to the search for

1The famous actor Riccoboni defines lazzi as "that which Harlequins or the other masked actors do in the middle of a scene to interrupt it either by expressing fear or by making jokes which have no connection with the subject of the play...," as quoted by Mantzius, op. cit., II, 216.

2Nicoll, op. cit., p. 225.
Cokain's sources. "Suggestions for the dialogue might be provided by the author," states Nicoll, "but normally only the barest outline found its way into the official scenario, or soggetto, which took the place both of prompt-copy and of actors' parts in the performance of the ordinary play."\(^1\)

The scenario, or soggetto, is defined as follows:

The 'soggetto' is nothing but the scenic fabric woven from an 'argomento', to which is added the description of an action marked out into acts and scenes, which is to be spoken and presented extempore by the performers. The scenes are begun at the margin with the indication of the entrance of each personage, and are ended with a dotted line signifying exit or exeunt. At the top of each scenario is written the supposed locality of the play, such as Rome, Naples, Genoa, Leghorn....An asterisk in the margin, known as the 'osservatoria', warns the actor to enter unobserved to watch what is happening on the stage. The phrase 'in questo' denotes that the player remains on the stage after the exit of the other characters.... Marginal notes such as 'Night, Day, Dawn', instruct the actor to introduce some appropriate remark, and if necessary to enter with a light.\(^2\)

The nine extant scenarii of the Trappolin story are listed as follows: (1) Il Creduto Principe.\(^3\) From the handwriting and style this manuscript is supposed to belong to the last half of the seventeenth century, and a note appended to the first scenario states that the piece was acted in 1642.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) *Loc. cit.*

\(^2\) *Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit.*, I, 129.

\(^3\) *Bib. Casanateuse*, Codex 4186, c. 105.

(2) **Il Finto Principe**. According to K. M. Lea, A. Bartoli, who reprinted this collection in *Scenari Indita della commedia dell' arte*, notes that although this manuscript is of the eighteenth century several scenari are certainly a hundred years old. 

(3) **Il Cirello, Dramma Musicale Burlesche del Signor N.N.** Here the plot is embodied in an operetta.

(4) **Il Nuovo Finto Principe**. This manuscript was written about 1700.

(5) **Il Finto Re.**

(6) **Il Finto Principe.**

(7) **Pollicinella Finto Principe.**

(8) **Il Finto Principe, Comedia non meno ridicola che honesta.**

(9) **Arlecchino Creduto Principe**, by Gueuletto.

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2 Lea, *loc. cit.*

3 Printed at Ronciglione, 1668 and 1674 (Lea, *loc. cit.*)


8 Ibid., I, 49.


10 Di Don Carlo Ambrosi, Bologna (Lea, *loc. cit.*)

11 Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit.*, II, 253. This scenario is only a transcript of Gueuletto's translation of the memoranda left by the great comedian Dimenico Biancolleli (Lea, *loc. cit.*)
According to K. M. Lea, the first scenario of *Il Credute Principe* corresponds more closely to Cokain's text than any of the other mentioned scenarii. Yet this version contains a different love plot from that used by Cokain. In *Il Credute Principe* the Princess makes love to Brunetto and is shyly but definitely refused. The Princess then imitates Fotiphar's wife by sending for the counsellors and telling them that the slave Brunetto attempted to woo her. Cokain's more pleasing method of presenting Brunetto as a disguised prince may be found in the scenario entitled *Il Nuovo Finto Principe.* Trappolin's trick of leaving the stage by means of riding on the backs of the two counsellors is also found in the latter scenario. Trappolin's flirtation (in Cokain's play) with Isabella can be found in the second scenario entitled *Il Finto Principe.* This scenario, together with the scenario called *Il Finto Re*, includes the device of having Trappolin throw magic dust on Lavinio. The scene in which Trappolin is examined by the counsellors is mentioned in all of the above-listed scenarii except the operetta.

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2 *Loc. cit.*
4 *Loc. cit.*
5 *Loc. cit.*
This item of evidence must be kept in mind, for Montague Summers offers a different source for this scene in Cokain's play.¹

Since the scenarii carry little or no dialogue, there is no way of knowing what lazzî were used in each production. In Il Finto Principe, II, the Zanni (Trappolin) kills a louse—for this is the place for punishing criminals—and admits that he has carried fire-arms—pokers and spits.² Montague Summers, who overlooks Cokain's entire dependence on the Italian comedy, states that,

Trappolin, who is no better than a practised pimp, in his examination before the Lords, Act I, 2, very nearly resembles Pompey before Iscalus in Measure for Measure. There are, indeed, even exact verbal conveyances.³

The scenario of Il Finto Re, however, states that the Zanni, who happens to be Policinella in this piece, has his lazzî of the fire-arms.⁴ And since each of these scenarii refer to lazzî of fire-arms, it seems that Cokain used the Italian source rather than the scene from Measure for Measure. It is only in Trappolin's defense of his actions that the borrowings from Shakespeare can be found.⁵

¹The Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., pp. 244-5.
³Loc. cit. See the text of Trappolin, pp. 16-23, and the Explanatory Notes, pp. 234-235.
⁴Lea, loc. cit.
⁵See pp. 20-22, and Explanatory Notes, pp. 234-235.
the fire-arms was frequently used in the Commedia dell' arte, and Allardyce Nicoll found a scenario which happens to contain some dialogue for this lazzo. The play, *Il Soldat in Candia*, has a trial scene, and the dialogue is as follows:

The Judge. What's your name?
Arlecchino. Arlecchino.
The Judge. Have you ever been in prison?
Arlecchino. Yes, sir—to carry in some dinner for one of my friends who was arrested for debt.
The Judge. Have you ever done anything against... the Princess?
Arlecchino. Yes, sir. I went out of town against her orders.
The Judge. What? And how did you get out?
Arlecchino. Four or five days ago I wanted to hang up some shirts on the wall. The wall crumbled under my feet, and I fell into the ditch along with the shirts.
The Judge. Were you ever associated with anyone's death?
Arlecchino. Yes, sir. Last year I was at the gallows where a man was hanged.
The Judge. Have you ever said anything bad about the governor?
Arlecchino. Yes, sir. Once he was ill. I said to everyone who asked me for news, 'He is very bad indeed....'

Montague Summers also lists a different source for Cokain's description of Trappolin's scene with the petitioners, saying that the true source was the Sieur D'Ouville's *Contes aux heures perdues.*

Discussion of this point must

1 Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

2 *Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit.*, pp. 244, 275; Also cf. Maidment and Logan, *ed. cit.*, p. 108, where they suggest this French work as a source for the petitioners' scene.
be postulated on the date of the composition of Cokain's play, for the first edition of *Contes aux heures perdues* was printed in Paris in 1644.\(^1\) Evidence has already been presented to show that Cokain wrote his play eleven years prior to this date. Further evidence is provided in the previously quoted preface to *Small Poems*. In that preface Cokain said that the play had been left in manuscript with a friend, and that after the friend died the manuscript passed into other hands, from whence Godbid recovered it. Hence it seems very certain that Cokain composed his play before D'Ouville's book was ever printed. I have never examined this French work, since I have been assured by The Library of Congress that there is no copy of it in the United States, but from Summers' own description of the contents it would appear that D'Ouville was drawing on both folk-tales and on Italian dramatists.\(^2\) But the evidence derived from a comparison of dates is more tangible. It will be noticed that one petitioner in Cokain's play is a woman named Mrs. Fine. Her plea is that one Dick Whip, while driving recklessly through the streets, had killed her child. Trappolin rules that the only true restitution which Dick Whip can make is to get Mrs. Fine another child by cohabiting with her.\(^3\)

\(^1\) According to The Library of Congress.

\(^2\) *Playhouse of Pepys*, op. cit., p. 244.

\(^3\) See the text of *Trappolin*, pp. 76-78.
Now in a footnote to *Il Finto Principe*, II, there is the following statement:

Qt si fa il lazzo che Cola da audienza,
nuun gente con memoriali, dell'asino, della
Donna pregna, del creditore e della Piazza morta.  

From this quotation it appears that Cokain was still drawing on his main source, the two *commedia dell'arte* performances that he witnessed in Venice. It is true that the names of the characters in the petitioners' scene are English, but Cokain probably forgot the original names. At all events, he simply substituted generic English terms for the names of the characters involved.

It must be recognized that all of these scenarii were written long after the winter of 1632-3, when young Aston Cokain travelled around Italy and France on the money he had borrowed for his sisters' dowry, but tradition is strong in the theatre, and there were probably very few changes made in the actual performance of this "peasant and prince" theme. In fact, the extant variants would suggest the presence of a prototype. If there were such a prototype, it may have been for those performances which Cokain saw in Venice. If it could be shown just which company of comedians was acting in Venice in 1632-3, then one could be assured of a documented performance of this prototype. An examination of Cokain's *dramatis personae* will reveal just which company actually presented these two performances.

\[\text{Lea, loc. cit.}\]
list of characters is as follows:

- **Lavinio.** The great Duke of Tuskany.
- **Sforza.** The Duke of Milan.
- **Horatio.** Son of the Duke of Savoy.
- **Barbarino.**
- **Machavell.** Two noble Florentines.
- **Mattemoros.** A Spanish Captain.
- **Trappolin.** Suppos'd a Prince.
- **Mago.** A Conjurer.
- **Pucannello.** A Jaylour.
- **Bulflesh.** A Butcher.
- **Calfshead.** A Puritan.
- **Barne.** A Farmer.
- **Tiler.** A poor workman.
- **Whip.** A Coachman.
- **Jo, Meo, and Areo.** Divels.
- **Hymen, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Sol.** Maskers.
- **Isabella.** Wife to Lavinio.
- **Hortentia.** Wife to Sforza.
- **Prudentia.** Horatio's Mistress.
- **Hipolita.** The Captains Mistress.
- **Flametta.** Trappolines sweetheart.
- **Mrs. Fine.** A Plaintiff.

Here it can be seen that the person who played the role of the braggart is named Mattemoros. Some emphasis is placed on this point, for in the Errata affixed at the end of *Small Poems* the textual spelling of Mattemores is changed to Matte-moros. It may also be noticed that this list contains the name Pucannello. Now the mask of Pulchinella (Pucannello, Polichenello) was new in the *commedia dell' arte*, and if it can be shown who originated this role, then the identity of the acting troupe could be learned. The actor Petraccone states that the role or mask of Pulcinella was invented by

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1 *Small Poems*, p. 413, and see the text of *Trappolin*, p. 4.

2 *Small Poems*, p. 529.
Silvio Fiorillo, long famous as Captain Mattemoros. Here is an important piece of evidence, for in 1632 Silvio Fiorillo was a member of the Affezionati company.  

By this time Fiorillo must have been an old man, for in 1584 he was already a leader of a troupe in Naples. In 1600 he was in the service of the Duke of Mantua, and in 1613 he was rejected from the company proposed for a French tour as not being "what he was six years ago." Later he joined the professional troupe called the Affezionati, and is mentioned as performing in Venice as late as 1635. All throughout this time he is mentioned as 'the Captain' or as 'Mattemoros', yet according to the records just cited he must have adopted his new role of Pulcinella. Under the dramatic convention of 'doubling' Fiorillo probably played both roles, the Captain and the stupid jailor.

An examination of the membership of the Affezionati during this period will show the following list: Lavinio, a lover; Giovan Battista Fiorillo, the son of Silvio Fiorillo, the Zanni mask of 'Trappolino'; Silvio Fiorillo, who played

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1 As quoted by Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit., I, 91-2.
2 Lea, op. cit., I, 93.
3 Ibid., II, 486.
4 Nicoll, op. cit., p. 293.
6 Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit., I, 91.
two roles; Isabella Chiesa, who played the queen; Prudenza, the prima donna; Fiametta, a waiting-maid; Ricciolina, an older servant; Guazzetto, the first Zanni; Girolamo Chiesa, a pantalone; and Maldotti, a boy.\footnote{Lea, loc. cit.}

Hence it can be seen that Cokain took over the stage names of the first five persons in the Affezionati company. Guazzetto and Girolamo played the parts which were renamed Barbarino and Machaivil by Cokain. The boy Maldotti may have played the role of Horatio, that is, Brunetto, the disguised Prince.\footnote{Loc. cit.} In 1634, when the troupe was playing at Bologna, the role of servant-maid was being played by Angela Lucchesi, called Ricciolina.\footnote{Nicoll, op. cit., p. 243.} If she were with the company in 1632, she would have played the part named by Cokain as Hipolita. This would complete the cast of female persons, with the exception of the parts required in the masque. The only actors or parts added by Cokain, then, were those necessitated by the masque. "If we except the wedding masque," states K. M. Lea, "there is not a single incident in Cokayne's play for which we cannot find a parallel in one or the other of the Italian versions."\footnote{Lea, op. cit., p. 51; It may be added that with the exception of Maidment and Logan and Montague Summers the rest of the dramatic historians agree with Miss Lea. See Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133, "...the Italian original was commedia dell' arte...there was no text to translate."}
description of Italian comedy by Duchartre, one might pre-
sume even further and state that Cokain could have based
the entire play on his Italian sources:

During the Renaissance the Italians developed
a taste for lavish and phantasmagorical productions,
in which large crowds of supernumeraries figures
as they do nowadays in cinema films like...
Ben Hur. These spectacles were called opera,
or 'works', in the original sense of the word,
and they were produced with the aid of every
sort of mechanical device and bizarre setting,
as well as cavalcades, ballets, concerts,
pageants, and farces.¹

It has already been stated that Cokain probably saw several
theatrical presentations during his two Italian trips.²

Finally, the very title of the play, as given in the first
printing, bears out the nature of the source. This title
is Trappolin Creduto Principe; or, Trappolin Suppos'd a
Prince: An Italian Trage-Comedy, The Scene, part of Italy.³

In summary, then, it can be stated that Aston Cokain
contributed to English drama a comedy based on the spon-
taneous and gay expression of Renaissance Italian mirth:
the commedia dell' arte.

¹The Italian Comedy (New York, 1929), p. 64.
²More documentation will be found on pages 250-251 of The
Explanatory Notes.
³Small Poems, p. 411.
B. Stage History:

That Trappolin has any stage history is not definitely known. Montague Summers maintains that this play "...was first produced nearly twenty years after it had been written at the Theatre Royal in 1675 with Joe Haines as Trappolin. A New Prologue composed for the occasion by Duffett and printed in his Poems, 8vo, 1676, was spoken." The editors of the only critical edition of Cokain, Maidment and Logan, say that Trappolin "appears to have been produced prior to the Restoration, and was revived after that event, with a new prologue written by Duffet." Since these assumptions have been made by authorities in dramatic history, their statements must be carefully examined.

It seems difficult to believe that Trappolin was ever produced on the London stage before 1642. The play was never licensed, either in the records of Sir George Buck or in those of Sir Henry Herbert. None of the authorities on the Elizabethan stage ever mention that this play was acted. Besides, the internal evidence is strong against the notion that the play was acted prior to its publication in 1658. The reference here is to the previously quoted

1 The Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 245.
2 Ed. cit., p. 117.
3 Neither W. W. Greg, nor E. K. Chambers, nor A. W. Ward, nor Alfred Harbage, nor Fleay, nor Schelling, nor Allardyce Nicoll make any reference to this play's being acted on the pre-Restoration stage.
Preface of Small Poems, where Cokain tells of the vicissitudes suffered by his wandering manuscript. As can be observed from reading the poems of Cokain, this would-be poet was not overly modest. Hence, since he wrote so many pieces praising the stage and telling of his acquaintance-ship with actors and dramatists, it seems very strange that Cokain would omit any reference to the production of his own play, had it been acted on the London stage. Unless new evidence is presented, it can be stated that Trappolin was not acted on the pre-Restoration stage.

Only the slightest sort of documentary proof exists to show that Trappolin was produced on the Restoration stage. The source for the assumptions made by Summers and by Maidment and Logan appears to be an entry by Whincop. In the theatrical records appended to Scanderbeg, Whincop states that Trappolin was "revived by Duffett."1 Accordingly, Thomas Duffett's New Poems, Songs, Prologues and Epilogues,2 must be examined. This work does contain a prologue to "The Suppos'd Prince" that is entirely different from Cokain's prologue to Trappolin. This new prologue reads as follows:

Trappolin suppos'd a Prince this humor shows,
All pleasures do depend upon suppose,
We by a strong suppose, may have to do
With Wine and Women, Wit and Mony too.

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2 London, 1676.
Thus while you think a zealous Sisters eyes
Are lifted up in pious extasies,
In strong suppose all her Religion lies.
The modest longing girl that dares not woo,
Thus does enjoy her fame and pleasure too.
He that sits next a pretty female, knows
His hand trembles, and something comes and goes.
He gazes, faints and dyes, why all this shows
The pow'r and pleasure of a sweet suppose.
Those that for garnish'd dishes keep adoe,
May have as wholesome Fish well butter'd too,
In a plain earthen pan for half the toil;
But for suppose—for all's but—
The bodys all one flesh, and yet, dear hearts,
A mere suppose makes difference of parts.
All were design'd alike for our delight,
Yet we suppose it fit to lose our right,
And keep the sweetest both from touch and sight.
Let that suppose that leads us so astray,
As strongly further our supposing Play.
The Duke and Trappolin must both be thought
Transformed really, though they are not.
Suppose that strongly thence our mirth all flows,
Than we shall please you all—as we suppose.1

This prologue is sandwiched between other prologues and epilogue of other plays in the following order:

Epilogue-The Shoemaker's a Gentleman.
Prologue, Epilogue-Every Man Out of his Humour.
Prologue-Mistaken Husband.
Epilogue-Mall, or, The Modish Lovers.
Prologue-The Suppos'd Prince.
Prologue, Epilogue-The Armenian Queen.
Prologue, Epilogue-The Indian Emperor.
Prologue, Epilogue-Psyche Debauch'd.2

In examining this list of plays, one might assume that if the other plays could all be identified and proved to be acted around 1674-1676, then one could conclude The Suppos'd Prince was also acted. Unfortunately this is a mysterious 'nest of plays'. The authorship and even the identity of

1Ibid., pp. 82-3.
2Ibid., pp. 42-95.
some of these plays is questioned. The scholars who deal with the Restoration stage make no mention of the first play, *The Shoemaker's a Gentleman*, except that Nicoll does list the play in a quotation from the Lord Chamberlain's warrant for plays produced at court from June 19, 1675 to May 5, 1677.¹ According to this list, "A shoemaker a Gent" was acted on January 1, 1676, by Killigrew's company.² Nicoll does not, however, record this play in his list of plays of the Restoration, nor does Summers include it in any of his treatises on the Restoration Drama. The title sounds as if there might be some connection with Dekker's famous comedy of London bourgeoisie, but since this Restoration play was evidently never printed there can be no way of verifying such an assumption.

The second title in the list in Duffett's work refers to the revival of Ben Jonson's play in July, 1675, at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, the acting rights to this play being owned by Killigrew.³ Haines spoke the epilogue to this play.⁴

The next title is *The Mistaken Husband*, a play which has been attributed to both Dryden and a T. Southland.⁵

¹As quoted by Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, op. cit., p. 308.
²Ibid., pp. 307-308.
³Ibid., p. 315.
⁵See Nicoll, op. cit., pp. 220-1.
According to Langbaine and the bookseller Bentley, this play was given to Dryden in 1663, and he prepared it for the stage.\(^1\) There is no agreement on when the play was performed. Summers states that the play was acted by the Theatre Royal Company in Lincoln's Inn Fields in the spring of 1673.\(^2\) Nicoll states that *The Mistaken Husband* was first performed by the same company at the Drury Lane Theatre about September, 1675.\(^3\)

Even more controversy has raged in literary circles over the identity and authorship of *The Mall; or, The Modish Lovers*.\(^4\) George Saintsbury reprinted the play among Dryden's works, and several other scholars have attributed this piece to Dryden. Montague Summers has produced considerable evidence to show that the author was one John Dover.\(^5\) Genest, Nicoll, and Summers date the first performance in January, 1674;\(^6\) but Nicoll maintains that it was produced


\(^3\) Nicoll, loc. cit.


at Drury Lane, whereas Summers believes that Killigrew's company was still acting at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Following the entry of The Suppos'd Prince is the title The Armenian Queen. The authenticity of this play rests on its inclusion in Duffett's list alone. It was never printed, nor is there any record that the license fee was paid. Genest does not mention it. Nor does anyone else save Summers even suggest that there was such a play.

Nicoll records a revival of Dryden's Indian Emperor at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane on November 10, 1674.2

The last play in the list is Duffett's own work. This burlesque was first produced in May, 1675, at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, according to Genest, Nicoll, and Summers.3

In recapitulation, it appears that there is definite proof that six of these eight plays were acted, provided "A shoemaker a Gent" is identical with the title in Duffett's list. On the other hand, the only testimony for The Suppos'd Prince and The Armenian Queen is that found in Duffett's list. In the absence of full records of the Restoration stage, it appears possible that Killigrew's company performed Cokain's play, with the inimitable rascal Joe Haines

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1 The Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., pp. 338, 448.
3 Some Account, op. cit., I, 168; Restoration Drama, op. cit., p. 360; Bibliography, op. cit., p. 63.
speaking Duffett's prologue. Against this somewhat circumstantial evidence there is Nahum Tate's own statement in the preface to the 1665 printing of *A Duke and No Duke*.\(^1\) Tate refers to his source and says:

> I took all the liberty of Addition and new Modelling the Adventures, which I thought necessary for the Stage.\(^2\)

Of course, Tate may have been trying to conceal the fact that *Trappolin* had ever been acted, or it is possible that he may not have known that it was acted. But if *Trappolin* had been produced at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1675, only nine years had elapsed between that production and the initial performance of Tate's adaptation on November 3, 1684.\(^3\)

\(^1\)London, 1685.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. vi.

C. Printings and Editions:

There is more disagreement on the part of modern scholars and bibliographers over the canon of Cokain's works than has been shown to exist over the etymology of his name, its orthography, or over the time and place of his birth, or the sources and dates of composition of his plays, or even over whether they were ever acted. In such a recent publication as the supposedly authoritative Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature an entirely erroneous account of Cokain's publications has been given, an account which omits the first edition of the plays. As a result of the numerous variant lists, it will be necessary to name and describe each title in chronological order, instead of simply recording the correct entries.

**Dianea.** London: Humphrey Moseley, 1654.

**The Obstinate Lady.** London: William Godbid, 1657. This is a pirated edition, with the last page defective.

**Small Poems of Divers Jorts.** London: William Godbid, 1658. This is the first edition of Cokain's works. It includes the poems, *The Masque at Brethie*, *The Obstinate Lady*, and *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*. All other seventeenth century printings of Cokain's works are re-issues of this volume. I have examined the copies owned by The

1 loc. cit.

2 It has been stated earlier that Oldys claimed that the first edition of Dianea was published in 1643, but there is no proof for his statement.
University of Texas and The Library of Congress. The latter
copy is defective in lacking the portrait contained in the
front of the book. Both copies have errors in pagination;
*i.e.*, pages 209-256 are wrongly numbered 109-156, and page
numbers 461-480 are repeated. The Library of Congress copy
contains 527 pages; The University of Texas copy contains
529 pages. The later printings of this work often retain
the title-page of this first printing.

*A Chain of Golden Poems*. London: William Godbid,
1658. This is a re-issue of *Small Poems*; hence the contents
are the same. I have examined the copy belonging to the
Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery by microfilm.
Their copy is of considerable significance in that it is
tangible proof that *A Chain* is a re-issue of *Small Poems*.
Their copy carries two title-pages: (1) *A Chain of Golden
Poems* (by Sir Aston Cokayn), and (2) *Small Poems of Divers
Sorts*. The failure on the part of one of William Godbid's
apprentices to cancel out the old title-page thus provides
visible proof that *Small Poems* is the first edition, and
that *A Chain* is a re-issue. Maidment and Logan printed
*The Obstinate Lady* for their edition from the text of this
reprint. In the previously cited Cambridge Bibliography
this reprint is listed as the first edition.

*Poems*. London: Philip Stephens, jr., 1662. This is
also a reprint of *Small Poems*, but *The Tragedy of Ovid* is
bound with it, thus making this re-issue the first edition
of that tragedy. The Cambridge Bibliography states that there were two printings of Cokain's works in this year. This statement is not substantiated by any records of which I am aware. Maidment and Logan claim that The Tragedy of Ovid was also issued separately, a statement which might be true, but no copies have been catalogued.

**Choice Poems of Several Sorts.** London: Francis Kirkman, 1669. This is the last re-issue of Small Poems. It contains the same works as the previous printings, including The Tragedy of Ovid from the 1662 printing.

**A Duke and No Duke.** London: J. Turner, 1758. This work is a new edition of Nahum Tate's play, and although the publisher attributes it to Cokain it is not Cokain's play.

**The Dramatic Works of Sir Aston Cokain.** Edd. James Maidment and W. H. Logan. Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1874. This is the only critical edition of Cokain's works, being the only publication of the poet's works since 1669. It contains all of the previously printed works of Cokain except Dianea and the poems, which, of course, are not dramatic works. Each play is accorded an introduction, but there are no explanatory notes.

Since this edition of 1874 is not so rare that access to it is difficult, some justification should be offered for the preparation of another edition of Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince. It is the custom of modern editors of Elizabethan and seventeenth century plays to print the authentic text
of a given play without any changes in the spelling or in
the punctuation. Maidment and Logan did not do so in their
edition of Cokain. They modernized the entire text. The
oft quoted statement of Horace with regard to language
changing from age to age finds application here. Maidment
and Logan changed Cokain's spelling to conform with the rules
and usage of the third quarter of the nineteenth century,
and now, seventy years later, the rules and usage have changed.
Furthermore, changing the spelling and the punctuation of
the older writers places a barrier between the student and
those writings. In the first eleven lines of Trappolin,
Maidment and Logan have made sixteen textual changes. The
method of the present edition has been to make no changes,
except for a few very obvious printer's errors, and these
are indicated in the textual notes.

Furthermore, the practice of most modern editors has
been to include explanatory notes, thereby clarifying
difficult passages, contemporary allusions, or act and scene
divisions. Such aids are not offered in the Maidment and
Logan edition. The speech tags are sometimes transposed in
the original text of Trappolin, but Maidment and Logan have
not corrected these errors, thereby obscuring the text. In
the present edition considerable care has been given to
Cokain's vocabulary. Over two hundred words used by Cokain
have been checked in the NED in order to make the explanatory
notes aid in the reading of the play and in illustrating
the exact sense of meaning of those words.

Although this study is not concerned with the merits or faults of Trappolin as a dramatic work, a few dominant features may be noted before commencing the analysis of Nahum Tate's adaptation. Montague Summers, after describing the faults in The Obstinate Lady, comments on Trappolin as follows:

It is all the more surprising how adroitly Cokayne has managed (sic) the twists and turns of Trappolin creduto Principe... and what brisk facile dialogue, eminently adapted for stage effect he has composed. This 'Italian Trage-comedy'...remains an extremely spirited and amusing piece of work.¹

Alfred Harbage, after discussing the Italian source for the play, states that,

One would expect an Englishman of Cokain's time to convert such material into a mere Broomean comedy of courtship, but such proves not the case. Something of what must have been the spirit of commedia dell' arte is preserved-crispness, spontaneity, a certain naivete, and, amidst farcical action and impudent dialogue, an inkling of democratic philosophy.²

The concluding statement above is pertinent to the purpose of this study, even though this thesis has no concern with the evaluation of Cokain's dramatic technique. But the purpose of this thesis is to examine what Tate would do in adapting a comedy based on the vivacious and sparkling

²Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133.
Italian improvised comedy, thereby showing the trends in the literary taste of the late seventeenth century. Harbage is here referring to Act I, scene ii, of Trappolin, where the miles gloriosus Captain Mattemoros is engaged in telling of his own martial triumphs and of the splendors of war. Trappolin interrupts the braggart to ridicule war and to point out that only the aristocrats benefit from war, whereas the common people do the fighting and yet come out on the short end regardless of the outcome of the battles. When Nahum Tate was revising this play, he included this scene; but he rejected all of Trappolin's thesis about war and the common people, thereby presenting Trappolin only as a coward. Thus Tate loses not only the complexity and irony of the situation, as well as the dramatic effectiveness of keeping the characters matched or balanced in dialogue, but he also shows a definite change in attitude from the earlier seventeenth awareness of the total possibilities in a given situation.
III. Tate's Adaptation: *A Duke and No Duke*

A. Nahum Tate as an Adapter:

The life of Nahum Tate, or Teate, is of little consequence to the purpose of this thesis. A concise account is given by Henry Leigh Bennett in the *DNB*, and there is a doctoral thesis on Tate by H. F. Scott-Thomas. For the purpose at hand it will suffice to say that Tate was born in 1652 at Dublin, of a puritan family, and that he spent a poverty-stricken life in a vain pursuit of popular favor, without pride, self-respect, or dignity, until "death found him, 12 Aug. 1715" in the Mint, Southwark, where the one-time poet laureate was hiding from his creditors. Of some importance may be a reference to his father, the puritan clergyman Faithful Teate. This minister was a well educated theologian, and his writings show considerable profundity of thought and a steady devotion to religious matters.

Nahum Tate was reared in this devout home, but he was to make his living in the Restoration atmosphere of superficiality and mundane emphasis. A reference to this background, then, is of some significance; for in the analyses

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1 *XIX*, 379-380.

2 *At The Johns Hopkins University.*


4 *DNB, XIX*, 379.

5 *loc. cit.*
that follow there will be numerous manifestations of Tate's "vulgar and bourgeois religious attitude and emotion."¹

Since Tate's literary career consisted chiefly of translations from the classics, collaborations with other writers, and adaptations of all sorts of writings, it is an easy matter to present illustrations of Tate's methods of adaptation. The greatest literary work which Tate tampered with was the Psalms of the Old Testament.² The sixth verse of Psalm vii is rendered thus:

Awake, awake, in my behalf,  
The Judgement to dispence,  
Which thou has righteusly ordain'd  
For injur'd Innocence.³

Another excellent illustration of Tate's methods may be found in his alteration of Milton's elegy Lycidas. Tate's adaptation is called "A Poem Occasion'd by the late Discontents & Disturbances in the State, with Reflections upon the Rise and Progress of Priestcraft...."⁴ The poem is in the pastoral mode, the dialogue being carried on by two shepherds, Palamon and Philander. An extract follows:

But hate the Shepherds who their labour spare  
To Hirelings leave their Flocks, their only Care

¹Scott-Thomas, op. cit., p. 270.
²An Essay of a New Version of the Psalms of David (by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady), London, 1695.
³Loc. cit. Italics mine. There is no foundation in the Biblical text for this last line.
⁴London, 1691.
To call at sheering-time for an ungodly share
Fleece-worn, and with an Amaryllis sped,
They pipe and feast, and jocund measures trend,
While their lean sheep look up, and are not fed.

... The poyson'd stream of passive nonsense spread.¹

This last line represents Tate's treatment of Milton's powerful line,

... Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread.²

One other illustration of Tate's alterations of Milton may be cited. The passage in question is taken from Book I of Paradise Lost, and Milton's lines will be given first:

... Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
Dove-like satst brooding on the vast abyss...³

Tate's version is as follows:

Thou sacred spirit, thou alone,
Who know'st th'Arcana of Heav'n's shining throne
And with expanded wing
Sat brooding on the Universe,
Reducing chaos unto form
And into amity its hetergenial storm.⁴

Tate's treatment of Joseph Hall's 'character' sketches might also be noted. Bishop Hall's prose characters are excellent examples of the early seventeenth century device of character-writing. The complexity of character delineation achieved by Hall identifies him with the metaphysical

¹As quoted by Scott-Thomas, op. cit., p. 265.
⁴As quoted by Scott-Thomas, op. cit., p. 267.
school. Hence an extract from Tate's treatment of this type of literature might be of interest. The following sentence is from Hall's character "Of the Truly-Noble":

He scorneth to make his height a privilege of loosenesse, but accounts his titles vaine, if hee be inferior to others in goodnesse; and thinks hee should be more strict, the more eminent he is; because hee is more observed, and now his offences are become exemplar.1

Tate's rimed paraphrase of this passage follows:

He wou'd no License from his Greatness gain,  
And without Goodness counts his Titles vain.  
From Pow'r no Privilege claims to be unjust,  
Nor makes Prerogative a Bawd to Lust.2

The imagery of the final line in this quatrain well illustrates the prurient tone so characteristic of Tate's diction.

For the purpose at hand all further examples of Tate's methods of adaptation should be drawn from his dramatic alterations, the most famous of which is The History of King Lear. This adaptation is so wretched that a new word-Tateification—has been coined to describe the precise type of bungling treatment accorded by Tate to anything which he adapted.3 Yet this version of Shakespeare's powerful tragedy proved so popular that it remained a stock piece on the London stage for 157 years, not being replaced by the

1Characters of Vertues and Vices (London, 1608), pp. 52-3.  
It was printed over twenty times in the century following its first production. Even Dr. Samuel Johnson preferred it to Shakespeare's *King Lear*. As a result, a study of this adaptation has proved valuable for those who are interested in studying Neo-classicism. Although Odell and Summers have described the main features of this adaptation, the most exhaustive analysis of the play has been made by Hazelton Spencer. Tate's epistolary dedication to Thomas Boteler very clearly reflects the attitude toward the Elizabethans held by the poets of the 'more refin'd age'.

The chief structural changes made by Tate are the following: the creation of a love affair between Edgar and Cordelia, thus omitting the marriage with the King of France; the complete omission of the Fool; the insertion of the kidnapping and attempted rape of Cordelia; the telescoping of the king's visits to his daughters into one trip; and the happy ending, wherein Edgar marries Cordelia and Lear again becomes king—the latter in spite of Kent's warning,

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2 Summers, *Bibliography, op. cit.*., p. 69.

3 *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving* (New York, 1920), I, 53-6.

4 *Shakespeare Adaptations, op. cit.*, pp. ciii-cvi.


6 Aston Cokain's cousin.
...He hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer.\(^1\)

The most significant features of Tate's adaptation, in the light of changing trends in literary taste, are quoted from Spencer as follows:

In the prologue Tate announces his ethical purpose...that the theatre must replace the church as the custodian of morals....In the light of the critical canons, this adaptation is a curious hodge-podge. The unities of time and place are disregarded....The excision of the Fool recognizes the principle of strict separation. Like Dryden, Tate cared nothing for the dictum against scenes of violence; we shall find in his version of Coriolanus no horror too gory for him. Contrary to the neoclassical rule that love should be kept out of tragedy, it becomes in Tate's Lear the chief motivating force....The scenes dealing with the Edmund-Goneril-Regan triangle are highly voluptuous; and Cordelia's more decorous passion does not improve her character....Worst of all is the so-called happy ending. In Tate's alteration the principle of poetic justice receives the most pitiable sacrifice in all the English drama.\(^2\)

Another illustration of Tate's methods of adaptation may be found in examining his version of Coriolanus, which is entitled The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth.\(^3\) In this play Tate seems to have had a political inspiration, for in his preface he carefully points out that the piece is satirizing the Whigs.\(^4\) The significant feature of this

\(^1\) V, iii, 313-315.
\(^3\) Or, The Fall of Caius Marius Coriolanus (London, 1682).
\(^4\) Spencer, op. cit., p. 260.
alteration is the fifth act. Spencer's discussion of this act is as follows:

His play follows Shakespeare's with a reasonable degree of fidelity up to the catastrophe. Tate then cuts loose completely and turns a respectable tragedy into an unpleasant reminder of the old tragedy-of-blood. He evidently aimed at giving his audience a last act they would not easily forget; accordingly he works in a sword combat with the death of both the principals, an attempted rape, a suicidal demise, a mad scene, and a juvenile expiration. Like Shakespeare's play, Tate's violates all the canons. The last scene is one of horrid violence. Again the love motive is emphasized. Rape is a favorite device with Tate; he uses it in both Lear and The Ingratitude without the slightest warrant in either source. In spite of this morsel the latter play was a failure. 1

Tate's last adaptation of a tragedy is entitled Injur'd Love, 2 an alteration of John Webster's powerful and sombre tragedy, The White Devil. Professor Hazelton Spencer gives a detailed analysis of Tate's handling of the older play, 3 but a briefer summary will be given here for the purpose of illustrating Tate's particular technique of alteration. All comic scenes are deleted, thereby cutting down Flamino's role. Camillo is killed long before the murder of Isabella. The main interest is then focused on Isabella instead of on Webster's heroine, Vittoria Corrombona, who speaks only a few lines in Tate's entire play.

1Ibid., pp. 271-2; and cf. Genest's summary, op. cit., I, 326-9.
3"Tate and The White Devil," English Literary History, I (1934), 235-249.
The child Giovanni is given more lines. Webster's famous dirge is omitted. Zanze appears in a mask, disguised. Webster's delineation of Flamineo is disregarded, particularly with regard to the scene in which Flamineo kills his brother. In Webster's play, it will be recalled, Flamineo is portrayed as a Renaissance rationalist like Mendoza in Marston's *The Malcontent*, or like Lady Macbeth. In Tate's play, Flamineo is simply a villain, very practical, entirely evil, and showing no complexity.¹ This method of simplification, a general characteristic of late seventeenth century writers, will be strongly shown in Tate's *A Duke and No Duke*.

Strangely enough, Tate retains some of the odd scenes from Webster, such as the papal election, sections of the trial scene, and the pretended death of Flamineo at the end of the play. The conjurer in Webster's play becomes a magician in *Injur'd Love*. Tate makes this magician say to Duke Brachiano,

Yes, Dearly hast thou paid,
And dearer yet shall pay for Injur'd Love
Wretched Brachiano! Oh couldst thou foresee
Thy own, as now, thy Dutchess Tragedy—

¹See the statement of M. D. Horne on the simplification of the Restoration villain, in which he states, "His -the villain's-prominence in the plays points toward a conflict between good and evil, not between antagonistic elements in the soul of an individual, but rather between two mutually exclusive forces of good and evil," "The Villain in Restoration Tragedy," (Ph. D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1939), The Graduate School Abstracts of Theses, 1938-1939 (University Bulletin, Louisiana State University), Baton Rouge, 1940, XXXII, 106.
But 'til the Fate of Vice on shelves to run,
And never see the Danger till undone.¹

And this play becomes the tragedy of Isabella. Spencer comments on this feature of Tate's alteration as follows:

Webster has certainly not developed Isabella's full possibilities as a pathetic character.... Tate's shift of emphasis is reflected in his title; but if he is right in presenting Isabella at fuller length, he is wrong in turning her into the conventional heroine of self-sacrifice. It was, I suppose, inevitable that he should do so. Tate was a rather facile hack without a spark of artistic genius. It is in just such men that one finds clues to literary methods and motives which abler men, like Dryden, succeed in covering up.²

The last sentence of this quotation is of utmost significance with regard to the study of Tate, and thus to the purpose of this thesis. It is the third-rate author, then, who illustrates so clearly the tendencies of a literary period, and Nahum Tate is a prize specimen. This theory may need some documentation; hence an instance may be cited from the greatest of the Restoration writers, John Dryden. His work often exhibits a considerable amount of complexity in the delineation of character. As an illustration, Dryden's tragedy All For Love may be examined; for this play also deals with a theme previously handled on the Elizabethan stage. Many critics have praised this play highly, for example, Cecil Moore, in his introduction to an anthology

²Spencer, English Literary History, op. cit., p. 240.
None but a prejudiced critic would question that Dryden’s *All For Love* is a better piece of dramaturgy than Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra*, and no producer would hesitate in his preference for the later version.¹

But if we read Dryden’s play in the light of the previous analysis of Tate’s methods, using his presentation of Isabella as ‘Exhibit A’ for the prosecution, we will notice that Dryden makes the "old serpent of the Nile" say that she was intended to be a "household dove"—and the basic fallacy of this characterization, and of the play as well, is exposed at once.² Herein lies the value of reviving the works of such a paltry dramatist as Tate, for it is in such writers that one can discover the true tone and attitude of a particular era.

Nahum Tate’s methods of adapting earlier comedies are equally enlightening. As has been indicated previously, he gave only lip-service to morality. An examination of Tate’s alteration of *Eastward Ho!*, in which “three staunch

¹*Twelve Plays of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (Modern Library), New York, 1933, p. viii.

²The entire passage from Dryden is this:

...Nature meant me
A wife; a silly, harmless, household dove,
Fond without art, and kind without deceit;
But Fortune, that has made a mistress of me,
Has thrust me out to the wide world, unfurnished
Of falsehood to make me happy. (IV, i, 104-109.)
moralists wheel their batteries into line,"¹ will demonstrate a great deal about the real attitude of the late Restoration towards morality. *Eastward Ho!,* although a realistic comedy of bourgeois London, was composed by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston for a "sage and serious preaching."² In the Elizabethan play the honest business man is highly praised. Emphasis is placed on honesty and integrity. Wrongdoing is punished and righteousness is rewarded. Now for the alteration.

The scene of the fourth act of the older play is Cuckold's Haven, a mile down from London Bridge on the Surrey side. From this place, preserved for posterity by Hogarth in Plate V of his series *Industry and Idleness* (1747), Tate selected the title for his adaptation.³ In the prologue Tate modestly admits that he has 'improv'd' the original comedy as a result of the general refinement of the new era. He says,

We own, nor to confess it are ash'and, That from tough Ben's Remains, this Piece was fram'd. But if Embellishments of Vanity And Vice, are here improv'd to a degree Beyond the Characters that Master drew, We must the Ladies thank for that, and you So far above what Johnson's Age e'er knew.⁴

The alteration commences with the same action as in the

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¹ *Elizabethan Plays*, ed. Hazelton Spencer (Boston, 1933), p. 475.
² *Loc. cit.*
³ *Cuckolds-Haven; or, An Alderman no Conjurer* (London, 1685).
original, but when Quicksilver enters he says that he is going to a funeral. Here Touchstone acts in a maudlin, sentimental manner, contrary to the bluff heartiness of the original, and asks to see Quicksilver's prayer-book, thereby discovering the latter's ornamented attire. Act I, scene ii, is taken from Jonson's The Devil is an Ass. Here Winifred, the wife of Security, the usurer, gets a letter from her lover Sir Petronel Flash, and then becomes afraid of Clogg, the servant. Accordingly, she condemns poor Clogg to her husband, and the servant is roundly scolded.

The play then proceeds somewhat after the model of the older play until Tate, with the pseudo-scientific attitude of the time, decides to make things more regular by having pairs; hence, to match Winifred's departure with Sir Petronel, he arranges for Bramble's wife also to run away with a man. Echoes of the heroic plays are heard when Security learns that his wife has run away. He says,

I'll plow up Rocks steep as the Alps in Dust,  
And lave the Tyrrhene Waters into Clouds,  
But I will reach them.¹

Then when Bramble discovers that his own wife has run away he utters the same speech. The play then continues much like the older play until the last act. Here Quicksilver pretends to be a madman and dresses in a hide. Security also pretends insanity, and the pair both claim that Touchstone had conjured them to that extent. This farcical action ¹Act I, scena ultima.
breaks through all bounds of decorum. Finally a letter falls from Touchstone's pocket. This epistle is to the effect that Touchstone must send some money to the women who wrote the letter because of the three children she has borne by him. This is the nauseous conclusion supplied by Tate for the moral ending of the Elizabethan play, in which Quicksilver actually repents. It is Tate's version there is but lip-repentance, with a tongue in the cheek and a sneer at the unfortunate alderman, when Quicksilver's tricks are found out. The entire tone of this play is in that prurient, suggestive and licentious manner so frequently found in plays of this period, and the dialogue lacks either the wit of the original or the sparkle of the contemporary dramatists of the comedy of manners. Yet this poetaster Tate drew up proposals for the regulation and reform of the theatre in 1698, the year of Jeremy Collier's malediction of the stage.¹

A final illustration of Tate's methods of adaptation will be taken from his revival of The Island Princess.² The dedication in Tate's version is again of considerable significance in its statement of the contemporary attitude

¹DNB, XIX, 379.

²Fletcher's play had been acted in 1669, and Sprague (Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage, Cambridge, 1926 p. 261) considers that Tate may have been using the prompt copy of this revival as his source.
toward the Elizabethans. He states that he "considered that the design of (his) Authors in this Poem was to shew transcendent Vertue, Piety and Constancy successful," yet he felt that they had failed to achieve this aim. He continues the dedication as follows:

Those Defects in Manners, that were too palpable through the Work, must be imputed to the Age in which they wrote; but still there are so many and transcending Beauties in all their Writings, that I judg'd it safest to rob their Treasure for a tribute to your Lordship.

It will be recalled that Fletcher's play, based on the Spanish story Conquista de las Islas Malucas (1609), contains a character of the Hamlet type. This person, Ruy Dias, is beloved of the Queen, who wishes him to rescue her imprisoned brother. Ruy Dias is aware of all the apparently unsurmountable dangers involved in attempting such a rescue, but he prepares a method for an escape. But while Dias is preparing this plan, the reckless Armusia effects the rescue by burning down the entire castle and dungeon of the governor who was holding the King. Later Dias hates Armusia because the Queen is honor bound to marry the man who saved her brother; but when the disguised governor persuades the King to kill Armusia for religious reasons Ruy Dias suddenly

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1 The Island Princess; Or, The Generous Portuvals (London, 1687).

2 loc. cit. The dedication is addressed to Henry, Lord Walgrave, Baron of Chewton.
takes soldiers and saves the lives of both his rival and his Queen. Nahum Tate, while he retains the persons of Fletcher's play, loses all this complex delineation of Dias, the thinker who became a man of action when it was too late. Tate over-simplifies the entire situation. Fletcher had relieved the tragic tension and enhanced it at the same time by some excellent dialogue on the part of the rogue Pymero. Tate drops this comic character from the active speaking parts. But Tate's worst offense in this adaptation is against good taste in the treatment of a religious topic. In Fletcher's play the fact that Armusia is not a Christian constitutes a real problem. Tate makes love the motivating force and depicts the heroine as scornful of religious concepts.

In summary, it can be observed that Tate's method of adaptation indicates certain definite traits. He either quotes whole passages without change or changes both the plot and the diction. He persistently over-simplifies a given dramatic character or situation. He manifests a literary trend by his placing emphasis on 'virtue in distress'. He is fond of inserting scenes of violence into his versions. And finally he uses a particularly nauseous diction in passages of his own composition. All these traits appear in his adaptation of Cokain's play, the farce 

_Duke and No Duke._
B. Farce in the Restoration Period:

Nahum Tate's *A Duke and No Duke* is far from being the first Italianate farce in Restoration Drama. It is, however, the second Restoration farce of foreign origin which was purposely written in three acts instead of five. The first was Otway's *Cheats of Scapio* (1676), a farce deliberately planned to be produced as an afterpiece for *Titus and Berenice*, December, 1676, at the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden. This purpose provides an important reason for the historical study of Restoration farce; for the presentation of the 'double-feature' was a fundamental characteristic of the eighteenth century stage. Hence the source of this theatrical convention deserves some study, regardless of the literary worth of the subject itself. Many studies of the eighteenth century afterpiece have been made, but there is not a single published work dealing primarily with the background of this dramatic convention.

As a matter of fact, the theatrical custom of presenting some form of entertainment in addition to the main production is not confined to the eighteenth century London theatre. Even the fifteenth century Englishman craved some comic relief from the serious subjects of the guild cycles, and the fact that such comic relief was provided for the

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audience is attested by the inclusion of the story of the sheep-stealer Mak in the *Secunda Pastorum*, a diversion which is, as Schelling states, "a farce complete in itself." And every history of English drama contains some account of the different types of comic relief that were presented as time passed, whether they were interludes, jigs, antimasques, juggling acts, trained animal shows, or farcical sub-plots to serious plays. From these farcical sub-plots of the Elizabethan drama emerged the drolls of the Commonwealth period, surviving the edict of 1642, and carrying on the continuity of indigenous English comedy. These drolls were acted in various English towns on through the entire Restoration period. The continued performances of these pieces provides one of the two sources of the eighteenth century afterpiece.

The other source of the afterpiece was the type of entertainment presented by the Italian and French *commedia dell'arte*. This influence broadened out into three phases, all of which affected the English stage. These three phases may be briefly described as follows: (1) Actual performances of continental *commedia dell'arte* troupes in England. One result of these performances was a new

1*Elizabethan Drama*, op. cit., I, 77.

2The best collection of these drolls may be found in Kirkman's *The Wits*; or, *Sport upon Sport*, ed. J. J. Elson (Ithaca, 1932).

technique for comic actors, a technique soon displayed by Angel, Haines, Nokes and Leigh. (2) Direct translations or adaptations of French and Italian Commedia dell'arte scenarii. Some plays of this type are Alexander Greene's *The Polititian Cheated* (1663), Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-All*, Aphra Behn's *Emperour of the Moon* (1687), Otway's *Cheats of Scapin*, Tate's *A Duke and No Duke*, and at least a dozen of Ravenscroft's farces. (3) Pantomime, which very naturally developed from the Italian Commedia dell'arte, just as the Roman pantomime had emerged from the Atellan farces. The pantomime proved to be one of the most popular types of afterpiece in the eighteenth century, and the annals of that period contain many attacks on Rich and the other pantomime artists.

The farce plays based on foreign sources soon became very popular on the Restoration stage. Leo Hughes, in his analysis of Restoration farce, lists seven plays from 1660-1669 that were based on the French or Italian Commedia dell'arte, seventeen plays from 1670-1679, and ten plays from 1680-1689. This list does not take into consideration the large number of farce plays based on Spanish intrigue comedy, such as Crowne's *Sir Courtly Nice* (1685, nor does it include the many farces taken from indigenous sources,

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such as the sub-plots of Elizabethan plays or adaptations of earlier plays, such as the actor Mountfort's farcical skit *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* taken from Marlowe's great tragedy. This growth in popularity was achieved in spite of the opposition to farce on the part of leading literary figures of the period.

This opposition was led by John Dryden, who attacked farces again and again. Dryden's attitude is well summarized by Leo Hughes, as follows:

The most consistent and sustained war on farce was carried on by the great literary figure of the age, John Dryden....In 1670 Dryden had this to say, in the prelude to *The Conquest of Granada*:

'May those dull drudges of the Stage, whose fate is damn'd dull farce more dully to translate, fall under that excise the State thinks fit to set on all French wares, whose worst, is wit.'

The first full-length discussion of farce occurs in the preface to *An Evening's Love* (1671). Dryden goes on to define, in rough terms, what he considers farce to be. Farce 'consists principally of grimaces...of forced humours, and unnatural events,...what is monstrous and chimerical--in extravagance of character as well as of situation, in other words. He complains, furthermore, that the English public has gone mad over farce.1

And then there is Dryden's sneer at Shadwell in *MacFlecknoe*:

> Where wold he Bargains, Whip-stich, Kiss my Arse, Promis'd a Play and dwindled to a Farce.

A minor writer of the period, Edward Howard, also attacked farces in a vigorous manner. In the dedication to

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his tragedy The Usurper (1664), he castigates the new genre as follows:

The other extrem which deserves some Reflection; and which far more debases the Dignity of the Stage, is that of Farce or Scommatick Plays, which has so tickl'd some late Audiences...that true Comedy is fool'd out of Countenance.

In 1671 Howard penned another attack on farce, a long essay for the preface to his Women's Conquest. Again in the induction to his Man of Newmarket (1678) Howard satirizes the farce and its new popularity.

A more important writer, Thomas Shadwell, also lashed out at the popularity of the contemporary farces. Although he attacked farces again and again, only two extracts from his statements will be cited. In the preface to his Humorists (1671), he complains that,

...there is little scope left, unless we retrieve the exploded Barbarismes of Fool, Devil, Giant, or Monster, or translate French Farce, which, with all the wit of the English, added to them, can scarce be made tollerable.

The final quotation is taken from the dedication to his Virtuoso (1676):

I say nothing of impossible, unnatural Farce Fools, which some intend for Comical, who think it is the easiest thing in the

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1 Published by Henry Herringman in 1668.

2 Ibid., p. iv.

3 Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. cit., I, 480.
World to write a Comedy.... ¹

¹Ibid., II, 219.
C. Tate's Defense of Farce:

It seems fairly certain that Nahum Tate was familiar with these attacks on farce and farce writers, especially since he had collaborated with Dryden, and since Shadwell had been their common enemy. And in the brief preface to the 1685 edition of *A Duke and No Duke* Tate acknowledges these attacks by complaining that "All other Species of Dramatique poetry, have their due Respect amongst us; but I know not by what Fate *Farce* is look't upon to be so mean and inconsiderable."¹ Then, possibly thinking of Shadwell's jibe, he continues his defence by saying, "I know it is generally suppos'd an easie Task...."² Following this statement, he attempts briefly to prove that the composition of a farce was a considerable task, and quotes Horace to prove his point.

But Nahum Tate was strongly imbued with the neo-classic point of view, and it may be that he felt somewhat bitter, perhaps even unjustified, in being the composer of what was termed an illegitimate form of literature. As a result, when his adaptation of Cokain's play was reprinted in 1693, he felt the necessity of presenting a justification of farce as a literary form. In his day there seems to have been only one approved method of justification, and that

¹See the text of *A Duke and No Duke*, p. 136.
²Loc. cit.
was a citation from the classics. This the new poet laureate proceeded to do.¹ For sixteen quarto pages he quotes from many an author of antiquity, regardless of whether the extract had any connection with 'farce'. He states that his purpose is to show that the farce was a classic form and thoroughly established on the Greek and Roman stages, to give a history of the origin of farce, and then to define farce. All this sounds like a formidable essay in literary criticism. And, as a matter of fact, Tate's essay is the only full-length justification of farce in the Restoration period; in fact, it is the most important critical essay on this topic until the time of Henry Fielding. As a result, one might wonder why Spingarn omitted this preface in his collection of important critical essays of the seventeenth century. But as soon as one examines Tate's defense of farce the reason for the omission becomes quite evident; for Nahum Tate, in spite of all his quotations from the classics, never does manage to define the dramatic form which he is attempting to describe.

To begin with, Tate attempts to establish farce as an accepted classical form by citing the incident in The Clouds of Aristophanes wherein Socrates is shown in a basket. This incident, reasons Tate, is a farcical scene; next, the play which contains it must then be a farce; the

¹Nahum Tate was made poet laureate on December 24, 1692 (DNB, XIX, 360.)
play was written by Aristophanes; *ergo*, the farce existed among the ancients. Tate was so fond of this argument that he repeated it again later in the preface. The only flaw in this pretty syllogism is that *The Clouds* is not a farce.

Tate then proceeds to give a historical account of the rise of the theatrical practice of wearing masks. He proves beyond doubt that the actors in Greek and Roman times wore masks. Now, argues the poet laureate, since the actors of the Commedia dell'arte wore masks, and since the Commedia dell'arte is farcical, then the plays of the ancients were farces. Here Tate's premise is sound, but his conclusions are false. The Greek and Roman actors did wear masks. But to maintain that their plays were farces because the Italian comedians wore masks in performing farces is a fallacy in logic so readily recognized that writers of textbooks usually give it in the first lesson on fallacies.

His next argument is that the Greeks in Old Attic Comedy performed Satyr plays to relieve the heaviness of tragedy; and, as Tate puts it, they were introduced "for Mirth and Rallery" as the French "now make use of their Farces."\(^1\) Hence, since the French and English use farces for comic relief in the same manner and for the same purpose as the ancients, then the modern use of farce is justified by the classic custom. This curious admixture of truth and error causes some astonishment. In the first place, the

\(^1\)See p. 147.
Hellenic Satyrikos Choros was not what could be called a farce; in fact it was the ancestor of tragedy and very closely connected with it. However Tate could be pardoned for not knowing all that. But the worst thing is Tate's remark about French drama. One wonders whether Tate really believed that Moliere's brilliant comedies of manners were farces, or whether Tate simply said so to support his argument.

Toward the end of the preface Tate comes to specific instances of farce, and in these references he names plays of such different types that his attempted definition by illustration broadens into no definition at all. For example, he terms the burlesque The Knight of the Burning Pestle a farce, and then compares that play with Aristophanes' The Frogs, which he also considers a farce. Then he classifies the plays of Ben Jonson as farces, particularly The Alchemist, a play considered by many scholars as having the most compact plot of any Elizabethan comedy.

But the most significant commentary on Tate's neo-classic attitude is found in the final paragraph of his treatise. Tate has by this time proved to his own satisfaction that farces existed in the classical period. He probably thought that he had given a definition of farce by saying that "the business of Farce extends beyond Nature and Probability."¹ But he was still bothered by one other

¹Loc. cit.
strong dictum that he (and Boileau and Scaliger and Pope) had thought they found in Horace—rules. All literary forms, thought the literary critics of the neo-classic period, must have prescribed regulations. And poor 'father Tate' had not found them. Search as he might, he could discover no regulations for the composition of farces. The only conclusion possible for a man of Tate's conditioning was that he must find some prescribed method somewhere in the classic authors. And so the poetaster inserts a quotation from Quintilian on the art of repartee during debate. Quintilian states that there is no established procedure for the formulating of jests (quod eius nulla exercitatio est, nulli praecipitores). Now Tate exclaims triumphantly, "The same may be said of Farce." After yoking these two heterogeneous ideas by violence together, he continues by saying, "there are no Rules to be prescribed by that sort of Wit, no Patterns to copy, 'Tis altogether the Creature of Imagination." With this peroration, he throws off the bondage of neo-classic theory of rules and patterns, and, as a result, arrives at a critical dictum similar to the early eighteenth century criterion of Shakespeare, i.e., 'he needed no rules'. This passage from Tate is one of the most remarkable pieces of unconscious irony that can be recalled offhand in English literary criticism. Desperate to find a quotation

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1 See p. 152 and the Explanatory Notes on this line.
2 loc. cit.
from the classics which would prescribe rules for farce, Nahum Tate produced a quotation which led to the conclusion that no rules were needed, thus repudiating the reason which made him search for that quotation.
D. Tate's Alteration of Cokain's play:

The tendency toward simplification characteristic of the later poets of the seventeenth century is the first noticeable feature of Tate's version of *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*. The twenty-eight characters in Cokain's play are reduced to twelve in Tate's work. The five acts, fifteen scenes, and 2,807 lines of Cokain's comedy become three acts, nine scenes, and 1,326 lines in Tate's farce. A statistical chart may illustrate this condensation more clearly:

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<th>Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince</th>
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<td>Act: Scene: Lines: Total:</td>
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Certain sections of Cokain's play are entirely omitted from Tate's farce. Among these are the masque within the
play, the beginning of the love affair between Prudentia
and Horatio, the comic scenes between Mattemoros and Trapp-
polin, the love affair between the braggart Mattemoros and
Hipolita, part of the petitioners' scene, and Flametta's
'strip-tease' performance. On the other hand, the rest of
Cokain's story is rather closely followed by Tate, that is,
in so far as the plot is concerned. Tate adds only one
scene of his own creation, and that is the visit of the
Savoyard Ambassadors. All in all, Tate draws upon half of
Cokain's play to project four-fifths of the adaptation.

It must be admitted that the masque in Trappolin
Suppos'd a Prince is certainly extraneous to the main de-
sign. The love affair between Mattemoros and Hipolita is
also non-functional and disturbs the unity of design, since
Mattemoros is portrayed both seriously and humourously in
Cokain's play. That is, Cokain shows Mattemoros as the
braggart captain in the comic episodes with Trappolin, but
treats him as a serious person in the love scenes. How-
ever, the complete omission of the part of Mattemoros
hinders the structural balance of Tate's play, since in
the older work Mattemoros and Trappolin act as a foil for
each other.

But the statistical record of Tate's borrowings from
Cokain does little to illustrate the real difference be-
tween the two plays, for it is in the tone of Tate's ver-
sion rather than in the content that the chief distinction
can be marked. Substantially, Tate's plot is the same as in Cokain's play. Most of the main characters remain. Trappolin experiences the same adventures in both plays. He is exalted and undone in an identical manner in both versions. The difference between the two works lies in the change in tone and point of view.

Cokain's Trappolin is a happy-go-lucky, pleasure-loving scamp who asks for nothing more than a loaf of bread, a bag of Bologna sausages, a jug of Montefiascone, and his fair Flametta. Nahum Tate's Trappolin is a lascivious parasite who would pander his faithful Flametta to Lord Barberine in order to bribe his way out of trouble. In the older play, Flametta is a simple girl in love with her sweetheart; in Tate's mutation she becomes a prudish wench who is interested in 'reforming' the snivelling pimp, her lover Trappolin. In Cokain's comedy, when Trappolin becomes a prince, he comments on the beauty of the real princess (Lavinio's wife, Isabella), and then states that his own dear Flametta would look as well with fine clothes; undressed, they would surely be alike. In Tate's play the newly-made prince is shown as eager to profit by the opportunity of situation and at once attempts to seduce Isabella. The full extent of Tate's changes can only be shown in an act by act analysis of A Duke and No Duke.

Act I

In Act I Tate compresses the action of all but the
last scene of the first three acts in Cokain's work. The act contains 519 lines, 288 of which are directly based on about 500 lines from Trappolin. Both plays commence with the same scene: Trappolin and his sweetheart in conversation. But Cokain shows Trappolin praising Flametta for her simple, unaffected charm and unadorned beauty; whereas Tate indicates that the motive for Trappolin's praise is Flametta's preference for him instead of for Lord Barberino. Of course, states Tate's Trappolin, Flametta is virtuous, but he cares little for that. He then brags about his career as a pimp. Flametta replies that her lover must give up this career; however, she has little worry about that matter, for she tells him confidently,

But you will be my Convert and Reform.¹

Here, almost twelve years before the famous night of January 26, 1696, when Colley Cibber's heroine, Amanda, reformed the debauched Loveless, we find Nahum Tate presenting this new point of view, the attitude soon to be expressed by Captain Dick Steele, John Wesley, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Samuel Richardson—that a feminine mind was capable of reforming the most debased and degenerate of men.

Lord Barberino now enters the scene, a slight change in the older order of events. In this version by Tate, Lord Barberino himself asks for the banishment of Trappolin, and the rogue is accordingly exiled before Prince Lavinio

¹See p. 155, line 19, from the reading of the second quarto.
ever leaves Florence. This change causes the omission of two excellent scenes from the older play.

The first involves an altercation between the Spanish Captain, the braggart Mattemoros, and the ever-confident Trappolin, a scene which illustrates the extremely democratic tone of Cokain's play noticed by Alfred Harbage. Captain Mattemoros asks Trappolin whether he has killed many men, and the rogue at once replies in the negative, saying that many people have been hanged for the killing of but one person. Mattemoros then asks whether Trappolin intended to become a soldier, and Trappolin responds by saying that he was unfamiliar with that term, nor did he know whether he and his sweetheart would be interested. Captain Mattemoros then defines the meaning of soldier in a way that would satisfy the most rabid militarist, whereupon Trappolin comments that there would be more safety and profit in turning thief. All this is, of course, but trivial stuff. But now Mattemoros becomes incensed and states that Trappolin is a coward, a dung-hill wretch, and that it was a shame such a person was permitted to buy food and drink. Trappolin takes offence at the last statement and (inspired either by Cokain or the original Italian source) retorts with this pointed answer:

Not as long as I pay for't; what the Devil have I to do with your scouldery Sir Captain?

1 Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133.
give me leave to be of my own mind, and a Coward...let those follow your wars that are aweary of their lives.1

The other scene which Tate omits is a trial in which Trappolin is examined before the two temporary regents of Florence, Barbarino and Machævil. This scene is, of course, low comedy, the dialogue based on puns; and although the scene can be traced definitely to the commedia dell' arte, there exists a resemblance to the famous scene of Dogberry and the watch in Much Ado About Nothing, with the Notary (in Cokain's play) writing down this and that foolishness and then having to scratch it out from the record. Finally, when the sentence of banishment is pronounced, poor Trappolin only begs to be forgiven, and exclaims that it is an injustice to banish him and not make a general decree mandatory on his fellow pimps. It seems that in omitting this scene Tate missed a chance for some excellent slapstick comedy, especially in the light of his own dull and sordid version. The point is that Tate in attempting to construct a farce neglects the truly farcical elements in his source.

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1See the text of Trappolin, p. 13, lines 146-150.
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wretch offers to act as pander for his own sweetheart, presenting her to satisfy Barberino's lust. "What says your Lordship to Flametta? There's Eyes and Bubbles," pleads the frantic Trappolin. This nauseous scene is certainly uncalled for. It has no dramatic value in the plot, no justification from the source, and no end to be gained in securing characterization. Trappolin is now changed from a good natured scamp to a despicable wretch, and for no reason at all.

After the exile of Trappolin, Tate makes another change in the plot, an alteration which materially weakens the dramatic structure of the play. In Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince, the beautiful Prudentia is shown as falling in love with the prisoner Brunetto in a presentation that seems psychologically true. That is, the first mentions her sorrow for the poor young captive, so far away from home and country. Then she discusses the excellent bearing and handsome figure of this young prisoner, and sei zes on her maid's chance suggestion that Brunetto may be a noble prince in disguise. After playing with this fancy for awhile, she realizes that she is in love with him. At this moment Brunetto enters and declares his love for her. Prudentia at once acknowledges that she has fallen in love with him, whereupon the prisoner responds that he is the second son

1 See the text of A Duke and No Duke, p. 158, lines 95-96.
of the Duke of Savoy, thus satisfying the demands of seventeenth century etiquette. All in all, Cokain has handled the scene well enough, especially with regard to the exposition of the plot.

Tate, however, skips over this scene and opens his presentation of the love affair by showing Alberto (Machavil in Cokain's play) as an informer who has observed the captive Brunetto talking with Prudentia. Then this informer runs to Lavinio and puts the worst possible construction on what he has supposedly seen, thereby poisoning the duke's mind against young Brunetto. Tate ponderously provides motivation for Alberto's action by explaining at length that Brunetto had killed Alberto's son in the recent battle, thereby giving Alberto a revenge motive. Lavinio summons the captive and denounces him in a very long passage on honor, a passage reminiscent of the earlier heroic plays. Brunetto responds accordingly in the tone of the captured hero of the love and honour plays, and Tate's supposed farce gets far away from any unity of design. Frodentia then enters, and in answer to Lavinio's charges makes a half-denial of the true facts in the case and further states that her brother must surely realize that she would never admit any thoughts before she presented them to him for inspection. Now the point of the analysis of this scene is not to show that Tate mishandled the scene, but to illustrate Tate's methods of adaptation. What happened in
A Duke and No Duke is this: Tate read his source, omitted Cokain's opening of the love-affair, supplied a different opening of his own, forgot that Brunette had declared himself to be the second son of the Duke of Savoy, and consequently later in the play Brunetto is called the brother of the Duke of Savoy. Now Tate could call Brunetto whatever he wished, but still later in the play Tate includes an entire scene from Cokain in which Brunetto is called the second son. In this scene Trappolin, now the 'suppos'd Prince', asks Prudentia whether she loves Brunetto. Since Tate is taking this scene almost word for word from Cokain, Prudentia replies that she loves, Brunetto, a young man who is really the second son of the Duke of Savoy. ¹ A few pages later, when the real Duke Lavinio returns with his bride, he sees the one-time prisoner Brunetto with Prudentia and demands an explanation. The captain of the guards replies that he had heard Lavinio himself state that Brunetto was the second son of the Duke of Savoy. ² But this response occurs in the dialogue of Cokain's play, which Tate had again included; and in the earlier play Trappolin, supposed the prince, had actually said that Brunetto was the second son of the Duke of Savoy. But Tate had omitted the part of the scene in which this statement was made, and so no such prior conversation had taken place in his version.

¹Loc. cit., p. 180, lines 59-60.
²Ibid., p. 188, lines 100-101.
Continuing to follow Cokain's text rather closely, Tate makes Lavinio ask Brunetto whether he was related to the Duke of Savoy, and of course receives the 'second son' response as found in Cokain's play.\(^1\) A few pages later Tate presents Trappolin in conference with the Ambassadors from Savoy, a scene of Tate's own composition. These envoys state that Brunetto is brother to the Duke of Savoy, and that they have been sent to effect his release.\(^2\) Finally, at the end of the play, Tate makes the conjurer Mago state that the Duke of Savoy is dead, and since Brunetto was brother to the deceased ruler he would succeed to the dukedom.\(^3\) There are some more details to these discrepancies, but enough have been cited to show Tate's methods of alteration. The whole situation, however, well illustrates Hazelton Spencer's argument— that Tate either entirely revised a scene or else copied it in toto.\(^4\) It is no wonder that Stephen Jones and Isaac Reed, in the third edition of the Biographia Dramatica, describe A Duke and No Duke as "a most absurd piece of work, every rule of character, probability, and even possibility, being absolutely broken through.\(^5\)"

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 190, line 143.
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 201, line 66.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 215, lines 227-8.
The second scene of Tate's first act presents the encounter between Trappolin and the conjurer Mago. Here Tate follows Cokain's text closely, but indicates the general effort to please the audience by inserting elaborate sound effects. See I, ii, 12-22 of Tate's play for the stage directions calling for soft music, then thunder and lightning, and finally a storm. Tate employs a different method for the metamorphosis of Trappolin into a duke. Cokain simply let Mago give Trappolin a cloak, and the audience was then presumed to suppose him the duke Lavinio. Probably Tate thought this method was too much for the credibility of the audience. Accordingly, he places Trappolin in a chair over a trapdoor on the stage. Trappolin is then dropped into the cellar under the apron by the means of this trapdoor and rises "dressed exactly like the Duke Lavinio." Tate certainly achieves more probability by this means of expediting the transformation. The scene continues very much as in the source, except that Trappolin acquires new confidence much sooner than in Cokain's comedy, where the rogue is clearly afraid of what the magician is doing. Tate omits the love scene between Hipolita and Mattemoros.

The scene now changes to Florence, where Flametta is shown begging Lord Barberino for the recall of her lover. This scene is Tate's own work, and it illustrates the prurient tone of his diction about as clearly as anything since the

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1 See p. 165, line 80.
third act of his alteration of *King Lear*. Lord Barberino immediately lets Flametta know that he will repatriate the forlorn Trappolin upon condition. Flametta at once informs him of her virtue, whereupon Barberino calls for a servant to conduct sweet innocence to the bed-chamber, for he "will not be deny'd."\(^1\) This attempted rape is frustrated by the sudden and unexpected return of Duke Lavinio, i.e., the disguised Trappolin. Meanwhile Flametta rants about her pathetic situation in the new style being popularized by Banks and Otway. Trappolin enters and berates the two regents in somewhat the same manner as in the older play. He then imprisons them, as in the source, but Tate has expunged the comic role of Puchanello, thereby losing some hilarious low comedy buffoonery. Of course Cokain's comic scenes are not by any means masterpieces of comedy, but since Tate was writing an avowed farce it seems strange that he should continually delete the purely farcical scenes. In Cokain's source, the scenes between the Zanni Trappolin and the stupid lumpkin Puchanello were the high points of the evening's entertainment.\(^2\) Once again the question is not over which writer wrote the best or the worst scenes, but it is that Tate in composing a confessed farce should omit many of the truly farcical episodes that were present in his source.

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, p. 169, line 42.

\(^2\) *Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit.*, I, 194.
Act II

In his second act Tate includes material from the last scene of the third act of Trappolin, all of the fourth act, and the first two scenes of the fifth act. The action of this second act is entirely borrowed from the older play, the only changes being of omission and in the diction. Tate draws on about 455 lines from Cokain to produce 355 lines in his own version.

The action commences with an interview between the supposed duke and Flametta. In the earlier play Trappolin requested Flametta to remove first one article of clothing and then another until she was very slightly clad. One can presume that the son of Faithful Teate disproved of this strip-tease performance. At any rate, the adapter deletes this portion of the interview, allowing Trappolin to hear Flametta's plea, and then ending this dialogue by letting Prudentia enter. If purity were Tate's motive in excising the strip-tease performance, then the definition of Tate's notion of purity may be questioned by the ensuing scene.

As soon as Trappolin sees Prudentia enter, he dismisses the suppliant Flametta, commences to praise Prudentia's beauty, and tells the princess that he is sorry he is her sister, "For a Carnal Reason, that shall be nameless." Trappolin continues this suggestive and licentious language until the

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1 See p. 179, line 43.
petitioners' enter.

Tate's notions of purity again appear contradictory in this petitioners' scene. The first petitioner in Cokain's play is the Puritan Calfeshead. Aston Cokain had no reason to feel kindly toward those "bawling Puritans," as he termed them; and indeed he lets Calfeshead get roundly abused. Tate, on the contrary, was of Puritan stock, and it is not surprising to find the Calfeshead episode deleted from Tate's text. But a few pages later Tate introduces a Puritan into one of the other episodes borrowed from Cokain and proceeds to hold this Puritan up for ridicule, letting him be abused to the delight of any and all Tories in the audience. Another petitioner, not found in the source, is brought out in Tate's play. This is a woman whose daughter has been debauched. "Debauch'd?" exclaims Nahum Tate's Trappolin. "That is to say, lay with her? got her Maiden-head?"

And this is the same Tate who was to draw up rules for the reform of the stage. The analyses and synopses of Tate's other plays have shown that he repeatedly spoke of improving and 'refining' his sources. The above passage contains little evidence of this refinement. Of course Cokain's presentation of the petitioners' scene is bawdy enough, but

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1 See ante, p. xxv.
2 See pp. 182-3.
3 Ibid., p. 181, line 87.
4 DNB, XIX, 379.
it is the broad humor of the Elizabethans, and not the prurient and lascivious tone of the same scenes in Tate's play. Lavinio's return to Florence is taken bodily from Cokain, in so far as the action is concerned. Tate's Lavinio rants and storms about in the style of the heroic tragedies, whereas the duke's rage at the imposter is expressed in shorter speeches in the version composed by the usually prolix Cokain. The rest of the second act is filled out with the depiction of Trappolin getting drunk and casting lascivious glances at the real duke's new bride, Isabella.

Act III

The final act is based on the last three scenes of Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince. Tate draws on about 370 lines of his source to form some 280 lines of the 452 total lines in this act. The first scene of this last act is closely modelled after the source. In the second scene, however, Tate inserts his own chief addition to the plot of the play by presenting an interview between ambassadors from Savoy and the supposed duke Trappolin. The only significant feature of this scene is that it contains several political allusions, a device employed by Tate in other adaptations, such as his version of Richard II and Coriolanus.

The remainder of the action in this act is taken almost in entirely from the older play, with one notable exception. This change is found in the presentation of Trappolin's lust for Isabella. In the older play Trappolin was continually regretting that he could not be with his Flametta.
In A Duke and No Duke Trappolin's main interest throughout the last act is to find Isabella and seduce her. Now a suggestion for this activity is found in the older play; so the two dramatists' methods of handling this material may well be compared. The idea of taking advantage of his disguise had occurred to the Cokain Trappolin, and it motivated an interesting soliloquy on the part of the supposed prince. Of Isabella he says,

I almost like her as well as Flametta; I could lie with her and I woo'd, but I am half honest, and will not wrong the Duke nor Flametta. Why is not my wench as good as she? wherein do they differ, but only in clothes? Flametta's a woman as right as she, and perhaps naked as handsome: what good in the night do jewels and fine clothes to a woman when she hath them not on?  

In comparison with this attitude, Tate's Trappolin is a lecherous scoundrel. Unfamiliar with the design of the palace, he stumbles about in search for Isabella. Finally he finds her room and peers in, saying,

...yonder she is fast asleep.— What a Neck and Breast is there. Now do I reckon that my Friend Brunetto shall encounter much about a time.

And he expresses himself in a similar way a few minutes later when he returns from off-stage.

The farce ends with the same conclusion as in the older

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1 See pp. 98-99, lines 120-126.
2 See pp. 204-5, lines 18-19.
3 See p. 129.
play. From this analysis, it can be seen that Tate used the same methods of adaptation in this play that he had employed in his other alterations. The only feature which was not mentioned in the previous summary of his methods is his use of sound effects to make the action more effective.

