Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author’s right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author’s permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

To request permissions please use the Feedback form on our webpage. [http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback](http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback)

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the [Library Thesis Consent Form](http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz) and [Deposit Licence](http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz).

Masters Theses

The digital copy submitted for examination contains no corrections. The print copy may contain alterations requested by the supervisor.
A Critical Edition of The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours

by

William Cavendish and Thomas Shadwell

Sally Ann Hoare

Abstract

The title-page of the Restoration drama, *The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours* (1677) attributes the work to ‘His Grace the Duke of Newcastle’. However, it has long been recognized that the comedy is the fruit of a collaborative venture between William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle Upon Tyne (1593-1676) and the dramatist Thomas Shadwell (1641-1692). Newcastle was an influential patron to many prominent seventeenth-century playwrights who assisted him with his own dramatic compositions. His collaborator in the case of *The Triumphant Widow*, Thomas Shadwell, was the author of a number of highly successful post-Restoration dramas.

This thesis consists of an old-spelling, critical edition of *The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours*, prepared in broad accordance with modern editorial practices. It includes a Commentary on the play’s text with a full set of annotations. A comprehensive Introduction examines dramatic analogues relevant to the play and its evolution from disparate pieces of text, possibly composed in different decades. I discuss the likely nature of the collaboration between Newcastle and Shadwell and their respective literary interests in relation to *The Triumphant Widow*. My Introduction places the play in its socio-historic context and documents its concern with the erosion of traditional aristocratic codes of civility and sociability. I discuss *The Triumphant Widow* as an exemplar of the way in which stage widowhood is nuanced in Restoration drama to reflect the dilemma of real-life widows who wish to maintain their independence. Several contemporary plays offer a satirical treatment of the ‘poetaster’ figure and I consider the work’s implication in the topical debate concerning attribution, plagiarism and literary property, with particular relation to the dispute amongst Shadwell, Dryden and Settle.

The sub-title of *The Triumphant Widow* signals its incorporation of a medley of dramatic elements, challenging our assumptions about contemporary dramatic form. The comedy’s self-conscious theatricality and distinctiveness warrant our critical attention. The work is known to have been performed at the Dorset Garden Theatre in November 1674 and a
section of the Introduction discusses *The Triumphant Widow* in the context of contemporary methods of stage production.
For James
Acknowledgements

I should like to thank the University of Auckland for their generous grant of a Doctoral Scholarship which enabled me to embark on this project, and for supplying funding to enable me to attend a conference of the Cavendish Society in Sheffield in 2007. I am grateful to the Australian Research Council for their sponsorship of my attendance at two stimulating seminars organised by the Network in Early European Research. My thanks go to Elizabeth Evans of the University of Auckland Library who worked diligently and persistently in the acquisition of exemplars of the quarto edition on my behalf. Adrienne Morris provided skilful technical support and an expert eye for detail in her assistance with formatting the play. I am grateful to Doctor Brian Boyd for his guidance in editing matters and for his comments on drafts, especially in the latter stages of my research. My greatest debt is to Doctor Sophie Tomlinson who became an invaluable mentor in my undergraduate years and has always given generously of her time, knowledge and patience. Her thoughtful comments and astute criticism have always been received with gratitude.
# Table of Contents

Abstract .......................................................................................................................... ii  
Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................ v  
List of Illustrations .......................................................................................................... viii  
Abbreviations ................................................................................................................ ix  
Note on Titles .................................................................................................................. xiii  
Preface ............................................................................................................................. xiv  

## Introduction

The Authors ..................................................................................................................... 1  
The 1677 Edition and its Probable Date of Composition ................................................. 5  
Description of the Copy-text .......................................................................................... 8  
Probable Authorship and the Nature of the Collaboration between Newcastle and Shadwell ......................................................................................................................... 9  
Newcastle's Life as a Writer and his Dramatic Canon ....................................................... 20  
Shadwell's Role as Newcastle's Client and His Early Writing Relevant to *The Triumphant Widow* ......................................................................................................................... 34  

## About the Play:

Setting and Plot ............................................................................................................. 39  
Dramatic Analogues ...................................................................................................... 40  
Characters and Language .............................................................................................. 44  
Footpad and his Rogues ............................................................................................... 47  
Lady Haughty and Widowhood ................................................................................ ..... 50
Country-house Hospitality and Governorship ................................................. 55
Sequestration and Colonel Bounce ............................................................ 58
Shadwell, Dryden and 'Crambo' ................................................................. 62
The Play in Performance ............................................................................ 67
Editorial Procedure ................................................................................... 76
Text of the Play ........................................................................................... 81
Commentary ............................................................................................... 188
Editorial Emendations ............................................................................... 234
Line-end Hyphenations retained from Copy-text ...................................... 240
Collation ..................................................................................................... 241
Bibliography .............................................................................................. 243
Glossarial Index ......................................................................................... 261
List of Illustrations

Page 7  ‘A Pleasante & merye Humor off a Rogue’ (MS Pw V24, fol. 18v), Newcastle’s hand. Reproduced with the permission of the Nottingham University Library.

Page 79  Title-page of The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours
Abbreviations


CSPD  *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*.


| Linthicum | M. Channing Linthicum, Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972) |
| LWC | The Life of Willian Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle: To Which is Added the True Relation of my Birth, Breeding and Life by Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, ed. by C.H. Firth, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1906) |
| Perry, Henry | The First Duchess of Newcastle and Her Husband as Figures in Literary History (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1918) |
| Royalist Refugees | Royalist Refugees : William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648-1660, ed. by Ben van Beneden, Nora de Poorter et al., (Antwerp: Rubenshuis and Rubenianum, 2006) |
| Shadwell, Works | The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. by Montague Summers, 5 vols (London: Fortune Press, 1927). References are to volume, act, scene and page; lines are unnumbered |
Whitaker

Williams


Journals and Electronic Databases

*ELH*  
*ELH, A Journal of English Literary History*

*ELR*  
*English Literary Renaissance*

*HLB*  
*Harvard Library Bulletin*

*HLQ*  
*Huntington Library Quarterly*

*MLQ*  
*Modern Language Quarterly*

*N&Q*  
*Notes and Queries*

*ODNB*  

*OED*  

*RSELC*  
*Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*

*RTSA*  
Works attributed to William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle

**The Country Captaine**  *The Country Captain*, prepared by Antony Johnson; revised by H.R. Woudhuysen (Oxford: Published for the Malone Society by the Oxford University Press, 1999)


**The Phanseys**  *The Phanseys of William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, addressed to Margaret Lucas and Her Letters in Reply*, ed. by Douglas Grant (London: Nonesuch Press, 1956)

**The Triumphant Widow**  *The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours* (London: Printed by J.M. for H. Herringman, 1677)


**Wit’s Triumvirate**  *A Critical Edition of Wit’s Triumvirate: or, the Philosopher*, ed. by Cathryn Anne Nelson (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1975)
Note on Titles

William Cavendish (1593-1676) was created Viscount Mansfield in 1620, Earl of Newcastle upon Tyne and Baron Cavendish of Bolsover (1628), Baron Ogle (1629), Marquess of Newcastle (1643), and Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1665. Application of the Duke’s chronologically appropriate title is thwarted in discussion of events overlapping his tenure of a specific title, or in comments of a retrospective nature. For the sake of clarity I shall refer to William Cavendish variously as ‘William Cavendish’, ‘William’, ‘Newcastle’ and ‘the Duke’, in full awareness that at times these appellations contravene historical accuracy.
Preface

For too long *The Triumphant Widow, or The Medley of Humours* has been consigned to the margins of Restoration dramatic exegesis. Occasionally it is cited as an exemplar of the heterogeneous blend of materials that characterize dramatic works of the 1670s London stage, or invoked in the context of its relevance to the acrimonious disputes of contemporary dramatists. This is a pity because it is a work that has interesting things to offer in terms of its stylistic individuality, aesthetic reach and mode of production. It is the fruit of a collaboration between two of the most prominent figures in their respective cultural circles. As a patron, host, writer and audience member, Newcastle participated for over seven decades in a panoply of popular and élite dramatic forms which equipped him with a rich and comprehensive theatrical vocabulary. Shadwell seems never to have been an ephebe dramatist: he emerged as a writer with a robust artistic vision, the defence of which immediately set him at odds with John Dryden. *The Triumphant Widow* is the product of these men, their histories and their attitudes.

*The Triumphant Widow* tests perceptions of generic orthodoxy by throwing together elements of Jonsonian humoral comedy, debased pastoralism, song, dance and recitation. Understandably, such an eclectic mix has tended to disconcert critics. Allardyce Nicoll calls it ‘a decidedly peculiar comedy’ and draws attention to its ‘strange structure [that] reminds us of the later comic opera’.1 Searching for a more precise generic fix on the work, Robert Hume suggests that *The Triumphant Widow* veers towards ‘proto-ballad-opera’.2 Contemporary theatre-goers were more sanguine - indeed, their avidity for novelty and spectacle became a commonplace of contemporary prologues.3 The play’s heightened proportion of song to dialogue is hardly surprising given that Shadwell and Newcastle were both proficient musicians with a sound knowledge of composition, and in the light of Shadwell’s current

---

3 Exemplified by the Prologue accompanying Elkanah Settle’s *Love and Revenge*, performed at the Dorset Garden Theatre two or three weeks prior to the staging of *The Triumphant Widow*: ‘Plays without Scene, Machin, [sic] or Dance, to hit,/ Must make up the defect of shew, with Wit’ (London: Printed for William Cademan, 1675), sig. b, lines 1–2.
preoccupations. In the 1670s he supported Sir William Davenant’s ambition of founding an English opera and was at the forefront of theatrical innovation, supplying ambitious, semi-operatic productions to the Duke’s Company. Shadwell had recently contributed material to an operatic redaction of *The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island* (perf. April 1674) by Dryden and Davenant and was currently composing the libretto for *Psyche* (perf. February 1675). The latter work was contrived, by his own admission, to provide ‘such variety of Diversion, as will not give the Audience leave to mind the Writing [but] to entertain the Town with variety of Musick, curious Dancing, splendid Scenes and Machines’. Any claim for hermeneutic precocity on the part of the authors should, however, be tempered by an acknowledgement that *The Triumphant Widow* offers a distillation of the performative elements that Newcastle personally most enjoyed: comic impersonation, mock-heroic verse, English ballads, drinking catches and country dancing. Felicitously, at the ripe old age of eighty-one, the Duke found his taste in entertainment aligned with stage fashion.

It needs to be stressed at the outset that *The Triumphant Widow* is a self-consciously theatrical work. Such a statement has the desperate ring of an advocate for a serial killer praising his kindness to his old mother, but John C. Ross insists that Shadwell’s plays ‘act better than they read, and as works devised for theatre, need to be considered in terms of their theatricality’. I believe this critical generosity should be extended to *The Triumphant Widow*. As readers of the text of this play, we need to be prepared to invest more than customary imaginative resources in the interpretation and contribution of these seemingly disparate sub-generic elements to the play’s larger compositional canvas.

---


5 John Crowne’s comédie-ballet, *Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph* had caught the imagination of London’s play-going élite in September 1674.


Commentators have remarked on the double vision of the play: as Carolyn Kephart observes, it is ‘at once old-fashioned and avant-garde; it looks backward to the Caroline comedies of Massinger and Shirley and forward to no less innovative a work than The Beggar’s Opera.\(^8\) We also should acknowledge its continuities with Richard Brome’s Caroline comedies like The Northern Lass and A Jovial Crew, or, The Merry Beggars (1652). These works are interlarded with a similarly high content of song and dance, offer a mixture of social groups and lively colloquial dialogue, and share thematic concerns with The Triumphant Widow. The temporal sprawl of the play’s antecedents can be traced back to the Tudor jest book and Shakespearian pastoral, carried into The Triumphant Widow through Newcastle’s original dramatic fragments.

The play draws on the conventions of Plautine comedy for its preoccupation with the affairs of slyly knowing servants. Yet elements of its dramaturgy—the tableau of rustic characters, the Cook’s passionate recitative of the ‘Battle of the Food’, and the sheer staginess of Footpad’s gallows scene—have correspondences with the Baroque theatrical aesthetic which flourished on the London stage during the 1670s.

The Triumphant Widow stands apart from received concepts of prevailing comic sub-genres: the courtship antics of Lady Haughty’s suitors are not sufficiently developed to categorise the play as one of love intrigue. Haughty declares her commitment to widowhood early in the work and the servants’ courtship scenes are boisterous but uncomplicated. As is often the case with ‘humours’ comedies which commonly privilege action over dialogue, physical bustle and intrigue provide a rudimentary plot, the design of which is not immediately apparent. Upstairs, the courtship of Lady Haughty plays out in a desultory fashion while in the kitchen below her servants and their visitors, quite literally, kick up their heels. Praising The Triumphant Widow as a ‘delightfully subversive play’, Douglas Canfield draws attention to the ‘raucous farce’ of its folk ethic, epitomised in the robust dialogue of the lower orders, and to the abrupt reversal of sympathy in the gallows scene which he rightly likens to a ‘Monty Python response’.\(^9\) But the play has an ebullience that sags at times under the weight of uneven writing, a failure that has probably more to do with Shadwell’s indulgence of his patron’s capricious creativity than to the vagaries of collaborative composition. Even seasoned comedians like James Nokes and Cave Underhill would have struggled to inject life into some

---

of the play’s inferior dialogue, although doubtless in performance such passages were abridged or ad-libbed.

Ironically, in a work that is so thoroughly immersed in the ethics of literary recycling, Newcastle’s 1650s interlude, concerning a plagiarizing poet, is put to work with renewed piquancy in *The Triumphant Widow* in the topical debate over literary property. ‘Personation plays’ targeting recognizable London identities enjoyed a vogue in the late 1660s and early 1670s. The phenomenon can be seen as the logical extension of literary forms of personal invective circulated through the transmission of scribal lampoons, and is unsurprising given the congruity of the pre-eminent figures in Court and London theatrical circles. Shadwell and Newcastle were both charged with caricaturing powerful members of the court circle in separate plays, with unhappy consequences.¹⁰ After Shadwell’s *succès de scandale* with *The Sullen Lovers*, which caricatured Sir Robert Howard as Sir Positive At-all and Edward Howard as the poet Ninny, prominent members of London society were alert to the possible repetition of such mockery. The impunity with which Buckingham ridiculed John Dryden as the poet Bayes in *The Rehearsal* (perf. 1671) may have inspired Shadwell to modulate the anatomisation of Crambo in such a way that those in the know would pick up the connection to Dryden, embedded in certain lines of the play’s dialogue, yet the authors could claim an innocently generic application for the heroic poet role. Whether we think that Dryden is an oblique or central target in *The Triumphant Widow*, we cannot ignore the vicious climate in which such lampoons operated and the interpretative acuity of contemporary audiences.