Tate's farce has been printed three times: the first in 1685; the second in 1693, together with the elaborate preface on farce; and the third in 1752, attributed on the title-page to Aston Cokain. This last work, however, is Tate's farce. The cast of characters is the same as in Tate's version. The prologue and epilogue are also taken from Tate; in fact, the epilogue carries the explanation 'spoken by Mr. Haines.' It so happens that though the 1685 printing of A Duke and No Duke contains the information that the epilogue was "spoken by Mr. Haines," the 1693 printing omits this tag. Since the text of the 1752 printing is taken from Tate's farce, and since only the 1685 edition contained the statement about Joe Haines, it can be seen that the printer of the 1752 edition set up the play from the 1685 printing of A Duke and No Duke. All that he did was to omit Tate's name from the title-page.
B. Stage History:

Eight months after Aston Cokain had been laid away in Polesworth Church, the United Companies produced at the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden the three-act farce *A Duke and No Duke*¹ by Nahum Tate, for in the records of the Lord Chamberlain's warrants there is entered under the date of November 3, 1684, the following item:

> At a Duke & No Duke with ye Queene & a box for the Maydes of honor—20 00 00

The number of previous performances is not known, for this item from the Lord Chamberlin's records of expenditures is the first documented date of performance.³ His Majesty King Charles II enjoyed the antics and buffoonery of the famous comedian Anthony Leigh,⁴ who enacted the role of Trappolin, and the Lord Chamberlin records another royal visitation of the same play on December 9.⁵

Betterton made every effort to present a popular production. The play was staged at the large theatre in Dorset Garden instead of at the smaller Theatre Royal.⁶ A full orchestra was used, and a song written by Sir George Etherege

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¹This title was selected in parody of the popular *A King and No King* (Genest, *op. cit.*, I, 444.).

²As quoted by Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

³Genest, *loc. cit.*


⁵Nicoll, *loc. cit.*

⁶*Loc. cit.*
and set to music by the famous composer Giovanni Baptista Draghi was sung to the accompaniment of the theorbo.\textsuperscript{1} Two other lyrics were sung, one being arranged by Baptista Draghi and the other by King.\textsuperscript{2} The musical score for these three songs is preserved in the 1685 edition of \textit{A Duke and No Duke}.\textsuperscript{3} Elaborate sets were designed for the desert scene, in which a chorus of devils would arise from trap-doors and descend again with their victim, Trappolin, and for a similar scene in the last act which would call upon the best resources of the stage carpenters. And that notorious rascal Joe Haines was called upon to deliver the epilogue.

Anthony Leigh enjoyed a strong supporting cast for these early performances of Tate's farce. The popular young actor, John Wiltshire, played the part of Duke Lavinio, and James Carlisle, who had been connected with the Duke's Company since boyhood, enacted the hero Brunetto. Thomas Gillow and Joseph Williams carried the parts of the two counsellors; and Thomas Percival, one of the early members of Killigrew's company, undertook the role of the conjurer Mago.

Nor were the feminine parts neglected. Elizabeth Twiford, whose most famous role was that of Emilia in Sir George Etherege's \textit{Man of Mode}, played the part of the virtuous Flametta. Lavinio's bride, Isabella, was performed

\textsuperscript{1}See p. 219.

\textsuperscript{2}See pp. 220-223.

\textsuperscript{3}See pp. 219-225.
by Elizabeth Currer, a prominent actress who was enjoying much popularity over her recent creation of the role of Eugenia in Ravenscroft's successful comedy *The London Cuckolds*. But the most famous comedienne in the cast was the beautiful Susanna Percival in the role of Prudentia. This actress was only eighteen years old and was just commencing a long career on the London stage. Shortly over a year later she was to marry the meteoric and ill-starred William Mountfort, actor and dramatist, whose brutal murder at the hands of Captain Hill and Lord Mohun when they were attempting to abduct Anne Bracegirdle was a sensational scandal in December, 1692. But even this tragedy did not interrupt her theatrical career, and after marrying the actor Jack Verbruggen in 1694 she was to continue on the stage for many years, although her fiery husband would often find it necessary to draw his sword on her account.¹

Neither this excellent cast nor its royal visitor continued long in promoting the popularity of *A Duke and No Duke*. At the turn of the year John Wiltshire left the stage to become a soldier in Flanders, and shortly afterwards James Carlisle joined the English army in Ireland. The veteran actor Thomas Percival also quit the stage during this winter. And that Macaenas of the Restoration drama, Charles the Second, ceased at last all bestowing of favors on February

¹For the full discussion of this cast see the Explanatory Notes, pp. 279-281.
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Coward...let those follow your wars that are
aweary of their lives.  

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1 See the text of Trappolin, p. 13, lines 146-150.
Aston Cokain. This form is employed in the third edition of the Biographia Dramatica, by the Reverend John Genest, and again by Allibone. Then in 1874 appeared the first critical edition of Cokain's plays, edited by James Maidment and W. H. Logan. Since this form appears in the first authentic printing of the poet's works, a definite tradition in favor of this spelling is thus established. Aside from this edition, and the previously cited family history by Andreas Cockayne, the only other full-length work dealing with the poet is a German doctoral dissertation by H. Spaeman. His adoption of the same spelling would still further support Cokain as the established orthography. Many other historians of English drama

1Printed by J. Turner.


3Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830 (Bath, 1832), I, 444.


5The Dramatic Works of Sir Aston Cokain (Edinburgh, 1874).

6Loc. cit.

7Aston Cokains Werke (Munster, 1923).

8Loc. cit.
employ this form, including F. G. Fleay, G. C. Macauley, Allardyce Nicoll, W. J. Lawrence, E. H. C. Oliphant, Alfred Harbage, and on down to the most recent article on the poet, by Ernst Mathews in 1942.

The first use of the form Cokaine appears in the poet's printed signature to his dedicatory verses prefixed to the 1647 Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher. It is used again in the printed signature for Cokaine's elegiac verses contributed in memory of Henry Hastings. Furthermore, the very first printed work of Cokaine's, his translation of


2 In the C.H.E.L., op. cit., VIII, 473.

3 Nicoll spells the name a different way almost every time he refers to this author. Here the references are to A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700-1750 (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 142, 423, and British Drama, op. cit., p. 516.


7 "Cokaine's The Obstinate Lady and the Araucana," Modern Language Notes, LVII (1942), 57-58.


9 Lachrymae Musarum: The Tears of the Muses; Exprest in Elegies; Written by divers persons of Nobility and Worth, Upon the death of the most hopefull, Henry Lord Hastings Onely Son of the Right Honourable Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon Heir General of the high born Prince George Duke of Clarence, Brother to King Edward the fourth. Collected by R. B. (London, 1650), p. 7.
Dianea, carries the spelling Cokaine on the title-page.\footnote{London, 1654, although Oldys, in his MS notes to Langbaine, states that there was a printing of this work in 1643 (Athenae Oxonienses, ed. cit., IV, 129), a statement unqualified by surviving records.}

In fact, there is considerable documentation in the contemporary records for this spelling. There is a draft of an Act of Parliament in 1662 to permit the sale of some lands of Cokain which employs this spelling.\footnote{From the Calendar of the House of Lords in The Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, 1879), Part I, vol. vii, p. 155.} And then there is the entry of the poet's death, as recorded in the Parish Registers of Polesworth Church, Warwickshire, which reads as follows: "1683/4 February 13 3rd Aston Cokaine buried...."\footnote{As quoted by Andreas Edward Cokayne, op. cit., 1873 edition, p. 21.}

Cokayn is found but once.¹ It is used on the title-page of the printer Godbid's re-issue in 1658 of Cokain's Small Poems.

The form Cokayne is a modern spelling, and I have not found any illustration prior to 1873.² It has been employed considerably, however, as a result of its popularization by the Library of Congress, where all entries for this poet are spelled Cokayne. It is also used by Joseph Gillow,³ Allibone,⁴ George Edward Cokayne,⁵ W. W. Greg,⁶ G. C. Macaulay,⁷ The Dictionary of National Biography,⁸ The Complete Peerage,⁹ Kathleen

²In the 1873 edition of Andreas E. Cokayne, loc. cit.
⁷In C.H.E.L., op. cit., VI, 129.
⁸Edd. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London, 1921), IV, hereinafter cited as the DNB.

The variant Cokeyn is listed only in Lodge's Peerage.

There is only one surviving specimen of the poet's own handwriting, and that is his will. This interesting holograph reads as follows: "I, Aston Cokine, of Berbie, Barronett, being of...." (signed) "Aston Cokine." This entry is probably the most significant of all, for here

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1. Italian Popular Comedy (Oxford, 1934), I, 191, et seq., and "Sir Aston Cokayne and the 'the Commedia dell'Arte,' "Modern Language Review, XXIII (1928), 47. This article will be cited as the MLR.


5. Granger's Index to Poetry and Recitations (Chicago, 1940), p. 669.


10. The facsimile reproduction of the will is found in Andreas E. Cockayne's Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., pp. 124-125.

the spelling betrays the etymology. The poet was in his seventy-sixth year when he drew up this document and presumably signed his name just as he pronounced it. Since this form represents the only known signature of the poet, the most scholarly method to pursue would be to use it throughout this thesis. This is, however, a pragmatic objection: no one would know what person was intended, since there is no known example of this spelling.

The remaining variant, Cokyn, as listed in Lodge's Peerage, adds some justification to the authenticity of the previous form, as well as providing a further indication of the etymology of the name.

In conclusion, it can be seen that three forms are most widely used: Cockayne, Cokain, and Cokayne. The first is of some importance since it is the orthography adopted by the family historian, Andreas E. Cockayne; consequently, it will be employed throughout this thesis in any reference to the family. The last variant, though appearing widely as a result of the Library of Congress endorsement, has no historical justification and therefore may be disregarded. The form Cokain is found in the first authorized publication of the author's works, in the only critical edition of his plays, and in the only full-length study of the poet, Spaeman's doctoral thesis. Accordingly, it will be used throughout this thesis in all references to

1 Loc. cit.
Andreas Edward Cockayne commences his account of the family of cockayne by saying:

It is certain that the ancient family of Cockayne were settled about the middle of the twelfth century at Ashbourne in the county of Derby, where for many generations they resided and flourished, possessing large estates in that county, besides considerable other property brought into the family by their various marriages.¹

Aston Cokain himself considered his ancestry to be of even greater antiquity. In some verses addressed to John Cokaine, he presents his theory as follows:

When at your Pigeon-house we meet sometime
(Though bawling Puritans call it a crime)
And pleasant hours from serious thoughts do steal
With a fine little glass, and temperate ale,
Talk of Sir Cokaine, and how near
He was allied to Will the Conquerer,
Liv'd in his reign at Henningham Castle.²

To this last line Cokain spends a footnote which reads,

Attested by the same Mr. John Cokaine of Rushton, my Lords Cousin Germane, who had an ancient evidence to prove it.³

The following genealogical record, based on the genealogies of Andreas E. Cockayne⁴ and George Edward Cokayne,⁵ will

²Small Poems, p. 197.
³Loc. cit. The "my Lords Cousin" refers to Viscount Cullen.
⁴The above genealogy is based primarily on that given in the appendix of the 1869 edition of Andreas Cockayne’s work.
⁵Cokayne Pedigree, op. cit., III, 1-18. All extracts from this work will be documented by footnotes.
illustrate just how far back the family can be traced:

John Cockayne\(^1\) of Ashbourne, ca. 1140.

Andreas Cockayne of Ashbourne (1154-1189)

William Cockayne of Ashbourne m. Sarah, daughter of Adam

William Cockayne of Ashbourne m. Alice, daughter of Hugh
de Dalbury

Roger Cockayne of Ashbourne (ca. 1284) m. Elizabeth

William Cockayne of Ashbourne (1299-1323) m. Sarah

John Cockayne of Ashbourne (1305-1332\(^3\)) m. the daughter
of Sir William de Kniveton

John Cockayne\(^4\) of Ashbourne m. Laetitia

Sir John Cockayne (d. 1372) m. Cecilia, daughter of
Robert Ireton

Edmund Cockayne\(^5\) of Ashbourne m. Elizabeth, daughter of
Sir Richard de Herthull, of Pooley

Sir John Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (d. 1447\(^6\))
m. Isabel, daughter of Sir Hugh Shirley.

John Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (d. 1505) m. Agnes,
daughter of Sir R. Vernon of Haddon Hall

Thomas Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (d. 1488) m.
Agnes daughter of Robert Barlow

\(^1\)Not the true spelling, but that used by the compiler of
this genealogy.

\(^2\)Cokayne Pedigree, loc. cit.

\(^3\)Cokayne, ibid., gives 1335.

\(^4\)Member of Parliament for Lancaster in 1348, English
Baronetage, op. cit., I, 16.

\(^5\)Killed at Shrewsbury, 1404.

\(^6\)Died in 1438, DNB, IV, 682.
Sir Thomas Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (1479-1537) m. Barbara, daughter of John Fitzherbert
Francis Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (d. 1538) m. Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Marrow
Sir Thomas Cockayne of Ashbourne and Pooley (1519-1592) m. Dorothy, daughter of Sir H. Ferrers
Sir Edward Cockayne (1554-1606) m. Jane, daughter of N. Ashby
Thomas Cockayne (1587-1638) m. Ann, daughter of Sir John Stanhope, of Elvaston
Sir Aston Cockayne (1608-1684) m. Mary, daughter of Sir Gilbert Kniveton.

Aston Cockayne differed from almost all of the dramatic poets of his era in that he belonged to an ancient family of the nobility, a family which was closely related to many of the oldest heraldic lines in the kingdom. Even the members of the Tudor dynasty were related to the Cockaynes. And Aston Cockayne was very proud of all these relations, in fact, so proud that he mentions no less than seventy-two kinspeople of noble rank in his Small Poems.

Of those bearing the family name, Sir William Cockayne, Lord Mayor of London, was the most famous. He was a sixth

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1Cokayne Pedigree, op. cit., p. 6.
2Andreas Cockayne makes a strange error here in calling this knight Francis instead of Edward. Cf. DNB, IV, 680.
3George Cockayne (Cokayne Pedigree, op. cit., p. 7.) lists Thomas as an older brother of Aston, but see the DNB, IV, 682.
4Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 22.
cousin to Aston Cokain. Of Sir William it has been said
"that his spreading boughs and fair branches have given
both shade and shelter to some of the goodliest families
of England."\(^1\) His oldest son, Charles Cockayne, was created
Baron and Viscount Cullen.\(^2\) Cokain refers to him in his
poems as Lord Cokaine.\(^3\) Cokain twice mentions Lady Mary
Cockayne, the wife of Viscount Cullen, and daughter of
Henry O'Brien, fifth earl of Thomond.\(^4\) He dedicated his
translation of Loredano's Dianea to her. In another poem
he alludes to her son Brian Cockayne, Viscount Cullen
after his father.\(^5\) This Brian Cockayne married Elizabeth
Trentham, which gave Aston a double kinship with the
Trentham family, as well as with the London Cockaynes,
since Lady Anne Trentham was the grandmother of both

\(^1\) His sons-in-law were (1) Charles Howard, second Earl
of Nottingham; (2) Sir Hatton Fermor, ancestor of the
earls of Pomfret; (3) John Ramsay, created Earl of
Holderness; (4) Montague Bertie, second Earl of
Lindsey, ancestor of the dukes of Ancaster; (5)
John Carey, second Earl of Dover; (6) Viscount Fane-
shawe; and (7) James Sheffield, son of the Earl of


\(^3\) \textit{Small Poems}, pp. 192, 197.

\(^4\) \textit{Cockayne Memoranda}, 1873 ed., op. cit., p. 71; \textit{Complete

Elizabeth Trentham and Aston Cokain. 1

It was through his mother, Anne Stanhope, that Cokain was related to such well-known families as the Stanhopes, the Hastings, the Bretts, and the Mohuns. Anne Stanhope was the daughter of Sir John Stanhope of Elvaston by his second wife, Catherine, 2 the daughter of Sir Thomas Trentham. By this second marriage there were also five other children. One was Cordelia, who married first Sir Roger Aston, for whom the poet was named. 3 Sir Roger Aston's first wife was Mary Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree. 4 After Sir Roger's death, Lady Aston then married Lord John Mohun, Baron of Okehampton. 5 Lord Mohun's great grandson was the notorious rake of the late Restoration who was accused of having murdered the actor William Mountfort. 6

Aston Cokain mentions Lord Mohun in a poem as his "Uncle-

1 Small Poems, p. 178.

2 Doyle, Official Baronetage, op. cit., I, 370; Burke's Peerage, op. cit., p. 710; Complete Peerage, op. cit., III, 180. However The Complete Peerage, IX, 256, and the DNB, IV, 680, give the name as Dorothy.

3 Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 41.


5 Ibid., IX, 25.

They were evidently very friendly, for Cokain showed Mohun some plays by Massinger, and Lord Mohun sent Massinger some money by Cokain. Another child of Sir John Stanhope by this second marriage was a son, Sir John Stanhope, who married Olive, the daughter of the Earl of Beresford. Their daughter Olive married the poet Charles Cotton. Cotton was an intimate friend of Cokain's for at least thirty years. Cokain addresses several poems to his cousin, Cotton's wife, and mentions her five times in other poems.

The most important member of the Stanhope family, however, was Philip, the son of Sir John Stanhope by his first marriage. Philip Stanhope was created the first Earl of Chesterfield in 1626, after having been made Baron Stanhope of Shelford in 1616. He first married Catherine Hastings, the daughter of Francis Hastings, the fourth Earl of Huntington, one of the most powerful families

1 Small Poems, p. 80.
3 Burke, op. cit., p. 1191; Complete Peerage, op. cit., III, 180.
5 DNB, IV, 1223-5.
7 Complete Peerage, op. cit., III, 180.
of the English nobility.¹ It was before the first Earl of Chesterfield and his Countess that Aston Cokain's masque, "A Masque at Bretbie," was performed on 'Twelfth Night', January, 1639/40, with two of their Sons Acting in it."² It is difficult, however, to ascertain just who these two sons were. The records of the genealogists disagree considerably on the identification of these children. According to the historian Edmund Lodge, the children of the Earl of Chesterfield were as follows:

By the first marriage these sons:
1. John, died young
2. Henry, Lord Stanhope, died before his father, in 1634.
3. Charles, died in 1645
4. Edward, died under age
5. William, died under age
6. Thomas, died under age
7. Michael, died under age
8. George, died under age
9. Ferdinando Stanhope, killed in battle in 1643.
10. Philip, killed at Shelford
11. Arthur, ancestor of the present Earl

By the second wife:
1. Alexander.³

From this record it would appear that Arthur and Alexander would be the younger sons, but the marriage of the Earl to Catherine Hastings took place in 1605, and even Philip was killed during the wars; so it would seem that there would not be two small sons. Lodge's account may not be correct,

¹Loc. cit.; Small Poems, pp. 137, 244.
²Small Poems, pp. 118-128; Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 196.
however, for Charles Firth, in the DNB, lists only six children by the first marriage, to wit:

1. John, who died in 1625.
2. Henry, died in 1634, but who married Catherine, the daughter of Lord Wotton, and whose male issue, Philip, became the one who carried on the family line, being the second earl of Chesterfield, marrying the daughter of the Earl of Northumberland and having male issue.
3. Charles, who died in 1645.
4. Ferdinanda, who died in 1644.
5. Philip, died in 1645.

Now according to Collins' Peerage of England, the second wife of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield, was Anne, daughter of Sir John Packington of Westwood, and the widow of Sir Humphrey Ferrers of Tamworth Castle. By this wife Lodge claimed that there was but one son, Alexander, who became Ambassador to Spain. But in the nineteenth century George Philip Stanhope successfully claimed the earldom, in a case presented before the House of Lords, on the basis of there being another son, named George, by this second wife, Anne Packington. George Stanhope, with other proof, used Cokain's Masque at Bretbie as evidence that there were two sons. And indeed it would seem strange

1xviii, 909-910.
2Loc. cit.
3London, 1710, second edition, as quoted by Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 3.
4Loc. cit.
5Loc. cit.; Burke's Peerage, op. cit., p. 555.
6Maidment and Logan, loc. cit.
for Cokain to present this masque with two of the sons of the Earl of Chesterfield acting in it unless there were two such sons. The passage from the Masque at Bretbie is as follows:

The Anti-Masque

SATYRS rudely but decently attired, stuck with flowers, and bay-chaplets on their heads, come in, and dance as many several antics, and in as many several shapes, as shall be necessary. Being ready to depart, two excellent youths, in rich apparel come striving in together, to whom the Lar speaks.

Lar. What do you mean, sweet boys, to interrupt our sports?
I pray you leave your wrestling thus, And do not strike your skins, too soft for blows.

1 Boy. He would outrun me, and be kiss’d before me.
2 Boy. And he would leave me among these dreadful Satyrs.

Lar. Whence come you?
1 Boy. We both were left i’th woods, and tempted by Such things as these to live abroad with them.

Lar. What would you have?
1 Boy. I would go to my father.
2 Boy. And I unto my mother.

Lar. Who is your father?
1 Boy. The ever-honour’d Earl of Chesterfield....

The two sons then were Alexander and George.  

Most of the sons of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield, were, as has been shown, killed in battle in the civil wars. The seventh son, Colonel Michael Stanhope, was killed in a battle at Willoughby, and Cokain composed a poem about the untimely death. Both Ferdinado and Philip Stanhope were killed at Shelford, in defense of

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1 Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 11.
2 Harbage, loc. cit.
3 Small Poems, p. 182.
their father's castle, and Cokain wrote an epitaph in memory of Ferdinando.¹

Cokain was also very proud of his relationship with the Huntington family. He addressed two poems to Ferdinando, sixth earl of Huntington, the brother of Catherine, who was the first wife of Philip, first earl of Chesterfield.² Ferdinand, Lord Hastings, lived at Ashby de la Zouche, Donnington Park, seven miles from Cokain's home, and Cokain preserved this data in verse.³ Lord Hastings married Lucy Davies, the daughter of Sir John Davies the poet, another friend of Cokain's.⁴ Their child, Henry Hastings, the first son and heir-apparent, born in 1630, died of small-pox in 1649. The Lachrymae Musarum, a collection of elegies on Henry Hastings, was published in 1650.⁵ Dryden, Herrick, and Andrew Marvell all contributed to this collection, and Cokain, of course, presented his elegy on the loss of his relative.⁶ Another Henry Hastings,  

¹Ibid., p. 187; Lodge, loc. cit., states that Philip was killed at Shelford, but that Ferdinando was killed in 1643. Firth (DNB, XVIII, 909) states that Ferdinando was killed in 1644 and that Philip died in 1645. The Complete Peerage, op. cit., III, 180, states that both were killed at the same time.  
²Small Poems, pp. 84, 229; Complete Peerage, op. cit., VI, 658.  
³Small Poems, p. 229.  
⁵See p. xx.  
⁶Small Poems, p. 69; Lachrymae Musarum, op. cit., pp. 4-7.
Baron of Loughborough and brother to Ferdinado, sixth earl of Huntington, was a companion of Cokain's. Baron Loughborough was a distinguished Loyalist, and once fled England in the company of Cokain. Of course Cokain had many other relatives of nobility, but these few have been cited to show Cokain's general background, environment, associations, and attitude toward life, all of which separated him considerably from the professional dramatists of his time.

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B. The Life:

Aston Cokain was born at Elvaston, in Derbyshire, almost in the very center of England, toward the close of the year 1608, being baptized in Ashbourne Church on December 20 of that year. Elvaston, now known as Alvaston, was the residence of his maternal grandfather, Sir John

There is no general agreement with regard to the date of Cokain's birth. David Erskine Baker, in his Biography Dramatica, op. cit., I, 91, states that Cokain was born in 1606 at Ashbourne. Anthony a Wood, in his Athenae Oxonienses, op. cit., IV, 128, states that Cokain was born at Ashbourne on December 28, 1608. Maidment and Logan, in the only modern edition of Cokain's plays, The Dramatic Works of Aston Cokain, ed. cit., also maintain that Cokain was born on December 28, 1608. But Andreas Cockayne, the historian of the Cockayne family, in the 1873 edition of his Cockayne Memoranda, op. cit., p. 10, presents the record from the Parish Registers of Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire, which has the following entry: "1608 Dec 20 Astonus filius Mrl Thomas Cockaine." Montague Summers, in his Playhouse of Pynge, op. cit., p. 242, adheres to this entry from the Ashbourne Church Registers, pointing out that Cokain was born at Elvaston. George Edward Cokayne's account of Aston Cokain in the DNB, IV, 680, also follows the entry from the Parish Registers. Aston Cokain himself, in his Small Poems, p. 184, testifies that he was born at Elvaston. The matter of his birthplace is of some consequence, not only in attempting to establish definitely where he was born, but also because definite proof that he was born at Elvaston has some bearing on the family quarrel between his father and mother, a quarrel which had disastrous effects on the father, and possibly on the son. One of the two great manorial seats of the Cockaynes was at Ashbourne, whereas Elvaston, as has been stated, was the residence of Anne Cockayne's father, Sir John Stanhope. Since Aston was born at Elvaston, but was taken very properly to Ashbourne, the family seat, for the baptismal ceremony, it may seem that the rift between Cokain's parents had already commenced, the first child being born at the mother's home and not at the father's.
Stanhope. Aston's father was Thomas Cockayne, the lexicographer. He was born at Mapleton, Derbyshire, on January 21, 1587. He was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, but left without taking a degree. About 1607 he married Anne Stanhope, the daughter of Sir John Stanhope. George Edward Cokayne, in tracing the Cockayne pedigree, declared Thomas to have been the older son, but the record of the Ashbourne Church Registers definitely disproves this statement, listing Aston as being born in 1608, and Thomas in 1610. There were no other sons born to Thomas and Anne Cockayne, but five girls were born in successive years. These daughters were as follows: Lucy, who died unmarried; Isabella, who died at the age of eighteen; Katherine, who married a man named Weston; Ann, who married Sir Francis Boteler; and Lettice, who married Gilbert Armstrong.

1DNB, IV, 683; and Cokain's testimony in Small Poems, p. 228.

2DNB, loc. cit.

3Complete Peerage, III, 181; Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 41.

4Cockayne Memoranda, 1873 ed., op. cit., p. 10; Cokayne Pedigree, loc. cit.

5Small Poems, p. 226; DNB, IV, 680, 683; Cokayne Pedigree, loc. cit.

Sometime shortly after the marriage between Anne Stanhope and Thomas Cockayne an estrangement arose between the couple that doubtless had great significance in conditioning the behavior pattern of young Aston. The trouble between Thomas Cockayne and his wife increased until the husband finally abandoned his wife and children and fled to London, living there under the assumed name of Browne until his death in 1638. Such conduct appears strange and mysterious, but contemporary writers are silent on this topic. There is no way of knowing when or how this trouble developed. The fact that Aston was born at his mother's home points, although without certainty, to a break between the couple soon after their marriage in 1607. A child might be as much as a year old before he was baptized, and since Aston was taken to Ashbourne Church for the ceremony, we may assume that he was at least a few weeks old in order for the trip to be made. Although six more children were born after Aston, we have the definite testimony of the one-time poet, then preacher, John Donne, to the effect that this estrangement between the parents had occurred before all the children were born. The child Thomas died young, and upon hearing of this untimely death, John Donne, who corresponded regularly with Mrs. Anne Cockayne, wrote

\[1\text{Ibid., p. 36; DNB, IV, 683.}\]
the following letter of condolence to the bereaved mother:

The perversnesse of the father put you to
such a necessity of hiding your sons, as that
this son is scarcely more out of your sight
by being laid underground, than he was before.
And perchance you have been longer time, at
some time, from meeting and seeing one a-
other in this world, than you shall be now
from meeting in the glory of the Resurrection.
That may come sooner than you looked he should
come from the Bath.

This letter of John Donne's is in the characteristical-
ly involved and complicated style peculiar to the author.
It hints at a number of possibilities. What sort of per-
secution was Anne Cockayne enduring? Did Thomas Cockayne
intend some physical violence on his sons? Had he pre-
viously attempted to abduct these two boys? Was Anne Cock-
ayne actually hiding her children? Had she sent the child
Thomas down to take the mineral waters at Bath? The Cock-
ayne family were staunch Roman Catholics, but Thomas Cock-
ayne was a heretic. He was evidently not only a Protestant,
but also a rabid and fanatic Non-conformist. This fact
may help to clarify the problem. Although Thomas Cock-
ayne is listed as a lexicographer, the full title of
his *magnum opus* offers a clue to the interpretation that
he was a religious fanatic. According to Anthony Wood this title was an "English-Greek Lexicon, containing all the derivations and various significations of all the words in the New Testament, with a complete

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1 As quoted by Cockayne, *Cockayne Memoranda*, 1869 ed., p. 37.
index in Greek and Latin," together with an "Explanation on Romans II, with all the Greek dialects in the New Testament." The second chapter of Romans, it will be recalled, lends itself very readily to those of a Nonconformist turn of mind. Furthermore, this work of Cockayne's is listed in Wilson's Dissenting Churches, which is circumstantial evidence that its author was a dissenter. Thomas Cockayne is listed with a group of Dissenters in the Cambridge History of English Literature, but no documentation for this statement is provided therein. However, a remote cousin of Cockayne's, one George Cockayne, was prominent Nonconformist preacher, a favorite of Oliver Cromwell, and ordered by him to preach before the House of Commons in 1648. When Thomas Cockayne's Lexicon was published in 1658, George Cockayne wrote a commendatory letter for it. We can hardly believe that a Puritan of such a type, so fanatic that he condemned both the established church and the Quakers, would have praised this work by Thomas Cockayne had not that

1 As quoted by the DNB, IV, 683.
2 DNB, III, 279-281.
3 CHIL, VII, 358.
4 DNB, IV, 681.
5 Loc. cit.
author been of the same belief as he was himself.

This explanation, then, may throw some light on the statement that when Cockayne abandoned his family he went into hiding in London under an assumed name. Enough aristocrats of this era who belonged to the social strata of the Cockaynes went to London and disgraced themselves without being apprehended by anyone. Hence there must have existed some reason for Cockayne to feel that he must conceal himself. But if the conjecture previously made is true, and Cockayne was a Nonconformist, that fact would provide such a reason for concealment. It must be remembered that he belonged to an old and wealthy English family. Furthermore, at the very time when he went to London, probably about 1615, his cousin Sir William Cockayne was Lord Mayor of London. And it will be shown later that these two branches of the Cockayne family were intimate, for young Aston later borrowed large sums from the London Cockaynes, and he mentions them in his poems as well.¹ Whatever the true situation may have been, it is certain that the estrangement between his parents and his father's subsequent abandonment of his home and family had definite effects on the son. Surely Aston Cokain's inordinate pride in his family name, his relatives, and his ancient lineage may be

¹See pp. xxviii-xxix.
traced to this source.

The poet's childhood days were spent at Ashbourne, one of his two ancestral estates, at Elvaston, with his grandparents, and at Ashby de la Zouche, the estate of the Huntington's. He received an excellent education. As a boy he was sent to school at Chenies, in Buckinghamshire. Here he studied under the antiquarian Peter Allibond. From there he went to Cambridge University, entering Trinity College. His tutor was Robert Creyghton, D.D., and Professor of Greek. In Small Poems are some lines addressed to his tutor:

To Mr. Robert Creighton Dr. of Divinity, formerly Orator and Greek Professor of the University of Cambridge.

"You were my tutor...."  

After Cockain left Cambridge, his mother sent him to the Inns of Court to study law. Once in London, young Cockain soon neglected his books, and entered into the full swing

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2 DNB, IV, 660; Small Poems, p. 138.
3 DNB, loc. cit.; Small Poems, p. 226.
4 Baker, op. cit., I, 91-2; Small Poems, p. 237; DNB, loc. cit.
5 Small Poems, loc. cit.
6 Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 132; Cockayne Memoranda, 1869 ed., op. cit., p. 41.
of metropolitan life, for he shortly gained admittance into one of the most select, certainly the most famous of drinking clubs in London—the Apollo.\(^1\) Although Robert Bell does not include Cokain in the standard list of members of the Apollo Club,\(^2\) there is some evidence to show that Cokain was not unknown at the Devil's Tavern. Underneath C. Wilkins' engraving of Cokain's portrait prefixed to \textit{Small Poems} is the following verse:

\begin{quote}
Come, reader, draw thy purse, and be a guest
To our Parnassus; 'tis the Muses' feast.
The entertainment needs must be divine:
Apollo's the host, where Cockain's head's the sign.\(^3\)
\end{quote}

Cokain also mentions one of the drawers, or waiters, at the Devil Tavern, one Tom Mullins.\(^4\) It was here that he met Ben Jonson, Sir John Suckling, Thomas Randolph, and many others of the famous Apollo Club.\(^5\) And it was here that he borrowed a copy of Lucan from the poet and translator Thomas May.\(^6\) He stayed in London from about 1630 to about 1632, although sometime during this period he may have attended Oxford University, as attested doubtfully by Anthony a Wood.\(^7\) During these two years

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Small Poems}, p. 159.
\item Maidment and Logan, ed. \textit{cit.}, p. xix.
\item \textit{Small Poems}, p. 189.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 159, 234.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 44.
\item \textit{Op. cit.}, IV, 128.
\end{itemize}
it appears that Cokain may have lived a rather prodigal life, for he found it necessary to borrow two thousand pounds from William Stanhope, his cousin, and from Sir Thomas Hutchinson, his mother's sister's husband. He borrowed this amount from these two men under the pretense of needing ready money for a dowry should his sisters Lucy and Lettice marry.\(^1\) Under the terms of the loan he was supposed to reserve half of the total sum strictly for the dowry. The date of the loan, according to the petition in The Royal Composition Papers, is June 23, "8th Charles."\(^2\) Since James I died on February 27, 1625, the "8th Charles" would extend from February 28, 1632 until February 27, 1633. If this dating be correct, then Cokain very probably borrowed the entire sum for the real purpose of making his first Italian trip. There are two items which document my assumption: first, the petition in the above mentioned Royal Composition Papers is based on a complaint that Cokain spent the entire loan himself,\(^3\) and second, the time element, \(i.e.,\) if he left for his Italian trip, a two years' stay, on July 16, 1632, he must have borrowed the money prior to that date in order to have secured the loan in the "8th Charles."

\(^1\)Royal Composition Papers, First Series, Vol. XV, Fol. 863, as quoted by Andreas Cockayne, \textit{op. cit.}, 1873 ed., pp. 131-136.

\(^2\)\textit{Loc. cit.}

\(^3\)\textit{Loc. cit.}
It seems strange that Cokain found it necessary to borrow this money. As has been stated before, his family was very wealthy. Of course, Thomas Cockayne was keeping all the proceeds from the estate at Pooley.\(^1\) Then too, from the fact that one is wealthy it does not follow that one always has plenty of ready cash. But whatever the reason, the thing to be remembered is that this was the first of a long series of loans, notes and mortgages contracted by Cokain over a fifty-year period through which he finally lost beyond recall every penny, every inch of land, of the great and wealthy estate accumulated by his ancestors during the previous six hundred years.

At any rate, Aston Cokain set out on July 16, 1632, for an extended trip through France and Italy.\(^2\) In a long poem to his son he set forth an elaborate account of this trip, stating exactly how long he stayed at each place he visited, and as a result of this dating it seems that he returned to London in August, 1633.\(^3\) Various writers on Cokain do not agree on this dating. In The Lives of the Poets, attributed to Theophilus Cibber, it is positively stated that Cokain went abroad with the tempestuous Sir Kenelm Digby and stayed for a twelve year period.\(^4\)

\(^1\) *DNB*, IV, 680.
\(^2\) *Loc. cit.*
\(^3\) *Small Poems*, pp. 93-97.
\(^4\) II, 216, as quoted by Baker, *op. cit.*, I, 91.
Joseph Gillow, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, also states that Cokain's companion was Sir Kenelm Digby. The poet himself states that he travelled with a Mr. Maurice La Meir, "alias Ardenville." Cokain also states that he spent six months in Venice. It was in Venice that Cokain saw the Affezionati, a prominent troupe of the Italian *commedia dell' arte*, twice perform a lively comedy that featured the Zanni Trappolin. On October 11, 1632, Cokain entered himself as a student at the University of Padua.

With regard to the conflicting accounts of the length of his trip abroad, it appears that his own account must be correct, for late in 1633 he married Mary, the daughter of Sir Gilbert Knyveton, Baronet, of Mercaston, Derbyshire. The couple made their residence at Ashbourne. Apparently Cokain again went to Europe, for Alfred Harbage states that "In 1635, while residing in Venice, he translated Dianea, the Italian romance of Loredano." Harbage

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2 *Small Poems*, p. 192.
6 *The Playhouse of Pepys*, op. cit., p. 242
7 *Cavalier Drama*, op. cit., p. 133.
documents this statement with a footnote explaining that
though the translation was not published until 1654, the
author's manuscript is dated October 25, 1635, at Venice.  
He probably returned to England in this year, for his son,
Thomas, was born on May 2, 1636.  
On January 27, 1638/9, the poet's father, who was living at Gray's Inn Lane,
died and was buried at St. Giles in the Fields's Church.  
Cokain now succeeded to his family inheritance at Rooley,
Warwickshire, where he was to spend the greater part of
the rest of his life.  
The estate at Ashbourne went to
his mother, and Cokain did not receive it until her
death.  
At this time Cokain had offended his mother in
some way, and the two were apparently never reconciled.
He was, of course, on excellent terms with her relatives,
for in January of this year his masque had been produced
at Bretbie for the Earl of Chesterfield.  

Although Cokain was apparently living a quiet life

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1 loc. cit.
2 DNB, IV, 680.
3 loc. cit.
4 Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. xi.
5 Cockayne Memoranda, 1889 ed., op. cit., p. 36.
6 loc. cit.
7 Small Poems, p. 118.
at Pooley, it seems that he soon must have been taking some part in the civil strife now raging, for he received two rewards for his services to King Charles I. The nature of these rewards brings up the disputed problem of the baronetcy. Just as there is no agreement on the part of Cokain's chroniclers with regard to the spelling of his name or the date and place of his birth, there is no agreement concerning the authenticity of the baronetcy.

The most perplexing aspect of this situation is that one of the strongest pieces of evidence supporting Cokain's claim to the baronetcy is the direct statement previously quoted from the herald and antiquarian William Dugdale. Yet the patent of baronetcy was never enrolled, and it would have been Dugdale's business to enroll it because of his position as herald for Warwickshire. Anthony a' Wood did not believe that Cokain was ever created a baronet, stating the case as follows:

During the time of the civil wars he suffered much for...the king's cause, (he) pretended then to be a baronet made by King Charles I. after he, by violence, had left the parliament, about 10 Jan. 1641, yet not deemed so to be by the officers of arms, because no patent was enrolled to justify it, nor any mention of it made in the docquet-books belonging to the clerk of the crown in chancery, where all patents are taken

\[1\] See Introduction, p. xvii. Dugdale states that "Sir Aston was created a baronet on the 10th of January, 1641" (op. cit., p. 808.)
notice of, which pass the great seal.\footnote{Athenae Oxonienses, op. cit., IV, 128.}

It is very reasonable to suppose that later chroniclers of Cokain decided not to list Cokain as a baronet on the basis of this statement by Anthony à Wood. But I am inclined to believe that wood had not examined all the evidence. In the records of the House of Lords there is an entry for February 4, 1661/2, which reads as follows:

Draft of an Act for the sale of some of the lands of Sir Aston Cokaine, Baronet.\footnote{Seventh Report of The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, op. cit., Part One, Vol. viii, p. 135.}  

It would seem very strange for the Calendar of the House of Lords to erroneously designate Cokain as a baronet. Heraldic rank was one of the few remaining features from the old regime that the aristocracy of the Restoration could cling to, and they paid great attention to rank and title accordingly. The House of Lords has always been very conservative in this particular respect, acting very slowly with regard to claims to nobility, and jealously guarding its privileged character. An examination of the many appendices to The Complete Peerage\footnote{Op. cit., VI, 706ff, III, 180-2.} will show the House of Lords would reject apparently strong claims to the baronetcy. On the basis of this entry, then, it seems safe to state that King Charles I actually created Aston Cokain a
baronet in reward for his services on January 10, 1641, the date cited by William Dugdale.¹

The other reward received by Cokain was an honorary degree. "On February 21, 1643," states Alfred Harbage, "Oxford, which by this time was distributing degrees in reward for loyalty, conferred an M.A. upon him."² By this time Cokain was also suffering heavily for the Royalist cause, for his name appears among the 'compounders' at the sum of £356, and the fines inflicted upon him as a 'popish

¹Op. cit., p. 808. One other item of documentation might be cited. In the Journals of the House of Commons, on the date of May 18, 1646, there is the record of a pass granted to "Col. Henry Hastings with his relative Sir Aston Cockayne." (IV, 548, as quoted in the DNB, IX, 129.) On the basis of the entry from the Calendar of the House of Lords, however, I feel certain that Cokain was actually created a baronet. Nevertheless I have not used the title (Sir Aston) in this thesis. The reason for this omission is not that I doubt the authenticity of my documentation; on the contrary, I consider the inclusion of the entry from the Calendar of the House of Lords as a substantial contribution and addition to previous accounts of Cokain, for no other chronicler of Cokain has mentioned this entry. However I wished to correspond with the proper heraldic authorities in England with regard to obtaining a formal authorization for applying the title to Cokain. Since that country has been at war for the past two and a half years, I have been unable to receive such certification.

²Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133; Alumni Oxonienses, op. cit., I, 298.
delinquent' were probably much heavier.\(^1\)

After the defeat at the Battle of Naseby, Henry Hastings, Baron Loughborough, took his troop to Ashby de la Zouche, where he was surrounded by the Puritans, and a series of skirmishes took place.\(^2\) Cokain was with Hastings at this time, and bore arms at the ancient battle ground of Ashby de la Zouche where he had played as a boy, aiding in the defense of that castle in which Mary Queen of Scots had been imprisoned, and which was so fiercely besieged by the Black Knight and his motley cohorts in Scott’s romantic novel *Ivanhoe*, but which was now enduring a genuine siege from the Puritans. Hastings and his companions held out until February 28, 1645/6, and when they surrendered they got terms which permitted Hastings and Cokain either to join the royalist garrison at Worcester, or to leave England.\(^3\) He and Cokain decided to depart the country and were accordingly granted a pass.\(^4\)

Cokain must have returned shortly to England, for on Christmas Day, 1646, he borrowed three hundred pounds from his friend Thomas Bancroft, the dramatist.\(^5\) In the

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\(^1\) *DNB*, IV, 681.
\(^3\) *Loc. cit.*; *Small Poems*, p. 181.
\(^4\) See p. 11, note 1.
following years his financial situation grew worse. He had borrowed almost a thousand pounds from Sir William Cockayne, governor of the East India Company, another thousand pounds from Francis Cockayne and John Allen, and a total of over four thousand pounds from other persons. As a result, he was sued and subsequently imprisoned for debt. From his cell in Winchelsea he petitioned Parliament for a settlement and for permission to sell more of his property.

Nothing more is heard of Cokain for the next eight or nine years, so it may be presumed that he returned to Pooley to enjoy his "fine little glass," and to continue his association with his friend and neighbor, Charles Cotton. He had evidently left London in such haste that he failed to bring his manuscript of Trappolin and The Obstinate Lady, plays that he had written twenty years before. He was keeping in touch with the literary world, for he hailed the 1653 Folio of Brome's works with a long poem mourning the decay of the English stage.

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2Cockayne Memoranda, op. cit., pp. 136-140.
3Loc. cit.
4Loc. cit.
5Small Poems, pp. 91, 418.
6See the Preface to Small Poems.
In 1658 Cokain allowed his poems to go to press, after making a quick trip to London to investigate the pirated edition of 1657. Upon his return to Pooley he commenced the composition of The Tragedy of Ovid.

The Restoration in 1660 brought relief to many members of the English nobility, but it brought no surcease from trouble for Aston Cokain. In 1661 he was in dire financial straits, and he applied to the House of Lords for permission to sell some more of his property and to get a settlement on the rest. Finally, in 1664, his mother died, and Cokain was at last able to secure the rich ancestral estate at Ashbourne. It was mandatory upon Anne Cockayne to will that estate to the only surviving son and heir, but the opening line of her will indicates the bitterness that existed between the two:

...First, I give and bequeath unto my son the featherbed he lies upon.

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1 See the Preface to Small Poems.
2 Small Poems, p. 414.
3 See supra p. 1.
4 Cockayne Memoranda, 1873 ed., op. cit., p. 121; DNB, IV, 680.
5 According to the analysis of Andreas Cockayne, loc. cit.
6 Cockayne Memoranda, loc. cit. It may be of some interest to note that she bequeathed to her grandson (Thomas Cokain) her copies of the sermons of Bishop Launcelot Andrewes and John Donne.
He was not able to retain this valuable property very long, for in 1671 the records show that he joined with his son in selling it to Sir William Boothby. Montague Summers attributes the loss of Ashbourne to religious persecutions, saying that "During the frenzy of Oates' plot the persecutions in Lancashire and Derbyshire were especially bitter, and Cokayne was obliged to sell all his estates...." But the historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth century unanimously censure Cokayne as a wastrel and a drunkard who rioted and wasted away the patrimony of six centuries, and these writers would hardly have presented such an interpretation if it were true that Cokayne lost his estates as a result of religious persecution. There is a jingle from Cokayne's The Obstinate Lady that may serve as a commentary on the real cause of the poet's financial troubles:

Of six shilling beer I care not to hear,  
A barrel's not worth a carret,  
I as others think, that there is no drink  
Like unto Jack, White wine, and Claret.

1Baker, op. cit., I, 92.


4Small Poems, p. 300.
Cokain’s son and heir, Thomas, died in the next few years, and the poet continued to run through his inheritance until, in 1683, he was forced to sell his beloved Pooley to a Humphrey Jennings, reserving, however, an annuity for the rest of his life.¹

It must have been a solitary life now for the aged poet. His old friend Charles Cotton was no longer a neighbor, having lost his estate and gone into bankruptcy in 1681.² Nor did Cokain’s wife survive the loss of Pooley very long, for the Parish Church records of Polesworth carry the following entry: "1683 May 14 The Lady Mary Cokaine ye wife of Sr Aston Cokaine buried...."³ Aston Cokain, now seventy-five years old, a ruined man, finally rented a furnished room at Derby. On February 6, 1683/4, he inscribed his last will and testament, leaving his daughter Isabelle eighty shillings to buy his grandfather’s rings out of pawn.⁴ His entire estate was valued at seventy-nine pounds.⁵ Anthony à Wood, although guilty of many factual errors in his account of Cokain, rose to the heights of his own peculiar prose style in describing the

¹Baker, op. cit., I, 92; Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. xi.
²DNB, IV, 1224.
³As quoted by Cockayne, 1673 ed., op. cit., p. 10.
⁴As transcribed by Cockayne, op. cit., pp. 124-6.
⁵Loc. cit.
demise of the unfortunate poet.

At length, after he had lived beyond the age of man, yielded up his last breath at Derby, upon the breaking of the great frost in Feb. in sixteen hundred eighty and three: whereupon his body being conveyed to Polesworth in Warwickshire before mention'd, was privately buried there on the 13th of the same month in the chancel of the church there.\footnote{Op. cit., IV, 129.}
C. Literary Activity:

A Praeludium to Mr. Richard Brome's Plays

Then we shall still have Plays, and though they may not them in their full Glories yet display; Yet we may please our selves by reading them, Till a more noble Act this Act condemn. Happy will that day be, which will advance this Land from durt of precise Ignorance; Distinguish moral ventue, and rich wit, And graceful Action, from an unfit Parenthesis of Coughes, and Hums and Haes, Threshing of Cushions, and Tautologies: Then the dull zelots shall give way, and fly, Or be converted by bright Poesy:

... Then shall learn'd Johnson reassume his Seat, Revive the Phoenix by a second heat, Create the Globe anew, and people it, By those that flock to surfeit on his wit. Judicious Beaumont, an th'ingenious soul Of Fletcher too may move without control. Shakespeare (most rich in humours) entertain The crouded theatres with his happy vein. D'avenant, and Massinger, and Sherly then Shall be cri'd up again for famous men:

... Black and white-Friars too small flourish again, Though here have been none since queen Mary's reign: Our theatres of lower note in those More happy days shall scorn the rustic prose Of a Jack-Pudding, and will please the Rout With wit enough to bear their Credit out. The Fortune will be lucky, see no more Her Benches bare as they have stood before: The Bull take courage from applauses given, To echo to the Taurus in the heaven: Lastly, Saint James may no Aversion show, That Socks and Buskins tread his Stage below. May this time quickly come, these days of bliss Drive Ignorance down to the dark Abyss: Then (with a justly attributed praise) We'll change our faded Brome to deathless Bayes.

Aston Cokain, 1653. 1

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In terms of his own culture pattern Aston Cokain was a highly educated man. As has been stated, he studied at Oxford, Cambridge, the Inns of Court, and the University of Padua. He had an excellent foundation in the classics, a fact attested by the many references to them throughout his writings. Furthermore, he was widely acquainted with the most prominent literary men of his time. Nor was Cokain at all backward about admitting this acquaintance with the wits. In a poem to his "...honoured Cousin, Mr. Charles Cotton, Junior," he lists a number of these writers:

| Donne, Suckling, Randolph, Drayton, Massinger Habbington, Sandy's, May my Acquaintance were; Johnon, Chapman, and Holland I have seen.|

That John Donne was a close friend of the family has already been stated. One of Cokain's poems is entitled, "To my friend Mr. Thomas Randolph on his Play called the Enter-
ment, Printed by the name of the Muses Looking Glass." Since Drayton died in 1631, at the age of

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1Ibid., p. (2) 34.

2Randolph died in 1634/5, and the earliest known edition of this play is dated 1638 (Poetical and Dramatic works of Thomas Randolph, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1875).

3Small Poems, p. 66.
sixty-seven, Cokain could not have known him long. Massinger is mentioned again and again, and Cokain wrote an epitaph on "Mr. John Fletcher and Mr. Philip Massinger." He must have known May personally, for he borrowed the latter's copy of Lucan, which May had translated, and sent it to his own mistress. Among the other literary men of the day whom Cokain knew were Thomas Pilkington, Alexander Brome, George Buchanan, and Richard Lovelace. Cokain was apparently an intimate friend of Thomas Bancroft, for he not only borrowed money from him, but he also mentioned him in four poems. And for fear that it may thought that Cokain was exaggerating about his friendship

1Ibid., p. 186.
2Ibid., p. 44.
3Cokain wrote a funeral elegy on the death of the musician and Poet Thomas Pilkington (Small Poems, p. 77.)
4Alexander Brome, or Broome, editor of Covent Garden Drollery (London, 1672) is mentioned by Cokain as having translated Lucretius. (Small Poems, p. 204.)
5Buchanan is mentioned in a poem by Cokain on the delights of London life. (Small Poems, p. 45.)
6The lyric poet Richard Lovelace stayed at Cotton's house for some time during the civil wars, and Cokain met him at that time. (Anthony à Wood, op. cit., III, 462-463.)
7Small Poems, pp. 103, 116, 116, 156; Bancroft also wrote a commendatory poem prefixed to Cokain's Small Poems.
with these celebrities, it must be said that he was mentioned by many of them. A stanza from one of Bancroft's verses on Cokain is as follows:

He that with learning vertue does combine,
May, tho' a laick, passe for a divine
Piece of perfection; such to all men's sight
Appeares yourselfe.¹

Cokain met many of his literary acquaintances at the Devil Tavern. Cokain and Cotton were close friends. The latter was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, under the tutor Ralph Rawson, the scholar who was ejected by the parliamentary visitors in 1648.² In a poem Cokain praises Rawson highly and writes as if he had known him well.³

As shown in the selection quoted from A Praeludium to Brome's Plays, Cokain was well informed on the theatrical conditions of the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline stage. He wrote a poem in praise of the actor John Honeymoon, or Honeyman.⁴ As Harbage points out, The Obstinate Lady contains many references to the pre-war stage, including comments on the Cockpit and Blackfriars, sarcastic jibes at the courtesans in the audience, and the following

¹ DNB, IV, 681.
² Ibid., IV, 1124; Sembower, op. cit., p. 19.
³ Small Poems, p. 207.
⁴ Ibid., p. 140; Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, op. cit., II, 476-8.
important reference to theatrical advertisements:

...and set the papers
On publick places by the Play-Bills.¹

In the previously cited poem on Randolph's Entertainment, Cokain states that the acting of the play required over two hours.² Cokain also received Fletcher's play, The Mad Lover, in manuscript and kept it for some time.³ He was very fond of Fletcher's Bonduca.⁴ He also praised in verse The Emperor of the East and The Maid of Honor by Massinger,⁵ as well as Bancroft's Heroick Lover,⁶ but it must be recalled that he was under obligation to Bancroft.

But Cokain's highest encomiums were reserved for Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. He particularly liked The Taming of the Shrew, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra, and Hamlet.⁷ Although he does not mention Much Ado and Measure

¹Small Poems, p. 360. Also see the Prologue and Epilogue to this play. Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133. The reference to the play-bills is important because modern scholars in this field are not in agreement about the existence of play-bills in Elizabethan times.

²Small Poems, p. 98.
³Ibid., p. 101.
⁴Ibid., p. 102.
⁵Ibid., pp. 99-100.
⁶Ibid., p. 122.
for Measure directly, he borrowed from both of these comedies in his own play, *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*. ¹

A true lover of the best poetry, states Cokain, is this:

He is an able lad indeed, and likes
*Arcadian Pastorals*, and (willing) strikes
*A Plaudit to th's Epilogues of those Happy Inventions Shakspere did compose;* ²
*Beaumont and Fletcher* he will listen to,
And allow *Johnson's* method high and true. ²

Again, in the Prologue to *The Obstinate Lady*, Cokain indicates his knowledge of contemporary literary criticism by saying:

...for if y'are come to day
In expectation of a faultless play,
Writ by learn'd Johnson....³

In their selection of comments by seventeenth century authors on the topic of "metaphysical poetry," Hebel and Hudson⁴ include an extract from one of Cokain's poems, thereby attempting to connect him with this controversial topic of literary criticism. The poem is "A Funeral Elegy on my dear Cousin, Mistress Elizabeth Reppington," and the extract in question is as follows:

Stifle therefore, my muse, at their first birth
All thoughts that may reflect upon the earth;

¹ *Act I, Scene ii.*

² *Small Poems,* p. 27. Note the echo from Horace in line 3.


⁴ *Poetry of the English Renaissance,* op. cit., p. 906.
Be metaphysical, disdaining to
Fix upon anything that is below.¹

However, it must be observed that this reference is in connection with a funeral elegy, and the single word should not be wrenched away from its context; that is, Cokain, in a poem on the death of this girl, is using the word metaphysical in what the NED refers to as a "pseudo-etymological sense, beyond what is physical... applied especially in explicit contrast to physical... (thus) immaterial, incorporeal." Since the girl is dead, has left this earth, argues Cokain, his Muse should not be a mundane.²

Aston Cokain was fond of earlier English writers, and comments judiciously upon them. For example, of Chaucer he writes:

Our good old Chaucer some despise: and why?
Because say they he writeth barbarously.
Blame him not (Ignorants) but your selves, that do Not at these years your native language know.³

In the previously cited elegy on Drayton, Cokain praises Sir Philip Sidney in a rather neat couplet:

¹Loc. cit.

²See the NED, where many authors of the seventeenth century are quoted as having used the word in this sense.

³Small Poems, p. 155.
And so is Sydney, whom we yet admire,
  Lighting our little Torches at his fire.¹

Edmund Spenser is also praised in several of Cokain's verses, the most interesting being "The Remedy of Love":

There Spencers Tomb thou likewise maist behold,
  Which he deserv'd, were it made of gold:
If, honour'd Colin, thou hadst liv'èd so long,
  As to have finish'd thy Faery Song.²

In The Obstinate Lady Cokain refers to "the learned Hol-

Aston Cokain was also well-read in the Renaissance literature of other countries. He mentions Cervantes's Don Quixote several times in The Obstinate Lady, and in one poem quotes from it directly.⁴ In a recent article Ernst C. Mathews points out that Cokain was familiar with Alonso de Ercilla y Zuniga's epic of the struggle for Chile, La Araucana.⁵ Cokain inserts into his play an entire stanza from this epic, as well as an allusion to Tucapel, one of the great warriors of the Arauco Indians.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 66; It must be admitted, of course, that Cokain lit a very small torch for himself; but the point is that Cokain recognizes Sidney's influence on later poets of that period.

²Ibid., p. 8; also cf. pp. 66, 155.

³Ibid., p. 318.

⁴Ibid., pp. 171-172, and see pp. 318ff.

⁵Modern Language Notes, op. cit., CVII (January, 1942), 57-8.

⁶Loc. cit.
In another poem Cokain shows his familiarity with the Romance of the Rose, even using the French title.¹ He mentions a painting by Titian in other lines,² and still elsewhere he praises Petrarch by saying:

Petrarch, for the neat Sonnets he did frame
In Laura's praise, obtain'd a Poets name.³

Encouraged by a Colonel Stamford, as previously stated, he translated Giovanni Francisco Loredano's metrical romance, Dianea.⁴

Aston Cokain was very much impressed by Machiavelli. One of the counsellors in Trappolin is named Machiavil, after the author of The Prince. In a poem addressed to Charles Cotton, Cokain maintains that he has read all of Machiavelli, and in the Italian besides:

D'Avila, Bentivoglio, Guicciardine,
and Machiavil the subtle Florentine,
(In their Originals) I have read through,
Thanks to your Library, and to you.⁵

Cokain indicates his knowledge of 'the subtle Florentine' again by saying, "Telling you fam'd Nick Machiavil writ playes.⁶ Cokain was also familiar with other Italian writers besides those cited in the lines above, for in

¹Small Poems, p. 105.
²Ibid., p. 68.
³Ibid., p. 45.
⁵Small Poems, p. 231.
⁶Ibid., p. 222.
Trappolin he mentions Torquato Tasso, Ariosto, and others.\(^1\) The Don Juan theme present in Cokain's *The Tragedy of Ovid* indicates that Cokain had seen other performances of the *Commedia dell' arte* beside those which provided his Trappolin. Hence it can be seen that Cokain was a very well read person, only a selection of his references to literature having been cited in the preceding pages. There is, however, yet another phase of his ventures in literary criticism which is of some significance, and that is his part in the establishment of the Beaumont-Fletcher-Massinger canon.

With regard to the authorship of the plays collected in the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, Oliphant states, "Of the presence of Massinger there can be no doubt. Cokain mentions the fact no less than three times."\(^2\) He then quotes these citations in part. The first is a poem of Cokain's addressed to Humphrey Moseley and Humphrey Robinson, the publishers of the 1647 folio:

> In the large book of Playes you late did print
> (In *Beaumonts* and in *Fletchers* name) why in't
> Did you not Justice? Give to each his due?\(^3\)
> For *Beaumont* (in those many) writ in few:
> And *Massinger* in other few; The Main
> Being sole issues of sweet *Fletchers* brain.
> But how came I (you ask) so much to know?

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\(^1\)See the text of *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*, pp. 43-44.

\(^2\)The *Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, op. cit., p. 17.

\(^3\)In reading this line, delete the interrogation point after *Justice* and read *give* for *Give*. 
Fletcher's chief bosom-friend informed me so.  
I'm next impression therefore justice do,  
And print their old one's in one volume too:  
For Beaumont's work and Fletcher's should come forth  
With all the right belonging to their worth. 

In this interesting protest it would appear that not only were Moseley and Robinson incorrectly attributing these plays to but two authors, but that they also had omitted some of the older plays on which Beaumont and Fletcher had collaborated in the early years of their literary partnership. That Cokain was correct in this last statement is readily proved by turning to the list of plays written by Beaumont and Fletcher, but which are omitted from the 1647 folio. In examining this complete list one can find the very plays which are usually printed in anthologies as the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, such as The Maid's Tragedy, Philaster, A King and No King, and the burlesque The Knight of the Burning Pestle. These four plays are not included in the 1647 folio. Professor Oliphant, with all his critical acumen in dealing with the problem of authorship, has missed this point. Furthermore, it will be noticed that these plays, just cited, are the early plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, none of them being later than 1610. But

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1 *Small Poems*, p. 217.

2 Cf. the list of 34 plays and a masque in the 1647 folio.

3 In the order listed the dates are ca. 1610, ca. 1609, ca. 1609, and 1610, according to a majority of the scholars who have worked on the dating of Elizabethan plays. Note that very few of the plays of the 1647 folio were acted prior to the death of Beaumont.
even though Oliphant depends on the information of Cokain concerning the multiple authorship of the plays in the 1647 folio, he does not seem to utilize the suggestion about printing 'the old one's in one volume too' with regard to the dating of the plays in question. An examination of the dates of production of the plays by Beaumont and Fletcher omitted from the 1647 folio will show that Cokain was accurate in his statement.

Oliphant then continues by giving the following quotation from a poem addressed by Cokain to Charles Cotton:

Had Beaumont lived when this Edition came Forth, and beheld his ever living name Before Plays that he never writ, how he Had frowned and blushed at such Impiety? His own Renowne no such addition needs To have a fame sprung from another's deedes. And my good friend old Philip Massinger With Fletcher writ in some that we see there. ¹

This quotation is followed by one line from Cokain's epitaph on Massinger,

Plays they did write together, were great friends. ²

To this last line Oliphant appends a footnote which reads as follows:

Can Massinger, who was the poet's good friend, be 'Fletcher's chief bosome-friend,' who was Cokaine's informant, according to the first of these extracts?³

¹As quoted by Oliphant, op. cit., p. 18.
²Loc. cit.
³Loc. cit.
question can be made, these quotations must be given in full:

I wonder (Cousin) that you would permit
So great an Injury to Fletcher's wit,
Your friend and old Companion, that his fame
Should be divided to another's name.
If Beaumont had writ those Plays, it had been
Against his merits a detracting Sin,
Had they been attributed also to Fletcher. They were two wits, and friends, and who
Robs from the one to glorifie the other
Of these great memories is a partial lover.
Had Beaumont liv'd when this Edition came
Forth, and beheld his ever living name
Before Plays that he never writ, how he
Had frown'd and blush'd at such Impiety?
His own Renown no such Addition needs
To have a Fame sprung from another's deeds.
And my good friend Old Philip Massinger
With Fletcher writ in some that we see there.
But you may blame the Printers; yet you might
Perhaps have won them to do Fletcher right,
Would you have took the pains: For what a foul
And unexcusable fault it is (that whole
Volume of plays being almost every one
After the death of Beaumont writ) that none
Would certify them so much? I wish as free
Y'had told the Printers this, as you did me.
Surely you was to blame: A Forreign wit
Ownes in such manner what an English writ:1

Here Cokain points out again that almost all of the plays
in the 1647 folio were written after the death of Beaumont.
The last quotation is taken from the epitaph on Massinger:

In the same grave Fletcher was buried, here
Lyes the stage poet Philip Massinger:
Playes did they write together, were great friends:
And now one grave includes them at their ends:
So whom on earth nothing did part, beneath
Here, in their names, they lie in spight of death.2

1Small Poems, pp. 91-2.
2Ibid., p. 186.
With regard to Professor Oliphant's query, authentic
data can be presented to show that Cokain and Massinger
were very well acquainted. About 1630, when young Aston
Cokain was wasting his patrimony in London taverns, he be­
came very much interested in the dramas of his fellow
Catholic, Philip Massinger. He even carried some of the
quartos of Massinger's plays to Lord John Mohun, Cokain's
'Uncle-in-Law'. Among these plays were The Duke of Milan
and The Maid of Honor. Lord Mohun was pleased with these
plays and rewarded the dramatist with a considerable gift,
and he sent this gift with Cokain as the bearer; that is,
Mohun not only "commissioned his nephew to express his
satisfaction, but to present the writer 'with a token of
his love and intended favour'."
Massinger's current play
was The Emperour of the East, licensed March 11, 1631, and
upon receipt of the handsome gift from Mohun, Massinger
promptly dedicated this tragi-comedy to the baron. The
following is an extract from this dedication:

To the Right Honourable, and my especial good
Lord, John Lord Mohun, Baron of Okehampton

...But this admitting no further dilation in this
place, may your lordship please, and with all
possible brevity, to understand the reasons why
I am, in humble thankfulness, ambitious to
shelter this poem under the wings of your hon­
ourable protection. My worthy friend, Mr. Aston
Cockayne, your nephew, to my extraordinary

1Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 18.
2Small Poems, p. 99.
3Cunningham, ed. cit., pp. xvi-xvii; Gifford, 1813 ed.,
op. cit., I, 49.
content, delivered to me that your Lordship, at your vacant hours, sometimes vouchsafed to peruse such trifles of mine as have passed the press, and not alone warranted them in your gentle suffrage, but disdained not to bestow a remembrance of your love, and intended favour to me....

Since Massinger states that he derived 'extraordinary content's from the 'remembrance' of Lord Mohun, and since Cokain was sent in person with the gift by Lord Mohun, it seems definite evidence that Cokain and Massinger were 'bosom-friends.' But though this statement seems certain, it does not necessarily follow that Massinger was Cokain's informant on the authorship of the plays in the 1647 folio. In the first part of Cokain's epistle to Cotton, the section omitted by Oliphant, the writer clearly and explicitly states that his informant was Charles Cotton. And there is evidence to show that Fletcher and Cotton were acquainted. As a matter of fact, Cokain himself knew Fletcher, and borrowed the latter's manuscript of The Mad Lover; in fact, Cokain's statement with regard to this play is the only extant external evidence to show that Fletcher was its author.

In summary, then, Cokain's contributions to this entire problem are these: he pointed out that most of the plays in the 1647 folio were written after Beaumont's death; that the authentic collaborations of Beaumont and Fletcher were chiefly omitted from this folio; that Fletcher was the sole author of The Mad Lover; that Fletcher and Massinger col-

1Cunningham, op. cit., p. 634.
2DNB, IV, 1224.
3Oliphant, op. cit., p. 142.
Small
POEMS
of
Divers forts

Written by
Sir ASTON COKAIN.

LONDON Printed by Wil. Godbid, 1658.
laborated in writing the plays of the 1647 folio; and that these two poets were buried in one grave.

Aston Cokain composed both dramatic and non-dramatic poetry. He wrote several hundred short poems in tetrameter or pentameter couplets, verses which contain as many hundred factual items of interest to the literary historian and the genealogist, but which are of negligible poetic value. In addition to his verses about persons, books, or places, he attempted some translations of extracts from classical authors. His one long non-dramatic work was a translation of Loredano's romance, Dianea.

He was very fond of preparing masques, inserting one in Trappolin, and two in The Tragedy of Ovid in addition to the previously mentioned Masque at Brethie. This latter piece, presented on Twelfth Night, 1638/9, for the Earl of Chesterfield,1 is written in rough blank verse that practically defies scansion. The masque also contains four lyrics. The first is in iambic trimeter couplets, with a monometer tailrime.2 The second is a lyric in three sestets, with iambic tetrameter lines rimeing ababcc, the final lines being identical, thus constituting a refrain or chorus.3 The third song contains two ten-lined stanzas in iambic tetrameter couplets, the final couplets of each stanza being identical.4

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1 Greg, A List of Masques, op. cit., p. 4.
2 Maidment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 10.
The last song is a ten-lined stanza in iambic tetrameters, with a rime pattern of ababcdcdee. The argument of the masque is the description of the delights of the rural scene as contrasted with the delights of the court. Alfred Harbage points out that the piece drawn on both Spenser and Milton.2

After preparing *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*, Cokain's next dramatic work was *The Obstinate Lady*, a tragi-comedy composed many years before the closing of the theatres.3 And it seems that the appearance of a pirated edition of this play in 1657 was the cause for Cokain's decision to have all his work printed. Why someone should want to publish a pirated edition of such a thoroughly bad play as *The Obstinate Lady* is certainly a mystery. But the fact remains that the publisher William Godbid printed the play in quarto without the knowledge or consent of the author.4 Cokain's manuscript, moreover, was truncated in that the last page was missing, and Godbid had accordingly supplied a new and different conclusion to the play.5 At any rate, Cokain must have come to London, searched out the publisher, and persuaded him to collect the rest of the poet's works; for in the following year the complete works appeared under

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1 *Loc. cit.*
2 *Cavalier Drama, op. cit.*., p. 196.
3 *Maidment and Logan, ed. cit.*., p. 17.
4 *Loc. cit.*
5 *Loc. cit.*
the title **Small Poems of Divers Sorts.** This volume contains such an interesting preface that it may well be quoted here, partly because it illustrates the seventeenth century custom of authors' manuscripts circulating from one person to another, and partly because it indirectly reveals proof that Cokain's blank verse was so bad that it could scarcely be scanned.

**THE AUTHORS APOLOGY TO THE READER**

These poor trifles (courteous Reader) had not now become so troublesome to the World, if it had been in my power to have prevented them: for at my going once out of London, I left them with a friend of mine, who dying, they were dispersed into divers hands. Mr. William Godbid got my Obstinate Lady, and though he found it with the last leaf torn out, wherein my conclusion to the play with the epilogue were, he procured some acquaintance of his to supply the defect at the end, and so printed it. And though that comedy be very much of it writ in number, he put it forth as if the most part of it were prose.... I was fearful my Trappolin, and the other Poems should have run the like misfortune: and therefore made a diligent enquiring after them, and when I had found them out could not get them delivered without parting with some money, and promising my honest friend Mr. W. Godbid (after I had afforded them some small correction) I would bestow them on him, with my consent, for the Press: For indeed without his (assistance) I should not have recovered them out of a gentle­mans hands whom I will forbear to name.

And when the book was printed it contained the poems, the Masque at Bretbie, The Obstinate Lady, and Trappolin. The Obstinate Lady is based directly upon Massinger's drama *A Very Woman.*[^1] It is called a comedy and is highly

imitative of the plays of the Caroline period.

The plot of the play is as follows: Lucora, 'the Obstinate Lady', has again repulsed her lover Carionil, and, according to her father's wishes, is going to marry Falorus. The rejected Carionil attempts a final interview with Lucora, but is thwarted by his successful rival. A duel is prevented by the bystanders. All this time Carionil has been attended by a page, Anclethe, who is really a girl, the sister of Lucora, but who is disguised as a boy. Carionil now receives a harsh letter from Lucora and stabs himself. Anclethe (her real name is Cleanthe) bewails the fact that Carionil has stabbed himself for love of Lucora, whereas she herself is in love with Carionil. Hence she decides to kill herself, but is prevented by Falorus. Carionil now recovers, but his page and Falorus hide him and give out the news that he died for love. Carionil now comes to court disguised as a Negro prince, and Lucora at once becomes enamoured of him. Falorus is now perturbed over the violation of the Platonic code of friendship. Lucora promises to elope to Ethiopia with Carionil, but at the appointed time for this departure Carionil suddenly rebukes Lucora for being an 'obstinate lady' and spurns her. Carionil now discovers the identity of his page and marries her. She in turn persuades Lucora to marry Falorus, and all ends happily. Meanwhile, throughout the first three acts of the play, Rosinda, mother to Lucora and Cleanthe, has remained
around the court incognito, pretending to be finding out whether or not her husband is faithful to her. As Summers says, "the sentiments, the situations, and the characters are too artificial and strained to arouse, much less to enchain, any interest in these scenes."¹

The device of the love-lorn page was often utilized in the contemporary drama, but Cokain's treatment seems to follow Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*. The play was probably unacted, and there is no way to prove exactly when it was written; but, as Harbage points out, the allusions to the Cockpit and Blackfriars indicate that the play was prepared before 1642.² As a matter of fact, Cokain probably wrote it during his sojourn in London, ca. 1630-32.

The *Tragedy of Ovid* represents Cokain's final dramatic effort. It was written shortly before its publication in 1662,³ as stated in the prologue.⁴ The plot is given in Montague Summers' *Playhouse of Pepys*, and the only fact in regard to it, pertinent to this thesis, is the inclusion of a sub-plot based on the Don Juan motif. The presence

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¹ *Playhouse of Pepys*, op. cit., p. 242.
² *Annals of English Drama*, op. cit., p. 112.
³ *Harbage, Cavalier Drama*, op. cit., p. 134.
⁴ "I tell you, though our play is new, 'tis writ After an ill old mode, with little wit; For in it there is a devil and a fool— Such sights as boys affect that go to school."
of this fable suggests that Cokain had witnessed a commedia
dell' arte performance of a play on the Don Juan theme, for
existing scenarii include several plays on such a story.
But before discussing the source Cokain's treatment of the
theme must be briefly sketched. In The Tragedy of Ovid
appears a Spanish captain named Hannibal, together with a
sly servant named Cacala. They encounter a man hanged on
a gibbet. Captain Hannibal invites the hanged man to supper.
The spectre accepts and appears at the meal, much to the
consternation of Cacala. The ghost then returns the invi­tation, and Hannibal promises to attend. At supper the two
atheists exchange stories of their various crimes. They
are entertained by a masque presenting the judges of Hades
and the Furies. Another masque is performed, a performance
which is concluded by the devils carrying Hannibal off to
perdition. As may be observed from this synopsis, there is
no mention of Hannibal's exploits with women. This version
would then point toward Il Ateista Fulminato, which work is
stated by Langbaine as Cokain's source.¹ This Italian play
is also termed Cokain's source on the statement of M. Simone
Brouwer, who found a draft of the scenario in a collection
in a Roman library.² Riccoboni tells of a Convitato di
Pietra presented by a commedia dell' arte company as early

² Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 246.
as 1620. In 1650, there appeared *Il Convitato di Pietra*, by Jacinto Andria Cicognini, followed by Onofrio Giliberto's *Convitato di Pietra*, a work printed at Naples in 1652. So it seems fairly evident that this theme had long been present on the Italian stage, and it seems reasonable to presume that Cokain saw a presentation of the Don Juan theme during one of his Italian trips.

The rest of Cokain's tragedy is based on Ovid's *Elegies* and on Ford's *The Broken Heart*, together with a scene from Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. It is supposed that the drama was unacted, but Whincop states that "Ovid's Tragedy" was not acted until the year 1669. It is possible that Shadwell could have seen this presentation, if Whincop be correct, and drawn on it for his *Libertine*. Montague Summers suggests that Cokain may even have been the person who told the story of Don Juan to Shadwell.

In summarizing these works by Cokain, it may be observed that he was highly imitative in style, his tone and diction modelled after the contemporary modes of Caroline dramatists. It must also be stated that Cokain's plays are very weak and that the verse is halting and awkward. It is only in *Trappolin* that Cokain made any contribution to English drama.

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2 *Loc. cit.*
3 Herbage, *Cavalier Drama*, op. cit., p. 135.
4 Scanderbeg, *op. cit.*, p. 101
5 Playhouse of Pepys, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
II. Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince

A. Sources:

In *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*, Aston Cokain made a valid contribution to English drama in that this comedy is the chief tangible evidence of the connection between the two contemporary stages, the Elizabethan and the Italian popular comedy, or the *commedia dell' arte*. Of course, there are many references to the masks of the *commedia dell' arte* in England during the Elizabethan period. Thomas Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, proposes to omit "all the Doctors, Zawnyes, Pantalones, Harlakeenes" from his panegyric.¹

George Wilkins, in his tragi-comedy *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage*, ca. 1607, makes one of his characters comment on the foolish action of another by saying,

'Sfoot, the knight would have made an excellent Zany, in an Italian comedy.'²

Ben Jonson, in *Everyman Out of His Humour* (1599), uses the following simile:

He's like a Zany to a Tumbler
That tries tricks after him to make men laugh.³

Captain Jenkins, in Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho!,* says:

Your Norfolk tumblers are but zanies to cony

³IV, i.
catching punks.\(^1\)

The mimicry of the Zanni in the Commedia dell' arte is alluded to by Massinger in *The Bashful Lover*:

\[\ldots \text{give me leave at distance} \\
\text{To zany it.}\]\(^2\)

Malvolio, in *Twelfth Night*, says, "I take these wise men, that crow so at these set kind of fools, no better than the fools zanies."\(^3\) And Lucentio, in explaining the purpose of Gremio's disguise in *The Taming of the Shrew*, speaks of beguiling the "old pantaloon."\(^4\) Other masks of the *commedia dell' arte*, such as the *Magnifico*, are mentioned in several Elizabethan plays.\(^5\) Marston, in the revised edition of *The Malcontent* (1604), refers to the popular Harlequin.\(^6\)

There is plenty of evidence to show that the Elizabethan public was quite familiar with the Italian improvised comedy. Note the harsh indictment by Nashe, who was, as K. M. Lea points out, no squeamish moralist:

\[
\text{Our Players are not as the players beyond the sea, a sort of squirting baudie Comedians, that have Whores & common Curtizans to playe womens partes, & forbear no immodest speech, or unchaste action that it may procure laughter, but}
\]

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\(^3\) *III*, v, '95-6.

\(^4\) *III*, i, 37.


\(^6\) *III*, i, 98.
our Scene is more stately furnisht than ever it was in the time of Roscius, our representations honourable & full of gallant resolution, not consisting like theirs of Pantaloun, a Whore & a Zanie, but of Emperors, Kings & Princes.1

Performances of Italian comedians were frequent in Elizabethan England from 1547 on down through the years.2 E. K. Chambers and K. M. Lea have found records of such performances not only at the court, but also in various English towns.3 A scene from John Day's Traveiles of the Three English Brothers (1607) illustrates what the practice of these travelling Italian companies may have been.4 In this scene the famous comedian Will Kemp is called upon to 'help' the Italian 'Herlaken' with the performance, and the ensuing performance is pure commedia dell'arte, albeit some rough English humor is thrown in for good measure. Another reference to the extempore acting of the Italian commedia dell'arte is made by Hieronimo in The Spanish Tragedy (1586) when he says:

The Italian comedians are so short of wit, That in one hours meditation

1 As quoted by Lea, op. cit., II, 381.
4 This scene is quoted in full by Lea, op. cit., 381-4, and Nicoll, op. cit., 279-280.
The would perform anything in action.¹

Not only are the Italian companies and the masks of the commedia dell'arte frequently mentioned in Elizabethan literature, but there are also several plays probably based on scenarii of the commedia dell'arte. These plays are as follows: The anonymous Wit of a Woman (ca. 1604); Haughton's Englishmen for my Money (1598), which may be taken from Li due Trappolini; Jack Drum's Entertainment; or, the comedia of Pasquill and Katherine (1600), possibly by John Marston; David Oge Barry's Ram Alley; or, Merry Tricks (1608), which may have been adapted from the Italian play La Schiava; The City Gallant; or, Greene's Tu Quoque (1614, by J. Cooke, a play which was probably based on Il Finto Servio; and R. Tailor's The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl.

Shakespeare's use of plots, episodes, and lazzi from the commedia dell'arte has been discussed and investigated by many scholars. The plays in question are as follows: the basket scene from The Merry Wives of Windsor;² the sub-plot of The Taming of the Shrew.³

¹As quoted by Lea, op. cit., II, 385; however, all modern editions of this play that I have seen read tragedians for comedians in this passage.

²See the analyses of these plays and their probable Italian sources in Lea, op. cit., II, 408-430.


⁴Ibid., II, 377; Nicoll, op. cit., p. 347.
spear was drawing on specific performances of the *commedia dell' arte*, nor is there general agreement on the indebtedness of Shakespeare to the Italian improvised comedy. No such difficulties arise with regard to the source of Cokain's *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*.

A considerable mass of evidence can be assembled to prove that Cokain composed his comedy directly upon an Italian improvised comedy which he had seen performed. His own testimony may be taken first. In the Prologue to *Trappolin* he states:

\begin{verbatim}
Gallants, be't known as yet we cannot say
To whom you are beholding for this play;
But this our Poet hath licens'd us to tell,
Ingenious Italy hath lik'd it well:
Yet is it no translation; for he nere
But twice in Venice did it ever hear;
There it did take....
\end{verbatim}

In the Epilogue Cokain returns to the topic of the source:

\begin{verbatim}
...for here it was not writ
In sweet repose and fluencies of wit;
But far remote at Rome begun, half made
At Naples, at Paris the conclusion had.
\end{verbatim}

Thoroughly documented proof has already been submitted to show that Cokain was in Italy in 1632-1633. And in Cokain's versified description to his son of this first Italian trip he says that he arrived at Rome toward the end of his trip (about June 1, 1633), stayed there three weeks, went to Naples, where he stayed three weeks, and, after a trip to

\begin{verbatim}
1 Small Poems, p. 413.
2 Ibid., p. (528).
3 See ante, pp. xlvi-xlvii.
\end{verbatim}
Mt. Vesuvius, sailed to Genoa and on to Marseilles, and then by land to Paris. According to his own testimony, then, Cokain's play was composed between June and September of 1633.

Modern scholarship has found nine different scenarii of *commedia dell'arte* plays that deal with the theme of a rogue as a 'suppos'd Prince'. None of these nine scenarii exactly duplicates the story as written by Cokain. To explain these deviations, it is necessary to present a brief account of the nature of the *commedia dell'arte* and a description of the technical term *scenarii* as used in the Italian improvised comedy. The definition of the *commedia dell'arte* is given by Karl Mantzius:

> Comedy of art means improvised comedy, unwritten drama, in which only the indispensable course of the play, the outline of the action, was constructed and written down by the author, while the dialogue, jokes, outbursts of feeling, characterization, everything in fact, were left to the actor. Herein lay its importance, and this is what gave it the peculiar stamp of professional comedy.

The *commedia dell'arte*, states Mantzius, "must necessarily be performed by professionals." The actors of this popular comedy were trained over a long period for the respective roles or masks which they would portray. They

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4. Ibid., II, 212.
memorized speeches, conceits, and set phrases for particular situations. They learned various lazzì.

A lazzo is a trick, or piece of stage business, used to interrupt the main action of a play. Charlie Chaplin trapped in a revolving door is an illustration of a lazzo. This example from the modern cinema is particularly apt, for it shows the ephemeral nature of a lazzo, i.e., Chaplin's joke about the intricacies of the revolving door is comic only when that scientific achievement was new. The public, now accustomed to revolving doors, would no longer consider this joke extremely funny. Veteran actors, such as our modern Marx brothers, always accumulate a great number of lazzì to be used at various times. The lazzì which a specific Zanni or Pulcinello had learned would be inserted in different plays. Hence there are certain points of similarity between many of the Italian improvised comedies.

The next item of importance here is that "No true commedia dell' arte had a complete text." This characteristic must be kept in mind with regard to the search for

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1The famous actor Riccoboni defines lazzì as "that which Harlequins or the other masked actors do in the middle of a scene to interrupt it either by expressing fear or by making jokes which have no connection with the subject of the play...," as quoted by Mantzius, op. cit., II, 216.

2Nicoll, op. cit., p. 225.
Cokain's sources. "Suggestions for the dialogue might be provided by the author," states Nicoll, "but normally only the barest outline found its way into the official scenario, or soggetto, which took the place both of prompt-copy and of actors' parts in the performance of the ordinary play." 1

The scenario, or soggetto, is defined as follows:

The 'soggetto' is nothing but the scenic fabric woven from an 'argomento', to which is added the description of an action marked out into acts and scenes, which is to be spoken and presented extemporé by the performers. The scenes are begun at the margin with the indication of the entrance of each personage, and are ended with a dotted line signifying exit or exeunt. At the top of each scenario is written the supposed locality of the play, such as Rome, Naples, Genoa, Leghorn... An asterisk in the margin, known as the 'osservatoria', warns the actor to enter unobserved to watch what is happening on the stage. The phrase 'in questo' denotes that the player remains on the stage after the exit of the other characters... Marginal notes such as 'Night, Day, Dawn', instruct the actor to introduce some appropriate remark, and if necessary to enter with a light. 2

The nine extant scenarii of the Trappolin story are listed as follows: (1) Il Creduto Principe. 3 From the handwriting and style this manuscript is supposed to belong to the last half of the seventeenth century, and a note appended to the first scenario states that the piece was acted in 1642. 4

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1Loc. cit.

2Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit., I, 129.

3Bib. Casanateuse, Codex 4186, c. 105.

(2) **Il Finto Principe.**¹ According to K. M. Lea, A. Bartoli, who reprinted this collection in *Scenari Indita della commedia dell' arte*, notes that although this manuscript is of the eighteenth century several scenari are certainly a hundred years old.² (3) **Il Girello, Dramma Musicale Burlesche del Signor N.N.**³ Here the plot is embodied in an operetta.⁴ (4) **Il Nuovo Finto Principe.**⁵ This manuscript was written about 1700.⁶ (5) **Il Finto Principe.**⁷ (6) **Il Finto Re.**⁸ (7) **Pollicinella Finto Principe.**⁹ (8) **Il Finto Principe, Comedia non meno ridicola che honesta.**¹⁰ (9) **Arlecchino Creduto Principe, by Gueuletta.¹¹

²Lea, loc. cit.
³Printed at Ronciglione, 1668 and 1674 (Lea, loc. cit.)
⁸Ibid., I, 49.
⁹Perugia Bib. Communale A. 20, and Selva overo Zibaldone di concetti comici, raccolti dal P.D. Placido Adriano di Lucca, 1734, c. 278 (Lea, loc. cit.)
¹⁰Di Don Carlo Ambrosi, Bologna (Lea, loc. cit.)
¹¹Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy*, op. cit., II, 253. This scenario is only a transcript of Gueuletto's translation of the memoranda left by the great comedian Dimenico Biancolleli (Lea, loc. cit.)
According to K. M. Lea, the first scenario of *Il Credute Principe* corresponds more closely to Cokain's text than any of the other mentioned scenarii. Yet this version contains a different love plot from that used by Cokain. In *Il Credute Principe* the Princess makes love to Brunetito and is shyly but definitely refused. The Princess then imitates Potiphar's wife by sending for the counsellors and telling them that the slave Brunetto attempted to woo her. Cokain's more pleasing method of presenting Brunetto as a disguised prince may be found in the scenario entitled *Il Nuovo Finto Principe*. Trappolin's trick of leaving the stage by means of riding on the backs of the two counsellors is also found in the latter scenario. Trappolin's flirtation (in Cokain's play) with Isabella can be found in the second scenario entitled *Il Finto Principe*. This scenario, together with the scenario called *Il Finto Re*, includes the device of having Trappolin throw magic dust on Lavinio. The scene in which Trappolin is examined by the counsellors is mentioned in all of the above-listed scenarii except the operetta.

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2 *Loc. cit.*
5 *Loc. cit.*
6 Lea, *ibid.*, pp. 48-50, and *Italian Popular Comedy*, *loc. cit.*
This item of evidence must be kept in mind, for Montague Summers offers a different source for this scene in Cokain's play.¹

Since the scenarii carry little or no dialogue, there is no way of knowing what lazzi were used in each production. In Il Finto Principe, II, the Zanni (Trappolin) kills a louse—this is the place for punishing criminals—and admits that he has carried fire-arms—pokers and spits.² Montague Summers, who overlooks Cokain's entire dependence on the Italian comedy, states that,

Trappolin, who is no better than a practised pimp, in his examination before the Lords, Act I, 2, very nearly resembles Pompey before Escalus in Measure for Measure. There are, indeed, even exact verbal conveyances.³

The scenario of Il Finto Re, however, states that the Zanni, who happens to be Polcinella in this piece, has his lazzi of the fire-arms.⁴ And since each of these scenarii refer to lazzi of fire-arms, it seems that Cokain used the Italian source rather than the scene from Measure for Measure. It is only in Trappolin's defense of his actions that the borrowings from Shakespeare can be found.⁵ The lazzi of

¹The Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., pp. 244-5.
³loc. cit. See the text of Trappolin, pp. 16-23, and the Explanatory Notes, pp. 234-235.
⁴Lea, loc. cit.
⁵See pp. 20-22, and Explanatory Notes, pp. 234-235.
the fire-arms was frequently used in the Commedia dell' arte, and Allardyce Nicoll found a scenario which happens to contain some dialogue for this lazzo. The play, *Il Soldat in Candia*, has a trial scene, and the dialogue is as follows:

The Judge. What's your name?  
*Arlecchino.* Arlecchino.  
The Judge. Have you ever been in prison?  
*Arlecchino.* Yes, sir—to carry in some dinner for one of my friends who was arrested for debt.  
The Judge. Have you ever done anything against...  
the Princess?  
*Arlecchino.* Yes, sir. I went out of town against her orders.  
The Judge. What? And how did you get out?  
*Arlecchino.* Four or five days ago I wanted to hang up some shirts on the wall. The wall crumbled under my feet, and I fell into the ditch along with the shirts.  
The Judge. Were you ever associated with anyone's death?  
*Arlecchino.* Yes, sir. Last year I was at the gallows where a man was hanged.  
The Judge. Have you ever said anything bad about the governor?  
*Arlecchino.* Yes, sir. Once he was ill. I said to everyone who asked me for news, 'He is very bad indeed....'  
The Judge. Have you ever urged anyone to fight?  
*Arlecchino.* Often, sir. When I see dogs quarrelling, I always clap my hands together,...and urge them to fight it out.  

Montague Summers also lists a different source for Cokain's description of Trappolin's scene with the petitioners, saying that the true source was the Sieur D'Ouville's *Contes aux heures perdues.* Dicussion of this point must

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1 Nicoll, op. cit., p. 231.  
2 Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., pp. 244, 275; Also of, Maid-ment and Logan, ed. cit., p. 108, where they suggest this French work as a source for the petitioners' scene.
be postulated on the date of the composition of Cokain's play, for the first edition of *Contes aux heures perdues* was printed in Paris in 1644. Evidence has already been presented to show that Cokain wrote his play eleven years prior to this date. Further evidence is provided in the previously quoted preface to *Small Poems*. In that preface Cokain said that the play had been left in manuscript with a friend, and that after the friend died the manuscript passed into other hands, from whence Godbid recovered it. Hence it seems very certain that Cokain composed his play before D'Ouville's book was ever printed. I have never examined this French work, since I have been assured by The Library of Congress that there is no copy of it in the United States, but from Summers' own description of the contents it would appear that D'Ouville was drawing on both folk-tales and on Italian dramatists. But the evidence derived from a comparison of dates is more tangible. It will be noticed that one petitioner in Cokain's play is a woman named Mrs. Fine. Her plea is that one Dick Whip, while driving recklessly through the streets, had killed her child. Trappolin rules that the only true restitution which Dick Whip can make is to get Mrs. Fine another child by cohabiting with her.

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1 According to The Library of Congress.

2 *Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit.*, p. 244.

3 See the text of *Trappolin*, pp. 76-78.
Now in a footnote to *Il Finto Principe*, II, there is the following statement:

> Qui si fa il lazzo che Cola da audienza, 
> vien gente con memoriali, dell'asino, della 
> Donna pregna, del creditore e della Piazza morta.¹

From this quotation it appears that Cokain was still drawing on his main source, the two *commedia dell'arte* performances that he witnessed in Venice. It is true that the names of the characters in the petitioners' scene are English, but Cokain probably forgot the original names. At all events, he simply substituted generic English terms for the names of the characters involved.

It must be recognized that all of these scenarii were written long after the winter of 1632-3, when young Aston Cokain travelled around Italy and France on the money he had borrowed for his sisters' dowry, but tradition is strong in the theatre, and there were probably very few changes made in the actual performance of this "peasant and prince" theme. In fact, the extant variants would suggest the presence of a prototype. If there were such a prototype, it may have been for those performances which Cokain saw in Venice. If it could be shown just which company of comedians was acting in Venice in 1632-3, then one could be assured of a documented performance of this prototype. An examination of Cokain's *dramatis personae* will reveal just which company actually presented these two performances. Cokain's

¹Lea, loc. cit.
list of characters is as follows:

Lavinio. The great Duke of Tuskany.
Sforza. The Duke of Milan.
Horatio. Son of the Duke of Savoy.
Barbarino. Machavill. Two noble Florentines.
Mattemoros. A Spanish Captain.
Trappolin. Suppos'd a Prince.
Mago. A Conjurer.
Pucannello. A Jaylour.
Bulflesh. A Butcher.
Calfshead. A Puritan.
Barne. A Farmer.
Tiler. A poor workman.
Ro, Meo, and Areo. Divels.
Isabella. Wife to Lavinio.
Hortentia. Wife to Sforza.
Hipolita. The Captains Mistress.
Flametta. Trappolin's sweetheart.
Mrs. Fine. A Plaintiff.

Here it can be seen that the person who played the role of the braggart is named Mattemoros. Some emphasis is placed on this point, for in the Errata affixed at the end of Small Poems the textual spelling of Mattemores is changed to Mattemoros. It may also be noticed that this list contains the name Pucannello. Now the mask of Pulcinella (Pucannello, Polichenerello) was new in the commedia dell' arte, and if it can be shown who originated this role, then the identity of the acting troupe could be learned. The actor Petraccone states that the role or mask of Pulcinella was invented by

\[1\] Small Poems, p. 413, and see the text of Trappolin, p. 4.
\[2\] Small Poems, p. 529.
Silvio Fiorillo, long famous as Captain Mattemoros. Here is an important piece of evidence, for in 1632 Silvio Fiorillo was a member of the Affezionati company. By this time Fiorillo must have been an old man, for in 1584 he was already a leader of a troupe in Naples. In 1600 he was in the service of the Duke of Mantua, and in 1615 he was rejected from the company proposed for a French tour as not being "what he was six years ago." Later he joined the professional troupe called the Affezionati, and is mentioned as performing in Venice as late as 1635. All throughout this time he is mentioned as 'the Captain' or as 'Mattemoros', yet according to the records just cited he must have adopted his new role of Pulcinella. Under the dramatic convention of 'doubling' Fiorillo probably played both roles, the Captain and the stupid jailor.

An examination of the membership of the Affezionati during this period will show the following list: Lavinio, a lover; Giovan Battista Fiorillo, the son of Silvio Fiorillo, the Zanni mask of 'Trappolino'; Silvio Fiorillo, who played

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1 As quoted by Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy*, op. cit., I, 91-2.
2 Lea, op. cit., I, 93.
3 Ibid., II, 486.
4 Nicoll, op. cit., p. 293.
two roles; Isabella Chiesa, who played the queen; Prudenza, the prima donna; Fiametta, a waiting-maid; Ricciolina, an older servant; Guazzetto, the first Zanni; Girolamo Chiesa, a pantalone; and Maldotti, a boy.¹

Hence it can be seen that Cokain took over the stage names of the first five persons in the Affezionati company. Guazzetto and Girolamo played the parts which were renamed Barbarino and Machavil by Cokain. The boy Maldotti may have played the role of Horatio, that is, Brunetto, the disguised Prince.² In 1634, when the troupe was playing at Bologna, the role of servant-maid was being played by Angela Lucchese, called Ricciolina.³ If she were with the company in 1632, she would have played the part named by Cokain as Hipolita. This would complete the cast of female persons, with the exception of the parts required in the masque. The only actors or parts added by Cokain, then, were those necessitated by the masque. "If we except the wedding masque," states K. M. Lea, "there is not a single incident in Cokayne's play for which we cannot find a parallel in one or the other of the Italian versions."⁴ In the light of the following

¹Lea, loc. cit.
²Loc. cit.
³Nicoll, op. cit., p. 243.
⁴Lea, op. cit., p. 51; It may be added that with the exception of Maidment and Logan and Montague Summers the rest of the dramatic historians agree with Miss Lea. See Harbage, Cavalier Drama, op. cit., p. 133, "...the Italian original was commedia dell'arte...there was no text to translate."
description of Italian comedy by Duchartre, one might presume even further and state that Cokain could have based the entire play on his Italian sources:

During the Renaissance the Italians developed a taste for lavish and phantasmagorical productions, in which large crowds of supernumeraries figures as they do nowadays in cinema films like... Ben Hur. These spectacles were called opera, or 'works', in the original sense of the word, and they were produced with the aid of every sort of mechanical device and bizarre setting, as well as cavalcades, ballets, concerts, pageants, and farces.¹

It has already been stated that Cokain probably saw several theatrical presentations during his two Italian trips.² Finally, the very title of the play, as given in the first printing, bears out the nature of the source. This title is Trappolin Creduto Principe; or, Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince: An Italian Trage-Comedy, The Scene, part of Italy.³

In summary, then, it can be stated that Aston Cokain contributed to English drama a comedy based on the spontaneous and gay expression of Renaissance Italian mirth: the commedia dell' arte.

¹ The Italian Comedy (New York, 1929), p. 64.
² More documentation will be found on pages 250-251 of The Explanatory Notes.
³ Small Poems, p. 411.
B. Stage History:

That Trappolin has any stage history is not definitely known. Montague Summers maintains that this play "...was first produced nearly twenty years after it had been written at the Theatre Royal in 1675 with Joe Haines as Trappolin. A New Prologue composed for the occasion by Duffett and printed in his Poems, 8vo, 1676, was spoken."\(^1\) The editors of the only critical edition of Cokain, Maidment and Logan, say that Trappolin "appears to have been produced prior to the Restoration, and was revived after that event, with a new prologue written by Duffet."\(^2\) Since these assumptions have been made by authorities in dramatic history, their statements must be carefully examined.

It seems difficult to believe that Trappolin was ever produced on the London stage before 1642. The play was never licensed, either in the records of Sir George Buck or in those of Sir Henry Herbert. None of the authorities on the Elizabethan stage ever mention that this play was acted.\(^3\) Besides, the internal evidence is strong against the notion that the play was acted prior to its publication in 1658. The reference here is to the previously quoted

\(^1\) The Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 245.
\(^2\) Ed. cit., p. 117.
\(^3\) Neither W. W. Greg, nor E. K. Chambers, nor A. W. Ward, nor Alfred Harbage, nor Fleay, nor Schelling, nor Allardyce Nicoll make any reference to this play's being acted on the pre-Restoration stage.
Preface of *Small Poems*, where Cokain tells of the vicissitudes suffered by his wandering manuscript. As can be observed from reading the poems of Cokain, this would-be poet was not overly modest. Hence, since he wrote so many pieces praising the stage and telling of his acquaintance-ship with actors and dramatists, it seems very strange that Cokain would omit any reference to the production of his own play, had it been acted on the London stage. Unless new evidence is presented, it can be stated that *Trappolin* was not acted on the pre-Restoration stage.

Only the slightest sort of documentary proof exists to show that *Trappolin* was produced on the Restoration stage. The source for the assumptions made by Summers and by Maidment and Logan appears to be an entry by Whincop. In the theatrical records appended to *Scanderbeg*, Whincop states that *Trappolin* was "revived by Duffett." Accordingly, Thomas Duffett's *New Poems, Songs, Prologues and Epilogues,* must be examined. This work does contain a prologue to "The Suppos'd Prince" that is entirely different from Cokain's prologue to *Trappolin*. This new prologue reads as follows:

*Trappolin* suppos'd a Prince this humor shows,
All pleasures do depend upon suppose.
We by a strong suppose, may have to do
With Wine and Women, Wit and Mony too.

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2 *London, 1676.*
Thus while you think a zealous Sisters eyes
Are lifted up in pious extasies,
In strong suppose all her Religion lies.
The modest longing girl that dares not woo,
Thus does enjoy her fame and pleasure too.
He that sits next a pretty female, knows
His hand trembles, and something comes and goes.
He gazes, faints and dyes, why all this shows
The pow'r and pleasure of a sweet suppose.
Those that for garnish'd dishes keep adoe,
May have as wholesome Fish well butter'd too,
In a plain earthen pan for half the toil;
But for suppose—fore all's but—
The bodys all one flesh, and yet, dear hearts,
A mere suppose makes difference of parts.
All were design'd alike for our delight,
Yet we suppose it fit to lose our right,
And keep the sweetest both from touch and sight.
Let that suppose that leads us so astray,
As strongly further our supposing Play.
The Duke and Trappolin must both be thought
Transformed really, though they are not.
Suppose that strongly thence our mirth all flows,
Than we shall please you all—as we suppose.

This prologue is sandwiched between other prologues and epilogues of other plays in the following order:

Epilogue—The Shoemaker's a Gentleman.
Prologue, Epilogue—Every Man Out of his Humour.
Prologue—Mistaken Husband.
Epilogue—Mail, or, The Modish Lovers.
Prologue—The Suppos'd Prince.
Prologue, Epilogue—The Armenian Queen.
Prologue, Epilogue—The Indian Emperor.
Prologue, Epilogue—Psyche Debauch'd.

In examining this list of plays, one might assume that if the other plays could all be identified and proved to be acted around 1674-1676, then one could conclude The Suppos'd Prince was also acted. Unfortunately this is a mysterious 'nest of plays'. The authorship and even the identity of

1Ibid., pp. 82-3.
2Ibid., pp. 42-95.
some of these plays is questioned. The scholars who deal with the Restoration stage make no mention of the first play, *The Shoemaker's a Gentleman*, except that Nicoll does list the play in a quotation from the Lord Chamberlain's warrant for plays produced at court from June 19, 1675 to May 5, 1677. According to this list, "A shoemaker a Gent" was acted on January 1, 1676, by Killigrew's company. Nicoll does not, however, record this play in his list of plays of the Restoration, nor does Summers include it in any of his treatises on the Restoration Drama. The title sounds as if there might be some connection with Dekker's famous comedy of London bourgeoisie, but since this Restoration play was evidently never printed there can be no way of verifying such an assumption.

The second title in the list in Buffett's work refers to the revival of Ben Jonson's play in July, 1675, at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, the acting rights to this play being owned by Killigrew. Haines spoke the epilogue to this play.

The next title is *The Mistaken Husband*, a play which has been attributed to both Dryden and a T. Southland.

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1 As quoted by Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, op. cit., p. 308.
2 Ibid., pp. 307-308.
3 Ibid., p. 315.
According to Langbaine and the bookseller Bentley, this play was given to Dryden in 1663, and he prepared it for the stage.\(^1\) There is no agreement on when the play was performed. Summers states that the play was acted by the Theatre Royal Company in Lincoln's Inn Fields in the spring of 1673.\(^2\) Nicoll states that *The Mistaken Husband* was first performed by the same company at the Drury Lane Theatre about September, 1675.\(^3\)

Even more controversy has raged in literary circles over the identity and authorship of *The Mall; or, The Modish Lovers.*\(^4\) George Saintsbury reprinted the play among Dryden's works, and several other scholars have attributed this piece to Dryden. Montague Summers has produced considerable evidence to show that the author was one John Dover.\(^5\) Genest, Nicoll, and Summers date the first performance in January, 1674;\(^6\) but Nicoll maintains that it was produced

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\(^3\) Nicoll, *loc. cit.*


at Drury Lane, whereas Summers believes that Killigrew's company was still acting at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Following the entry of The Suppos'd Prince is the title The Armenian Queen. The authenticity of this play rests on its inclusion in Duffett's list alone. It was never printed, nor is there any record that the license fee was paid. Genest does not mention it. Nor does anyone else save Summers even suggest that there was such a play.

Nicoll records a revival of Dryden's Indian Emperor at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane on November 10, 1674. The last play in the list is Duffett's own work. This burlesque was first produced in May, 1675, at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, according to Genest, Nicoll, and Summers.

In recapitulation, it appears that there is definite proof that six of these eight plays were acted, provided "A shoemaker a Gent" is identical with the title in Duffett's list. On the other hand, the only testimony for The Suppos'd Prince and The Armenian Queen is that found in Duffett's list. In the absence of full records of the Restoration stage, it appears possible that Killigrew's company performed Cokain's play, with the inimitable rascal Joe Haines

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3 *Some Account*, op. cit., I, 168; *Restoration Drama*, op. cit., p. 360; *Bibliography*, op. cit., p. 83.
speaking Duffett's prologue. Against this somewhat circumstantial evidence there is Nahum Tate's own statement in the preface to the 1685 printing of *A Duke and No Duke.*

Tate refers to his source and says:

I took all the liberty of Addition and new Modelling the Adventures, which I thought necessary for the Stage.

Of course, Tate may have been trying to conceal the fact that *Trappolin* had ever been acted, or it is possible that he may not have known that it was acted. But if *Trappolin* had been produced at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1675, only nine years had elapsed between that production and the initial performance of Tate's adaptation on November 3, 1684.

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1. London, 1685.
2. Ibid., p. vi.
C. Printings and Editions:

There is more disagreement on the part of modern scholars and bibliographers over the canon of Cokain's works than has been shown to exist over the etymology of his name, its orthography, or over the time and place of his birth, or the sources and dates of composition of his plays, or even over whether they were ever acted. In such a recent publication as the supposedly authoritative Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature an entirely erroneous account of Cokain's publications has been given, an account which omits the first edition of the plays. As a result of the numerous variant lists, it will be necessary to name and describe each title in chronological order, instead of simply recording the correct entries.


The Obstinate Lady. London: William Godbid, 1657. This is a pirated edition, with the last page defective.  

Small Poems of Divers Sorts. London: William Godbid, 1658. This is the first edition of Cokain's works. It includes the poems, The Masque at Bretbie, The Obstinate Lady, and Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince. All other seventeenth century printings of Cokain's works are re-issues of this volume. I have examined the copies owned by The

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1 loc. cit.

2 It has been stated earlier that Oldys claimed that the first edition of Dianna was published in 1643, but there is no proof for his statement.
University of Texas and The Library of Congress. The latter copy is defective in lacking the portrait contained in the front of the book. Both copies have errors in pagination; i.e., pages 209-256 are wrongly numbered 109-156, and page numbers 461-480 are repeated. The Library of Congress copy contains 527 pages; The University of Texas copy contains 529 pages. The later printings of this work often retain the title-page of this first printing.

A Chain of Golden Poems. London: William Godbid, 1658. This is a re-issue of Small Poems; hence the contents are the same. I have examined the copy belonging to the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery by microfilm. Their copy is of considerable significance in that it is tangible proof that A Chain is a re-issue of Small Poems. Their copy carries two title-pages: (1) A Chain of Golden Poems (by Sir Aston Cokayn), and (2) Small Poems of Divers Sorts. The failure on the part of one of William Godbid's apprentices to cancel out the old title-page thus provides visible proof that Small Poems is the first edition, and that A Chain is a re-issue. Maidment and Logan printed The Obstinate Lady for their edition from the text of this reprint. In the previously cited Cambridge Bibliography this reprint is listed as the first edition.

Poems. London: Philip Stephens, jr., 1662. This is also a reprint of Small Poems, but The Tragedy of Ovid is bound with it, thus making this re-issue the first edition.
of that tragedy. The Cambridge Bibliography states that there were two printings of Cokain's works in this year. This statement is not substantiated by any records of which I am aware. Maidment and Logan claim that The Tragedy of Ovid was also issued separately, a statement which might be true, but no copies have been catalogued.

Choice Poems of Several Sorts. London: Francis Kirkman, 1669. This is the last re-issue of Small Poems. It contains the same works as the previous printings, including The Tragedy of Ovid from the 1662 printing.

A Duke and No Duke. London: J. Turner, 1758. This work is a new edition of Nahum Tate's play, and although the publisher attributes it to Cokain it is not Cokain's play.

The Dramatic Works of Sir Aston Cokain. Edd. James Maidment and W. H. Logan. Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1874. This is the only critical edition of Cokain's works, being the only publication of the poet's works since 1669. It contains all of the previously printed works of Cokain except Dianea and the poems, which, of course, are not dramatic works. Each play is accorded an introduction, but there are no explanatory notes.

Since this edition of 1874 is not so rare that access to it is difficult, some justification should be offered for the preparation of another edition of Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince. It is the custom of modern editors of Elizabethan and seventeenth century plays to print the authentic text
of a given play without any changes in the spelling or in the punctuation. Maidment and Logan did not do so in their edition of Cokain. They modernized the entire text. The oft quoted statement of Horace with regard to language changing from age to age finds application here. Maidment and Logan changed Cokain's spelling to conform with the rules and usage of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, and now, seventy years later, the rules and usage have changed. Furthermore, changing the spelling and the punctuation of the older writers places a barrier between the student and those writings. In the first eleven lines of Trappolin, Maidment and Logan have made sixteen textual changes. The method of the present edition has been to make no changes, except for a few very obvious printer's errors, and these are indicated in the textual notes.

Furthermore, the practice of most modern editors has been to include explanatory notes, thereby clarifying difficult passages, contemporary allusions, or act and scene divisions. Such aids are not offered in the Maidment and Logan edition. The speech tags are sometimes transposed in the original text of Trappolin, but Maidment and Logan have not corrected these errors, thereby obscuring the text. In the present edition considerable care has been given to Cokain's vocabulary. Over two hundred words used by Cokain have been checked in the NED in order to make the explanatory notes aid in the reading of the play and in illustrating
the exact sense of meaning of those words.

Although this study is not concerned with the merits or faults of Trappolin as a dramatic work, a few dominant features may be noted before commencing the analysis of Nahum Tate's adaptation. Montague Summers, after describing the faults in *The Obstinate Lady*, comments on Trappolin as follows:

It is all the more surprising how adroitly Cokayne has manged (sic) the twists and turns of *Trappolin creduto Principe*... and what brisk facile dialogue, eminently adapted for stage effect he has composed. This 'Italian Trage-comedy' ...remains an extremely spirited and amusing piece of work.¹

Alfred Harbage, after discussing the Italian source for the play, states that,

One would expect an Englishman of Cokain's time to convert such material into a mere Bromean comedy of courtship, but such proves not the case. Something of what must have been the spirit of commedia dell' arte is preserved—crispness, spontaneity, a certain naivety, and, amidst farcical action and impudent dialogue, an inkling of democratic philosophy.²

The concluding statement above is pertinent to the purpose of this study, even though this thesis has no concern with the evaluation of Cokain's dramatic technique. But the purpose of this thesis is to examine what Tate would do in adapting a comedy based on the vivacious and sparkling

¹*Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit.*, pp. 243-4.
²*Cavalier Drama, op. cit.*, p. 133.
Italian improvised comedy, thereby showing the trends in the literary taste of the late seventeenth century. Harbage is here referring to Act I, scene ii, of Trappolin, where the miles gloriosus Captain Mattemoros is engaged in telling of his own martial triumphs and of the splendors of war. Trappolin interrupts the braggart to ridicule war and to point out that only the aristocrats benefit from war, whereas the common people do the fighting and yet come out on the short end regardless of the outcome of the battles. When Nahum Tate was revising this play, he included this scene; but he rejected all of Trappolin's thesis about war and the common people, thereby presenting Trappolin only as a coward. Thus Tate loses not only the complexity and irony of the situation, as well as the dramatic effectiveness of keeping the characters matched or balanced in dialogue, but he also shows a definite change in attitude from the earlier seventeenth awareness of the total possibilities in a given situation.
III. Tate's Adaptation: A Duke and No Duke

A. Nahum Tate as an Adapter:

The life of Nahum Tate, or Teate, is of little consequence to the purpose of this thesis. A concise account is given by Henry Leigh Bennett in the DNB,¹ and there is a doctoral thesis on Tate by H. F. Scott-Thomas.² For the purpose at hand it will suffice to say that Tate was born in 1652 at Dublin, of a puritan family, and that he spent a poverty-stricken life in a vain pursuit of popular favor, without pride, self-respect, or dignity, until "death found him, 12 Aug. 1715" in the Mint, Southwark, where the one-time poet laureate was hiding from his creditors.³ Of some importance may be a reference to his father, the puritan clergyman Faithful Teate.⁴ This minister was a well educated theologian, and his writings show considerable profundity of thought and a steady devotion to religious matters.⁵ Nahum Tate was reared in this devout home, but he was to make his living in the Restoration atmosphere of superficiality and mundane emphasis. A reference to this background, then, is of some significance; for in the analyses

¹XIX, 379-380.
²At The Johns Hopkins University.
⁴DNB, XIX, 379.
⁵loc. cit.
that follow there will be numerous manifestations of Tate's "vulgar and bourgeois religious attitude and emotion."¹

Since Tate's literary career consisted chiefly of translations from the classics, collaborations with other writers, and adaptations of all sorts of writings, it is an easy matter to present illustrations of Tate's methods of adaptation. The greatest literary work which Tate tampered with was the Psalms of the Old Testament.² The sixth verse of Psalm vii is rendered thus:

Awake, awake, in my behalf,  
The Judgement to dispence,  
Which thou has righteously ordain'd  
For injur'd Innocence.³

Another excellent illustration of Tate's methods may be found in his alteration of Milton's elegy Lycidas. Tate's adaptation is called "A Poem Occasion'd by the late Discontents & Disturbances in the State, with Reflections upon the Rise and Progress of Priestcraft...."⁴ The poem is in the pastoral mode, the dialogue being carried on by two shepherds, Falamon and Philander. An extract follows:

But hate the Shepherds who their labour spare  
To Hirelings leave their Flocks, their only Care

¹Scott-Thomas, op. cit., p. 270.
²An Essay of a New Version of the Psalms of David (by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady), London, 1695.
³Loc. cit. Italics mine. There is no foundation in the Biblical text for this last line.
⁴London, 1691.
To call at Sheering-time for an ungodly Share
Fleece-worn, and with an Amaryllis sped,
They Pipe and Feast, and jocund Measures trend,
While their lean Sheep look up, and are not fed.

... The poyson'd Stream of Passive Nonsense spread.¹

This last line represents Tate's treatment of Milton's powerful line,

Not inwardly, and foul contagion spread.²

One other illustration of Tate's alterations of Milton may be cited. The passage in question is taken from Book I of Paradise Lost, and Milton's lines will be given first:

... Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss....³

Tate's version is as follows:

Thou sacred Spirit, thou alone,
Who know'st th'Arcana of Heav'ns shining Throne
And with expanded Wing
Sat brooding on the Universe,
Reducing Chaos unto Form
And into Amity its Heterogenial Storm.⁴

Tate's treatment of Joseph Hall's 'character' sketches might also be noted. Bishop Hall's prose characters are excellent examples of the early seventeenth century device of character-writing. The complexity of character delineation achieved by Hall identifies him with the metaphysical

¹As quoted by Scott-Thomas, op. cit., p. 265.
²Milton's Complete Poems, ed. F. A. Patterson (New York,
⁴As quoted by Scott-Thomas, op. cit., p. 267.
school. Hence an extract from Tate's treatment of this type of literature might be of interest. The following sentence is from Hall's character "Of the Truly-Noble":

He scorneth to make his height a privilege of loosenesse, but accounts his titles vaine, if hee be inferior to others in goodnesse; and thinks hee should be more strict, the more eminent he is; because hee is more observed, and now his offences are become exemplar.¹

Tate's rimed paraphrase of this passage follows:

He wou'd no License from his Greatness gain,  
And without Goodness counts his Titles vain.  
From Pow'r no Privilege claims to be unjust,  
Nor makes Prerogative a Bawd to Lust.²

The imagery of the final line in this quatrain well illustrates the prurient tone so characteristic of Tate's diction.

For the purpose at hand all further examples of Tate's methods of adaptation should be drawn from his dramatic alterations, the most famous of which is The History of King Lear. This adaptation is so wretched that a new word-Tatefication—has been coined to describe the precise type of bungling treatment accorded by Tate to anything which he adapted.³ Yet this version of Shakespeare's powerful tragedy proved so popular that it remained a stock piece on the London stage for 157 years, not being replaced by the

¹Characters of Vertues and Vices (London, 1608), pp. 52-3.  
original until 1636. It was printed over twenty times in the century following its first production. Even Dr. Samuel Johnson preferred it to Shakespeare's King Lear. As a result, a study of this adaptation has proved valuable for those who are interested in studying Neo-classicism. Although Odell and Summers have described the main features of this adaptation, the most exhaustive analysis of the play has been made by Hazelton Spencer. Tate's epistolary dedication to Thomas Boteler very clearly reflects the attitude toward the Elizabethans held by the poets of the 'more refin'd age'.

The chief structural changes made by Tate are the following: the creation of a love affair between Edgar and Cordelia, thus omitting the marriage with the King of France; the complete omission of the Fool; the insertion of the kidnapping and attempted rape of Cordelia; the telescoping of the king's visits to his daughters into one trip; and the happy ending, wherein Edgar marries Cordelia and Lear again becomes king—the latter in spite of Kent's warning,

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2Summers, Bibliography, op. cit., p. 69.
3Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (New York, 1920), I, 53-6.
4Shakespeare Adaptations, op. cit., pp. ciii-cvi.
6Aston Cokain's cousin.
...He hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer.  

The most significant features of Tate's adaptation, in the light of changing trends in literary taste, are quoted from Spencer as follows:

In the prologue Tate announces his ethical purpose...that the theatre must replace the church as the custodian of morals....In the light of the critical canons, this adaptation is a curious hodge-podge. The unities of time and place are disregarded....The excision of the Fool recognizes the principle of strict separation. Like Dryden, Tate cared nothing for the dictum against scenes of violence; we shall find in his version of Coriolanus no horror too gory for him. Contrary to the neo-classical rule that love should be kept out of tragedy, it becomes in Tate's Lear the chief motivating force....The scenes dealing with the Edmund-Goneril-Reagan triangle are highly voluptuous; and Cordelia's more decorous passion does not improve her character....Worst of all is the so-called happy ending. In Tate's alteration the principle of poetic justice receives the most pitiable sacrifice in all the English drama.  

Another illustration of Tate's methods of adaptation may be found in examining his version of Coriolanus, which is entitled The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth.  In this play Tate seems to have had a political inspiration, for in his preface he carefully points out that the piece is satirizing the Whigs.  The significant feature of this

1v, iii, 313-315.
3Or, The Fall of Caius Marius Coriolanus (London, 1682).
4Spencer, op. cit., p. 260.
alteration is the fifth act. Spencer's discussion of this act is as follows:

His play follows Shakespeare's with a reasonable degree of fidelity up to the catastrophe. Tate then cuts loose completely and turns a respectable tragedy into an unpleasant reminder of the old tragedy-of-blood. He evidently aimed at giving his audience a last act they would not easily forget; accordingly he works in a sword combat with the death of both the principals, an attempted rape, a suicidal demise, a mad scene, and a juvenile expiration.

Like Shakespeare's play, Tate's violates all the canons...The last scene is one of horrid violence....Again the love motive is emphasized. Rape is a favorite device with Tate; he uses it in both Lear and The Ingratitude without the slightest warrant in either source. In spite of this morsel the latter play was a failure.¹

Tate's last adaptation of a tragedy is entitled Injur'd Love,² an alteration of John Webster's powerful and sombre tragedy, The White Devil. Professor Hazelton Spencer gives a detailed analysis of Tate's handling of the older play,³ but a briefer summary will be given here for the purpose of illustrating Tate's particular technique of alteration. All comic scenes are deleted, thereby cutting down Flamineo's role. Camillo is killed long before the murder of Isabella. The main interest is then focused on Isabella instead of on Webster's heroine, Vittoria Corrombona, who speaks only a few lines in Tate's entire play.

¹Ibid., pp. 271-2; and cf. Genest's summary, op. cit., I, 326-9.


³"Tate and The White Devil," English Literary History, I (1934), 235-249.
The child Giovanni is given more lines. Webster's famous dirge is omitted. Zanche appears in a mask, disguised. Webster's delineation of Flamineo is disregarded, particularly with regard to the scene in which Flamineo kills his brother. In Webster's play, it will be recalled, Flamineo is portrayed as a Renaissance rationalist like Mendoza in Marston's *The Malcontent*, or like Lady Macbeth. In Tate's play, Flamineo is simply a villain, very practical, entirely evil, and showing no complexity. 1 This method of simplification, a general characteristic of late seventeenth century writers, will be strongly shown in Tate's *A Duke and No Duke*.

Strangely enough, Tate retains some of the odd scenes from Webster, such as the papal election, sections of the trial scene, and the pretended death of Flamineo at the end of the play. The conjurer in Webster's play becomes a magician in *Injur'd Love*. Tate makes this magician say to Duke Brachiano,

Yes, Dearly hast thou paid,  
And dearer yet shall pay for Injur'd Love.  
Wretched Brachiano! Oh couldst thou foresee  
Thy own, as now, thy Dutchess Tragedy--

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1 See the statement of M. D. Horne on the simplification of the Restoration villain, in which he states, "His -the villain's-prominence in the plays points toward a conflict between good and evil, not between antagonistic elements in the soul of an individual, but rather between two mutually exclusive forces of good and evil," "The Villain in Restoration Tragedy," (Ph. D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1939), The Graduate School Abstracts of Theses, 1938-1939 (University Bulletin, Louisiana State University), Baton Rouge, 1940, XXXII, 106.
But 'til the Fate of Vice on shelves to run,
And never see the Danger till undone.¹

And this play becomes the tragedy of Isabella. Spencer comments on this feature of Tate's alteration as follows:

Webster has certainly not developed Isabella's full possibilities as a pathetic character.... Tate's shift of emphasis is reflected in his title; but if he is right in presenting Isabella at fuller length, he is wrong in turning her into the conventional heroine of self-sacrifice. It was, I suppose, inevitable that he should do so. Tate was a rather facile hack without a spark of artistic genius. It is in just such men that one finds clues to literary methods and motives which abler men, like Dryden, succeed in covering up.²

The last sentence of this quotation is of utmost significance with regard to the study of Tate, and thus to the purpose of this thesis. It is the third-rate author, then, who illustrates so clearly the tendencies of a literary period, and Nahum Tate is a prize specimen. This theory may need some documentation; hence an instance may be cited from the greatest of the Restoration writers, John Dryden. His work often exhibits a considerable amount of complexity in the delineation of character. As an illustration, Dryden's tragedy All For Love may be examined; for this play also deals with a theme previously handled on the Elizabethan stage. Many critics have praised this play highly, for example, Cecil Moore, in his introduction to an anthology

²Spencer, English Literary History, op. cit., p. 240.
None but a prejudiced critic would question that Dryden's *All For Love* is a better piece of dramaturgy than Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, and no producer would hesitate in his preference for the later version.¹

But if we read Dryden's play in the light of the previous analysis of Tate's methods, using his presentation of Isabella as 'Exhibit A' for the prosecution, we will notice that Dryden makes the "old serpent of the Nile" say that she was intended to be a "household dove"—and the basic fallacy of this characterization, and of the play as well, is exposed at once.² Herein lies the value of reviving the works of such a paltry dramatist as Tate, for it is in such writers that one can discover the true tone and attitude of a particular era.

Nahum Tate's methods of adapting earlier comedies are equally enlightening. As has been indicated previously, he gave only lip-service to morality. An examination of Tate's alteration of *Eastward Ho!*, in which "three staunch

¹*Twelve Plays of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (Modern Library), New York, 1933, p. viii.

²The entire passage from Dryden is this:

...Nature meant me
A wife; a silly, harmless, household dove,
Fond without art, and kind without deceit;
But Fortune, that has made a mistress of me,
Has thrust me out to the wide world, unfurnished
Of falsehood to make me happy. (IV, i, 104-109.)
moralists wheel their batteries into line,\textsuperscript{1} will demonstrate a great deal about the real attitude of the late Restoration towards morality. \textit{Eastward Ho!}, although a realistic comedy of bourgeois London, was composed by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston for a "sage and serious preachment."\textsuperscript{2} In the Elizabethan play the honest business man is highly praised. Emphasis is placed on honesty and integrity. Wrongdoing is punished and righteousness is rewarded. Now for the alteration.

The scene of the fourth act of the older play is Cuckold's Haven, a mile down from London Bridge on the Surrey side. From this place, preserved for posterity by Hogarth in Plate V of his series \textit{Industry and Idleness} (1747), Tate selected the title for his adaptation.\textsuperscript{3} In the prologue Tate modestly admits that he has 'improv'd' the original comedy as a result of the general refinement of the new era. He says,

\begin{quote}
We own, nor to confess it are asham'd,  
That from tough Ben's Remains, this Piece was fram'd.  
But if Embellishments of Vanity  
And Vice, are here improv'd to a degree  
Beyond the Characters that Master drew,  
We must the Ladies thank for that, and you  
So far above what Johnson's Age e'er knew.\textsuperscript{4}
\end{quote}

The alteration commences with the same action as in the

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Elizabethan Plays}, ed. Hazelton Spencer (Boston, 1933), p. 475.  
\textsuperscript{2}\textit{loc. cit.}  
\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Cuckolds-Haven; or, An Alderman no Conjurer} (London, 1685).  
\textsuperscript{4}\textit{Ibid.}, p. A recto.
original, but when Quicksilver enters he says that he is going to a funeral. Here Touchstone acts in a maudlin, sentimental manner, contrary to the bluff heartiness of the original, and asks to see Quicksilver's prayer-book, thereby discovering the latter's ornamented attire. Act I, scene ii, is taken from Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*. Here Winifred, the wife of Security, the usurer, gets a letter from her lover Sir Petronel Flash, and then becomes afraid of Clogg, the servant. Accordingly, she condemns poor Clogg to her husband, and the servant is roundly scolded.

The play then proceeds somewhat after the model of the older play until Tate, with the pseudo-scientific attitude of the time, decides to make things more regular by having pairs; hence, to match Winifred's departure with Sir Petronel, he arranges for Bramble's wife also to run away with a man. Echoes of the heroic plays are heard when Security learns that his wife has run away. He says,

> I'll plow up Rocks steep as the Alps in Dust,  
> And lave the Tyrrenhe Waters into Clouds,  
> But I will reach them.1

Then when Bramble discovers that his own wife has run away he utters the same speech. The play then continues much like the older play until the last act. Here Quicksilver pretends to be a madman and dresses in a hide. Security also pretends insanity, and the pair both claim that Touchstone had conjured them to that extent. This farcical action

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1 Act I, scena ultima.
breaks through all bounds of decorum. Finally a letter falls from Touchstone's pocket. This epistle is to the effect that Touchstone must send some money to the women who wrote the letter because of the three children she has borne by him. This is the nauseous conclusion supplied by Tate for the moral ending of the Elizabethan play, in which Quicksilver actually repents. It is Tate's version there is but lip-repentance, with a tongue in the cheek and a sneer at the unfortunate alderman, when Quicksilver's tricks are found out. The entire tone of this play is in that prurient, suggestive and licentious manner so frequently found in plays of this period, and the dialogue lacks either the wit of the original or the sparkle of the contemporary dramatists of the comedy of manners. Yet this poetaster Tate drew up proposals for the regulation and reform of the theatre in 1698, the year of Jeremy Collier's malediction of the stage.¹

A final illustration of Tate's methods of adaptation will be taken from his revival of The Island Princess.² The dedication in Tate's version is again of considerable significance in its statement of the contemporary attitude

¹DNB, XIX, 379.

²Fletcher's play had been acted in 1669, and Sprague (Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage, Cambridge, 1926 p. 261) considers that Tate may have been using the prompt copy of this revival as his source.
toward the Elizabethans. He states that he "considered that the design of (his) Authors in this Poem was to shew transcendent Vertue, Piety and Constancy successful," yet he felt that they had failed to achieve this aim.\(^1\) He continues the dedication as follows:

> Those Defects in Manners, that were too palpable through the Work, must be imputed to the Age in which they wrote; but still there are so many and transcending Beauties in all their Writings, that I judged it safest to Rob their Treasure for a tribute to your Lordship.\(^2\)

It will be recalled that Fletcher's play, based on the Spanish story *Conquista de las Islas Maluccas* (1609), contains a character of the Hamlet type. This person, Ruy Dias, is beloved of the Queen, who wishes him to rescue her imprisoned brother. Ruy Dias is aware of all the apparently unsurmountable dangers involved in attempting such a rescue, but he prepares a method for an escape. But while Dias is preparing this plan, the reckless Armusia effects the rescue by burning down the entire castle and dungeon of the governor who was holding the King. Later Dias hates Armusia because the Queen is honor bound to marry the man who saved her brother; but when the disguised governor persuades the King to kill Armusia for religious reasons Ruy Dias suddenly

\(^1\) The *Island Princess; Or, The Generous Portugals* (London, 1687).

\(^2\) *Loc. cit.* The dedication is addressed to Henry, Lord Walgrave, Baron of Chewton.
takes soldiers and saves the lives of both his rival and his Queen. Nahum Tate, while he retains the persons of Fletcher's play, loses all this complex delineation of Dias, the thinker who became a man of action when it was too late. Tate over-simplifies the entire situation. Fletcher had relieved the tragic tension and enhanced it at the same time by some excellent dialogue on the part of the rogue Pymero. Tate drops this comic character from the active speaking parts. But Tate's worst offense in this adaptation is against good taste in the treatment of a religious topic. In Fletcher's play the fact that Armusia is not a Christian constitutes a real problem. Tate makes love the motivating force and depicts the heroine as scornful of religious concepts.

In summary, it can be observed that Tate's method of adaptation indicates certain definite traits. He either quotes whole passages without change or changes both the plot and the diction. He persistently over-simplifies a given dramatic character or situation. He manifests a literary trend by his placing emphasis on 'virtue in distress'. He is fond of inserting scenes of violence into his versions. And finally he uses a particularly nauseous diction in passages of his own composition. All these traits appear in his adaptation of Cokain's play, the farce A Duke and No Duke.
B. Farce in the Restoration Period:

Nahum Tate's *A Duke and No Duke* is far from being the first Italianate farce in Restoration Drama. It is, however, the second Restoration farce of foreign origin which was purposely written in three acts instead of five. The first was Otway's *Cheats of Scapio* (1676), a farce deliberately planned to be produced as an afterpiece for *Titus and Berenice*, December, 1676, at the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden.¹ This purpose provides an important reason for the historical study of Restoration farce; for the presentation of the 'double-feature' was a fundamental characteristic of the eighteenth century stage. Hence the source of this theatrical convention deserves some study, regardless of the literary worth of the subject itself. Many studies of the eighteenth century afterpiece have been made, but there is not a single published work dealing primarily with the background of this dramatic convention.

As a matter of fact, the theatrical custom of presenting some form of entertainment in addition to the main production is not confined to the eighteenth century London theatre. Even the fifteenth century Englishman craved some comic relief from the serious subjects of the guild cycles, and the fact that such comic relief was provided for the

The audience is attested by the inclusion of the story of the sheep-stealer Mak in the *Secunda Pastorum*, a diversion which is, as Schelling states, "a farce complete in itself."\(^{1}\)

And every history of English drama contains some account of the different types of comic relief that were presented as time passed, whether they were interludes, jigs, anti-masques, juggling acts, trained animal shows, or farcical sub-plots to serious plays. From these farcical sub-plots of the Elizabethan drama emerged the drolls of the Commonwealth period, surviving the edict of 1642, and carrying on the continuity of indigenous English comedy.\(^{2}\) These drolls were acted in various English towns on through the entire Restoration period. The continued performances of these pieces provides one of the two sources of the eighteenth century afterpiece.

The other source of the afterpiece was the type of entertainment presented by the Italian and French *commedia dell'arte*. This influence broadened out into three phases, all of which affected the English stage. These three phases may be briefly described as follows: (1) Actual performances of continental *commedia dell'arte* troupes in England.\(^{3}\) One result of these performances was a new

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\(^{1}\)Elizabethan Drama, op. cit., I, 77.

\(^{2}\)The best collection of these drolls may be found in Kirkman's *The Wits*; or, *Sport upon Sport*, ed. J. J. Elson (Ithaca, 1932).

technique for comic actors, a technique soon displayed by Angel, Haines, Nokes and Leigh. (2) Direct translations or adaptations of French and Italian Commedia dell'arte scenarii. Some plays of this type are Alexander Greene's The Polititian Cheated (1663), Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-All, Aphra Behn's Emperor of the Moon (1687), Otway's Cheats of Scapin, Tate's A Duke and No Duke, and at least a dozen of Ravenscroft's farces. (3) Pantomime, which very naturally developed from the Italian Commedia dell'arte, just as the Roman pantomime had emerged from the Atellan farces. The pantomime proved to be one of the most popular types of afterpiece in the eighteenth century, and the annals of that period contain many attacks on Rich and the other pantomime artists.

The farce plays based on foreign sources soon became very popular on the Restoration stage. Leo Hughes, in his analysis of Restoration farce, lists seven plays from 1660-1669 that were based on the French or Italian Commedia dell'arte, seventeen plays from 1670-1679, and ten plays from 1680-1689. This list does not take into consideration the large number of farce plays based on Spanish intrigue comedy, such as Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice (1685, nor does it include the many farces taken from indigenous sources.

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such as the sub-plots of Elizabethan plays or adaptations of earlier plays, such as the actor Mountfort's farcical skit *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* taken from Marlowe's great tragedy. This growth in popularity was achieved in spite of the opposition to farce on the part of leading literary figures of the period.

This opposition was led by John Dryden, who attacked farces again and again. Dryden's attitude is well summarized by Leo Hughes, as follows:

> The most consistent and sustained war on farce was carried on by the great literary figure of the age, John Dryden. In 1670 Dryden had this to say, in the prologue to *The Conquest of Granada*:

> 'May those dull drudges of the Stage, whose fate is damn'd dull farce more dully to translate, fall under that excize the State thinks fit to set on all French wares, whose worst, is wit.'

> The first full-length discussion of farce...occurs in the preface to *An Evening's Love* (1671). Dryden goes on to define, in rough terms, what he considers farce to be. Farce 'consists principally of grimaces...of forced humours, and unnatural events,...what is monstrous and chimerical'--in extravagance of character as well as of situation, in other words. He complains, furthermore, that the English public has gone mad over farce.1

And then there is Dryden's sneer at Shadwell in *MacFlecknoe*:

> Where wold he Bargains, Whip-stich, Kiss my Arse, Promis'd a Play and dwindled to a Farce.

A minor writer of the period, Edward Howard, also attacked farces in a vigorous manner. In the dedication to

his tragedy The Usurper (1664), he castigates the new genre as follows:

The other extrem which deserves some Reflection; and which far more debases the Dignity of the Stage, is that of Farce or Scommatick Plays, which has so tickl'd some late Audiences...that true Comedy is fool'd out of Countenance.2

In 1671 Howard penned another attack on farce, a long essay for the preface to his Women's Conquest. Again in the introduction to his Man of Newmarket (1678) Howard satirizes the farce and its new popularity.

A more important writer, Thomas Shadwell, also lashed out at the popularity of the contemporary farces. Although he attacked farces again and again, only two extracts from his statements will be cited. In the preface to his Humorists (1671), he complains that,

...there is little scope left, unless we retrieve the exploded Barbarisms of Fool, Devil, Giant, or Monster, or translate French Farce, which, with all the wit of the English, added to them, can scarce be made tollerable.3

The final quotation is taken from the dedication to his Virtuoso (1676):

I say nothing of impossible, unnatural Farce Fools, which some intend for Comical, who think it is the easiest thing in the

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1 Published by Henry Herringman in 1668.

2 Ibid., p. iv.

3 Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. cit., I, 480.
World to write a Comedy....\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., II, 219.
C. Tate’s Defense of Farce:

It seems fairly certain that Nahum Tate was familiar with these attacks on farce and farce writers, especially since he had collaborated with Dryden, and since Shadwell had been their common enemy. And in the brief preface to the 1685 edition of *A Duke and No Duke* Tate acknowledges these attacks by complaining that "All other Species of Dramatique poetry, have their due Respect amongst us; but I know not by what Fate Farce is look’t upon to be so mean and inconsiderable."¹ Then, possibly thinking of Shadwell's jibe, he continues his defence by saying, "I know it is generally suppos'd an easie Task...."² Following this statement, he attempts briefly to prove that the composition of a farce was a considerable task, and quotes Horace to prove his point.

But Nahum Tate was strongly imbued with the neo-classic point of view, and it may be that he felt somewhat bitter, perhaps even unjustified, in being the composer of what was termed an illegitimate form of literature. As a result, when his adaptation of Cokain's play was reprinted in 1693, he felt the necessity of presenting a justification of farce as a literary form. In his day there seems to have been only one approved method of justification, and that

¹See the text of *A Duke and No Duke*, p. 136.
²Loc. cit.
was a citation from the classics. This the new poet laureate proceeded to do.\footnote{Nahum Tate was made poet laureate on December 24, 1692 \textit{(DNB, XIX, 380.)}} For sixteen quarto pages he quotes from many an author of antiquity, regardless of whether the extract had any connection with 'farce'. He states that his purpose is to show that the farce was a classic form and thoroughly established on the Greek and Roman stages, to give a history of the origin of farce, and then to define farce. All this sounds like a formidable essay in literary criticism. And, as a matter of fact, Tate's essay is the only full-length justification of farce in the Restoration period; in fact, it is the most important critical essay on this topic until the time of Henry Fielding. As a result, one might wonder why Spingarn omitted this preface in his collection of important critical essays of the seventeenth century. But as soon as one examines Tate's defense of farce the reason for the omission becomes quite evident; for Nahum Tate, in spite of all his quotations from the classics, never does manage to define the dramatic form which he is attempting to describe.

To begin with, Tate attempts to establish farce as an accepted classical form by citing the incident in \textit{The Clouds} of Aristophanes wherein Socrates is shown in a basket. This incident, reasons Tate, is a farcical scene; next, the play which contains it must then be a farce; the
play was written by Aristophanes; ergo, the farce existed among the ancients. Tate was so fond of this argument that he repeated it again later in the preface. The only flaw in this pretty syllogism is that *The Clouds* is not a farce.

Tate then proceeds to give a historical account of the rise of the theatrical practice of wearing masks. He proves beyond doubt that the actors in Greek and Roman times wore masks. Now, argues the poet laureate, since the actors of the *Commedia dell'arte* wore masks, and since the *Commedia dell'arte* is farcical, then the plays of the ancients were farces. Here Tate's premise is sound, but his conclusions are false. The Greek and Roman actors did wear masks. But to maintain that their plays were farces because the Italian comedians wore masks in performing farces is a fallacy in logic so readily recognized that writers of textbooks usually give it in the first lesson on fallacies.

His next argument is that the Greeks in Old Attic Comedy performed Satyr plays to relieve the heaviness of tragedy; and, as Tate puts it, they were introduced "for Mirth and Rallery" as the French "now make use of their Farces." Hence, since the French and English use farces for comic relief in the same manner and for the same purpose as the ancients, then the modern use of farce is justified by the classic custom. This curious admixture of truth and error causes some astonishment. In the first place, the

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1See p. 147.
Hellenic *Satyrikos Choros* was not what could be called a farce; in fact it was the ancestor of tragedy and very closely connected with it. However Tate could be pardoned for not knowing all that. But the worst thing is Tate's remark about French drama. One wonders whether Tate really believed that Moliere's brilliant comedies of manners were farces, or whether Tate simply said so to support his argument.

Toward the end of the preface Tate comes to specific instances of farce, and in these references he names plays of such different types that his attempted definition by illustration broadens into no definition at all. For example, he terms the burlesque *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* a farce, and then compares that play with Aristophanes' *The Frogs*, which he also considers a farce. Then he classifies the plays of Ben Jonson as farces, particularly *The Alchemist*, a play considered by many scholars as having the most compact plot of any Elizabethan comedy.

But the most significant commentary on Tate's neoclassic attitude is found in the final paragraph of his treatise. Tate has by this time proved to his own satisfaction that farces existed in the classical period. He probably thought that he had given a definition of farce by saying that "the business of Farce extends beyond Nature and Probability."¹ But he was still bothered by one other

¹ *Loc. cit.*
strong dictum that he (and Boileau and Scaliger and Pope) had thought they found in Horace—rules. All literary forms, thought the literary critics of the neo-classic period, must have prescribed regulations. And poor 'father Tate' had not found them. Search as he might, he could discover no regulations for the composition of farces. The only conclusion possible for a man of Tate's conditioning was that he must find some prescribed method somewhere in the classic authors. And so the poetaster inserts a quotation from Quintilian on the art of repartee during debate. Quintilian states that there is no established procedure for the formulating of jests (quod eius nulla exercitatio est, nulli praecipitores). Now Tate exclaims triumphantly, "The same may be said of Farce." After yoking these two heterogeneous ideas by violence together, he continues by saying, "there are no Rules to be prescribed by that sort of Wit, no Patterns to copy, 'Tis altogether the Creature of Imagination." With this peroration, he throws off the bondage of neo-classic theory of rules and patterns, and, as a result, arrives at a critical dictum similar to the early eighteenth century criterion of Shakespeare, i.e., 'he needed no rules'. This passage from Tate is one of the most remarkable pieces of unconscious irony that can be recalled offhand in English literary criticism. Desperate to find a quotation

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1 See p. 152 and the Explanatory Notes on this line.

2 Loc. cit.
from the classics which would prescribe rules for farce, Nahum Tate produced a quotation which led to the conclusion that no rules were needed, thus repudiating the reason which made him search for that quotation.
B. Tate's Alteration of Cokain's play:

The tendency toward simplification characteristic of the later poets of the seventeenth century is the first noticeable feature of Tate's version of Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince. The twenty-eight characters in Cokain's play are reduced to twelve in Tate's work. The five acts, fifteen scenes, and 2,807 lines of Cokain's comedy become three acts, nine scenes, and 1,326 lines in Tate's farce. A statistical chart may illustrate this condensation more clearly:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince</th>
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<tr>
<td>I   1   58</td>
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Certain sections of Cokain's play are entirely omitted from Tate's farce. Among these are the masque within the
play, the beginning of the love affair between Prudentia and Horatio, the comic scenes between Mattemoros and Trappolin, the love affair between the braggart Mattemoros and Hipolita, part of the petitioners' scene, and Flametta's 'strip-tease' performance. On the other hand, the rest of Cokain's story is rather closely followed by Tate, that is, in so far as the plot is concerned. Tate adds only one scene of his own creation, and that is the visit of the Savoyard Ambassadors. All in all, Tate draws upon half of Cokain's play to project four-fifths of the adaptation.

It must be admitted that the masque in Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince is certainly extraneous to the main design. The love affair between Mattemoros and Hipolita is also non-functional and disturbs the unity of design, since Mattemoros is portrayed both seriously and humorously in Cokain's play. That is, Cokain shows Mattemoros as the braggart captain in the comic episodes with Trappolin, but treats him as a serious person in the love scenes. However, the complete omission of the part of Mattemoros hinders the structural balance of Tate's play, since in the older work Mattemoros and Trappolin act as a foil for each other.

But the statistical record of Tate's borrowings from Cokain does little to illustrate the real difference between the two plays, for it is in the tone of Tate's version rather than in the content that the chief distinction
can be marked. Substantially, Tate’s plot is the same as in Cokain’s play. Most of the main characters remain. Trappolin experiences the same adventures in both plays. He is exalted and undone in an identical manner in both versions. The difference between the two works lies in the change in tone and point of view.

Cokain’s Trappolin is a happy-go-lucky, pleasure-loving scamp who asks for nothing more than a loaf of bread, a bag of Bologna sausages, a jug of Montefiascone, and his fair Flametta. Nahum Tate’s Trappolin is a lascivious parasite who would pander his faithful Flametta to Lord Barberine in order to bribe his way out of trouble. In the older play, Flametta is a simple girl in love with her sweetheart; in Tate’s mutation she becomes a prudish wench who is interested in ‘reforming’ the snivelling pimp, her lover Trappolin. In Cokain’s comedy, when Trappolin becomes a prince, he comments on the beauty of the real princess (Lavinio’s wife, Isabella), and then states that his own dear Flametta would look as well with fine clothes; undressed, they would surely be alike. In Tate’s play the newly-made prince is shown as eager to profit by the opportunity of situation and at once attempts to seduce Isabella. The full extent of Tate’s changes can only be shown in an act by act analysis of A Duke and No Duke.

Act I

In Act I Tate compresses the action of all but the
last scene of the first three acts in Cokain's work. The act contains 519 lines, 288 of which are directly based on about 500 lines from Trappolin. Both plays commence with the same scene: Trappolin and his sweetheart in conversation. But Cokain shows Trappolin praising Flametta for her simple, unaffected charm and unadorned beauty; whereas Tate indicates that the motive for Trappolin's praise is Flametta's preference for him instead of for Lord Barberino. Of course, states Tate's Trappolin, Flametta is virtuous, but he cares little for that. He then brags about his career as a pimp. Flametta replies that her lover must give up this career; however, she has little worry about that matter, for she tells him confidently,

But you will be my Convert and Reform.¹

Here, almost twelve years before the famous night of January 26, 1696, when Colley Cibber's heroine, Amanda, reformed the debauched Loveless, we find Nahum Tate presenting this new point of view, the attitude soon to be expressed by Captain Dick Steele, John Wesley, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Samuel Richardson—that a feminine mind was capable of reforming the most debased and degenerate of men.

Lord Barberino now enters the scene, a slight change in the older order of events. In this version by Tate, Lord Barberino himself asks for the banishment of Trappolin, and the rogue is accordingly exiled before Prince Lavinio

¹See p. 155, line 19, from the reading of the second quarto.
ever leaves Florence. This change causes the omission of two excellent scenes from the older play.

The first involves an altercation between the Spanish Captain, the braggart Mattemoros, and the ever-confident Trappolin, a scene which illustrates the extremely democratic tone of Cokain's play noticed by Alfred Harbage.¹ Captain Mattemoros asks Trappolin whether he has killed many men, and the rogue at once replies in the negative, saying that many people have been hanged for the killing of but one person. Mattemoros then asks whether Trappolin intended to become a soldier, and Trappolin responds by saying that he was unfamiliar with that term, nor did he know whether he and his sweetheart would be interested. Captain Mattemoros then defines the meaning of soldier in a way that would satisfy the most rabid militarist, whereupon Trappolin comments that there would be more safety and profit in turning thief. All this is, of course, but trivial stuff. But now Mattemoros becomes incensed and states that Trappolin is a coward, a dung-hill wretch, and that it was a shame such a person was permitted to buy food and drink. Trappolin takes offence at the last statement and (inspired either by Cokain or the original Italian source) retorts with this pointed answer:

_Not as long as I pay for't; what the Devil have I to do with your souldery Sir Captain?_

¹ _Cavalier Drama, op. cit._, p. 133.
give me leave to be of my own mind, and a Coward... let those follow your wars that are aweary of their lives.

The other scene which Tate omits is a trial in which Trappolin is examined before the two temporary regents of Florence, Barbarino and Machavil. This scene is, of course, low comedy, the dialogue based on puns; and although the scene can be traced definitely to the commedia dell' arte, there exists a resemblance to the famous scene of Dogberry and the watch in Much Ado About Nothing, with the Notary (in Cokain's play) writing down this and that foolishness and then having to scratch it out from the record. Finally, when the sentence of banishment is pronounced, poor Trappolin only begs to be forgiven, and exclaims that it is an injustice to banish him and not make a general decree mandatory on his fellow pimps. It seems that in omitting this scene Tate missed a chance for some excellent slapstick comedy, especially in the light of his own dull and sordid version. The point is that Tate in attempting to construct a farce neglects the truly farcical elements in his source.

In A Duke and No Duke, with both of these scenes deleted, Lord Barberino simply banishes Trappolin on a writ from the duke. Then Tate indulges in a salacious bit of writing in which Trappolin, in order to bribe Barberino, first promises to produce a virgin to whet the regent's appetite; and, finding that suggestion of no avail, the

1 See the text of Trappolin, p. 13, lines 146-150.
wretch offers to act as pander for his own sweetheart, presenting her to satisfy Barberino's lust. "What says your Lordship to Flametta? There's Eyes and Bubbles,"\(^1\) pleads the frantic Trappolin. This nauseous scene is certainly uncalled for. It has no dramatic value in the plot, no justification from the source, and no end to be gained in securing characterization. Trappolin is now changed from a good natured scamp to a despicable wretch, and for no reason at all.

After the exile of Trappolin, Tate makes another change in the plot, an alteration which materially weakens the dramatic structure of the play. In *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*, the beautiful Prudentia is shown as falling in love with the prisoner Brunetto in a presentation that seems psychologically true. That is, the first mentions her sorrow for the poor young captive, so far away from home and country. Then she discusses the excellent bearing and handsome figure of this young prisoner, and seizes on her maid's chance suggestion that Brunetto may be a noble prince in disguise. After playing with this fancy for awhile, she realizes that she is in love with him. At this moment Brunetto enters and declares his love for her. Prudentia at once acknowledges that she has fallen in love with him, whereupon the prisoner responds that he is the second son

\(^1\)See the text of *A Duke and No Duke*, p. 153, lines 95-96.
of the Duke of Savoy, thus satisfying the demands of seventeenth century etiquette. All in all, Cokain has handled the scene well enough, especially with regard to the exposition of the plot.

Tate, however, skips over this scene and opens his presentation of the love affair by showing Alberto (Machavil in Cokain's play) as an informer who has observed the captive Brunetto talking with Prudentia. Then this informer runs to Lavinio and puts the worst possible construction on what he has supposedly seen, thereby poisoning the duke's mind against young Brunetto. Tate ponderously provides motivation for Alberto's action by explaining at length that Brunetto had killed Alberto's son in the recent battle, thereby giving Alberto a revenge motive. Lavinio summons the captive and denounces him in a very long passage on honor, a passage reminiscent of the earlier heroic plays. Brunetto responds accordingly in the tone of the captured hero of the love and honour plays, and Tate's supposed farce gets far away from any unity of design. Prodentia then enters, and in answer to Lavinio's charges makes a half-denial of the true facts in the case and further states that her brother must surely realize that she would never admit any thoughts before she presented them to him for inspection. Now the point of the analysis of this scene is not to show that Tate mishandled the scene, but to illustrate Tate's methods of adaptation. What happened in
A Duke and No Duke is this: Tate read his source, omitted Cokain's opening of the love-affair, supplied a different opening of his own, forgot that Brunetto had declared himself to be the second son of the Duke of Savoy, and consequently later in the play Brunetto is called the brother of the Duke of Savoy. Now Tate could call Brunetto whatever he wished, but still later in the play Tate includes an entire scene from Cokain in which Brunetto is called the second son. In this scene Trappolin, now the 'suppos'd Prince', asks Prudentia whether she loves Brunetto. Since Tate is taking this scene almost word for word from Cokain, Prudentia replies that she loves, Brunetto, a young man who is really the second son of the Duke of Savoy.\(^1\) A few pages later, when the real Duke Lavinio returns with his bride, he sees the one-time prisoner Brunetto with Prudentia and demands an explanation. The captain of the guards replies that he had heard Lavinio himself state that Brunetto was the second son of the Duke of Savoy.\(^2\) But this response occurs in the dialogue of Cokain's play, which Tate had again included; and in the earlier play Trappolin, supposed the prince, had actually said that Brunetto was the second son of the Duke of Savoy. But Tate had omitted the part of the scene in which this statement was made, and so no such prior conversation had taken place in his version.

\(^1\)Loc. cit., p. 180, lines 59-60.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 188, lines 100-101.
Continuing to follow Cokain's text rather closely, Tate makes Lavinio ask Brunetto whether he was related to the Duke of Savoy, and of course receives the 'second son' response as found in Cokain's play. A few pages later Tate presents Trappolin in conference with the Ambassadors from Savoy, a scene of Tate's own composition. These envoys state that Brunetto is brother to the Duke of Savoy, and that they have been sent to effect his release. Finally, at the end of the play, Tate makes the conjurer Mago state that the Duke of Savoy is dead, and since Brunetto was brother to the deceased ruler he would succeed to the dukedom. There are some more details to these discrepancies, but enough have been cited to show Tate's methods of alteration. The whole situation, however, well illustrates Hazelton Spencer's argument— that Tate either entirely revised a scene or else copied it in toto. It is no wonder that Stephen Jones and Isaac Reed, in the third edition of the Biographia Dramatica, describe A Duke and No Duke as "a most absurd piece of work, every rule of character, probability, and even possibility, being absolutely broken through."

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1 Ibid., p. 190, line 143.
2 Ibid., p. 201, line 66.
3 Ibid., p. 215, lines 227-8.
The second scene of Tate's first act presents the encounter between Trappolin and the conjurer Mago. Here Tate follows Cokain's text closely, but indicates the general effort to please the audience by inserting elaborate sound effects. See I, ii, 12-22 of Tate's play for the stage directions calling for soft music, then thunder and lightning, and finally a storm. Tate employs a different method for the metamorphosis of Trappolin into a duke. Cokain simply let Mago give Trappolin a cloak, and the audience was then presumed to suppose him the duke Lavinio. Probably Tate thought this method was too much for the credibility of the audience. Accordingly, he places Trappolin in a chair over a trapdoor on the stage. Trappolin is then dropped into the cellar under the apron by the means of this trapdoor and rises "dressed exactly like the Duke Lavinio." Tate certainly achieves more probability by this means of expediting the transformation. The scene continues very much as in the source, except that Trappolin acquires new confidence much sooner than in Cokain's comedy, where the rogue is clearly afraid of what the magician is doing. Tate omits the love scene between Hipolita and Matteoros.