It is hard not to conclude that early evaluations of Newcastle’s place amongst the genteel amateur writers of the seventeenth century were coloured by scorn for his sponsorship of Margaret Cavendish’s writing, and that the Duchess’s biography of the Duke exacerbated this negative perception. In a scathing linking of Newcastle’s authorship of successful horsemanship manuals to his dramatic ambition, Horace Walpole remarks that the Duke ‘was fitter to break Pegasus for a manage, than to mount him on the steeps of Parnassus […] What a

¹⁰ According to Pepys, the actor, Edward Kynaston, was given a beating after his performance in a play ascribed to Newcastle incurred the wrath of Sir Charles Sedley. See the section of the Introduction dealing with Newcastle’s literary canon.
picture of foolish nobility was this stately poetic couple’. Margaret may have had the last laugh, if a comparison of the number of entries for ‘Walpole’ and ‘Margaret Cavendish’ in any of the past ten years’ issues of The Year’s Work in English Studies can be taken as an index of critical interest. The evaluation of Margaret Cavendish’s dramatic oeuvre was, until relatively recently, clouded by critical preconceptions that equated dramatic authenticity with theatrical viability. After experiencing performances of her plays often, admittedly, to coterie audiences of drama students and Cavendish devotees, audience members agree that live production exposes the full vibrancy of Margaret’s satirical wit in a way that a textual reading fails to convey. William’s drama, on the other hand, was popularly received in its day but has since languished as critical interest in humours comedy tends to taper away sharply after Jonson. Recent reappraisals of Shadwell’s achievement and significance as a Restoration dramatist are indicative of a shift away from reading his works purely in the context of sub-genres, as representative of comedies of ‘humours’, ‘wit’ or ‘manners’. There is now a growing recognition that a number of works staged in the 1670s defy tidy categorisation into artificially imposed generic groupings. We distort an accurate representation of the richly diverse forms of post-Restoration drama if we continue to ignore plays like The Triumphant Widow. Its eclectic form and dated humour count against the play’s full recuperation into modern repertory, yet a new edition of the play offers students and academics, in particular, access to a work of artistic singularity that challenges assumptions about contemporary dramatic form.

---

Introduction

The Authors

The impression of William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne that emerges from his own writing and the testimony of his contemporaries is that he was a man of even temperament, a congenial companion, a lover of celebration, horses and women. He was a man of diverse interests: his curiosity about natural phenomena kindled associations with those at the forefront of scientific enquiry, while his appreciation of architecture gave impetus to ambitious, idiosyncratic building and reconstruction projects. The legacy of his collection of sheet music and musical instruments attests to Cavendish’s delight in a range of musical styles, and the lavish use of music and song in *The Triumphant Widow* is evidence of his eclectic taste. Today Newcastle is chiefly known as the literary mentor of Margaret Cavendish, and for his role as patron to John Ford, William Sampson, Robert Davenport, Ben Jonson, James Shirley, Richard Brome, Elkanah Settle, John Dryden, Richard Flecknoe and Thomas Shadwell.

Newcastle earned the accolade ‘my best patron’ from Ben Jonson, who devised entertainments for performance before Charles I at Cavendish’s country estates in 1633 and 1634. The cost of these entertainments, executed ‘in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of Feasting, as had scarce ever before been known in *England*’, nearly bankrupted Cavendish but eventually secured him the prestigious appointment as sole Gentleman of the Bedchamber in

---


1638 and Governor to the Prince of Wales shortly after.\textsuperscript{4} A letter from the Prince dutifully thanks Newcastle for escorting him to a performance of one of his Governor’s plays at the Blackfriars playhouse some time between 1639 and 1641.\textsuperscript{5}

Newcastle made a substantial loan to the crown of £10,000 and provided a horse troop to staunch the Scottish rebellion of 1639 and in November that year was made a Privy Councillor. His implication in a plot to free the incarcerated Earl of Strafford resulted in the resignation of his appointment as Governor to the Prince. At the outbreak of the first Civil War in 1642 William was appointed Governor of Newcastle upon Tyne and Commander-in-Chief of the King’s forces north of the River Trent. His command concluded in a crushing defeat at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644. Fearing the contumely of the court, he fled England and joined the English court circle in exile on the Continent, where he met and married one of Queen Henrietta Maria’s maids in waiting, Margaret Lucas. As Margaret Cavendish she became one of the most prolific women writers of the seventeenth century. The couple spent sixteen years of the Interregnum in Paris and Antwerp where William founded a riding academy of such a high calibre that it attracted visiting European royalty. Cavendish arranged for the printing at The Hague of his two comedies, \textit{The Country Captaine} and \textit{The Varietie} and composed his ambitious treatise on horsemanship, \textit{La Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de Dresser les Chevaux} (1658). On their return to England after the Restoration, Cavendish was re-appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber but gradually distanced himself from the court milieu. Despite Margaret’s claims to the contrary, Newcastle must have shared the sense of betrayal of those passed over for Court appointments. He retired to Welbeck to set about restoring the ravaged family estates and created a riding school at Bolsover.\textsuperscript{6} In 1661 Henry Cavendish stood proxy for his father at William’s installation as a Knight of the Garter.


\textsuperscript{5} Whitaker, pp. 66-7. The play is not identified, but in 1641 Newcastle’s \textit{The Country Captaine} and \textit{The Varietie} premièred in London. On the basis of content, the latter play seems more suitable for an impressionable young lad.

\textsuperscript{6} According to Lucy Worsley, the Duke’s retirement ‘was not entirely voluntary as William was no longer welcome at court’, ‘Building a Family: William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle, and the Construction of Bolsover and Nottingham Castles’, in \textit{TSC}, 19 (2004), 233-59, p. 246.
The Duke continued to write in his old age, composing a second equestrian treatise, *A New Method, and Extraordinary Invention, to Dress Horses* (1667). Margaret died suddenly in 1673 and William, by now suffering from Parkinson’s disease, did not attend her funeral service. His final literary project was the compilation of a commemorative work to Margaret, *Letters and Poems in Honour of the Incomparable Princess, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle* (1676). After a short illness, the Duke died at Welbeck on Christmas day of 1676. He was succeeded by his son, Henry, Viscount Mansfield.

Thomas Shadwell (1641-1692) dedicated four of his plays to Cavendish in gratitude for the hospitality and patronage that furthered his rise to prominence as a professional dramatist, composing highly successful comedies like *The Sullen Lovers* (1668), *Epsom-Wells* (1672), *The Virtuoso* (1676), *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688) and *Bury-Fair* (1689). We have Elkanah Settle to thank for an indelible sketch of Shadwell’s arrival in the playhouse: ‘no sooner comes a Play upon the Stage, but the first day ’tis Acted, he wallows into the Pit like a Porpoise before a Storm, with the very Prognosticks of ill luck in his Face, and uses all his interest and spight right or wrong to damn it.’  A man of imposing girth, a ready drinking companion and brilliant conversationalist, Shadwell cut an imposing figure on the London theatrical scene. He quickly established himself as a client of the Newcastles and the couple proved to be a long-standing source of support in the early years of his career.

By the early 1670s Shadwell had formed an alliance with the so-called ‘Court wits’, an influential circle that included George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (later sixth Earl of Dorset), Sir Charles Sedley, Sir George Etherege,

---

William Wycherley, and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. Sedley, who returned some part of the proceeds of his comedy, *Bellamira, or, The Mistress* (1687) to Shadwell, was ‘a friend from his youth’ and the mercurial Rochester paid Shadwell the compliment of including him in his exclusive clique of arbiters of taste, in his ‘Allusion to Horace’ (c.1675–6). Shadwell became a particularly close protégé of Buckhurst who supported him during his period of ostracism from the stage after anti-Catholic material in *The Lancashire-Witches, and Tegue o Divelly The Irish-Priest* (1682) caused offence. Shadwell’s satirical treatment of the Catholic clergyman and Anglican chaplain was heavily censored and Shadwell, now aligned with the Whig-supporting faction of dramatists, was effectively banned from the stage for nearly ten years. With the accession to the throne of William and Mary, John Dryden was divested of the laureateship and with the Earl of Dorset’s intervention, supplanted by Shadwell in 1689.

Newcastle was not Shadwell’s sole patron; *The Humorists* (1671) was dedicated to Margaret Cavendish, and upon her death he contributed an elegy to the commemorative volume of letters and poems. Three further comedies by Shadwell: *The Amorous Bigotte: With the Second Part of Tegue O’Divelly* (1690), *The Scourers* (1691) and *The Volunteers, or the Stock-Jobbers* (1693) were mounted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane; the latter posthumously. After two years of serious illness, Shadwell died in 1692. The dramatist’s association with the Cavendish family endured after the Duke’s death. The Dedication of *The Woman-Captain* (1680) to Henry, Lord Ogle, son of the second Duke of Newcastle, refers to the ‘great Obligations’ Shadwell had received ‘from my most Noble Patron, your Illustrious Grandfather, and the favours conferred upon me by your Excellent Father.’

---


11 Judith Bailey Slagle suggests that the political and religious issues in which Shadwell became embroiled were complex and interlinked, see her Introduction to *Thomas Shadwell’s ‘The Lancashire Witches’, and Tegue o Divelly The Irish-Priest* (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 6–14. Receipts of a pension paid to Shadwell by Buckhurst are listed in *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume II, 1625-1700*, ed. by Peter Beal (London: Mansell Publishing, 1993–7), 315–8 (p. 316).


The 1677 Edition and its Probable Date of Composition.

Although the title-page of the 1677 edition of *The Triumphant Widow* attributes the work to ‘His Grace the Duke of Newcastle’, it is widely accepted to be the fruit of a collaborative venture between William Cavendish and Thomas Shadwell. The play was entered into the Stationers’ Register on 27 November 1676 and is listed in *The Term Catalogues* on 12 February 1677, approximately six weeks after Newcastle’s demise. The simultaneous publication in modest form of *The Humorous Lovers* (perf. 1667) and *The Triumphant Widow*, in stitched, quarto format, suggests that Newcastle’s heir, Henry Cavendish, was fulfilling his ailing father’s desire to see both plays printed.

Surprisingly for a play of its era, and given Newcastle’s sensitivity to decorum, the printed edition of *The Triumphant Widow* does not carry a prologue. Neither of his anonymously published Caroline comedies, *The Country Captaine* nor *The Varietie* carries any paratextual material. Two prologues and an epilogue written for *The Humorous Lovers* but not printed with the 1677 edition, survive in British Harley MS 7367, fols 3r-4r. Another unconventional feature of the 1677 edition of *The Triumphant Widow* is the listing of female characters above male ones in the play’s *Dramatis Personæ*, an innovation which is not replicated in any other seventeenth-century edition of Newcastle’s or Shadwell’s plays.

A significant portion of *The Triumphant Widow* derives from two separate dramatic compositions by Newcastle: ‘A Pleasante and Merrye Humor off a Roge’ (henceforth, ‘Merrye Humor’), for which there is an extant manuscript in the Duke’s hand, and ‘The

---

17 According to Pierre Danchin, ‘nine out of every ten’ plays were accompanied by a prologue and epilogue for the forty years after the Restoration (*The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700*, ed. by Pierre Danchin, 2 vols (Nancy: Publications Université Nancy II, 1981-8), I, Introduction, pp. xxiv-xxv). Van Lennep suggests that ‘nearly every new play had a Prologue and an Epilogue written expressly for it; and where either is missing for a new drama, it is likely that one existed at the première but has since been lost’ (*London Stage*, p. cxxxvi).
18 They are reproduced in Danchin, I, pp. 233-7.
King’s Entertainment’, in the hand of his secretary, John Rolleston.19 ‘Merrye Humor’ is believed to have been composed at Antwerp between 1655 and 1660 during Newcastle’s period in exile.20 Its eleven scenes, primarily a framework for song and comic characterisation, cover the escapades of an unnamed rogue who gulls his victims in a variety of disguises. The ‘Merrye’ of the work’s title signals its generic association to the linear narrative framework and low humour of the Tudor jest book.21 Many of the rogue’s exploits – the theft of a pedlar’s pack and ballad singing, fortune-telling as a distraction for pickpocketing, impersonation of a maimed beggar and theft of his victims’ clothes – are retained in The Triumphant Widow. His encounter with a fisherman, pursuit and apprehension are also revived with modifications. The rogue is tried, sentenced to death and hanged but fortuitously, a reprieve arrives in time for him to be cut down and resuscitated.

A second source, Newcastle’s four-scene interlude, ‘The King’s Entertainment’, is reworked in The Triumphant Widow in scenes relating to a poet suffering from creative paralysis, and the Sick Poet, Gentleman and Doctor are recuperated as Crambo, Codshead and the Doctor respectively. ‘The King’s Entertainment’ was believed to have been written for a private function to celebrate Charles II’s triumphal return to London in 1660, but there is no record of the work’s performance.22

19 MS PwV 24/35, fols 18v–31v and MS PwV 23 respectively. For an online description of the collection go to http://longford.nottingham.ac.uk. These manuscripts form part of the Portland (Welbeck) Collection of documents associated with the Cavendish, Holles, Harley and Bentinck families from the Dukes of Portland, Welbeck, held by the Hallward Library at the University of Nottingham. The connection of ‘A Pleasante and Merrye Humor off a Roge’ to The Triumphant Widow was first made in 1933 by Francis Needham, librarian to William Cavendish-Bentinck, sixth Duke of Portland, and published in Needham’s Welbeck Miscellany, I, Bungay, 1933 (cited in DWWC, p. viii).

20 For a transcription of the Duke’s holograph manuscript, see DWWC, pp. 54-91. I am indebted to Hulse’s Introduction to this collection for background material relating to ‘Merrye Humor’.


22 I am indebted to Lynn Hulse, ‘‘‘The King’s Entertainment’ by the Duke of Newcastle’, Viator, 26 (1995), 355–405, for material relating to ‘The King’s Entertainment’. Hulse provides a comparison with corresponding scenes in The Triumphant Widow. All further references to this work refer to Hulse’s transcription (Appendix 1, pp. 387–490).
Description of the Copy-Text

Dyce 6941, held by the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum. (Dyce Collection). Book plate of William Holgate [Bull’s head].