The scene now changes to Florence, where Flametta is shown begging Lord Barberino for the recall of her lover. This scene is Tate's own work, and it illustrates the prurient tone of his diction about as clearly as anything since the

\[1\text{See p. 165, line 80.}\]
third act of his alteration of *King Lear.* Lord Barberino immediately lets Flametta know that he will repatriate the forlorn Trappolin upon condition. Flametta at once informs him of her virtue, whereupon Barberino calls for a servant to conduct sweet innocence to the bed-chamber, for he "will not be deny'd."\(^1\) This attempted rape is frustrated by the sudden and unexpected return of Duke Lavinio, *i.e.*, the disguised Trappolin. Meanwhile Flametta rants about her pathetic situation in the new style being popularized by Banks and Otway. Trappolin enters and berates the two regents in somewhat the same manner as in the older play. He then imprisons them, as in the source, but Tate has expunged the comic role of Puchanello, thereby losing some hilarious low comedy buffoonery. Of course Cokain's comic scenes are not by any means masterpieces of comedy, but since Tate was writing an avowed farce it seems strange that he should continually delete the purely farcical scenes. In Cokain's source, the scenes between the Zanni Trappolin and the stupid lumpkin Puchanello were the high points of the evening's entertainment.\(^2\) Once again the question is not over which writer wrote the best or the worst scenes, but it is that Tate in composing a confessed farce should omit many of the truly farcical episodes that were present in his source.

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\(^1\) *Ibid.*, p. 169, line 42.

\(^2\) *Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit.*, I, 194.
Act II

In his second act Tate includes material from the last scene of the third act of Trappolin, all of the fourth act, and the first two scenes of the fifth act. The action of this second act is entirely borrowed from the older play, the only changes being of omission and in the diction. Tate draws on about 455 lines from Cokain to produce 355 lines in his own version.

The action commences with an interview between the supposed duke and Flametta. In the earlier play Trappolin requested Flametta to remove first one article of clothing and then another until she was very slightly clad. One can presume that the son of Faithful Teate disproved of this strip-tease performance. At any rate, the adapter deletes this portion of the interview, allowing Trappolin to hear Flametta's plea, and then ending this dialogue by letting Prudentia enter. If purity were Tate's motive in excising the strip-tease performance, then the definition of Tate's notion of purity may be questioned by the ensuing scene. As soon as Trappolin sees Prudentia enter, he dismisses the suppliant Flametta, commences to praise Prudentia's beauty, and tells the princess that he is sorry he is her sister, "For a Carnal Reason, that shall be nameless."¹ Trappolin continues this suggestive and licentious language until the

¹See p. 179, line 43.
petitioners' enter.

Tate's notions of purity again appear contradictory in this petitioners' scene. The first petitioner in Cokain's play is the Puritan Calfeshead. Aston Cokain had no reason to feel kindly toward those "bawling Puritans," as he termed them; and indeed he lets Calfeshead get roundly abused. Tate, on the contrary, was of Puritan stock, and it is not surprising to find the Calfeshead episode deleted from Tate's text. But a few pages later Tate introduces a Puritan into one of the other episodes borrowed from Cokain and proceeds to hold this Puritan up for ridicule, letting him be abused to the delight of any and all Tories in the audience. Another petitioner, not found in the source, is brought out in Tate's play. This is a woman whose daughter has been debauched. "Debauch'd?" exclaims Nahum Tate's Trappolin. "That is to say, lay with her? 'got her Maiden-head?"

And this is the same Tate who was to draw up rules for the reform of the stage. The analyses and synopses of Tate's other plays have shown that he repeatedly spoke of improving and 'refining' his sources. The above passage contains little evidence of this refinement. Of course Cokain's presentation of the petitioners' scene is bawdy enough, but

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1 See ante, p. xxv.
2 See pp. 182-3.
3 Ibid., p. 181, line 87.
4 DNB, XIX, 379.
it is the broad humor of the Elizabethans, and not the prurient and lascivious tone of the same scenes in Tate's play.

Lavinio's return to Florence is taken bodily from Cokain, in so far as the action is concerned. Tate's Lavinio rants and storms about in the style of the heroic tragedies, whereas the duke's rage at the imposter is expressed in shorter speeches in the version composed by the usually prolix Cokain. The rest of the second act is filled out with the depiction of Trappolin getting drunk and casting lascivious glances at the real duke's new bride, Isabella.

Act III

The final act is based on the last three scenes of Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince. Tate draws on about 370 lines of his source to form some 280 lines of the 452 total lines in this act. The first scene of this last act is closely modelled after the source. In the second scene, however, Tate inserts his own chief addition to the plot of the play by presenting an interview between ambassadors from Savoy and the supposed duke Trappolin. The only significant feature of this scene is that it contains several political allusions, a device employed by Tate in other adaptations, such as his version of Richard II and Coriolanus.

The remainder of the action in this act is taken almost in entirely from the older play, with one notable exception. This change is found in the presentation of Trappolin's lust for Isabella. In the older play Trappolin was continually regretting that he could not be with his Flametta.
In A Duke and No Duke Trappolin's main interest throughout the last act is to find Isabella and seduce her. Now a suggestion for this activity is found in the older play; so the two dramatists' methods of handling this material may well be compared. The idea of taking advantage of his disguise had occurred to the Cokain Trappolin, and it motivated an interesting soliloquy on the part of the supposed prince. Of Isabella he says,

I almost like her as well as Flametta; I could lie with her and I woo'd, but I am half honest, and will not wrong the Duke nor Flametta. Why is not my wench as good as she? wherein do they differ, but onely in clothes? Flametta's a woman as right as she, and perhaps naked as handsome: what good in the night do jewels and fine clothes to a woman when she hath them not on?  

In comparison with this attitude, Tate's Trappolin is a lecherous scoundrel. Unfamiliar with the design of the palace, he stumbles about in search for Isabella. Finally he finds her room and peers in, saying,

...yonder she is fast asleep.—What a Neck and Breast is there. How do I reckon that my Friend Brunetto shall encounter much about a time.  

And he expresses himself in a similar way a few minutes later when he returns from off-stage.  

The farce ends with the same conclusion as in the older

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1 See pp. 98-99, lines 120-126.  
2 See pp. 204-5, lines 18-19.  
3 See p. 129.
play. From this analysis, it can be seen that Tate used the same methods of adaptation in this play that he had employed in his other alterations. The only feature which was not mentioned in the previous summary of his methods is his use of sound effects to make the action more effective.

Tate's farce has been printed three times: the first in 1685; the second in 1693, together with the elaborate preface on farce; and the third in 1758, attributed on the title-page to Aston Cokain. This last work, however, is Tate's farce. The cast of characters is the same as in Tate's version. The prologue and epilogue are also taken from Tate; in fact, the epilogue carries the explanation 'spoke by Mr. Haines.' It so happens that though the 1685 printing of A Duke and No Duke contains the information that the epilogue was "spoken by Mr. Haines," the 1693 printing omits this tag. Since the text of the 1758 printing is taken from Tate's farce, and since only the 1685 edition contained the statement about Joe Haines, it can be seen that the printer of the 1758 edition set up the play from the 1685 printing of A Duke and No Duke. All that he did was to omit Tate's name from the title-page.
Stage History:

Eight months after Aston Cokain had been laid away in Polesworth Church, the United Companies produced at the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden the three-act farce A Duke and No Duke by Nahum Tate, for in the records of the Lord Chamberlin's warrants there is entered under the date of November 3, 1664, the following item:

At a Duke & No Duke with ye Queene & a box for the Maydes of honor—£0 00 00 2

The number of previous performances is not known, for this item from the Lord Chamberlin's records of expenditures is the first documented date of performance. His Majesty King Charles II enjoyed the antics and buffoonery of the famous comedian Anthony Leigh, who enacted the role of Trappolin, and the Lord Chamberlin records another royal visitation of the same play on December 9.

Betterton made every effort to present a popular production. The play was staged at the large theatre in Dorset Garden instead of at the smaller Theatre Royal. A full orchestra was used, and a song written by Sir George Etherege

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1This title was selected in parody of the popular A King and No King (Genest, op. cit., I, 444.).

2As quoted by Nicoll, Restoration Drama, op. cit., p. 311.

3Genest, loc. cit.

4Summers, Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 245.

5Nicoll, loc. cit.

6Loc. cit.
and set to music by the famous composer Giovanni Baptista Draghi was sung to the accompaniment of the theorbo.\(^1\) Two other lyrics were sung, one being arranged by Baptista Draghi and the other by King.\(^2\) The musical score for these three songs is preserved in the 1685 edition of *A Duke and No Duke*.\(^3\) Elaborate sets were designed for the desert scene, in which a chorus of devils would arise from trap-doors and descend again with their victim, Trappolin, and for a similar scene in the last act which would call upon the best resources of the stage carpenters. And that notorious rascal Joe Haines was called upon to deliver the epilogue.

Anthony Leigh enjoyed a strong supporting cast for these early performances of Tate's farce. The popular young actor, John Wiltshire, played the part of Duke Lavinio, and James Carlisle, who had been connected with the Duke's Company since boyhood, en acted the hero Brunetto. Thomas Gillow and Joseph Williams carried the parts of the two counsellors; and Thomas Percival, one of the early members of Killigrew's company, undertook the role of the conjurer Mago.

Nor were the feminine parts neglected. Elizabeth Twiford, whose most famous role was that of Emilia in Sir George Etherege's *Man of Mode*, played the part of the virtuous Flametta. Lavinio's bride, Isabella, was performed

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\(^1\) See p. 219.
\(^2\) See pp. 220-223.
\(^3\) See pp. 219-225.
by Elizabeth Currer, a prominent actress who was enjoying much popularity over her recent creation of the role of Eugenia in Havenscroft's successful comedy *The London Cuckolds*. But the most famous comedienne in the cast was the beautiful Susanna Percival in the role of Prudentia. This actress was only eighteen years old and was just commencing a long career on the London stage. Shortly over a year later she was to marry the meteoric and ill-starred William Mountfort, actor and dramatist, whose brutal murder at the hands of Captain Hill and Lord Mohun when they were attempting to abduct Anne Bracegirdle was a sensational scandal in December, 1692. But even this tragedy did not interrupt her theatrical career, and after marrying the actor Jack Verbruggen in 1694 she was to continue on the stage for many years, although her fiery husband would often find it necessary to draw his sword on her account.¹

Neither this excellent cast nor its royal visitor continued long in promoting the popularity of *A Duke and No Duke*. At the turn of the year John Wiltshire left the stage to become a soldier in Flanders, and shortly afterwards James Carlisle joined the English army in Ireland. The veteran actor Thomas Percival also quit the stage during this winter. And that Macaenas of the Restoration drama, Charles the Second, ceased at last all bestowing of favors on February

¹For the full discussion of this cast see the Explanatory Notes, pp. 279-281.
6, 1685. Whether or not the popularity of the new farce ended with these changes, there is no way of knowing; for there is a gap of twenty years before another performance is recorded.

Nevertheless, the play did enjoy considerable popularity throughout the entire eighteenth century. And since Allardyce Nicoll states that Tate's farces deserve considerable attention in studying the development of the farce in general and the afterpiece in particular, a full record of this popularity should be presented.¹ The records of Genest indicate that many prominent comedians enacted roles in *A Duke and No Duke*. Hippisley, at Covent Garden, was especially fond of playing the Puritan in the petitioners' scene. The comedian Ned Shuter played the part of Trappolin at intervals over a ten year period at Covent Garden, sometimes alternating in the role of the Puritan who was so satirically treated by Tate. At Drury Lane, during the middle of the century, Woodward enacted the part of Trappolin, with Mrs. Yates playing the outraged woman in the petitioners' scene. Later in the century, at the same theatre, the actor Palmer played Trappolin, with Suett as the Puritan; and at Covent Garden Tom Edwin acted Trappolin, with Werwitzer as the Puritan. And as late as 1618 Edward Fitzwilliam was per-

forming Trappolin with considerable success before the Covent Garden audience.¹

But the records of Genest are incomplete with regard to showing the full popularity of Tate's farce, and a more complete account can be found only from the copious entries of the newly-discovered *winston Manuscript*, a work containing such a full record of dramatic performances on the London stage that many existing studies of English literary and dramatic taste will have to be disregarded when it has been edited and published. In fact, research in the manuscript already is showing a need for a revaluation of Shakespearean popularity in the eighteenth century. Dr. G. W. Stone, of George Washington University, and Dr. Van Lennep, of the Harvard Library, are engaged in the process of editing this monumental collection of theatrical history.² Since this theatrical catalogue was but recently discovered and since it contains such valuable dramatic material, some account of the author, the manuscript, and the authenticity of the work must be presented.

This manuscript was compiled by James Bowes who vainly attempted to become an actor in the London theatres about 1800.³ Once connected with the stage, he adopted the


²I am indebted to these gentlemen for their permission to use this manuscript.

name Winston for the stage and continued under that pseudonym for the rest of his life. He finally became manager and part owner of the Haymarket Theatre, after having been a manager at one time or another of every theatre in London. Having achieved financial success, he turned his interest to collecting material towards a history of the stage. He became fairly prominent as an antiquarian, and was at one time secretary of the Garrick Club. Thus occupied, states the obituary notice in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1843, "he enjoyed opportunities for making a vast collection of dramatic information and curiosities, and sedulously availed himself of the power. His masses of playbills, rare pieces, form an extraordinary collection, and if, as is probable, they should come to the hammer, will afford no small degree of public entertainment."

The manuscript itself has a very mysterious history. The collection did fall under the hammer, being sold at auction in 1849. What happened to the playbills and plays, no one knows. At the Sotheby sale of March 17, 1902, Mr. Folger purchased the manuscript, fifteen volumes in all.

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1 *Loc. cit.*

2 Ibid., p. 326.


4 *Loc. cit.*
The manuscript was ascribed to the dramatic historian Stephen Jones, the co-editor of the third edition of Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*; and when the manuscript was placed in the great Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington it was catalogued as "Item 1197. History of the stage by Stephen Jones." When, in recent years, the valuable contents of the manuscript were noticed, the problem of authorship was carefully studied by scholars at the Folger Library. Handwriting experts finally attributed the manuscript to James Winston. No one knows why it was even attributed to Stephen Jones. The firm of Sotheby appears to have lost all of their records prior to 1907; hence nothing is known concerning the history of the manuscript between the auction of 1849 and that of 1902.

The manuscript itself warrants some description. It is of quarto size, and contains two columns to each page. The entries are made in ink and in pencil. Winston commenced his record with some performances of guild plays in the time of Edward III, and continued his entries on until his own time. The list is not selective, as in Genest, but attempts to give a full record of all dramatic performances. The entries are highly abbreviated and difficult to read. Furthermore, Winston did not record the day of the month beside each performance. His method was to commence his entries


2. This information was given to the writer of this thesis by the officials of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
at the opening of the theatrical season in the fall, recording each performance and the day of the week in which it was acted, but omitting the day of the month, the month, and sometimes the calendar year. As a result, his entries can be followed only by the aid of a perpetual calendar. It might seem as if this system of recording performances would lead to error, but hundreds of Winston's entries have been checked against extant playbills without disclosing any error on the part of this theatrical historian. He simply elected this highly condensed system of entries in order to save space.

It is not known why Winston did not attempt to publish this great collection of theatrical data. The publication of Genest's ten volume work in 1832 may have influenced Winston to delay publication of his own work. Besides, this antiquarian may not have considered his work complete; for in 1834 he obtained access to Rich's Register and stayed up night after night checking Rich's records against his own until he was forced to return this document to J. Payne Collier.

Two other manuscripts have been examined for records of the performances of A Duke and No Duke. The first is entitled Play Accounts of Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury

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1 The account book of John Rich, manager of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and later of Covent Garden, about 1714-1740.

2 This information was given to me by Dr. G. W. Stone.
month, and the date of the month; the plays performed; and finally the authority or authorities. Tate’s farce will be listed in the abbreviated form of *A Duke*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Plays performed</th>
<th>Authority</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1703-4, at the old theatre in Lincoln’s Inn Fields.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Feb. 12.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em> <em>Acis and Galatea</em>, with the musical entertainments in <em>The Mad Lover</em></td>
<td>Genest, II, 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu. Feb. 15.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em> <em>Acis and Galatea</em> <em>The Mad Lover</em></td>
<td>Sprague, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu. Feb. 22.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em> &quot;with entertainments&quot;</td>
<td>Genest, II, 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704-5, at the Opera House in the Haymarket.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1705-6, at the Opera House in the Haymarket.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F. Nov. 16.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em> <em>Stage Coach</em></td>
<td>Genest, II, 344</td>
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<tr>
<td>1711-2, at Drury Lane.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F. May 16.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em> <em>School Boy</em></td>
<td>Genest, II, 498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714-5, at Lincoln’s Inn Fields.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th. Aug. 4.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em> <em>Cheats of Scapin</em></td>
<td>Winston MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715-6, at Lincoln’s Inn Fields.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722-3, at Drury Lane.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu. June 25.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em></td>
<td>Play Accounts MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. June 28.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em> <em>Stage Coach</em></td>
<td>Winston MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. July 12.</td>
<td><em>A Duke</em></td>
<td>Winston MS, Play Accounts MS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. This system is patterned after that used by Dougald Mac-Millan in his *Drury Lane Calendar* (Oxford, 1938).


3. The main play is not recorded. This entry is the first record of Tate’s play not being presented first on the bill.
Tu. Aug. 6. A Duke Acis and Galatea Winston MS, Play Accounts MS
1728-9, at Drury Lane.

F. July 11. A Duke Phebe Genest, III, 237
F. July 18. A Duke Country Wedding Winston MS
Tu. Aug. 5. A Duke Contrivances Winston MS

1730-1, at Drury Lane.

Tu. June 15. A Duke Amours of Billingsgate Winston MS
1731-2, at Lincoln’s Inn Fields.

M. Jan. 3. A Duke Perseus and Andromeda Winston MS
Tu. Jan. 4. A Duke Perseus and Andromeda Winston MS
Th. Jan. 6. A Duke Perseus and Andromeda Winston MS
Th. Mar. 2. A Duke Winston MS
Th. Mar. 16. A Duke Winston MS
S. May 13. A Duke Perseus and Andromeda Winston MS

1732-3, at Lincoln’s Inn Fields.


1732-3, at Covent Garden.

M. Feb. 5. A Duke School Boy Genest, III, 391

1733-4, at Covent Garden.

S. Feb. 23. A Duke Genest, III, 428

1734-5, at Covent Garden

M. Feb. 10. A Duke Toy Shop Genest, III, 461, Nicoll, 318

1735-6, at Covent Garden


1740-1, at Covent Garden

Th. Oct. 16. A Duke Orpheus and Eurydice Account Book MS
Genest, III, 621

Nicoll, Eighteenth Century Drama, op. cit.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Play</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Th. Oct. 30</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Orpheus and Eurydice Account Book MS</td>
<td>Winston MS, Genest, III, 1743-3, at Covent Garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu. April 26</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td></td>
<td>Genest, IV, 421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th. Jan. 23</td>
<td>Busy Body</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Genest, IV, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Oct. 29</td>
<td>London Cuckolds</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Genest, IV, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Dec. 27</td>
<td>Beggar's Opera</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Dec. 29</td>
<td>Busy Body</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Savoyard Travellers Ibid., 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Jan. 5</td>
<td>The Tempest</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Jan. 15</td>
<td>Edward the Black Prince</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu. Jan. 16</td>
<td>Edward the Black Prince</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Jan. 17</td>
<td>Edward the Black Prince</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Jan. 20</td>
<td>The Orphan</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Savoyard Travellers Ibid., 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Jan. 24</td>
<td>Comus</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Jan. 26</td>
<td>Love's Last Shift</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Savoyard Travellers Ibid., 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Feb. 12</td>
<td>The Tempest, Acis and Galatea</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu. Feb. 13</td>
<td>Provoked Husband</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>The Chaplet Ibid., 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Feb. 14</td>
<td>Rehearsal</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Feb. 19</td>
<td>Richard III</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Apr. 16</td>
<td>Bold Stroke For a Wife</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Savoyard Travellers Ibid., 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Apr. 20</td>
<td>Conscious Lovers</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. May 4</td>
<td>Merchant of Venice</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. May 7</td>
<td>Provoked Wife</td>
<td>A Duke</td>
<td>Ibid., 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1750-1, at Drury Lane.

| S. Oct. 13  | Comus                | A Duke         | Ibid., 18                |
| S. Oct. 20  | Provoked Wife        | A Duke         | Ibid., 18                |
| Th. Oct. 25 | Venice Preserved     | A Duke         | Ibid., 18                |
| S. Nov. 3   | Recruiting Officer   | A Duke         | Ibid., 19                |
| M. Nov. 5   | Tamerlane            | A Duke         | Ibid., 19                |
| M. Nov. 12  | Confederacy          | A Duke         | Ibid., 19                |

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1 The main play is not recorded.

2 Drury Lane Calendar, op. cit.
M. Nov. 19. Jane Shore A Duke Ibid., 19
S. Dec. 8. Mourning Bride A Duke Ibid., 19
Tu. Dec. 18. Romeo and Juliet A Duke Ibid., 20
Th. Dec. 20. Mourning Bride A Duke Ibid., 20
W. Feb. 13. Romeo and Juliet A Duke Ibid., 21
Tu. Feb. 19. Mourning Bride A Duke Ibid., 21
Th. Apr. 11. Much Ado About Nothing A Duke Ibid., 22
Th. Apr. 25. Much Ado About Nothing A Duke Ibid., 22

1751-2, at Drury Lane.

Tu. Oct. 8. Orphan A Duke Ibid., 24
Th. Nov. 7. Provoked Husband, Savoyard Travellers,

Tu. Mar. 17. Orphan A Duke Ibid., 27
S. Mar. 21. Inconstant A Duke Ibid., 27
S. Apr. 11. Mourning Bride A Duke Ibid., 28
W. Apr. 15. Suspicious Husband A Duke Ibid., 28
Th. Apr. 16. Comical Lovers A Duke Ibid., 28
W. Apr. 29. Henry VIII A Duke Ibid., 28

1752-3, at Drury Lane.

S. Sept. 30. Richard III A Duke Ibid., 29
M. Oct. 9. Henry VIII A Duke Ibid., 29
S. May 5. Comus A Duke Ibid., 34
W. May 23. King Lear A Duke Ibid., 34

1753-4, at Drury Lane.

M. Feb. 18. King Lear A Duke Ibid., 38
S. Feb. 23. Suspicious Husband A Duke Ibid., 38

1754-5, at Drury Lane.

S. Sept. 21. Careless Husband A Duke Ibid., 40
S. March 1. Creusa A Duke Ibid., 44
Tu. Apr. 1. Provoked Wife A Duke Ibid., 44

1755-6, at Drury Lane.

Tu. Sept. 23. Beggar's Opera A Duke Ibid., 46
M. Nov. 3. Merope A Duke Ibid., 47
1756-7, at Drury Lane.

F. Nov. 26. *Census*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 53

1756-7, at Covent Garden.

W. Apr. 6 *Recruiting Officer*  
A Duke  
Genest, IV, 494

1757-8, at Drury Lane.

W. Oct. 26. *Beaux Stratagem*  
A Duke  
MacMillan, 58

1758-9, at Drury Lane.

Th. Sept. 21. *Henry VIII*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 63
S. Oct. 28. *Romeo and Juliet*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 64
F. Dec. 29. *Busy Body*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 65
Tu. Feb. 20. *The Wonder*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 67

1760-61, at Drury Lane.

F. Oct. 3. *Rehearsal*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 77
Th. Oct. 9. *Richard III*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 77
M. Nov. 24. *The Minor*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 78
F. Apr. 10. *The Beaux Stratagem*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 82
W. Apr. 15. *Every Man in His Humour*  
A Duke  
Ibid., 82

1760-61, at Covent Garden.

Th. Dec. 18. *The Minor*  
A Duke  
Genest, IV, 623

1762-3, at Drury Lane.

Th. Nov. 4. *Tamerlane*  
A Duke  
MacMillan, 92

1763-4, at Covent Garden.

Tu. Jan. 3. *Royal Convert*  
A Duke  
Genest, V, 53

1764-5, at Covent Garden.

F. Oct. 5. *Recruiting Officer*  
A Duke  
Genest, V, 71

1765-6, at Covent Garden.

W. Oct. 2. *Recruiting Officer*  
A Duke  
Genest, V, 103

1770-71, at Covent Garden.

F. Oct. 12. *Earl of Warwick*  
A Duke  
Genest, V, 304

1775-6, at Covent Garden.
S. Dec. 9. A Duke Genest, V, 516
1783-4, at Drury Lane.

M. May 3. Twelfth Night A Duke Genest, VI, 302
1785-6, at Covent Garden.

Tu. Apr. 18. Plain Dealer A Duke Genest, VI, 398
1786-7, at Covent Garden.

Tu. Feb. 6. A Duke Genest, VI, 494
1796-7, at Covent Garden.

S. Apr. 8. Double Gallant A Duke Genest, VII, 309
1797, Summer season at the Haymarket.


All in all, there were 122 performances throughout
the eighteenth century, a number which indicates a considera­
ble popularity, especially since the record is by no means
complete. The uses to which the farce was put seem to
fall into definite classifications; that is, the theatre
managers appear to have used it for certain specific pur­
poses. In the opening years of the century Tate's play was
used to open an evening's entertainment of farce and musical
productions, for the records show this piece on the bill
with Motteaux' Acis and Galatea and with such farces as Otway's
Cheats of Scapin and Farquhar's Stage-Coach. Then, with
the rise of the ballad opera, it was presented as the first
production before a ballad opera was presented. It was also
altered to a ballad opera, as will be described later. Next

1The main play is not recorded.
it was acted as the opening play on an evening when a pantomime was to be performed and for some years appears regularly with the spectacular Orpheus and Eurydice and the equally sensational Perseus and Andromeda, pantomimes both. Beginning with the 1742-3 season, it was regularly advertised as the afterpiece to the main production. During the middle of the century it was performed usually upon the conclusion of some heavy tragedy. This usage represents a distinct change from the purpose of the earlier performances of this piece, when its appearance on the bills meant an evening devoted to farce and to musical entertainments. Tate's play may have been curtailed in the representation about this time, for it was sometimes offered after another afterpiece to the main play. A few performances are recorded in which both of Tate's most popular adaptations—King Lear and A Duke and No Duke—were presented on the same program. Toward the end of the century Tate's farce was being employed as an afterpiece for either tragedies or comedies, and was finally dropped from the repertoire.

In addition to the entries listed above, A Duke and No Duke appeared on the stage from time to time in various altered versions. The first of these was a pantomime, produced and acted by John Thurmond at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1720. Montague Summers is the authority for this statement, but he does not list his source. The writer of this

\[ ^1 \text{Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 245.} \]
thesis has carefully searched for such documentation in both Geoest and the Winston manuscript, but has found no record of Thurmond's version. It may be that the Reverend Alphonsus Joseph-Mary Augustus Montague Summers owns some unique playbills.

A Duke and No Duke was twice revised and presented as a ballad opera during the time when the vogue for ballad operas was at its peak. The first version was made by Robert Drury under the title of The Devil of a Duke; or, Trapolin's Vagaries. Drury uses the entire list of characters found in Tate's farce, but he condenses the action considerably. The scene opens with the exiled Trappolin and his beloved Flametta wandering in a desert. Flametta offers to return to Florence and beg Lord Barberino to recall her lover. Trappolin seizes on this suggestion and commands Flametta to put this scheme into execution at once, saying that if Lord Barberino takes advantage of her, they can haul him into the courts for rape. Drury then follows Tate in the scene in which Mago transforms Trappolin into a duke. Much action of Tate's version is then omitted, and Lavinio is soon shown as returned to Florence. Now Trappolin, without any previous mention of Brunetto heretofore in the play, asks for Brunetto. He releases Brunetto as in the older

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1 Printed in 1732 by Charles Corbett and John Torbruck. The copy used for this thesis is owned by the Henry Huntington Library; it was examined from a microfilm copy purchased by The University of Texas Library.
play. Trappolin now attempts to take advantage of Flametta, who does not recognize him as the banished Trappolin. Drury retains the petitioners' scene, an apparently popular feature of Tate's farce. The conclusion of the play is also patterned closely after Tate's final act, although the action is curtailed considerably. In reworking Tate's farce into a ballad opera, Drury inserts nineteen airs, and the entire play is rather long on this account. This alteration was produced at Drury Lane on Thursday, August 17, 1732, as an afterpiece to Othello.\(^1\) The cast was excellent. The popular comedian Bridgewater portrayed the buffoon, Trappolin, and Roberts played Duke Lavinio. The part of Flametta was played and sung by young Miss Rafter, a talented young actress who was soon to become one of the most prominent actresses of the age under the name of Kitty Clive. But this cast could not prevent the failure of Drury's piece, for the play was much too long to be performed as a ballad opera. The piece was advertised for the following day, August 18, but was withdrawn so that it could be shortened.\(^2\) It was brought out again on Saturday, September 23,\(^3\) of the same year at Drury Lane as an afterpiece for Mrs. Centlivre's Busy Body,\(^4\) and was repeated on Tuesday the 26th of the same year.

\(^{1}\)Winston MS.

\(^{2}\)Nicoll, op. cit., p. 319; Genest, op. cit., III, 361

\(^{3}\)Nicoll, loc. cit.

\(^{4}\)Nicoll, loc. cit.
Another performance was given on Thursday, October 19, 1732, as an afterpiece for "Henry IV." But the play was dropped by the company, for the final performance was given on Wednesday, November 15, 1732, following the main play, "Henry IV."^3

The other operatic treatment of "A Duke and No Duke" was made by the Scotch poet Allan Ramsay.^ It appears that Ramsay based his ballad opera on Drury's version, but added a new scene and substituted sixteen songs for the nineteen airs in "The Devil of a Duke." "Now as thirteen of these songs are to be found in the Ramsay Composition book (Egerton MSS 2023)," states Burns Martin, "the inference is clear that Ramsay was responsible for this version."^5 This operatic alteration was acted in Edinburgh in 1733, and it does not appear that the piece was ever presented on the London stage.^6

Montague Summers maintains that an anonymous adaptation of "A Duke and No Duke" was "a London success of 1757-8."^7 Again he gives no documentation for this assertion. It is

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1 Nicoll, loc. cit.
2 Winston MS, Nicoll, loc. cit.; Genest, III, 387.
3 Winston MS.
4 Summers, loc. cit.
6 Loc. cit.
7 Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 245.
true that an edition of Tate's farce described earlier in this thesis\(^1\) was printed in 1758. But the edition is not anonymous, for the titlepage carries the name of Aston Cokain as the author. Furthermore, the theatrical records show that A Duke and No Duke was performed only once during the entire 1757-8 season at the Drury Lane Theatre and not at all at Covent Garden. This is not a matter of opinion, for Dougald MacMillan has listed practically every theatrical performance given at the Drury Lane Theatre during the Garrick regime, and he shows but the single performance cited earlier. A careful examination of Genest shows no performance of the play at Covent Garden. The writer of this thesis is inclined to suspect that Montague Summers, knowing that an eighteenth century printing of a play was almost always the result of that play's popularity on the stage, went ahead and assumed that A Duke and No Duke had been presented a number of times during the season prior to the publication of the play. And if Summers had used a more general description, such as 'a mid-century success', his integrity would never have been questioned; for Tate's farce was played 18, 15, and 13 times respectively in the 1749 to 1752 theatrical seasons at Drury Lane.

Indeed it may not be amiss to conclude this introduction to these two dramatic works by Cokain and by Tate with

\(^1\)See ante, p. cliv.
some discussion of Summers' chronicle of the two plays. In nineteen printed lines on page 245 of his quarto publication, The Playhouse of Pepys, Summers makes thirty-three direct statements of fact, unsupported by a single item of documentation. Almost every one of these statements is false. He states that Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince was "first produced" in 1675. He gives no source for this, but earlier in this introduction it has been shown that his source was Whincop. Summers' flat statement gives a false impression, for he writes not only as if he knew that the play had been performed, but also as if there were other performances. And there is no proof to show that the play was acted at all. Then he states that Cokain's play was written about 1655, a statement that finds contradiction in all of the standard works on Elizabethan plays. He states that Haines enacted Trappolin at this supposed 1675 performance. I have found no proof for such an assertion; however, I believe I can show his source for arriving at this conclusion. In the New Poems of Duffett—and Summers lists this title incorrectly—there is a tag which lists Joe Haines as the speaker of a prologue to the revival of Every Man Out of His Humour.\footnote{Op. cit., p. 45.} Furthermore, Joe Haines did speak the epilogue to Tate's farce on its first recorded presentation. Since it was a general custom for Haines to speak the prologues and epilogues, it may be that Summers presumed he spoke this one
as well. Summers then states that the first recorded production of *A Duke and No Duke* took place at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, whereas, as has been shown, there is documentary evidence to prove that the company performed this farce at Dorset Garden. As the other factual errors in this passage have been dealt with throughout the introduction, there is no need to emphasize unduly these statements by one of the most prominent scholars of the Restoration period. Nevertheless the suspicion arises that, if there are these many errors in so short a passage, perhaps similar research on other sections of Summers' works might reveal at least a few more unsubstantiated assertions.
TRAPPOLIN SUPPOS'D A PRINCE

by

ASTON COKAIN

(1)
The Text

The text of Trappolin has been typed direct from the first edition of this play as printed in Small Poems of Divers Sorts in 1658. The following silent changes have been made: the letter s has been substituted for its seventeenth century form; the letters u and v, i and j have been transposed to conform with modern usage; ordinary capital letters have been substituted for the large block capitals of the initial letter or word of each scene; the speech tags have been made uniform in spelling and typed out in full preceding each speech, thereby discarding the highly abbreviated speech tags with variant spellings in the original. All other changes have been noted in the textual footnotes. The only modern edition of this play is that of Maidment and Logan in 1874. These editors modernized both the punctuation and the orthography of the original text. Such a procedure has not been followed in the present edition, although many emendations of the previous edition have been cited. The following abbreviations are used:

S- Small Poems of Divers Sorts, 1658.
P- Poems, 1662.
C- Choice Poems of Several Sorts, 1669.

A, P, and C are reprints of S.
Trappolin creduto Principe

or

TRAPPOLIN

Suppos'd a Prince.

An Italian

TRAGIC-COMEDY.

The scene part of Italy.

written by

Sir Aston Cokain

London

Printed by William Godbid 1658.
The Actors Names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lavinio</td>
<td>The great Duke of Tuskany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sforza</td>
<td>The Duke of Milan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horatio</td>
<td>Son of the Duke of Savoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbarino</td>
<td>Two noble Florentines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machavi</td>
<td>A Spanish Captain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mattemoros</td>
<td>Suppos'd a Prince.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trappolin</td>
<td>A Conjurer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mago</td>
<td>A Jaylour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pucannello</td>
<td>A Butcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulflesh</td>
<td>A Puritan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calfshhead</td>
<td>A Farmer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barne</td>
<td>A poor workman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiler</td>
<td>A Coachman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Notary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Guard</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attendants</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bo, Meo and Areo</td>
<td>Divels.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isabella</td>
<td>Wife to Lavinio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortalia</td>
<td>Wife to Sforza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prudentia</td>
<td>Horatio's Mistress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hipolita</td>
<td>The Captain's Mistress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flametta</td>
<td>Trappolin's sweetheart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Fine</td>
<td>A Plaintiff.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Line 6. S reads Mattemores. In the errata in S is the direction "read Mattemores, and where ever it is printed otherwise."
Gallants, be't known as yet we cannot say
To whom you are beholding for this play;
But this our Poet hath licens'd us to tell,
Ingenious Italy hath lik'd it well:
Yet is it no translation; for he here
But twice in Venice did it ever hear;
There it did take, and he doth hope (if you
Have your old humors) it will please here too.
He swears he hath not spoil'd it, and protest
We think it good, though he doth none o'th' best;
You often have heard worse it's house before,
And had we made the Prologue we'd say more.
That labour he hath say'd us, cause he would
No partial friend should crie it up for good;
An excellent new Comedy as you say,
When you have seen't, he so will judge his play.
He is not peremptory, like to some
Who think that all in best from them doth come.
Ladies and Gentlemen, you that do know
To censurc rightly as you think so do:
Our Poet scorns to beg your hands, yet faith,
That at the end of he the favour hath,
This shall not be his last, that he'll endeavour
To gratifie you shortly with another:
How ere it takes, be for your presence sends
His thanks by me, and hopes we shall part friends.

Line 2. W substitutes we for you.
line 10. W emends oth'n to o' th'.
Line 11. W emends it' h to i' th'.
line 20. W reads rightly, as you think, so no:
Actus primus & scena prima.

Enter Treppolin solus.

Treppolin

My wench Flametta is a dear rogue, the pretty fool dotes on me; my Lord Barbarin can do nothing with her; his pistols and jewels she cares not for. And tis a handsome thing: no Pomatum ere toucht her lips, or paint her cheeks, yet are they cherries and roses; I am most happy to be what I am, and to have the love of such a one as she. Enter Flametta.

Flametta

Good morrow Treppolin, how does my Love?

Treppolin

First let us kiss, and after I will tell, For ever thine Flametta.

Flametta

O thanks my dear. Enter Barbarino.

Barbarino

The villain Treppolin has a handsome wench, and (which angers me) an honest one; I have spent many weeks about her, but could never do any good, she will not neither for love or money; and see where they are a talking together.

Treppolin

Yonder is my Lord Barbarino. My dear Flametta, I am your Honours servant; this free promise of thine, I can never enough thanke thee for----at your Lordships command. How happily shall we live together in marriage(20 both loving so well and truly? Your Honours humble slave. Let us kiss a-gen,----your poor vassal my Lord,

Line 4. M changes ere to e're. J reads painted, corrected in the errata and by M to paint.
thus will we spend our daies in these delights; so will we kiss Flametta.----I beseech your Honour to pardon me: we mere will be a weary of our selves, if thou dost sigh, thy Trappolin will weep.----your Honour shall command me alwaies; and when thou singst thy Trappolin will dance.

Flametta

And I am thine my honest Trappolin, And ever will be constant unto thee.

Trappolin

I'le attend your Honour presently. (30

Flametta

There's no man alive shall make me prove Unfaithful unto thee, so much I love.

Trappolin

Your Lordship must pardon me a little, I am something busie.

Flametta

My Trappolin shall not bestow a kiss, But I will pay it him with usury; It is impossible for thee to be More thy Flametta's then Flametta's thine.

Trappolin

I will come to your Honour presently.

Flametta

Pardon Sweetheart that now I must be gone, My stay another time shall make amends: A kiss, my dear, my lovely Trappolin; With such I shall be never satisfied. Exit.

Trappolin

Farewel my dear rogue; my Lord I come, Your Honour must pardon me, you saw how I was employ'd, I could not leave the poor fool, your Lordship sees she loves me, and protest her labour is not lost: now if your Honour hath any thing to command me, I am ready Trappolino, your poor servant.
Barbarino

You are a sawcy peremptory villain, And I have well perceiv'd your base demeanor; Although I see the wench is yours, you shall Repent the freedome of your evil language, Be sure you shall. Exit.

Trappolin

Good morrow my Lord, Let him do his worst I care not a rush for him; he would ha my wench, and I am glad I abus'd him, I ha made his Honour something collierick, let him digest it how he will. Exit.

[Scene 1]

Enter Lavinio the great Duke, Prudentia, Barbarino, Machivil and others.

Lavinio

The Tuscane glory have we yet upheld, And from the fierce assaults of enemies Rescued our cities, set them in a peace As happy as the Gods did ere vouchsafe. Sforza the Duke of Milain our old friend, Who hath in all our wars still sent us aide, Hath promised me the matchless Isabella His sister for my wife; and seeing how We have no more to do with enemies, I will to Milain go and marry her, And quickly unto Florence will return, Where I will celebrate our nuptial With that magnificence becomes our state. You, whom I ever have found faithful to me, Lord Barbarino, and Lord Machivil, To you I do commit the government Of Tuscany until I return; And full commission to do what you shall See necessary for the good of Florence: My dear Prudentia, the onely joy

Line 58. S, A, P, and C read digest, but M emends to digest.

Scene 11. No scene division is marked in S, but all of the characters have left the stage; and the next time in this act when the stage is empty the scene division is marked Scena tertia.
Of our deceased Father, the last Duke,
Live happy, and enjoy thy own desires,
Which I do know are vertuous all.

Prudentia

Most noble Sir, it is impossible
That I should happy be, and you not present:
But I am unworthy to beseech your stay;
Go and be fortunate in a worthy choice,
While I to Heaven pray for your safe return.

[Lavinio]

Dear sweet Prudentia, and also Lords,
Look well unto my prisoner Brunetto;
Yet let him want nothing but a [free] release,
For sure he is more than he seems to be.
I have been long about this journey, now
All things are ready, my Prudentia
Farewel; and sister, be not melancholy,
For in few weeks I will return, and bring
A sister home to keep thee company,
The beauteous Milanes.

Prudentia

And may she prove
According to your wishes, noble Sir.

Barbarino

And be a joy unto the Florentines.

Machavil

And be a happy mother, that there may
Not want an heir unto your Highness.

Lavinio

Our thanks;
Onward, tis time I were upon my way.  

Exeunt.

Lines 29-39. This speech in S is assigned to Prudentia, but M emends by properly assigning it to Lavinio.

Line 31. A reads free, whereas S reads safe.
Barbarino

Now will I be reveng'd of Trappolin,  
Who hath so boldly to my face abus'd me;  
I have authority to do't withall,  
I'll make him to repent his sawiness.  
Enter Trappolin  
He's here, but I will do't as if by Justice.  

Trappolin

I can think of nothing but my pretty villain Flammetta;  
O 'tis a dear rogue, and she saies she loves me, and I  
know she does: when I have married her I will betake me  
to the country, where we will live as jovial as the day  
is long.---  

Enter Mattemoros the Spanish Captain.  

Mattemoros

I'll fight for Florence while I have a vein  
To hold my heart from falling unto death;  
Nor shall the Longobardy Mantuans  
Ere win a Flag while I am in the field;  
I'll make the Tuscan Duke to know the man  
Whom he hath trusted to conduct his troops,  
Durst but Gonzaga ever stir again.  
Methinks there is no nobler thing on earth,  
Then to see hills of bodies, lakes of blood:  
No braver Musick then the Martial Drum;  
Nor Diapasons sweeter to the ear,  
Then unto it the Warlike Trumpets make;  
When I but hear this harmony, I could,  
Full of delight, venter my single person  
Against an armed Troop. Away with peace,  
It is the Canker and the bane of minds;  
'Tis that which makes us to forget our selves,  
And spend our lives in sensuality.  
Then glorious war advance thy armed arm,  
That soldiers may have waies to shew themselves;  
We'd Gothes and Vandals once again would come  
Int' Italy, or Moors into our Spain,  
That Mattemoros might wear out his sword  
With hewing bones, and cleaving armed men:  
Each thing doth to his centre fall, and I  
Would unto mine, which is to fight or die.  
Who art thou?  

Trappolin

I!
Mattemoros

I you! what are you to good to be asked?

Trappolin

I am Trappolin.

Mattemoros

By that I know not, art thou a man of war?
Is Trappolin in any Captains roll?
I'at writ?

Trappolin

Yes (Seignor Captain) in the Parsons book,
The day thereof my baptisme is set down.

Mattemoros

And in that honour oft hast thou ere fought
With Infidels, and slain a score or two?

Trappolin

Not I, Heavens be prais'd, a score or two said you
Captain? then should I sure never escape, for I promise
you many an one is hang'd for killing of one.

Mattemoros

Fie, what an ignorance is this! hast thou a mind to
become now a souldier?

Trappolin

Indeed, Seignior Captain, I cannot resolve you as yet,
I am about a wife, Ile ask her if she will turn scouldier
too, and then if I like it ther's an end.
But I pray you Captain what is a scouldier?

Mattemoros

A scouldier, Trappolin, is he that does
Venter his life a hundred times a day,

Line 84. M emends to good to too good.
Line 88. M emends I'at to Is't.
Wood in his countries, and his Princes cause
Stand canon shot, and wood of steeled pikes;
Wood when his bodie's full of wounds all night,
Lie in the field and sleep upon his helm.

Trappolin

Good Captain pardon me, neither I nor Flamaetta will be souldiers; heavens defend, venter my life so many times a day! there is more safety and gain in turning thief: (110 I love my countrey and Prince well, but my self better; 'tis good sleeping in a whole skin, tis better lying with Flamaetta in a warm bed; marry I had thought a souldier had not been such a fool. How many of them might there be in Florence, Sir Captain?

Mattemoros

Thou coward, many hundreds.

Trappolin

The Gods send them more wit, thats eene all that I can say: but I pray you Sir Captain, now I think ont't perswade my Father and mother, sisters and uncles, and aunts, and all the kin I have to turn souldiers, that (120 they may be kil'd quickly and I be their heir; I swear Captain you should lose nothing by't, I would give you a good present for't.

Mattemoros

Base coward.

Trappolin

Good Captain, what is the meaning of coward? I have often heard that word, and would fain know the true meaning of it.

Mattemoros

A coward is a fellow base as thou,
One that doth spend his precious time in sloth,
Cares not what alterations kingdoms have,
So he at home may walter in his pleasures;

Line 118. M emends ont't to on't.
A fellow that had rather sit all day
Drinking tobacco, and carousing cups,
Then die his sword in blood of enemies.

Trappolin

Why then Captain, in faith I am a very coward; tis better
by half then a soouldier, I know there is far more pleasure
in a glass of good wine and a pipe of true Varines, then
in bullets whizzing about ones ears, and pikes or
halberts, or what you will abeating out ones teeth.

Mattemoros

Thou dunghil wretch.

Trappolin

Seignior Captain, be not angry, for I vow I mean earnest, I should never digest the soouldiery life,
 nor am I sure wood Flametta, and the Gods help them
 that do.

Mattemoros

Thou earthen-minded slave, tis pity thou shouldest eat
or drink that hast no better thoughts.

Trappolin

Not as long as I pay for't; what the Devil have I to do
with your soouldiery Sir Captain? give me leave to be of
my own mind, and a Coward; for [I]me sure no wise man
but wood say as I do, let those follow your wars that are
aweary of their lives.

Mattemoros

Thou art as dunghil a minded Rascal as ere I heard in my
life; I would not for any thing thou wast a Spaniard,
thou wouldst be a slander to the whole Nation. And Villain,
I tell thee if thou wert one, I would kill thee; Mattemoros
would do it, and so I leave it.

Exit.

Line 148. S reads 'me.
Trappolin

Farewel my Sir Don, go hang your self, what have I to do with your wars tro? for nothing would I venter to fight but Flametta, and for her I durst not exceed a bout at fisty Cuffs, or a bout with a little pair of Cudgels at the most: I should never endure to shoot off a Gun, (160 not I, the very noise of it would make me endanger my Breeches, Enter Horatio. Brunetto, honest Brunetto, how dost do? be merry man, this time will have an end man, and till it come be as jovial as thou canst, thou wouldst ene a blest thy self to a seen how I vext the patience of my Lord Barbarin.

Horatio

You have not sure.

Trappolin

Marry but I have, and to the purpose too.

Horatio

Then you are undone Trappolin.

Trappolin

Why man? (170

Horatio

The Duke has left him and the Lord Machavil governours till his return.

Trappolin

The Devil he has.

Horatio

Tis very true.

Lines 158-9. S reads it fifty, corrected in the errata to at fisty.
Trappolin

Troth then I am but little better I fear. Enter Officers

[First Officer]

Thats he,

[Second Officer]

Lay hold on him.

Trappolin

Brunetto, I am undon, thy Trappolin must to the Jayle, pray you my small friends give me leave to speake but one word, Remember me to my sugar-candy Flametta.

[Third Officer]

Away with him. (180

[Fourth Officer]

To prison with the saucy Rogue. Exeunt.

Horatio

I came to Mantua to ayde the Duke  
My Uncle gainst his foes the Florentines.  
Where hearing every man to praise the beauty  
Of sweet Prudentia, the report did win me;  
Being taken in the wars, I was not sad,  
Because I was to go where she did live:  
But seeing so many Princes all desirous  
To marry her, I knew the great Duke never  
Would bestow her on Savoyes second Son,  
And therefore yet I have concealed my self;  
Nor doth she know I am Horatio:  
For want of opportunit  
Could nere so much as sigh within her hearing.  

Enter Prudentia and Hipolita.

Hipolita

The Lady Isabella, by her picture,  
May be supposed to be a matchless fair one;  
Each feature of her face is wondrous good,

First Officer. S simply reads 1, 2, 3, 4.
And her fine head of hair's a curious colour

Prudentia

In her we shall be happy all, for she
The world reports hath equal to her forme
A noble and a vertuous mind; Whose that?

Hippolita

He is your brothers prisoner, called Brunetto,
That in the wars of Mantua was took.

Prudentia

Tis a handsome man.

Hippolita

And thought by all the Court a Gentleman
Of good descent, but he hath not disclosed
His parentage to any.

Prudentia

Why doth he not?

Hippolita

That no man knows yet besides himself.

Prudentia

How melancholy he doth seem?

Hippolita

He hath good cause for it Madam:
Who can be merry in Captivity?

Prudentia

Tis true;
A Gentleman of good descent suppos'd,
I never saw a man of braver Carriage,
Nor one that pleas'd me better than he doth;
Aha!

Hippolita

why sigh you Madam?
Prudentia
To think of fortune; perhaps this prisoner
Is of a house as good as the Medices,
Hath lived before the wars of Mantua,
In all the happiness [he] could desire,
And now we see him thus.

Hippolita
Methinks I hear him sigh.

Prudentia
And so do I.

Hippolita
He's gone. Exit Horatio.

Prudentia
But with how sad a gate?
Methinks I am not as I was before.

Hippolita

Hippolita
Madam.

Prudentia
Preethee go tune my Lute, I have a mind
To sing a little, I shall forget to play
If I so seldom use it.

Hippolita
I go Madam. Exit Hippolita.

Line 221. M inserts he before hath lived. This verb, however, goes back to prisoner for a subject.

Line 222. The errata in S corrects the reading of you could desire to he could desire.
Prudentia

I have sent her hence that I might search my heart,
For sure it is not as it lately was;
It is so full of thoughts, I cannot find
The free access into it I had wont:
What should the reason be, what have I done
To breed this alteration? Nothing I,
Ere I came here I felt myself as free
From this strange—what it is I cannot tell,
The place is not bewitched sure, nor have
I seen ought but this hapless prisoner.
'Alas poor Gentleman, (for in his looks
And in his carriage I can guess him such)
How little to the fates art thou beholding
To let thee live a prisoner thus? how now!
What i'st I say, talk of Brunetto? Oh,
I am in Love, the Gods will have it so. Exit.

Scena tertia

Enter Barbarino, Machavil, Matteoros, and
Officers leading Trappolin after them.

Barbarino

This man, Lord Machavil, is one of those
That doth in Florence nourish vice, he is
A pander, one that if he sees a stranger,
Straight makes acquaintance with him, for what end
Your self may guess; so he may gain thereby
He would betray our daughters, lead our sons
To Brothels, vicious and full of rottenness.

Trappolin

I wonder how the Divel he came to know any thing
that I did.

Barbarino

This writing yesternight was presented to me:
Here you may see what enormities he is guilty of.

Trappolin

His Lordship would shew himself a great hater of bawdery.

Machavil

Tis good we did examine him.

Mattemoros

And there is not such a coward in Tuscany; He's able to corrupt an army.

Trappolin

Seignior Captain, never fear, for I nere mean to come into one.

Barbarino

Bring him before us.

Trappolin

Ah that I durst tell my Lords Excellence why he deals thus with me, tis for a wench, and yet how eager he is against bawdery.

Officer

Forward Trappolin, go before their Excellencies.

Barbarino

Sirra, this paper doth not onely shew You are a rogue, your looks declare you one, Thou hast as ill a face as ere I saw.

Trappolin

And yet Flametta think'st as good as his, I did not lie and if I said a better.

Machavil

Ere we come to his pandarisme, I'll examine him about other matters; Sir, do you never use to carry pistols about you? 
Trappolin

Sometimes and please your Excellence I do.

Barbarino

Write down that Notarie.

Trappolin

What does your Lordship mean, I did not steal them.

Machavil

I know well enough what I do; sirra, you went to shoot some body.

Trappolin

Beseech your Honour to take me along with you, I meant money.

Machavil

That's vain, then Notarie tear it out.

Barbarino

Do you nere carry other armes neither?

Trappolin

Many times my Lord.

Barbarino

Notarie down with it, he shall be talk'd with for that.

Trappolin

Your Honour is deceiv'd agen, I mean onely armes upon seals, or scutchions from the Heralds.

Machavil

This is nothing Notarie, tear it out.

---

Line 37. S and M read mean, but the errata in S corrects to meant.

Line 42. M emends mean to meant.
Barbarino

A pimp I'me sure he is.

Machavil

Do you never carry no Love letters, as from a Gentleman to a Lady, or a Gentlewoman to a Cavalier, or so?

Trappolin

O very oft my Lord.

Barbarino

Do you so indeed? Notarie write it down.

Trappolin

Your Honour must understand me, Letters of Love, of friendship, as when a Lady writes unto her brother at Siena, a wife to her husband at Pisa, a son to his mother at such a place, a father to his daughter married at such a town, I am often hired, and carry them to the Post.

Machavil

Notarie, you must tear out this too.

Barbarino

But sirra, to come nearer to the matter, Do you not keep intelligence with Whores? Have you nere plaid the Ruffian? by your means Hath no man been provided of a lodging?

Trappolin

This I have no excuse for, the whole city knowes me a pimp. And that it is very nigh my living.Aside.

Machavil

What say you sirra?

Trappolin

My Lords, I am but a poor fellow, and must live.

Barbarino

By Bawdery?
Trappolin

Tis but a friends part.

Machavil

A wicked ones, Notarie down with this at large.

Trappolin

Alas my Lord, what hurt is it, if I help a Gentleman to a sound wench, where is there any fault? good your Honours, consider me, think not I am a man alone in this business, that many others live by it as well as I.

Barbarino

What an impudeny is this? Not only to do ill, but to defend it, Is a transgression exceeds forgiveness.

Trappolin

Good my Lord take pity on me, wel a day what should I do! I have not onely done a favour in it for my self, but also a courtesie for many a gentleman.

Machavil

Do not teare out that, Notarie.

Trappolin

Beseech your Honours let him tear't out.

Barbarino

What shall we do with this villain?

Machavil

Why let's hang him and ther's an end of him.

Trappolin

That's true I faith, consider my Lords, that never man was put to death for such a matter, but rather that they have been beloved, and well paid by noble men and cavalieres.

Line 75. M emends wel a day to Well-a-day.
Machavil

Had we not best to condemn him to the Gallies? or lets banish him.

Barbarino

I that's the best.

Trappolin

Beseech your Honours pity me.

Machavil

After to morrow, Trappolin, if thou be'ast seen in Florence thou shalt die, be hang'd; we banish thee for term of life, therefore prepare against to morrow to be gone.

Trappolin

Pray your Honours.

Barbarino

Notarie, write down he's banish't.

Machavil

You rogue, it is irrevocable, and therefore make you ready.

Trappolin

I think I am the first man that ever was banish't for such a matter; were all of my profession in the City served so, I think we should make an Army Royal of us.

Barbarino

This matter is concluded, Trappolin. Go seek your fortune. My Lord Machavil; We may depart. Exeunt. (100

Mattemoros

Thou man of durt, hadst thou a Souldier been, This banishment had never been pronounc'd.

Line 87. M emends I to Ay and places a comma after Ay.
Trappolin

But Sir Captain, I fear I should have been kil'd, which is worse.

Mattemoros

If for thy Country, t'had been a noble death.

Trappolin

I had rather live [\text{Capt.}] then die nobly.

Mattemoros

Thou man compos'd of sand, in vain I spend
My breath to talk with such a slave as thou;
Go and be hang'd, for so thou do dost deserve,
And might I judge thee, it should be thy end. Exit. (110

Trappolin

Thou brazen-headed Coxcomb, may'st thou go to the divel
with a Drum before thee; I had as leev be banish't out
of my Country and walk in peace, as be out on't in the
wars. Enter Horatio
Brunetto, O Brunetto, I must leave thee, I must be gone
Man to morrow, farewell Florence.

Horatio

Why, whats the matter Trappolin?

Trappolin

Why, I have banish't the Lord Barberino, and the Lord
Machavil.

Horatio

How! you banish't them? (120

Trappolin

They have banished me, or I them, 'tis all one, I must

Line 106. The emendation of M is adopted here; S reads live Capt. then.
be gone, and the divel a bit a mony I have: shall I help thee to a Wench Brunetto? Or if thou hast no mind to one, know'st thou any body that has? I'de fain be earning a little mony.

Horatio

I wish thee well, live honest Trappolin, And so thou shalt be sure to prosper better; This Ring I give thee, sell it, and the mony Spend to maintain thee.

Trappolin

Honest Brunetto, faith An ere I can I will requite thee fully; Farewell, I must also take my leave Of my Flametta, we shall cry together Like unto School Boys that are to be whipt.

Horatio

Alas poor simple Trappolin, I pity Thy fortune, yet 'tis better far than mine; Of all mankind I am most miserable, And lead a life would make a soul prove mortal, Yet do I not repine: Most dear Prudentia, I never can endure enough for thee, So that at last I may attain my wishes: There's not a grief mankind did ever suffer, Nor pain, I would not pass to make thee mine; Thou art the Centre of my wishes, all Horatio's thoughts upon thy beauty fall. Enter Prudentia

Prudentia

O Heavens, be merciful, and if I tell Him I am his, let him say he is mine; I have a fire within my breast must out, Longer I cannot hide it, if he now Do's not wooe me, I shall solicithe him. How sad a pace he walks? how melancholy Do's he look? Love compels us unto things In others we would scorn; I'le speak unto him, Because I fear he dares not unto me.

Line 122. M corrupts the text by emending gone to ordered away.
Brunetto.

Horatio

Divinest Lady.

Prudentia

I thought a Gentleman (for so I guess you)
Could have endured affliction better far,
That in the wars durst venter so his person.

Horatio

Most excellent Princess, many thousand men
Can suffer well the dangers of a battel,
But there are few or none at all that can
Bear out the passions of a mind afflicted.

Prudentia

Then you are discontent: Alas, you long for
Your liberty, and (truth) I cannot blame you.

Horatio

Then should I hate my self, being a slave to one
Whom I desire evermore to serve,
Ye that command the destinies of men,
Now let me die, and if I shall not prosper:
Know, Noblest Lady, that the Prisoner
That speaks unto you is a Prince by birth;
I am Horatio, second son unto
The Duke of Savoy, and the Piemont Prince;
At Mantua the fame of your perfections
Captiv'd my soul, and when that I was took,
I did account myself a happy man,
Being to go where you did live; I know,
Most dearest Princess, that I am unworthy
So great a happiness as is your love;
Yet if you deny me, witness heaven,
I never will return unto Turin,
But here die languishing for your refusal.
The Duke my father soon would pay my ransom,
But thraldom for your sake I have esteemed
Above liberty and pleasures of a Court.

Prudentia

My thanks, most gracious heavens-- Brunetto is
A Prince, most worthy brave Horatio,
I scorn to dally with my happiness,
Like some that love to counterfeit their joys;
Know I do love thee dear as my own soul,
And that if thou hadst now been silent, I
My heart unto thee had disclosed, live happy,
And if it in my power lies thou shalt.

Horatio

Doubt, fear, despair be gone, I am a man
That envy not the blessed lives of Kings;
Now she hath dain'd to say these happy words,
I care not though all mankind threaten me.
Most excellent and mercifullest Lady,
Y'ave raised me to a joy beyond my thoughts,
May all the Gods requite you for this goodness,
And I wear out my life to do you service.

Prudentia

My dear Horatio enough, I doubt not
Thy affections equal unto mine; we will
Love while we live, and may we dye forgotten
When we do cease to love, say I not well?

Horatio

Admired Princess, you out-speak me much,
But never shall out-love me.

Prudentia

Heavens be kind,
And make us in two bodyes have one mind. Exeunt.

Finis Actus Primi.

Actus secundus & scena prima

Enter Trappolin solus.

Trappolin

This banisht life is very doleful, I walk I know not
whither, and every step I go Flametta comes into my mind,
I think how she cried when we parted, and swore that she
would go too, and certainly so she wood, if I had not
told her she was not banisht, and might not. Farwel my
true Flametta; and the Divel take the two scurvy Lords
Barbarino, and Machavil, for Captain Mattemoros he is a
pratling asse; but by my conscience, he could nero ha
turn'd me loose for such a matter. Farwel my draughts
of Montefiascone and Bologna Sausages, me thinks this (10
is a very melancholy place: I have not seen a living
body these two hours, but they had wings, or four legs:
let me bethink me whither to betake my self; for in
Tuscany stay I must not, Ide to Rome and turn Frier if
I had any latine in me; there is nothing of Millain or
Naples, without I mean to turn souldier for one dinner
a day. Farwel all my good supper I was wont to have, the
wenches I helpt Gentlemen to: Venice, I that's the likeliest
place of all, and there I'lle follow my own trade, I love
to be fingring of Mons. and Polax Kyala, well then (20
I'lle to Venice, and turn pimpe; it is a good gainful
life in Italy, full of ease and pleasure, especially if
the flesh be young and handsome. Methinks I hear a bustling
in you trees, I hope it be not a thief; for then I shall
lose the ring Brunetto gave me, and may go hang my self.
You's an old man, an he be one I care not, for sure I
shall be good enough for him. Enter Mago a Conjurer.

Mago

Son, you are banisht, I know all the matter.

Trappolin

Tis true, old friend, I am indeed; but how the Divel came
you to know it? (30

Mago

Why the Divel told me.

Trappolin

Alas that ere I was born! I pray you father conjurer
do not hurt me.

Mago

Son Trappolin, I am so far from hurting thee, that thee
I do intend to make a Prince.

Trappolin

I pray you pardon me father conjurer, I have no mind to
domineer or swagger in hell.

Mago

You understand me not, thou shalt return to Florence.
Trappolin

And be hang'd there for my labour.

Mago

Be honoured there, and be suppos'd the Duke, who now in Milain is about his wife.

Trappolin

Faith if you can bring this about, father conjurer, I should laugh indeed; but suppose it could be done, when his Highness comes. Woe be to my neck.

Mago

No fear at all, leave all to me, and but remember what I say and thou art safe.

Trappolin

Faith I know not what to think of this; but Conjurers can do much.

Mago

I'll do it never doubt, come near to me, within this circle go, and do not fear though thou seest divels skip about thee.

Trappolin

Father Conjurer farewell, I had rather live in banishment then see the Divel.

Mago

Thou silly fellow do not fear, in this
Myriades of friends dare not, nor can they hurt thee;
Here thou shalt stand as safe from any danger
As ever thou didst yet in any place.
Think'st thou I have so little power over spirits,
As they dare disobey what I command?
Tell me thy wish, and if thou hast it not, before thy face I'll sink away with fear.
Give me thy hand and come.

Trappolin

Father conjurer, I faith I wish nothing more then what you have promised me already; could that be done I need here be a pandar a'ren.
Mago

Why do you stay?

Trappolin

Shall I be safe?

Mago

As free from peril as you can desire.

Trappolin

Why then I'll venter, being for such a matter;
But honest father Conjurer, if for fear I chance
To die, let not your divels take my body.

Mago

Come, do not fear at all, there is no need.

Trappolin

I will venter, but I pray you let not the divels come too near me.

Mago

You that below frequent the Stygian lake,
And in Cocytus waves do bathe yourselves,
You that upon the strands of Phlegeton
Do use to walk, attend unto my charmes,
Appear, I charge thee to appear, thou fiend,
Thou that over man's head power hast, appear
So thou spirit come,----

Trappolin

Good father conjurer
Let not the Divels be too ugly, lest
I play the sloven and annoy your nose.

Mago

Fear not.

Trappolin

Honest Master Conjurer, yonder comes your Divel, pray you circle me once more, for I'me afraid he'll be too bold with me.
Mago

Not all the fiends that are in hell can do
The least annoyance to thee, Trappolin: (90)
Thou art safe, and so believe thou art, come Bo
Give me that hat enchanted.

Bo

Here it is, Command me ought else.

Mago

No, vanish now:
Son Trappolin observe me well, this hat
Keep alwayes on thy head, 'tis Bo cald,
One of the things will make thee thought a Prince.

Trappolin

Tis none of the handsomest, mine's of a better block, I
think some Naples Devil made it, tis so high crowned.
One that saw me in this would rather think me a fool (100
then a Duke.

Mago

Mego thou spirit of magic glass appear,
I charge thee in dread Plutoes name to come;

Trappolin

More Devils yet! is the Circle sure, Father Conjurer? and
'tbe not I pray you take an order with it, I have no mind
at all to venter my self against the Devil.

Mago

Have I not told thee thou art safe? fear not,

Trappolin

Yonder's another Devil I think of Moran, for he brings a
looking glass with him.

Line 95. S reads Trap. observe.
Lines 99-100. S reads crowned, one.
Lines 104-105. M emends and 'tbe to and't be.
Mago

Deliver it, be gone.

Trappolin

I thank you for it, (besworn) for in good earnest father Conjurer I would have as little the company of your Devils as is possible.

Mago

But before I give you this mirrour (Sonne) Receive this powder by Magick art compos'd, And secret spells; he upon whom thou flingest it (It hath such hidden vertue in it) will Be took by all for Trappolin.

Trappolin

For me?

Mago

Yes certainly for thee.

Trappolin

Say you so? why then I faith with all my heart: Give it me, I swear unto you (old father) the very best man in Tuskany shall be Trappolin.

Mago

Here put it up and keep it safe.

Trappolin

And I do not hang me.

Mago

Now are you ready for the looking glass?

Trappolin

I am very ready indeed.

Line 125. M places a comma after not.
Mago

Son Trappolin, this looking glass was wrought
In the deep Caverns of the dark Abyss,
Compos'd of the mud of Phlegeton,
And with the blood of tortur'd Miscreants.

It is a Mirror I have studied long
And now have brought unto perfection:
This upon thee I do bestow, a gift
Such as the Crowns of Emperours could not buy.

Trappolin

And yet Father Conjurer, I have seen half a dozen better
sold for a pistol.

Mago

They were the works of mortalls[when thou hast
A cloke Ile give thee two: but look in this
And thou shalt see thy self the Duke; and if,
When he returns agen, thou meetest him
(But throw the powder on him first) and he
Begins to rage, bid him look in't, and it
Will shew him the reflexion of thee.

Trappolin

Say you so? why then give me the glass.

Mago

Here, stand still, I will now raise up the fiend
That hath the Cloke which I have promised thee.

Trappolin

Father Conjurer, as you love your son Trappolin, give me
another Circle or two, for I promise you I fear this
almost worn out.

Mago

Still thou dost fear; be bold and confident,

---

Line 139. M correctly emends two to too.
Hell cannot hurt thee as thou standst.

Trappolin

Why then let him come.

Mago

In Proserpin's dread name our Sovereign Queen, Areto, I do charge thee to appear;
Thus by the waft of this enchanted wand
I do command thee fiend unto this place.

Trappolin

No more Father Conjurer, hold, here comes the Devil, he's a Taylor in hell sure, for he brings a cloke.

Areo

Thou against whom fierce Cerberus dares not bark,
Here is the Cloke, which, to obey thy will,
We (that thy servants are) have made.

Mago

Tis well:
Be gone, I licence thy depart; this Cloke,
Son Trappolin, doth perfect thee the Duke.

Trappolin

I know not, but on my conscience the poorest of his Highness servants near wore a worse, it seems to me to have been made of these miserable thefts of a beggerly Taylor, tis of so many Colours; and for the fashion of it (by your leave Father Conjurer) tis very clownish, and something inclining to the fools fashion.

Mago

Thy words, Son Trappolin, are vain. Those Counts And Marquesses that swagger it in Gold, Shall not appear so glorious to the eyes Of men as thou in this.

Line 155. Read Areo for Areto.
Trappolin

Father Conjurer, I'll be rul'd by you, put on.

Mago

Thou art the great Duke now in shew, the wisest
Judgements will believe thee so, now take the glass and
see thy self in't.

Trappolin

Beseech your Highness pardon me, I am
A poor subject of yours, for a small matter
Banish't by envious Lords.

Mago

Why Trappolin what folly is this?

Trappolin

Besoorne to you Father I thought I saw his Highness, and
was a begging to be pardoned:

Mago

Away with ignorance, twas thy Reflexion,
As thou didst seem unto thy self, so thou
Shalt likewise to the world appear; now mark me,
Not one of these can make thee like the Duke;
They altogether do: nere leave them off
Without thou art secure, for one but missing
Thou wilt appear thy self: The Hat is cald
After the Devils name that brought it, Lo,
The Looking Glass Meo, the Cloke Aro,
And there are fiends within them.

Trappolin

Father Conjurer, I thank you for your kindness, take all
your ware agen; carry so many Devils about me? so I shall
be sure to be carried to the Devil by um.

Mago

Suspect no hurt, they can as well destroy
Their immortality as do thee harm.

Trappolin

Why then (honest father Conjurer) Ile venter my self
among them, but I swear unto you if they begin to stir Ile
ene fling them all away without more a do.

Mago

Farewell son Trappolin, return to Florence,
And flourish in the pleasures of the court:
Other affairs command me to be gone,
Give me thy hand; farewell son Trappolin.

Trappolin

Be not so hasty (my dear old father) one word before you
go: how shall I say, that I bring not my Dutchesse with
me, but come alone?

Mago

Why any thing, what you will.

Trappolin

Ile make um believe then that I licenced her to stay as
long as she pleases, and that I came alone to see how they
governed in my absence.

Mago

'Twill do, now have you done with me?

Trappolin

I have: I thank you for all your things here, fare you
well honest father Conjurer. Exit Mago.
Now Trappolin is no more Trappolin.
What I am in my glass I'le look again:
The great Duke, ha! tis well, 'tis very well;
This scurvy Cloak doth seem his gallant one,
And this base Hat his Highness Beaver; my face,
My body, legs and all seem changed; I faith
The Conjurer is a wondrous learned fellow.
You scoundril Lords that banish't me, I'le make
Sport with your scurvy Honors, that I will.
Ec, Mec, and Areo attend
Unto your offices well, and guard your friend.

Line 202. M emends a do to ado.
Scena Secunda.

Enter Sforza the Duke of Milain, Hortentia the Duchess, Isabella his sister, Lavinio the great Duke with Attendants.

Sforza

Most noble brother (for so the Temple Rites Of Hymen done do licence me to call you) Honour our entertainment one half hour Longer, and we will leave you with your Bride.

Lavinio

Great Prince, the glories you have done me here I leave to future Chronicles to tell, And still you do increase them; sure no man In Milain ever did receive such honours; You always shall command me.

Sforza

Sir, we deserve no complements, we have Our wishes, if you but rest satisfied Of our good meaning.

Lavinio

Most gracious Madam, the Roman Emperours Would have wondred at your Court had they but known it: Which of them all would not have blest his fates For the fruition of so rich a Beauty, As is the matchless Lady Isabella?

Isabella

Sir, of your own you may say what you please, But I am sure you over-praise me much.

Lavinio

Dearest of all the world, thou dost deserve Princes and Poets both to speak thy worth. Bless'd be the powers divine, that me of all Mankind did chuse to make most fortunate, In giving me the glory of the earth.

Sforza

Sit down most noble brother, from your Bride We will not part you: sister this place is yours; So let them now begin.
Enter Hymen, Luna, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Sol, after Musick.

Hymen

Hither we are descended from above,
To gratulate your nobly grounded love;
That you most worthy happy pair should know
The Gods themselves are pleas'd with what you do.
Me you have honoured, and to honour you,
I have brought the Deities along, which do
Command and rule the days, that they may bless
You all the year with plenteous happiness.
May Tuscanes Cities boast of Milains Spouse;
And future Ages, when they would compose
One grac'd with all the vertues, her express
To be a Lady like this Milaness.
And may the most ingenious Florentines,
Your citizens (Great Duke) busie their minds
In writing, and in singing Marriage-songs,
Delectable Epithalamiums.
While you do live love ever, and may you
Continually your generous heats renew.
Thus Hymen wishes, and it will go hard
If what a god says gods do not regard.
Thus I could spend the night, but that would prove
A wrong unto my Hites and to your love.
Here they dance, and Hymen leads it.

Luna

Cinthia I am, that with my borrowed light
Out-shine the Stars, and do command the night:
Many a time, when else I vail'd would ride,
I will appear to see you with your Bride.
Lamps nor wax lights you shall not need, for I
Instead of them will ever more be by.
And may you in this life you have begun,
Equal in love me and Endymion.

Mars

Though my aspect be fierce, and wars presage,
To you they shall be such as Lovers wage,
Sweet kisses, soft embraces, and such things
As amorous Queens enjoy and amorous Kings.
You therefore without pity both may fight
Battles, not full of danger but delight:
And may they last until I part you two;
Which I do promise I will never do.
Mercury

Hermes I am, Maja's wing'd Son, and shine
Among the Planets in a Globe of mine:
And though 'tis true I favour thefts and sleights,
Yet will do none t'diminish your delights.
Love therefore, laugh and kiss, embrace, and be Secure, nothing can hurt you without me;
And if I ever do, may I forgo
My Sphere, and live among the fiends below.

Jupiter

Of all the Gods and Goddesses I am
The most supreme, and bear the chiepest name.
For Love what is it that I have not done
To bring my wishes to conclusion?
I for my self have done no more then I
Will do for you, to make you live in joy.
Therefore most happy pair of Lovers, fear Nothing, since Jove himself doth hold you dear;
Live merrily, and let this be your mover,
That Jupiter himself was once a Lover.

A Song

Venus

Since in my Orbe I shined fair,
And Lovers did befriend,
(The morning and the evening Star)
I never could commend
(Heaven blessed paire) none like to you,
Whom time shall never make untrue.

May Hesperus and Vesper lose
Their lights, fair Venus fall;
If all her power she doth not use
To prosper you withal.
May other Deities grant you life,
I'le make you loving man and wife.

Saturn

Though I am old and rigid in aspect,
And cold and youthful sports do not affect;
And though my influences many ways
Adverse to others be, and cross their days:
For you, heaven-loved pair, my self I'le force,
And run a milder and a gentler course;
His ancient custome Saturne will forget,
Rise for your pleasures, for your pleasures set.
Doubt me not therefore, for my vow is strong,
That for your sakes again I wish me young.

Sol

Phoebus I am, the glorious guide of day,
That all the Planets lighten with my ray:
I am the brightsome, lightsome Chariot:
That heaven and earth adorn within my Sphere;
And know what 'tis to be in love since I
Followed my Daphne, who from me did flie.
May I lose all my glory, all my Beams
Fall like my Phaeton int'Ocean streams,
If all my faculties I do not try
To make you live in joy, and love in joy.
In Summer time when you int'Arbors go,
I will not shine to trouble you below,
Will onely peep to see you kiss and smile,
To make me think, this I have done ere while.
In Winter season when the Frost doth stay,
And hinder Rivers to go on their way;
When flakes of Snow do cover earths green face,
I for your sakes will thaw off both apace.
In pleasures evermore you shall accord;
Apollo cannot falsifie his word.
Here they dance another dance which Hymen leads.

Hymen

The gracious Planets which command the days
By powerful influences, you have heard
To bless you both according to their ways,
Vowing to be your keepers and your guard.
Them for your sakes with me I brought along,
That they might prosper you as well as I,
Because this marriage knot I'de tye so strong,
That it there nothing ever should untie.
You whom the heavens will prosper all your life,
You whom on earth ther's nothing can offend,
Most happy pair, most happy man and wife,
Your lives in love wear out and in love end.
Nor shall a Poet hired for his gain,
Upon your Tomb a feigned verse engrave;
Mens tongues and tears shall make you both remain
Above the power of an Epitaph.
But may you live until you aweary be,
Not of your selves, but of these earthly sports;

Line 115. M emends love in joy to love enjoy.
And the eternal joys above would see,
Which ever are in Jove's immortal Courts.
Thus unto you do gods their wishes give,
And unto them may you according live.  Exeunt Maskers.

Sforza

I think, Hortentia, now the Mask is done,
Our brother gladly would go to his rest.

Hortentia

And it is time, most noble brother, when
You please we will attend you to your Chamber,
And sister, we will see you laid in bed;
Methinks it is a very pretty thing
To see a Virgin blush, look pale and blush.

Isabella

'Tis sport to others, to the Maid 'tis none.

Lavinio

Most excellent, Princess when you please let's go,
For now each minute is as tedious to me
As years have been, so much I do desire
The chast embraces of my matchless Spouse.

Sforza

And worthy friend, let us entreat your stay
As long in Milan as is possible;
You cannot be in Florence more beloved,
Nor by the better nor the meaner sort.

Lavinio

What I can do you know you may command
Unto my utmost power.

Hortentia

Lights.

Lavinio

My fairest, dearest love, your hand, this part
Of happiness makes me suppose the rest.  Exeunt.
[Scene iii]

Enter Mattemoros.

Mattemoros

Those lazy times that do degenerate minds,
And breed new thoughts in most Heroick hearts,
By noble spirits are to be abhor'd,
And loathed as the ruine of their souls.
Whilst I did follow the Triumphant War
Through fire and blood, I was a happy man;
I thought no pleasure was a parallel
To the loud cry of mortal wounded foes:
But now I am transformed from my self,
Hipolita hath charm'd me with a look;
May I but hear her speak, how I rejoyce!
May I but hear her sing, I think me blest.
0 how my heart's ashamed of my tongue,
Which never until now effeminate thoughts
Could win upon. 0 would to heaven this Lady
Were but a man, and circled round with death,
That I might kill her, and release my self:
Or were she like the Warlike Amazon,
With whom renowned Theseus did contend,
That with my honour I might challenge her
For an enchanter, and a witch. How fondly
And foolishly I rave! strongest resolutions
A women's powerful beauty doth destroy;
He that can conjure men, unpeople towns,
Cover the sea with Fleets, drink rivers dry
With armed squadrons he conducts to fight,
Whom potent monarchs fear, and Emperors wish
To make their friend, a Ladies smile, or eye
Subdues above resistance, and makes die.

Enter Horatio and Prudentia.

Horatio

Most dearest worthiest Princess, I am blest
Above the proudest of my former wishes;
Your love to me was like a thing desired,
But far from expectation: as men
Forlorn and wretched, being content to die,
And sure to suffer, wish to live, although,
They fully do despair of life; of late
Even so was it with me, I lov'd you

Scene iii. 3 reads Scene Secunda, already indicated supra p. 37; hence M properly alters the scene division to Scene iii.
Above my lives expression, but did ever
Despair the blessedness of such an honour.

Prudentia

My dear Horatio, I cannot speak
So well as you, but I can love as truly.

Mattemoros

A strange discovery! I will retire
More close and hear the rest.

Prudentia

And noble Sir,
Because I know my brother the Great Duke
Will not at all, or scarce allow this match,
I will with you whenever you command
Leave Florence, and what fortune it shall please
The Gods to send us, bear with cheerfulness.

Horatio

Excellent merciful Prudentia,
I must pray Heaven make you a full requital, (50
For I shall ever be unable.

Prudentia

I cannot stay longer with you now, at our next[meeting]
I'lle cloy you with my company. A kiss.
Farewel my hearts best pleasure. Exit Prudentia.

Horatio

Let others travel Italy all over,
To talk of such a City, such a place:
Go to magnificent and holy Rome,
Once the sole Empress of the conquered world;
To Venice rich, commanding, politick;
Unto sweet Naples, plenteous in Nobility;
Unto great Milan; unto fat Bologna,
Civil Ferrara, Arriostoes town,
Strong walled Padua which Antenor built,

Line 38. M emends lives to life's.
Line 52. S reads meeting.
The Trojan Prince, and Titus Livius fames
For his nativity and sepulchre;
To subtileburgame, most highly honoured
For neer relation to Torquato Tasso;
To proud and stately Genua renown'd
By her seafaring citizen Colombo;
Worthy Varona, old Catullus city;
Bloody Peruggin, warlike Bessia,
Glorius Mantua, Virgilius Maro's birth-place,
Good Rimini, iron Pistoia,
Fine languag'd Siena, and industrious Luca,
Odd-humor'd Forly, honest old Ravenna,
Ill-aired Simegallia, Capua
Effeminate and amorous, wherein
The Carthaginian Captains Souldiers were
Spoil'd and debauch'd with pleasures; Fisa hanging,
Pesaro a garden of best fruits, Ancona
Prays'd for the Port Loyal, and true Urbino,
Round Ascoli, long Recanati, built
Upon a steep hills ridge, Foligno full
Of sugry streets, among the Apennine,
Faro for handsome women most extold,
And Modena happiest of them all;
From beauteous comely Florence when I part
Without Prudentia, thunder strike my heart. Exit.

Mattemoros

A gallant resolution; for the man
I cannot blame him, but the Princess, she
To look so low, and dote upon a slave,
Seems very strange, and full of wonder to me.
Had Delphian Oracles, ever ador'd
For uttering truth, spoke this, I should have doubted:
She whom we thought a Saint, a pattern for Nunnes,
Thus to forget herself, it doth amaze me.
O women, I could rage against the sex!
And lov'd I not Hipolita I would.
She cannot hear me, and I needs must speak
A word or two, they are all false and fickle all,
The poysen of mens happiness, within
(Though they are fair without) most full of sin.

Barbarino

Good morrow Captain Mattemoros.

Line 85. For Faro read Fano. On p. 95 of 3 the name of this town is given correctly as Fano.
Machavil

How do you Captain?

Mattemoros

Your Honours humble slave, I am well, but sad; And so had all the Court good cause to be, Did they but know so much as I.

Barbarino

Why Captain, What's the matter?

Mattemoros

I'lle not be silent for her Honours sake; Prudentia the Princess is in Love, With whom do you suppose my Lords?

Machavil

I think with none, for we all know, she yet Hath slighted Modena's and Parma's Duke, And seem'd careless of mankind.

Mattemoros

Alas! She were most happy were it one of them: It is Brunetto she's in love withall.

Barbarino

How?

Machavil

Impossible!

Mattemoros

It is a thing most true, my eyes and eares Have seen and heard it, while I stood unseen.

Machavil

You amaze us.

Barbarino

It is a thing I never should have thought, Though spent my life in fond imaginations.
Mattemoros

As I have seen an amorous cloud receive
A stately hil into her lovely breast,
And of his lofty head our eyes bereave,
And seem to lull his senes unto rest:
So did the scorneful Lady daign to leave
All her majestick state, and sore opprest
With inward flames, her eager armes she cast
About his neck, kist and embrac't him fast. (130

Barbarino

Wonders.

Machavil

How the Great Duke will rage?

Mattemoros

And do not you my Lords in time prevent them,
They'Il steal away I fear, for so she vow'd,
When he but said the word she wood.

Machavil

By his imprisonment we'Il hinder that. Enter Horatio.

Barbarino

Here is the man we spake of.

Machavil

For the Princes honour let us keep it close
As possible we can. You of the guard. Enter the guard.

Barbarino

Seise on Brunetto, carry him to prison,
Bid Puchannello keep him safe, Tis our pleasures. (140

Horatio

What violence is this? O had I been suffered to wear a
sword, some of you should pay dearly for it!

Machavil

Away with him. Exeunt the guard with Horatio.
Mattemoros

My lords, you have done wisely to prevent
So great a dishonour as might have ensu'd
Tainted the family of the Medices,
And been a lasting sorrow to the Duke. Enter Trappolin.

Barbarino

His Highness is returned.

Machavil

Great Sir, upon our knees we welcome you;
You come unlookt for, we did not expect
This happy time so soon by fourteen dayes.
Where is our Dutchess?

Trappolin

Your Dutchess will not come till the Gods know when, for I
do not, I have gin her leave to stay as long as she will,
but besworne I fear you have governed but scurvily in my
absence, I hear that you have banisht an honest poor man
cal'd Trappolin, is it true?

Machavil

So please your Highness he deserv'd no less.

Trappolin

Why what hurt had he done, had he knockt any body oth
head? What was his fault?

Barbarino

He was a pander, and corrupted youth.

Trappolin

You lie Sirra, not panders but whores do that; and not
they neither if they be found: banish one of my subjects
for such a matter? besides were there no more in Florence
but he?

Machavil

Be not displeased we humbly pray your Highness,

---

Line 159. Read o' th' for oth.
For we did think we did it for the best.

**Mattemoros**

I wonder at our Duke in this.

**Trappolin**

Well, I am very weary, I left all my train behind with my wife, and rid as fast as I could drive that I might come (170 unlookt for the better to see how you behav'd your selves, which you have done bad enough. When I was almost at Florence a saucy Varlet rob'd me and stole my horse from me, so that I was beholding to my leggs to bring me hither. **Barberino** and **Machavil** come you hither both of you.

**Machavil**

What is your Highness pleasure?

**Trappolin**

Sirra Barberino hold by Mach's breeches, and stoop, for on thy back I will ride to my Palace.

**Barbarino**

Ile go fetch a Coach for your Highness.

**Trappolin**

The Devil take your Coaches, stoop I say without more (180 ado: where is your obedience?

**Mattemoros**

I think the Duke's run mad, or foxt soundly at the least, I know not what to think of this.

**Trappolin**

You Sirra Don, run by my side, supply my Lackeys office, wonder not but obey.

---

**Line 174.** S reads hi-hither, clearly the compositor's error.

**Line 177.** For Mach's read Machavil's.
There is no remedy: heaven be merciful, I think his Highness run mad for fear when he was robd.

Now on and do not loyter: Thus like the Roman Emperours will I ride To triumph through Florence; stumble not you had best, Chariots them carried, a Tuscan Noble me; mine (190 is the statelier and the braver way; Eo, Meo and Areo thanks.

Mattemoros

He jeers us and miscalls us.

Trappolin

On apace,

That I may quickly be in my Palace. Exeunt Omnes.

Finis Actus Secundi.

Actus Tertius, Scena prima.

Enter Horatio in prison.

Horatio

Unto the man enthral'd black and obscure
Is the clear beauty of the brightest day;
Through Iron Grates he only sees the light,
And thereby doth increase his misery;
Those whom he doth perceive in joy to pass
Augment his wretchedness, by making him
To think that thus I lately was my self:
But admirablest Lady of the world,
Divine Prudentia, may I die abhor'd
By all mankind, if I repine at all,
Seeing for thy sake I do suffer this;
The exquisitest tortures curious inventions make,
For thee I would think sports, and undergo;
Mayst thou live happily and free from care,
And all my miseries of no moment are.
Trappolin

Lo, Meo and Areo, faith you are all brave Devils all on you, and my father Conjurer an excellent fellow; I love to see my self, Meo thou art not the work of Moran; No, the Duke himself I seem. I now must learn to walk in state, and speak proudly, Ile play such tricks with my Lord banishers, shall make me sport enough: banish a poor man for doing courtesies! it is against the law of friendship, I am suppos'd a Prince, the Florentines acknowledge me the great Duke; what ever I do tho never so bad passeth with approbation: poor Trappolin turn'd Duke! tis very strange, but very true; Would the fates favour panders in this wise, He were a fool besworn would not turne pimp, Seeing Pandors Dukes become, he is an asse That may hav't will let the office pass. 0 me Brunetto, alas for thee man! how camst thou there? I think in my heart an there be a mischief in the world thou wilt be at one end or other on't, So ho, Pucannello, Pucannello! Enter Pucannello.

Pucannello

Who calls:

Trappolin

That do I Sirra, let me Brunetto out presently, and bid him come to me.

Pucannello

Your Highness pleasure shall be done. Ex[it].

Trappolin

Alas poor Brunetto! marl what he has done to be lockt in such a place, I think in my conscience tis not for any Lechery, for I could never get him to't, and many a time I have offered him many a good bit: Brunetto to come into the Jayle! I cannot tell what to think of it, but be't for what it will out he goes; my good friend Brunetto who gave me a Ring shall not lie there; Enter Brunetto. Honest Brunetto.

Line 35. All speech tags for Pucannello have been altered to conform with the spelling in the dramatis personae.

Line 38. S reads Ex.
Horatio

Great Prince:

Trappolin

He makes a very low leg, but I will not be out-gone in courtesie; Dearest Brunetto.

Horatio

Your Highness doth forget your self exceedingly, I am your prisoner.

Trappolin

My best friend good Brunetto.

Horatio

Beseech your Highness to remember your self.

Trappolin

So I do, but never must forget thee, I am glad to see thee in good health, dear Brunetto.

Horatio

I shall fall to the ground even now in this salutation; beseech your Highness, I am your prisoner, your slave.

Trappolin

I am thy servant Brunento.

Horatio

Wonders! I am astonished; upon my humble knees I do congratulate your safe and speedy return.

Trappolin

And upon my knees I do embrace thee Brunetto, thou art an honest man, my most sweet Brunetto.

Horatio

I know not what to think, nor what to speak;

Line 57. M emends Brunento to Brunetto.
Beseech your Highness rise.

**Trappolin**

Not without thee, up Brunetto, honest Brunetto up I say.

**Horatio**

Beseech your Highness, I am your humble slave.

**Trappolin**

I am thy servant Brunetto, and as long as thou liest on the ground so will I too; up therefore, let us rise and talk, away with your complements; I cannot abide them, up I say, let us rise; thou shalt not stay I swear.

**Horatio**

I am amazed, by force I must obey: Great Sir, I know not what to think, you honour me above all expression.

**Trappolin**

Honour a fig, I love thee Brunetto, thou art a good honest fellow, I love thee with all my heart: Complement with me, and I will be very angry; without more ado I tell thee I love thee. Puchanello so ho! [Enter Puchanello.] Sira Puchanello, bring two chairs hither presently. [Exit Puchanello.]

**Horatio**

Your Highness.

**Trappolin**

Away with Highness, I say away with it, call me Levin Duke, plain Medices, I cannot abide your Highness, your Excellency, your Worship, I hate such idle flimflams, (so dear Brunetto, how I love thee, I faith I do with all my heart, and if I lie unto thee I would I might be hang'd.

**Horatio**

Sure I am awake, this is no dream.

---

Lines 75-76. 3 has no directions for the entrance or the departure of Puchanello.
Trappolin

We will live merrily together, I faith we will Brunetto, how glad I am to see thee in health! [Enter Pucannello.] come Sirra, what a while ha you been a bringing a couple of chairs! set them here Sirra and be gone. Brunetto, sit thee down, sit down man Exit Pucchanello. I say.

Horatio

I will attend your Highness on my knees.  

Trappolin

Why I am not thy Father, am I? leave fooling and sit thee down, that we may talk together, sit thee here I will have it so,

Horatio

I am astonisht, I humbly pray your Highness.

Trappolin

Pray me no praying, but sit thee down, sit thee here man. Brunetto be rul'd.

Horatio

On the right hand, I know not what to think.

Trappolin

I am something aweary Brunetto, and will not sit without thee, therefore I pray thee make me stand no longer; obey [me,] for I am the Duke. 

Horatio

Here then so please your Highness.

Line 85. 3 has no stage direction for the entrance of Pucannello.
Lines 88-89. M emends down man I say to down, my man, I say.
Lines 99-100. 3 reads obey, me for.
Trappolin

Why an thou wilt have it there, there let it be, but I am mistook thats on the left hand, what do you think me a clown and without breeding, that I ha no more manners in me? for shame of the world, sit thee down Brunetto, sit thee down & without more bidding, without thou wilt ha me lie on the ground, for I am so weary I can scant stand.

Horatio

There is no remedy, I must obey.

Trappolin

So, well done, sit still man, what art doing, art afraid of me?

Horatio

What does your Highness mean?

Trappolin

Marry and thou drawst back Ile draw back too: Brunetto sit thee still and let us talk.

Horatio

I will obey your Highness.

Trappolin

Highness me no more highness, I cannot abide it, my name is Lavin, call me Lavin Duke, and tis enough a conscience.

Horatio

Great Sir, I am far unworthy of these honors, The noblest Florentines would be most proud To be thus graced by their Prince.

Trappolin

I like not these set speeches neither, let us talk as we were companions in a Tavern together, and not after the Court fashion, I am as weary of it as a Dog, I am Brunetto; prithee man how cam'st thou into the Gaol?

Horatio

O pardon me Dread Soveraign.
Trappolin

On thy knees man? what meanest thou by this, dost take me for Mahomet? as well as I can pardon thee I do, anything what ere it be, though thou hast kil'd every body; rise therefore I say Brunetto, and set thee in thy place again or Ile kneel too.

Horatio

Most merciful Prince, hear me before, lest you Repent your kindness towards me afterward.

Trappolin

Up I say Brunetto, up, I pardon thee any thing, upon condition thou wilt rise and sit thee down.

Horatio

It is your Highness will.

Trappolin

Now good Brunetto without any fear (for I swear unto thee I do not care what thou hast done, and forgive thee whatsoever it be) tell me the cause.

Horatio

Dread Soveraign, I was for love put in.

Trappolin

Who put thee in?

Horatio

Your Highness Governors, Lord Barberino, and Lord Machavil. 

Trappolin

They are a couple of Coxcombs for their pains; who art in love withal?

Horatio

O Pardon me.

Trappolin

Sit still or I will not, and if thou dost I will.
Horatio

Your Highness Excellent sister--0 Great Prince!

Trappolin

Sit still Brunetto, wast thou laid up for that? Alas for thee, hast thou married her?

Horatio

So please your Highness no.

Trappolin

It doth neither please my Highness nor Lowness neither, I wo'd thou hadst, and that's all the hurt I wish thee: [Couldst thou think I that loved thee so would be angry (150 with thee for this, hast thou her consent?

Horatio

I have.

Trappolin

I am very glad of it, and I here give thee mine too: prethee Brunetto do me the favour to go and bid Barberino or Machavil come to me, I'le send for my sister presently, and If she says so to me, I'le soon have you married.

Horatio

You Highness shall command me to my death, More willingly unto my life, for so This business doth import; [the]heavens be praised, And ever be propitious to you, bless you (160 According to your own and my desires. Exit.

Trappolin

This Brunetto is a good honest fellow, and hath always behaved himself very well, and whatsoever he be I'le give

Line 150. As emended by M. S reads co ldst.


Line 159. Read your for You.
him Prudentia for the Ring he gave me, I will not be ungrateful; he said he was in love with my sister, and if he had them all, I wo'd een say much good do his heart with them: but he means the Princess, and though I have little to do with her, yet if I can give her him I will. Brunetto's Ring I shall never forget. Enter Machavil.

Machavil

Your Highness pleasure.

Trappolin

My Highness pleasure, Sirra Lord, is, that you go and tell my sister Prudentia I would speak with her presently, I will expect her here: be gone. Exit. The Duke's life is very pleasant, I take great content in it, and were it not for one thing I were most happy, which is, I dare not disclose my self to my dear Flametta, for she is a woman, and full of title tattle as the rest are; nor if I could win her without making my self known, durst I lye with her, by reason of putting off Bo, Meo, and Areo; otherwise sure I should get her; for sure she would not refuse a Duke. Enter Flametta.

Flametta

Here is the Duke alone, whom I so long
Have fought for to petition for the repeal
Of my dear Trappolin. Great Prince, as low
As truest humility can make a Suitor;
Before you I prostrate my self; Most excellent
And merciful Sir, pitty a loving Maid,
Who is bereaved of her joys; I beg
Poor banish't Trappolin might be recalled,
Whom (when your Highness was to Milain gone,)
Was by those cruel Lords whom you did leave
Our Governors, sent into banishment.
Great Duke, you that have noble thoughts, and sure
A heart full of commiseration,
Kill me not with a cruel hard denial.

Trappolin

Ah Ec, Meo, and Areo, hinder me! I must counterfeit with her; fair Maiden rise.

Flametta

O let me kneel (Great Sir) until you say
My Trappolin shall be repeal'd.
Trappolin

Rise I say, & we will talk of it; I cannot abide to see any body kneel unless they are in the Church, that have leggs to stand on: how may I call you Maiden?

Flametta

So please your Highness, my name is Flametta.

Trappolin

Mris. Flametta, I say give me your hand, rise without more ado, rise without you mean to say your Beads over; Mris. Flametta be rul'd, good Mris. Flametta be rul'd, wo'd I were hanged if ever Trappolin come home and you get not up; up I say therefore.

Flametta

I must be most rude.

Trappolin

Why that's well done Mris. Flametta: Trappolin for whom you are a petitioner, young Mistris, is banish't you say, for what it matters not, tell me what you'l give for his repeal.

Flametta

Even any thing I have, all that I have.

Trappolin

Are you a Virgin? tell me true, if you are not, it is no wonder besworn, it is more wonder by the half if you are, for I think there be not two of your age in the City that be.

Flametta

May I not prosper in my wishes Sir, If I be not a Maid.

Trappolin

And will you give your Maidenhead to have him recal'd from banishment?

Flametta

To him when he comes home, and we are married.
Trappolin

Well said Mistress, But tell me now what will you give me for to have him come home?---

Flametta

Even any thing I have.

Trappolin

I am a great man, and like them, will not do favours for nothing; will you give me your Shoos?

Flametta

My Shoos! your Highness jests.

Trappolin

I swear unto you (Mistress) but I do not, and if you do not give me what I ask (how ridiculous soever it seems to you) Trappolin here comes in Florence again. (230

Flametta

I wonder at the Duke, but will obey him; Here are my shooes dear Prince.

Trappolin

Well done I say, but I must have your Stockings too off with them therefore without any more arguing.

Flametta

My Stockings with all my heart to have my Trappolin.

Trappolin

Very well done Mrs Flam[etta,] you do very well, give me your gown too; Do not wonder, these will do nothing without it.

Flametta

Then shall your Highness have it.

Line 236. As added by M. S reads Flam.
Trappolin

I see you love that fellow well, 'tis well done of you, (240
I think he be an honest man, which makes me the willinger
to yield to his repeal; I say I must have that Petticote
too, else all this is not worth a rush i'faith.

Flametta

I think the Duke's mad--- And will you give me then your
Highness word?

Trappolin

I will.

Flametta

I cannot help it, here it is.

Trappolin

I swear unto thee, young Wench, give me thy under Petticote
and thy Smock, and I will give thee my word, and send for
him presently to night: this Wench makes me curse Fo, Meo,
and Areo.

Flametta

Most excellent Sir, there is not in the world
The thing that in my power lies I wo'd
Deny to do for my dear Trappolin,
But modesty forbids me to do this.

Trappolin

I shall not have them then?

Flametta

I beseech your Highness pardon me.

Trappolin

I am very sorry I could not see her naked, but it cannot
be help't; well how many kisses will you give me my young
Mistriss?

Flametta

Kisses?
Most Gracious Prince, a thousand and a thousand times. (260
I'le kiss your hand upon my humble knees.
Trappolin

I have no pleasure in that: how many kisses upon lips will you give me?

Flametta

For Trappolin's sake, I'll do any thing that modesty will give me leave; do what you please Sir.

Trappolin

Ah honey sweet Flametta, how I love thee! prithee kiss better: dear lips! I could almost wish Eo, Meo, and Areo i'th'fire; again, again, again, again, sweet Flametta.

Flametta

Shall Trappolin come home?

Trappolin

Do but let us kiss, and thou shalt have any thing. O me! what a misery 'tis to be a great man? again, again Flametta, Trappolin shall come home.

Flametta

I am aweary.

Trappolin

So shall I never be; again, again. Enter Prudentia.

Flametta

The Princess, your Highness sister: You have gin your word.

Trappolin

Young Mistress, I have not leisure to answer you now, come to me some other time, and I'lle talk with you further: now take up your things and be gone.

Flametta

I am assur'd I shall prevail: heavens guard your Highness. Exit.

Prudentia

Now I expect my brothers rage, for sure
(Though nere so secret kept) my Love unto
My dearest Horatio by some uncouth means
Is known: say what he will, or can, I am
Resolv'd, and my affection's settled.

Trappolin

Fair lady, come hither, you are my sister, are you?

Prudentia

I am your sister and your servant Sir.

Trappolin

Complement with me no more then I complement with you;
good Madam sister sit you down, I would talk with you a
little. (290

Prudentia

He talkes as though he were distracted.
I obey you Sir.

Trappolin

'Tis well done, good Lady sister.

Prudentia

I never saw my brother thus before;
Sir, I am exceedingly glad to see you
Return'd in safety out of Lombardy; but should have been
more joyful had you brought your Dutchess with you.

Trappolin

She'll come soon enough nere fear't; but sister, I must be
something brief, for I am a hungry; as soon as I came home,
I saw Brunetto in the Gaol, who after many circumstances(300
and fears, told me 'twas for love of you that he was put
there; tell me sister Prudentia, do you love him? I'le
besworn the man is a good honest fellow, if you have a
mind to him I'le give you my consent with al my heart: I
vow as I am an honest man, and the Duke, I do not jest.

Prudentia

Most worthy brother, thanks; I do confess
I love Brunetto, and were very guilty
Of cruelty if I did not; for he
Loves me I know as his own happiness:
Nor, Sir, have I plac'd my affections
Unworthy; Brunetto is a Prince,
His name is Horatio, and he's second son
Unto the Duke of Savoy; for my sake
He chang'd his name and lives a prisoner.

Trappolin

How's this! is Brunetto a Prince? you love him Lady sister you say.

Prudentia

Most truely Sir I do.

Trappolin

Are you content to marry him?

Prudentia

I do desire no greater bliss on earth,
So that your Highness will consent thereto. (320

Trappolin

Lady sister, here is my hand, I am content i'faith, without more words I am. I am an hungry now, and would be brief, sister mine. I say marry him when you will, beshrew my heart and I be not content; I had rather you had him then any man in the world.

Prudentia

I know not what to think, he's strangely chang'd.

Trappolin

Let this suffice Madam sister; I am very hungry I say, have you any good store of meat in the house? I could eat soundly now sister of a dish of Sausages: come Lady sister, lets to dinner, be gone, I have a good stomach (330 as I am an honest man. Exeunt.
I that have led a life until of late
In spite of death, pass'd through the dangers of it
Dreadless without regard; whom never men
Conducted by grave Captains to the field,
Did yet withstand, am won and vanquished:

Hipolita, heroick Amazon,
In Love hath conquered me with amorous smiles;
Methinks it is a thing most full of wonder,
That what not massie pikes, nor murtherous guns
Could ever do, a Ladies smiling eye,
The beauty of a timorous woman should;
Her eyes have darted fire into my breast,
Which nothing but her kindness can extinguish;
And be she cruel I shall soon be ashes.
Do I thus yield? shall I forget the sound
Of martial Drums, the warlike noise of Trumpets,
To list to the lascivious harmony
Of instruments touched by Hipolita's hand?
Shall I forget the ordering of a Camp,
To ride great horses, to besiege a city,
To undermine a Castle, to raise Bulwarks,
All for the love of a fair fearful woman?
It must be so; these legs that wont to lead
Arm'd men to battle, I must use in dances:
This hair that us'd to be covered with a helm,
Cloggy with sweat and blood, I now must powder:
These hands that wont to wave a dreadful sword,
Instead of iron gauntlets now must wear
Perfum'd gloves: I that had wont to be
Under the Chirurgions hands to cure my wounds,
Must have a barber now to keep me neat:

O Love! thou art divine, and canst transform
A man from what he was: it is in vain
To think to shun the thing thou dost constrain.

Tis idleness that is the cause
We lose our liberties:
The busie Cupid never drawes
To yield unto his vice.

Away with love, it is a thing
I hope I nere shall know;
When many weep so I shall sing,
Have joy while they have woe.
3.
The happiness of love is poor,
Compar'd to liberty;
Blest lovers do hard things endure,
Their pleasures to enjoy.

4.
May I live ever as I do
Free from that foolish pain;
I wish that no man may me woo,
Until I love again.

Mattemoros

O Heavens, is thus her mind compos'd: if I
Can win this Lady, it will be a conquest
Deserves a Trophie far above my best
Of Victories, I will go trie her: hail
Glory of Italy, compar'd to whom
The fam'd Egyptian Queen would yield, sweet Lady,
Most excellent Hipolita vouchsafe
To hear me tell your conquest and my foile;
Whom the Great Dukes greatest foes could never vanquish
Your powerful beauty hath; know Mattemoros,
(Whose valour Spain not only doth report,
But Mantova hath prov'd your matchless eyes
Transcendents of the brightest lightest stars)
Have wounded fatally unto the heart,
Unless you prove as kind as you are fair.

Hipolita

Do you jest with me Captain?

Mattemoros

My hearts delight, sweet centre of my thoughts,
I vow by your rich beauty, if my heart
Could speak, it would agree full with my tongue,
I would tell my love more then I can express.

Hipolita

What ill fortune, good Seignior, you have had,
To fall in Love with one deserves it not,
Nor doth not care for you? and I do hope
I nere shall bear affection unto man.

Lines 62-63. Delete the printer's bracket after stars in
line 63 and insert it after prov'd in line 62; eyes
is not the object of prov'd; it is the subject of
have wounded.
Mattemoros

Patience assist me mightily; not all
The murderous canon bullets I have heard
Fly buzzing by my ears, nor dismal cries
Of dying soldiers, nor the horrid noise
Of rough tempestuous seas have ever mov'd me,
Onely your harsh unkind reply hath struck
Unto my very soul.

Hipolita

I cannot help it;
Had you now, Captain been abroad it'h field,
This nere had happened to you; and to cure you
The field will be the best; go to the wars,
Busie your self in fights, and you will soon
Forget you ever saw Hipolita.

Mattemoros

Most cruel fair one, be assur'd that ere
I would forget you (which I know's a thing
For me impossible to do) I would
Into oblivion cast my best of pleasures,
Even all my pleasures, I would forget to use
My sword, and all the Militarie science;
Witness triumphant Son of Jove, Great Mars,
I vow by all the Honours of a soldier
I love thee dear as mine own heart, but this
Admirable Lady much above it:
Nor do I displease thee in't, I know that thou
Prefer'dst the embraces of the Cyprian Queen
Above the glorious battels of the field.
Therefore (dear Lady) be most confident
While I have memory, above all things,
Your beauty will be fixed in't.

Hipolita

Good Seignior,
Trouble me not to answer you ajen;
Let this suffice, I wish you lik'd me not,
Because I neither would have you nor any
To love a woman will not return affection.

Line 85. For it'h read i'th'.
Mattemoros

O Heavens! will you continue thus obdurate ever?

Hipolita

Alwaies believe it Captain.

Mattemoros

I have not patience to contain myself; An angry cloud full fraught with thunder bolts Work't by the Cyclops on Campagna's Stithy, Now hanging ore my head, menacing death, Presaging speedy sad destruction, Could not compel my silence, 'tis decreed By my adverse malignant stars that I Shall die destroy'd by a fair cruel woman; Which ere I do, I will a little ease My troubled heart of woe: heare merciless woman: (Whom I do curse because I love so dearly) Hear me, and afterwards go glory that Your wondrous beauty, and your savage heart Hath made a man distracted, kil'd a souldier.

Hipolita

A Captain and be thus mov'd by a woman's refusal!

Mattemoros

Sweetest Hipolita, be merciful, and save His life that honours you above the world.

Hipolita

Pray you Seignior be answered.

Mattemoros

You are resolv'd then to ruine me: Curs'd be those battels all that I have fought And conquered in, t'had been more honour for me To have been slain by my incensed foes Which were brave souldiers, then to die in peace By the unkindness of a proud fair woman.

Hipolita

Beseech you leave your rage, and leave me Captain.
Mattemoros

More cruel then Hyrcanian Tigers, hear
Me take my leave before I go.

Hipolita

Proceed.

Mattemoros

Thou God of love, and if thou art a God
Revenge thy self and thy wrong'd deity
On this unmerciful Lady; make her fall
In love with the basest of all mankind,
A man so full of ignorance, that he
In shape alone may differ from a beast,
Not know that she is fair and slight her beauty;
And he himself the most deformed thing
That ever burthened our mother earth
With his unworthy steps; Cupid attend,
And yield unto my just request; make this
Lady run mad for such a monster, shed
A thousand thousand tears upon her knees,
While he stands laughing at her: may you die
Raging for love, Hipolita as I.

Hipolita

I do begin to pity him; sure I never
Shall have a man to love me better, and though
I once intended alwaies to live single,
His words have altered my resolution:
Nor, if I take him, shall I do a thing
Will misbecome me, for he is a man
High in the Great Dukes favour. Noble Captain,
It is your happy fate to conquer alwaies;
I vow unto you by my honour, I think
Most seriously, no man upon the earth
Besides you could have won; I am the last
Of all your victories, Theseus-like you have
Overcome Hipolita.

Mattemoros

And will you love me then?

Hipolita

I do and alwaies will.
Mattemoros

Blest be the stars that shin'd at my nativity,  
I want words to express my joyes; but dearest Lady,  
My sweet Hipolita, my forward actions  
Shall make you know my heart above my tongue;  
I am a souldier, and was never wont  
To speak amorously.

Hipolita

You have said enough.  
Love is but thought by words, by deeds tis known;  
Shew me you love me, and let words alone.

Mattemoros

Worthiest of Ladies, when I cease to do  
All that I can, then may your love cease too.  
Exeunt.

Finis actus Tertii.

Actus Quartus, scena prima.  
Enter Barbarino & Machavil.

Barbarino

He cannot counterfeit so much.

Machavil

I know not,  
But if he do not surely he is mad;  
What wild phantastick things he does, and talks  
Of Lo, Meq, and Areo, names  
Unheard 1' th Court before!

Barbarino

Some Milain Counts I warrant you he means by them.

Machavil

The strangest thing of all is the release

Lines 175-176. In S these lines are assigned to Mattemoros;  
M properly assigns them Hipolita.
Of Brunetto, and his extraordinary love unto him, whom he hath caused richly to be clothed.

Barbarino

And useth him as if he were his better. Enter Horatio.

Machavil

Yonder's the man we talk of; what a change we see! A prisoner but lately lookt up safe, And now to be the wonder of the Court.

Horatio

Next Lo, Mee, and Areo, the Duke Doth swear he loveth me; but who those are I cannot tell nor learn: my Lords, good day, Saw you his Highness lately?

Barbarino

No sir.

Horatio

You speak as tho you were displeased.

Machavil

We are not well contented Sir.

Horatio

The Duke is noble, utter your grievances to him.

Barbarino

So we will Sir. Enter Trappolin.

Machavil

And now Sir, Know worthy Prince we are your loyal subjects, And what we say is for your honour.

Trappolin

If it be for my honour Ile hear you, But be as brief as you will.
Machavil

Your Highness hath lately released Brunetto.

Trappolin

Tis a thing very certain.

Machavil

We doubt not but done out of clemency, Not knowing why he lay there.

Trappolin

Well, why was he put there?

Machavil

Even for your Honour sake (most Gracious Sir) The Lady Prudentia your sister loves him.

Trappolin

Say you so? So ho Puchanello, So ho!

Pucannello

Who calls? (within.)

Barbarino

His Highness; come hither presently.

Trappolin

Bid the guard enter. Enter Puchanello and the Guard. You say Brunetto was put in prison because my sister lov'd him, you think it good and fitting he were there again.

Barbarino

So please your Highness, yes.

Trappolin

Puchanello take me these two Coxcombly Lords into your Custody; they are never well but when they are banishing some body, or doing some mischief or other: Brunetto was laid in prison because my sister lov'd him, and lay me these there because I love them.
Beseech your Highness not to deal so hardly
With us whom you have known so faithful to you.

Trappolin

Puchanello, away with them I say: you of the Guard see them in.

Barbarino

Most worthy Prince be merciful, if we
Have done amiss twas out of ignorance.

Trappolin

Sirra rogue away with them, or Ile lay up you too.

Pucannello

Your Honours must have patience and walk.

Machavil

There is no remedy.

Barbarino

The heavens be merciful to Florence;
What ill malignant starre hath so depriv'd
Our wise and noble Duke of all his reason,
That he remembers not who are his friends? [Exit].

Horatio

The Gods be ever most propitious;
Great Sir, unto you, and continue long
Your life, chief honour of the Medices.

Trappolin

Prince Horatio I am your servant, I pray you forgive me
my calling of you by your nick-name of Brunetto; my sister
hath told me you are the Son of the Duke of Savoy, besworn
unto you I am very sorry I have not used you as befitted
you, but it was your fault that told me not who you were:

Line 58. 3 reads Ex.
I have talked with Prudentia, and she loves you she saies, which I am glad on, and Ile marry you as soon as you will.

Horatio

Sir, it is true I am Horatio, Son of the Piemond Prince; but being his second, I durst not think me worthy of such honours As your Highness hath done me; and therefore told None but your beauteous sister who I was.

Trappolin

Enough my friend; and Prince Horatio, Could you suppose I would deny my sister, Though she were made of Gold and precious stones, Unto your Highness, and to such a friend? You do deserve a better wife then she; She's not half good enough for you, and if I had another sister, you should have them both. My friend a Prince! I'm very glad i'faith, But sorry that I did not know you such, That I might have done you right: wood I were hang'd If you are not far a better man then I.

Horatio

Great Prince, you do forget your self.

Trappolin

Your Highness must pardon me, I do remember my self well enough, yet Lo, Meo, a[n]d Areo, have made me something proudish, but howsoever I am your servant, Prince Horat[io,] i'faith I am your very dutiful servant: how sa you now, the Duke of Savoyes son! i'faith I am your poor (90 servant Lavin the Duke of Florence.

Horatio

I am amaz'd; he's mad; Beseech your Highness leave, I pray you Sir. Enter Mattemoros the Spanish Captain with petitioners.

Line 87. S reads aad.

Line 89. S reads Horat. M emends sa to say.
Trappolin

What have we here now, do's the Captain bring us Morris-dancers? what lobs are these tro?

Mattemoros

So please your Highness, being importun'd much these I have brought before you, that you might do justice.

Trappolin

Captain Mattemoros, justice I'le do with all my heart, but execution let do who will for me.

Calfeshead

Great Duke of Tuscany, vouchsafe to hear me, (100 For what I speak is out of conscience; This fellow Mr. Bulflesh a Butcher, I saw Verily with mine own eyes even yesternight (When he was drunk) to kill my man, which he Swore was good Beef, and he would sell it dear.

Bulflesh

Sirra Puritan you are a base scoundrel, was not I drunk in your company to make you merry?

Calfeshead

But Mr. Bulflesh, you do know, and that full well, that I prai'd you on my knees for your own souls sake to drink no more, and profess'd to you that it was a great abom- (110 inable sin in you to fox yourself, or be foxed.

Bulflesh

Goodman Calfeshead, you are a base scurvye Companion; do you not know that for your sake I killed your man, (yet I meant but only to beat him soundly) because he pour'd not the wine into your Codpiece? did not I do it out of friendship unto you? did I not you puritan you, and you to complain? 0 the ingratitude of Puritans!

Trappolin

Peace both of you. Master Puritan hold your tongue I say: wil not Calfeshead be drunk Bulflesh?
Bulflesh
So please your Highness no, he will let a man sooner hang him then make him drunk; Besides, he is a fellow of strange opinions, and hath sent his sonne to Geneva, to hear Jack Calvin preach. He stole a Surpless to make his Amorosa a Smock of; and hath writ a paultry Book against the Bishops, printed at Amsterdam in Decimo sexto. He will lie and steal without comparison; is both for Boys as well as Queans when he hath mony: And like a true Italian Hypocrite, is for any sin or mischief but our Drinking.

Trappolin
Then know I very well how to do justice: Mr. Calfeshead, you say the Butcher kid your man when he was fox't, be you fox't when you will and then kill him for't.

Calfshead
Heavens defend, I nere was drunk yet, and never will be.

Horatio
There is mad justice; he doth increase my wonder.

Calfshead
Bless me, murther! I would not do it for the world.

Mattemoros
This is strange justice, the Butcher doth very wel deserve to be sent into the Gallies at Ligorn.

Trappolin
I have done with you Mr. Puritan, you may be gone to the Tavern; and Bulflesh you may get you to the Shambles as soon as you will, for I have no more to say to either of you. Exeunt Calfshead & Bulflesh. I am ready for the next; speak therefore.

Barne
Most excellent Prince, pity a childless father; As yesterday my only Sonne did walk Under an house, this fellow Gaffer Tiler, Who was a working on it, did fall down Upon my son, and kil'd him with his fall.
Tiler

Mr. Barne be not so eager, you know I bore your son no malice, and that it was a hundred to one I broke not my own neck.

Trappolin

This is an easie matter to conclude; Friend Barn, you say this Gaffer Tiler Fell off a house, and so did kill your son; I will be very upright in my justice, Go you upon the house from whence he tumbled, (And he shall stand beneath) and fall on him.

Mattemoros

And the Duke be not stark mad, I am to think him so.

Barne

So I may break my own neck.

Horatio

He strangely is distracted. 

Trappolin

Neighbor Barn, get you about your business, for I have done with you.

Barne

I must have patience. Exeunt Barn and Tiler.

Trappolin

Now let me make an end with these, and I have done.

Mrs. Fine

Daign, Noble Duke, to hear my just complaint, I am a poor and an unfortunate widow; This man Dick Whip, as the other day he drove His coach, run over a little child of mine That was playing in the street, and kild it.

Trappolin

Sirra Whip, is this true?
Whip

So please your Highness I confess it is.

Trappolin

It doth not please me, nor displease me, for I neither did it, nor was the child mine.

Whip

It was against my will, a thing of chance, Mrs. Fine cannot deny it.

Trappolin

Mrs. Fine, you are a widow you say?

Mrs. Fine

A poor unhappy one I am.

Trappolin

You say that Whip the coachman hath kil'd your child; and how he did it I have understood. This is my justice, I will do you right; Whip shall lie with you untill he get you another.

Mattemoros

Madder and madder.

Horatio

I cannot choose but smile.

Whip

Most willingly, so please your Highness I am well content to do her that satisfaction.

Mrs. Fine

You shall be hang'd first, that you shall, is thus my expectation fail'd?

Trappolin

Mrs. Fine be rul'd, I will have justice done, Whip shall lie with you; you may marry him and you will: he kil'd
your child, and he shall get you another, I say but right, and {Sirra} {Whip} look unto't, and you play the bungler and fail, you shall to {ligorn} and learn to row: Mrs. {Fine} be contented, and you do not like him you might have held your tongue, for I know no body that sent for you, and so get you both gone.

Whip

The Heavens preserve your Highness.

Exeunt.

Trappolin

My friend and Prince Horatio, go unto
My sister, bid her to prepare her self,
I'll have you married within this day or two;
I long to see you both in bed together.

Horatio

Most willingly I will do such a message,
The Gods preserve you happily.

Exit.

Mattemoros

A strange discovery if true.

Trappolin

Seignior Captain, I say I have done very good justice, and in a little time too, I am not like your scarlet coats that will do nothing without mony; a company of fellows they are whose beards and hearts agree not together.

Mattemoros

Your Highness doth dispatch things very soon.

Trappolin

Though I am the Duke yet I love to do no hurt, as other men in authority would, I hate to banish men as {Machavil} and {Barb[arino]} ha done: alas poor Trappolin, I hear they have banisht an honest poor man call'd {Trappolin}.

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Lines 191-193. In both lines M emends and you to an you.
Line 211. S reads {Barb}. M emends to {Barbarino}.
Line 212. S reads {Trap}. M emends to {Trappolin}.
what the Divil Seignior Mattemoros came in their heads
to send a poor fellow away out of his country without any
money? though men may sometimes gather a reasonable Sallet
abroad, he shall get no oyle to eat it withall.

Mattemoros

Great Duke of Tuscany, our noble Master,
That Trap[polin] of whom your Highness speaks,
Had little fault in him, (good faith) at all
Saving he was a most notorious coward.

Trappolin

Why you Don of guns or pikes, do you think every mans mind
is given to the wars? Trap[polin] was addicted to the
peace, a poor fellow full of courtesies; one that will
never deny to do a favour for a friend: I will have a
little sport with my Don of the wars;  [Aside.] 0 me, Sir Captain, look yonder: Ro, Neo and Aro, I will
put you off for a while, I will try some conclusions.

Mattemoros

Your Highness! wher's the Duke gon I marle;
What Trappolin, art thou come again?
Faith many a wench in Florence will be glad;
Follow thy old trade, be a Pander still.

Trappolin

Seignior Captain I am your humble slave, and if I can do
you any kindness at any time, i'faith Don Mattemoros you
shall command me--- and if you have but a mind to any
Beauty in Florence, pay me but well for my pains, and her
well for hers, and I will not fail you; and Captain I can
give you a delicate poysen to dispatch any enemy with
whom you dare not fight.

Lines 213-216. In S this speech, beginning with came in,
is assigned to Mattemoros. Mattemoros is, however, a
noun of address, and the speech belongs to Trappolin.

Line 218. S reads Trap. M emends to Trappolin.
Line 222. S reads Trap. M emends to Trappolin.
Line 225. S has no stage direction. See Explanatory Notes.
Line 223. S reads Mathemores.
Mattemoros
I see thou art resolv'd to be a rogue,
Tis pity that his Highness did repeal thee;
Next time I see him, sirra Pimp, I will
Make suit to have you sent into Ligorn.

Trappolin
You Spanish coxcomb, go hang your self, do your worst.

Mattemoros
Wer't thou a soildier I wood fight with thee,
Being a rogue thou dost deserve my foot;
Take this you rascal.

Trappolin
I will presently be out of his debt— who's yonder? it
is the Duke or I am deceiv'd; Bo, Meo, and Areo, on agen,
my hat, my glass, and cloke, sit close: how now sirra
Captain, where are your manners? what do you think of
me, who am I tro? I am not your Lieutenant am I? stoop
and take up your hat, and let me see if it will not become
your hand as well as your deah in my presence.

Mattemoros
I did not see your Highness.

Trappolin
Will you lie too? take that and learn to speak truth.

Mattemoros
Most noble Prince, and my most royal Master,
Pardon the error which unwillingly
I have committed; in Tuscany there lives not
A man that freelier for your sake would lose
His life then I.

Trappolin
Well, get you gone, I do

Line 251. M emends tro to too, but see Explanatory Notes.
Forgive you; but my Don at arms, remember
The Duk's to be observ'd, he is the man
That doth maintain you.

Mattemoros

And most worthy Prince,
Did but occasion shew it self, I would
Venture and lose my life to do you service.

Trappolin

And my Father Conjurer would come into Florence, I would
make him the next great man unto my Highness; he is a
good man, and it is great pity that he should go to the (270
Divel, as they say Conjurers and Witches do: well, I am
a brave fellow, I love to see my self in my glass, I am
the Duke 'ifait, the very Duke, I see me. Enter Flametta.

Flametta

I will go and petition him agen.

Trappolin

My rogue Flametta, I could kiss her to pieces, bite off
her lips, and suck out her eyes I love her so well.

Flametta

The great Duke of Tuskan the gracious heavens
Prosper your Highness ever, I am the same
That lately did intreat for the repeal
Of my Beloved sweetheart Trappolin:
Most excellent Sir, pity my earnest suit,
And let me have my Trappolin recal'd.

Trappolin

This is a very precious villain, how she loves me! and
I ever marry while I am a Duke by Fo, Meo and Areo's leave
I will have her,--- your name little maid, is Flametta,
as I remember?

Flametta

So please your Highness, yes.

Line 262. M deletes but before my Don.
Trappolin

You sue to have banisht Trappolin come home?

Flametta

Most humbly, most excellent Sir, I do.

Trappolin

Well 'tis all as please Eo, Meo and Areo, I can do nothing withut them, and (my young Mistress) as long as they are in authority, I can do little for you.

Flametta

Then by your Highness leave, do I wish Eo, Meo, and Areo in the fire.

Trappolin

Methinks they should be enough in that already, for the Divâl made them all; now I think well on't, sometime when I have good opportunity I will off with my things and have a little sport with her: since, fair Maid, you are so earnest for your sweetheart Trappolin, he shall come home very shortly, he shall believe me, but upon condition (300 I will do it.

Flametta

On any condition except my honour Sir.

Trappolin

That he shall lie with you.

Flametta

Were we but married, most willingly.

Trappolin

If he gives you his oath to have you, will not that suffice?

Flametta

I had rather we had married before.

---

Line 291. S reads witho t.
Trappolin

You need not fear, should he swear unto you and break his oath, I would hang him; and yet (though I nere mean to break my word with her) I faith I should very hardly hang my self for any thing; the rope is a very dismal thing.(310

Flametta

Shall he come home, say the word Noble Prince.

Trappolin

Well on my word he shall, as soon as possibly I can, but on that condition that you will accept of him without marriage, upon his oath to have you.

Flametta

I see his Highness is mad (as every body saies) otherwise what should ail him to talk thus? most excellent Prince, he and I would not disagree.

Trappolin

Well here is my hand, he shall come home shortly, now I must have a kiss and leave you: I am very hungry, I ha been so long a doing justice that I am very hungry, (320 give me a buss sweetheart. Kisses her.

Flametta

Heaven bless your Highness. Exeunt severally.

Actus quartus scena secunda.

Enter Lavinio the great Duke, Isabella the Dutchess with attendants.

Lavinio

My hearts sweet solace, my dear Isabella You are most welcome unto Florence; Live according to your wishes happily, And may I perish if I do not strive In every thing to please you to my power; I'm sorry at my coming home I find Such strange and unexpected alterations, That for to quiet them I must deprive My self some houres of your company.
Isabella

Most Excellent Sir, I do account my self, most highly blest, that am not onely married unto a Prince, but one that can And doth vouchsafe his love unto me, being defective of those beauties should deserve it. To your affairs betake you Worthy Sir, I will expect you till your leisure serves.

Lavinio

You are good unto a miracle. Sweet Isabella---- attend the Dutches in; Adieu my love, some few but tedious minutes past over I will come unto you.

Isabella

I will await your leisure. Exeunt with Isabella.

Lavinio

What mad fantastick humours have possest In general the heads of the Florentines? They have amaz'd me, speak as if I had been with them before my Dutchesse came. Barbarino and Machavil appear in prison. Barbarino

You great commander of the Tuscan Cities, Pity your subjects, and your loyal servants; In what we sued for we had no design, Neither the least intent for to offend.

Machavil

Be merciful therefore most gracious Prince, Let not the noblest of the Florentines Wear out their daies and thraldom in a Prison, Being men not long ago high in your favour.

Lavinio

I am lost within a Labyrinth of wonders, I know not what to think, the chiefest of The Florentine Nobility in prison, And sue to me as if I had commanded Them to this place; sure some evil spirit hath possest mens minds while I was absent: do you know me?
Barbarino

Your Highness is the Duke our Master.

Lavinio

Are you not called Barb[arino,] and you Macha[vil,] the Lords unto whom I left The government of Tuscany in My absence?

Machavil

We are your loyal subjects though your prisoners: and were left your Deputies when your Highness went to Milain.

Lavinio

How came you there?

Barbarino

Great Sir, you know most well, At your command.

Lavinio

I must be satisfied in this:

Puchanello so ho!

Pucannello

Who calls? whats the matter I wonder.

Lavinio

Release me the Lords presently, and send them To me hither: The more I think of these accidents, The more I marvel how they come to pass; The men whom I did leave here governours Are prisoners (and which increaseth more Amazement in me) they say it was I That made them so; some unheard malady Unknown unto the world before it seems,

Line 42. S reads Barb., but M correctly emends to Barbarino, since the three syllables omitted in the abbreviation of S should be restored to preserve the decasyllabic line of the blank verse.

Line 43. S reads Macha., emended by M to Machavil.
Hath infected all my subjects with a frenzy.  
Inter Barbarino and Machiavil.  

Barbarino  
He hath chang'd his humor it seems,  

Machiavil  
And may he continue in this if it be a good one.  

Lavinio  
I am astonished to see the things  
I every minute do, especially  
You two (to whom I left the weighty charge  
Of rule) in prison; resolve me for heavens sake  
How you came there.  

Barbarino  
Sure he doth jest with us.  

Machiavil  
Your Highness is disposed to be merry;  
You know (most excellent Sir,) full well that none except  
your self could do it.  

Lavinio  
I do it?  

Barbarino  
He doth things in his madness he remembers  
not when he's in's right senses it seems.  

Lavinio  
Florence I left a wise ingenious City;  
But I have found it now at my return  
Possessed with a strange unheard of madness:  
Who put you in prison? collect your wits in't order  
And answer wisely.  

Machiavil  
I vow by the prosperity of Tuscany,  
Your Highness.  

Lavinio  
Most strange! Why did I so?
Barbarino

Because we did (most gracious Sir) give notice
Unto you how the Princesse Prudentia,
Your machless beauteous sister lov'd Brunetto.

Lavinio

Whom? what Brunetto!

Machavil

Your prisoner taken in the Mantoan warrs.

Lavinio

My sister so forget her self! I am
Full of amazement: she that had refused
The youthfull Dukes of Modena and Parma,
Dote on a slave slighted by all the starrs!
My sister also so to lose her sences,
She that was wise, and honoured for her vertues!
Sure also this same strange infection
Of madness wood ha seis'd upon my self
If I had stay'd at home. I will not now
So marvel at the common people, seeing
The most discreet of the Nobility,
And my own sister equally distracted.

Machavil

I hope he comes to himself again, he talks something more wisely then of late.

Lavinio

It is a frequent thing to see a City
Miserably groan under a heavy sickness,
To have the Plague, or fierce diseases full
Of danger, rage and even unpopulate places;
But such a general phrenzy to possess
And to distract all Florence, is a wonder,
A miracle unmach'd in historie.

Barbarino

How he talks as if all we were mad, and he had done nothing!

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Line 111. M emends all we were mad to we were all mad.
Lavinio

Are you sure you are both in your right senses?

Machævil

Did once your Highness know us so?

Lavinio

Yes.

Barbarino

We are as free from any distraction
As ever yet we were since we were born.

Lavinio

You must both of you give me leave to
think what I know.
Enter Mattemoros.

Ile trie an he be mad too. Capt[ain] these Lords say
I put them in prison, how say you?

Mattemoros

So your Highness did-- he's distracted another way. (120

Lavinio

Good Gods be merciful. Why?

Mattemoros

Because they spoke against Brunetto's liberty.

Lavinio

He's in the same tale;
Though they are all deprived of their senses,
They do not differ.
But why (good Capt[ain]) answer me a little,
Should I desire Brunetto's freedom, being
Beloved by my sister as they say?
Would it not be a great dishonour, think you?

Line 118. S reads Cap. M emends to Captain.

Line 126. S reads Cap. M emends to Captain, deletes the printer's brackets, and sets off good Captain by commas.
Unto the family of the Medicea,
That she should cast her self away upon one
We do neither know whom, or whence he is?
I pray you Captain, if that yet you have
Any small remnant of your wit remaining,
Reply according to it.

Mattemoros
And he be grown wise again, heavens be praised.
It is a certain truth your Highness speaks,
That if your sister should bestow her self
(Being a Princesse meriting so much
For her unequal'd beauty, and her vertues)
Upon a man such as you pleas'd to mention,
It would be a great weakness in her; but you
Your self I heard (most excellent Sir)
To call Brunetto Prince Horatio,
The second Sonne unto the Duke of Savoy.

Lavinio
How, I call him so! truth Captain you
Have heard these things which I did never say.

Barbarino
You never heard him call Brunetto so.

Machavil
Never, this is the first time I ever heard of it.

Lavinio
My wonder is so great, I do want words
thereby to give it vent; I see that all
My subjects being distracted think me mad.

Mattemoros
And more, so please your Highness, you did send
Brunetto, whom you Prince Horatio called,
Unto your sister, to bid her prepare her self
Her self; for you within a day or two
Would see them married.

Lavinio
Enough,
Captain, I swear unto you by my Dukedom,
That rather I would send Brunetto (though
He were the Duke of Savoys second son
To have his head struck off, then on that message
You say I did.

Mattemoros

He doth remember nothing.

Barbarino

If the Duke be come to his right senses again,
I beseech the Gods keep him so.

Machavil

And I.

Enter Horatio and Prudentia.

Beseech your Highness look, let your own eyes
Be witness of their mutual affection;
Behold the Princess your sister and Brunetto:
Let us withdraw where we may stand unseen,
And you shall hear them talk what I have said.

Horatio

Dear lady, you have raised me to a fortune
So high, that when I look upon my self
I am amaz'd, and wonder at your goodness.

Prudentia

Most noble Prince, let my unfeigned love
Excuse the weak expressions of my tongue;
I'm glad my Brother bears so noble a mind,
As to be willing to unite our bodies
As we have done our hearts.

Horatio

Not only willing, divine Prudentia,
But earnest for us; he doth seem to grieve
That two such faithful lovers as we are
Should live so long a sunder.

Prudentia

It is a worthy nature in him.

Lavinio

I can contain my self no longer: though this
Be out of madness done I will not suffer it.
Sister!
Prudentia

Live long most worthy Brother happily.

Lavinio

So should I wish for you, bore you a mind
Deserv'd your self.

Prudentia

What mean you Sir?

Horatio

Good Heavens be kind, and do not now undo
What you have almost brought unto perfection;
I fear his madness that once favoured me;
Hath chang'd his mind to my undoing.

Lavinio

I will but spend few words; are you a Son
Of the Duke of Savoys?

Horatio

Your Highness knowes I am his second.

Lavinio

Whether

You are or no I care not; and if you be,
My sister once deserv'd a better husband,
And she shall rather in a Monastery
Spend all her future dayes then be your wife:
And be you what you will Sir, I will shew you
That you have wronged me, and I do not fear
The Duke of Savoy if he be your father.
Puchanello, Puchanello come hither.

Machavil

I like this.

Prudentia

He's wonderfully distracted--- most worthy Brother,
Be not so much unmerciful.
Lavinio

Peace Prudentia, I never thought
You had so weak a reason.

Horatio

He's mad to my undoing; gracious Gods,
Soon make him leave this humour.

Barbarino

I hope he's come unto himself. Enter Pucchanello.

Lavinio

Sirra, convey Brunetto into prison,
Lock him up close.

Pucchanello

Here's do and undo----
Will our Duke mere be in his
Right senses again?

Prudentia

My dear Horatio, love me still, for I
Unto thee will be constant though I die.

Horatio

Though I be tortured unto death my Dear.

Mattemoros

I know not what to think of these alterations.

Lavinio

Thus (but the heavens assist) I hope to bring
Int' order from confusion every thing. Exeunt Omnès.

Finis Actus quarti.

Actus quintus, Scena prima.

Enter Trappolin solus.

Trappolin

The Duke is come home, and therefore my hardest part is
behind; Father Conjurer and you be not my friend now I am undone; Ec, Mes, and Areo sit you all close and lose not a jot of your vertue: happen what will as soon as I meet him his Highness, I will try the vertue of my powder on him, let him take it how he please. Enter Prudentia.

Prudentia

Here is my brother, I will try him, perhaps He may have chang'd his sullen humor now, And set the Prince Horatio at liberty. Most excellent noble Sir.

Trappolin

My dear sister, how dost thou do? why look you so sad, ha you got the green sickness to night with lying alone? and you have I will take an order for your cure very shortly, and to your liking too, I61e have you married within these two days at the furthest.

Prudentia

Married Sir! unto whom?

Trappolin

Unto my friend your lover, Prince Horatio.

Prudentia

I am glad of this: Alas Sir, why then have you Made him a close unhappy prisoner?

Trappolin

I see the Duke hath met with him: You do deceive your self Lady sister, indeed You do: put up my friend in prison? heaven defend.

Prudentia

Sir, pardon me for speaking truth, I heard when you commanded it.

Trappolin

Sister mine, if I did I was drunk, and now I am sober I will let him out. Sirra Pucchanello, so ho.

Prudentia

May he continue always in this vein Of kindness; thus his madness is not grievous.

Trappolin

Madam sister, I am very sorry I was such a beast as in my drink to commit such a fault; I pray you forgive me. Enter Pucchanello. (30

Pucchanello

What is your Highness will?

Trappolin

It is that you set Prince Horatio at liberty, and send him hither presently.

Pucchanello

I wonder---- most willingly. Exit.

Prudentia

You are a gracious Prince, and the high Gods will recompense your pity unto lovers.

Trappolin

What a Swine was I do such a thing! I am ashamed as often as I think on't, I shall be ashamed to look on my friend; sister you must pray him to forgive me.

Prudentia

Sir, trouble not your self, and be assur'd, Unless you part us, you can never do Offence either unto the Prince or me. Enter Horatio.

Horatio

It seems his mind is changed, the heavens be praised.

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Lines 40-42. In S this speech is assigned to Trappolin. M correctly assigns it to Prudentia.
Trappolin

Prince Horatio, an you do not forgive me my locking of you in prison, I shall never be merry again; I did it when I was drunk, and my sister knows that as soon as she told me on't, I sent for you; I pray you therefore forgive me good Prince Horatio.

Horatio

Most excellent Sir, I was a man unworthy Of this sweet Ladies love, did I not freely.

Trappolin

I thank you i'faith Prince Horatio with all my heart I swear unto you, here take you my sister, take her by the hand, lead her whether you will, and do what you will unto her with her consent: I am very sorry I parted you so long; I know Lovers would be private, though they do nothing but talk, therefore I will not hinder you: fare you well both my Princely friend and Lady sister.

Prudentia

The Gods preserve you.

Horatio

And reward your goodness.

Trappolin

Thus what the Duke doth I will undo—- such excuses will serve my turn well enough. Inter Barbarino and Here are my Lord banishers, it seems the Duke hath set them at liberty, but in they go again as sure as the cloaks on their backs.

Barbarino

May the good angels that attend upon Princes on earth, defend your Highness always From every offensive thing.

Machavil

And may you live A long and happy life, enlarge your state, Excel in fame the first great Duke.
Trappolin

Your good wishes I like, but credit me my Lord Banishers, neither of you. Who let you out of prison?

Barbarino

He's mad as ere he was---- your Highness Sir.

Trappolin

You lye Sir: Pucchanello come hither quickly.

Machavil

Heavens be merciful, we must in again I see. He do's and undo's, and remembers nothing. Enter Pucchanello.

Trappolin

Sirra Rogue, why did you set these two at liberty?

Pucannello

Your Highness did command it.

Machavil

If our Duke must be mad, the Gods grant him That which he had the last. (80

Trappolin

You ill-fac'd rascal you lie.

Pucannello

Beseech your Highness remember your self, it Was at your command.

Trappolin

It may be so, but I am sure I was drunk then, and now I am sober they shall in again; therefore take them with you, be gone I say.
Barbarino

There is no remedy.

Machavil

Good gods pitty Florence. Exeunt.

Trappolin

Lo, Meo, and Areo, thanks i'faith; yet I am suppos'd the Duke, Father Conjurer, by thy Art I am suppos'd a Prince; (◊ ◊ stick to me still and be my friend. Enter Isabella. Here is the Dutchess! Lo, Meo, and Areo, be true to me, and I'le have a kiss or two at the least.

Isabella

Sir you are fortunately met.

Trappolin

Who are you Lady Madam?

Isabella

Do you not know Sir?

Trappolin

I'de have you tell me.

Isabella

I never knew him so before, I am your Wife.

Trappolin

I'me glad on't I promise you, come and kiss me then.

Isabella

You are wondrous merrily disposed. (100

Trappolin

Madam Dutchess I am something jovial indeed, I have been a drinking Montefiascone very hard, kiss me again my dear Lady wife.

Isabella

He's drunk.
Trappolin

You are a handsome woman I promise you: prethee tell me my Lady Dutchess, am I a proper handsome fellow?

Isabella

Do not jest with me Sir, you know you are Him whom above all the world I do esteem.

Trappolin

Well said my Ladie wife.

Isabella

I nere saw him so distempered before.

Trappolin

Have you nothing yet in your belly? (110

Isabella

You know I am with child Sir.

Trappolin

Faith but I do not, for your belly swells not.

Isabella

I am full of wonder.

Trappolin

Lady wife get you in, I am halfe drunk, and now am unfit for you, but give me a kiss or two before,--- Madam Dutchess fare you well.

Isabella

I had thought he had not been addicted to A vice so loathsome as drunkenness. Exit.

Trappolin

Yet all happens very well; protest the Dutchess is a gallant woman, I almost like her as well as Flametta: (120 I could lie with her and I woo'd, but I am half honest, and will not wrong the Duke nor Flametta. Why is not my wench as good as she? wherein do they differ, but onely
in clothes? Flametta's a woman as right as she, and perhaps naked as handsome: what good in the night do jewels and fine clothes to a woman when she hath them not on? besworn I am very merry; Lo Neó and Areó are brave tame Devils, and my Father Conjurer an excellent learned fellow. Vienca wine, and Padua bread, Trivigi tripes, and a Venice wenche in bed.

Exit singing.

Actus quinti scena secunda.

Enter Lavinio

Lavinio

Ye glorious Planets that do rightly guide
The giddy ships upon the Ocean waves,
If some of your malignant influences
Have rais'd this madness in my subjects heads,
Let some of your benigne influences,
Again restore them to their former senses;
Those Florentines whom all their enemies
Could not impeach, could not withstand in armes,
Suffer not, you immortal powers divine,
Thus to be ruin'd, by distraction.

Machavil and Barbarino appear in prison.

I am astonished, O Heavens, I know not what to think!
Puchanello, Puchanello, let me out the two Lords, and send them to me presently, I'lle talk unto um here at large.

Barbarino

His ill fit's off.

Machavil

The [gods] be praised.

Lavinio

I do not think that since the infancy
And first creation of the world, a madness
Pestiferous and equal unto this
Was ever known; good Heavens reveal (and soon)
The cause, that I may do my best to help it.

Enter Barbarino, Machavil and Puchanello.

Line 13. As emended by M. 3 reads gods.
Machavil

Long may this fit continue.

Barbarino

If it holds alwaies, sure he's in's wits agen.

Lavinio

I wonder, Lords, and justly, that you whom I have known to have the noblest judgements, should thus become distracted; you in your fits of frenzie run to prison of your selves, And think I sent you.

Barbarino

Most royal Sir, we grieve to see these daies; You did command us thither.

Lavinio

I?

Machavil

Your Highness self.

Lavinio

You are both deceiv'd; to do such idle errours, And lay the blame on me doth more amaze me. Puchanello how came these in prison?

Puchannello

So please your Highness, you were angry with them And did commit them.

Lavinio

I commit them? That thou art mad is not so great a wonder; I tell you both with sorrow, witness heaven, You are strangely bereav'd of your reason. Well, go ye in, and pray unto the Gods

---

Lines 25-26. In 3 these two lines are printed as prose. Since Lavinio usually speaks in verse, and since the entire passage (lines 25-27) may be scanned, the lines are here set up as blank verse.
That they hereafter would be kind unto you
And keep you from relapse.

Machavil

Heaven bless your Highness.

Barbarino

And be unto you a perpetual guard. Exeunt.

Lavinio

Famine, plague, war, the ruinous instruments
Wherewith the incensed dieties do punish
Weak mankind for misdeeds, had they all fallen
Upon this city, it had been a thing
To be lamented but not wondred at. Enter Isabella.
0 my dear Isabella! I have brought thee
From Milain flourishin in all delights,
Into a city full of men distracted.

Isabella

He is not sober yet. Go in and sleep Sir,
You do not well thus to bewray your weakness
Unto the publick view.

Lavinio

My wife and all! 0 heavens!

Isabella

What say you Sir?

Lavinio

My Isabella, thou hast cause to curse me
For bringing thee into a place infected:
The aire is sure pestiferous, and I wonder
Now how I have escaped. (60

Isabella

Good Sir, I pray you sleep.

Line 45. Read dieties for dieties.
Lavinio

Wherefore my Isabella?

Isabella

Why you have drunk too much.

Lavinio

Madness unmatch'd!
Dear Isabella, withdraw thy self into
Thy chamber, I will presently come to thee,
There we will pray unto the angry Gods
That they would from's remove this heavy ill.

Isabella

I will obey you Sir to get you home;
Good Gods nere let him thus offend again. Exit.

Lavinio

What have I done so much offensive to
The supreme powers, that they should punish me
Not onely with the madness of my subjects,
But the distraction of my wife and sister!

Enter Horatio and Prudentia.

What do I see? they do embrace and kiss:
My sisters madness will undo her, how
He came at liberty I marvel much;
Whom I would have to lie in prison, walke in freedome, and
whom I would have in freedome run of themselves to prison.

Prudentia

Most noble Brother.

Lavinio

Sister, I grieve to see thee thus.

Horatio

Excellent Prince!

Lavinio

Sure the good Angels that had wont to guard
The Medices in all their actions,
Have for the horrid sins of Florence left us,
And fled to Heaven.
Horatio
His mind again is altered.

Prudentia
Dear brother, do not frown and look so angry.

Lavinio
Peace sister, I'm ashamed to hear you speak,
Each word you say is poison in my ears.

Puchanello, Jailor.

Puchanello
I come. Within.

Prudentia
What mean you Sir?

Horatio
I must again to prison, fickle fortune,
How soon a happy man thou makest wretched! Enter Puchanello.

Lavinio
Sirra, why did you set this man Brunetto,
Or this Horatio (I know not what to call him)
At liberty?

Puchanello
Will he nere be wise! your Highness bade me.

Lavinio
I! Bethink you, and answer truly.

Puchanello
Your Highness knows I durst not for my life
Ha don't without your licence.

Prudentia
Sweet Brother.

Lavinio
Silence would become you better far.
Horatio

Life of my heart, do not disturb your self,  
I am unworthy you should speak for me.

Lavinio

Sirra, take him again, and look to him better then you  
have; your madness shall not excuse you, if once more  
you serve me thus.

Horatio

I must be patients good Heavens, soone alter this sullen  
fit into his former kindness: Farewell my sweet  
Prudentia.  \textit{Exeunt with Horatio.} (110

Prudentia

I wonder Brother, what pleasure you take  
In crossing me after this sort.

Lavinio

It is in vain to answer frantick people.

Prudentia

I, I am mad, 'tis your perversness makes me. \textit{Exeunt.}

Scena tertia.

Enter Trappolin solus.

Trappolin

Yet I cannot meet with the Duke, I long to see him look  
like me, I would fain powder his Highness. \textit{Lo, Meo} and  
\textit{Areo,} I thank you faith, my hat, my glass, and cloke;  
honest Father Conjurer, I will love thee while I live.  
\textit{Enter Barbarino and Machavil.}

Hel's broke loose again, I do what the Duke undoes, and  
he undoes what I do.

Machavil

Long live your Highness.

Line 110. As emended by M. S reads Hora.
Trappolin

Amen.

Barbarino

And happily.

Trappolin

Amen I say; but how my small friends came you hither? I thought you had been under lock & key.

Machavil

I fear he's ill as ere he was.

Trappolin

Sirra Puchanello, so ho, so ho! come hither you rogue.

Barbarino

We must in again.

Machavil

Good Gods, will this frenzie never leave him! Enter Puchanello.

Trappolin

Goodman durt-y-face, why did you not keep me these in prison till I bid you let them out?

Puchanello

So please your Highness so I did.

Trappolin

Dare you lie so boldly? you take me for a Doctor, Gracian of Franckolin I warrant you, or a fool in a play, you're so sawcy with me.

Machavil

Good Gods!

Barbarino

Was ever heard the like?
Pucannello

Beseech your Highness to remember your self.

Trappolin

Now I bethink my self, perhaps I might do it when I was drunk; if I did bid you give them their liberty it was when I was fox't, and now I am sober lay them up again; walk my good Lord Banishers, your Honours know the way.

Pucannello

Will this humour never leave him?

Barbarino

We must endure it.

Machavil

There is no remedy.

Trappolin

My Lord Prisoners get you gone, I am an hungry and cannot stand to hear any supplication.

Pucannello

You must obey my Lords.

Exeunt.

Trappolin

Yet all goes well, all goes exceeding well;
My wil's obey'd, I am suppos'd the Duke;
My hat, my glass and cloak retain their force,
And Father Conjurer does not forsake me.

Exit.

Line 24. M omits their after them.

Line 32. A comma is needed after obey in order to preserve the meaning by making lords a noun of address.
Scena quarta.

Enter Mattemoros the Spanish Captain solus.

Mattemoros

Though horrid War, thou bear'st a bloody sword, And marchest o're the world in dreadful arms; Though fearful mankind on their humble knees, Beseech the Gods to keep thee from their homes, Yet art thou (when trick'd up in dismall robes, Presaging death and ruin to a State) More lovely to a valiant soouldiers eyes, Then are the pleasures of a wanton Court. And sure if our great Duke Lavinio had been i' th field expecting of a foe, He mere had been distracted as he is: 'Tis peace that doth bewitch us from our selves, Fills most Heroick hearts with amorous toyes, And makes us to forget what honor is; But for Hipolita's sake I must not speak Any thing ill of Love; Love I must say Is good, but war leads the more noble way. Enter Lavinio.

Lavinio

How do you Captain?

Mattemoros

I am your Highness creature.

Lavinio

Saw you not lately Barbarino or Macchiavil? Mattemoros

Yes.

Lavinio

Where are they?

Mattemoros

Your Highness knows in prison.

Line 20. As emended by M. S reads Barbar or Maccha.
Lavinio

O heavens, in prison again! Good gods when will you remove this frenzy from the Florentines?

Mattemoros

I see there is little hope on him.

Lavinio

Why are they in prison?

Mattemoros

Because your Highness did command.

Lavinio

Never, Captain, I never did command it; go and bid Pucchanello let them out.

Mattemoros

Sir, he dares not at my bidding. (30

Lavinio

Here take my Ring and don't.

Mattemoros

One humor in the morning, and another in the afternoon, will it never be better? Exit.

Lavinio

Wot'd I did know what hainous sin it is I have commited that is so offensive Unto the Gods to cause this punishment, That I might sue unto them for forgiveness, And they be reconcil'd and pitty Florence. I'm full, and full of wonder; perhaps some fiend, Permitted by the heavens, assume's my shape, And what I do undoth; was ever known Such a distraction in the world before? Enter Trappolin.

Trappolin

At last I have found him.
Lavinio

This the Impostor is that hath deceiv'd
The eyes of all, it can be nothing else.

Trappolin

I vow and swear I am something afraid, but I will be bold;

So, Meo and Areo, sit close, come out powder, come out,
father Conjurer I rely on your powder; Take that for my sake.

(Flings it on him.)

Lavinio

What rudeness is this?

Trappolin

I have don't i'faith, Trap/polin, I have repealed thee
for Flemette's sake.

Lavinio

How is this?

If thou art a fiend, the gracious heavens be kind,
And give a period to thy wild proceedings;
But if thou art a Conjurer, I'le have thee
Burnt for thy Magick, as thou dost deserve.

Trappolin

Trappolin talk wisely.

Lavinio

Why dost thou call me so?

Trappolin

Aha! A man forget himself so! art thou not he?

Lavinio

I am the Duke.

Trappolin

Beware of treason; do you know your own face if you see't?

Line 51. As emended by M. S reads Trap.
look here; what say you now?

Lavinio

I am bewitch't, thou art a Conjurer,
And hast transformed me to a banish't Rogue.

Trappolin

For Flametta's sake I pardon thee this language, but learn to speak better lest you walk again. Exit.

Lavinio

Heaven, earth and hell, have all agreed together
To load me with a plague unknown before
Unto the world: The heavens have given consent
Unto my misery, hell hath plotted it,
And the deceived earth believes me mad,
And now will take me for a banish't Rogue. Enter Flametta.

Flametta

O joy above expression! behold
My Trap\{polin\} is come; Love, welcome home;
Thou art beholding unto me (my Dear)
'Twas I that won the Duke for thy repeal.

Lavinio

I am amazed.

Flametta

Give me a hundred kisses; let us spend
An hour in kissing, afterwards we'll talk.

Lavinio

Away.

Flametta

Have you forgotten me so soon? I am
Thy true Flametta (lovely Trap\{polin\}).

---

Line 74. As emended by M. 3 reads Trap.
Line 82. 3 reads Trap. M expands the name to Trappolin, places a comma after Flametta, deletes the printer's brackets, and places an exclamation point after Trappolin.
Lavinio

Be gone I say.

Flametta

Dost thou reward me thus for all the pains
I've took to get thee home again?

Lavinio

Leave me

Thou impudent whore, or I will kick thee hence.

Flametta

O faithless men! Women, by me take heed
You give no trust unto this perjur'd sex.
Have I all thy long banishment been true,
Refused Lord Barbarino with all his gifts; And am I slighted thus? I will complain
Unto his Highness of thee. Enter Mattemoros.

Lavinio

Have you don't?

Mattemoros

What?

Lavinio

Have you let the Lords at liberty?

Mattemoros

What's that to thee?