THE Triumphant Widow, OR THE MEDLEY of HUMOURS. A COMEDY,

Book plate Monogram [bull’s head over crest],’William Holgate’ on pastedown.
4to. [A]²; B-N⁴; O² (52 leaves); pagination centred in headline, pp. 1-98 in parentheses.
Contents: A Licensed, Novemb. 27. 1676. | Roger L’Estrange.; A2’ title-page; A2’ Dramatis Personæ; B’ THE Triumphant Widow, OR THE MEDLEY of HUMOURS. | [rule] B’-B4’ (pp. 1-8) ACT I. SCENE I.; B4’- C4’ (pp. 8-15) SCENE II. The Garden.; C4’- F2’ (pp. 16-35) ACT II.; F2’-I’ (pp. 35-58) ACT III.; I’– L3’ (pp. 58-78) ACT IV.; L3’-O1’ (pp. 78-97); [rule] FINIS. | [rule]; O2 Epilogue by Footpad. [rule] Epilogue by Lady Haughty.
Dimensions of single leaf no less than 150mm wide; 220mm high.
Horizontal chains; 9 chains per leaf, 23mm apart. Laid paper, quality unchanging.
Dull, medium finish. No visible watermark.
Number of lines of print per page: 39 (38 plus catchword).
20 line measure = 94mm (e.g. sig. B’).
Probable authorship and the nature of the collaboration between Newcastle and Shadwell

It is now well recognized that concepts of ‘collaborative authorship’ extend beyond the interactions of two or more writers to include larger networks of textual production and consumption.23 The work of Judith Milhous and Robert Hume in attribution studies focused specifically on post-Restoration drama illustrates the extent to which such networks have been subsumed in single author title-page attributions, and *The Triumphant Widow* is such a case.24

Before discussing the likely nature of Shadwell’s involvement in the 1677 edition of *The Triumphant Widow* let us look at evidence of Newcastle’s established habits of literary production. Bibliographic studies of several extant manuscripts supply illuminating evidence of the processes and multiple agents on whom he customarily depended. For example, Timothy Raylor’s analysis of the revisionary procedures applied to Newcastle’s verse tribute ‘To Ben Jonson’s Ghost’ provides a fascinating study of collaborative production and the critically transformative power of a sophisticating scribe, in this case, Robert Payne.25 The manuscript of Newcastle’s academic drama, *Wit’s Triumvirate, or, The Philosopher* (c.1635) bears evidence of a similar distribution of roles: the text is in the hand of Newcastle’s secretary, John Rolleston, while Newcastle and a third hand, provisionally identified as that of Robert Payne,

---


24Milhous and Hume point out that although *The Humorous Lovers* is credited in Harbage’s *Annals of English Drama* to ‘Cavendish with help from Dryden, Shirley, or Shadwell’, nobody attributes *The Old Batchelour* to Congreve and Dryden, although Dryden is known to have ‘fixed up’ the play for production (‘Attribution Problems in English Drama, 1660–1700’, *HLB*, 31 (1983), 5–39 (p. 8).

revise, correct and make additions. Intriguingly, the bulk of the manuscript of *The Country Captaine* (BL Harley MS 7650) was prepared by the unidentified scribe responsible for the only extant manuscript of James Shirley’s *The Court Secret*. The punctuation of *The Country Captaine* was revised and substantive changes made at a later date by a second hand, possibly a more formal version of Hand One, working under authorial supervision. A third hand, identified as Newcastle’s, fine-tunes the manuscript and an additional leaf is in the hand of John Rolleston. The manuscript of the Duke’s comedy, *The Humorous Lovers* (BL Harley MS 7267), bears the hand of a scribe and occasional corrections in a second hand, which also seems to have been responsible for a Latin inscription on the title-page. As Raylor’s exercise illustrates and the above studies of ‘Newcastle’s’ manuscripts confirm, there is a blurring of authorial agency in the overlapping activities of scribes, revisers and editors working on a particular text, in some cases, over a number of years.

William and Margaret Cavendish became patrons of Shadwell some time before May 1668 when Shadwell’s first comedy, *The Sullen Lovers, or, The Impertinents* premièred at the Dorset Garden Theatre. In an Epistle Dedicatory of *The Libertine* (1676) to Newcastle, Shadwell emphasizes the intimacy of their relationship:

But when I had the favour daily to be admitted to your Grace’s more retired Conversation, when I alone enjoyed the honour, I must declare, I never spent my hours with that pleasure, or improvement; nor shall I ever enough acknowledge that, and the rest of the Honours done me by your Grace, as much above my Condition as my Merit.

A bearer of the latest London gossip and entertaining anecdotes of his louche court wit acquaintances and the theatrical world, Shadwell would have been a welcome guest at Welbeck. His propinquity to the Duke is confirmed in the Dedication of *The Virtuoso* (1676),

---


which expresses gratitude for the ‘continual bounty’ of his patron’s hospitality at Welbeck and for the Duke’s encouragement, having read ‘some part’ of the comedy.\textsuperscript{31}

External evidence of Shadwell’s involvement in the 1677 edition of \textit{The Triumphant Widow} comes from a record of the payment of £22 to Shadwell by Newcastle’s steward, for seeing \textit{The Humorous Lovers} and \textit{The Triumphant Widow} through the process of publication.\textsuperscript{32} For testimony that Shadwell was involved in bringing \textit{The Triumphant Widow} to the London stage we turn to a less reliable witness. In a ‘Preface to the Reader’ accompanying his tragedy, \textit{Ibrahim the Illustrious Bassa} (1677), Elkanah Settle complains:

Having a Play, call’d the \textit{Triumphant Widow}, given to him to bring into the Duke’s Playhouse, he [Shadwell] spitefully foists in a Scene of his own into the Play, and makes a silly Heroick Poet in it, speak the very words he had heard me say, and made reflexions on some of the very Lines he had so senselessly [sic] prated on before in his Notes. And the reason he gives for his scurrilous Language in his Preface to the \textit{The Libertine}, was, that I had abused him in a Post-script to \textit{Love and Revenge}, which if I had done, had been but just after his ill usage in that \textit{Triumphant Widow}.\textsuperscript{33}

The ‘Notes’ to which Settle refers is the collaborative critique by Shadwell, Dryden and John Crowne, \textit{Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco Revised} (1674), a work whose significance to the characterisation of the ‘heroick poet’ in \textit{The Triumphant Widow} is amplified in the section relating to Shadwell, Dryden and Crambo. Settle’s \textit{Love and Revenge} was playing at the Dorset Garden Theatre about a fortnight before the staging of \textit{The Triumphant Widow}, and it is possible that he was referring to something he witnessed, either in a rehearsal or during performance.\textsuperscript{34} In support of the imputation of a personal attack on Settle through ‘Shadwell’s interpolations’ in \textit{The Triumphant Widow}, Paulina Kewes selects three of Crambo’s

\textsuperscript{31} Shadwell, Works, III, p. 101.
\textsuperscript{33} Elkanah Settle, ‘The Preface to the Reader’, in \textit{The Preface to Ibrahim}, ed. by Hugh Macdonald (Oxford: Published for the Luttrell Society by Basil Blackwell, 1947). Macdonald claims that British Museum MS C.57.i.50 bears the Preface, with corrections in Settle’s hand, in an extra gathering of four leaves, “(a)”, inserted after “A”, added to a few copies after the bulk of the edition had been sold (p. v). However, the British Museum record relating to C.57.i.50 expressly records ‘No Preface’.
\textsuperscript{34}Van Lennep cites a performance of \textit{Love and Revenge} at Dorset Garden Theatre on 9 November 1674 but there is no indication as to whether this is the première (\textit{London Stage}, pp. 223–4). It is possible, but unlikely, that Settle had access to a scribal copy of \textit{The Triumphant Widow}. 

remarks from three different acts, any or none of which may be relevant to Settle’s claim.\footnote{Kewes, \textit{Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England}, 1660-1710 (Oxford: OUP, 1998), p. 54, n34. Henry Perry suggests that Shadwell’s ‘discretion prevented a printed libel when the spoken word had been found to give offense’ (p. 163).} Without harder evidence, we simply cannot isolate the passage to which Settle refers; however, his outburst registers the conviction of at least one contemporary that Shadwell had significant input into the staged performance of the play. In their invaluable scrutiny of the dating of late seventeenth-century drama, Milhous and Hume cite this anecdote and comment that ‘to play such a prank Shadwell need only have altered a few lines, without Newcastle’s knowledge or consent.’\footnote{Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, ‘Attribution Problems’, p. 35.} They touch on a critical point: given the Duke’s failing health, and his death on Christmas day 1676, it cannot be assumed that he had the strength or desire to review and authorize the material that became the printer’s copy for \textit{The Triumphant Widow} the following January.

Several factors militate against the construction of a methodologically sound analysis of Newcastle’s and Shadwell’s likely contribution to \textit{The Triumphant Widow}. All available evidence suggests that there is no extant full-length drama composed solely by Newcastle and thus we are without an ‘uncontaminated’ text on which to base such an examination. Newcastle’s autograph pieces collected in Hulse’s \textit{Dramatic Works by William Cavendish} are little more than brief fragments, heavily punctuated with song, rendering them poor material for the identification of an authorial thumbprint based on such criteria as preferred pro-nominal forms, auxiliary verbs, contractions, elisions, expletives and so on.\footnote{Cyrus Hoy pioneered the use of such ‘linguistic’ criteria to identify authorship in attributional studies (‘The Shares of Fletcher and his Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon’, \textit{Studies in Bibliography}, 7 parts, vols. 8–15 (1956–62). MacDonald P. Jackson builds on and extends the paradigm in \textit{Studies in Attribution: Middleton and Shakespeare} (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1979). The model has limitations: for example it is not tenable in cases where the work may be a memorial reconstruction (Jackson, \textit{Defining Shakespeare}, p. 139).} These distinctive linguistic features are likely to be obscured by the intervention of a sophisticating scribe, employed in accordance with Newcastle’s customary pattern of literary production described above.\footnote{McMullan notes that ‘intervention by agents other than the collaborating writers [scribes, compositors] may obscure or vitiate the results (‘Our Whole Life’, p. 444).} Identification of the Duke’s personal preferences through autograph manuscripts is hampered by his highly irregular orthographic style, even by mid-seventeenth-century standards. In a review of Needham’s transcription of \textit{A Pleasaunte [sic] & Merrye Humor off A Roge}, W.W. Greg remarks of the Duke’s holograph manuscript: ‘it would not be easy to
collect from a short text such a varied list of apparently sheer bad spellings, often repeated, as from these pages. Newcastle seems determined that his writing shall know no literary ancestry, and some of his tricks of style show a similar revolt."^{39}

In broad general terms, the scenes in \textit{The Triumphant Widow} relating to Footpad and his men, and to Crambo’s poetic disorder, originate from Newcastle’s precursory manuscripts, ‘Merrye Humor’ and ‘The King’s Entertainment’, revised to a greater or lesser extent. Dovetailed into these are new scenes relating to the courtship of Lady Haughty and her women, her visitors’ drunken revelry, and below-stairs life. John Ross cites, without comment, Francis Needham’s conjecture that Newcastle’s contribution to \textit{The Triumphant Widow} ‘was limited to the low life subplot […] and to the scenes involving the revelling and love-affairs of the servants, with Shadwell providing the upper class main plot, roughly three-fifths of the final play’.^{40} Scholars have interpreted Shadwell’s verbatim representation in \textit{Bury-Fair} (1689) of material relating to Justice Spoilwit and Sir John Noddy as the reclamation of his intellectual property (to use the term anachronistically).^{41} Gerald Langbaine, a chronicler indulgent of the peerage, gives Newcastle the benefit of the doubt: ‘This was thought so excellent a Play by our present Laureat that he has transcrib’d a great deal of it in his \textit{Bury Fair}'.^{42} Henry Perry makes the point that there are minor incidents in the scenes concerned that are not common to both plays but ‘are the work of a single hand’, and observes that such ‘knockabout farce’ is not a feature of the Duke’s other writings.^{43} However, the latter part of his argument overlooks Newcastle’s involvement in the composition of \textit{Sir Martin Mar-all} and the brilliantly successful visual antics of its hapless hero. It is highly probable that the comic roles of Noddy and Spoilwit were shaped with particular actors’ slapstick virtuosity in mind.

---

^{39} Bodleian Quarterly Record, 7, 1934, p. 389.  
^{42} An Account of the Dramatick Poets (Oxford: Printed by L.L. for George West and Henry Clements, 1691), p. 387. The corresponding entry for Shadwell commiserates with the dramatist’s difficulty in finding a supply of ‘new Humour’, adding that Shadwell ‘ought to be excus’d, if Old Wit, and Sir Humphrey Noddy, have some resemblance with Justice Spoil Wit and Sir John Noddy; in \textit{The Triumphant Widow}’ (p. 445).  
^{43} Henry Perry, pp. 158-9.
As an explanation supporting a division of the collaborative role, Needham’s argument is appealing: the Duke contributed colourful, low-comedy scenes of the amorous affairs of domestic staff to Margaret Cavendish’s plays. Yet searches conducted through the Chadwyck-Healey Literature Online electronic database brings this conjecture into question. The scenes of quarrelling servants at Act Four, scene two, for example, which Needham’s theory would assign to Newcastle, incorporate colourful terms of abuse that Shadwell uses elsewhere, both before and after the publication of The Triumphant Widow. For example, the uncommon use of ‘Drill’ (IV.2.11), deriving from the baboon species, ‘mandrill’, is instanced in The Humorists as an insult (I, II, p. 208). The only other recorded use in this sense in a work published between 1600 and 1700 is in Richard Flecknoe’s unperformed comedy The Damoiselles à la Mode (pub. 1667): ‘half Bear, half Drill, and all a Beast’ (III.5). Flecknoe, doomed to pass into literary history as a footnote to Dryden’s satire, Mac Flecknoe, was a client and guest of the Newcastles during their period of exile in Antwerp and paid extensive visits to Welbeck after the Restoration. The Damoiselles is dedicated to the pair. It is tempting to conclude that the three rare usages of ‘Drill’ by writers associated with Welbeck is more than coincidental and so affirms the sociable habits of textual production and consumption practised there.

The servants’ malapropisms are linguistically distinctive: ‘Epigram’ (IV.2.36) for ‘epicure’ is reused by Shadwell in The Woman-Captain: ‘Peace you damn’d Epigram!’ (IV, II, p. 30) - a usage not recorded in any other drama printed between 1660 and 1700. Uncommon vocabulary or collocations that recur in Shadwell’s plays suggest at the least, his revisionary presence in The Triumphant Widow. The collocation ‘notable vein’ (I.1.149) is used by Shadwell in The Virtuoso (III, I, p. 109), the only other usage of the phrase recorded between 1600 and 1700. The phrase ‘Love-felony’ (II.1.126) occurs in Shadwell’s The Humorists (I, IV, p. 230) but is not recorded in any other drama between 1600 and 1700. ‘Over-set’ (or ‘overset’) meaning ‘overwhelm’ (V.3.52) occurs in The Humorists (I, III, p. 218), The Virtuoso (III, V, p. 174), and The Volunteers (V, II, p. 186). Of the seven instances of the phrase ‘joy of

44 For example, The Lady Contemplation (1662), in which Lord Title attempts to seduce the self-professed ‘poor, ignorant Country Maid, Mall Mean-bred’ (Act IV, scene 17) in Brown University Women Writers Project <http://textbase.wwp.brown.edu [accessed 26 January 2009].

my heart’ recorded in drama printed between 1640 and 1680, three are usages by Shadwell and one is in *The Triumphant Widow* (II.1.202). The phrase ‘light of’, in the sense of ‘discover’ (III.2.91), occurs in three of Shadwell’s comedies: *The Libertine* (III, III, p. 58), *The Sullen Lovers* (I, IV, p. 57) and *The Woman-Captain* (IV, I, p. 26). The phrase ‘apt to believe’ (V.5.71) is used by Shadwell four times in three other plays: *Bury-Fair* (IV, Epistle Dedicatory; III, p. 339), *The Lancashire Witches* (IV, I, p. 112), *The Royal Shepherdesse* (I, IV, p. 147), and *A True Widow* (III, IV, p. 335); ‘ever while you live’ (III.1.45) appears in *The Humorists* (I, III, p. 221), *Timon of Athens* (III, I.1, p. 200) and *Bury-Fair* (IV, III.1, p. 331).

David Kastan’s ‘webs of engagement’ is an appealing metaphor for the interconnected circles of literary creativity in which Newcastle and Shadwell participated. A particularly diaphanous thread is supplied by Shadwell’s biographer, citing a letter from John Aubrey to Anthony Wood, dated 1671: ‘I am writing a comedy for Thomas Shadwell, which I have now almost finished […] and I shall soon fit him with another, *The Country Revell*.’ John Ross remarks that *The Country Revell, or the Revell of Aldford* (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 21) consists of ‘little more than notes and garments of dialogue. Nonetheless, the tone of the rudimentary drunken scenes is close enough to that of some scenes in *The Triumphant Widow* to suggest that Shadwell might have been drawing upon the earlier play, or upon a draft of this one’. The evidence is too tenuous to associate Aubrey directly with *The Triumphant Widow* and I am more inclined to side with Borgman, who interprets the letter as Aubrey’s intention to prevail on Shadwell’s influence with the management of the Duke’s theatre.