Lavinio

Give me my Ring.

Mattemoros

He has heard the Duke sent me with his Ring, and this impudent Rogue dares think to get it. Sirra, is it not enough to be a Coward and a Pander, but you wo'd be a thief too?

Lavinio

I am bewitched.
Flametta

I fear my Trappolin is turned mad man.

Lavinio

Suffer not this ye Gods. 

Enter Trappolin.

Mattemoros

I have set the Lords Barbarino and Mac\[n]avill at liberty according to your Highness order; and here is your Ring again.

Trappolin

Better and better— I marle where the Prince Horatio is.

Mattemoros

He forgets every thing, he's in prison.

Trappolin

Sure he is not.

Lavinio

How this Impostor divel acts me!

Mattemoros

Your Highness did commit him.

Trappolin

Fie upon't, what things do I do in my drink? here take my Ring, go and set him out, and come hither with him presently.

Lavinio

I am the Duke, and will be obey'd,
Go not upon your life, he shall lye there.

Flametta

Sure my Trappolin's run mad for grief in his banishment.

---

Line 105. As emended by M. S reads Mace.
Mattemoros
Peace (frantique) peace, do not disturb his Highness.

Trappolin
Regard not mad men, go.

Mattemoros
I'm gone. Exit.

Lavinio
Thou traitor.

Flametta
Dear Trappolin be silent, regard my tears, thou wilt undo thy self.

Trappolin
Maiden and your Sweetheart continue thus, I'll have him sent abroad again. Enter Prudentia.

Flametta
Sweet Trappolin for my sake hold thy tongue!

Lavinio
I rage in vain, good heavens be merciful.

Prudentia
Dear brother pity me, regard my sorrow, Release the Prince Horatio, and no longer separate their bodies whose hearts the Gods have joyned.

Trappolin
Sister, have patience a little, a very little, Prince (130 Horatio will be here presently, and I'll make an end with you.

Lavinio
Prudentia, art thou not asham'd?

Prudentia
What sawcines is this!
Most worthy noble Brother all my heart is full of thanks for you: wood Ida a tongue could utter them. Enter Mattemoros and Horatio.

Mattemoros

Your Highness ring.

Trappolin

Tis well:

Captain, Sister, and Prince Horatio. Here take my signet, by the warrant of it, go And get you married,

Horatio

Our humble thanks.

Lavinio

I do want patience.

Horatio

Tis best to do it while he's in's good humor: Are you content Sweet Princesse?

Prudentia

With all my soul I go.

Lavinio

Sister, sister.

Mattemoros

Peace lest you be soundly punisht Sirra.

Flametta

Good Trappolin be quiet.

Lavinio

I am the Duke, I am Lavinio; This is a fiend of hell or an Impostor.

Exeunt.

Line 143. W emends to whilst he's in good humour, and substitutes a period for the colon.
[Mattemoros]

Will your Highness suffer this?

Trappolin

I pity him, he knows not what he saies.

Lavinio

I am bewitched.

Mattemoros

I am sure thou art distracted.

Trappolin

A done you had best.

Lavinio

Thou enemy unto our happiness,
Know the Gods will relent; in time be wise.

Trappolin

There is no remedy, he must go to Fuchanello: so ho,
Pachanello, so ho.

Fucannello

I come. Within. (160

Flametta

There could come no better of it, beseech your Highness
pardon him, he's distracted.

Lavinio

You are all distracted, all bewitched. Enter Fuchanello.

Trappolin

Sirra take Trap[polin] and lock him up safe.

Line 151. In S this line is assigned to Mac, but Machavil is
in jail and M properly assigns the line to Mattemoros.

Line 164. As emended by M. S reads Trap.
Flametta.
You'd take no warning.

Lavinio

O Florence, how I pity thy decay.

Trappolin

Away with him.

Mattemoros

Puchanello take him, and be gone.

Trappolin

You of the Guard see him laid safely [u]p.

Lavinio

I will not go. (170

Puchanello

We then might force you.

Exeunt.

Flametta

Alas poor Flametta! Thy Trappolin cares not for thee, I beseech the Gods to give him his right senses again.

Trappolin

Come Captain.

Mattemoros

I attend your Highness.

Exeunt.

Line 169. 3 reads np.
Line 171. 3 reads Puch.
Scena Quinta.

Enter Barbarino and Machiavil.

Machiavil

The strange distraction of our Duke will give
Sufficient matter unto Chronicles
To make whole volumes of him.

Barbarino

Yet he believes himself right in his senses
And we out of our wits think him mad.

Lavinio appears in Prison.

Lavinio

Wood I had been born to a mean estate,
So in't I might have lived happily.
The greater honours that men have, the greater
Their troubles are; the beggar that hath nothing
Lives a more quiet life then Monarchs do.

Lord Barbarino and Lord Machiavil,
Get me releas'd, I am the Duke Lavinio,
Bewitched as you are by an Impostor.

Barbarino

Go Trappolin and sleep: we have heard all,
Thou art run mad.

Machiavil

So sleep poor Trappolin.

Lavinio

Be kind good Gods, pity our miseries.

Barbarino

Leave talking and go sleep.

Machiavil

His Highness.

Barbarino

How fares our noble master?
Trappolin

I have not been sober a day together this good while; Mo, Meo and Areo have made me fox't, but now I will leave it.

Machavil

Who are they?

Barbarino

I know not.

Trappolin

It's in vain to lay them up any more, I having had enough sport with them. Trappolin whom you banish't is come home stark mad.

Machavil

Exceedingly.

Barbarino

And raves most strangely in prison. Enter Flametta.

Flametta

Here is his Highness, I will not leave him till He doth release from prison Trappolin. Most excellent Sir, perfect your noble kindness; Give liberty unto poor Trappolin.

Trappolin

With all my heart I would, would he be quiet.

Flametta

Alas he is distracted, and doth not know What he sayes; and therefore why should you regard him?

Trappolin

Well, fair maid, for thy sake that lovest him so he shal come out. Fuchannello so ho! come hither.

Line 29. As emended by M. S reads strangely.
Barbarino

He will do any thing, and undo any thing.

Machavil

Sure there was never such a Duke i' th world. (40

Trappolin

Welcome Sister and Brother (I hope I may say,) are you married? are you content? tell me if any thing remains that I can do for you, speak it, for I am ready, the Duke Your servant.

Prudentia

Most worthy brother, you have perfected our joyes, for we are married.

[Trappolin]

I am very glad Lady sister that you are so.

Horatio

Here is your Highness ring. Enter Fuchannello.

Trappolin

You Sirra of chains and keyes set me Trappolin at liberty presently, and send him hither. (50

Pucannello

Will he never be wise? I wood he wood make another Jaylor, I am weary of the place, I can never be at quiet for putting in and setting out. Ex[it]Pucannello.

Flametta

The Heavens reward your goodness.

Trappolin

Brother and Prince Horatio, I am something given to be

Line 47. In this line is assigned to Prudentia, but the passage is addressed to her and properly emends by assigning the line to Trappolin.

drunk, Eo, Meo, and Areo are good fellows: but I pray you pardon me.

Horatio

Sir, you wrong your self.

Trappolin

My friend, and Prince Horatio, I'le nere wrong my self I warrant you; but you I have, and my sister Prudentia: (60 but it was when I was foxt, and I will never be so again. Enter Mattemoros and Hipolita.

Machavil

I am glad he will once let us be quiet.

Barbarino

I should be very glad if he would continue it.

Trappolin

Ho now Seignior Captain! ha you got a sweetheart.

Mattemoros

A fair Mistress so please your Highness.

Trappolin

I see, my Don at Armes, when you cannot follow the wars of the field, you will of the bed. Enter Lavinio.

Flametta

Prethee my Trappolin, now hold thy tongue.
Be wise sweet Love.

Lavinio

Leave me thou frantick fool. (70

Trappolin

For Flametta's sake I have given you your liberty, use it well.

Lavinio

O Heavens, endure not this impostor thus With his enchantments to bewitch our eyes.
Machavil

Will he suffer him?

Barbarino

Perhaps one mad man will pity another.

Lavinio

Yea Florentines, I am Lavinio,
I am the Tuscan Duke, this an enchanter,
That by his magick Art has raised all
These strange chimeraes in my Court.

Mattemoros

Your Highness is too patient, it were more fit he rav'd in Prison.

Flametta

Sweet Trappolin be rul'd.

Trappolin

Hold your tongue I say.

Horatio

Poor Trappolin, art thou distracted too?

Lavinio

You Lords of Florence, wise Machavil, and
You Lord Barbarino, will you never come
Out of this frenzy? Valiant Mattemoros,
I am the Duke, I am Lavinio:
This whom you do suppose is me, is some
Hellish Magician that hath bewitched us all.

Trappolin

He will not be rul'd: Puchanello take him again.

Flametta

Beseech your Highness: Trappolin, come away.

Prudentia

Was ever seen the like?
Lavinio

Ah my poor subjects! how I pity you,
That must obey the monstrous wickedness
Of one that works by Necromantick means,
And is forsaken by the blessed Gods!

Trappolin

Away with him. Enter Mag.

Mago

Stay. (100

Trappolin

Yon's Father Conjurer.

Barbarino

What new accident is this!

Trappolin

I hope he'll do no hurt.

Horatio

What will the event be (marle?)

Mattemoros

What old Long-beard's this?

Mago

A word with you, Will you, if I clear everything,
Pardon what's past?

Lavinio

Do you know me then?

Lines 94-98. M omits line 94 entirely; as a result, the next speech, lines 95-98, are assigned by M to Prudentia.

Line 99. Read Mago for Mag.
Mago

You are the Duke.

Trappolin

Father Conjurer, do no hurt, and I'le give you a hundred pistols to buy you sallets and oile it'h wood.

Mago

I'le talk with you even now; will you promise me?

Lavinio

I swear by all the honours of my state, By both my Dukedomes, Florence and Sienna, I will forgive what ever's past.

Mago

Him and all?

Lavinio

Him and all.

Trappolin

Good Father Conjurer, remember your son.

Machavel

What will come of this?

Mago

Be not affrighted.

Mattemoros

Never, not I.

Mago

What ere you see, Fear not, nothing shall hurt you.

Prudentia

This is a Conjurer.
**Hipolita**

Sweet Captain stand close by me.

**Barbarino**

What strange events are these!

**Mago**

*Ec, Meo, and Areo, appear.*

**Trappolin**

I am undone I fear. Father Conjurer, remember your son, I'll give you two hundred pistols.

**Mago**

Appear I say.  

*Enter *Ec, Meo, and Areo.*

**Prudentia**

Alas!

**Horatio**

Fear nothing.  

(130)

**Hipolita**

Oh me!

**Mattemoros**

Be bold, I am here Hipolita.

**Mago**

Go take the hat, the glass, and the cloke from him.

**Trappolin**

Ah me! Ah me! here, here, here, here, come not too near me. *Ec, Meo, and Areo, farewell all on you; Father Conjurer has undone me.*

**Barbarino**

**Trappolin.**

**Machavil**

Two Trappolins.
Flametta
I know not which is mine.

Mago

Attend a while.
Thus with the [wafta] of this enchanted wand
I do release your Highness.

Mattemoros

The Duke.

Horatio

Wonders.

Mago

You have engaged your word, y'ave pardon'd all, me who
have done and undone every thing, and him, and every body.

Lavinio

I have.

Machavil

The Heavens be prais'd; long live your Highness.

Omnes.

Long live the Duke.

Horatio

What will become of me?

Mago

I'le perfect every thing;
Brave Prince Horatio, your elder Brother,
Prince Filiberto is dead. Sir, you cannot,
with reason dislike this match, they are
Married, and your consent doth perfect it.

Line 138. s reads waste, but the letter s is blurred, making an imperfect impression. It seems certain from the context that wafta is meant.
Lavinio

Now I am assured he is a Turin Prince,
Heir to the Dukedom of Savoy, I am glad
They are espoused: sister I wish you joy;
Sir, I intreat forgiveness for what's past.

Horatio

All's forgotten.

Frudentia

Thanks gracious Heavens.

Lavinio

I'll have your wedding solemnized with state.

Machavil

I am glad this Gordian knot's untied.

Trappolin

I shall be hang'd Father Conjurer.

Mago

The Duke hath pardoned you and me and all.

Trappolin

Then let Eo, Mec, and Areo go to the Devil from whence they came. Flametta, I am thine.

Flametta

Ah my dear Trappolin!

Trappolin

Here is your Highness ring.

Mago

From henceforth I abjure my wicked art.

Horatio

I for thy love to me will send thee into
Piemont, and give thee an Earldom in Vercelly.
The Heavens reward you: you know I alwaies made much of your Highness Majesty. Thou shalt be a Countess.

Son Trappolin, I am thy natural father, twenty years since banisht ten years from Florence: through my misfortune I have served the Turk in his Gallies.

By your leave Father you have served the Divel too I'me sure: for you are one of the best Conjurers in the world. Welcome unto the Court, your son of Honour, and to Flametta's Earlship: will your Honours forgive me too?

Yes. Enter Isabella.

For the Princes sake I do.

I thank you both: now all's well agen, henceforth I will live honestly and be the Divils Butcher no longer.

My Isabella welcome; every thing that did molest our happiness in Florence is took away, now we will spend our time in Courtly joyes; our famous Tuskan Poets shall study amorous Comedies and Masks, to entertain my beauteous Millaness: I have a story full of ridiculous wonders, within to tell thee at our better leisure.

The weaker side must yield unto the stronger, and Trappolin's suppos'd a Prince no longer. Exeunt omnes.

Finis actus quinti & ultimi.

Line 171. As emended by M. S reads Fla.
THE EPILOGUE

Ladies and Gentlemen, you that now may
Approve (or if you please) condemn our Play,
We thank you first; for here it was not writ
In sweet repose and fluencies of wit;
But far remote at Rome begun, half made
At Naples, at Paris the conclusion had.
Yet the perfection is behind, which (if
You give's a Flaudite) you in England give;
Our Nation's courteous unto strangers, nor
Should you refrain unto this Traveller.
I must not sue; Ther's nothing now remains,
Saving the Guerdon of our Poets pains:
Ee for him self is careless, onely wood,
That for the Actors sakes you'd say 'tis good.
We are doubtful yet, your hands will set all right;
Do what you please, and (Gentlemen) good night.

FINIS.

The Epilogue. In S, A, F, and C the caption is The
Prologue. In the Henry E. Huntington copy of A
the caption has been struck out and The Epilogue
written underneath in ink in what appears to be
seventeenth century script. M also emends the
caption to The Epilogue.
A DUKE AND NO DUKE

by

NAHUM TATE
The Text

A Duke and No Duke was published twice during the lifetime of Nahum Tate, in 1685 and in 1693. Only in the latter printing is found Tate's long preface on farce. Since this preface contains words set up in Greek characters and Latin words with ligatures impossible to reproduce on the typewriter, and since the musical score for the songs in the play cannot be reproduced exactly, photostatic reproductions of both the 1693 preface and the musical score have been used in this edition. The text of the play, however, has been typed direct from the printing of 1685, but represents a collation of both printings, all variants having been recorded in the textual notes. The following silent changes have been made: the letter a has been substituted for its older form; ordinary capital letters have been substituted for the large block capitals of the initial letter or word of each scene; the speech tags have been made uniform in spelling and typed out in full preceding each speech, thereby discarding the highly abbreviated speech tags with variant spellings in the original texts. All other changes have been indicated in the textual notes. The 1758 printing was set up from the first edition. The text of this eighteenth century printing has been generally disregarded, since Tate obviously could have had no connection with any of the textual changes therein. No subsequent printing or edition is known.
The following abbreviations have been used in the textual notes:

Q1- A Duke and No Duke, 1685.
Q2- A Duke and No Duke, 1693.
Q3- A Duke and No Duke, 1758.
A
Duke and no Duke.
A
FA R C E.
As it is Acted by Their
Majesties Servants.

Written by N. Tate.

With
The several SONGS set to Music,
With thorow Basses for the Theorbo,
or Basse Viol,

LONDON,
Printed for Henry Bonwicke, at the Red-
Lyon in St. Pauls Church-Yard.
1685.
A

Duke and no Duke.

As it is Acted by Their

Majesties Servants.

To which is now added,

A Preface concerning Farce:
With an Account of the Persona
and Larvae, &. Of the Ancient
Theatre.

By N. Tate,
SERVANT to Their MAJESTIES.

LONDON:
Printed for Henry Bonwicke, at the Red-Lion in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1693.
To the Honourable

Sr. George Hewyt,
Baronet.

Sir,

IT has been my good fortune to be so far oblig'd to you, as will render this publick Acknowledgment a just Debt. Tho' I confess a small Pretense will serve an Authors Turn where he bears a Particular and Personal Respect. To whom can Poets with more natural Duty address Themselves, than to those Persons of Worth and Honour, by whose Virtues they form their Noblest Characters. The Hero's of Antiquity are less apt to enflame our Thoughts: They are lessen'd by their Distance from Us, tho' succeeding Times never fail to represent above their true Proportion. No Age has pass'd without some Illustrious Examples, and how far Ours can boast in this Particular, is not for me to determine. If the Ancient Honour of the BRITISH Genius, may not be charg'd with Degeneracy, we must vindicate its Reputation by the Eminency, and not the Number, of Worthies that yet support it. And Sir, in this Honourable List, envy it self will allow your Name no inferior Place. An easie and charming Conversation, such as can give Ornament to a Court, is no small addition to Quality; but where it has been accompany'd with an early and solid Judgment, it must still command greater Esteem. Military Qualifications (answerable to the Noble Employment of securing the Royal Life) are no small Accomplishments, but are yet more Illustrious, where they do not exclude acquaintance with Books, and Love of more retired knowledge. It has always been the Perfection of great Spirits to adorn a Realm in Peace, and to protect it in War: To be no less Active for the Dignity of their Country, than for its Defence. Thus, Sir, the British Seas have seen you voluntarily engaging for the Nations Honour. Since when, we have sustain'd more rough Debates at home; through all which (Sir) your signal and continued Loyalty has justly fix'd you in the Favour of our Monarch, and of His most princely Brother. If in yet more private Capacity and Relation to Inferiors, CONDESCENSION, Generosity, and exactest Justice in Affairs, can constitute a Character of Honour, the World will not forgive me so brief a mention of them here. I confine my self within the general Voice, that (Sir) proclaims You one of those Few whom our Country must thank for making the OLD ENGLISH VIRTUE yet Visible. Sir, I pretend not to a Panegyrick, (though I trouble you with a Dedication. By the Present that I offer, I may be thought a stranger to your skill
in the Muses Affairs (when you condescend to judge them)
especially in the Drama. I shall only say, That as I am
well acquainted with your Judgment, I have likewise ex-
perienced the Goodness and indulgence of your Temper, to
which I refer myself for Pardon, and respect.

Sir,

Your Most Obliged

And Humble Servant

N. Tate.
PREFACE

All other Species of Dramatique Poetry, have their due Respect amongst us; but I know not by what Fate Farce is look't upon to be so mean and inconsiderable. If it were to be judg'd by the Difficulty of the work, we should soon change our Notion. I know it is generally suppos'd an easie Task, but it is such an easiness as is well describ'd by Horace,

-----Ut sibi Quivis
Speret Idem, sudet multum, frustrææ; laboret,
Ausus Idem-----

Or, as the Words are rendred with advantage by his Incomparable Translator,*

That ev'ry One will think to write the same,
And not without much pains be undeceiv'd.

The Reason I presume to be this, (and I am certain the Undertaker will find it true) that Tragedy, Comedy, and Pastoral it self, subsist upon Nature: So that whosoever has a Genius to Copy her, is assur'd of success, and all the World affords him Subject: Whereas the Business of Farce is to exceed Nature and Probability. But then there are so few Improbabilities that will appear Pleasant, and so much nicety requir'd in the management, that the Performance will be found extreamly Difficult. I cannot seem guilty of Vanity in this Assertion, since I had my Foundation in this Essay, laid to my Hands. I took all the Liberty of Addition and new Modelling the Adventures, which I thought necessary for the Stage: And did not find my self mistaken in reducing them nearer to Nature and Probability, than they were in the Original. I must needs own the good Performance of it upon the Stage, and impute it much to that, that it had the good Fortune to divert His Majesty.

* Earl of Roscommon. This is Tate's footnote.
THE

P R E F A C E.

Both Italy and France have swarm'd with Critiques upon the Business of the Stage, and have trac'd it's History up to Thespis's Cart. The Mimica Satyra Tragoedia Comoedia have been thoroughly canvass'd. A Man might almost conjure with their Planipedes, Attalanae, Praetextatae, Tabernariae, &. Distinctions, Divisions and Sub-divisions, but amongst them All not one word of a Farce. None have taken into Consideration, or condescended to tell us, whether the Trappolin, Scapin, Harlequin or Scaramouch be Originals; or if France be a Species of Stage-Poetry unknown to the Ancients. This Subject therefore being yet untouch'd, and the Bookseller having occasion to re-print this short Play, I thought it worth the business of a Preface to speak my Sentiments of the matter, though but to provoke some Learned Person to clear the Doubt, and set the Question in a true Light.

In order to this Enquiry, 'twill be proper first to speak something of those Stage-Properties or Implements called Personae and Larvae, used by Players of former Times; for Harlequin was not the first that acted in a Vizard.

Athenaeus in his Twelfth Book mentions one Aristophanes of Byzantium, with several others, who had written particularly on this Subject. Amongst Latin Writers Antonio Codr. Ure. is said to have published an Elegant Epistle concerning this matter. Caelius Calcagn in his Book Entitu-
led, Personati, speaks pretty home to the Point; and above
all, the Learned Bullinger, lib. 1. de Theatro.

But I meet with enough for my purpose in the Syntagm.
* De Personis of Marischott, who, for the benefit of most
& Larvis. Readers, contents himself with citing the
Latin Version of Lucan*, and others, which
I have so transcribed on occasion as I there found them.
Neither can my Abstract of his Book seem needless, because
the Treatise it self having been only Printed in Italy, is
scarce to be met with in England.

'Tis agreed that the Word Persona in a restrained Sense
signifies only the Vizard or Counterfeit Face worn by the
Actor: But in larger and more frequent Acceptation, the
whole Habit or Dress of Him that enter'd the Scene;
which (under the Reign of Old-Comedy) was contriv'd
exactly like the usual wearing Garb of some Person
whom they had a mind to represent upon the Stage. An
Instance hereof against no less a Person than Socrates we
find described at large by AElian. The Substance of the
Story is this: That Aristophanes in his
represented both the Figure, Gesture and Habit of Socrates, with which
Spectacle the Athenians were at first surpriz'd. However, the
common sort presently expressed their Applause. Socrates
himself being then amongst the Audience, not by chance
but design, and seated where he might be most exposed to
view, encontering with his grave, steddy and unconcern'd
Countenance at once the Mimickry of the Actor, and Ral-
lery of the Poet.

But whether the Stage-dresses and Masks were made in
Imitation of some particular Person, or contriv'd by Hu-
mour and Fancy, as might be most agreeable to the Fable,
(in which they always observed a Decorum.) 'Tis evident,
says my Author, that they never enter'd the Scene nisi
Personis induti.

But who was the first Inventor of them is a matter of
no small Dispute. They appear to be as ancient as the
of Plays and Drolls themselves, which were of as old a date as the Worship of Bacchus, or perhaps any other Gods. That this manner of Celebrating the Rites of Bacchus was in use not only among the Thracians and Greeks, but also very frequent and ancient among the Latins. We have evident Proof from Virgil's Georgicks, Lib. 11. with a most Elegant Description of the Personae in these Words:

--- Baccho caper omnibus Aris
Caeditur & veteres ineunt proscenia Ludi:
Praemiaque ingentes pagos & compita circum
Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti
Mollibus in pratis uinctos salire per utres;
Nec non Ausonii Troja gens missa celoni
Versibus incomptis ludunt, risuque soluto
Oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis.

Ovid hints almost as much in the Minores Quinquipatas celebrated in Honour of Minerva.

Et jam Quinquatrus jubeor narrare minores
Huc ades O caeptis flava Minerva meis;
Cur vagus incedat tota tibicen in urbe.
Quid sibi Personae, quid Toga picta velint.

Suidas affirms Chaerilus the Athenian to have been the first that erected a Stage, and used the Larva; yet elsewhere (according to Diomedes and other Greek Writers) he makes Thespis Inventor of the Persona, who at first descoloured his Face with Vermilion, before he came to use the Juice of Purslane; or, according to Horace, the Lees of Wine.

----- Plaustris vexisse Poemata Thespis
Quae canerent agerentur peruncti Faecibus ora.
This Practice, and Cartshow's of Thespis were performed about the 56th Olympiad. Others give the Honour of this Invention to AEschylus, and presume that they have likewise Horace's Word for their Opinion.

Post hunc Personae pallaeq; repertor honestae AEschylus---

But Horace is still consistent, if rightly understood; for he does not affirm AEschylus to be the absolute Inventor of the Persona, but of the Persona Honesta, of more graceful Masks and Habits than were contrived by others; for which Reason we may suppose, as Philostratus relates, this AEschylus was called the Father of Tragedy. After AEschylus Stage-Habits for Women were also invented by Phrynichus.

Amongst the Romans till Livius Andronicus his time, the Galeri and not Personae were used upon the Stage; and Suidas will have Roscius Gallus to be the first that brought the Personae into custom with the Romans: But Donatus tells us, that Minutius and Prothonius were the first Players that Acted Tragedy, Personati: Which Fashion afterwards obtained that Degree, that Nero Caesar himself is recorded by Suetonius to have appeared in such Dresses upon the open Stage. Tragoedias cantaverit Personatus; Heroum Deorumque item heroidum & Deorum, Personis effictis. That pompous and splendid Dresses were proper for Tragedy, both Pollux and Donatus affirm.

Next to Tragedy came Satyr, which was but a Species of the former, as appears by the Cyclops of Euripides. This sort of Dramma (though less practised as the World grew more civilized) had also it's peculiar Personae or made of Goats Skins and Hides, and other Beasts, which are described by Dyonisius, Pollux and Caesaron.
The personal Habits used in the Licentious Comdiaaevetus were contrived (as we instanced) to repre-
sent particular Persons, * which therefore *Poet. Lib.c.4. could he no constant or fix'd Garb; for Suidas 14.Lib.xi.c.12 says expressly, &. 1.4. c.ix. That is, Moris fuit ut Comici Personas Hi-
strionibus darent eorum similis quos imit-
arentur. Horace alludes to the same Custom, Sat. 4. L. 1. ---
Quivis Stomacheter eodem quo personatus Pater. Their re-
sembling Dresses (says the Scholiast upon Aristoph.) were so aptly contrived, that the Spectators knew what Person the Actor mimicked at his first appearance, before he spoke a Word. While Athens was a popular State, the Rabble were so much delighted with these Representations of par-
ticular Men, that Isocrates complains they would run to those Entertainments from their Orators, while they were haranguing upon Matters of greatest Importance to the Publick. 'Tis true, this Practice of exposing Men upon the Stage was at its beginning more justifiable, while con-
fin'd to those Limits mentioned by Horace,

Si quis erat dignus describi quod malus aut fur, Quod Maechusve forst, aut Sicarius, aut alloqui Famosus. ------

Nay, it did not a little conduce to the reforming of the State, in deterring Men from Wickedness; upon which Dionys. Halycarn. did not stick * Dionys. to*affirm of Eupolis Cratinus and Aristoph-
anes, that they perform'd the Office of Philosophers and States-men as well as of Poets. But when from repre-
sentation of evil Men, the Practice declin'd to the Tradu-
cing of the Good and Vertuous, and even to the Disho-
nour of Religion, and ridiculing their very Gods, 'twas
high time for the Government to take Cognizance of the Matter, and enact Laws to restrain their License.

------Lex est accepta Chorusq;
Turpiter Obticuit Sublato jure nocendi,
Horace, Art. Poet.

------Jam saevus apertam
In rabiem verti caepit jocus & per honestas,
Ire domos, etc.

And a little after,

----------Lex
Paenaq; lata malo quae nollet Carmine quemquam,
Describi. Epist. Lib. 3.

Upon this Regulation succeed the Media and Nova Comedia, in which the Personae ludicae & ad risum accommodatae were invented and made familiar to the Stage. One contriv'd a peculiar Habit, when the part of a Paedagogue was to be plaid, another of a Parisite, others of Bawds, Cooks, &. All which are recited by *In prolegom. *Donatus. and more largely by Pollux.* ad. Terent. That Comedians acted Personati in Te-
*Lib. 4. c. 19. rence his time appears by an ancient Copy of that Authot preserved in the Vatican, where Figures are drawn of the Actors in the Play, as they were Larvati and Personati.

'Tis impossible for us to conceive the Art and Curiosity in the Contrivance and Making of these Shapes, in which these Players acted, or how much the Player himself was sometimes enamour'd on his Persona, or Stage-dress, attributing his Success and Theatrical Applause to the Semblance in which he acted. As to this Particular, Pliny has given us an Instance of memorable Event in his Natural Hi-
story, Lib. 8. cap. 43. speaking of M. Opilius Hilarius. He tells us, That this Actor having wonderfully pleasd the People in performance of a certain Part; He invited his Friends to a Treat upon his Birthday, and this Shape in which he succeeded so well being brought into his sight, he pull'd off his banqueting Wreath from his Head to put it upon the Figure, which he survey'd with such Pleasure, that he lost his Sense, grew stiff and cold, and unperceived by the Company, expir'd with Transport.

Hitherto we have discoursed of the Persona in the larger Acceptation, as it signified amongst them, the intire Stage-Habit. But must acknowledge that it was sometimes taken in a more restrain'd Sense, and used by Actors for only the Larva or Vizard, as the Larvaagain is sometimes mentioned to express the Persona intire.

Martial uses the Word for a Border or Perriwigg, Epigr. 43. Lib. 3.

Mentiris juvenem tinctis Lentine capillis,
    Tam subito Corvus, qui modo cignus eras;
    Non omnes fallis, scit te Proserpina canum,
    Personam capiti detrahet illa tuo.

But Seneca expresly for a Mask or Vizard, Quid tantopere te supinat? Quid Vultum habitum; oris praevertit ut malis habere Personam quam faciem.

The Advantages of using these Persona or Disguises on the Stage were, in Comedy, that they might first have Resemblance to the Person imitated, and afterwards adapted for Humour, and to exite Mirth; besides the Consulting the Decency of the Actors, who were in those Days gene-
Yet Nero that Monster having compell'd Noblemen to act Parts in a Play, he Commanded them to pull off their Vizards on the Stage. Histrionum apparatu eos patefaciens Hominibus apud quos ipsi paulo ante Magistratum gesserant.

*Lucian de Salt describing the Mimick-Mask, says it was Larva pulcherrima, Quae non immane hint ut Tragica.

Fabulo seu maesto ponatur hianda Tragedo.

The Convenience of these Disguises on other occasions, as in Interludes at Sacred Rites (as they call'd them) is manifest from Servius on our fore-cited place of *Virgil, Quia necesse erat pro ratione Sacrorum aliqua ludicra bus aris, &c. Georg. & turpia fieria quibus populo possit risus Moveri, qui ea exercabant, propter verecundiam remedium hoc adhibuerunt, ne agnoscerentur.

Yet were not Disguises Masks and Maskers, employ'd only in the Service of the Theatre and Temples, but promiscuously used by the Ancients on many other occasions, as in Triumphs, Feasts, Marriages, Funerals, &c. the History whereof would be furnish'd with many entertaining Circumstances; but I must remember that I am confin'd to the scanty Limits of a Preface.
The good Uses that have been made of Vizards and Counterfeit-Habits, without the compass of the Theatre would make no small Collection, but the Abuses of them much greater. This would afford more Horror than Diversion. The yearly Harvest of Wickedness, and evil Consequences occasion'd by the Carnival at Venice, give sufficient Proofs of the Mischief. Larvati took their Appellation from Larva, a Vizard; and Larva from the Lares, whom the Ancients suppose to possess Men's Minds with Madness. This was ascribed as peculiar to those Powers. Can there be greater Demonstration of Distraction and Frenzy of all sorts, than in the Impious Practices and Debaucheries at the fore-mentioned Festival? Can all their Mortifications of the ensuing Lent make any tolerable Amends for the Lewdness then committed? Has the Devil at any time such a Jubilee, where Vice like an Infernal Cebale faces all her black Offspring assembled together? What are the effects of this Masquerade, but Whoredoms, Adulteries, Incests, Brawls, Murders, and a general Corruption of Manners. Pollydor recites it to the Honour of our English Ancestors, that they had Law in force against Masqueradings, Capitale fuisse si quis personam induisset. De Rev. Invent. l. 5. c. 2. Ludovicus vives, lib. de Christiana Faemina, thinks he did the Masquerading ladies no wrong in affiriming, that detrimentum quod sub Persona earum accepit verecundia citra personam se proferat & ostendat. That they proved after wearing those Dignities just as modest out of their Masques as they were in them. And honest Juvenal civilly puts the Question,

Quem praestare potest mulier Larvata pandorem?
But restoring these Guises to their proper Owners, the Stage-Players, let us proceed from the Consideration of the larva to our first Enquiry about Farce, and whether or no the Ancients had any such Species of Stage Poetry.

In the first place I would ask the Readers Opinion, if he can suppose any more genuine and natural use of those Larvae or Wizards which we have described, than for Farce-Players, especially if we take in those other Implements mentioned by Lucian. de Salt, thus rendred by Marish. Mitto adscitia pectora &c ventres fictitos, ad-junctam &c arte compositam corporis crassitudinem. One would almost conclude from this Description of their Stage-Properties, that they could be contrived for nothing but Farce.

I have not yet seen any Definition of Farce, and dare not be the first that ventures to define it. I know not by what fate it happens (in common Notion) to be the most contemptible sort of the Drama. 'Tis thought to bring least Reputation to an Author. But if the difficulty of the Task were to decide the Case, we should soon alter our Opinion. I would desire him who thinks it an easie thing, to make Tryal of it with all the speed he can, it being such a Work

*As every man may think to write,
*Id. Roscom. And not without much pains be undeceiv'd. Transl.

The reason of the Difficulty I presume to be this, (and the Undertakers will find it true) That Comedy, properly so called, is an Imitation of Humane Life, (quicquid agunt homines) and subsists upon Nature; so that whosoever has a Genius to copy her, and will take the Pains, is assured of Success, and all the World af-
fords him Subject. Whereas the business of Farce ex-
tends beyond Nature and Probability. But then there are
so few Improbabilities that will appear pleasant in the Re-
presentation, that it will strain the best Invention to find
them out, and require the nicest Judgment to manage
them when they are conceived. Extragant and monstrous
Fancies are but sick Dreams, that rather torment
than divert the Mind; but when Extravagancy and Im-
probability happen to please at all, they do it to purpose.
because they strike our Thought with greatest Surprise.
But to our Question.
I cannot averr, that the Ancients had Entertainments
on the Stage entirely resembling the Harlequin and Scha-
ramouch, but 'tis highly probable that the Satyrical Diver-
sions and Interludes invented to *relieve
the Heaviness of Tragedy were of this *As the French
Nature. For that they were introduced now make use of
for Mirth and Rallery, and thereby to their Farc's help off the serious Action, is expressly told us.

Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum
Mox etiam egestes Satyros nudavit, &c asper
Incolumni gravitate, jocum tentavit: eo quod
Illecebris erat &c grata Novitate morandus
Spectator.

For as Madam le Fevre * says, the
Stage-Satyr, or Satyrizing Scenes must *In her admirable
by no means be confounded with Satyrique *Preface to her
Poems written by Lucilius, Horace, or *Version of
Greek Satyrist. The business of the Amphitrio.
Satyr-Actors was not to lash out into
long Invectives, only now and then a Flurt of such
harmless Sarcasm as used to be sometimes thrown out by
Harlequin, or Scaramouch, because as Horace adds,
Ita risores ita commendare dicaces
Conveniet Satyros, &c.

Which shews they were to keep within Bounds; and what he subjoyns

--------Ita vertere seria ludo.

Seems to employ Drollery, Banter, Buffoonry, Vagaries, Whimsies, which are so many Ingredients of Modern Farce. Nay, I have somewhere read (though I cannot at present recollect my Author) that their Comick Actors used to deliver what they had to say in various and feigned Tones, which was Harlequin's manner.

Nor will this appear unlikely, if we consider particularly the Gesticulations, Tricks, Feats of Activity and wonderful Performances of another sort of Actors whom they called Mimi and Pantomimi, from their admirable knack at Mimickry; which was not the least of Harlequin's and Scaramouch's Talents. 'tis unconceivable how expert these Persons were in humorous Actions, as will appear by a few Testimonies very well worth our mentioning.

Their Performances were so extraordinary, that as Strabo informs us, Lib. 14, their Art was called their Legerdemain Shifts, Slights and Postures, Magical Arts, Praestigia: And further asserts, Eos quam saepissime argumento e Comoediis desumpto varias personas representasse, nunc faeminae, nunc lenonis, nunc Adulteri, nunc temulentii.

To which we may add that old Epigram,

Tot Linguae quot membra viro, mirabilis Ars est,
Quae facit Articulos, ore tacente, loqui.
There was no Fable accommodated to the Stage, which these Mute-Actors could not represent by Gestures and Movements of their Body. For as Lucian says, Personis in Scenam introductis, gestibus per omnia responderent, neque ea quae dicuntur ab introductis optimatibus, aut agricolus, aut mendicis discrepabant sed in unoquoque illorum proprietas & excellentia demonstrabantur. In dumb Action and Gestures they could express, and as it were, speak what they pleased. Wherefore * Tigranes amongst all the Rarities the World's Imperial City afforded, begged one of these Pantomimes to serve him as it were for an Interpreter to all Nations.

Pantomimus (says Cassiod. Var. 4. Epistl. ult.) a multifaria imitatio nomen est, idem corpus Herculem designat &c venerem, faeminam presentat &c marem; Regem facit &c Militem; Senem reddit &c Juvenem ut in uno videas esse multos. And Lucian seeing a Pantomime prepare to personate five Representations, cries, That the Mimick seem'd to him to have five Souls, who could exhibit so many Personages with one Body. What was all this but Farce to the Degree of Harlequin with his Cloak, whisk'd about, and acting a Windmil.

All this, you'll say, was only Farce of Action, Farce in the Player, nothing on the Poets Part, no Proof that the Ancients had any written Farce. I will not affirm they had any Stage-Play entirely of Harlequin and Scarramouch's Cast; but if Molier's Comedies come under the Denomination of Farce, (as everybody allows) 'tis plain that both the Greeks and Romans had Farcical Plays. The Comedies of Aristophanes and Plautus are mostly of this Cut, call them Palliatae, Togatae, mixt Comedy, low Comedy, or what you will. Their Old Comedy, generally speaking, had the very Air of Farce. Aristophanes his Socrates Philosophizing in a Basket, &c. is as much Farce as any thing in the Character.
of Mr. Shadwell's Virtuoso. The Frog and Swimming-Master, Tame Spider, Bottled Air, &c. are not more
Humorous and Farce. Aristophanes his Frogs were a ve-
ry Rehearsal of those days: As our Fletcher's Knight of
the Burning Pestle was a sort of Quixot on the Stage.
Which teaches us, that Farce is not inconsistent with
good Sence, because 'tis capable of Satyr, which is Sence
with a Vengeance. The Amphytrio and Menaech of Plau-
tus through the whole Contrivance and Course of Acci-
dents are all Farce. They were the Originals of Shake-
spear's Comedy of Errors, and the Italian Trappoline.
I would not be a Heretick in Poetry, but Reason and Ex-
perience convince us, that the best Comedies of Ben.
Johnson are near a-kin to Farce; nay, the most entertain-
ing parts of them are Farce it self. The Alchymist which
cannot be read by any sensible Man without Astonish-
ment, is Farce from the opening of the First Scene to
the end of the Intrigue. 'Tis Farce, but such Farce as
bequeaths that Blessing (pronounced by Horace) on him
that shall attempt the like.

---Sudet multum frustraq; laboret
Ausus idem.

The whole business is carry'd on with Shuffles, Sham
and Banter, to the gretest degree of Pleasantness in the
World. For Farce (in the Notion I have of it) may ad-
mity of most admirable Plot, as well as subsist sometimes
without it. Nay, it has it's several Species or Distincti-
ons as well as Comedy amongst the Romans Stateria mix-
ta, &c. but still 'twas Comedy. So Comedy may admit
of Humour, which is a great Province of Farce; but
then it might be such Humour as comes within compass
of Nature and Probability: For where it exceeds these
Bounds it becomes Farce. Which Freedom I would al-

low a Poet, and thank him into the Bargain, provided he
has the Judgment so to manage his Excursion, as to
heighten my Mirth without too grossly shocking my
Senses. I cannot call to mind one Humour in all Terence's
Plays, but what he might have taken by Observation,
all lies within the Compass of Conversation; but there-
fore Caesar (amidst all his Beauties and Excellencies) says
he, wants the Vis Comica, which made Plautus so diverting.
There is so much said for these two Authors by
their respective Admirers, that a Man knows not where
to give the Preference. All that I would presume to say,
is, That I esteem them both admirable in their way;
that one chose to write pure Comedy in the strictest No-
tion, and the other liberty of extending Comedy some-
times into Farce; and each got his Point, Terence of be-
ing, exact, and Plautus pleasant. Neat Terence, witty
Plautus, says our greatest* Master of
Comedy, who scorn'd not to Copy some-
times from the Ancients; yet for one *Ben. Johnson's
Verses on Shake-
Hent he has taken from Terence, he
spear.
has borrowed from Plautus. I will instance only that
pleasant Passage in his Alcymist, where the Confederates
banter and play upon Surly disguised like a Spanish Don,
not supposing that he understood them. We find the
same Humour in the Paenulus of Plautus, where the old
Carthaginian speaks in the Punick Language; Milphio a
Roman Servant plays the wagg, and drolls upon him, un-
der pretence of interpreting for him; the Stranger suf-
fers him to run himself out of breath with his Ribaldry,
and then surprizes him with thundring out as good Latin
as the best of them could speak. Vulpone's playing the
Mountebank in the Fox is Farce; and Sir Politick's turn-
ing himself into a Tortoise. This Passage however is un-
diverting, which proves (as I said) the Nicety of Judg-
ment required in managing Improbabilities. Had this
been told to the Audience like other Projects which are
only recited, it might have made a pleasant Relation.
Now if we enquire into the best of our Modern Co-
medies, we should find the most diverting parts of them
to be Farce, or near a kin to it. Remembrance John in the
Cutter, Sir Martin turn'd East -India Gentleman, the Try-
al Scene in the Spanish Fryar, where Gomes menac'd by
the Colonel in dumb shew, runs Counter in his Evidence,
says and unsays in a Breath, till he confounds himself and
the Court. Such Pleasantry as this is I cannot think be-
low it's great Author, who in the Serious Scenes of the
same Play, has shewn us the Refinedness and Perfection
of the English Style. Quintilian, speak-
*Lib. vi. c.3. ing of Repartees, after these Words, *Lon-
de Risu. ge venustiora omnia in respondendo quam in
provincando; That more Wit's required to retort a Jest
than to break one, adds this Expression, Accedit difficul-
tati quod ejus rei nulla exercitatio est, nulli praeeptores.
The same may be said of Farce; there are no Rules to
be prescribed for that sort of Wit, no Patterns to Copy,
'tis altogether the Creature of Imagination. And our
English Maecenas (to whose Judgment the Muses willing-
ly subscribe) has declared that he approves Genius and
Invention beyond the best Performances of Imitation.
Such is the Farce-Writers Task. Neither can I assume
any thing to my self by the Preference I have given to
Farce on account of the Trapoline, which I only new
modell'd: I pretend but to have Improv'd what I would
be proud to have invented.
PROLOGUE

Written by a Friend of the Author's
Upon the first Drinking of Islington Water.

Gallants,

Who would have thought to have seen so many here,
At such a Rambling season of the year,
And, what's more strange, All well and Sound, to the Eye!
Pray Gentlemen forgive me if I lie.
I thought this Season to have turn'd Physician,
But now I see small hopes in that condition:
Yet how if I should hire a Black Flower'd Jump,
And plye at Islington, Doctor to Sadlers Pump,
But first let me consult old Erra Pater,
And see what he advises in the Matter.

Let's see----

Venus and Mars, I find in Aries are,
In the Ninth House—a dull dry Bobbing Year.
The Price of Mutton, will run high 'tis thought,
And Vizard Masks will fall to ten a Groat.
The Moon's in Scorpio's House or Capricorns,
Friends of the City govern well your Horns:
Your Wives will have a mighty Trade this Quarter.
I find they'll never leave their Natural Charter.
For once take my Advice as a true Friend,
When they a Walk to the new Wells pretend,
If you'll avoid your Fate quick hasten after,
They use more ways to Cool, than Drinking Water.

---

Line 2. This line is not in the University of Texas copy of Q1 and is supplied from Q2.

Line 5. Q2 and Q3 read rambling Season of the Year, with a semi-colon after Year in Q2.

Line 11. Q2 reads Sadler's.


Line 17. A comma after high in Q2.

Line 24. In Q2 Wells is not italicized, and a period is substituted for the comma after pretend.

Line 26. Q2 reads you'll.
The Persons

Lavinio. The Great Duke of Tuscany. Mr. Wiltshire.

Brunetto. alias Horatio. Prince of Savoy. Mr. Carlile.

Barberino. Lords, Counsellors to Lavinio. Mr. Gillo.

Alberto. Mr. Williams.

Trappolin. A Parasite, Pimp, Fidler, and Buffoon, transform'd by Magick, and Usurper to Lavinio. Mr. Lee.

Mag. A Conjurer. Mr. Percivall.

Captain of the Guards. Mr. Sanders.

Isabella. The Dutchess. Mrs. Currer.

Prudentia. Sister to Lavinio. Mrs. Percivall.

Flametta. Trappolin's Sweetheart. Mrs. Twiford.


The Scene FLORENCE.

The Persons. There is no list of the actors in either Q2 or Q3.

Lavinio. A period is substituted for the comma after Lavinio in Q2.

Trappolin's Sweetheart. Q2 reads Trappolin's Sweetheart.
ACT I  [SCENE 1.]

Trappolin and Flametta.

Trappolin

FOR ever thine Flametta.

Flametta

Thanks my Dear.
But am not I a fond Fool to believe you,
When you have been from me these two long dayes?
I'm sensible I love you but too well,
For truly Dear you are a naughty man.

Trappolin

Pretty Rogue! how she fires my heart! now could I cry like any roasted Lobster.--What would old Lord Barberino give for one such kind word from her. But young and poor as she is, she is yet most Constant and Virtuous.--Not that I (10 care much for Virtue neither.--Alas my Dear, I have been much opprest with Business since I saw thee. My Honour was at stake for procuring Convenients for no less than five Ministers of State. It's been dead trading of late, but 'tis a comfort to see times mend, now we are upon our Matrimony.

Flametta

Let me Conjure you leave these vltious courses,
You must indeed, or we must never marry;
But you will be my Convert and reform.

Trappolin

All in good time Love; it becomes me to see my Betters (20 go before me, when I do mend I shall certainly do it to purpose, I am so long about it.--In the mean time I give

ACT I. No scene marking in the old editions.

Flametta. As in Q2. Q1 reads Flametta.
Line 2. Q3 reads Thnake.
Line 4. Q2 reads days.
Line 10. Q2 reads constant.
thee leave to be honest, and I think that's fair.—
Whose here my Rival Lord? Enter Barberino and Officers.

Barberino

Here is the Villain with his handsome Wench,
And (what afflicts me more) an honest One;
I have these many weeks attempted her,
But neither Threats nor Presents can prevail,
She must be virtuous, or her poverty
Could ne'er withstand the Offers I have made;
Yet were she virtuous she would ne'er allow
This wicked Pandar so familiar with her;
This Fidling Parasite, Buffoon, and Beggar:
But on pretence of his enormities,
I have procur'd this Order from the Duke
For his immediate banishment from Florence.
Most certainly, he bears some Spell about him,
And when he's once remov'd, I shall succeed.

Trappolin

Again my Dear—My good Lord Barberino, your Honours humble Servant.—For this free Promise, Love, I ne'er enough (40
can thank thee—Your Lordships to command—No Fortune shall divide or change our Wills.—Your Honours humble slave—What's Wealth or Power where Hearts consent like ours?—Your Lordships Vassal—When thou dost sigh, thy Trappolin shall weep.—Your Honour always shall Command Me—And when thou sings't—

Flametta

We are observ'd.
Learn to be honest, and I am Thine for ever. (Exit.

Trappolin

I beg your Lordships pardon. Your Lordship saw how I was employ'd. The poor wretch has taken a Fancy to me, and (50 your Lordship knows I am a Person of liberal Education:
That I bear not a Breast of Flint, nor was Nurs't with the

---

Line 29. Q2 reads Poverty.

Lines 39-46. The printer's arrangement in Q2, in which all the remarks addressed to Lord Barberino are indicated by italic type, has been adopted here instead of the method in Q1, where no distinction has been made between these speeches and those addressed to Flametta.

Line 45. Q2 reads always.
Milk of Hircanian Bulls. Now if your Lordship has any thing to Command me, here I stand ready, I'll fido Trappolino, your Honours humble Servant in all things possible and impossible.

**Barberino**

You are a sawcy peremptory Villain, And have too long escap'd the streak of Justice.

**Officer**

Nor is there such a Coward in all Tuscany, He's able to corrupt an Army.

**Trappolin**

Fear not that Seignior Capitano, for I never mean to come into One.

**Barberino**

So lewd a Pandar ne'er infected City, What Wife or Daughter of the Noblest Blood Is safe, where such a Hellish Factor breaths.

**Trappolin**

And can your Lordship on your Honour tax me For want of Diligence in my Vocation?

**Barberino**

Industrious hast thou been in Villany, But Florence must no longer be the Scene; This is your Warrant, Captain, from the Duke, To drive this Miscreant from our City Gates. And when he's seen again in Tuscany, That Minute forfeits his abandon'd life. Thus has our Duke decreed.

**Trappolin**

At whose request?

**Barberino**

On mine.

**Trappolin**

I am glad to find your Honour has so much Interest in His
Highness, and therefore make choice of your Honour as the most proper Person to sollicit my Repeal.

Barberino

Audacious Slave.

Trappolin

His Highness knows travelling is chargeable, and besides my Stomach is of no ordinary Dimensions.

Barberino

Away with him, if he dispute your Orders Call for the Parish Whips to your Assistance.

Trappolin

Seignior Officer you may take his Lordships word when he says a thing. You hear his Lordship hath private business with me, and desires your absence—-For certain then His Highness is upon Treaty of Marriage with the Millanese; your Lordship and I, were always of opinion it would come to that. (90

Barberino

Such harden'd Impudence was never seen, Take him away.

Trappolin

My Lord, my Lord—-Such a Primrose in a Corner for your Lordship, never blown upon my Lord;—-

Barberino

Force him along.

Trappolin

Flametta my Lord, what says your Lordship to Flametta? There's Eyes and Bubbies! Shall I bring her to your

Line 79. Q2 reads person.

Line 87. Q2 reads his for His.

Line 89. Q2 reads always.
Lordship---Nay my Lord, my Lord. (They bear him off.)

Enter Duke Lavinio, Alberto; Guards, and Attendants.

Lavinio

I'm stung with Adders and shall go distracted;
Let me have breathing room.

Alberto

Your Highness knows
I ever have been watchful for your Honour,
And next to that, I would preserve your quiet.

Lavinio

Choice Method, first blow poysen in my Ears,
And after preach patience to me.

Alberto

I fear my Duty has been too officious;
Dread Sir, reflect where was the mighty harm
In holding talk with him by open day?
I hope this fanning will incense the flame. (Aside.

Lavinio

What harm? the very Bawd to their desires
Could never have Forehead to dispute the harm:
A Virgin and a Princess seen to walk
And hold discourse apart with one of Race
Obscure, at least unknown, and no harm in't?
'Twere lewd, though they had only pray'd together:
Bring the audacious Traytor to Our Presence.

(Brunetto brought in here.

Brunetto

Dread Sir, and twice my Noble Conquerour, (Kneeling.
First in the Field, in which your Self alone
Could stop my Conquest with resistless Might,
And since in Gen'rous Princely favours.

Line 97. Q2 reads they for They.

Line 119. Q2 reads Favours.
**Lavinio**

Rise.
I am not us'd to hearken after Praise,  
Or Thanks for Benefits by me conferr'd,  
For hitherto they always fell on Merit,  
Which can at best be call'd but paying Debts.  
Only in this Acknowledgment, I hear  
Ingratitude from it's own mouth condemn'd:  
This Lord, the watchful Argus of my Honour,  
Has charg'd you with a Crime will stain the Worth  
You shew'd in Battel, and make Valour blush.

**Alberto**

I but inform'd your Highness what I saw.

**Brunetto**

He's prejudic'd; I kill'd his Son in fight  
In Service of my Prince, as he of you.

**Lavinio**

I have a Sister, dear to me as Fame,  
Our Royal Father's only Care and Comfort.  
'My Dukedom (said he dying) I bequeath thee,  
'A slender Present and thy Due by Birth;  
'But with it all the Glory of our Race,  
The spotless Honour of the Medices;  
'Preserve the Princely Blood from base-born taint,  
'But most secure it in the weaker part,  
'And match Prudentia with her Peer in Birth;  
'So shall I with my Ancestors have rest.  
Now Sir, how far you have infring'd these Orders,  
And brought a guilt unknown upon my head,  
I leave yourself to judge: Confess your Crime,  
And Torture shall revenge it; smother it,  
And Torture shall extort it.

**Brunetto**

My charmed Soul  
Came panting to my Lips to meet your Charge,  
And beg forgiveness for its high presumption.  
But since you talk of Tortures, I disdain  
The servile threats, and dare your utmost Rage;  
I love the Princess, and have urg'd my passion,  
Tho' I confess all hopeless of return.

Line 152. Q2 reads Threats.
This with a Souldiers freedom I avouch,
Who scorns to lodge that Thought he dares not own:
Now Sir, Inflcit what punishment you please.
But let me warn you, that your vengeance reach
My head, or neither of us can have rest.

Lavinio

Chains, Straw and Darkness! this is meer distraction! (160
To Prison with him; you that waited on him (They lead off
Be now his Guard: Thin Diet and no Light; Brunetto.
Such usage may restore him—Vengeance thus
Converts to Charity. Prudentia, Enter Prudentia.
Your entrance has prevented me a Visit
To your Apartment, and half sav'd a Chiding;
Yet I must tell you, you have been to blame,
But Sister learn reserv'dness for the future,
Such as becomes your Quality, and hold
That place which Nature and unspotted Virtue
Has hitherto secur'd you in my heart.

Prudentia

Most gracious Sir, If e're my secret Soul
Admits one thought that is not first submitted
For Approbation to your Royal Will,
The Curse of Disobedience fall upon me;
As I in you have found a Fathers love,
I shall repay't with more than Filial Duty.

Lavinio

Virtue and Honour ever guide thy way.
Thou'rt solitary, but shalt quickly enjoy
A sweet Companion in our Royal Bride.
Sforza the Duke of Millain, our old Friend,
Who always in our Wars hath sent us aid,
Here offers me the beauteous Isabella
His Daughter for my Wife, and instantly
We will to Millain on the Expedition,
That Treatment once determin'd, wee'l return.

Line 155. Q2 reads Soldiers.
Line 165. Q2 reads Entrance.
Line 167. Q1 reads too blame; Q2 reads to blame.
Line 171. Q2 reads Heart.
Line 179. Q1 reads shal't; Q2 reads shalt.
To Florence, where we'll celebrate our Nuptials
With that Magnificence becomes our State.

Prudentia

Go and be happy Sir in your fair Choice.

Barberino

That Blessing's only wanting to our State.

Lavino

Lord Barberino and Alberto, you
Whom I have always found most faithful to me,
To you I do commit the Government
Of Tuscany 'till my return; your Power
I leave unlimited, keep open Ear
To just Complaints: Allow and Act no wrong;
Look closely to our Prisoner Brunetto.

Alberto

So may your wish't Return be safe and speedy.

Lavino

Sister, your tears afflict us; a few Weeks
Shall grace our Court with the fair Millanese.
Lead on, 'tis time we were upon our way.

(Exeunt.

SCENE [ii.] A Desart.

Enter Trappolin.

Trappolin

This banished life is very doleful—What an inhumane Duke
was this to banish me, that never banished him? At every
step I take, my poor Flamentta comes into my mind: She met
me at the Towns end, and would fain have come along with
me, but that I told her she was not banished, and might not.
Methinks this is a very melancholy place! I have not met a
living Body yet, but they had wings or four legs. Let me

---

Scene ii. In Q1, Q2, and Q3 this scene division is indicated,
but not numbered.

Line 6. In Q2 a comma is substituted for the exclamation
point after place.
bethink me where to betake my self, I would to Rome and turn Friar, but that I have too much Learning. A man of my Occupation might once have finger'd the Polux Ryals (10 in Venice, but now the Gentry go a more compendious way to work, and Pimp for one another; 'tqute spoils all trading. (Soft Music in the Air.)

What sound is this? Sure this place must needs be haunted: This with a good Dinner were something, but as it is, it feels as if they were playing upon my small Guts.

(Storm and Thunder)

So now, my airy Fidlers are fallen out amongst themselves; I lik'd their first strain somewhat better. I would his Highness would come and banish me from this place too.

(Storm again, Mago the Conjurer rises.)

What's here? a decrepit old man? Now and I were sure he was of mortal Race, I would set upon him in the name of Famine—But if he should blow Brimstone in my Face there were a hopeful beginner baulk't.

Mago

Son, Thou art Banish'd— I know all the matter.

Trappolin

'Tis true old Friend, I am banish'd—But how the Devil came you to know it?

Mago

Why, the Devil told me.

Trappolin

The Devil he did?—Why 'twas e'en his own doing, and so he could give you the best account of it.

Mago

Be not dismay'd, Preferment waits upon thee, (30 I am so far from hurting thee, That from poor Trappolin, I'le make thee a Prince.

Trappolin

Look you there again, he knows my Name too.—For certain, this must be the Devils kinsman—A Prince! poor Trappolin thanks you Father Conjurer, but has no mind to domineer in Hell: I know where your Territories lye.

Mago

Besotted Wretch, Thou dost not understand me; I tell thee Son, thou shalt return to Florence---

Trappolin

And be hang'd there for my labour.

Mago

Be honour'd there, exalted o're thy Fellows.

(40

Trappolin

On a Gibbet.

Mago

There shalt thou shine in wealth, and roul in plenty, The Treasures of the East shall Court thy wearing; The haughty Nobles shall seem Pigmies to thee; All Nature shall be ransack'd for thy Board, And Art be tir'd to find thee choice of Banquets; Each day and hour shall yield new Scenes of pleasure, And crowding Beauties sue for thy Embraces.

Trappolin

Sure I have pimp'd for this old Fellow formerly, he's (50 so kind---Well, as you say Father Conjurer (on some private Considerations that I have) this may not do amiss: But how shall it be done?

Mago

By Eo, Meo, and Areo.

Trappolin

What they mean, I know not, but I am satisfied 'tis by going to the Devil for it, and so much for that matter.

Mago

Here, Seat thee in this Chair.

Trappolin

To be shav'd Father Conjurer by one of your black Valets?

Line 57. Q2 reads seat for Seat.
I shall lather under their hands without a Ball.

Mago

Sit still, and see the wonders of my Art; Ex, Meo, and Areo, rise.

Trappolin

What will become of this temporal Body of mine?— I am glu'd to my Seat here.— But hear you good Father, must this Retinue of yours needs appear?

Mago

Of indispensible bessessity.

Trappolin

Then good Father let them appear invisibly, I have no great inclination to their Company: For to tell you the truth, I like yours none of the best, you are like the Devil enough to serve my turn.

Mago

Now by the most prevailing Spell That e're amaz'd the Powers of Hell: That mid-night Witches ever try'd, While Cynthia did her Crescent hide; While watchful Dogs to bark forbore, The Wolf to howl, the Sea to roar; While Robbin do's his midnight Chare, And Plowman sweat beneath the Mare; By all the terrours of my Skill, Ascend, ascend, and execute my Will. (Lightning and Thunder, Spirits rise, and sink down with Trappolin.

Now proud Lavinio, little dost thou know This secret practise of my just Revenge. (After a Dance the Spirits rise again, with Trappolin dressed exactly like the Duke Lavinio.

Trappolin

Oh Father what metal do you take me to be made of? I am not us'd to travel under ground; Oh for a Dram of the Bottle of a Quart or two! Call you this preferment? Marry he deserves it that goes to the Devil for't, but I see no preferment neither.

Mago

Thou dost not know thy self, look in that Mirrour.
(Shews him a Looking-glass.)

Trappolin

Whose there, the Duke?—Your Highness is well return'd: Your faithful Servant Trappolin begs of your Grace to call him home, and hang up this old Wizard; he'll Conjure your Grace out of wits else, and your Subjects out of your Dominions.—What's he gone again? He's for his frisque under ground too. I have made way for him, I have work'd like any Mole, and made holes you may thrust Churches through.

Mago

'Tis thou thy self that represents the Duke; What in that Glass thou saw'st is but thy Picture.

Trappolin

If that be my Picture I am the Picture of the Duke.

Mago

And shalt be taken for the Duke himself.

Trappolin

The Dress is just like him, and for ought I know, it is Dress that makes a Duke.—Let me see, what must I say now? my Highness is your Highness humble Servant.—This Conjurer is a rare Fellow.

Mago

As thou didst here seem to thy self, So shalt thou to the world appear, the perfect Duke: To Florence then, and take thy State upon thee.

Trappolin

Trust me for Duking of it: I long to be at it. I know not why every man should not be Duke in his turn.—Father Conjurer, time is precious with us great Persons: However, I should be glad to see you at Court. It may be the better for you, for as I take it, we shall have some change (110

Line 87. In Q2 Looking-glass is italicized and the hyphen deleted.

Line 104. Q2 reads appear the perfect Duke!

Line 105. In Q2 the comma after then is deleted.
of Ministers, and so farewell.

Mago

Stay Son, Take this enchanted powder with thee,
Preserve it carefully, for at thy greatest need
'Twill give thee aid: When any Foe assaults,
Cast but this Magick Powder in his face,
And thou shalt see most wonderful effects.

Trappolin

Good, Now I'm satisfi'd I am the Duke
Which some shall rue: Good Father, Fare you well.
Eq, Meo, and Areo---Pass (Exit. Conjuror vanishes.

SCENE [iii.] The Palace.

Barberino and Flametta.

Flametta

I do beseech your Honour to repeal
My only joy, my banisht Trappolin;
Take pity on a helpless Virgins tears,
Abandon'd to Distress---You must---You will---
For as our Sov'raign left his Power with you
He left his Mercies too.

Barberino

Her tears inflame me:
And were this Dukedom which I hold in trust
My due by Birth, I'd give it in exchange
For this sweet Innocence, this Artless Beauty.
Indeed (my pretty One) you wrong your Charms;
Nay I must say, you wrong your Virtue too
By this concern, for an abandon'd Slave,
Devoted to all Crimes; forget and scorn him.

Flametta

I gave my heart before I knew his Vices,

Line 119. A period after Pass. in Q2.

SCENE iii. In Q1, Q2, and Q3 this scene division is made, but not numbered.
But it will be my triumph to reclaim him,
I do beseech your Honour to call him home.

Barberino

And what Return may I expect for this?

Flametta

Goodness has always been its own reward;
But to convince you that your Courtesie
Shall not be wholly thrown away upon me,
By Day or Night you shall command—

Barberino

What?

Flametta

My Prayers.

Barberino

A very hopeful Recompence;
What Statesman ever yet took Prayers for pay?
Deluded Maid, thou dost not know thy worth,
This Beauty must not be a Beggars Prize,
Designed by Nature for a Nobler Sphere.
What can this Minion whose repeal you seek
Perform for thee? What can a Peasant do
To deck thy Youth, or to inrich thy Age?
Come and be advis'd, here's Gold and Jewels for thee.
The Pride, the Pomp of Nature shall be thine:
Make all your study how to please your self;
Fortune shall wait to see your wish perform'd.

Flametta

Are you our Prince, my Lord?

Barberino

What means that Question?

Flametta

If you were, The Prince should be deny'd.

---

Line 31. Q2 reads for thee what can.
Barberino

Then much more I.
Why do I trifle thus? I am no Prince,
Yet will not be deny'd;—Who waits without?

Flametta

Heaven shield me! You intend no violence.

Barberino

What I intend is Love; if you refuse,
You make the Rape, that's all: Who waits I say?

Enter Servant.

Flametta

Help Heaven!

Servant

My Lord, my Lord most unexpected News!

Barberino

Come near
And bear this peevish Girl to my Apartment,
Shee'l thank me for the Force.

Servant

The Duke, my Lord, his Highness.

Barberino

Take her Slave.

Servant

His Highness is return'd from Millain.

Barberino

Ha! The Duke return'd from Millain? Thou art mad.

Servant

Just now arriv'd my Lord, and coming hither.

Barberino

Here!
Dispose of her as I commanded thee,
'Till I find out the meaning of this Dream.
Ha! that's his voice—And here he comes in Person:
Let her go Slave.---Away dear Maid, away. (Puts her out. (60
Enter Trappolin with his Spirits invisible.
Alberto from the other side.

Barberino

Great Sir,
Upon our knees we welcome your Return,

Trappolin

And upon our Legs we take it: Hem! hem! (He struts about.

Alberto

Your Highness comes unlook't for, we did not expect
This happy time so soon by fourteen dayes.

Barberino

So please your Grace, where is our Dutchess?

Trappolin

Your Dutchess will not come 'till the Gods know when; for
my part I know nothing of the matter. I left my Train be­
hind me and came unlookt for, to see how you governed in
my absence, which I fear you have done scurvily enough. (70

Alberto

How wild he talks!

Trappolin

Eo, Meo, and Areo, well stuck to me I'faith—Well Lords,
you never pity my Misfortunes; I have been robb'd in my
journey, had my Horse taken from me, and if it had not
been for Father Conjurer.

Barberino

How Sir?

Line 65. Q2 reads days.
Line 69. Q2 reads Governed.
Trappolin

I say, if I had not been a Conjurer, I had ne'er got home in my Royal skin;—Well stuck there again, Boys, well stuck.

Alberto

What means your Highness?

Trappolin

Our Highness means to take exact account of Affairs; I (so left an honest Fellow here, call'd Trappolin. What's become of him?

Barberino

Your Highness gave me charge to banish him.

Trappolin

Why there's the Pillar of our State gone. You took him for Buffoon, but I found him one of the best Politicians in Christendome; other Countries will value him, and for ought I know, he's a Prince by this time—Ek, Meo, and Areo, true Lads still.

Alberto

I am amaz'd!

Trappolin

Hear me, you Lord Bar[berino,] I love dispatch in Affairs, tell me therefore what you take to be the duty of a Statesman?

Barberino

To study first his Royal Masters profit, And next to that his pleasure; to pursue No sinister design of private gain; Nor pillage from the Crown to raise his Heirs, His base-born Brood in Pomp above the Race Of old descended Worth; to know Desert, And turn the Princes favour on his Friends; And keep an open Ear to just Complaints.

Line 86. Q2 reads in Christendom; other Countries will.
Line 90. Q1 and Q2 read Lord. Barb.
Trappolin

Why there 'tis. I have travel'd, and can tell you what (100 a Statesman should be. I will have him ten times prouder than his Master; I, and ten times richer too. To know none of his old Friends, when he is once in Office; to inform himself who has Merit, that he may know whom to do nothing for; to make Sollicitors wait seven years to no purpose, and to bounce thr'o a whole Regiment of 'em, like a Souldier through the Gantlet.

Alberto

This is meer Frenzy.

Trappolin

And there is another good Friend of mine, Brunetto, where is he?

Alberto

Dread Sir, Your Highness knows that for his presumption in Courting of your Sister, you confin'd him.

Trappolin

Nothing but lying in this world! I confine him: 'Tis well known I never had a Sister in my life.

Barberino

No Sister, Sir?

Trappolin

No, Jack Sawce, none that's worth imprisoning a Friend for; honest Brunetto I'll be with thee in the twinkling of a--- Eo, Meo, and Areo, sit fast; pass. (Exit.

Alberto

He cannot counterfeit so much.

Barberino

I know not; But if he do not, he is surely mad. (120

Alberto

The Heaven's be mercifull! What wild fantastick things he do's? And talks O Eo, Meo, and Areo; Names
Unheard of in the Court before.

Barberino

Some Millain Counts I warrant you. This kindness to Brunetto is most strange.

Alberto

Let's after him, and wait his better leisure.  (Exeunt.

SCENE [iv.] A Prison.

Re-enter Trappolin.

Trappolin

What a dismal Place is here? I'll have it carry'd bodily out of my Dukedom. Alass poor Brunetto, what has he done to be shut up here?---Oh here he comes!  Enter Brunetto.

Brunetto

What can the Duke design by coming hither? For certain, it must be to see me strangled: Well let him execute his Tyrant will, For Death it self were Mercy to this Dungeon. Great Prince.

Trappolin

He makes a very low leg, but I scorn to be out done in Courtesie.  (10

Brunetto

What can this cruel Mockery intend? Your Highness does forget your self extreamly: I am your Prisoner.

Trappolin

My best Friend Brunetto.

SCENE iv. In Q1, Q2, and Q3 this scene division is made, but not numbered.

Line 7. Q2 reads itself for it self.
Line 12. Q2 has no punctuation after extreamly.
Brunetto
I am astonish't! Sir, upon my knees
I do congratulate your safe Return.

Trappolin
And upon my knees I do embrace thee, honest Brunetto.

Brunetto
I know not what to think or speak.
I do beseech your Highness, Rise.

Trappolin
Not without thee: Therefore up I say; away with Complements, I cannot abide them.

Brunetto
You honour me above expression.

Trappolin
A Fig for honour, I love thee man; Sirrah Jayler, bring Chairs hither presently.

Brunetto
Your Highness---

Trappolin
Away with Highness, I say, away with it, call me Lavin, plain Medices.

Brunetto
Sure I am awake, this is no Dream?

Trappolin
We will live merrily together, 'faith we will! Come Sirrah what a while have you been bringing these Chairs? I

---

Line 17. Q2 reads Knees for knees.
Line 19. Q2 has no punctuation after Highness.
Line 25. A period after Highness in Q2.
have known a Pimp made a Prince in less time. Brunetto sit thee down, sit down I say.

Brunetto

I will attend your Highness on my knees.

Trappolin

Why, I am not thy Father, am I? Sit thee here.

Brunetto

On the right hand---That must not be.

Trappolin

Why an' thou wilt have it there, there let it be.--- But hold, I am mistaken, that is on the left hand; that must not be: Dost thou think I have no manners in me.

(They remove their Chairs several times.)

Brunetto

There is no remedy, I must obey.

Trappolin

Very well,---What now art thou afraid of me? Marry an' (40 thou draw'st back, I'le draw back too: Therefore sit still I say, and let us talk.

Brunetto

Great Sir, I am unworthy of these honours. Your Noblest Florentines would be most proud To be thus grac't.

Trappolin

I love not these set speeches. Let us talk as if we were in a Tavern together.---Now, I prithee Man, how cam'st thou into this damn'd Dungeon?

Brunetto

I, now the storm comes.---Pardon me Dread Soveraign.

Line 33. Q2 reads Knees.
Line 49. Q2 reads Storm.
Trappolin

What, on thy knees again? Dost take me for Mahomet? (50
As well as I can pardon thee, I do pardon thee whatever
it be, tho' thou hast kill'd every Body.

Brunetto

Wherefore this Torture Sir, before my Death,
'Tis Tyranny; your Highness knows my Crime
Was in aspiring to your Royal Sister.

Trappolin

Wast thou laid up for that? Alass for thee! Hast marry'd
her?

Brunetto

Beseech your Grace.

Trappolin

Well, An' thou hast not, I would thou had's't; get her consent,
and here I give thee mine. So come along with me to Dinner. (60

Brunetto

Your Highness shall command me to my Death.

Trappolin

I say, Thou shalt have her, and if I had two Sisters, Thou
shoulds't have them both—Who waits there?

(Barberino, Alberto, Attendants Enter.)

Now my good Lords, you see this Apartment, and you thought
fit to have Brunetto shut up here for making Love to my
Sister.

Alberto

It was your Highness Judgment and Command.

Trappolin

Jayler, take me these two Coxcombly Lords, and keep them

---

Line 50. Q2 reads Knees.
Line 52. Q2 reads body.
Line 62. Q2 reads two Sisters thou.
under Lock: They are never well but when they are doing mischief. In my Conscience and Soul, here is such in-
(70 cumbrance of perplexity, that I protest—Come along Friend
(Exit. with Brunetto.

Barberino

Why, This is meer Distraction.

Alberto

We must endure it. (They go in.

ACT II  SCENE [I]  The Palace.

Enter Trappolin.

Trappolin

This Dukes life is very pleasant! Did ever any man come to preferment upon lighter terms, I am made a Prince, and Father Conjurer goes to the Devil for't. Enter Flametta. Whose here my pretty little Rogue? I mar'l what makes her at Court, tho' I fear this Affair will cost Lord Barberino a Castration.

Flametta

Here is the Duke alone, whom I so long
Have sought for, to petition for repeal
Of my Dear Trappolin:---
I do beseech your Grace
Take pity on a miserable Maid,
Bereav'd of all her Joys.

Trappolin

All her Joys; that's Me!

ACT II. The scene is not numbered in the old editions.

Line 1. Q2 reads Life for life.
Line 11. Q2 reads Miserable.
Line 13. Q2 reads All her Joys, that's Me!
Flametta
I humbly beg Poor banish't Trappolin may be recall'd.

Trappolin
Dear Honeysuckle, she ev'n makes me weep.

Flametta
Great Sir, That you have Noble thoughts.

Trappolin
I have so.

Flametta
The world is Witness, and by Consequence
A heart Full of Commiseration.

Trappolin
'Tis so; What a torment is this now, that I must counter- (20
feit with her? Fair Maiden rise; What is your Name?

Flametta

Trappolin
Thou shal't fare the better for that:---Trouble not your
self, your Trappolin shall be recall'd; and I would I were
sacrific'd, if I do not love him as well as I do my self.---
Who comes yonder? the Princess. Enter Prudentia.

Flametta
This is most Gracious.---

Trappolin
Some of my roguy Lords talk't of hanging him, if er'e he
come home again; but upon my Honour I swear it, that if
they hang him, they shall hang me; and so set thy heart (30
at rest.

Line 15. Q2 reads even for ev'n.
Flametta

Heav'n bless your Highness. (Exit.

Trappolin

If this be the Princess, I'le be sworn Brunetto was in the right of it.

Prudentia

Ten thousand Welcomes, Sir: I never found
Such tedious hours as since you left the Court.

Trappolin

Fair Lady, come hither---You are our Sister you'1l say.

Prudentia

I hope my Conduct Sir, has ne'er giv'n Cause
For you to doubt of my Relation to you:
I am your Sister Sir, and Servant. (40

Trappolin

I am sorry for't.

Prudentia

I do beseech your Highness, on what ground?

Trappolin

For a Carnal Reason, that shall be Nameless. But since we are Brother and Sister, we must content our selves as well as we can.

Prudentia

I am surpriz'd at this: I heard indeed
His Language and Deportment was much alter'd;--- Sir, I am glad to see you safe return'd, But should have been more joyful, had you brought Your Dutchess with you. (50

Trappolin

She'1l come soon enough, never fear it: But Sister, To our Affair in hand (for I am Vengeance hungry.) At my Return
here I found Brunetto in Jayl, and it appear'd to be for
Love of you: Tell me Sister, can you fancy him?

Prudentia

Your Will, Sir, is the square of all my Actions;
I have no Aversion for Brunetto's Passion:
Besides, his Quality, tho' yet conceal'd,
Is worthy of your Blood, he is a Prince;
His Name Homatia, and the second Son
To Savoy's Duke.

Trappolin

My Friend a Prince; besworn I no more thought of seeing
him a Prince than my self: Sister you shall have my Consent
marry him, an so there's an end. (A confused noise without.)
What's there to do?