Act Five, scene two of *The Triumphant Widow* offers an interesting case study of the way in which material is reconstituted and transmitted through collaborative authorship. The Justice’s elegy for Mr Murrial’s horse and Crambo’s Latin epigram, ‘Mittitur in disco’ are reused in *Bury-Fair* (IV, I.1, pp. 284-9; 295-301). As Needham implies, Shadwell may have been instrumental in shaping the scene in *The Triumphant Widow* in which this material features, but its genesis can be traced back twenty or more years to one of Newcastle’s autograph manuscripts of the 1640s. ‘The preperation for A feaste’ (MS PwV26, fol. 162) is a list of

46 Kastan, *Shakespeare After Theory*, p. 32.
sketches that Newcastle evidently intended including in an unidentified entertainment but later incorporated into The Triumphant Widow.

a Gentleman [...] in Comendation off raptures
In Poetry, admieringe wher lives the man
that never harde off Didoes Carthage Queen
‘mittetur In disco. heer In a dishe. The divell
was Sick & nedes a munke woulde bee’ [...] with many other to this purpose. (DWWC, pp. 29–30, lines 10-20)

The drunken scene, Act Five, scene two, includes a recitation by Crambo of ‘Mittitur in disco’ and its exposition (lines 39–40; 45-9), the Latin epigram ‘Dæmon languebat, or the Devil was/sick’ (lines 62–3) and ‘Where is the Man that never heard/ Of Dido Carthage Queen’ (lines 72–3; 77–9).

When Sir John Noddy discovers he has been duped in marriage partners, his response: ‘Death and Hell, Furies, Devil, Damnation, Murder’ (V.5.33) mimics the fury of Drybob in The Humorists when his unmasked bride proves not to be the woman he expected: ‘Death, Fire-brands, Devils, Damnation!’ (I, V, p. 251). Plausibly, this could be accounted for simply as Newcastle’s attempt to imitate his client’s earlier work, easily effected in a short sentence but challenging to sustain. There are striking verbal, syntactical and metaphorical parallels between Lady Haughty’s lines at the end of Act Five and the final verse of a song by Clarinda’s maid in Shadwell’s The Virtuoso (1676):

LADY HAUGHTY:
Till such a man I find I’le sit alone,
And triumph in the liberty I owne:
I ne’er will wear a matrimonial Chain,
But safe and quiet in this Throne remain,
And absolute Monarch o’re my self will raign.  (V.5.113–7)

[MAID]:
But spight of Love I will be free,
And triumph in the liberty.
I without him enjoy.
I’th worst of Prisons I’l my Body bind,
Rather than Chain my free-born mind,
For such a Foolish Toy.  (Works, III, IV.2, p. 155)

The stylistic similarity of these two speeches suggests that Shadwell may have had a hand in Haughty’s speech, or has fine-tuned it at some stage. On a smaller scale, Shadwell’s editorial finessing may be discernible in relatively minor details, for instance, in turning a lapidary
phrase like ‘take warning’ from Newcastle’s ‘Rogue’ into the more nuanced ‘have a care’ (I.1.184), an expression used thirty times in fifteen of Shadwell’s plays.

In terms of both technique and content, Shadwell far outstrips the Duke as an inventor of realistic dramatic dialogue. Topicality is one of Shadwell’s strengths: his plays teem with references to the fashionable minutiae of contemporary London social life, its gathering places and watering holes, and to nuances of rank and habitus – that clerks dine on ‘Three pence in Beef at Hercules Pillars’ and periwigged gentry ‘eat a good Fricacy’ at Chatolins. He shares Jonson’s fascination with the voluptuousness of language and the mesmerizing power of copia, in lists of medical conditions and cures – ‘Pustulae, Crustae and Sine Crustis Verucæ’ (The Humorists I, I, p. 198) or in lengthy itemised lists – simply for the pleasure of their abundance.49

Obviously there is restricted scope for such punctilios in the rural landscape of Lady Haughty’s demesne but, working on the ‘three-fifths’ assumption, one senses an absence of his lively touch, most noticeably in the flattened, archaic contours of the conversations amongst Lady Haughty and her women. Shadwell’s technique of varying the levels of dramatic focalization captures the jaunty spontaneity of casual conversation. Here is Stanford from The Sullen Lovers:

STANFORD: In the morning,
    Coming abroad to find you out, (the onely Friend
    With whom I can enjoy my self) comes in a brisk
    Gay Coxxcomb of the Town – Oh Lord, Sir, (sayes he)
    I am glad I’ve taken you within, I came on purpose
    To tell you the newes, d’ye hear it? (Works, I, I, p. 18)

Such sophisticated shifts in narrative focalization are beyond Newcastle, whose grasp of ‘realistic’ dialogue is often conveyed by a heavy-handed application of the expletive ‘efayth’, or repetition: ‘Lorde, Lorde’, ‘staye, staye’. Unlike Shadwell, he does not commonly experiment in individualizing speech mannerisms for his characters. In this connection, it is possible that the invention of Codshead’s particular ‘humour’ – the exaggerated use of similes – owes something to the affliction of Shadwell’s Country Gentleman in The Sullen Lovers, who ‘never speaks without a Proverb’.50 From the same play, the inoffensively metaphysical sentiments of poet Ninny: ‘Your inclinations are and are not mine’ (I, p. 220), and hackneyed

49 The Humorists, I, III, pp. 223, 244; 198.
‘similising’ are faintly shadowed in the maundering antitheses of Codshead’s verse: ‘Contented sorrow and delightful trouble,/ His sadness eas’d with sighs, on which he lives,/ And melancholy thoughts his harmony’ (I, IV.1.146–8).

‘I have heard’ wrote Margaret Cavendish, ‘that such Poets that write Playes, seldom or never join or sow the several Scenes together; they are two several Professions, at least not usual for rare Poets to take that pains; like as great Taylors, the Master only cuts out and shapes, and Journy-men and Apprentices join and sow them together.’ More pertinent to our case than Margaret’s magisterial self-positioning amongst ‘rare Poets’, is her assumption that professional intervention was a prerequisite of dramatic coherence. In the case of The Triumphant Widow this responsibility would have fallen largely to Shadwell. The dramatist was adept at inter-leaving scenes in which critical dialogue amongst a few characters advances the plot, with scenes of larger assemblies where the representation of social mores or generalised satire predominates. He would have brought to the collaboration a professional’s sense of stagecraft to establish the play’s foundational expository scenes and link the sub-plot sequences. In a discussion of the Duke’s contribution to Sir Martin Mar-all, Vinton A. Dearing points to the expository soliloquy with which ‘Merrye Humor’ opens as a sign of the author’s lack of professionalism. Under Shadwell’s direction, perhaps, the opening scene of The Triumphant Widow largely redistributes this foundational speech amongst Footpad and his henchmen. Footpad’s song as a ‘Pedler’ is abridged from its original ten verses and dialogue is interposed. Technical inconsistencies in The Triumphant Widow – in some of the speech prefixes and characters’ names – can be symptomatic of the confusion that may arise in a collaborative work. In the case of The Triumphant Widow these discrepancies can be accounted for by the relatively minor status and domestic homologies (cooks and butler) of the characters concerned.


Based on the distribution of material from Newcastle’s earlier manuscripts, ‘Merrye Humor’ and ‘The King’s Entertainment’, we can be fairly sure that Newcastle provided the bulk of Act One, scene one; Act Two, scenes two and three, and the first half of scene four; Act Three, scenes two to four; Act Four, scenes one and three to five, and the bulk of Act Five, except, perhaps, for Lady Haughty’s final speech. Shadwell’s hand is discernible in Act Two, scene one and Act Three, scene one but his interpolations are randomly scattered through the play. An imaginative reconstruction of a possible chronology of events prior to the delivery of the script of The Triumphant Widow to the printing house seems called for. We know that Shadwell spent a great deal of time at Welbeck and availed himself of its hospitality to pursue his own writing. In requital, he would be expected to exhibit an interest in his patrons’ literary effusions in practical ways. In the case of The Triumphant Widow I propose a synchronic model of authorship whereby Shadwell was at hand to advance his ideas at the early stages of its composition and the pair jointly devised the main plot concerning Lady Haughty and her suitors. A scribal draft prepared by John Rolleston was further edited by Shadwell who then took the script to London for staging in 1674. There is no reason to think that major changes were made to the script of The Triumphant Widow after its performance since, as far as we can ascertain, the printing of the play was not in anticipation of a stage revival, but commissioned as part of the elderly Newcastle’s attention to outstanding affairs.

Needham’s ‘three-fifths’ conjecture rests on the assumption that discrete scenes in The Triumphant Widow are Shadwell’s sole preserve, a theory I believe is untenable. Rather than debating Shadwell’s role in quantitative terms, I suggest that it is more fruitful to consider his presence in terms of its broader creative significance: in shaping some of the comedy’s characters, as a vital hand in revising and augmenting material from Newcastle’s original manuscripts, and in drawing the disparate pieces of material into a cohesive whole.
Newcastle’s Life as a Writer and his Dramatic Canon

An assiduous writer, Newcastle left a literary oeuvre ranging in scope from verse, songs, dramatic interludes and full-length plays, to treatises on dressage and swordsmanship, and an advice book on statecraft for the future Charles II. His enthusiasm was infectious: Newcastle’s daughters, Jane and Elizabeth, perpetuated the family’s literary interests, writing poetry and drama, including a pastoral and five-act play, The Concealed Fansyes (c. 1644-5), in which their father is playfully caricatured. Signally, he unleashed the indefatigable literary force, his wife, Margaret Cavendish, on a bewildered seventeenth-century reading audience, and her reputation and appeal as a focus of literary scholarship have since eclipsed her husband’s.53

The five extant, full-length dramatic works attributed to Newcastle: Wit’s Triumvirate: or, the Philosopher, The Country Captaine, The Varietie, The Humorous Lovers and The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours, vary in terms of genre, authorial style and geographical location.54 They represent a body of work composed over forty years in association with some of the most successful professional dramatists of the day, but the terms and extent of these collaborations remain elusive. This section will focus on Newcastle’s literary life, particularly on aspects of the above-mentioned plays that are relevant in some way to The Triumphant Widow.

Overwhelmingly, Ben Jonson proved to be Newcastle’s most important and enduring literary model. The pair’s friendship is thought to date from about 1617, when Jonson composed an epitaph on the death of Newcastle’s father, Sir Charles Cavendish.55 Newcastle proved a dependable, generous supporter in the poet’s latter years of sickness and financial hardship and Jonson publicly honoured his patron with epigrams saluting Newcastle’s equestrian skills and

53 As an extreme example, in a chapter discussing Margaret Cavendish’s dramatic production, Jeffrey Masten refers to the mentorship of ‘her husband’ on five occasions and cites the Duke’s verse, without once referring to the man by name (Textual Intercourse, pp. 156-64).
54 Two lost plays are ascribed to Newcastle: Pepys reports attending a performance of The Heiress (January 1669), possibly a collaboration with Dryden (London Stage, pp. 154-5). Horace Walpole lists ‘The Exile, a Comedy’ amongst the Duke’s works but provides no further detail (A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors, II, p. 154).
55 Jonson composed elegies on the death of Newcastle’s aunt and mother and an interlude for the christening of Newcastle’s son, Charles (Trease, pp. 43, 66-7).
It has been suggested that Jonson modelled Lord Lovel, in *The New Inn*, on Newcastle as a tribute to his patron’s ethic of aristocratic virtuosity. In turn, Jonson provided the literary model that Newcastle strove to imitate, and a good number of his plays incorporate unmistakable motifs and Jonsonian allusions. Justifiably, Timothy Raylor wonders whether Newcastle’s patronage of the poet gave him some sense of proprietary rights over Jonson’s canon. Like Jonson, Newcastle was a product of the humanist educational system which encouraged and valorized the imitation of classical precedents. Just as Jonson looked to the ancients for material, transforming and reworking classical sources to suit his particular ends and aesthetic, so Newcastle turned to the works of Jonson and to a lesser extent Shakespeare and Donne, as literary precedents. During the 1630s he was a participant in the circulation of verse satire and coterie drama in scribal form. *The Country Captaine* circulated in manuscript and, in turn, Newcastle was a recipient of verses, prose characters, ‘ballets’ and ‘an excellent song, which privately passes about, of all the Lords and Ladies in town’. But as Paulina Kewes’s work on authorship and attribution illuminates, by the mid-seventeenth century the engrained authorial practice of ‘borrowing’ from the ancients, foreign sources or revamping existing plays came under scrutiny in the growing debate over the ethics of literary (re-) production.

Initially, Newcastle followed the pattern of many of his aristocratic peers by publishing his plays anonymously. His first play, *Wit’s Triumvirate: or, The Philosopher* (*c.*1634–6) is an aridly didactic Tudor academic drama which, with good reason, seems never to have been publicly performed. Jonson’s *The Alchemist* supplies the conceit of a ‘venture tripartite’: three charlatans who exploit gullible counsel-seekers. Following Jonson’s lead, Newcastle uses humoral physiology and the conventions associated with imbalances of the cardinal humours of the body as a shaping force for the pathological disorders of his characters. Although the play contains moments of genuine humour, these are offset by its stiff dialogue, prolixity, and a total disregard for stagecraft. Such stylistic deficiencies, discernible in Newcastle’s dramatic fragments, are exposed and magnified in the full-length work. Composition of *Wit’s*

---

59 Butler, p. 105.
60 Kelliher suggests a composition date between November 1634 and March 1636 (‘Donne, Jonson’, pp. 151–2).
Triumvirate coincides with a period during which Newcastle and his brother, Charles, were engrossed in developing their own interests in natural philosophy and science. The group, known variously as the ‘Welbeck academy’ (after the Cavendish estate at Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire) or the ‘Newcastle (or Cavendish) Circle’, included Thomas Hobbes, the Oxford scholar Robert Payne and Walter Warner. There remains untapped, I would suggest, scope for a fuller examination of the extent to which the group’s nascent scientific and epistemological interests are refracted through the play.

Wit’s Triumvirate broaches a recurring theme in Newcastle’s plays: the denigration of pretentious or elaborate language. Although Newcastle was a firm believer in the institutions of ceremony, he had no time for elevated or unnecessary language and most of his plays include a character who deprecates linguistic affectation. In his comedy The Country Captaine (1649), the artifice of language provides an index to personal moral values as Sir Francis Courtwell’s mellifluous Platonic rhetoric veils an intention to cuckold his host under his own roof. His nephew, Master Courtwell, fails to live up to the promise of his cratylic name, and makes little headway courting Lady Huntlove’s recalcitrant Sister (no Christian name) with a barrage of rhyming couplets and French legal jargon (fol. 24v-25v). Lady Beaufield in The Varietie (1649) admonishes Sir William (no surname): ‘give me your courtship in a phrase is fit to own and understand’ (I.1. lines unnumbered), and Lady Haughty in The Triumphant Widow is another stickler for plain speech: ‘such Fools as value themselves upon Languages, never consider Language is but a Trunk to convey our meanings by’ (I.2.104-6). Newcastle advocated personal experience over book learning but his anti-doctrinaire stance may be partly

---

61 Scholars point out that the ‘circle’ metaphor misrepresents the disparities of participation and connectedness of the group, since there is no evidence that Walter Warner, for example, personally visited Welbeck Abbey (Noel Malcolm, Aspects of Hobbes, Oxford: Clarendon, 2002, p. 11; Raylor, ‘Newcastle’s Ghosts’, pp. 92–3. For the interests of Charles Cavendish, see Jean Jacquot, ‘Sir Charles Cavendish and his Learned Friends’ (2 parts), Annals of Science, 8:1 (March 1952), 13-27; 8:2 (June 1952), 175-91; John Pell (1611-1685) and His Correspondence with Sir Charles Cavendish, ed. by Noel Malcolm and Jacqueline Stedall (Oxford: OUP), 2005.

62 Some of the luminaries at the forefront of calls for a reform of the English language – Thomas Hobbes (a former amanuensis to Francis Bacon) and, of course Jonson, were personal acquaintances of Newcastle.

63 Advice to this effect is included in a letter of instruction written in his capacity as Guardian to the young Prince Charles: ‘It is fitt you should have some languages, tho’ I confess I woud [sic] rather have you study things then words, matter then language; for seldom a Critick in many languages hath time to study sense, for words; and at best he is or can be but a living dictionary’ [From a Copy preserved with the Royal Letters in the Harleian MS 6988.art.62], Original Letters Illustrative of English History etc, ed. by Henry Ellis, 2nd edn, 11 vols, London: Dawsons, 1969, III, 288-91, p. 288.)
a product of insecurity over his own academic shortcomings. More generously, we should see plain speech as a correlative of honesty, indicative of a pattern of aristocratic values with which Newcastle felt comfortable.

Sir Cupid Phantsy of Wit’s *Triumvirate* exemplifies the prolific but talentless, genteel amateur poet who will become a staple humours character in Newcastle’s following plays. For all his vehement advocacy of civic pomp and ceremony, privately Newcastle was no stuffed shirt. His ability to indulge in sly self-mockery is an endearing trait that can catch us by surprise, but is a facet of the man revealed in correspondence with his children. In this particular play, Sir Cupid is cautioned that ‘the name of poet, especially a wit, will hinder your preferment’ (IV.4.226–8), possibly a displacement of Newcastle’s own anxiety since the play was composed during his nervous lobbying for a position at court. He was appointed to the role of Guardian to the young Prince of Wales in 1638, but this particular piece of advice evidently never reached the ears of Newcastle’s other royal nursery charge, George Villiers Junior.

With, one assumes, a fresh appreciation of the complexity of dramatic composition, Newcastle turned to the court dramatist, James Shirley, for help with the composition of his next two comedies, *The Country Captaine* and *The Varietie*. Shirley shared many of Newcastle’s ideological positions regarding the congruence of authority and social responsibility, and both men subscribed to the didactic role of drama as a corrective for the misuse of political privilege. The formal tone of Shirley’s Dedication to Newcastle of his tragedy, *The Traytor* (licensed

---

64 According to the Duchess, his tutors at St John’s College, Cambridge ‘could not persuade him to read or study much, he taking more delight in sports, than in learning’ and Newcastle truncated his studies to pursue his equestrian interests at the Royal Mews (*LWC*, pp. 104–5).


66 Similarly, to fully appreciate the mockery of those who ‘spend five hundred pounds a year in music [or] a thousand pounds a year in pampered jades like Bankes his horse [‘Morocco’, a famous performing horse] for to do tricks’ (II.1.234–6), it is helpful to know that in his youth Newcastle cheerfully squandered a legacy in the acquisition of a ‘music-boy’, a dog and a costly horse.


68 Although, as Janet Clare points out, Shirley was not an uncritical supporter of the royalist regime (*Drama of the English Republic, 1649-60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 153).
1631; pub. 1635) conveys the personal distance of their relationship at that stage but it became one of such amiability that Shirley later accompanied his patron to war. Although the title-page of the 1649 edition of The Country Captaine refers to the play having been ‘lately presented by His Majesties Servants, at the Black-Fryers’, there is no evidence of its staging prior to the official closure of public theatres in 1642. After the Restoration the play was retrieved by the King’s Company, mounted in the 1661–2 season and again in 1667 when the King attended a performance. The revival of the play in the 1660s attests to its enduring appeal as a lively comedy and yet it is a work that is firmly engaged with the heightened political mood of its time.

There is the most tenuous thread linking the two plots of The Country Captaine. Shirley’s partiality to romance intrigue is likely to account for the play’s engagement with the sexual politics of contemporary London in the plot concerning Sir Richard and Lady Huntlove. The other, undoubtedly Newcastle’s invention, concerns the titular Captain Underwit, a vainglorious country squire who has recently exploited parochial networks to gain a commission as an officer with the trained band. Newcastle was deeply concerned at the political control of this civilian militia and later advised Charles II to revoke the charter under which the London Trained Band operated, accusing them of being ‘the authors of all [Charles I’s] misery and misfortunes’. In The Country Captaine his mistrust is channelled into the

---

69 Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses, p. 261. The Trystor was published with Shirley’s Six New Plays (1653) and performed after revision in 1664 (London Stage, p. 80). A verse addressed to Newcastle, ‘To W.M. of N.’ in Shirley’s Poems (1646) appears to be one of the last traces of his association with the Cavendish family.

70 The work exists in two main forms: an untitled manuscript (BL Harley MS 7650), and an edition printed at The Hague in 1649 in duodecimo format and reissued with The Varietie that year. All further references to The Country Captaine are to the Malone Society Reprints edition, The Country Captain, prepared by Anthony Johnson, revised by H.R. Woudhuysen, and checked by Katherine Duncan-Jones and Richard Proudfoot (London: OUP, 1999).

71 Nicoll, A History of Restoration Drama 1660-1900, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1928), p. 306. The King attended a performance on 18 May 1667 (London Stage, p. 108). Shadwell’s composition of a prologue or epilogue to The Country Captaine is believed to have been prompted by a revival of the comedy in the 1689–90 season, see Beal, Index of English Literary Manuscripts: Volume II, p. 316.

72 Johnson suggests that the The Country Captaine may have been performed in Paris and that the excision of lines referring to a ‘french Lacquey’ and an ‘English Monsier’ (lines 242, 362) and scenes satirizing the continental affectations of the character, Device, was made with French sensibilities in mind (The Country Captain, p. xx).

satirical treatment of the method of recruitment of this new breed of soldier, incompetently drilled by ‘an old lymping decayed Sergeant at Brainford’ (lines 94–5).  

The Country Captaine and The Varietie were composed during a period of constitutional and religious unrest that eventually shattered Charles I’s Personal Rule and both plays register apprehension of the course of contemporary politics. The reign was characterised by its alienation of large sections of the realm’s political power base, and as a wealthy landowner understandably keen to conserve his local networks of influence, Newcastle felt threatened by the centralised structure of a nascent, modern civil service. In company with many of his aristocratic peers, increasingly he found himself marginalised by the contraction of true political power into the hands of an influential court-based coterie. His opposition to the social and political inroads of the new breed of ambitious, opportunistic self-promoters is figured in characters like the unequivocally named ‘Newman’ of The Varietie and projectors in The Country Captaine. Antipathy towards the parasitic practice of revenue raising by the sale of monopolies, registered in other works by Shirley, directs the plot development relating to the projector, Engine, described as ‘one that lives like a Moth upon the Commonwealth’ (lines 776–7). The evocation of a plan to create a monopoly for periwigs links the play ideologically to a cluster of comedies, including some by Newcastle’s protégé, Richard Brome, which Martin Butler has identified as critical of Charles I’s personal rule. Newcastle was coerced into participating in one of the King’s dubious revenue raising schemes that involved borrowing money from courtiers in exchange for ‘anticipations’: assignments of royal revenue forthcoming and the satire of projectors in The Country Captaine may be tinged with a sense of unfairness that others benefited from more tangible, lucrative schemes.

---

75 A reference to ‘the league at Barwick and the late expeditions’ (lines 66–7) indicates that the play must have been written after the signing of the Pacification of Berwick on 18 June 1639. It has been pointed out that Master Courtwell’s announcement of his marriage: ‘we have been at I John take the [thee] Elizabeth’ (line 2574) may be a playful reference to the marriage of Newcastle’s daughter, Elizabeth, to John Egerton, Viscount Brackley, on 22 July 1641 (The Country Captain, p. xx).
76 Shirley’s masque The Triumph of Peace (1634) contains material satirical of projectors.
78 Newcastle contributed £10,000 in expectation of recouping the money from new impositions on imported goods for the years 1640 and 1641 (Mark Fissel, The Bishops’ Wars: Charles I’s Campaigns against Scotland 1638-40 (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 125–6, citing CSPD 1639-40, 14, 15 March 1640, p. 493).
Triumphant Widow the tone and targets of the rogues’ satire look back to these late Caroline plays and yet the sentiment is equally appropriate in the static post-Restoration political climate. Engine’s cupidity is symbolically punished by his off-stage purging of ‘Monopolies […] too hard to be digested’ (line 1674). As in The Triumphant Widow, the action of fluxing is both restorative and punitive.

The Country Captaine affords the first sighting of the luridly apocalyptic verses in couplet form that we will come to identify as Newcastle’s set piece, here, represented by Monsieur Device’s ‘wonders in verse, Poetical essays’. A greater ‘wonder’ is how the Duke’s successive professional revisers or collaborators wearily resigned themselves to inserting such jeux d’esprit where they could do least artistic damage.

Newcastle’s commitment to the institutions underpinning aristocratic privilege was balanced by a strong ethos of disinterested service to his country. In The Triumphant Widow, Lady Haughty epitomises good country governance but in The Country Captaine country ‘values’ are placed in a morally ambiguous framework. Sir Richard Huntlove’s speech denouncing the prodigality of maintaining a London presence has parallels with Sir Thomas Bornwell’s excoriation of town life in the opening scene of Shirley’s The Lady of Pleasure (pub. 1637) and the Steward’s nostalgic evocation of the traditions of country-house hospitality forgone by the Bornwells’ move to the town. However, in The Country Captaine, as Sir Richard’s speech progresses it becomes clear that the incentive to return to his country house is not purely driven by nostalgia for the bucolic delights of hound and hawk, but his anticipation of calculatedly sponging off his tenants (fols 4b-5b). We don’t need to try to rationalise all this but should accept it as grist to the titillation of playhouse audiences, many of whom would have engaged in similar feudal chicanery with their own tenants.

The sense of irretrievable loss of an important system of political and cultural exchange, which forms a significant motif in The Triumphant Widow, is carried through to Newcastle’s other

79 Fol. 34a, lines 1157-8; fols. 34a-b, lines 1161-1180; fols. 35a-b, lines 1192-1209
play of the period, *The Varietie.* A citation in the Master of the Revels documents offers a cryptically worded clue to authorial ascription: ‘Variety Com: with several reformations made by Shirley 1641. My Lo Newcastle, as is said hath some hand in it.’ It is unclear whether the play was revived post-Restoration: if so, it was renamed. Recently, the work has attracted interdisciplinary scholarly attention for the cultural practices it critiques. J.S.A. Adamson and Anne Barton locate the play within the mythologizing process of the ‘cult of Elizabeth’ and nostalgia for Tudor aristocratic values and the *vita attiva* when, to quote the play’s protagonist, Manley, ‘men of honor flourish’d, that tam’d the wealth of Spaine, set up the States, help’d the French King, and brought Rebellion to reason’ (p. 39). Martin Butler discusses *The Varietie* in the context of its characterisation of both country-bred aspirants to town manners and the irretrievably effete courtier figure, here represented by the dancing master, Monsieur Galliard. Both Curtis Perry and Malcolm Smuts have drawn attention to the likelihood that the characterisation of Manley is based, in part, on Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel. In a discussion of the play’s participation in the discourse of court favouritism, Perry suggests that Newcastle invokes Leicester as the Elizabethan counterpart to Buckingham. In this reading, the play encodes the values associated with supporters of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (represented by Manley), in opposition to those of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (represented, gallingly, by Galliard, the French dancing master). The theatrical potentialities for visual spectacle latent in the work have encouraged Barbara Ravelhofer to examine it in the context of Caroline court masque

---

81 The title-page refers to the play as having been ‘lately presented by His Majesties Servants, at the Black-Fryers’ and it is believed to have been performed shortly after *The Country Captaine* in May to August 1641, but again, there is no record of its performance. Gerald Eades Bentley points to the reference to the Dutch admiral, Van Trumpe, who defeated the Spanish fleet at the Battle of the Downs in 1639, as a topical allusion suggesting a composition date ‘between October 1639 and the closing of the theatres’ (*The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941-68), III, p. 151). See also *The Country Captain*, Introduction, p. xxii. Barbara Ravelhofer suggests a performance date ‘after January 1640’, ‘Non-Verbal Meaning in Caroline Private Theatre: William Cavendish’s and James Shirley’s *The Varietie* (c.1641), TSC, 21 (2006), pp. 195-214, (p. 195).


83 Ravelhofer asserts that *The Varietie* ‘was certainly played at the New Theatre in 1669; and possibly in 1661 and 1662, if we accept that this play was meant by the titles ‘The Dancinge Master’ and ‘The Frenche dancinge Master’ in a list of plays performed by the Kings Company at the Red Bull and Gibbon’s Tennis Court theatre in 1661.’ (‘Non-Verbal Meaning’, p. 213, notes 58, 59.)


85 Butler, pp. 163, 195-8.

conventions, with particular emphasis on the elements of dance and costume. Manley is, as Ravelhofer observes, ‘an all-round man who can sing and dance’ but whose lament for the passing of the *volta*, a highly energetic dance demanding great physical stamina, reveals his ideological stance as an opponent of ‘Frenchified’ and by implication effeminised, court tastes. This is all of a piece with Newcastle’s strong self-identification as a thorough Englishman and his privileging of English cultural traditions over imported forms.

In *The Varietie* the protagonist, Manley, has a penchant for dressing up in the archaic ‘habit of *Leister*’ – trunk hose and ruff – the preferred costume of Elizabeth I’s favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. In a mean-spirited prank, a friend plans to make this quirky habit a source of merriment for his mistress. Nonplussed, Manley defends his dress in the face of the ridicule of the assembly: ‘this serv’d in those honest dayes, when Knights were Gentlemen, and proper men tooke the walls of dwarves […] these things were worn when men of honor flourish’d […] It was never a good time since these cloaths went out of fashion; oh, those honourable dayes and persons!’ (III.1, pp. 39-40). In company with many of his aristocratic peers, increasingly Newcastle found himself marginalised by the contraction of true political power into the hands of an influential coterie of those that ‘woulde Jeer the greateste Noble man in Englende iff hee did nott make the laste monthes Reverence A La Mode that Came with the laste Danser from Paris.’ As Newcastle’s mouthpiece, Manley reminisces on the glorious pageantry attendant upon the installation of a new prince, a procession Newcastle experienced personally. According to a servant’s reminiscence, under the former monarch the élite enjoyed a hedonistic round of ‘nothing but Ambassadors, Masques, Playes, Entertainements, Hawking, Hunting, Winter and Summer, NewMarket and Roiston […] oh we had

---


89 ‘…and when I put on my habit of *Leister*, I am his own excellence’ (I.1, p. 3). References to *The Varietie* are to the edition jointly published with *The Country Captaine* (London: 1649), held by the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, in *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> Act, scene and page numbers are given; line numbers are unmarked.

rare sport, and then every body was knighted, they hardly left a Gentleman in those dayes; and afterward they got the tricke of making Lords’ (IV.1, p.47).