Officer

Dread Sir, This is the Day and Hour, in which your Highness
is wont to determine Causes in your Chair of State here.
And accordingly here are several Persons come to appeal
to your Highness for Justice.

Trappolin

What! Justice before I have Dined? I tell you, it is a
dangerous thing: I had like to have been hang'd once (70
my Self, because the Judge was Fasting;---Well, let them
enter.

(He takes the Chair of State.)
Well, here sits the Government: In the first place I would
have the Court take notice, that in Affairs of State, I
think words are not to be multiply'd, and I think so; I
shall not do so; and if I do not, no body else must: So
that in this Assembly, he that speaks little, will speak
better than he that talks much; and he that says nothing,
better than they both. (The People being brought in, A
Woman with her Daughter stand forth.)

Woman

I do beseech your Highness to do me Justice;
I have liv'd long with Fame amongst my Neighbors;

Line 53. Q2 reads Goal for Jayl.
Lines 75-76. Q2 reads and I think so I shall not do so.
My Husband too bore Office in the Parish
'Till he was kill'd in fighting for your Highness,
And left me but this dear and only Daughter,
Whom this old Sinner has debauch'd,
And spoil'd her Fortune.

Trappolin
Debauch'd? That is to say, lay with her? got her Maidenhead.

Woman
Your Highness has a most discerning Judgment.

Trappolin
And how did he do this? Lawfully by the help of a Pimp, or without it?

Woman
O most unlawfully! For Sir, he has a Wife and Son too of his own Inches.

Trappolin
A Son of his own Inches; good. Then the Decision of this Cause is easie: Do you hear Woman, we will have that Son debauch'd, you shall get that Son's Maidenhead, and spoil his Fortune.

Woman
I do beseech your Grace, what?---

Trappolin
No replying after Sentence.---Whose Cause is next.

Woman
Great Duke of Tuscany, vouchsafe to hear me:
I am a poor and helpless Widow, one
That had no Comfort left me, but my Child,
Whom this vile Minion Whipp the Coachman here

---

Line 101. No punctuation after me in Q2, thereby restoring the sense through making but a preposition instead of a conjunction.

Line 102. Q2 reads Coach-man.
Being drunk, drove over him, and left him dead.
I do beseech your Highness, make my Case
Your own, and think what sad Distress---

Trappolin

Hold, hold, I will have no flourishing—This Cause requires some half a Minutes consideration more than the former: Whipp you say, being drunk drove over your Child and kill'd him; why look you Woman, Drink will make a Coachman a Prince, and Vice versa by the Rule of Proportion, a Prince a Coachman, so that this may be my own Case another time; however, that shall make no obstruction of Justice:---Therefore Whipp, shall lye with you, and be suspended from driving, till he has got you another Child.

Woman

So please your Grace, this is still worse.

Trappolin

No replying after Sentence.---Whose next? (A Puritan stands forth.)

Puritan

So please your temporal Authority.

Trappolin

How now! my mortifi'd Brother of Geneva, what carnal Controversie are you ingaged in?

Puritan

Verily, there is nothing carnal in my Cause: I have sustained violence, much violence, and must have compensation from the ungodly.

Trappolin

What is your Grievance?

---

Line 103. Q2 reads **Being Drunk, drove over him and left him dead.**

Line 107. Q2 reads **Consideration.**

Line 121. Q2 reads **Compensation.**
Puritan

I will pour it forth in the words of Sincerity.

Trappolin

I care not a Farthing for Sincerity, let me have it in Brevity.

Puritan

This Person here is by Occupation a Mason or Tiler, as the Language of the world termeth it; whilst therefore I stood contemplating a new Mansion that I had prepared unto my self at the same time that this Person occupied his Vocation aloft thereon, or rather should have occupied; such was his wicked negligence, that he fell from the top of the building most unconsionably upon my outward man, even with all his carnal weight, and almost bruised me unto the death, I being clad in thin Array (through the immoderate heat of the Season) namely, five Cassocks or Coats, seven Cloaks, and one dozen of quilted Caps.

Trappolin

Believe me, Sirs, a most important matter! If such enormities go unpunish'd, what Subject can be safe? Why, if any perverse Fellow take a Pique against his Neighbour, it is but getting up 8 or 10 or 14 stories high, and so fall down upon him as he stands thinking no harm in the Street: I do therefore Decree, That this Tiler shall stand below, while you get upon the Battlements of the House, and fall down upon him.

Puritan

This is still most monstrous.

Trappolin

As for petty Causes, let them wait till we have Dined—Exeunt.

Line 135. Q2 reads Death.
[SCENE II]

Enter Duke Lavinio, Isabella the Dutchess, ladies, and Attendants.

Lavinio

My hearts best Treasure, charming Isabella;  
You are most welcome to the Court of Florence,  
And when I lose the sense of such a Blessing;  
And cease to make your happiness my study,  
Let me become a Tributary Lord,  
And hold my Birth-right at anothers will.

Isabella

Dread Sir, I know and prize my happiness;  
Blest doubly in your Fortunes and your Love.

Lavinio

My Absence from Affairs so long, requires  
My close Attendance now for some few hours;  (10  
Then I'll return to settle Loves Account,  
With flaming heart at Beauties Altar bow,  
And pay my Vows with double Adoration.  
Mean while, our Princess and her Train once more  
Shall welcome you to Florence:  
Attend the Dutchess in. (Ex [lit] All but Lavinio and Guards.  
The Face of things seems alter'd since I went;  
Some strange fantastick humour has possest  
In general the Citizens of Florence.  
As yet I have met with none, but who amaze me;  (20  
And speak of Matters done by me, as if  
I had been here before my Dutchess came.  
Call Barberino and Alberto to me;  
They'll soon resolve--- (Barberino and Alberto appear through the Grates.)

Barberino

Most gracious Sir,  

SCENE II. No scene division is indicated in the old editions.

Enter. Q2 reads Ladies, and Attendants, with each word in italic type.

Lavinio. Q1 reads Lavin., and Q2 reads Lav.

Line 16. Q1 and Q2 read Ex. All.
Pity your Subjects, and most faithful Servants.

Lavinio

Confusion! Are my Eyes and Ears both charm'd? Our Deputies whom we did leave in trust Of our whole Power, chain'd, shackl'd, and in Jayl! Set them at large, and in my Presence now Before this Minute can expire, or I Shall go distracted 'ere I know the Cause. Sure some ill Spirit has possest My Subjects minds when I was gone; D'ye know me?

Barberino

The Duke of Florence our most gracious Master.

Lavinio

Are not you call'd Barberino, you Alberto, My prudent faithful Counsellours to whom I left the Government of Tuscany?

Alberto

we are your Loyal Subjects, tho' your Prisoners.

Lavinio

How came you so?

Barberino

Great Sir, Your self knows well: 'Twas only for obeying your Commands.

Lavinio

By Heav'n a general Plot upon my Wits; Tell me the meaning, jest not with my Rage, I charge you do not, therefore speak sense to me; Or on your naked hearts I'le read the Riddle.

Alberto

Alass! what shall we say? Great Sir, you know

---

Line 43. Q2 reads A Plot, a general Plot upon my Wits; On the excision of the oath By Heav'n see the Explanatory Notes.
That none except your Royal self could do it,
And to your Sacred Justice we appeal
How far we have deserv'd.

Lavinio

Perdition! Furies
Where will this end? Gods! I shall burst with Choler.
Be merciful good Heav'n, and give me Temper.

Alberto

Amen good Heaven: I fear the fatal want.

Lavinio

Some Frenzie has on the poor Wretches seiz'd,
Or else they durst not thus to tempt my Fury.
Indeed I was to blame in threatening you,
Who so much need my pity: My good Lords,
I do beseech you to collect your Wits,
And tell me gently how you came in Prison.

Barberino

By the Prosperity of Tuscany Your Highness left us there.

Lavinio

When did I so?

Alberto

The self same time you went in Person thither to free Brunetto.

Lavinio

The self same time that I went thither
To free Brunetto: Death, whom? What Brunetto?

Barberino

Your Prisoner taken in the Mantuan Wars.

---

Line 49. Q2 reads Sacred for Sacred.
Line 57. Q2 reads to blame; Q1 reads too blame.
Line 61. A comma after Tuscany in Q2.
Lavinio

The more I search, the more I am confounded,
Quite lost within a labyrinth of wonders.

Alberto

Gods! how he speaks, as if all we were mad,
And he had done nothing.

Lavinio

I will yet have patience:
Tell me my Lords, if you are very sure
That you are well, and Masters of your Sense.

Barberino

If e're your Highness knew us so we are.

Lavinio

Yet give me leave to think what I do know;
I can sustain no more.---Come hither Captain,
These Lords affirm, that I put them in Prison,
How say you to't?

Captain

Great Sir, your Highness did,
You saw them left in Custody that Minute
You free'd Brunetto.

Lavinio

He's in the same Tale:
Tho' they are all alike depriv'd of sense,
Yet do they all agree in what they say;
But why, good Captain, I will reason't with you,
Should I desire Brunetto's liberty?
Would it not be a foul dishonour think you
To the great Family of Medices,
To cast away our Sister upon one
We neither yet know Whom nor What he is:

Line 77. In Q2 a period is substituted for the comma after Captain.

Line 89. Q2 reads Great for great.

Line 91. Q2 reads whom, nor what he is.
I pray you therefore Captain, if you have
Any small fragment of your Wits remaining,
Reply accordingly.

Captain

Sir, it is certain,
That if your Highness should bestow your Sister
On such a one as you are pleas'd to mention,
The Conduct would surprize the world; but Sir,
I heard your self, distinctly I did hear you,
To call Brunetto, Prince Horatio,
The second Son to the Duke of Savoy.

Lavinio

Vengeance! My wonder is so great, that I want words
Wherewith to give it vent: I see that all
My Subjects being distracted, think me mad.

Captain

Nay more, Your Highness gave the Princess charge
That she prepar'd her self, for in two days
You'd see her marry'd to the Prince Horatio.

Lavinio

Enough! Yet God's I'le hold my Reason yet.
Florence I left a most ingenious City,
But find it wofully at my Return
Possess with strange unheard of Lunacy.
Captain, I swear to you by my Dukedom,
I'd rather send for that Brunetto's head,
Than such a message as you say I did.

Captain

Beseech your Highness look, let your own eyes

---

Line 92. Captain is not italicized in Q2.
Line 93. No punctuation after remaining in Q2.
Line 96. A comma in Q2 at the end of the line.
Line 100. Q2 reads to call.
Line 106. Q2 reads herself for her self.
Convince you of the Truth of what I said. Enter Brunetto; and Prudentia.

Brunetto

Divine Prudentia, All thy Sexes Charms
In thee are centred, and from that fair Union
Receive a fresh unspeakable Addition;
Your Brother's good ev'n to a Miracle,
And gave me thraldom, but to raise my Joy.

Prudentia

Indeed it speaks a Noble Nature in him
To Crown Desert, though in an Enemy.
And now I must confess without a blush,
You long have been my hearts dear secret choice,
But never durst give Ear to your Addresses
'Till by my Brothers free consent allow'd.

Brunetto

Said you Consent? Alass! That Name falls short
Of his Transcendent Grace: He's earnest for us,
Urges and drives us to the Bow'r of Joy.

Lavinio

Furies and Scorpions drive you, Whirlwinds part you.

Prudentia

My Royal Brother.

Lavinio

Damn'd Infernal Creature!
More false than Helen, and the greater Plague.

Brunetto

I did suspect at first 'twas his Distraction
That favour'd my aspiring hopes, and now
I fear't has chang'd his mind to my undoing.

Prudentia

Wherein Dear Sir, have I deserv'd this Usage?

Line 116. No punctuation after Brunetto in 4.2
Was't not your Order?

Lavinio

Sulphur choak thy voice: I'l spend no Breath upon a thing so vile. You Sir, My new made Favourite, come near And tell me, are you Son to Savoy's Duke?

Brunetto

Your Highness know's I am his Second.

Lavinio

I know you are his Second? Blood and Fire. This Frenzy has seiz'd him too. Then know Sir, Were you Savoy's eldest Son, My Sister once deserv'd a better Match; And she shall rather in a Monastery Sigh out a weary Life without Devotion, Than be your Wife.---To Prison with the Boaster 'Till Savoy fetch him thence. (The Guards hurry him off.)

Barberino

This relishes of Reason.

Alberto

Heaven preserve This temper, and restore the State of Florence.

Lavinio

Come Lords, and lend your best Assistance to me; Sleep shall not close my Eyes, nor food refresh me, 'Till we have search't this Mischief to the Core; We'll stop at no extreams of Blood or Torture, Baulk no rough Means that may our Peace secure:

Line 144. Q2 reads knows for know's.
Line 146. Q2 reads seiz'd; Q1 reads seis'd.
Line 147. Q2 reads eldest.
Line 160. In Q2 a semicolon is substituted for the colon after secure.
Such desp'rate Ill's, must have as desp'rate Cure.  

(Exeunt. manet Prudentia.

Prudentia

Unhappy Florence! more unhappy I
To see a Prince and Brother thus decay'd,
Bereav'd of Reason, and made less than Man!
My Dear Horatio, grieve not at this Usage,
But rather pity thy Suppressors Fate. Enter Trappolin.

Trappolin

Whose here? the Princess in tears? Dear Sister, how dost thou do? Come, I know your Grievance, and out of my Natural affection have taken care for you; you marry the Prince Horatio this Night. (170

Prudentia

One Minute then has chang'd his sullen humour!
Why then Sir, have you made him a close Prisoner?

Trappolin

A Prisoner say you?—Run Guards and fetch him to our Presence.—Do not so much abuse your self dear Sister, to think I would confine my Friend to Prison.

Prudentia

You did it Sir this Minute, he's scarce there yet.

Trappolin

Madam Sister, If I did, it was in my Drink, and certainly I had some politick Reason for it, which I have now forgot. Some more Wine Slave to clear my Understanding.

(Brunetto brought in here.)

Brunetto

How soon his mind is chang'd? The Heaven's be prais'd. (180

Trappolin

Dear Prince Horatio an' you do not forgive my Locking you in Prison, I shall never be merry again, and so here is to you dear Prince Horatio.

Brunetto

Upon my knees I pay my humblest Thanks.
Come, come, Take her along Man, take her along, I know
Lovers would be private, and so agree the rest among your-
selves.
(Brunetto leads off Prudentia.)
(Barberino and Alberto passing over the Stage.)

Who's yonder? my Lords Banishers at large agen? will the
Government never be able to drink in quiet for 'em? Seize
those Traytors there, and carry them to Prison. And (190
do you hear Sirrah, it shall be Treason for any body to
let them out.

Officer

Unless by order from your Highness.

Trappolin

Orders from my Highness? I tell you Rascal, it shall be
Treason to let them out, tho' I command it my self. Away
with them, go. 

Enter Isabella.

What Bona Roba have we here now?

Isabella

My Dearest Lord.

Trappolin

For her Dress and Beauty, she may be a Dutchess, who are
you Madam?

Isabella

Do you not know me Sir?

Trappolin

It seems she is none of the wisest, tho'.

Isabella

How am I altered since I came from Millain?

Line 197. Q2 reads hear for here.

Line 203. Q1 is corrupt here, reading Florence instead of
Millain. Isabella was coming from Milan to Florence.
The correct reading from Q2 is adopted here.
Trappolin

Oh! 'tis the Dutchess: You are our Wife, you'll say?

Isabella

Sir:

Trappolin

I am glad of it I promise you; come kiss then incontinently.

Isabella

What mean you Sir? You are merrily dispos'd.

Trappolin

Madam Dutchess, I am somewhat jovial indeed, I have been drinking freely, and so kiss me again.

Isabella

My Lord.

Trappolin

You are a handsome Woman I promise you, and tell me Madam Dutchess, am not I a proper handsome fellow?

Isabella

Sir, Do not jest with me, you know you are the Man whom I esteem above the World.

Trappolin

What a winning look was there too?---To Bed my Dear, to Bed.---I'll but take 'tother Flask, to put State Affairs out of my head, and then---Ah! ha! ha! (Exeunt.

Line 207. In Q2 a comma is substituted for the interrogation mark after Sir.
ACT III. [SCENE I.]

Enter Lavinio

Lavinio

You Glorious Planets that do nightly guide
The giddy Ships upon the Ocean Waves,
If some of your malignant Influences
Have rais'd this madness in my Subjects minds,
Let some of your more gentle Aspects now
Restore them to their Sense.

(Barberino and Alberto appear in Prison.)

I am astonish'd, Heaven's! What do I see?
My Lords imprison'd? Free them instantly
Without reply, for should you answer me,
I know you'll say I did it, and distract me.

Captain

His ill Fit's off again.

Lavinio

I do not think that since the Infancy
And first Creation of the World, a madness
Pestiferous and equal unto this
Was ever known, all-Gracious Heav'n reveal
The fatal Cause, or lay our Cities waste.

Barberino

Most Gracious Sovereign, How have we deserv'd
Thus to be made the scorn of Vulgar Eyes?

Lavinio

Yet send me Patience Heav'n!
I wonder Lords, that you of all my Subjects,
Whom I have known to bear the Noblest Judgements,
Should thus distract your selves in your wild Fits:
You run to Prison of your own accord,
And say, I sent you.

Alberto

Most Royal Sir,

ACT III. The scene is not marked or numbered in the old editions.
We grieve to see these days;
You did command us thither.

Lavinio

I?

Barberino

Your Highness self.

Lavinio

You are both deceived, to act such idle Errors,
And lay the blame on me.

Captain

So please your Grace, You did again Commit 'em,
That very hour in which you set them free.

Lavinio

I commit them?
I tell you all with sorrow, witness Heav'n
How deep that sorrow is! you are all mad:
Therefore in this small interval of Sense,
Betake you with one voice to your Devotion,
And pray the incens'd Gods to be appeas'd
And keep you from Relapse.

Both

Heav'n Bless your Highness. (Ex[it] All but Lavinio.

Lavinio

Plague, Famine, War, the ruinous Instruments
Wherewith incensed Deities do punish
Poor Mankind for mis-deeds, had they all fall'n
Upon this City, it had been a thing
To be lamented, but not wonder'd at. Enter Isabella.

---

Line 26. Q2 reads days.
Line 32. Q2 reads commit.
Line 41. Q1 and Q2 read Ex.
Isabella

My Lord, I have this hour expected you.

Lavinio

O, my dear Isabella, I have brought thee From Millain flourishing with all Delights, Into a City full of men distracted.

(50)

Isabella

He is not sober yet: Go in and sleep Sir. You do not well my Lord, thus to betray Your weakness to the publick view.

Lavinio

Oh, Heaven's! My Wife and all.

Isabella

What say you Sir?

Lavinio

My Isabella, Thou hast cause to curse me For bringing thee into a place infected; The Air is poison'd, and I wonder now How I have escap'd so long.

(60)

Isabella

I pray go sleep.

Lavinio

Why Isabella?

Isabella

You have drunk too much.

Lavinio

Madness unmatch'd! She's farther gone than any of the rest.

Line 54. Q2 reads Heavens.
Dear Isabella, Retire into thy Chamber;  
Compose thy thoughts a while, and I'll come to thee,  
There we'll beseech the angry Gods together,  
That they would yet remove this heavy ill. (Exit Isabella)  

Enter Brunetto and Prudentia.

What do I see? Brunetto unconfin'd;  
I am astonish'd how he came at large;  
Whom I would have to lie in Prison, walk  
In freedom, and whom I would have in freedom,  
Run of themselves to Prison.---H'll! They kiss,  
Embrace before my Eyes! My Guards there.

Brunetto

Ha! He's chang'd again.

Prudentia

My Noble Brother.

Lavinio

Off,

Hadst thou thy Reason, and shouldst offer this,  
I'd study Tortures for thee; as thou art,  
I pity thy misfortunes.---Seize your Prisoner:  
Next time I see him free, your head is forfeit.

Prudentia

Wonders on Wonders, I beseech you Sir  
By all the bonds of Nature, for what cause?

Lavinio

It is in vain to answer frantick People.  

(Exeunt.

SCENE [II]

SCENE Draws, and Shews  
Trappolin asleep, Flasks of Wine by him.

Line 65. Q2 reads Dear Isabella retire.

Line 68. Q1 and Q2 read Ex. Isab.

Line 77. A period instead of a comma after Off in Q2.

SCENE II. This scene is not numbered in Q1, Q2, or Q3.
Trappolin

What a Princely Nap have I taken!—But as I remember I
was to have gone to my Duchess, or dreamt so.---
Give me a Bumper. (Barberino and Alberto enter.)
My Lords at large again?

Barberino

Long live your Highness.

Trappolin

Amen.

Alberto

And happily.

Trappolin

Amen for that too.---But my small Friends how came you
hither? I thought you had been under Lock and Key.

Barberino

Alass! he is relaps'd as bad as ever. (10

Trappolin

Sirrah Captain, Why kept you not these Vermin up till I
bid you let them out?

Captain

So please your Grace, I did.

Trappolin

Will you lie Raskal to my Princely Face? (He throws wine
in his Face.

---

Line 13. There is no punctuation after Grace in Q2.

Captain

Gods! will this humour never leave him?

Barberino

We must in again.

Trappolin

To Kennel with them, walk my good Lords Banishers; Your Honours know the way. Along with them. Trugh! trugh!

Alberto

There is no remedy. (They are carried off.

Trappolin

Thus far I take it, we have kept the Government in good Order; now for my Dutchess, lead to her Graces Apartment. (Officer enters.)

Officers

Embassadours from Savoy desire admittance.

Trappolin

What are their Names?

Officer

Sir, I presum'd not to enquire.

Trappolin

Then what's their Business?

Officer

That Sir were worse presumption.

Trappolin

Thou insolent Varlet, What a Vulgar Fellow dost thou take me for, to speak with Strangers before I know their

Line 15. Q2 reads Humor for humour.

Line 22. Q2 reads Ambassadours.
business? Well Sirrah, set a Bumper by our Chair of State, and bring them to our Presence.

**Officer**

What can this mean? **Exit Officer.**

**Trappolin**

Suppose now, that those should be Spies upon our Government, in the shape of Ambassadours: Loving Subjects, If that be their business, I shall be frank and tell them, they have the wrong Sow by the Ear. For as the Ancients were wont to say, (those Ancients were a wise Nation) it was with them a principal Maxime, Some wiser than some: Trust me for Politicks, I'faith. **Enter Ambassadours.**

**[First Embassadour]**

Dread Sir, By us the Duke of Savoy sends
To greet your Nuptials with the Millanese, Wishing all happiness to great Lavinio.

**Trappolin**

'Tis civilly done, by my Troth, and there is no Love lost, I can assure him.

**[Second Embassadour]**

Is this the so much fam'd Lavinio, Renown'd for Wisdom and Severity.

**Trappolin**

I say, it shews his good Nature as well as his Breeding, and so here's his good health.

**[First Embassadour]**

This is most strange.

---

Line 31. Neither Q1 nor Q2 has any stage direction for the departure of this actor.

Line 38. Q2 reads Ambassadours.

Line 39. Both Q1 and Q2 use the speech tag of 1 Emb. throughout, although the spelling of this word in the text is sometimes altered in Q2.

Line 44. Both Q1 and Q2 read 2 Emb. throughout.
Trappolin

So much for Ceremony, now to our Business:
For what can more befit a Prince than Business,
Which always is best done Propria Persona;
I therefore Spice my Mornings Draught my self.

Second Embassadour

I am astonish'd.

Trappolin

The next prime Quality is for a Prince
Well to inform him of neighboring Courts,
What Customs and Diversions are in use;
But chiefly by what Politicks they steer,
What Method in Affairs of State they take,
Whereby to square his own Concerns at home:
I therefore ask, What Wine you have in Savoy?

First Embassadour

This is gross Mockery.

Second Embassadour

Or utter Frenzy.
We come not Sir to trifle, and 'tis time
We now declare the Order of our Message:
Our Royal Master is at last informed,
His only Brother, and his Dukedoms Heir,
Lyes here confin'd in close Imprisonment;
Release him instantly, and we are Friends:
Refuse us; and our sole Reply is War.

Trappolin

If you bring nothing but War, e'en carry it back with
you again: We can drink and quarrel fast enough amongst
our selves:—But heark you, For the sake of some Dukes
that shall be nameless, before I treat with your Master,
I must know by what Title he holds.

First Embassadour

By Native and Legitimate Claim.

---

Lines 49-50. The typesetter in Q2 evidently ran over line 49 as follows: Business: for; Which.
Trappolin

That is as much as to say, I am an Usurper.

Second Embassadour

By most unquestion'd and immediate Right From Heav'n.

Trappolin

As who should say, my Preferment came from the Devil.

First Embassadour

We ask your final Answer, Peace or War.

Trappolin

My final Answer is, to tell no man my Pleasure, till I know it my self.

Second Embassadour

Let us declare for Arms then, and away.

First Embassadour

It cannot be with this Fantastick Tale; To bring this strange account, will speak us mad, And with our Prince ne'er gain the least Belief.

Trappolin

Look you Sirs, Your Master and I, can agree to fall out at our leisure; but if he pretend to love the Prince Horatio better than I do, he is a very uncivil Person, and so I shall tell him when I next light into his Company.

First Embassadour

Heaven's! this is still more strange.

Trappolin

Will he fight for him?

Second Embassadour

He'll Conquer for him, Florence shall confess it.

Trappolin

Then I have one familiar Question more,
Will he Pimp for him?

**First Embassadour**

Prodigious!

**Trappolin**

Not Pimp for him? Let him pretend no further; If he ne'er Pimp'd for him, his Claim is done. Will he give him his Sister?

**Second Embassadour**

That were fowl Incest; and besides, he has none.

**Trappolin**

Why no more have I, nor ever had in my life, and yet (100 I have given him mine.---But as for your Princess, let her set her heart at rest; for if my Friend must not have her, I will marry her my self.

**First Embassadour**

What, while your Millanese is living?

**Trappolin**

That I confess I had forgot, Care for the State has turn'd my Brain:---But here is to our better Understanding. (Drinks.

**Second Embassadour**

This is beyond all sufferance, gross affront; And Florence shall in Blood lament the Folly.

**Trappolin**

In the name of Mars, then let your Master know, I care not, when we meet at the head of our Army---to crack a Bottle. (Exeunt Severally. (110

---

Line 99. Q2 reads *foul* for *fowl*.

Line 110. Q2 reads *severally*.
[SCENE III]

Enter Lavinio hastily.

Lavinio

I've found, I've found at last the fatal Riddle: It must be so, The Gods inspire the Thought, Call Barberino and Alberto to me. [Enter Servant.]

Servant

From Prison Sir?

Lavinio

From Prison Slave, what mean'st thou?

Servant

Your Highness but this Minute sent them thither; Nor will your Officer at my Request Release them, 'twas so strict a Charge you gave.

Lavinio

Here take my Signet for a Token: Bid them Attend me instantly in my Apartment. [Exit Servant.] (10 It must, it must be so, some spiteful Fiend Permitted by the Heav'ns assumes my shape: And what I do, undoes; no other Cause Remains in Nature for these strange Effects; Pity me God's, your lab'ring Minister; Remove this Plague, and save the State of Florence. (Exit. Enter Trappolin, as going to the Dutchesse's Bed-Chamber.

Trappolin

The next is the Dutchesse's Bed-Chamber,—and yonder she

---

SCENE III. No scene division is indicated in Q1 or Q2, but the scene with the envoys has ended and the stage is empty.

Line 3. Neither Q1 nor Q2 indicates the entrance of this actor.

Line 10. Neither Q1 nor Q2 indicates the departure of this actor.

Line 15. Q2 reads Gods for God's.
is fast asleep.---What a Neck and Breast is there?---
Now do I reckon that my Friend Brunetto and I shall
encounter much about a time. I ought to have seen him (20
a Bed first, but my Natural Affection to my Dutchess pre-
vail'd above my Manners.

Re-Enter Servant.

Servant

Here is your Ring again Sir.

Trappolin

What Ring?

Servant

Your Signet Sir, which you sent me with, I have according
to your Order releas'd the Lords.

Trappolin

Give it me: Now, go Slave commend me to Brunetto, and bid
him start fair.

Servant

From Prison Sir?

Trappolin

From Prison say you?---Here take my Signet with you (30
again, and release him: and say, I charge him on his
Allegiance to go to Bed to the Princess immediately;
make all fast without there; I can find the way to her
Grace by my self: Away. (Exit Servant, &c.

(As he is going in, he meets Lavinio entering.)

Lavinio

'Tis strange they come not yet;---What do I see?
This is the Hellish Phantasm that has bred
All this Confusion in our Court, good Gods
How he resembles me! That I my self
Would almost take him for my self: What art thou?

Trappolin

I am Lavinio, Duke of Tuscany. (40

Line 29. Q2 reads from for From.
Lavinio

He speaks too, and usurps my Name.
If thou art a Fiend, the gracious Heav'ns be kind,
And put a Period to thy wild proceedings;
But if thou art a Witch, I'll have thee burnt.

Trappolin

Burnt? Traytor, burn your lawful Duke!

Lavinio

I'lle try if thou hast substance, struggle not,
For thou mayst sooner break from Hercules:
I'lle have thee flead from thy enchanted skin,
In which thou represent'st my Person.

Trappolin

I say, beware of Treason; flea off my skin?

Lavinio

Guards, Guards, Guards.

Trappolin

Guards, Guards.

Lavinio

A Traytor, a Traytor.

Trappolin

A Traytor, a Traytor. (As they strive
and call together, Trappolin flings the En-
chanted Powder in his Face. Lavinio quits
his hold.

There's some of Father Conjurer's Powder for you; what it
wilt do for me I know not, but there 'tis.

Lavinio

The Sorcerer has blinded me.

Line 49. Q2 reads represents.
Line 52. Q1 and Q2 read Lav.
Trappolin

Ay, so would Powder of Post for the Present; but if this be all the wonderful Effects, I'le save my skin while I may. (He runs off.

Lavinio

Stop, stop the Traytor, help! Guards, Guards! (Runs after him.

Enter Isabella in her Night-Gown.

Isabella

Sure I did hear the Duke, my Husband's Voice As in distress, and calling out for help; Or did I dream? It must be more than so: Nay, as I thought, I saw two Figures of him One coursing of the other:-- The noise continues still--Who waits? All Deaf? What no Attendance here? What can this mean? (Rings a Bell. This is the private passage to the Princess's Chamber. I'le see if all be as silent there. (Exit.

Re-Enter Trappolin.

Trappolin

What will become of me? I never shall have the heart to swagger it out with him: The Guards are coming too:-- Oh rare Powder! 'thas done the work I'faith. Re-Enter Lavinio, transform'd into the Likeness of Trappolin.

Lavinio

I have thee, and will hold thee, wert thou Proteus. Enter Captain and Guards.

Trappolin

Help Subjects, help your Duke's assaulted.

Captain

Audacious Slave.

Lavinio

Death and Furies.

Line 60. No punctuation after Duke in Q2.
Captain

What? Trappolin return'd?

Officer

He is distracted sure.

Trappolin

No, no, Trappolin was too honest to assault his natural Prince, this is some Villain transform'd by Magick to his likeness, And I will have him fle'd out of his enchanted skin.

Lavinio

Blood and Vengeance.

Trappolin

Look to him carefully, till you have our further Orders: Now once more for my Dutchess. (Exit.

Lavinio

Unhand me Slaves, I am the Duke your Sovereign.

All

Ha! Ha! Ha!

Lavinio

That Villain that went out, a damn'd Impostor.

Officer

Fowl Treason, stop his mouth.

Captain

Alass, he is Lunatick.

Lavinio

Why did you let th'Impostor Devil scape?

Line 76. Q2 reads What Trappolin return'd?
Line 88. Q2 reads Foul for Fowl.
Captain

Compose thy self poor Trappolin.

Lavinio

What mean the Slaves by Trappolin? Enter Servant.
Sir, Are you come? Where is my Ring?

Servant

Trappolin come home? And as great a Knave, it seems, as ever: He has heard the Duke sent me with his Ring, and this impudent Rogue thinks to get it.

Lavinio

The Slaves are now gone mad another way. They take the Counterfeit, for their true Prince, And me it seems for One I do not know. Sure some amongst my Subjects yet will know me. Then Slaves, your Heads shall answer for this Crime. Enter Flametta.

Flametta

I am or'ejoy'd, you are welcome home my Dear; I feard alass, I ne're should see you more: Indeed my Dear, you are beholden to me; 'Twas I that won the Duke for your Repeal.

Lavinio

Blood and Fire!

Flametta

This is unkind to treat me with such coldness, After so long an Absence; have you then Forgot my Truth and Constancy?

Lavinio

Off Strumpet. Enter Flametta.

Flametta

Dost thou reward me thus for all the Pains I took for thy Return to Florence?

Lavinio

Leave me, Or I will spurn thee from me.
Flametta

O faithless Men! Women by me take heed
How you give credit to the perjur'd Sex.
Have I all thy long Banishment been true,
Refus'd Lord Barberino with his Gifts;
And am I slighted thus?

Lavinio

What means the Harlot?
Heav'n, Earth, and Hell, have all conspir'd together, (120
To load me with a Crime unknown before.

Enter Barberino and Alberto.

My Lords, You never came in better Season;
For never was your Prince so much distres't;
My very Guards deny me for their Master,
And take a Wizard for the Duke of Florence.

Barberino

What means the Vagabond, how came he home?
I hope the Duke will take care to reward him.
Say Captain, which way is our Royal Master?

Lavinio

May then, Destruction is turned loose upon me.

Flametta

Alas, He is mad! (130
Distracted with his Banishment.

Enter Isabella and Prudentia.

Prudentia

The Vision you relate is wonderful,
And all these strange disorders in the Court
Must needs proceed from some Prodigious Cause.

Lavinio

That is the Princesse's voice; Prudentia, Sister,
Pity your Brother, speak to these mad Subjects
That do not know their Prince.

Line 122. A period instead of the comma after Season in Q2.
Line 130. Q2 reads he for He.
Prudentia

What Fellow's this?

Captain

Off Sirrah.

Lavinio

Is she bewitched too?—My Dear Isabella
Thou sure wilt own the Duke thy Husband:—Ha!
She turns away in wonder! By the Bonds
Of Duty, and of Nature, I conjure you
To do me Right, and own the Duke your Lord.
Alberto, Barberino, Prudentia, Isabella.

All

Ha! Ha! Ha!

Isabella

What do you with this frantick wretch? look to him
And lodge him in the Hospital.

Lavinio

Confusion!
Nay then 'tis time to lay me thus on Earth,
And grow one Piece with it. (Throws himself down.

Enter Brunetto.

Brunetto

Your Highness humble Servant,—Dear Prudentia,
The Duke once more consents to make us happy,
Here is his Royal Signet for our Marriage.(Enter Trappolin.

Trappolin

Eo, Meo, and Aeo, rare Boys still.—I am out of breath
with looking for her; the Bed I found, but no Dutchess,
and not one of her Women can tell me where she is:—
Why here they are now all on a Bundle. Dear Pigs-ney, what
a naughty Trick was this, to Spirit your self away, when
you know how frightened I am with lying alone?—

My Princely Friend, Hast thou consummated? That sneaking
look of thine, confesses thee Guilty: Well, marry'd or not

Line 151. Q2 reads Piece.
merry'd, I am resolv'd to see you a Bed together incontinently.

Lavinio

The Devil you shall.  (Rising up hastily.

Flametta

Dear Trappolin be quiet.
You will destroy your self and me.---I do beseech your Grace, Forgive him; alass, he is Lunatick.

Lavinio

Oh Heav'ns! endure this Impostor thus With his Enchantments to bewitch your Eyes.  (170

Trappolin

Alas, poor Trappolin! That ever such good Parts as thine should come to this!

Alberto

Will he e're suffer this abuse?

Barberino

I know not, perhaps one Madman will pity another.

Lavinio

Ye Florentines, I am Lavinio; I am the Tuscan Duke; this an Impostor That by damn'd'd Magick, and Infernal Arts Has rais'd these strange Chimaera's in the Court.

Alberto

Your Highness is too patient.

Flametta

Sweet Trappolin be rul'd.  (180

Trappolin

Shew him a Glass.

Lavinio

What do I see? Even thus I seem to them:
Plagues, Death, and Furies, this is Witchcraft all:  
Still I assert my Right, I am Lavinio. (Breaks the Glass.

Trappolin

Nay, then I see hee 'l ne're come to good; to Prison with
him, take him away. (As they seize him, Thunder and Lightning
breaks forth, Mago rises.)

Mago

Turn thee Lavinio Duke of Tuscany.

Lavinio

Ha! who art thou that own'st my Power and Title,
Disclaim'd by all my Subjects.

All

This is strange.

Trappolin

Father Conjurer here?---I warrant he's going to the Devil
now, and calls at Court for Company.

Lavinio

What e're thou art, dissolve this Magick Mist;
Restore my State, and right an injur'd Prince.

Mago

My Spells alone can do it.

Lavinio

I know that voice.

Mago

Remember Guicardi the Tuscan Count,
Whom twelve years since, thou didst unjustly banish;
Which tedious hours, I chiefly have apply'd
To Magick Studies, and in just revenge

Line 199. No punctuation after hours in Q2.
Line 200. Q2 reads Revenge.
Have rais'd these strange disorders in thy Court;
Now, Pardon what is past, I'le set all Right.

Lavinio

I swear by all the Honours of my State,
By both my Dukedoms, Florence and Siena,
I pardon what is past.

Trappolin

So, here is his Grace and the Devil upon Articles of Agree-
ment, and excluding me from the Treaty:—Well, I'le e'en
banish my self whilst I have the Authority in my own
hands: I have got a handsome Face by the Bargain, and it
would grieve me to be fle'd out of it, and therefore (210
I will steal off as silently as I can. [Exit.]

Mago

Then take that Chair. (He places Lavinio in the Chair.

Brunetto

What mean these Prodigies?

Mago

Ye Noble Florentines suspend your fears,
And you shall see the Wonders of my Skill.
Thus with my Powerful Wand I Crown thy Brow
With grateful slumbers till my Charms are wrought.
You Spirits fram'd of milder Elements,
You that Controul the black malicious Fiends,
Ascend, ascend, and execute my Will. [Soft Music. (220

Spirits rise and dance about Lavinio, who
by a Device is transform'd before the
Audience into his own Appearance, and Habit.

All

The Duke! Good Heav'n! How have our Eyes been Charm'd?
Long Live your Highness.

Line 211. The stage direction, Exit., is omitted in Q2;
however, Trappolin must certainly leave the stage in
order to change back to his own costume. See p. 215,
11. 236-237.

Line 213. Q2 reads those for these.
Lavinio

Where have I been? Sure all has been a Dream.

Mago

Your Royal Word is past, you pardon all?

Lavinio

I do, and weep for Joy
To see my Subjects to their Sense restor'd.

Mago

(To Brunetto.

Brave Prince Horatio, your elder Brother,
The Duke of Savoy's dead.

Lavinio

Then he is Savoy.
Sir, I entreat forgiveness of what's past, And wish you Joy. (Gives him Prudentia.

Brunetto and Prudentia

You Crown our Happiness.

Lavinio

Methinks, we have all been scatter'd in a Storm, And thus by Miracle met here together Upon the happy Shore.——Horatio, Lords, Prudentia, Wife, let me embrace you all. (Trappolin brought in by Spiritism in his own likeness.) Here is th'Impostor, God's! what abject Things, When in your Hands, prove Scourges of a State.

Trappolin

Good Father Conjurer, for old Acquaintance sake! Beseech your Grace, use Moderation: (To Lavinio. You see by me what a Prince may come to.

Lavinio

Thy Pardon's granted, but depart the Realm.

---

Line 237. The speech tag (Lavinio) is repeated in Q1 and Q2. Line 239. There is no terminal punctuation in Q2.
Flametta

Dear Trappolin embrace the happy Fate,
And take me with thee.

Trappolin (To Brunetto.

My Lord,—I have stood your Lordship's Friend.

Brunetto

In Savoy I'll requite thee Trappolin.

Trappolin

Savoy, Girl, Savoy,—a Count, a Count I warrant thee.

Mago

Son Trappolin, I am thy natural Father;
And since my Banishment from Florence, have
Sustain'd much Hardship, serv'd the Turk in's Galleys. (250

Trappolin

By your leave Father Conjurer, you have serv'd the Devil too.

Mago

But from this Hour renounce my wicked Arts.

Lavinio

So, lasting Happiness on Florence fall;
Our Plague's remov'd, and now we'll pass the Time
In Courtly Joys; our Tuscan Poets shall
From these Disorders, frame Fantastick Scenes
To entertain our beauteous Millanese:
Each Accident at leisure well recite,
Misfortunes past, prove Stories of Delight.

Line 247. Q2 reads Savoy, Girl, Savoy—
THE EPILOGUE,
Spoken by Mr. Haines.

Trappolin, suppos'd a Duke, This Action shows Strange matters may depend on meer suppose. One may suppose Masks chas't, lov'd Nonsense witty, No Flatterers at Court, no Whig i'th'City--- I am my self by one i'th'World thought Pretty. (Pulling off his Periwig.

Whereas you see no Lillies grow nor Roses, So Masks for Beauty pass, that want their Noses. The Reverend Citizen, Sixty and above, That by poor inch of Candle buys his Love, Supposes that his Son and Heir he Got, But ask his Wife, and she supposes not. Meantime the Sot, whilst he's a Cuckold made, Supposes she's at Church praying for Trade. The Country Squire newly come to Town, By Parents doom'd to Lawyers dagg'd Gown, Supposes some Bright Angel he has gotten In our Lewd Gallery, till proving Rotten His Study soon he leaves for Sweating Tubs, And Cook and Littleton, for honest Hobs. Nor had Dull Cit sent Spouse to Drink the Waters, And found helping to her Sons and Daughters,

Spoken. This tag is omitted from Q2, but retained in Q3, where it reads Spoke by Mr. Haines. See Explanatory Notes.

Line 1. The comma after Trappolin is omitted in Q2, but retained in Q3.

Line 5. Q3 reads myself for my self, pretty for Pretty, and Periwig for Periwig.

Line 11. The comma after Wife is omitted in Q2.

Line 14. In Q2 up is inserted after come.

Line 17. The comma after Gallery is omitted in Q2.

Line 20. Q2 reads dull for Dull.

Line 21. Q2 reads And found them helping to her Sons and Daughters.
Had he supposed when so the Belly swells,  
There must be something in't besides the Wells.  
There's no Man here had Married I'm afraid,  
Had he not first supposed his Wife a Maid.  
Thus, 'tis Opinion must our Peace secure,  
For no Experiment can do't I'm sure.  
In Paths of Love no Foot-steps e're were Trac'd,  
All we can do is to suppose her Chast;  
For Women are of that deep subtile kind,  
The more we dive to know, the less we find.  
Ah Ladies! what strange Fate still Rules us Men?  
For whil'st we wisely would escape the Gin,  
A kind suppose still draws the Woodcocks in:  
In all Affairs 'tis so, the Lawyers Baul,  
And with damn'd Noise and Nonsense fill the Hall,  
Supposing after Seven Years being a Drudge,  
'Twill be his Fortune to be made a Judge.  
The Parson too that Prays against ill Weathers,  
That thumps the Cushion till he leaves no Feathers,  
You'd let his Flock I fear grow very Lean,  
Without suppose at least of being a Dean.  
All things are helpt out by suppose, but Wit;  
But shall we by That suppose to get.  
Unless a kind suppose your Minds possess,  
For on that Charm depends our Play's Success.  
Then tho you like it not, Sirs, don't Disclose it,  
But tho you are not satisfi'd, suppose it.

Lines 39-42. These four lines are omitted in Q2. See Explanatory Notes.

Line 45. In Q2 suppose is not italicized.

Line 48. In Q2 suppose is not italicized.
A SONG written by Sir GEORGE ETHERIDGE,
and set to Music by Signior BAPTIST.

TELL me no more I am deceiv'd, while
Sylvia seems so kind; and takes such
care to be believ'd, the Cheat I

A SONG. The musical score is found only in Q1. Q2 reads
"A SONG written by Sir George Etheridge."

Line 2. Q2 reads And for and.
fear to find: To flatter me, should Falshood lye conceal'd in her soft Youth; a thousand times, I'd rather dye, than see the unhappy Truth; a thousand times I'd rather dye, than see th' unhappy Truth.

---

Lines 1-4. Q2 reads as follows:
"fear to find. To flatter me should Falshood lye Conceal'd in her soft Youth; A thousand times, I'd rather die, than see the unhappy Truth."
My Love all Malice shall outbrave,
Let Fops in Libels rail;
If she the Appearances will save,
   No Scandal can prevail:
She makes me think I have her Heart,
   How much for that is due?
Tho' she but act the tender part,
   The Joy she gives is true.

A SONG written by a LADY, and set to
    Music by Mr. King.

Ah poor Olinda! never boast of Charms that have thy
Freedom cost, they threw at Hearts, and thine is lost.

Line 7. Q2 reads Tho for Tho'.
A SONG. Q2 reads A SONG written for a Lady.
Yet none thy Ruine ought to blame, his Wit first blew me to a Flame, and fans it with the Wings of Fame, and fans it with the Wings of Fame.

II.

In vain do I his Person shun,
I cannot from his Glory run,
That's Universal as the Sun.
In Crowds his Praises fill my Ear,
Alone his Genius does appear,
He, like a God, is ev'ry where.

Line 1. Q2 reads His for his.
Line 2. Q2 reads Fame, And.
Line 4. Q2 reads In vain I do his Person shun.
A SONG written by a Person of Quality,
and set to Music by Signior Baptist.

WHO can resist my Celia's Charms? her Beaty
wounds, and Wit disarms; when these their mighty Forces
joyn, what Heart's so strong but must resign? Love seems to
promise in her Eyes, a kind and lasting Age of Joys; but have a care, their Treason shun, I look'd, believ'd, and was undone,--done. In vain a thousand ways I strive, to keep my fainting Hopes a-live; my Love can

Line 1. Q2 reads A kind.
Line 2. Q2 reads But for but.
Line 4. Q2 reads My Love.
never find Reward, since Pride and Honour is her
Guard; my Love can never find Reward, since Pride and
Honour is her Guard.

FINIS.

Line 1. Q2 reads "Since."

Lines 2-3. The refrain is not repeated in Q2.
VI. EXPLANATORY NOTES

The following abbreviations are used throughout the explanatory notes:

Genest- John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from 1660 to 1830*.


A. **Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince:**

**Title-Page**

**Trappolin creduto Principe:** Originally the main title of the play, although the sub-title was more generally used, since, of course, the two titles mean the same thing. None of the surviving commedia dell'arte plays on this theme carries the same title, the nearest being *Il Creduto Principe.* (K.M. Lea, "Sir Aston Cokayne and the 'Commedia dell'Arte,'" *Modern Language Review, op. cit.*, XXIII, 47-51.)

**TRACE-COMEDY:** the form arising by syncopation from the Latin *tragico-commedia,* (NED). Note p. 5, line 15, in the prologue, where the play is called a comedy.

**William Godbid:** the printer. He first started printing in 1657, and his pirated edition of Cokayne's Obstinate Lady in that year may have been his first publication. (H.R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641-1667,* London: Blades, Past and Blades, 1907, p. 56.)

**The Actors' Names**


**Tuskany:** "Tuscany—A district in N.W. Italy between the sea and the Apennines, corresponding roughly to the ancient Etruria. The Great Duke of Tuskany is the usual translation of the title of the Medici." (Sugden)

**Milain:** "Milan—A city in the centre of the plain of Lombardy in N. Italy, 150 miles W. of Venice and 300 miles N.W. of Rome. The Sforzas held the dukedom from 1447 until 1535." (Sugden) There are over a hundred references to this city in Elizabethan drama.

**Sforza:** the historical name of the ruling family of Milan. The role was probably doubled by one of the actors in the Affezionati, unless the masque is Cokayne's own invention.

**Barbarino:** a Zanni mask, played under a distinct mask called Guazzetto. "It is impossible," says Nicoll, "to identify the Guazzetto who was with the Affezionati in 1634." (*Masks, Mimes and Miracles, op. cit.*, p. 370.)
Machavil: Cokain's own name for the actor who played the mask of the Dottore. His real name was Girolamo Chiesa, and he joined the Affezionati about 1630. The exact name of his mask was Dottor Graziano de' Violini. (Nicoll, op. cit., p. 366; Lea, op. cit., II, 483.)

Mattemoros: the mask of the Capitano. This role was played by Silvio Fiorillo. He was born at Naples about 1570, where he had a company, although he travelled with the Uniti and the Accesi before he joined the Affezionati about 1632. (Nicoll, op. cit., p. 369.) This role is the descendant of the Pautian Miles gloriosus, and is the counterpart of the English Ralph Roister-Doister, the French Fracasse, and the German Horribiliscribilifax. (Mantzius, A History of Theatrical Art, op. cit., II, 250.)

Trappolin: the crafty servant, a Zanni mask called Trappolino. This role was played in the Affezionati by Giovanni Battista Fiorillo, the son of Silvio Fiorillo. (Nicoll, op. cit., pp. 296, 369.) He assumed this role about 1630. (Lea, op. cit., II, 491.)

Pucannello: the mask of Pulcinella. "This most amusing man," states Cecchini, "has introduced a regulated stupidity which, at the first appearance, set melancholy flying," as quoted by Nicoll, op. cit., p. 290. This role was played for the Affezionati by Silvio Fiorillo, who doubled in the part of Mattemoros. (Lea, op. cit., II, 463.) On the question of whether Silvio Fiorillo originated this mask, see the Introduction, p. xciv.

Jaylour: the orthography from the pronunciation.

Bulflesh: topical, generic names are supplied by Cokain for this and the next four persons.

Bo. The devils Bo, Mec, and Areo appear in the sources; that is, Miss Lea has found these names in the MSS of the scenar. (Lea, op. cit., I, 193.)

Hymen. Cokain supplies the mythological names for the masque within the play.

Isabella: an innamorata. This role was played by Isabella Chiesa of the Affezionati. (Nicoll, op. cit., p. 367.)

Hortentia. This character appears only in the masque and presumably represents Cokain's own invention.

Prudentia: the mask of the innamorata who was the prima donna. (Lea, MLR, op. cit., p. 48.) This was the role of Prudenza, an actress who was famous for her 'mad' scenes. (Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit., II, 503.)
Hapolita: Cokain's name for Ricciolina, the mask of the soubrette, called Fantesca in the usual scenarios of the commedia dell'arte. This role was played for the Affezionati by one of the most famous actresses in Italy, Marina Dorotea Antonazzoni. Born in 1593, she once wrote the real Don Giovanni de Medici to complain about the infidelity of her husband. Her portrait was painted by many Italian artists. Michelangelo Buonarroti described her as superb in scenes of comic love. (Nicoll, op. cit., pp. 243-4, 362.) See Callot's portrait of her in Nicoll, ibid., p. 243.

Flametta: another Fantesca or handmaiden for the innamorata. The name is really Fiametta, and this actress was with the Affezionati in 1630-1634. (Nicoll, op. cit., p. 354.)

The Prologue

Line 5. mere. Note that Cokain rimes this contraction with hear.

Line 10. oth: apparently the compositor’s error in setting up the contraction o’th’.

Line 13. wood: would. Cokain frequently uses this spelling pronunciation.


I, i.

Enter Trappolin solus: outer stage.

Page 6, Line 2. dothes: the older form, used side by side with doat. (NED)


Pomatum: "A scented ointment (in which apples are said to have been originally an ingredient) for application to the skin." (NED) There are numerous references in Elizabethan drama to the use of pomatum. B.T. Spencer, in his edition of Massinger's The Bondman (Princeton, 1932, p. 281), quotes Nicholas Culpeper's recipe for pomatum as follows: "Take of the suet of a Stage or
else of a kid, two ounces, the fat of a Sow a pound and a half, apples being cut and pared by number eight, let the fats being cleansed from their skins be washed in White Wine, then put them into an earthen vessel glazed, which is half full of Rose water, let it boil gently till almost all the water be consumed, strain it into another earthen vessel sprinkled with Rose water, and ad to it cyl of sweet Almonds six ounces, melt it again by the fire, and having strained it and washed it with Rose water keep it for your use." (A Physical Directory, p. 249.) Cf. Randolph, Hey for Honesty, IV, iii.

Page 6, Line 6. such: the qualitative determinative use of such to present the idea of kind or quality. (Curme, Parts of Speech and Accidence, op. cit., pp. 88-9.)

Page 6, Line 10. For ever thine Flamment. Tate's adaptation opens with this line.

Page 6, Line 14. could never do any good. This apparent piece of slang was a common construction in Elizabethan times. The NED has citations from Foxe's Martyrs, among others.

she will not: the verb of volition, not the auxiliary.

Page 6, Line 17. Yonder. The term for this passage at present would be 'double talk'. It was a device much used in the commedia dell' arte. See the scenarii in Appendix A of Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, II, 591.

Page 6, Line 22. agen. This form represents a curious mixture of English dialects. Agen developed from Southern Middle English azeyn, azeyn (sixteenth century ayen) and East Midland ageyn, from whence it took its pronunciation, but the spelling developed from the Northern Middle English forms ogayne (fourteenth century), agayne, againe (sixteenth century); hence in Cokain's time the word was always pronounced agen, even ayn, but spelled again(again). (NED)

Page 7, Line 23. daies: the old adverbial genitive. (Curme, op. cit., p. 136.)

Page 7, Line 27. alwaies: another adverbial genitive. (Curme, op. cit., p. 336.)

singest: the attentuated form of the Southern Middle English second person singular. (Curme, op. cit., p. 245.)

Page 7, Line 33. something: the pronoun used as an adverb with the force of the modern somewhat. (Jespersen, Essentials, op. cit., p. 89.)
Page 7, Line 38. \textit{then}: the conjunction \textit{than}.

Page 7, Line 47. \textit{protest}: practically an interjection.

Page 8, Line 57. \textit{he would ha}: the contracted form of have in the third person singular, but in \textit{I ha made} Cokain is employing the form for the first person singular.


Page 8, Line 11. Florence: the scene of the play. It was the capital of Tuscany, located on the Arno, 125 miles north of Rome. (Sugden) Many Elizabethan plays had scenes in Florence.

Page 8, Line 12. \textit{nuptial}: a rare singular, but also used by Shakespeare as a singular. (Jespersen, \textit{A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles}, Heidelberg, 1936, II, 93.

Page 10, Line 48. \textit{withall}: i.e., "by this."

Page 10, Line 52. \textit{a dear rogue, and she saies she loves me}. Although \textit{rogue} was originally a canting term of the sixteenth century, it was also used as a term of endearment. (Onions, \textit{A Shakespeare Glossary}, Oxford, 1929). This line is very close to Cassio's remark in \textit{Othello}, IV, i, 112, "Alas, poor rogue! I think, i'faith, she loves me."

Page 10, Line 54. \textit{jovial}: to be merry. This meaning arose from the fact that since Jupiter (Jove) was a natal planet the word Jove connoted joy and happiness. (Onions, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 121.)

Page 10, Line 58. Langobardy: "Lombardy- The district in N. Italy included in the kingdom of the Lombards founded by King Alboin, or Albovin...." (Sugden)

Page 10, Line 66. Diapasons: "A melodious succession of notes, a strain, a swelling sound, as of a grand burst of harmony." (NED)


Page 10, Line 80. \textit{his centre}: Cf. "Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour...." Matthew, V:13 (King James version).
Page 11, Line 89. **Parsons book**: that is, the Parish Register.

Page 12, Line 112. 'tis good sleeping in a whole skin. This proverb is found in J. Heywood's *Proverbs* (1546), "It is good slepeing in a whole skin." (Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, ed. William G. Smith, Oxford, 1936, p. 233.) It is also found in Henry Porter's comedy *The Pleasant Historie of the Two Angrie Women of Abingtom* (ca. 1598), where Nicholas (alias Proverbs) uses it to cap another proverb.

Page 12, Line 113. marry: an interjection, but originally the name of the Virgin Mary used as an oath. (Onions, op. cit., p. 136.)

Page 12, Line 117. **eene**: "even."

Page 13, Line 132. **Drinking tobacco.** The Elizabethan dramatists generally spoke of drinking tobacco rather than smoking tobacco.

Page 13, Line 136. **a pipe of true Varines**: "A large cask with its contents... equivalents to half a tun, or two hogsheads, or four barrels, i.e., containing usually 165 imperial gallons (equal to 128 old wine-gallons)," (NED)

Page 13, Line 138. **halberts**: usually halberds. "A military weapon, used chiefly in the 15th and 16th centuries, consisting of a sharp-edged blade ending in a point and a spearhead mounted on a handle five to seven foot long." (Onions, op. cit., p. 100.)

Page 13, Line 141. **earnest**: "seriousness."

Page 13, Line 145. **hast**: the Northern form used to agree with the second person singular antecedent *thou*. (Curme, op. cit., p. 245.)

Page 13, Line 152. **thou wast**: an optative subjunctive.

Page 14, Line 157. **tro**: "troth," which meant the same as the word *faith* when used as an exclamation. (Onions, op. cit., p. 232.)

Page 14, Line 159. **fisty Cuffs**: i.e., fist fighting. The NED cites the famous mock-heroic passage from Henry
Fielding's *Tom Jones*, "It was lucky for the women that the seat of fistycuff war is not the same with them as among men." (IV, iii.)

Page 14, Line 165. *thou canst, thou wouldst ene a blest thy self.* It will be noticed throughout the play that Cokain inserts all these archaic verb forms, these spelling pronunciations, and these contractions in the speeches of Trappolin. Elsewhere Cokain's spelling is more regular and his diction more formal.

Page 14, Line 166. *a seen*: the truncated form of *have*, as a result of its weak stress as an auxiliary.


Page 16, Line 198. *a curious colour*: not in its customary seventeenth century sense. Here it is used "without explicit reference to workmanship," meaning instead "exquisite, choice, fine, excellent (in beauty, flavor, or other good quality)." (NED) In other words, *curious* here means something like our modern careless use of the word *nice*.

Page 17, Line 227. *gate*: "gait."

I, iii.

Inner stage.

Page 19, Line 29. *pistols*: a pun on the two meanings of this word, *i.e.*, the fire-arm and the coin.


Page 20, Lines 39-55. The dialogue is based on Cokain's recollection of the actual *lazzi* of his source. See the Introduction, p. xc, for such a scene in the *commedia dell' arte*.

Page 21, Line 46. *Do you never carry no Love Letters*: Note
the pleonastic construction of the negatives.

Page 21, Line 52. **Siena**: "A city in Tuscany, standing on a hill 60 miles S. of Florence." (Sugden)

Page 21, Line 59. **plaid the Ruffian**. Plaid represents a spelling pronunciation. *Ruffian*, in this context, is "a protector or confederate of courtesans, a common sense in the Romance languages." (NED) *Cf.* Sir Shakerley Marmion's *Holland's Leaguer*, sig. D2, "The first, a stout Ruffian to guard her." (NED)

Page 21, Line 64. *I am but a poor fellow, and must live.* Montague Summers considers this entire scene based on Pompey's examination before Escalus in *Measure for Measure*, II, i, because of this line. The source for Cokain's scene remains, however, the *commedia dell'arte*, as explained in the Introduction, pp. lxxx-xlci. *But cf.* *Measure for Measure*, II, i, 235, where Pompey replies to Escalus by saying, "Truly, sir, I am a poor fellow that would live."

Page 21, Line 65. *By Bawdry?* Lord Barbarino's question may be compared with that of Escalus, "How would you live, Pompey? By being a bawd? (II, i, 236-7.)

Page 22, Line 74. *transgression exceeds forgiveness*: an ellipsis in which *transgression* is not the subject of *exceeds*, the subject being the omitted relative pronoun.

Page 23, Line 89. *be'ist*: note the old potential subjunctive.

Page 23, Line 97. *we should make an Army Royal*. It will be noted that Trappolin's justification of his actions, as well as his rationalizing of the situation, is not based on the previously mentioned passage in *Measure for Measure*, although both Trappolin and Pompey maintain that if the law is enforced there will be a multitude of persons liable for arrest. Otherwise there is no verbal similarity between the two scenes.


Page 24, Line 109. *do dost deserve*: a rare example of the periphrastic *do* as an expanded or double auxiliary. Curme (op. cit., p. 208.) concludes that the form can be used to emphasize the truthfulness, or the desire of realization of a statement, but neither he nor Jespersen quotes any examples like this.
Page 24, Line 112. *leave*: another Southern form, the word being *lie*. It was the custom in the commedia dell'arte performances to let certain Zanni masks use dialects of various Italian cities for a comic purpose. (Lea, op. cit., II, 391.) Cokain probably noticed this convention and accordingly inserted dialectal and archaic words and expressions into Trappolin's speeches. Nevertheless, Cokain does not draw on his native Warwickshire dialect for these expressions, but regularly adopts them from the Southern dialect.

Page 25, Line 122. *be gone*: Maidment's emendation of "be ordered away" admits no explanation that I can see. Maidment is simply corrupting the text, for he has no textual authority for such a change, nor does the meaning require any amplification or alteration.

Page 25, Lines 146-154. These lines indicate that there were various treatments of this scene in the commedia dell'arte performances. The scenario of *Il Creduto Principe* (Lea, MLR, op. cit., XXIII, 49) portrays Prudentia in the Potiphar's wife motif, and it is evident from the dialogue in the English version that Cokain may have witnessed such a rendering of the plot. Yet the scenario of *Il Nuovo Finto Principe* presents Prudentia much as she acts in Cokain's play, although the rest of this scenario differs considerably from the entire plot of *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince*.

Page 26, Line 172. *Piemondt*: Piedmont. "A region in N.W. Italy enclosed on three sides by the Alps and occupying the upper part of the valley of the Po. During the Elizabethan Period it belonged to the Dukes of Savoy." (Sugden)

Page 26, Line 180. *Turin*: A city in northern Italy. It was made the capital of Savoy by Amadeo V in 1418. (Sugden)

Enter Trappolin solus: on the outer stage.

Page 28, Line 10. *Monteriascone*: "The famous muscatel wine, the name taken from the town in central Italy, on the eastern shore of Lake Bolsena." (Sugden)

Page 28, Line 12. *they*: Note that this pronoun does not agree with its antecedent in number.


Polax Ryals. The rial or ryal was a gold coin.

Page 28, Lines 21-22. turn pimpie; it is a good painful life: An expression of the regular English attitude toward and conception of the Italian way of life since the time of Roger Ascham.

Page 28, Line 26. an: "and."

Page 30, Line 75. Stygian: the Styx, a river in Hades. (Harper) The voicing of the final consonant of this word, in order to form the adjective Stygian, is a modern illustration of Verner's law.


Page 30, Line 84. sloven: i.e., a rogue, or rascal. (NED)

Page 31, Line 103. Plutoes: the old genitive plural. Pluto was the king or ruler of the underworld, often called Hades. (Harper)

Page 31, Line 108. Moran. This name was very puzzling, until I found it listed as a town in northern Italy, situated on the banks of the Po and spelled Morano. Now it was a custom in the commedia dell' arte performances to discuss current events, and many topical allusions were also made, just as modern vaudeville performers will employ topical references in their dialogues, shifting the scene or locality according to which town they were performing in. Perhaps Cokain remembered some such topical allusion and retained it in his text.

Page 33, Lines 138-139. Here the text appears corrupt, and I have emended the construction so that the relative clause when thou hast would be joined with the introductory main clause. Otherwise the relative clause would take a close for its object, and the meaning would be confused. Since the changes made consist of matters of punctuation and capitalization, the initial fault may be attributed to the compositor.

Page 34, Line 154. Proserpin's: the Latin form of the Greek Persephone, by metathesis. She was regarded in mythology as the wife of Pluto, hence the queen of the underworld. (Harper)
Page 34, line 160. Cerberus: the three-headed watch-dog who guarded the mouth of Hades. (Harper)

Page 34, Line 164. depart: i.e., departure.

Page 34, Line 167. near: i.e., never.

Page 35, Line 186. mark me: here "pay attention to me."


Page 35, Line 197. um: variants of 'em and Hem. (NED) Hem was the old plural, drawn from the oblique cases. (Curme, op. cit., p. 157.)

Page 36, Line 221. Beaver: "The lower portion of the face-guard of a helmet." (NED)

II, 11.

The scene is here supposed to be in Milan, the only scene except that in the desert- which is not located in Florence.

Page 38, Line 29. gratulate: "to greet, or salute." (NED) Cf. Paradise Regain'd, IV, 438, "To gratulate the sweet return of morn."

Page 39, Line 66. Maia's wing'd Son: Maia was the Goddess of Spring. Her son Hermes (Mercury) was the herald of the gods. (Harper)

Page 39, Line 82. mover: here the "reason," or "motivating force." The NED, however, does not list any definition to cover this meaning.

Page 39, Line 90. Hesperus: the evening star, son of Astraeus and Aurora. (Harper)

Page 39, Line 93. withal: i.e., "by it."

Page 39, Line 102. His ancient custome. In classical mythology Saturn was sometimes represented with a sickle in his hand, that is, as Death the reaper. (Harper)

Page 40, Line 108. brightsome: "bright-looking." (NED) Cf. Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, II, iii, 11. The word has no historical development, being coined on analogy with darksome, lightsome, and winsome.

lightsome: Cokain also uses this word in his translation of Loredano's romance Dianea, I, 44, "The Princesse
was full of wonder.../That this habitation being under
ground was so lightsome." The NED records this use
of the word lightsome by Cokain.

II, iii.

Outer stage.

Page 42, Lines 1-29. Although the ranting of Mattemoros is
based upon Cokain's Italian source, this particular
passage may be influenced by a similar passage in Act
I of Fletcher's Mad Lover. There are no exact verbal
similarities, but the tone is practically identical in
both speeches.

Page 42, Line 25. drink rivers dry. Nicoll, Lea, and
Mantzius all cite numerous parallel passages from
scenarii of the commedia dell' arte.

Enter Horatio. Horatio and Prudentia appear on the inner
stage, where they are observed by Mattemoros on the
outer stage or apron.

Page 43, Line 38. lives: the old genitive singular, as in
the title of Feele's play The Old Wives Tale.

Page 43, Lines 55-58. Such a long catalogue of persons and
places was a feature of many commedia dell' arte per­
formances. The topical allusions would vary according
to the locality of the performance. An innamorato
like Brunetto was required to memorize just such pieces
as this. Cf. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, op. cit.,
I, 290ff; Nicoll, op. cit., pp. 218-219, 242; Mantzius,
op. cit., II, 216-221. If such a rigmarole was used
to end a scene, it was called a chiusetta(closure). If
it was used as a long soliloquy, and the actor speaking
the lines left the stage, it was termed an uscite
('exit'). (Nicoll, loc. cit.)

Italy, 4 miles S. of the Po. At the University is
preserved the tomb of Ariosto." (Sugden)

Page 43, Line 63. Padua: "A city in N. Italy on the Bacchi­
glione, 25 miles W. of Venice. It was said to have
been founded by Antenor after the Trojan War." (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 64. The Trojan Prince. The position of this
appositive after the verb, but in apposition with the
subject, is very archaic. It is the sort of construction
found in Old English poetry.

Titus Livius fames. The historian Livy was born in
Patavium, the modern Padua. (Harper) His bones were
credulously reported to have been discovered there in 1413. (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 67. relation...Torquato Tasso. "Tasso's father was born in Bergamo." (Sugden) Cokain was evidently anxious to show his knowledge of Italian history and geography.

Page 44, Line 69. Colombo. This is the only reference to Columbus in Elizabethan drama that I can recall.

Page 44, Line 70. Varona: "A city in N. Italy; picturesquely situated in a sharp bend of the Adige, about 65 miles W. of Venice.... Here the poet Catullus was born in 87 B. C." (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 71. Bloody Peruggin: "Peruggia- The capital of the province of Peruggia in Central Italy, lying on the Tiber, 82 miles N. of Rome. The reference here is probably to the defeat of the Romans by Hannibal at Lake Trasimenus close by." (Sugden)

warlike Bessia: "Brescia- A city in N.W. Italy.... It suffered much in the wars between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. In 1512 it was stormed by Gaston de Foix, and 46,000 of the inhabitants were slain." (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 73. iron Pistoya: "Pistoia- A city in N.W. Italy on the Ombrone, 21 miles N.W. of Florence. It has long manufactured ironware and firearms, and the word pistol is derived from it." (Sugden)


Page 44, Line 75. Forly: "Forli- A town in Italy, at the foot of the Apennines." (Sugden)

old Ravenna: "A city in N.E. Italy, 4 miles from the coast of the Adriatic. It is an old and famous city. A dozen Byzantine churches yet remain. Dante died and was buried here." (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 76. Ill-aired Simegallia: "Sinigaglia. A town in Italy (the ancient Sena Gallica) on the Adriatic.... Here Caesar Borgia perfidiously massacred his allies in 1502." (Sugden)

Page 44, Lines 78-79. Capua...Carthaginian...Soldiers were Spoil'd: "A city in Campania, near the Voltturnus, about 90 miles S.W. of Rome. It...revolted in the Second Punic War, and opened its gates to Hannibal, who spent
the winter after Cannae there. His subsequent ill-
success was attributed by the Romans to the enervating
influence of the city." (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 80. **Pesaro a garden**: "A town in Italy on the
coast of the Adriatic...famous for the fine quality of
its figs. Ancona was an ancient seaport." (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 81. **true Urbino**: "A city in Italy which grew
up around the castle of the Montefeltro family....
Guidobaldo... kept a magnificent court, celebrated in
Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*. He was expelled for a time
by Caesar Borgia, but regained the dukedom in 1503.
Cokain's reference is probably due to the fact that the
inhabitants were loyal to Guidobaldo during the period
of strife with the Borgia." (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 82. **Round Ascoli**: "A town in Italy on the
Tronto...surrounded by a wall." (Sugden)

**long Recanati**: "A town in Italy on a commanding eminence
near the coast of the Adriatic...." (Sugden)

Page 44, Line 84. **sugry streets**: Maidment and Logan suggest
the meaning of "soft clayey streets."

Page 44, Line 85. **Faro**: Fano. "Apparently a misprint for
Fano, a town about the center of the E. coast of Italy.
The names of the places mentioned here (Ascoli, Foligno,
Ancona...) are all in this neighborhood, and there is
no Faro." (Sugden) Maidment and Logan did not correct
this misprint in their edition. See the textual note
on this line.

Page 44, Line 93. **Delphian Oracles**: "Delphi was a town in
Greece." (Sugden) It was located near Mt. Parnassus
and was the seat of the Oracle of Apollo. (Harper)
There are many allusions to the Delphian oracles in
Elizabethan drama.

Page 44, Lines 101-102. Note the couplet. Cokain may have
intended to end the scene here.

Page 46, Lines 123-130. This octet, with its rime scheme of
ababacc, has the sound and the tone of early Elizabethan
poetry. However, the actors of the *commedia dell' arte*
had set similes prepared for every occasion (Nicoll,
loc. cit.), and an examination of these similes quoted
by Nicoll will show that they were involved conceits of
the Petrarchan manner. Hence it is not impossible that
Cokain should have copied down one of these similes
verbatim. It must be remembered that Cokain himself
used only two verse patterns elsewhere in the play: the
rimed couplet and blank verse.
Page 47, Line 157. *gin*: an attenuated form of *given*.

Page 48, Line 170. *rid*: the old preterite of *to ride*. (Curme, op. cit., p. 314.)

Page 48, Line 178. *on thy back I will ride*: a typical *commedia dell'arte lazio*. It was such scenes as this which were borrowed by the English and French farce writers of the next generation.

Page 48, Line 182. *foxt*: i.e., "drunk." (NED)

III, i.

**Enter Horatio in prison.** It is not certain where Horatio was located with regard to a London stage of 1632. At line 15, when Trappolin enters, we may be sure that he is on the outer stage. He sees Horatio, and they can talk with each other; but it takes some time for Horatio to be released and join Trappolin. The first question, then, is this: was Horatio in the inner stage behind a curtain, or was he on the balcony overhead? Before the question is answered, the fact that Cokain was adapting a play from the Italian stage must be considered. If one will examine the series of frescoes depicting *commedia dell'arte* performances as found in the opening pages of Miss Lea's *Italian Popular Comedy*, it will be noted that the Italian stage contained two upper entrances and two lower entrances (pp. 4–26, and Mantzius, op. cit., II, 347). If Cokain had in mind the Italian stage, then Horatio(Brunetto) could only have left his position in the 'prison,' a raised set about even with the head of Trappolin on the continental platform, by means of one of these upper entrances, thus disappearing from the sight of the audience. Such an arrangement would account for the stage direction (Page 50, line 45) of "Enter Brunetto." It is more than likely, then, that Cokain had the physical features of the Italian stage in mind when he wrote Trappolin, especially since he had not composed any plays for the London theatres, and since he was what might be called an amateur dramatist, not a dramatic author who had been employed to design plays for the metropolitan houses. Comparison with Tate's staging of this play is of no point, since he was familiar with the picture-frame stage of the Restoration.

Page 49, Lines 1–7. The opening lines of this speech sound like a borrowing, rather than like Cokain's own verse. It will be observed that Cokain changes the grammatical person in line 7, a change which might easily ensued had Cokain borrowed the first lines of the passage.
Page 49, Line 12. **exquisitest**: in its obsolete etymological sense of "sought out, ingeniously devised." (NED) This synthetic superlative is used by Milton in *Paradise Regain'd*, II, 346, with practically the same meaning.

Page 49, Lines 12-13. **Tortures** is the accusative of **would think**, and sports the adjunct accusative; "curious... make" is an elliptical adjective clause modifying **tortures**.

Page 50, Lines 36-37. **bid him come to me**: a direction which seems to imply that Horatio is on the balcony overhead (of a London theatre).

Page 50, Line 39. **marl**: i.e., "I marvel."


Page 52, Line 75. **Enter Pucannello**: probably from the inner stage.

Page 52, Line 80. **flimflams**: "An onomatopoeic reduplication expressive of contempt." (NED)

Page 54, Line 103. **what**. An exclamation point should follow this word.

Page 54, Line 107. **scant**: used as an adverb to mean **scarcely,** or **hardly.**

Page 54, Line 122. **I am**. A comma is needed after **am.**

Page 54, Line 123. **Goal**: this spelling, the assibilated form of Middle English **gaile,** survived because of statutory reasons, although the common pronunciation is shown in the spelling **jail**. (NED)

Page 56, Line 156. **I'll soon have you married.** This elliptical construction is the closest approach in English to the Greek middle voice.

Page 57, Line 168. **give her him**: a peculiarly British English word-order, the dative following the accusative.

Page 57, Line 177. **title tattle**: i.e., "petty gossip." (NED) Cf. Pepys' Diary for June 28, 1667, "After a great deal of title tattle...we went to bed."

Page 57, Line 178. **durst**: the older form of the potential subjunctive.

Page 58, Line 204. **Mris**: "An obsolete abbreviation of Mistress." (NED)
Page 58, Line 217. There be not two. This cynical attitude was frequent in the Elizabethan Drama. Cf. Massinger’s
Emperor of the East, I, 1.

Page 59, Line 227. Shooes. Cokain may have doubled the vowel to lengthen the accent.


Paradise Lost, IX, 382, “The willinger I goe....”

Page 60, Lines 247-248. Thy under Petticoate and thy Smock. Cokain’s Flametta does not yield these garments, but we may be sure that she did in the commedia dell’arte performances which Cokain witnessed in Italy. The gradual disrobing of garments by a woman on the Italian stage was a frequent practice. Domenico Ottonelli (Della Christiana Moderazione del Teatro, Firenze, 1646, I, 37) describes a scene in which an ardent lover attempts to assault a woman, and “the woman...escaped in an almost naked condition.... She remained upon the stage a shameful, naked figure.” Nicoll (op. cit., pp. 221-2) quotes from Bartoli, who describes a scene in which there was “a Europa completely naked.” See Nicoll (loc. cit.) and Mantzius (op. cit., II, 228-236) for such scenes, particularly their quotation from the actor Barbieri, who said that when scenarii were being composed shipwrecks and fires were planned, so that there would be situations where women could be represented half naked, or in torn and “perfectly transparent clothes.”


Page 63, Line 322. An hungry. The form of the article provides a clue to the seventeenth century pronunciation of hungry.