One of the more interesting characters in *The Varietie* is the aptly named Master Newman, a social-climbing aspirant intent on marrying into the Beaufield echelon. Newman has made ‘a Players heaven’ at his local tavern, for the enactment of what Ravelhofer describes as a ‘pungent travesty of the standard monarchical apotheosis’ of the court masque: ‘a Throne’s let down, in which, well heated, successively they [revellers] are drawn up to the clouds to drink their Mistress health, while the made mortals adore their God of Grape’ (III.1, pp. 34–5).91 A forerunner of the rake figure that would become so attractive to post-Restoration audiences, Newman displays the moral volatility that shapes other of Shirley’s memorable male characters. Typically, these wayward, impetuous men are chastened and brought to heel by the actions of a virtuous woman, in a trajectory often quite detached from any overt amorous byplay, and that is the case here.92 Lady Beaufield represents the figure of old-fashioned values of civility and common sense and, as Anne Barton suggests, her act of turning away ‘more modish suitors’ aligns her with Lady Frampul of *The New Inn*. A description of her as ‘the Lady of spirit, and entertainment, the only Magnetick widow i’th Town (I.1, pp. 1-2), points, misguidedly as it happens, to the evocation of Lady Loadstone of Jonson’s *The Magnetic Lady*. Although Newcastle has a knack of throwing into the mix similar analogues (in *The Triumphant Widow*, Autolycus and Nightingale, for example) as a form of character construction through association, this habit can be sometimes misleading: ‘Manley’ of this production bears no resemblance to the minor character of the same name in Shirley’s *The Witty Fair One* (1633).

In exile in Paris, Newcastle met and married his second wife, Margaret Lucas, a lady-in-waiting to Queen Henrietta-Maria. A salient feature of his amatory verse written for Margaret during their courtship is its indebtedness to John Donne and, to a lesser extent, Jonson. Cavendish obviously recognised the iconoclastic quality of Donne’s work; he assigns titles

---

91 Ravelhofer points out that *The Varietie* followed the performance of Davenant’s *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), in which Charles and Henrietta Maria were elevated on cloud machinery, and that Jonson used machinery to lower cupids from clouds in the 1634 masque at Bolsover (‘Non-Verbal Meaning’, p. 205).
92 Lady Peregrine’s ‘reformation’ of Lord Fitzavarice in Shirley’s *The Example* (1634) exemplifies this dynamic.
93 Anne Barton, ‘Harking Back to Elizabeth’, p. 723. Even the name ‘Beaufield’ is designed to recall Jonson’s character, ‘Lord Beaufort’ of *The New Inn*.
with Donnean resonance to poems larded with metaphysical conceits, and plays with religiously charged language. The couple’s verse and epistolary exchanges early in their courtship set a precedent that later shaped the mutuality of their dramatic compositions. Karen Raber writes that ‘Margaret Cavendish and her husband achieve a kind of dialogue in and through her plays.’

The dramatic synergy she identifies is initiated in the interplay of the copious paratextual material studding Margaret’s volumes and Newcastle’s hyperbolic claims for her dramatic competency, then at the level of the couple’s quaint preservation of the lines of authorial demarcation. Margaret’s emphasis on Newcastle’s complicity in her literary endeavours and the invocation of his social status have been read as a strategy to legitimize her entry into the predominantly masculine sphere of publication and pre-empt accusations of plagiary. For both husband and wife, writing became a shared interest and solace during their period of exile. Remarkably, although the Cavendishes as a couple suffered financial hardships and their social standing amongst other émigrés was problematic, Margaret’s writing flourished. It is at the level of thematic detail and imagery that the links between the Newcastle pair’s work is most visible. Both writers worked together and separately on variations on the classical conceit of the banquet topos and both composed verse mourning their departure from Bolsover and Welbeck and the estates’ subsequent despoliation. In both Margaret’s and William’s writing the theatrical potentialities of self display and the use of costume to authenticate identity are explored. Their dramatic fragments became the vehicle for playful, imaginative experimentation with a range of characters that beg to be read as thinly disguised extensions of themselves.

Newcastle’s composition of material for an English acting company performing for the exiled court in Paris was ridiculed by The Kingdom’s Weekly Intelligencer. Such frivolity, it concluded ‘showeth in him either an admirable temper and settledness of mind… or else an infinite and vain affection unto Poetry, that in the ruins of his country and himself he can be at the leisure

---

94 Raber, “‘Our Wits Joined as in Matrimony’”: Margaret Cavendish’s Plays and the Drama of Authority’, ELR, 28, (1998), 464-93, p. 477.
to make Prologues and Epilogues for players.”

In February 1658 in Antwerp, and despite their chronic impecuniousness, the Newcastles entertained the future King Charles II and other royal family members with a lavish ball and the performance of an unidentified dramatic piece composed by William. It may be, as James Knowles suggests, that ‘A Pleasante and Merry Humor’ was aired on such an occasion.

At the restoration of the monarchy, and once the job of piecing together his damaged estates was under way, Newcastle returned to play-writing. He chose fashionable London meeting-places: Covent Garden, the Mulberry Garden and an unspecified ‘Theatre’, for the setting of The Humorous Lovers, which premièred at the Dorset Garden theatre in 1667. Interestingly, in two separate accounts of the play, contemporary audience members ascribe its authorship to Margaret Cavendish. Without offering evidence, Harbage suggests that Shadwell had a hand in the play’s composition, and Davenant has been proposed as a possible collaborator.

As its title signals, the ‘humoral’ paradigm provides the play’s organizing principle, with the follies, affectations, exaggerations and reversals of behaviour that characterise the mode. The main plot centres on the relationship between the ‘witty, beautiful and cruel’ (I.1) Lady Pleasant and the rakish Colonel Boldman. The pair’s mutual out-maneuvering may have been inspired by the plot concerning the libertine Sir Frederick Frolick and Widow Rich in Etherege’s The Comical Revenge, or, Love in a Tub, which enjoyed enormous popularity when it premièred in the 1663-4 season. Master Furrs, a melancholic whose particular ‘humour’ is an intolerance of draughts, enlists a matchmaker to prepare a marriage for his country-bred, illegitimate daughter. There are lively scenes between the fractious Furrs and his man, James, in which the servant’s dialogue forms a witty counterpoint to his master’s complaints – a foreshadowing of the knowing servants of The Triumphant Widow. Sir Anthony Altalk, a ‘young pert Fellow pretender to Poetry’, is an amalgam of Newcastle’s standard poet manqué figure and outrageous fop.

98 Cited in Trease, p. 154.
99 James Knowles, ‘‘We’ve lost, should we lose too our harmless mirth?’, Cavendish’s Antwerp Entertainments’, in Royalist Refugees, 70-7 (p. 70).
100 For this section I have used the edition of The Humorous Lovers edited by James Fitzmaurice, based on the Bodleian Library copy printed by J.M. for H. Herringman, London, 1677, shelf-mark Mal. Q66. Lines are unnumbered.
101 Pepys pronounced the comedy ‘the most silly thing that ever come upon a stage’. Margaret, he reported, ‘at the end, made her respects to the players from her box, and did give them thanks’ (London Stage, pp. 105, 108).
102 Harbage, p. 75; Milhous and Hume, ‘Attribution Problems’, p. 20.
One of the more remarkable features of the play is the inset theatre scene at Act Three, in which a masque of Cupid and Venus is presented. The delicacy of this piece confounds the assumption that the masque parody in *The Varietie* reflects Newcastle’s personal intolerance of the form. It is in Act Four that the play’s structural coherence is severely strained in Boldman’s scenes of feigned madness, during which he recites two lengthy pieces of imaginatively lurid verse of the type rehearsed in *The Country Captaine* by Monsieur Device. The melange of dramatic elements incorporated into the play: song, lyric verse recitation and an inset masque, is not atypical of comedies of the period, but is as much a reflection of the Duke’s personal preferences as a response to the prevailing taste for novelty. We could read it as a signal of things to come – his acknowledgement that in one’s advancing years, rationalising one’s taste and choices becomes less important than completing an enjoyable challenge.

Pepys’s *Diary* records that *Sir Martin Mar-all, or, The Feigned Innocence* was ‘made by my Lord Duke of Newcastle, but, as everybody says, corrected by Dryden’. This highly successful play premièred in August 1667 and was attended by the King, but possibly not by Newcastle himself. It was mounted not by the King’s Company where Newcastle’s *The Country Captaine* was contemporaneously running, but at Davenant’s Lincoln’s Inn Fields playhouse. First published in 1668 without attribution, the play is acknowledged to be the product of a collaboration between Newcastle and John Dryden. After examining the Duke’s papers held by the Hallward Library, the editors of the ‘California’ edition of Dryden’s works have failed to discover any documents relating to this particular play but concede that based on internal considerations, ‘there are reasons enough to assume that Newcastle was responsible for most of a preliminary draft of *Sir Martin Mar-all*’. There is the striking similarity between the ‘feigned innocence’ subplot of *Sir Martin*, concerning the plan by Lady Dupe and Mrs

---

104 Trease, p. 199.
Christian to entrap Lord Dartmouth, and that of *The Humorous Lovers*, in which ‘Mistris Hood’ coaches Dameris in the skills of snaring a husband. In an article that postdates his *Commentary to The Works of John Dryden* John Loftis writes of *Sir Martin*:

If the radical superiority of the play to Newcastle’s unaidered work argues for Dryden’s part in it, the presence of situations and character types taken over from obscure plays by Newcastle as well as one episode borrowed from an old play that Newcastle but not Dryden could be presumed to know provides convincing evidence that the Duke’s part in the collaboration was more than nominal.¹⁰⁷

Loftis does not specify to which ‘obscure plays’ of Newcastle’s he refers but the striking similarity of the Lady Dupe/Mistris Hood parallel would make *The Humorous Lovers* the most likely contender. Since this play was publicly performed five months prior to the première of *Sir Martin*, it would be unsurprising if the characters and sub-plot were familiar to Dryden, Newcastle’s protégé. The ‘episode borrowed from an old play’ refers to an incident in Schackerley Marmion’s *A Fine Companion* (1633) in which Lackwit is hoisted on joint stools as a symbolic pawn for a tavern debt (IV.1). It is suggested that the ‘Frolick of the Altitudes’ in *Sir Martin*, whereby Old Moody and Sir John Swallow are lifted aloft on stools (V.2.48ff) is Newcastle’s contribution, styled after the Marmion comedy.¹⁰⁸

It is feasible that Newcastle obtained copies of the plays that provide the source material for *Sir Martin Mar-all* while he was in exile in Paris or the Netherlands and drew the works to Dryden’s attention.¹⁰⁹ Scholars have traced a particularly amusing scene in which Sir Martin mimes singing to his lute accompaniment to an episode in *Histoire Comique de Fracion* by Charles Sorel.¹¹⁰ An English translation was published in 1655, but the sale catalogue of surplus books from the estate of the first three Dukes of Newcastle includes a French edition

---

¹¹⁰ Writing under the pseudonym M. de Moulines, sieur de Parc. The incident appears in *Histoire Comique de Francion*, Book VII, 16-17 (cited in Dryden, *Works*, IX, p. 366 n64).
of Francion son Histoire Comique (Paris, 1641), lending weight to the notion that the scene was Newcastle’s contribution.\textsuperscript{111}

A play performed by the King’s Company in January 1669, The Heiress, for which no script survives, has been tentatively ascribed to Newcastle and Dryden on the basis of the vague substance of a letter by Mrs John Evelyn.\textsuperscript{112} The work’s failure to survive in print suggests that it had limited appeal. Pepys reports that Sir Charles Sedley had the actor, Edward Kynaston, beaten for his ‘abuse to Sir Charles Sedley’ in the play and as a result William Beeston was forced to read his part in ensuing productions.\textsuperscript{113} Dryden dedicated An Evening’s Love: or, the Mock-Astrologer (perf. 1668, pub. 1671) to Newcastle, but in conversation is alleged to have disparaged the work as a ‘fifth-rate play’, a disavowal that would have justifiably piqued Newcastle when, inevitably, word filtered back to him. Harold Love speculates that unresolved authorship issues relating to the Sir Martin Mar-all generated a rift in the relationship between Dryden and Newcastle.\textsuperscript{114} As the play’s popularity soared, Dryden must have been chagrined to witness Newcastle taking kudos for what appears to be primarily his work.

\textit{Shadwell’s Role as Newcastle’s Client and his Early Writing Relevant to The Triumphant Widow}

Shadwell’s association with Newcastle as a collaborator is inextricably linked to their relationship as client and patron and, in turn, to the intensely factionalised contemporary theatrical scene. At a time when the pool of potential patrons was evaporating, Shadwell was


\textsuperscript{112}In a letter dated 10 February 1668/9, Mary Evelyn refers to ‘one of my Lord of Newcastle’s for which printed apologies [sic] are scattered in the assembly by Briden’s [Dryden’s?] order, either for himself who had some hand in it, or for the author most; I think both had right to them’ (Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, ed. by William Bray, 4, p. 14), cited in London Stage, p. 154.

\textsuperscript{113} London Stage, pp. 154–5.

a competitor for this dwindling source of financial and political support whilst struggling to sustain his pose as a genteel amateur writer. This section addresses aspects of Shadwell’s early writing relevant to *The Triumphant Widow* with particular regard to the theoretical manifesto embodied in the prefatory material accompanying his plays published prior to 1677.

After the Restoration Newcastle reinstated himself as, in Harold Love’s phrase, ‘a kind of unofficial minister for culture’, but his parlous financial affairs, age and lack of a permanent base in London limited the assistance he could extend to literary clients. Shadwell’s dedications to the Duke, and in one instance, the Duchess, mark a particular stage in the development of his relationship as a client of the Newcastles. Other than fulfilling their conventional function as dutiful expressions of gratitude, these tributes have a specific, political agenda. With their emphasis on the strength, intimacy and exclusivity of his rapport with the Duke, the dedications may be read as a strategy of cliental territorialism, ring-fencing the Duke, in the most public way, as Shadwell’s patronal property. *The Triumphant Widow* became a forum for Shadwell’s protestation of his role as Jonson’s rightful heir – a strategy that Dryden persuasively and conclusively trumped with the circulation of his satire, *Mac Flecknoe* with its scathing reference to Shadwell’s ‘Northern Dedications’.

In the Preface to his first comedy, *The Sullen Lovers* (1668), a work dedicated to Newcastle, Shadwell launched a critique of the structure, components and purpose of contemporary drama. This essay was intended primarily as a rebuttal of some of the theories articulated in Dryden’s *Of Dramatick Poesie: an Essay* (1668), particularly those relating to the moral role of comedy, the consonance of wit, judgement and fancy, the merits of rhyming verse, plagiarism, and the place of comedy in Dryden’s conceptual hierarchy of drama. Shadwell was particularly incensed at criticism of the peerless Jonson and, with tremendous audacity given his

---

115 See Harold Love, ‘Shadwell, Rochester and the Crisis of Amateurism’, *RSELG*, 20 (1996), 119-34. However, in his Dedication to Newcastle of *The Virtuoso* Shadwell admits: ‘I cannot allot my whole time to the writing of Plays, but am forced to mind some other business of Advantage’, *The Virtuoso*, III, p. 102.
117 Shadwell dedicated *The Sullen Lovers*, *Epsom-Wells*, *The Libertine* and *The Virtuoso* to Newcastle; *The Humorists* is dedicated to Margaret Cavendish. Quite apart from any affection Shadwell may have felt for Margaret, he probably expected her to survive the Duke and therefore considered her a patronal horse worth backing.
118 R. Jack Smith’s essay ‘Shadwell’s Impact Upon John Dryden’ (*RES*, 20 (1994), pp. 29-44), offers a succinct account of the context and issues of this debate.
own indebtedness to French sources for *The Sullen Lovers*, accused his adversary of plagiarism.\(^{119}\) In ensuing essays Shadwell amplified and refined his critical position, and the aggregate body of thought that these commentaries represent is of particular interest in relation to *The Triumphant Widow* for the perspective it affords of Shadwell’s conceptualization of comedy. Furthermore, they are pertinent to the play’s engagement with the ethics of literary reproduction.

Newcastle’s admiration for Jonsonian comedy has been recognized as influential in Shadwell’s enthusiasm for the form, and to the revival of a court-based ‘Tribe of Ben’, but there is a sense that in his early career, Shadwell was more fanatical in embracing all things Jonsonian than his patron had ever been.\(^{120}\) Shadwell graciously, or perhaps ingratiatingly, credits Newcastle as a well-spring of interpretative theory, writing in the Dedication of *The Virtuoso* (perf. May 1676): ‘I have endeavoured, in this Play, at Humour, Wit, and Satyr, which are the three things […] your Grace has often told me are the life of a Comedy’.\(^{121}\) Besides complimenting Newcastle’s creative agency, the tribute’s affirmation of a shared aesthetic vision can be read as a validation of Shadwell’s succession to the mantle of Ben, symbolically passed through Newcastle’s historical association to his former client. Once Maecenas to Jonson’s Horace, Newcastle became the patrimonial link between Jonson and Shadwell.\(^{122}\) The acknowledgement implies that Newcastle conceived comedy as a genre with its own distinctive subset of appropriate modes – humour, wit and satire. As Robert Hume remarks, in discussions of Restoration comedy, scholars commonly invoke an opposition between ‘wit and manners comedy on one hand, and comedy of humours on the other’.\(^{123}\) However, studies by Fujimura, McDonald, Hume, Markley and others suggest that in post-Restoration literature these terms were often applied interchangeably and indiscriminately, pejoratively and

---

\(^{119}\) Preface to *The Sullen Lovers*, Works, I, pp. 9-12.


\(^{122}\) In the Dedication to *Epsom-Wells*, Shadwell hails Newcastle as ‘the only Mecænas [sic] of our Age’, *Works*, III, p. 102). Shadwell was particularly incensed at Dryden’s proprietorial claim ‘I know I honour Ben Johnson more than my little Critiques [i.e. Shadwell], because without vanity I may own, I understand him better’ (Dedication to Sedley of *The Assignation, or, Love in a Nunnery* (1673), Dryden, *Works* XI, p. 324.

\(^{123}\) *The Development of English Drama*, p. 36. Brean S. Hammond offers a succinct summary: ‘the difference between Dryden’s comedy of ‘wit’, and Shadwell’s comedy of ‘humours’ is that between a theatre dominated by its spoken text (Dryden) and one dominated by dramatic action, situation, and gesture (Shadwell)’, *Professional Imaginative Writing in England 1670-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 92.
approvingly. Broadly speaking, Shadwell subscribed to neo-classical precepts of the latter style, ostensibly designed to ‘reprehend some of the Vices and Follies of the Age’. Dryden considered that humours comedy was out-dated and argued that dialogue should reflect the wit and intellect of socially graceful characters. In a Preface to An Evening’s Love, or, The Mock-Astrologer (1671) – significantly, a work dedicated to Newcastle - Dryden reinforces his conviction that ‘repartee’ is the proper language of comedy: ‘As for repartee, in particular, as it is the very soul of conversation, so it is the greatest grace of Comedy […] Of one thing I am sure, that no man ever will decry wit, but he who despairs of it himself’. The latter jibe was largely for Shadwell’s benefit, and it must have struck home. In The Triumphant Widow the dialogue across the dining table at Act Three, scene one, in which Sir John Noddy and Justice Spoilwit trade execrable puns, burlesques Dryden’s notion of ‘repartee’ as the refined conversation of aristocratic discourse. Noddy cries down ‘the Wits’ as ‘dull, very dull’, and declares his affiliation to ‘the Clinchers’, a creatively superior group of divines, lawyers and ‘States-men’ (III.1.10-60). Shadwell and Newcastle seem to be implying that through the incursions of pretenders to wit like Noddy and Spoilwit, ‘wit’ is effectively devalued and emptied of its potency as a marker of aristocratic privilege.

As commentators have observed, later in his writing career Shadwell downplayed humours characterisation as, in plays like Epsom-Wells, he moved further towards a comedy of wit. He prided himself on an ability to create innovative humours characters but was conscious of the need to strike a balance between novelty and recondite applications ‘that would not be understood by the Audience, but would be thought (for the singularity of it) wholly unnatural, and would be no jest to them neither’. Shadwell clung to the pedagogical role of comedy that the exaggerated eccentricity of hyperbolic characters like Furrs in Newcastle’s The Humorous Lovers threatened to obfuscate. During the period of his association with Newcastle, Shadwell was fine-tuning his theoretical approach and his criteria of subjects for

125 Preface to The Humorists, Works, I, p. 183.
127 Alssid, p. 58; Kunz, The Drama of Thomas Shadwell, pp. 34, 78-9; Hume, The Development of English Drama, p. 37.
128 Preface to The Humorists, p. 186.
humours characterisation, and his differentiation between natural and acquired imperfection is ventriloquised by Lady Haughty in *The Triumphant Widow*. Haughty tolerantly brushes off the suggestion that she is fed up with the crass conversation of Noddy and Spoilwit:

**ISABELLA:** Are you not cloy’d with these fulsome, nauseous Fools, Madam?

**HAUGHTY:** No, your gross Fool is good company enough for variety, I do not mean your Fool of God’s making, he’s to be pitied; but your Fool of his own making, that pretends to be witty, one that takes great pains to make himself a Fool.

**ISABELLA:** Not your natural, but artificial Fool.

**HAUGHTY:** Right, Cousin. (III.1.86–93).  

Haughty shares the amused detachment that Emilia in *The Sullen Lovers* has for her pursuers: these two women epitomise Shadwell’s philosophical attitude to ‘artificial’ fools, that ‘no corrections that can be laid upon ’em are of power to reforme em’.  

In a succession of Shadwell’s early comedies, self-possessed female characters evince a jaundiced view of marriage or dramatically overthrow the conventional comic resolution of marital reunion. In *The Humorists* Sir Richard Loveyouth rejects a reunion with his wife after three years’ absence and the play concludes in an anti-hymeneal dance with the chorus: ‘All happiness to both, and may you be,/ From discontents of Marriage ever free’. Mr and Mrs Woodley in *Epsom-Wells* decide to divorce each other in a cheerful inversion of the marriage ceremony. Couples negotiate the basis of matrimony in witty contests that prefigure the ‘gay couple’ phenomenon. However, the women who find themselves alone at the finale of these plays, and Mrs Gripe of *The Woman-Captain* is perhaps the best example, display aberrant behaviour that is wild, self-centred or morally reprehensible. Their single status reflects their social undesirability and is a punitive measure, whereas Lady Haughty remains single from choice.

---

129 ‘...it were ill nature, and below a man, to fall upon the natural imperfections of men, as of Lunaticks, Ideots, or men born monstrous. But these can never be made the proper subject of Satyr, but the affected vanities, and the artificial fopperies of men, which (sometimes even contrary to their natures) they take pains to acquire, are the proper subject of a Satyr’ (*Works*, I, Preface to *The Humorists*, p. 184).

130 *Works*, I, Preface to *The Sullen Lovers*, p. 11.


About the Play

Setting and Plot

The clues supplied for the setting of *The Triumphant Widow* do not correspond to any authentic geographical location. We learn that Lady Haughty’s house is located ‘within half a mile’ of the Town (III.4.267) and in walking distance of the Gallows Field (IV.1.185). The inclusion of a dairymaid and grange-man in the complement of her staff suggests a rural locale, perhaps on the western outskirts of London, yet it is hard by a stygian ‘Cave the Sun never saw’ (I.1.2-3), the significance of which is discussed in the section dealing with the play’s analogues. The simple but entertaining plot of the *The Triumphant Widow* braids together three narrative strands. Lady Haughty, the titular widow, is the target of a bevy of unprepossessing suitors whose attempts to court her are ultimately rejected. Below-stairs, the amatory intrigues of her servants provide the second strand, and the escapades of Footpad and his band of rogues form the third.

Justifying their chicanery in the discourse of Hobbesian self-interest – that dishonesty is rife in all callings and professions – a highway robber, Footpad, and his henchmen hatch a plan to prey on the stream of Haughty’s visitors. At her country house nearby, Lady Haughty, her kinswoman Isabella and waiting-woman, Nan, contemplate the day’s guest list and Haughty is clearly suffering battle fatigue from successive onslaughts of ‘widow-hunters’. Two of her guests, Codshead and his friend, Crambo, are already in residence and they are joined by three more potential suitors: Justice Spoilwit, Sir John Noddy and Colonel Bounce. The action moves to the borders of Lady Haughty’s garden where Footpad and his men gather to lure the visitors outside with a song, prophetic in its allusion to roguish distraction, theft and pursuit. The play quickly moves into a phase whereby the vitality and spontaneity of lovemaking below stairs in the servants’ domain is played off against the joyless conventionality of the visitors’ courtship manoeuvres above. The commensal spirit of the symposiastic tradition, with its raucous potentiality, provides a structural framework within which the parallel spheres of above- and below-stairs hospitality are critiqued. A dining table scene may, in fact, be read as the comic antithesis of the Ovidian ‘banquet of the senses’ when delicacies famed for their aphrodisiacal qualities, scoffed by the visitors in the buttery, are a prelude not to seduction but
to drunken bellicosity. After the meal Isabella agrees to help the Colonel secure Lady Haughty’s hand, while privately resolving to marry him herself, a ruse that Haughty is happy to support.

Weary of her importuning guests, Haughty throws out a challenge that they ‘shew [their] parts’, a theatrical scene-filling device affording actors an opportunity to extemporise humorous by-play in exaggerated song and dance. This is dramatically interrupted when Crambo, in the throes of a literary psychosis, is carried on stage. Later, the astute Lady Haughty effects his full recovery with the application of that universal balm, hard cash, to his pocket. On the pretext of offering restorative music, Footpad and his men gain entry to the house disguised as fiddlers and abscond with Haughty’s valuables. Act Three closes in an uproar when Sir John Noddy’s monkey-tricks provoke the Colonel to issue his tormentor with a challenge which, through comic machinations, is never enacted. On the way to the venue for the duel, the four male guests encounter Footpad disguised as a cripple who, with the assistance of his rogues, strips them of clothing and binds them. Once released, the visitors return to the house where the robbery of Lady Haughty’s plate and jewels is discovered and a hue and cry raised. Footpad is duly apprehended and marched to the gallows, surrounded by heckling spectators, whose volatile mood he skilfully manipulates. In the meantime, Sir John Noddy marries Nan, believing her to be Lady Haughty, and the Colonel and Isabella wed, leaving Haughty to deliver her manifesto of independence. A last-minute reprieve engineered by Lady Haughty saves Footpad from hanging and he is returned to join in the Fifth Act ensemble at which the true identities of the married couples are revealed.

Dramatic Analogues

The overarching motif of theft, figured in The Triumphant Widow on a literal level by the activities of Footpad and his gang, is mirrored on a metaphorical plane in the play’s engagement with the ethics of plagiarism – a slippery term, susceptible to anachronistic misapplication. One of the great ironies of The Triumphant Widow is that despite its authors’

---

133 The visitors’ drunken high jinks recall the nocturnal revels of Sir Andrew Aguecheek and Sir Toby Belch in Shakespeare’s Twelfth Night (II.3).
wholesale appropriations from Shakespeare and Jonson, the work expends so much of its satirical energy on literary theft.

Shakespeare’s Autolycus of *The Winter’s Tale* is the obvious immediate dramatic antecedent for Footpad. Robert Greene was the author of foundational cony-catching pamphlets and the prose romance, *Pandosto* (1588), which provided source material for *The Winter’s Tale*. It was Shakespeare, however, who in reworking Greene’s equivalent figure recognised and enhanced the performative potential of the trickster role. Autolycus accounts for his thieving proclivities by claiming to have been ‘littered under Mercury’, the god of theft and patron of thieves but he is also, as Stephen Orgel reminds us, the god of eloquence and the inventor of the lyre. Like his dramatic precursor, Footpad’s glibness and ability to insinuate himself through the agency of music are intrinsic qualities of his protean character. After stealing a pedlar’s pack, Footpad adopts the disguise of a ballad-singing chapman in a sequence clearly modelled on Act Four, scene four of *The Winter’s Tale*. The ballad itemising the contents of his pack, ‘Come, Maids, what is it that you lack?’ (I.1.107 and *passim*) is clearly indebted to Autolycus’s song ‘Lawn as white as driven snow’. Similarly, the two-part song by rustics and their engagingly ingenuous deliberation on the veracity of ballads, have equivalents in the Shakespearean source. Cicely, enchanted by Footpad’s song, declares that he ‘sings like a Nightingal’ [sic] (I.1.137), and reiteration of the name of the ballad-singing cutpurse of Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* suggests the authors’ deliberate conflation, in Footpad, of the two trickster antecedents, Autolycus and Nightingale.

---

134 Although in Montague Summers’s view, the scenes of Footpad disguised as a pedlar are ‘reminiscent, without being in the least degree imitative, of *The Winter’s Tale*’ (Shadwell, *Works*, I, Introduction, p. xxxviii).
136 For production dates pre-Restoration, see *TWT* ed. Orgel, p. 80. As the last recorded performance of *The Winter’s Tale* on the professional stage had been in 1634, a generation of playhouse audiences had not experienced the magical effect of the stage direction ‘Enter Autolycus singing’.
At Act Two, scene three, the affinities of *The Triumphant Widow* with Jonson’s masque, *The Gypsies Metamorphos’d*, emerge when the rogues, in gypsy disguise, predict fortunes as a cover for pickpocketing. Few of *The Triumphant Widow*’s Dorset Garden audience could be expected to recognize the counterfeit gypsy routine as a relic of one of the greatest country-house masques of the Jacobean reign. It was first performed as a welcoming entertainment for James I at the residence of the Marquess (later Duke) of Buckingham, at Burley-on-the-Hill, on 3 August 1621. Further performances were given at the Belvoir estate of Buckingham’s father-in-law, the sixth Earl of Rutland, on 5 August 1621, and for the Court at Windsor in September that year. Newcastle, almost assuredly, would have attended at least one of these performances and the work appears to have held an abiding fascination for him. He possessed a manuscript of the masque in the ‘Windsor’ version, of stemmatic significance, bound in a volume that includes the Welbeck and Bolsover entertainments by Jonson, together with scribal copies of poems by Jonson, James I, Richard Andrews and John Donne. Newcastle’s ownership of the *Gypsies Metamorphos’d* manuscript is not surprising given his patronal connection to Jonson and allegiance to the masque’s topographical setting, the Peak District.