Page 63, Line 323. Be shrew. This elliptical imprecatory exclamation once meant to curse, but here is the equivalent of a plague on. (NED)

Page 63, Lines 327-331. A Zanni like Trappolin, playing a servant role, was always hungry (Lea, op. cit., I, 188ff.), and Cokain was but following his source here.

III, ii.

Outer stage.
Page 64, Line 6. Hipolita. Cf. A Midsummer Night’s Dream, II, i, 70. The Amazons were a legendary race of female warriors, usually located in the neighborhood of the Caucasus, near Trebizond. (Sugden)

Page 64, Line 26. Cloggy: "Loaded with or full of clogging matter." The editors of the NED cite this passage from Cokain as the first appearance of this word with this particular meaning. (NED, II, 514.)

Page 65, Line 56. Egyptian Queen: i.e., Cleopatra.

Page 56, Line 99. Cyprian Queen. At Paphos, on the island of Cyprus, was one of the most celebrated temples of the goddess of Love (Venus), whence she is often called the Cyprian goddess. (Sugden) The sense of the passage in Cokain is that Hipolita would rather enter the service of Venus as a Vestal than have anything to do with love itself.

Page 67, Line 113. Cyclops on Campagna’s Stithy. Campagna was located on the west coast of Italy, between the gulfs of Gaeta and Policastro. The Cyclops were located on Mount Etna in Sicily. Sugden states that Cokain is confusing Vesuvius in Campagna with Etna in Sicily, under which was the forge of the Cyclops. A stithy is a forge. (BED)

Page 67, Line 114. Presaging: i.e., an omen of, or a foreboding. (Onions, op. cit., p. 166.) Shakespeare uses the word in this sense in several plays.

Page 68, Line 136. Hyrcanian Tigers: "Hyrcania, a district on the S. E. coast of the Caspian Sea. It was rugged and mountainous, and Virgil (Aeneid, IV, 367) gave currency to the idea that its tigers were specially ferocious. (Sugden) Cf. Macbeth, III, iv, 101.

Page 68, Lines 164-165. Theseus like...overcome Hipolita. Shakespeare and Chaucer make Hippolyta the wife of Theseus.

IV, i.

Enter Barbarino: on the outer stage.

Page 71, Line 41. Coxcombly: "Resembling or of the nature of a coxcomb; characteristic of a coxcomb or fop." (NED)

Page 72, Line 63. Nick-name: by agglutination, from ske-name. (NED)
Page 74, Lines 94-95. **Morris-dancers:** an item of evidence to prove that this quaint habit still prevailed in Cokain's time.


**tro:** for **troth.** An exclamatory expletive. (NED)

Page 74, Line 98. The scene may shift here to the inner stage for the trial.

Page 74, Line 111. **fox:** i.e., to lose your senses by getting drunk. There may possibly be a play here on the other meaning of **fox, that is, ingratitude.**

Page 74, Line 115. **Codpiece:** "A bagged appendage to the front of the close-fitting breeches worn by men from the 15th century to the 17th century." (NED)

Page 75, Line 122. **Geneva:** Calvin's sanctuary.

Page 75, Line 123. **Jack Calvin preach.** Calvin was born in 1509 and died in 1564. The allusion here would indicate either that Cokain was borrowing these lines from some earlier writer, or else that Cokain wrote the passage at an early date. That is, Cokain would hardly have written a passage containing a reference to listening to Calvin preach had Trappolin been composed just before its publication in 1658.

Page 75, Line 124. **Amorosa:** i.e., "mistress."

Page 75, Lines 124-125. **Book against the Bishops.** Here Cokain skips from the time of Calvin to contemporary events. This passage has reference to the many English Puritans who attacked the bishops of the Established Church, one of the most famous of which was Milton's "Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England."

Page 75, Line 126. **Amsterdam.** After the fierce religious wars Holland became a haven of toleration, and almost any sort of book could be printed there without censorship; hence many of the tracts, pamphlets, and books attacking the English Established Church were printed in Holland.

**Decimo sexto:** the smallest format a book could have, the page being one-sixteenth of a full sheet. The term was often employed by Elizabethan dramatists as a synonym for something small. See Webster, The White Devil, V, iv, 26, and his Induction to Marston's Malcontent, I, 104; Massinger's The Unnatural Combat, III, ii, 49, and The Maid of Honour, II, ii, 34-5, "I talke of Hercules and here is one / Bound up in decimo sexto...."
Page 75, Line 127. Boyes. Here Cokain vents his anger against the Puritans by ascribing to them the antisocial practice which was one of the worst features of the Caroline courtiers, Cokain's own associates. According to Montague Summers (The Playhouse of Pepys, pp. 9, 20, 56, 293-297, 331-333), homoeroticism was rampant in both Jacobean and Caroline times. Summers, for proof, cites Havelock Ellis, Sexual Inversion (Studies in the Psychology of Sex, ii, pp. 278-9); Sir Edward Peyton's Catastrophe of the House of Stuart; Osborne, Traditionally Memorizes on the Reign of James I (1658, p. 219ff.); and The Secret History of the Four Last Monarchs of Great Britain(1691). For the sake of the record, some other plays besides Cokain's which contain references to homosexuality in this period are Kilgigrew's The Parsons Wedding(composed before 1642); John Mason's The Turk(e) (1610); D'Avenant's Albovine (1629), and The Cruell Brother(1630); Edward Howard's The Usurper(1664); Aphra Behn's The Amorous Prince (1671); John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, Valentinian and Sodom(1664), the latter being without doubt the most obscene play in all English drama. To quote a direct reference, there is the epilogue to kilgigrew's Parsons Wedding, as found in The Covent Garden Drollery (op. cit., p. 81): "...for your amorous Fathers then, like you, / Amongst those Boys had Play-house Misses too."

Queans: i.e., jades, hussies, prostitutes.

Page 75, Line 135. Strange justice: The source of these scenes is the commedia dell'arte, as explained in the Introduction, pp. xc-xcvi, but it may be noted that Randolph has a similar scene in Act IV, scene iii, of his Muses Looking Glass(1636).

Page 75, Line 138. Gallies at Ligorn. Leghorn, or Livorno, was a port on the Ligurian Sea, on the west coast of Italy, where malefactors were sent to be impressed into the galleys for servitude. (Sugden)

Page 75, Line 146. Caffer: originally a rustic term of respect, used as a title; later applied to any old man of rustic condition. It is an attenuated form of gramfer, itself a contraction by syllabic glide from grandfather. (NED)

Page 77, Line 181. get you another. Miss Lea(MLR, op. cit., pp. 49-50) has found the exact source for this passage. See the Introduction, pp. xc-xcii.
Page 78, Line 192. **bungler:** "a clumsy unskilful worker." *(NED)*

learn to row: *i.e.*, sent to the galleys for servitude.

Page 79, Line 215. **Sallet:** "salad."

Page 79, Lines 221-222. These lines furnish additional evidence of the democratic attitude displayed by Cokain throughout the play.

Page 80, Line 243. **Spanish Coxcomb:** a further indication of Cokain's source, for the braggart captain was always presented in Italy as a Spaniard.

Page 80, Line 246. **Take this:** Slapstick farce as old as the ancient Greek comedy. When one buffoon bends over, he gets kicked on the bottom by the other clown.

Page 83, Line 321. **buss:** elsewhere in the play Cokain uses the word **kiss**.

IV, ii.

Enter **Lavinio:** inner stage.

Page 84, Line 22. Lavinio now advances to the apron, where (line 25) he perceives Barbarino and Machavil as in prison, presumably on the balcony.

Page 85, Line 52. **Who calls?** Pucannello enters from the inner stage.

Page 87, Line 108. **phrenzy.** Cokain uses this and **frenzy** side by side.

Page 91, Line 201. **Monastery.** Elizabethan writers used this term without respect to gender. Cf. Thomas Coryat's *Crudities*, I, 13, "Abbevile is a goodly faire Citie... wherein...are many **Monasteries** of men and women."

Page 91, Line 206. Cokain employs four different spellings for Pucannello.

V, i.

Enter **Trappolin:** outer stage.

Page 93, Line 12. **green sickness:** "An anaemic disease which mostly affects young women about the age of puberty and gives a pale or greenish tinge to the complexion." *(NED)* Shakespeare often used this expression. See *Pericles*, IV, vi, 14, and *2 Henry IV*, IV, iii, 100.
V, ii.

Enter Lavinio: outer stage.

Page 101, Line 53. 

bewray: "to expose" (NED), but archaic since the seventeenth century. See Proverbs 29:24 (King James version).

Page 101, Line 59. 

Festifferous: i.e., "infested."

V, iii.

Enter Trappolin: outer stage.

Page 105, Line 15. 

Goodman durtv-face. Goodman was customarily a respectable salutation among rustics, but the word suffers a pejorative change of meaning here. In the source for this play there are many lazzi between Trappolin and the stupid warden Fucannello, but Cokain has generally omitted them.

keep me: the ethical dative.

Page 105, Lines 18-19. 

Gracian of Franckolin. Here a reference is made to Dottor Graziano Forbizon da Francolin, a famous Dottore clown mask, as played by Pietro Bagliani, a member of the Uniti company in 1623. The Dottore's attire was a black dress, a white collar, a doctor's cap and gown. His role was that of the pedant, and as a result was always made the butt of lazzi on the stage. Giralamo Chiesa, who played the part of a Dottore for the Affezionati in the Trappolin plays, and who is renamed Machavill by Cokain, adopted the mask of Dottor Graziano de' Violini. (Nicolli, op. cit., pp. 256-260, 353-4, 366-7.) Since there existed a certain amount of rivalry between the different actors who attempted the same roles, or masks, Cokain may be transcribing an actual jibe at Graziano of Francolin that he had heard in his attendance at the performances of the Affezionati. Especially might this interpretation be true in consideration of the next line (line 19), where Cokain explains his allusion by adding "or a fool in a play." If this explanation is not correct, then it could be assumed that Cokain saw many different performances of different commedia dell'arte troupes and may have seen the real Graziano da Francolin, Pietro Bagliani, in a production of the Uniti company.

V, iv.

Enter Mattemoros: outer stage.

Page 108, Line 34. 

hainous: "heinous." See the opening line of Milton's exordium to Book X of Paradise Lost: "Meanwhile the hainous and despightfull act...."

Page 113, Line 123. and: here with the sense of "if."

Page 115, Line 163. Enter Puchanello. Miss Lea contends that "Captain Mattemoros could only have been Trappolino's father, Silvio Fiorillo, who was equally famous as the Spanish Captain and as a Pulcinella. If we allow for the common practice of doubling, this accounts for Cokayne's Gaoler, 'Puccannello.'" (MIR, op. cit., XXIII, 49.) Miss Lea's explanation is probably correct with regard to the performance of the commedia dell'arte troupe, but either she did not feel any necessity for explaining Cokain's treatment of these two roles, or else she did not read Trappolino Suppos'd a Prince carefully, for in the scene in question both Mattemoros and Pucannello appear on the stage at the same time. Hence Cokain was not following his source very closely at this point, and, after all, it must be recalled that he was an amateur dramatist, not concerned with exits, actors, wings, flats, or costs of production. When he reached this section of the play, he had probably forgotten that the same actor played both parts, and if he had remembered that fact it wouldn't have made much difference. Cf. Webster's structural errors in The Duchess of Malfy.

V, v.

Enter Barbarino: outer stage.

Page 117, Lines 6-10. mean estate. Here Cokain shows that he was closer in point of view to the Elizabethan era than even to the dominant ideas of his own time, or of the period in which his play was published. These five lines are definitely sixteenth century in tone. Here is expressed even the medieval notion of the greater the prominence in life, the greater the disaster. The concept expressed here is the attitude of the late Elizabethan miscellanies like The Paradise of Dainty Devices. Aston Cokain, as has been explained in the Introduction, read widely from the authors of sixteenth century English and continental literature, and their ideas were his ideas.

Page 118, Lines 25-26. The first part of this speech is an 'aside.'

Page 121, Line 80. chimerae: "A fabled firebreathing monster of Greek mythology." (NED) Hence the term came to mean unreal creatures of the imagination, or wild, fanciful conceptions, as the word is used here.
Page 123, Line 111. \textit{sallets}. The author probably means salads in the literal sense, but there may be a play on the word. There are several allusions in Elizabethan drama to the Italian method of poisoning people by means of poisoned salads. Cf. Webster's \textit{White Devil}, IV, ii, 62, where Flaminio fears for his life and says, "I doe looke nowe for a Spanish fig, or an Italian salad daily." F.L. Lucas, in his commentary on this line (\textit{op. cit.}, I, 240), states that these were notorious means of administering poison, and he quotes contemporaneous authorities for proof. However, Cokain uses very few puns and may not have intended this sinister implication.

Page 124, Line 133. \textit{here, here}. The \textit{commedia dell' arte} performers evidently carried on a \textit{lazzo} of three devils frightening Trappolin at this point in the action.

Page 125, Line 150. \textit{Filberto}. Here Cokain has selected the name of the historical figure who really was Duke of Savoy, that is, Charles Emmanuel Philibert, who was at war with either Spain or France during the greater part of his life. (\textit{The Cambridge Modern History}, eds. A.W. Ward, G.W. Frothero, and Stanley Leathes, III, 413–429.)

Page 126, Line 167. \textit{wicked art}. Professor Leo Hughes, of the University of Texas, is strongly inclined to consider this entire play in the Faust tradition. After a careful examination of the specimen scenarii presented in Appendix A of Miss Lea's \textit{Italian Popular Comedy} (\textit{loc. cit.}), I found several plays of the \textit{commedia dell' arte} in which there was a magician who helped or hindered certain character. Two scenarii had plots similar to that of \textit{The Tempest}. Of course, in world lore there is more than one type of medieval magician. One prominent kind is that magician who always appeared in time to help the hero in the "magic gift" legends. Mago may be identified with this group, instead of with the sorcerers who sold their souls to the devil. See Montague Summers, \textit{Playhouse of Pepys}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 242. Moreover, I have examined the same author's \textit{History of Demonology} and \textit{Witchcraft}, in which he presents an exhaustive account of the development of the Faust theme, going back as far as the sixth century Theophilus, and nowhere does he connect these \textit{commedia dell' arte} plots with the Faust story, even though he mentions several Italian types of the Faustian legend.

Page 128, Line 6. \textit{at Paris the conclusion had}: the author's own testimony concerning the date of composition of his play.
**B. A Duke and No Duke:**

**Title-Page**

*Their Majesties Servants.* After the union of the companies in 1682, there was but one company (the King's Company) performing, and all plays were presented at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. (John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, op. cit., p. 40.)

*Theorbo.* A large lute with a double neck and two sets of tuning-pegs, the lower holding the melody strings and the upper the bass strings. (NED)

*Printed...1685: entered by Henry Bonwicke at Michaelmas Term, 1684/5.* (*Term Catalogues*, ed. Edward Arber, op. cit., I, 171.)

*Persona.* The use of masks in dramatic representations is so ancient a custom that neither the classical Greek authors in their own times nor modern scholars have agreed on the exact origin of this dramatic convention.

*Larvae:* Originally skeletons, then *ghosts* or *spirits*, later *death masks*, and finally just *masks*. (Harper)

*Printed...1693: entered by Henry Bonwicke at Easter Term, 1693.* (*Term Catalogues*, loc. cit.)

Page 134. *Sr. George Hewyt:* Later made Baron of Jamestown by William III. An excellent commentary on Nahum Tate's servile attitude in this fulsome eulogy may be found in an account of the contemporary attitude toward Hewitt as held by other Restoration dramatists. It appears that Hewitt was a stupid lout, the butt of contemporary satire. On one occasion the dramatist Ravenscroft beat Hewitt with a cane within the Drury Lane Theatre itself. (Summers, *Restoration Theatre*, op. cit., pp. 79-80.) Even though Hewitt was of the nobility, no punishment was inflicted upon Ravenscroft for his caning of Hewitt; in fact, the noble was threatened with banishment by Charles II. This incident happened on July 2, 1673. (Summers, loc. cit.) Then, in January 1675/6, at the Theatre Royal in Dorset Garden, was produced John Crowne's *The Country Wit,* a farcical comedy based on Molière's *Le Sicilien.* (The Dramatic Works of John Crowne, edd. James Maidment and W.H. Logan, Edinburgh, 1874, III, 3.) A certain Sir Mannerly Shallow, called a "foolish country Knight," is satirized throughout the entire play. He is made the dupe of almost every trick and joke, culminating with his marriage by mistake to the daughter of a servant. Oldys, in his notes on Langbaine (as quoted by Maidment and Logan, loc. cit.), introduces testimony to show that Crowne was
representing Hewitt as the stupid rustic, Sir Mannerly Shallow, and as such was quickly recognized by the audience.

Page 134, Line 11. Illustrious Examples. In an era of flattering dedications, this eulogy is even more fawning and servile in tone than those of the other sycophants of the time.

Page 134, Line 32. Monarch: Charles II.

Page 134, Line 33. Brother: the Duke of York, later to be James II.

Page 134, Line 35. Condescension. Tate praises Hewitt for possessing this trait.

Page 136, Line 3. so mean. As has been explained in the Introduction, John Dryden and other poets of the period had attacked farces rather severely. See Hughes, Philological Quarterly, op. cit., XIX, 266-287.

Page 136, Line 7. Horace: Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65 B.C.-8 B.C.) The critical dicta of Horace became the literary laws of the English Neoclassic period. This influence is explained by Smith and Parks (The Great Critics, New York, 1939, p. 123.) as follows: "The admirable conciseness with which critical observations are made and advices given, the extremely quotable quality of his lines, is destined later to make for a misunderstanding of Horace's real position: to the Renaissance and later periods his dicta became...none other than a rigid formalism, a body of conventions and rules which were binding on all poets; so that with him, indirectly, began the reign of authority and rule, as well as the constriction of literature in accordance with pre-established schemes of the past." This assumption is especially true with regard to Nahum Tate. In the seventeen quarto pages of these two prefaces Tate manages to use no less than fourteen quotations from Horace.

Page 136, Lines 8-10. Tate is here quoting from Horace's famous Epistle to the Pisos, or The Art of Poetry, II. 240-242. The exact Latin is as follows:

Ex noto fictum carmen secuar, ut sibi quivis Speret idem, sudet multum frustraque laboret Ausus idem. (Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, The Loeb Classical Library, New York, 1929.)

Page 136, Line 12. Roscommon: Wentworth Dillon, fourth Earl of Roscommon (1633-1685), a highly educated Irish
nobleman, translated the *Ars Poetica* in 1680. He observed Neoclassic theory so carefully, particularly in his diction, in his translation that Pope praised him highly. (DNB)

Page 136, Lines 13-14. Fairclough's translation (*loc. cit.*) of the same passage is as follows:

"My aim shall be poetry, so moulded from the familiar that anybody may hope for the same success, may sweat much and yet toil in vain when attempting the same."

Smith and Parks' version (*op. cit., p. 121.*) is this:

"I should take for my poem well known material, of such sort as anyone might hope to make his; but whoever dared attempt the same should sweat a-plenty and labor in vain."

Page 136, Lines 16-17. Tragedy, Comedy...subsist upon Nature. As Professor Scott-Thomas points out in his analysis of Tate (*ELH, op. cit.*, I, 263, 266), Nahum Tate anticipated in several essays the later effusions of John Dennis. Here Tate presents an idea which was to be set forth seventeen years later by Dennis in his definition of poetry, "Poetry, then, is an imitation of Nature..." (*The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry, English Critical Essays*, ed. Edmund Jones, *op. cit.,* p. 256.) If one will compare Tate's preface with Chapters IV-VI of the above work by Dennis, he will find a remarkable unanimity of opinion.

Page 136, Line 20. Farce is to exceed Nature and Probability: Tate's definition of farce. He never expands it, even in the long preface to the 1693 edition.

Page 136, Line 27. For the Stage. Here Tate leaves the impression that Cokain's comedy was never acted.

Page 136, Lines 31-32. divert His Majesty. Tate's farce was one of the last plays that Charles II witnessed.

Page 137, Line 3. Thespis's Cart. "Thespis was a native of Icaria in Attica who lived about 536 B.C., in the latter years of Pisistratus. He introduced notable improvements in the mode of performances...." (*The Dramatic Works of John Dryden, ed. Montague Summers, ed. cit., I, 374.*) Horace (*Ars Poetica, op. cit., line 276*) is the authority for the idea that Thespis went about with a wagon as a strolling player. (Harper) Since Tate quotes so frequently from Horace, he probably added this item of information from the suggestion of the Latin stylist.
Page 137, Lines 3-4. Mimica Satyra Tragoedia Comoedia:
These were the four regular divisions of Greek drama; i.e., the mime, the satyr play, tragedy and comedy.
(Nicoll, op. cit., p. 66.)

Page 137, Line 5. Planipes. The source for this classification, together with the other groupings made in the next line, may be the Ars Grammatica, by the Latin grammarian, Diomedes, of the fourth century A.D. (Harper) Nicoll (op. cit.) quotes the following definition by Diomedes: "...the fourth type is the planipes, of which the Greek name is mimus. This is called planipes in Latin because the actors came before the proscenium with 'flat,' that is to say, naked feet...." Nicoll explains that these actors were bare-footed to give them more freedom of movement, since they were the dancing mimics, or what we might call slapstick comedians. (op. cit., pp. 83-84.)

Attalanae: the short farces (fabulae Atellanae) which originated in Campania. They are characterized by the prevalence of certain stock types. (Harper) The Atellanae may be considered one of the most interesting and significant forms of ancient drama for those concerned with the theory of historical continuity of drama. These short farces, according to Nicoll (op. cit., pp. 65-79), contained stock masks, such as the clown who was over-fond of eating; the stupid servant, comparable to Pulchinella; and the old man, comparable to the Zanni or Dottore of the commedia dell'arte. These farces were very popular in ancient Rome. They were produced by professional companies who always used the same masks.

Page 137, Lines 5-6. Praetextatae, Tabernariae. The Romans had the general term togata for a play with an Italian plot and surroundings, whether comic or tragic. The Praetextatae were Roman tragedies which found their materials not in classic Greek myth but in ancient and contemporary Roman history. The name was derived from the fact that the heroes wore the national dress, the toga praetexta, edged with purple. Seneca's Octavia, if it be the work of Seneca, is an example of this type of tragedy. The tabernariae were the regular Latin comedies on local subjects. (Harper)

Page 137, Line 9. Trappolin, Scapin, Harlequin or Scaramouch. These were all stock variants of the Zanni mask and are identical insofar as classification of commedia dell'arte types is concerned. (Nicoll, op. cit., pp. 263ff.)

Page 137, Line 21. Athanaeus: the Greek scholar, a native of Egypt, who lived from 170 to 230 A.D. He is the author of a work called The Deipnosophists (trans. C. B. Gulick, The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1933, 7 vols.), a work in fifteen books, which is set in the form of a dialogue carried on at a banquet. During the extent of the discourse Athanaeus quotes from fifteen hundred books written by over seven hundred authors. Since most of these books are no longer extant, and since there are so many references to Greek literature, this work is a valuable source of information about classic times. (Harper)

Page 137, Line 22. Aristophanes: not the great dramatist, but a grammarian born about 260 B.C. who lived in Byzantium. He attempted to edit a text of the Homeric poems, and he wrote commentaries on the Greek dramatists. (Harper) Athanaeus mentions him several times, but not in his "Twelfth Book," despite Tate's statement to that effect.

Page 138, Lines 11-14. Tate is correct here. The term *Persona*, when used strictly, meant a mask for the mouth, although sometimes the mask came down to the shoulders. But the word could be used to signify an entire disguise. (Harper)

Page 138, Line 19. Aelian: Claudius Aelinaus, called the Sophist, a rhetorician who wrote in Greek, although he lived in the second century A.D. (Harper)

Page 138, Line 21. Aristophanes: a reference to the well-known incident in The Clouds. Tate twice mentions the basket scene in his preface. Moreover he interprets the scene as a farce, with the intention of making this illustration his strongest proof that the ancients were accustomed to farce as a dramatic form. Modern literary critics of the Greek drama would not agree with Tate's interpretation.

Page 139, Line 2. Worship of Bacchus. Bacchus (Dionysus) was the god of luxuriant fertility. It is to the worship of Bacchus that the drama owes its origin and development in the Aryan world. (Harper) Tate is correct in his description of the rites of Bacchus.

Page 139, Line 6. Virgils Georgicks: a reference to the agricultural poem by Publius Vergilius Maro, the great Roman poet.
Page 139, Lines 8-15. Tate was either copying carelessly, or else he had a corrupt text. The passage, Book II, lines 380-7, is as follows:

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Caeditur et veteres ineunt proscaenia ludii,
Fremiaque ingenia pagos et compita circumb
Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti
Mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.
Nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni
Versibus incommittis ludunt risuque soluto,
Oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis.
(trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1930, I, 143). His translation is as follows:

"Formo no other crime is it that a goat is slain to
Bacchus at every altar, and the olden plays enter
on the stage; for this the sons of Theseus set up
prizes for wit in their villages and at the cross-
ways, and gaily danced in the soft meadows on
oiled goat-skins. Even so Ausonia's swains, a race
sent from Troy, disport with rude verses and laughter
unrestrained, and put on hideous masks of hollow cork."

Page 139, Line 22. Suidas: a Greek lexicographer who lived in
the tenth century A.D., probably at Byzantium. His
lexicon of the Greek language contains not only many
definitions, but also biographical accounts of many
classical writers. (Harper)

Choerilus. Tate has reference to the Athenian dramatist
who was composing tragedies about 520 B.C. His chief
field was the satyric drama. (Harper)

Page 139, Line 23. first that erected a Stage: an assumption
which represents a confusing item of misinformation. In
Tate's own time it was believed that the ancient Greek
stage consisted of two levels, i.e., an orchestra where
the chorus were stationed, and a platform elevated about
twelve feet above the orchestra. The actors in the
drama were stationed on this raised platform. But the
research of modern archaeologists has shown that there
was only one level for both actors and chorus. Behind
this platform there was an altar, the presence of which
attested to the religious origin of the drama, and this
altar was the center of the dramatic activity long
before the time of Choerilus, or any other historical
personage. However, during the life of Choerilus, there
was a dreadful accident at a play as a result of the
collapse of the scaffolding supporting the spectators' seats. As a result of this disaster the site of the
dramatic performances was changed to a depressed place
in the earth, that is, some sort of valley, and the
spectators then sat on benches rising from the stage with the inclination of the ground. (Mantzius, op. cit., I, 111-131.)

Page 139, Line 24. **Diomedes.** This Diomedes was not a Greek writer, as Tate makes him out to be; in fact, Tate in this passage is borrowing not from Diomedes but from the De Poetis of Suetonius.

Page 139, Line 25. **Inventor.** According to the consensus of statement among archaeologists, historians, and philologists, the mask is as old as the Bacchanalian revels which were the origin of the Hellenic drama; hence no historical person could have 'invented' them. However, Tate's sources do credit Thespis with evolving three types of Persona, or masks: (1) a layer of white lead, (2) a similar covering of purslane, and (3) a mask of delicately painted linen. (Mantzius, op. cit., I, 102.)

Page 139, Line 27. **Purslane:** "A low succulent herb used in salads and pickling (Identical in form with the French and Italian words for Porcelain..., altered by assimilation to that word), from L. porcilaca, used by Pliny for the more usual L. portulaca. (NED)

Page 139, Lines 28-20. **From the Ars Poetica** (op. cit., ll. 276-7). The entire passage is this:

Ignotum tragicae genus invenisse Camenae
Dicitur et plaustris vexisse panemata Thespis,
Quae canerent aperentque peruncti faeicibus ora.

Fairclough's translation (op. cit., p. 473) follows:

Thespis is said to have discovered the Tragic Muse, a type unknown before, and to have carried his pieces in wagons to be sung and acted by players with faces smeared with wine-lees.

Page 140, Lines 5-6. **Ars Poetica** (op. cit., ll. 278-9), the text being as follows:

Post hunc personae pellaeque reportor honestae
Aeschylus....

Since Tate devotes some space (lines 7-11) to a discussion of the exact meaning of this excerpt, a translation of the entire sentence from Horace may be given:

After him Aeschylus, inventor of the mask and comely robe, laid a stage of small planks, and taught a lofty speech and stately gait on the buskin. (Fairclough, op. cit., p. 273.)
However, Tate may be right in his gloss of honestae, for Horace is not saying the mask, but an embellished or adorned mask. Cicero used the word in this sense. Of course, Aeschylus did not invent the mask, no matter how one construes this quotation from Horace.

Page 140, Line 11. Philostratus: Flavius Philostratus the elder, a Greek Sophist who lived during the third century A.D. Among his works is an essay dealing with the lives of earlier philosophers and with the origins of the Hellenic culture pattern. (Harper)

Page 140, Line 13. Phrynicus. There were two Greek dramatists by the name of Phrynicos. (Harper) The older Phrynicus was active about twenty years before the time of Aeschylus, and he is accredited with having made some changes in the arrangement of women in the chorus. (Mantzius, op. cit., I, 155.) Hence Tate may be in error by saying "After Aeschylus," since it seems certain that the older Phrynicus is the person cited. The other Phrynicus lived about 405 B.C., and was a writer of comedy. (Harper)

Page 140, Line 14. Livius Andronicus: a Greek who lived in the third century B.C. He is generally regarded as the founder of Latin dramatic poetry. In 240 B.C., he brought upon the stage a play composed after the Greek style, and this date is accepted as the opening of regular Roman drama. (Harper)

Page 140, Line 15. Galeri: a skull cap or wig worn by early Roman actors. (Harper) Tate is in error here, though, for the farce actors of the Romans did wear masks. (Mantzius, op. cit., I, 210; Nicoll, op. cit., pp. 65-79.)

Page 140, Line 16. Roscius Gallus. Quintus Roscius Gallus was the first great Roman actor. He lived in the first century B.C. He gained such a great reputation that the word Roscius is now the generic name for an actor. (Mantzius, op. cit., I, 228-9.) He did not, however, introduce the use of masks on the Roman stage. (Harper)

Page 140, Line 17. Donatus. Aelius Donatus was a celebrated grammarian who lived in Rome during the fourth century A.D. In addition to his lexicographical work he wrote an excellent commentary on Terence which contains valuable information about theatrical customs in ancient Rome. (Harper)

Page 140, Line 21. *Suetonius*. Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus was a Roman historian who lived in the second century A.D. He wrote a great deal of literary history, as well as his account of the twelve emperors. (Harper)

Page 140, Line 22. *Tragedias*. The passage may be translated as "When the mask had been fashioned, the actors recited the stories of the gods and demi-gods, likewise of the heroes and heroines." The account in Suetonius, from which this excerpt is taken, refers to Nero and is translated by Cavorse (Suetonius, op. cit., p. 253) as follows:

He also put on the mask and sang tragedies representing Gods and heroes and even heroines and Goddesses, having the masks fashioned in the likeness of his own features or those of the women of whom he chanced to be enamoured.

Page 140, Line 24. *Pollux*. Julius Pollux was a Greek rhetorician who lived in the second century A.D. Although he was satirized in his own time, his writings contain much valuable information on Greek drama and customs. (Harper)

Page 140, Line 26. *Satyr*. The *Satyrikos Choros*, or satyr play, which also developed from the Bacchanalian revels, was produced by the Greeks as an afterpiece to a tragedy or comedy. The actors wore hideous masks and covered themselves with goat-skins or panther hides, in addition to a large phallic figure. (Mantziaz, op. cit., I, 100-102; Harper.)

Page 140, Line 27. *Cyclops*. The *Cyclops* of Euripides is the only extant play of the *Satyrikos Choros*. (Harper)

Page 140, Line 30. *chematismos*: the entire garment which the actors in the *Satyrikos Choros* wore.

Page 141, Line 1. *Comedia vetus*. Here Tate is alluding to the period of Old Attic Comedy, which flourished between 454 and 404 B.C. This comedy was characterized by direct personal satire and a general licentiousness, as well as by the wit and brilliance of the dialogue. Even the most important political figures of the age were satirized and mimicked by the actors. It must also be remembered that the Old Attic Comedy was an outgrowth of the older *Phalloporoi*, the nature of which can be deduced from its name. (Mantziaz, op. cit., I, 104-109; Nicoll, op. cit., pp. 45-6; Harper.) Also cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, op. cit., line 281, a passage which may be Tate's source.
Page 141, Lines 9-10. Tate has cited his source correctly, for this extract is from Horace's Satires (op. cit., I, iv, 55-6), but he has garbled the text badly. The authentic Latin text is as follows:

\[ ...quivis stomachetur eodem quo personatus pacto pater.... \]

Fairclough (op. cit., p. 53) gives the following translation: "...any father whatever would rage in the same fashion as the father in the play."

Page 141, Line 16. Isocrates: the great Athenian writer who lived from 436 to 338 B.C. His importance lies in the fact that he formulated the standards of Greek prose. (Harper)


Page 141, Line 22. mentioned by Horace: an allusion to the Fourth Satire of Horace (op. cit., pp. 48-61), in which the Latin critic presents an analysis of the aim and purpose of the Old Attic Comedy in order to show the origin of satire as a literary form, together with justifying himself and Lucilius for reviving satire.

Page 141, Lines 23-25. The text of the passage from Horace's Fourth Satire (loc. cit.) is as follows:

\[ ...si quis erat describi, quod malus ac fur quod moechus forest aut sicarius aut aliqqui famous, multa cum libertate notabant. \]

The translation of Fairclough (op. cit., p. 49) is "...if there was anyone deserving to be drawn as a rogue and thief, as a rake or cutthroat, or as scandalous in any other way, set their mark upon him with great freedom."

Page 141, Line 27. Dionys: Dionysius Halicarbaassensis, the literary historian and critic, who lived in the first century B.C. His most famous work is his Antiquatates Romanae. (Harper)

Page 141, Lines 28-29. In spite of Tate's statement of his source, the passage is taken direct from Horace, as can be seen by the following extracts. The first excerpt is simply the opening line of Horace's Fourth Satire, a latter part of this section from Horace having just been quoted above by Tate. Satire IV commences with

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae atque alii. (op. cit., I, iv, 1.)
The meaning, of course, is "Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes, genuine poets." Horace then continues with "si quis..." as quoted by Tate, lines 23-25. The other excerpt is from the Ars Poetica (op. cit., line 281):

\textit{Sucessit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa laude}....

Fairclough's translation is "To these succeeded Old Comedy, and won no little merit." (op. cit., pp. 473, 475.)

Page 141, Line 28. Eupolis: a writer of the Old Attic Comedy. As Tate says, Eupolis attacked the major vices of his time, no matter what important Athenian might be involved. (Harper)

Cratinus: another writer of the Old Attic Comedy. His diatribes, by means of his satiric comedies, were successful in causing many ameliorative changes in Athenian law. Several public officials who had embezzled public funds were removed from office and punished as a result of Cratinus's fearless attacks. At the same time Cratinus was a confirmed drunkard and was so intemperate in his drinking, a fact attested by contemporary authorities, that he died at the age of ninety-seven. (Harper)

Page 141, Line 29. Aristophanes. The comedies of Aristophanes contained attacks on almost every vice and folly of the time.

Page 141, Line 33. ridiculing. Travesties of the Hellenic mythology were a part of the Old Attic Comedy. (Nicoll, op. cit., p. 25.) Moreover the weakening of the democratic form of government resulted in regulations prohibiting the complete freedom of speech (Mantzius, op. cit., I, 109), but these reasons, as Tate presents them, were not the real reasons for the downfall of the Old Attic Comedy. The genuine cause was that these plays cost considerable sums for production, and after the Peloponnesian War, the economic conditions were so bad that there wasn't enough money left to produce these plays. (Harper)

Page 141, Line 30. technē: "a trick," or "subterfuge."

Page 142, Line 2. laws to restrain: based on Horace (Ars Poetica, op. cit., ll. 282-3), which reads,

...sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim dignam lege regē:
The translation by Faireclough (op. cit., p. 475) is 
"...but its freedom sank into excess and a violence 
deserving to be checked by law."

Page 142, Lines 3-5. This passage continues from the above 
extract from the Ars Poetica (op. cit., lines 283-4), 
the text being as follows:

...lex est accepta chorusque 
 turpiter obticuit sublato lure nocendi.

Faireclough's rendering (loc. cit.) is "The law was 
obeyed, and the chorus to its shame became mute, its 
right to injure being withdrawn."

Page 142, Lines 6-8. Tate is now quoting from Horace's 
Epistle to the Emperor Augustus (op. cit., II, 1, 148- 
150), and since he has again garbled the quotation 
the correct Latin is given:

...donee iam saevus apertam 
in rabilem coepit verti icon et per honestas 
ire domos impune minax.

This excerpt is translated by Faireclough (op. cit., 
p. 409) to read "...till jest now growing cruel, was 
turned to open frenzy, and stalked amid the homes of 
honest folk, fearless in its threatening."

Page 142, Lines 10-12. Tate omits a few lines from the above 
mentioned Epistle and then selects another extract, this 
time from lines 152-154. Since the text is again 
corrupt, the correct Latin is given:

...quin etiam lex 
poeanaque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam 
describi....

Faireclough's translation (loc. cit.) reads "...and at 
last a law was carried with a penalty, forbidding the 
portrayal of any in abusive strain."

In the above passage Horace has reference to the 
Roman law which put an end to the licentious Fescennine 
processions, nor has he made any allusion to the 
Athenian stage or the Athenian laws. It may be of some 
interest to speculate whether Nahum Tate mis-read 
his source, or whether he deliberately utilized the 
Horatian account as proof of the decline of the Old 
Attic Comedy. Horace's Epistle to Augustus, a patriotic 
opus, contains a fairly long description of the origin 
and development of Roman drama. Yet Tate, after 
quoting the above excerpt, says "Upon this Regulation 
succeed the Media and Nova Comedia," i.e., the so- 
called Middle and New Comedy of the Athenians.
Since Horace is presenting an account of the rise of Latin drama from the Bacchanalian rites, Tate has no justification for drawing his above-stated conclusion from the lines in Horace's Epistle.

Page 143, Lines 16-20. Martial. Martialis Valerius lived from 43 to 104 A.D. (Harper) The following Latin text is taken from the Loeb Classical Library printing of Martial's *Epigrams*, edited by W.C. Ker:

Mentiris iuvenem tinctis, Laetine, capillis,
 tam subito corvus, qui modo cygnus eras.
non omnes fallis; scit te Proserpina canum:
personem capiti detrahet illa tuo.
(Book III, Epigram xliii.)

Ker's translation is as follows:

You falsely ape youth, Laetinus, with dyed hair,
so suddenly a raven who were but now a swan.
You don't deceive at all; Proserpine knows you
are hoary: she shall pluck the mask from off your head.


Page 144, Line 8. *larger Mouth*: Aulus Gellius, a Roman grammarian of the second century A.D., in his *Noctes Atticae*, V, 7, states that the mouth of the mask was arranged so as to intensify the sound of the actor's voice. (Harper)

Page 144, Line 10. Lucian: the famous cynic, author of *The Dialogues of the Dead*. He lived in the second century A.D. The work cited here is *De Saltatione*, which, as the title indicates, deals with the art of pantomime. (Harper)

Page 144, Line 9. *Hiare*: the infinitive, meaning "to open."

Page 144, Line 11. *Larva*: i.e., "The mimic mask was a beautiful one, but did not gap open so much as the masks of the tragedians."

Page 144, Line 16. Servius: Servius Marius Honoratus, a Roman grammarian of the fourth century A.D. who composed an elaborate commentary on *Virgil*. (Harper)

Page 145, Line 9. Lares: the household gods of the Romans. The spirit of a sinful person was called a *Larva*. (Harper)

Page 146, Line 20. **Least Reputation.** Dryden, Edward Howard, and Shadwell were very contemptuous about the new theatrical vogue. Their prologues and epilogues contain much satire against farce writers. For a discussion of the attitude of the Restoration writers on this topic, see Lee Hughes, *Philological Quarterly*, op. cit., XIX, 268-287.

Page 146, Lines 20-33. Tate is here repeating much of the preface to the 1685 edition of *A Duke and No Duke*.

Page 147, Lines 20-25. Although the source is not mentioned, Tate is again quoting from the *Ars Poetica* (op. cit., ll. 220-4), the text being as follows:

*Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
mox etiam agrestis Satyros nudavit et asper
incolumi gravitate locum temptavit, eo quod
illecebris erat et grata novitate morandus spectator.*

The passage is translated by Fairclough (op. cit., p. 469) as follows:

The poet who in tragic song first competed for a paltry goat soon also brought on unclad the woodland Satyrs, and with no loss of dignity roughly essayed jesting, for only the lure and charm of novelty would hold the spectator.

Satyric drama was not, as Tate explains it, a type of comedy; instead, it was very closely connected with tragedy. Although the Satyric drama was performed as a fourth play after a trilogy of tragedies, it was still older than regular tragedy.

Page 147, Line 26. **Madam le Fevre.** The reference is to Madam Anne Lefebre Dacier (1651-1720), the prominent French translator of not only the Iliad and the Odyssey, but also the comedies of Plautus. She was embroiled in the War of the Ancients and the Moderns; in fact, it was her translation of the Iliad which was attacked for the purpose of showing that there was little material of genuine value in Homer. (E. Abry, P. Crouzet, and C. Audic, *Histoire illustree de la Litterature Francaise*, Paris, Henry Didier, 1930, pp. 302-306.)

Page 147, Line 28. **Lucilius.** Caius Lucilius, the Roman satirist, lived in the second century B.C. (Harper)

Page 147, Line 29. **business.** Tate's distinction between the Satyr play and the modern definition of satire as a literary form is correct. The Satyr play was an after-piece.
Page 148, Lines 1-2. Tate quotes again from the Ars Poetica (op. cit., 11. 225-8), the complete sentence reading as follows:

Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces
conversis satyris, ita mentes acu, ita
neregali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
remiget in obscuras humilis aequor, tabernas.

The translation (Smith and Parks, ed. cit., p. 121) is as follows:

It will nevertheless be proper to introduce these banterers and loose spoken satyrs, and to pass from serious matters to merry, provided that no god or hero brought upon the stage shall, though seen but a moment before in regal gold and purple, depart into dingy taverns amid low conversation.

Page 148, Line 14. Another sort. By linking the mime and the Pantomime together, Tate confuses two distinct types of dramatic activity. The Roman mime embraced a wide scope. It set out "to imitate." Hence the productions contained dances, in which the mythological deities were mimicked, and thus mocked and satirized; dialogue, in which social customs were burlesqued; and impersonations, in which living people were parodied, and thus ridiculed. On the other hand, Pantomime is the art of interpretive dancing. In Rome this form was an outgrowth of the mime. The Latin words for the actors of each type may further illustrate the distinction: an actor of regular plays was called a histrion, a performer of the mimes was known as a mimus, and a dancer of the pantomime was listed as a saltator. (Nicoll, op. cit., pp. 80-92, 131.)

Page 148, Line 21. Strabo: the famous Greek geographer. He lived from about 63 B.C. to about 21 A.D. Tate is citing from the fifteenth book of Strabo's treatise on geography. (Harper)

Page 148, Line 22. magodian: i.e., "of the magicians."

Page 148, Line 23. Praestigia: the praestigiatores, who were acrobats, tumblers, jugglers. (Nicoll, op. cit., p. 85.)


Page 149, Line 10. Scaliger: Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), the great Renaissance literary critic.
Page 149, Line 13. Cassiod: Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, the distinguished statesman of the late Roman Empire, who lived from 460 to 525. (Harper) Tate is quoting here from the Variarum Libri, a collection of official documents.

Page 149, Line 34. Aristophanes. The dramatist Thomas Wright made a similar attempt to prove that the comedies of Aristophanes were farcical. The following extract is taken from Wright's dedication to The Female Vertuoso's (1693):

I shall only take notice to Your Lordship, That the nice and more judicious sort of Criticks, whose Approbation only a Writer should value, have observ'd, That my Vertuoso's stretch in their Projects beyond the Limits of Nature and Reason; I do here, with the Candour of an Author not yet harden'd in the vicious habit of Scribbling, freely own it appear'd so to me, at first; but having, besides some modern Poets, Aristophanes for a Pattern, I thought that what diverted the Ancients, might meet with some Indulgence from our English Audience. I am sure, the Athenians could laugh to see no less a Man than Socrates expos'd upon their Stage, (here Wright inserts a footnote reading, "See The Clouds, Act 2. Scene 2.") for contriving a ridiculous way to measure the Jump of a Flea. (As quoted by Hughes, op. cit., XIX, 287.)

There were yet other efforts made to prove that the farce was an established literary form in the classical Greek period. In the preface to Penelope (London, 1728), the writer says, "...and the English Translator of the Eighteenth Book of the Odyssey says, it may be thought that HOMER is the Father of another kind of Poetry, I mean the Farce."

Page 149, Line 32. Palliatae. A Roman comedy adapted from the New Greek comedy was called palliata, after the Greek pallium, or cloak. (Harper)

Page 150, Line 1. Virtuoso: Shadwell's comedy, acted May, 1676 at Dorset Garden. Ironically enough, Shadwell was a believer in regular comedy and attacked farces in both the prologue and Act I, scene iii, of the play.

Page 150, Line 2. Frog. All of the items mentioned here are features of The Virtuoso, a comedy which was written to satirize the pretensions and experiments of the members of the Royal Society.
Aristophanes' comedy The Frogs contained a parody of Euripides' dramatic practices. The Rehearsal, prepared by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Thomas Sprat, Samuel Butler, and Martin Clifford, acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane on December 7, 1671, was a burlesque on the dramatic methods of Dryden, the Howards, and other writers of heroic tragedy. (The Rehearsal, ed. Montague Summers, London, 1916.)

Fletcher's Knight: The Knight of the Burning Pestle (ca. 1609), generally ascribed to Beaumont and Fletcher. In Tate's time most plays in which Fletcher had some part were accredited to both Beaumont and Fletcher. In this passage, however, Tate assigns The Knight to Fletcher, whereas a majority of modern scholars agree to the belief that Francis Beaumont was the author of this burlesque. (Oliphant, loc. cit.)

Amphitrio: Plautus's adaptation from the Greek, itself adapted some thirty-six times down through the centuries.

They were...Originals. The Neoclassic writers were aware of the Latin sources for The Comedy of Errors.

From the Ars Poetica (op. cit., ll. 241-2). This is the fourth time that Tate has quoted these lines, once before in Latin and twice from Roscommon's translation.

Neat Terence: the apt tag from Ben Jonson's dedicatory verses to the 1623 Folio of Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies (London, 1623), ll. 52-53.

Waster. There is plenty of evidence from late seventeenth century writers to show that at that time Jonson was generally considered the greatest English writer of comedies. Tate's remark that Jonson "scorn'd not to copy from the Ancients" is an amusing item of understatement, since Jonson's two tragedies are mosaics of quotations from the ancients, and most of his verse consists of paraphrases from the works of the classic Roman authors.

The allusion is to Act IV, scene iv, lines 53-96, of Jonson's comedy The Alchemist (1610).
Page 151, Line 24. Paenulus: Poenulus, a comedy by Plautus. The passage cited by Tate is historically famous, for scholars disagree on the translation of this extract written in Phoenician in the original play. (Harper) Jonson borrowed heavily from the works of Plautus. The Case is Altered is based on two Plautine comedies, and Epicoene and Every Man In His Humour depend considerably on the plays of Plautus.


Page 152, Line 5. The Cutter: The Cutter of Coleman-Street, by Abraham Cowley, first written and acted in 1641 as The Guardian, but revised and acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields, December 16, 1661, under the new title. (Summers, The Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., pp. 227-230.) Tate comes much closer to defining farce by means of illustration in this and the two following examples than he has achieved by explication. An examination of the dramatis personae of Cowley's play will not show any character named Remembrancer John. Tate is, however, alluding to a definitely farcical scene in the play. The fop Puny and his companion clown, Worm, have overheard Colonel Jolly mention that he had an absent-minded brother who had extensive commercial holdings in the West Indies. These two clowns (acted by Nokes and Sandford) decide on a trick to deceive Colonel Jolly and get some easy money. The supposed merchant-brother is impersonated by Worm, and Puny enacts the role of the servant—Remembrancer John. The former orders his servant to write down everything that happens, so that whenever the allegedly absent-minded Worm needs any information he can call upon his "remembrancer." Of course, Colonel Jolly is not at all fooled and promptly sets up a counter-plot, whereby two of his own servants disguise themselves to imitate the merchant brother and faithful servant. When these latter frauds enter the room, Puny and Worm at once become panic-stricken and try to escape, admitting that they were charlatans, and believing the other pair to be the true merchant and helper. Colonel Jolly good-naturedly allows them to depart unscathed, whereupon Cowley makes the bully Cutter say, "Your farce was not right methinks at the end...." That is, Worm and Puny do not get soundly thrashed for their trick. Hence one might assume that the conventions of the farce required a thwack on the rump for the rascals who got caught in their knavery.
Page 152, Line 6. *East India Gentleman*: a reference to Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-All; or, The Feign'd Innocence* (1667). This play has a history somewhat parallel with *A Duke and No Duke*, for it is Dryden's revision of the amateur dramatist the Duke of Newcastle's adaptation of Molière's comedy *L'Etourdi*, itself a series of short farces based on the Italian *commedia dell'arte*. The scene which Tate cites occurs in Act V, where Sir Martin plays the part of Anthony, old Moody's son, who has been absent for many years as a merchant in the East Indies. Sir Martin, though carefully coached, says the wrong thing every time, with the result that his imposture is soon detected. At the end Moody finally beats the impersonator with two cudgels.

Page 152, Lines 7-10. *the Tryal Scene*. Here Tate is alluding to Act V, scene ii, of Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar*, particularly lines 264 to the end of the scene. Gomez becomes frightened by the Colonel and so contradicts himself that he is soon dismissed as a liar. Note the close similarity of these three scenes which Tate has cited as examples of farce.


\[
\text{Sunt enim longe venustiora omnia in respondendo quam in provocando. Accedit difficultati, quod elius rei nulla exercitatio est, nulli praecceptores. (Book VI, iii, 14-16.)}
\]

Butler's translation (*loc. cit.*, II, 445) is as follows:

For wit always appears to greater advantage in reply than in attack. We are also confronted by the additional difficulty that there are no specific exercises for the development of humour nor professors to teach it.

Page 152, Line 22. *English Maecenas*. Does Tate mean Charles II?

The Prologue

Page 153, Line 11. Islington: "One of the North suburbs of London, lying North of Clerkenwell. Until the 19th century it was a rural village quite separate from the City. It was a favorite place for outings with the citizens. A reservoir was constructed there in 1613. Cf. the title page of Middleton's Triumph of Truth, 'The running stream from Amwell Head into the cistern at Islington.' " (Sugden)


Page 153, Line 12. Erra Pater: a term very often used to designate a fabulous old astrologer, whose supposed name thus figured on the titles of almanacs. Thus an Erra Pater came to mean the almanac itself, and is often found in this sense. (Montague Summers, ed., The Complete Works of William Congreve, London, 1923, II, 148.) The name is often found in the works of the seventeenth century writers. In Thomas Randolph's The Muses Looking Glass is the following allusion: "...henceforth I vow Talmud, Albumazar, and Ptolemy, With Erra Pater shall no gospel be." (Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, London, 1875, II, 566.) Massinger uses the expression even earlier in his City Madam (ca. 1619): "...and the everlasting Prognosticator, old Erra Pater." (II, ii, 88.) Samuel Butler applies the term to William Lilly in Canto I, lines 119-120 of Hudibras: "In Mathematics he was greater Than Tycho Brahe or Erra Pater."

Page 153, Line 17. Mutton: "loose women, prostitutes." (NED) Elizabethan and Restoration dramatists were inordinately fond of puns on this word.

Page 153, Line 18. Vizard Masks. "Throughout the literature of the Restoration," states Montague Summers, "there is no commoner term for a whore than 'vizard-mask' or 'mask,' especially for a bona roba who plies her recognized province, the theatre." (Restoration Theatre, op. cit., p. 85.) Earlier in the Restoration many respectable women wore masks while attending the theatres, but within a few years the word acquired the meaning given above. Almost every other one of Dryden's prologues and epilogues contained an allusion in the pejorative sense to the vizard masks.

Page 153, Line 20. Horns. The widespread association of
the word *horns* with cuckoldry brings up an interesting problem in semantics, for the word meaning *horn* in many other languages also signifies cuckoldry. There also exists a close association between this term and names for capons and goats. To list some examples, one can cite the Spanish word *cabron*, which means both "he-goat" and "cuckold." Then there is the Italian *becco*, which contains both meanings, as well as the Turkish word *ghidi*, again bearing both denotations. Of particular interest is the German *Hahnerei*, which means both "capon" and "cuckold." In considering the semasiological aspects of these expressions, Lucas maintains that the words *horns* and *cuckold* may have originally carried implications of mere stupidity. *(The Works of John Webster, ed. cit., I, 206-207.)* He cites the French phrase "mettre les cornes a un enfant," which means the putting of two paper horns behind a dunce's ears, and also the Latin meanings of *cucurbita*, which in late Latin signified cuckold, but in earlier Latin simply denoted a blockhead. See Coleridge's very interesting commentary on the Forester's Song in *As You Like It*.

**Page 153, Line 24. New Wells:** "In Surrey, 15 miles S.W. of London. Famous for its mineral Springs containing Magnesium sulphate, or Epsom salts." *(Sugden)* There is a passage in Killigrew's *Parsons Wedding* (1664) which will serve as a commentary on lines 24-26 of the prologue: "...travelling to the Epsoms, Burbons, and the Spaws to cure those travelled diseases these Knights-errant have sought out for you," *(Act V, scene iv), i.e., the venereal diseases.*

**The Persons**

**Mr. Wiltshire.** John Wiltshire was a very popular actor for a few years. He commenced acting in 1678, but he left the stage not long after the production of *A Duke and No Duke* to become a captain in the army, then in action in Flanders. Colley Cibber *(Apology, op. cit., ch. 3)* maintained that Wiltshire was killed in his first engagement, but Summers *(Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., p. 529)* offers proof to show that Wiltshire survived the wars and returned to England. There is a record of Wiltshire's performing at the Lincoln's Inn Fields about December of 1697. Wiltshire acted Kent in Tate's popular but atrocius adaptation of *King Lear*.

**Mr. Carlile.** James Carlisle, or Carlile, joined the Duke's Company sometime before the Union of 1662. Evidently he was quite young when he commenced his theatrical career, for Downes says, at the time of the Union, "Note, Mr. Monfort and Mr. Carlile, were grown to the
The maturity of good Actors." (Roscius Anglicanus, op. cit., p. 39.) The account in the DNB records that Carlile acted only in minor roles, evidently overlooking his part in this very popular play by Tate. Early in 1685 he joined the army and became a captain. In 1889 he returned to London and to theatrical circles with his comedy, The Fortune Hunters: or, Two Fools Well Met, produced at Drury Lane in the same year. (Borgman, The Life and Death of William Mountfort, op. cit., pp. 51-2.) He was killed at the Battle of Aghrim in Ireland on July 12, 1691. (DNB)

Mr. Gillo. Thomas Gillo, or Gillow, entered the Duke's Company sometime prior to the Union of 1682. He may have joined the Company as a boy actor as early as 1675. (Downes, op. cit., p. 35.) He acted in several of Tate's plays, taking the role of Gloster in King Lear, playing the popular part of Captain Seagull in Cuckold's Haven, in addition to the role of the Governor in Tate's adaptation of The Island Princess. He died on May 31, 1687. (Borgman, op. cit., p. 23.)

Alberto: i.e., the Lord Machavil in Cokayn's play.

Mr. Williams. Joseph Williams was an important actor of the period. He entered the Duke's Company about 1673 as a boy. (Downes, loc. cit.) He played leading roles from 1680 to his last performance in December, 1705. He created the role of Polydore in Otway's Orphan (1680). (Summers, Playhouse of Pepys, op. cit., pp. 108, 142.)

Mr. Lee: The leading role in Tate's play was undertaken by Anthony Leigh, one of the most famous and most important comic actors of English dramatic history. He acted on the Restoration stage from 1672, as Pacheco in Arrowsmith's comedy The Reformation, until his death in 1692. He created the part of Crack in Crowne's well-known play, Sir Courtly Nice (1685), as well as the role of Dominic, the friar in Dryden's The Spanish Friar, to name only a few of his best parts. (DNB) But Anthony Leigh is of more significance in the history of English drama than is usually accredited to him, for he and Nokes were responsible for a considerable change in the nature of Restoration comedy. It is, of course, a well known fact that after 1676 there was a change from the brilliant wit of the Comedy of Manners into two distinct types of comedy: the first was the sentimental play and the other was the slapstick, or pantomime comedy. Many explanations have been offered for the rise in popularity of this latter genre. John Palmer, in his Comedy of Manners (London, 1908), presents one cause for the development
of both types: the general breakdown of the intellectual awareness and appreciation of the English audience. Nicoll, however, suggests an entirely different reason for the rising popularity of the pantomime: the appearance of French commedia dell'arte troupes in England. Although both of these explanations are correct to a certain extent, there is yet another cause. Nokes and Leigh were great mimics. Since their style of acting was suited for the plays introduced by the French and Italian comedians, they specialized in enacting such roles as are emphasized in farce plays. When the farces became popular through the performances of these two actors, the other comedians began to imitate this new style. In other words, Nokes and Leigh changed the method of interpreting comic roles in their own time, just as David Garrick was to reform the style of presenting comic parts in the middle of the next century. For a full discussion of this hypothesis, see Hughes (English Farce in the Restoration, op. cit., ch. iv.).

Mr. Percivall: Thomas Percival was an early member of the Duke's Company. He acted for many years, chiefly in minor parts. In 1693 he was arrested for "clippine," and was reprimed from the gallows by the Queen's approval of the petition submitted by his daughter, Susannah Percival Mountfort. (Borgman, op. cit., pp. 8, 172.)

Mrs. Currer: Elizabeth Currer joined the Duke's Company about 1673. (Downes, op. cit., p. 35.) She soon became a prominent actress, playing many leading roles, such as Eugenia in Ravenscroft's London Cuckolds (1681) and other light comic parts. (Summers, Restoration Theatre, op. cit., pp. 113, 150, 187-8.)

Mrs. Percivall: Susannah Percival Mountfort Verbruggen was born in 1667, and before the Union of 1682 was already an actress in the King's Company. In 1686 she married the famous and ill-starred actor William Mountfort, who was murdered by Captain Hill and Lord Mohun when they attempted to abduct Mrs. Bracegirdle in December, 1692. Her entire acting career extended from 1681 to 1703. (Borgman, op. cit., pp. 10, 24, 132ff.)

Mrs. Twiford: Elizabeth Twiford's most famous role was that of Emilia in Sir George Etherege's Man of Mode (1676). She acted for many years in both the Duke's Company and the United Company.

I, i.

Outer stage.


Page 156, Lines 39-46. The printer of Q2, in setting up the speeches addressed to Lord Barberino in italic, certainly makes the text much clearer by this device.

Page 157, Line 54. Bulls. Tate changes Cokain's Hircanian Tigers to bulls.

Page 157, Line 55. I'll fido: i.e., the faithful Trappolin.


Page 157, Lines 66-67. A passage which recalls Falstaff's defense in 1 Henry IV, ii, 16-17, "'tis no sin for a man to labour in his vocation."

Page 158, Lines 95-96. Here Tate makes Trappolin an entirely contemptible person, a distinct change from the method of the earlier play, where Trappolin is shown as a carefree scamp, but no villain.

Page 160, Lines 148-152. Horatio's response is in the style of the heroic plays, illustrating the extravagant aspects of this type of rhetoric.


I, ii.

A Desart: outer stage. This is the only scene in the play not located in Florence.

Page 163, Line 9. Friar. This jibe at Roman Catholicism is, of course, the adapter's own contribution.

Page 163, Line 11. compendious: "direct, economical." (NED)

Page 163, Line 13. Music. Here, and throughout the scene, Tate has introduced sound effects to make the scene more realistic.

Page 165, Lines 69-78. This incantation is Tate's own contribution.

Page 165, Line 75. Chare. This spelling developed regularly in British English from Old English cerr, cierre, a masculine, i stem noun. The American English form is chore. (NED)
Page 165, Line 78. **sink down.** One of the trap-doors of the outer stage is now utilized to produce a realistic effect. Trappolin is dropped through this trap into the cellar beneath the apron and there changes into the robes of Lavinio, a device which certainly makes the metamorphosis of Trappolin into a duke more probable to the audience. Tate employed the same device in Act V of his heroic tragedy, *Brutus of Alba* (1678). From the number of such traps utilized in plays like the operatic versions of *The Tempest* and *Macbeth*, it appears that the apron stage was practically honey-combed with trap-doors. Steele ridiculed this practice in *Tatler*, No. 99, November 26, 1709. (Summers, *Restoration Theatre, op. cit.*, pp. 239-247.)

I, iii.

**Outer stage.**

Page 167, Line 10. **Artless Beauty.** The entire passage indicates the contemporary trend of placing emphasis on 'virtue in distress,' a tendency that was manifesting itself in the pathetic tragedies of Banks, and, later, in the 'she' tragedies of Rowe. For a full discussion of this trend see T.M.H. Blair's edition of Banks' *The Unhappy Favourite* (New York, 1939, pp. 8-49). The significant point in the passage at hand is that the Neoclassicist Tate is using the expression 'Artless Beauty' as an encomium.

Page 168, Line 15. I gave my heart before I knew his Vices. This statement sounds like a line from a nineteenth century melodrama.

Page 168, Line 16. reclaim him. The belief in a woman's power to 'reform' a depraved man is presented here nearly twelve years in advance of Colley Cibber's exploitation of this theme in *Love's Last Shift* (January, 1896).

Page 168, Line 34. **Pomp of Nature.** The contradictory points of view contained in these speeches become especially marked as Tate returns to the Augustan attitude of "Pomp of Nature."

Page 169, Line 42. will not be deny'd. In the Introduction (pp. cxxi ff.) it was shown that Tate introduced a rape without any justification from his sources into his adaptations of *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, and *The Island Princess*. Here, in his alteration of Cokain's comedy, he again inserts such a scene without any foundation or suggestion from his source.
Page 170, Line 59. *his voice.* Tate now makes a considerable blunder in dramatic technique through allowing Lord Barberino to say that he hears the Duke's voice. The metamorphosis of Trappolin to a duke is a difficult feat to achieve in so far as credibility is concerned. By dressing Trappolin in the robes of Lavinio a certain measure of reality could be attained. But even the most unsophisticated member of the audience could not believe that Trappolin, thus disguised, would possess the same voice as Lavinio. Cokain avoided this difficulty by omitting any allusion to the voice of either character. But Tate, even though he used an effective device in letting Trappolin emerge through the trap-door dressed like the Duke, destroys this illusion of actuality by the inadvertent reference to the voice of Lavinio.

Page 171, Lines 81-82. What's become? This passage is an excerpt from Cokain's play, but Tate has forgotten that in revising the opening part of the play he let Lavinio issue the order of banishment, thus leading to a contradictory situation; that is, the Cokain Lavinio did not know Trappolin had been banished, whereas the Tate Lavinio did know it, and as a result is not entitled to ask this question.

Page 172, Lines 100-108. In this speech, which is Tate's own contribution, the dramatist inserts political allusions, just as he did in his other adaptations, notably in his mangling of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus.*


I, iv.

This scene can be located much more readily in the adaptation than in the original version. Here Trappolin enters from one of the two side proscenium doors onto the outer stage. Then (line 4) the direction *Enter Brunnetto* is given. This direction meant that a "flat" was drawn and a painted set of a prison was revealed, thus showing Brunnetto at the rear of the inner stage. Prison sets were often used on the Restoration stage. Summers cites eleven plays which required painted sets to show prison scenes. (*Restoration Theatre,* op. cit., pp. 223-4.) Tate had regular prison scenes in his adaptations of *King Lear* and *Richard II.* The most spectacular prison scene in Restoration drama was very probably the duel of Altomar and Gayland in Settle's thriller, *The Heir of Morocco* (London, 1694).
Page 174, Line 23. Bring Chairs. This incident illustrates still further that Trappolin and Brunetto were on the same level, the inner stage, and that Brunetto simply walked out from the painted set representing a jail and joined Trappolin, instead of disappearing and re-entering, as in Cokain's version.

II, i.

Outer stage.

Page 177, Line 3. To the Devil. There are more allusions to the Faust theme in A Duke and No Duke than in Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince.

Page 179, Line 43. Carnal Reason. Although Tate omits the scene in Cokain's play which shows Flametta disrobing, he introduces a licentious passage here which has no foundation in the source.

Page 179, Line 47. Language and Deportment was: an illustration of the older usage in agreement with the notional subject rather than then actual compound plural subject.

Page 180, Line 55. Square: "model, standard, or criterion." (NED)

Page 180, Line 59. Second Son: Here Tate begins a contradictory situation as a result of not changing all of the references to Horatio's relation to the Duke of Savoy. Throughout the play Horatio will be called alternately the second son and then the brother of the Duke of Savoy. See the Introduction, pp. cxliv-cxlvi.

Page 180, Line 69. Justice before I have dined. This and the two following lines are very close to Pope's couplet, "The hungry judges soon the sentence sign, And wretches hang, that jurymen may dine." (The Rape of the Lock, Canto III, 11. 21-22.)

Page 180, Line 75. So: a pleonastic construction that practically obscures the meaning.

Page 181, Lines 86-87. Debauch'd. Tate's theory and practice concerning purity of diction again disagree.

Page 182, Line 118. Geneva. Tate, the son of a Puritan, abuses the Puritan in this trial episode as badly as Cokain, who had lost much of his wealth at the hands of the Puritans. Tate's handling of this scene was a popular feature of acting performances of A Duke and No Duke on the eighteenth century London stage.
and several prominent actors of that period undertook the part of the Puritan.

II, ii.

Outer stage.

Page 184, Line 16. As Isabella and her retinue leave, Lavinio walks back to the inner stage.

Page 184, Line 24. **appear**: presumably the same painted set representing a prison scene as in I, iv, since this is another prison scene. Note that the stage directions read "appear" rather than "enter" as in the previous episode. The use of the word appear in this context means that a flat has been drawn, thereby revealing the two counsellors. The word **Grates** in the stage direction is further proof that a special set designed to give a realistic representation of a jail has been erected here.

Page 184, Line 31. **Minute can expire**: more rant of the type made popular in the heroic tragedies.

Page 185, Line 43. **By Heaven!** In the textual notes it has been shown that the oath was deleted from Q2 and the words "A Plot" substituted. This alteration is not without some significance. Many literary historians have a tendency toward over-simplification in their annals by providing a precise date for every trend in literary history. Hence the year 1698, the date of publication of Jeremy Collier's attack on the stage, is set as the time when the general licentious diction of the Restoration drama was checked and altered. If the date of the textual change noted above were subsequent to 1698, the editor would accordingly be supposed to attribute this excision of profanity to the influence of Jeremy Collier. Since the change in the text of Tate's play is dated five years prior to Collier's diatribe, the only logical explanation is that attempts to purify the diction of the drama were being made without the help of Jeremy Collier. The cycle of reaction against the extreme license of the Restoration drama had started, and Collier's essay was but a manifestation of this reaction, not its motivating force.

Page 186, Line 53. **Temper**: here in the older sense of "moderation."

Page 187, Line 69. **Labyrinth**: an allusion to the intricately involved building constructed by Daedalus near Gnossus in Crete for the safe confinement of the Minotaur. (Sugden)
Page 188, Line 101. second Son. It is no wonder that Lavinio is confounded, and probably the audience with him; for no such statement had been made by either the real or the supposed duke. This technical error of plot construction is caused by Tate's following Cokain closely in this episode after having omitted Cokain's scene in which this statement is made by Lavinio to Mattemoros.

Page 188, Lines 106-107. There is an odd error in this sentence in which the violation of the rules of tense sequence obscures the purport of the explanation.

Page 188, Line 111. Lunacy: in its original etymological sense of "moon-madness." (N&D)

Page 189, Line 117. Sexes: not the plural, but the old genitive singular.

Page 191, Line 166. Enter. The scene of action is now the outer stage. The flats have evidently been pulled out, and the prison can no longer be seen; hence Trappolin (line 173) is required to send the Guards after Horatio.

Page 192, Line 186. Alberto passing over the Stage. It is not quite clear whether Tate intends the two counsellors to be seen walking across the balcony above the inner stage, or whether they enter by the rear proscenium door and walk across the back of the inner stage.

Page 192, Line 197. Bona Roba: Still-resolute John Florio's definition is as applicable as any: "It(alien). buonaroba, as we say good stuffe, that is a good wholesome plum-cheeked wench." (N&D) The term, as applied to prostitutes, may be found in many an Elizabethan and Restoration play. Cf. Shakespeare, 2 Henry IV, IV, iv, 2, "Wee knew where the Bona-Roba's were."

Page 193, Lines 215-217. This salacious conclusion to the interview between Trappolin and Isabella is Tate's own contribution, and proves an illuminating commentary on his methods of adaptation.

III, i.

Another jail scene, and Lavinio enters on the inner stage.

Page 194, Line 6. appear. The flats are again drawn, and the two imprisoned counsellors once more appear to the view of the audience behind the grates of the painted set.
Page 195, Line 42. Lavinio now comes upstage to the apron, where Isabella enters (line 46).

Page 197, Line 68. Enter Brunetito. During the conversation between Isabella and Lavinio the flats must have been pulled out, for Brunetto and Prudentia can enter only from the inner stage, unless they were to come out the proscenium door beside Lavinio.

III, ii.

Scene draws: This stage direction clearly places the action on the inner stage. The statement "the scene draws," in Restoration drama, means that the flats are pulled inside the wings, thereby showing the actors on the inner stage, and does not imply any use of the curtain, which would be the meaning of this stage direction in eighteenth century drama. Cf. Odell (op. cit., I, 46-81, et seq.) and Summers (Restoration Theatre, op. cit., pp. 94-149). There were three kinds of flats, and the one intended here is the painted shutter.

Page 199, Line 22. The rest of the scene, in which the Ambassadors interview Trappolin, represents Tate's chief addition to the plot of Cokain's play.

Page 200, Line 36. those Ancients. Here Tate jibes at his own Neoclassic tenets.

Page 201, Line 52. Mornings Draught: a dangerous practice, according to Tope in Shadwell's The Scourers (1690), where Tope says:

I defy mornings Draughts, besides Spirits will brings you from two punds of Beef, to two poatch'd Eggs, trust an experienc'd Drunkard, thou wilt not live out half thy days, if thou tak'st these lewd courses of drinking in a Morning. I have buried two hundred Mornings draught men of my Acquaintance." (Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. cit., V, 90.)

Page 201, Line 66. His only Brother. Here Tate, in an episode of his own composition, makes a technical error in the plot by calling Horatio brother to the Duke of Savoy.

Page 202, Line 78. my Preferment came from the Devil. This is but one of the many passages in the play which would link the play with others, such as Mountfort's, that are in the Faust tradition.
Page 203, Line 98. **his Sister:** another illustration of Tate's nauseous and prurient tone.

Page 203, Line 106. **better Understanding.** The portrayal of drunken clowns was apparently as popular on the Restoration stage as they have been elsewhere.

III, iii.

**Enter Lavinio:** on the outer stage.

Page 204, Line 16. **Enter Trappolin:** from the front proscenium door. He walks back-stage.

Page 204, Line 17. A painted set to represent Isabella's room has been placed on the side of the inner stage.

Page 206, Line 48. **flead:** "flayed."

Page 207, Line 56. **Powder of Post:** *i.e.*, the dust of decayed wood.

Page 211, Line 158. **Pigs-ney:** a term of endearment since Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*. It developed from Middle English *pigges* plus the prosthetic *n* and *eye*. Cf. George Wilkins, *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*, V, 83.

Page 214, Line 220. **Spirits rise.** These actors come from the cellar under the apron through a trap-door. I do not know what "Device" was used. Perhaps one of the "Spirits" slipped a Duke's robe over Lavinio.

**The Epilogue**

**Mr. Haines.** Joseph Haines commenced acting about 1667 and continued until his death in 1701. He was not, however, as noted for his acting as for his speaking of epilogues and prologues. Haines a dubious notoriety in 1697 by rendering the epilogue to Scott's *The Unhappy Kindness* mounted on an ass. (Summers, *Restoration Theatre, op. cit.*, p. 176.) Summers also maintains (Playhouse of Pepys, *op. cit.*, p. 245) that Haines acted Trappolin in the alleged production of Cokain's *Trappolin Suppos'd a Prince* in 1676, though there does not appear to be any documentary proof for this assumption, nor does Summers cite any authority for his belief that Haines acted the part of Trappolin.

Page 217, Line 4. **Whig:** the inevitable political allusion, so frequent in this period.
VICTIMS OF VENEREAL DISEASES WERE SUPPOSED TO LOSE THEIR EYEBROWS AND NOSES. THERE ARE MANY ALLUSIONS TO THIS BELIEF IN ELIZABETHAN PLAYS.

A PATIENT SUFFERING FROM LUSS VENEREA WAS DISCIPLINED BY LONG AND SEVERE SWEATING IN A HEATED TUB, WHICH, COMBINED WITH STRICT ABSTINENCE, WAS FORMERLY CONSIDERED AN EXCELLENT REMEDY FOR THE DISEASE." (SUMMERS, SHAKESPEARE ADAPTATIONS, OP. CIT., P. 264.) CF. MEASURE FOR MEASURE, III, ii, 41, "...SHE HAS EATEN UP ALL HER BEEF, AND SHE IS HERSELF IN THE TUB." ALSO CF. TIMON OF ATHENS, IV, iii, 83-87.

COOK AND LITTLETON: SIR THOMAS LITTLETON (1422-1481) WAS A JUDGE AND LEGAL AUTHOR WHOSE FAME RESTS ON HIS TREATISE ON TENURES, AND HIS TEXT WITH COKE'S COMMENTS LONG REMAINED THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORITY ON ENGLISH REAL PROPERTY LAW. (DNB) SIR EDWARD COKE (1552-1634) WAS A FAMOUS CHIEF JUSTICE. HIS REPUTATION WAS MADE BY HIS INSTITUTES, A COMMENTARY ON THE TENURES OF LITTLETON. THERE ARE MANY REFERENCES TO THESE TWO JURISTS IN THE LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD. THE PHRASE "COOK ON LITTLETON" MEANT A MIXED DRINK. (DNB)

WELLS: WITH THE INEVITABLE DOUBLE ENTENDRE.

GIN: HERE A TRAP, OR SNARE. (NED)

WOODCOCKS: A DUPE, OR GULL, FROM THE PROVERBIAL EASE WITH WHICH THE BIRD (WOODCOCK) IS CAPTURED IN A TRAP OR SNARE. (NED)

THIS PASSAGE, WITH ITS SNEER ON THE CLERGY, WAS DELETED FROM THE 1693 EDITION. IF THIS CHANGE WERE DATED AFTER 1698, ONE WOULD HAVE TO ATTRIBUTE THE EXCISION OF THE SATIRE TO THE REFORMING INFLUENCE OF JEREMY COLLIER. BUT SINCE THE CHANGE WAS MADE FIVE YEARS PRIOR TO THE PUBLICATION OF COLLIER'S FAMOUS ESSAY, ONE CAN ONLY SAY THAT THE "REFORMING" MOVEMENT EXISTED BEFORE COLLIER BECAME ITS LEADING AGITATOR.

SIR GEORGE ETHEERGE, THE FAMOUS DRAMATIST OF THE COMEDY OF MANNERS, WAS BORN ABOUT 1634-5 AND DIED IN 1691. (DNB) THERE EXISTS NO EXTERNAL PROOF TO SHOW THAT ETHEERGE COMPOSED THIS LYRIC, YET IT HAS BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO HIM BY SEVERAL WRITERS.
Page 219. Baptista Draghi, the well-known composer of this period. He was organist for the Queen at the time A Duke and No Duke was produced, and later became Queen Anne's music teacher. (Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. H.C. Colles, New York, 1935, II, 91.) He also aided in arranging the music for Betterton's lavish production of Shadwell's Psyche in 1675. (Summers, Restoration Theatre, op. cit., pp. 231-2.)

Page 221. Mr. King: Robert King was a member of the Royal Band. He composed music for the songs in Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice. (Grove's Dictionary, op. cit., III, 23.)
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