The irreverent mingling of low and high cultural modes as aristocratic players personated gypsy characters, the elements of country-dance, popular song and the sheer verve and audacity of this highly successful work would have suited Newcastle’s taste admirably.

Like the leader of Jonson’s gypsies, Footpad in *The Triumphant Widow* is addressed as ‘Captain’ by his men and fortune-telling is a cover for pickpocketing in both works. The faces of the aristocratic performers of the masque at Belvoir were supposedly artificially coloured with ‘walnuts and hog’s grease, the ‘ointment/ Made and laid on by Master Wolf’s appointment’ and this practice is invoked by the Rogues in *The Triumphant Widow* (II.3.17). Footpad’s opening remark that he and his men have made their camp in ‘a Cave the Sun never saw’ now

---

139 BL MS Harley 4955, fols 2r-30r. See Kelliher, pp. 134-73. The version printed in the 1640 folio of Jonson’s *Workes* is a revised composite, see BJCM, p. 493. For an analysis of the textual variants of the ‘Newcastle’ manuscript, see Jonson’s ‘Masque of Gipsies’ in the Burley, Belvoir, and Windsor Versions, ed. by W.W. Greg (London: Published for the British Academy by OUP, 1952), pp. 93-5.


141 BJCM, lines 1122; 1387-8. ‘Master Wolf’ has been identified as the Court Apothecary, John Wolfgang Rumler, see Andrea R. Stevens, “Assisted by a Barber’: The Court Apothecary, Special Effects and *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, Theatre Notebook, 61 (2007), 2-11.
begins to make sense, as an evocation of the gathering-place of Jonson’s gypsies at ‘the famous Peak of Derby/ And the Devil’s Arse there hard by’ (the ‘Devil’s Arse Cavern’).  

Courtier performers of Jonson’s work were members of the Marquess’s circle and included Endymion Porter, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (the husband of Newcastle’s cousin, Alatheia, née Talbot), and possibly Newcastle’s close friend, Sir Gervase Clifton (1587–1660), a wealthy and influential landholder of Nottinghamshire. In The Triumphant Widow, Justice Spoilwit’s cryptic comment on the probity of fortune-telling gypsies, ‘I do assure you I have known notable understanding men, men of excellent parts Gypsies’ (II.3.71–2) has special personal valence for Cavendish and can be read as a piece of self-referential humour.

Footpad’s song ‘The Nine Lady Muses’ (III.4.219–62) to the tune of ‘Cook Laurel’ (also variously, ‘Cock Lorel/Laurel’), sung to distract attention from his accomplices’ chicanery, pays homage to Jonson’s celebrated and scatological ballad, ‘Cock Lorel would needs have the devill his guest’. In Jonson’s version, the devil enjoys a repast of socially despised figures: ‘a Puritan poached’, ‘Promoter in plum broth’, ‘Six pickled tailors’ and so on (line 975 onwards), and concludes with the devil’s enormous fart. The parody in The Triumphant Widow draws on the conceit of a banquet at which poetical genres are presented in a range of tasty culinary styles.

---

142 The Gypsies Metamorphos’d, in Jonson, Works, VII, p. 569, lines 121–3. In ‘The King’s Entertainment at Welbeck’, commissioned by Newcastle from Jonson, the cavern is referred to as ‘bottomlesse, like Hell:/ Pooles-hole, or Satans sumptuous Arse’ (p. 795, lines 95–6). Newcastle owned a manuscript of Thomas Hobbes’s account of a journey taken to the Peak District in August 1627, De Mirabilibus Pecci (1636). Hobbes describes the so-called seven wonders of the Peak, including the ‘Devil’s Arse’: ‘And now we’re come (I blushing must rehearse)/ As most does stile it to the Devils Arse;/ Peaks Arse the Natives./ A noble Cave between two Rocks appears,/ Unto the Sun unknown, but to the Stars’ (De Mirabilibus Pecci, London: Printed for William Crook, 1678, p. 30).


144 BJCM, lines 975–1050, which includes extra verses exclusive to the ‘Windsor’ version. See also Knowles, “Songs of baser alloy”, pp. 158–9.

The play’s focus turns to the bustle and spontaneity of below-stairs domestic life, with the love intrigues of the serving girl, Mall and the lusty Master Cook; the latter character inspired by Lickfinger of Jonson’s *The Staple of News* (1631) and the Cook of Jonson’s unperformed masque, *Neptune’s Triumph for the Return of Albion* (1624). The Master Cook’s recital of ‘Kitchin Poetry’ (III.3.26-59) gives substance to Lickfinger’s thesis that ‘a good poet differs nothing at all from a master-cook. Either’s art is the wisdom of the mind’.  

### Characters and language

As the play’s sub-title promises, *The Triumphant Widow* employs humours theory as a structuring principle of characterisation, following the paradigm used pervasively and imaginatively by Ben Jonson.  

As scholars have commented, during the course of the seventeenth century, writers applied the paradigm indiscriminately and unevenly to not only ingrained psychological disorders but to affectations of dress and speech.  

Over the years Shadwell articulated and adjusted his application of humours characterisation, arriving at a liberal definition whereby ‘a good Comical Humour […] ought to be such an affectation, as misguides men in Knowledge, Art, or Science, or that causes defection in Manners, and Morality, or perverts their minds in the main Actions of their Lives’.  

*In* *The Triumphant Widow* humours theory is interpreted to include a broad range of affectations, from the ‘classic’ physiological complexions of Burton’s seminal theory to an attenuated form in particularized affectations. The sanguine Master Cook is representative of the former group, he is ‘inflamed’ in both the somatic and material senses, his lust heightened by the kitchen’s heat: ‘the fire makes us cholerick and very amorous […] we are now roasting in love’ (V.1.77-80). Colonel Bounce’s quick temper and bluntness are consonant with the *miles gloriosus* figure, reminiscent of the hot-headed Captain Ironside of Jonson’s *The Magnetic Lady*, and on a continuum with

---

146 BJCM, p. 410, lines 24-6. The antimasque of characters dancing out of the pot of *olla podrida* concocted by Jonson’s Master Cook is another analogue (BJCM, p. 418).  

147 Richard Dutton argues that scholars have misunderstood Jonson’s interest in humour psychology. In his often-quoted excursus (‘As when one peculiar quality/ Doth so possess a man…’) Asper is only using medical terminology as a metaphor and while a character’s ‘obsessive single-mindedness […] may be described in pathological terms [it] is actually a moral or social condition since it marks a resistance to the consideration of others, an assertion of self over the wider community’ (Ben Jonson: Authority, Criticism (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 115-7.)  


Major General Blunt in Shadwell’s *The Volunteers*, a former cavalier ‘somewhat rough in his Speech, but very brave and honest’. But these are qualities that the play condones, or at least finds preferable to Codshead’s tendency to ‘talk affectedly or nonsensically’ (I.2.244) in similes and empty oaths. The Colonel’s candid manner aligns him with other plain-spoken characters of sense who are often set in opposition to fashionable fops: in Newcastle’s canon, epitomised by Manley of *The Varietie*; in Shadwell’s, Sir Richard Plainbred of *The Lancashire Witches*.

There is symmetry in the creation of two pairs of characters, Crambo and Codshead, Sir John Noddy and Justice Spoilwit, who share certain thematically linked characteristics. Broadly speaking, in the case of the first pair this equates to vitiated speech, linguistic dullness and creative paralysis; in the second pair, to the boorishness of harmless provincial buffoons. Sir John is one of the ‘Noddy’s of the North’ (II.1.19-20), an *arriviste* who has bought his knighthood. Nan’s advance notice of Sir John: ‘the finest nice, perfum’d, periwig’d, feather’d Person in the World’ (II.4.23-4) suggests that originally he may have been conceived as a fop in the style of Monsieur Device in *The Country Captaine*, and perhaps in stage performance his costume bore this out, but the conventional affectations of speech associated with this stock character are not developed in the text. Noddy is the archetypal practical joke whose mock-wounded defence is always to imply that the victim lacks a sense of humour. His tedious pranks are the physical manifestation of his particular ‘byas of the mind’ – his insensitivity. It is incumbent upon his beleaguered sister to ‘make much of people’ - placate the offended guests left in Noddy’s wake – and local ties of vassalage afford him grudging immunity from his victims’ retaliation: ‘I vow I’d teach you better manners, were it not for my Lord’ (II.1.71-2). In the drunken scene (IV.2) he is quite oblivious to the Colonel’s mounting anger and its likely consequences.

As the genial, doddery country justice, Spoilwit’s social ambit is the rural circuit, pronouncing, as Lady Haughty scathingly remarks, ‘over penny Loaves and pounds of Butter’ (I.2.73). Spoilwit’s sanguine complexion renders him a genial side-kick to Sir John’s imbecility and

152 He might be seen as a forebear of Sir Jeffery Shacklehead of Shadwell’s *The Lancashire Witches*.
suggestible to the rogues’ palm-reading trickery. Although the follies of Noddy and Spoilwit are mocked, the moral design of the play does not extend to punishing them, nor at its conclusion is there any expectation that they will radically alter their behaviour. However, both Newcastle and Shadwell have a record of inflicting a form of charivari on their socially transgressive characters by pairing them off in déclassé marriages: in *The Triumphant Widow* Sir John is horrified to discover that he has been tricked into marrying Nan, but as Lady Haughty takes delight in disclosing, Nan’s genteel birth makes her Noddy’s social superior.

The rustic and waiting class characters are affectionately sketched, and their spontaneity and lusty vitality is a refreshing contrast to the passionless formality of their mistress’s suitors. The sexually charged Billingsgate exchanges of James and Margery (IV.2) resolve in their wry acknowledgement that for all their quarrelling, they may just as well be married. There is often a slyly ambivalent tone to the servants’ exaggerated deference to their superiors, hinting that they are less ingenuous than their mistress would like to believe. In response to Lady Haughty’s probing of her sexual continence, Margery can barely bring herself to repeat the ‘F’ word: ‘Fornication’, she exclaims, ‘is fit for your Ladiship, God bless us, what should we meddle with such things?’ (V.1.42-3). Her arch indignation brings to mind similar scenes composed by Newcastle for Margaret Cavendish’s play, *Lady Contemplation* (1662), in which Lord Title’s wheedling for the sexual favours of a self-professed ‘poor ignorant Country Maid’ Mall Mean-bred, is artfully blocked. A scene of the servants’ mettlesome flyting is juxtaposed with Codshead’s dismal advances to Haughty, a bloodless recital of platitudes poached from *The Academy of Complements*, the manual of last resort for the unimaginative. The humour of the scene resides in its interplay of Lady Haughty’s indifference, Codshead’s empty blandishments, and Crambo’s admiration of his style.

---

153 Brian Corman makes that point that Shadwell does not attempt to educate his characters of their folly but changes the pedagogical process so that through self-recognition, audience members are to be driven out of their humours (*Genre and Generic Change in English Comedy 1660-1710* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 21-2.

154 For example, in *The Country Captaine*, Captain Underwit is married off to Lady Huntlove’s maid and in *The Sullen Lovers* Sir Positive At-all is married to a whore.


156 In his monograph on English printed miscellanies, Adam Smyth cites Codshead’s laboured recitation of amorous clichés as an example of the miscellany’s power to mark their readers as ‘unrefined, ignorant, absurd, and so enforce a sense of social hierarchy as something fixed and certain’ (’Profit and Delight’: *Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), pp. 29-31.
Both Shadwell and Newcastle strove to supply their plays with naturalistic dialogue. It is easy to let aspects of the play, like Codsheds’s tedious lapses into cliché or oaths, obscure its linguistic subtleties: Colonel Bounce’s phatic embellishments – ‘as the world goes’, ‘when the worst comes to the worst’ (III.4.72-3) and so on, that serve to foreclose further intimacy. Lady Haughty’s speech and deportment mark her as an admirable character in the mould of Lady Beaufield of Newcastle’s The Varietie, and at further remove, Jonson’s Lady Loadstone in The Magnetic Lady. Her dialogue with her women in the garden (I.2; II.4) in which she sardonically dismisses the professions of hypothetical suitors is shaped by the aphoristic style of the ‘character’. When her male companions become unbearable, Haughty disappears; the play is full of her strategic exits and excuses for delayed entrances. Her sense of humour, an attribute more commonly the preserve of young, witty heroines, is tested in the scene in which Codsheds embarks on his campaign to court her. His recital of mangled compliments is accompanied by the simple stage direction ‘The Widow smiles’ (III.2.84.1). Lady Haughty is revealed as an independent-minded woman who has a low tolerance of fools but it is not the authors’ intention to endow her with a complex interior life. Her dramatic function as an exemplary figure is discussed further in the section discussing Lady Haughty and widowhood.

Footpad and his Rogues

Newcastle’s affection for the motifs and characters of Nottinghamshire folk history has been addressed by scholars in the context of the two entertainments provided for Charles I, ‘The King’s Entertainment at Welbeck’ (1633), and ‘Love’s Welcome to Bolsover’ (1634), devised to affirm Newcastle’s political identity in the Midlands. In particular, Robin Hood, the legendary outlaw figure whose carnivalesque spirit was perpetuated in the May festivities that Newcastle championed, seems to have held special significance for him.157 The benign face of roguery suited Newcastle’s self-presentation when, during his exile and chronically short of cash he was, in effect, a masterless man, in his own words, ‘making shift’: ‘None will lend me two shillings here, but fly me […] as if I was the arrantest knave and rogue in the world’ he

157 The Welbeck entertainment includes a running at the tilt, contested by men of the ‘blood’ of Robin Hood, see Brown, ‘Courtesies of Place’, pp. 152-57. The decorative ceiling of the Little Castle at Bolsover depicts musical notation identified as a ballad relating to Robin Hood and Little John (Hulse, ‘Apollo’s Whirligig’, p. 231).
joked in a letter to a friend. The romanticized, sanitised, outlaw figure was one thing, but from the security of post-Restoration Welbeck Newcastle took a different tack, writing in his advice book to Charles II:

There is one thing that is a great trouble to the kingdom and is little looked after; those sturdy vagrant rogues that are beggars throughout the kingdom should be looked into carefully […] There are also companies of gypsies that should be destroyed, for they are all thieves. To be a gypsy is felony by the statute law, but that law is never put into execution, so that the kingdom is full of them. (Anzilotti, p. 139)

Newcastle’s collocation equating rogues, beggars, gypsies and thieves is congruent with the contemporary application of ‘rogue’ to any rootless figure, thus blurring taxonomic boundaries between the indigent, homeless, and criminal sub-cultures. The liminal status of both professional travelling players and outlaws is evoked early in The Triumphant Widow with Footpad’s analogy of the rogues’ den to a tiring room, ‘for your compleat Rogue must shift as often as your Player’ (I.1.3-4). Throughout the play the latent metatheatricality of rogue characterisation is held firmly in the foreground in changes of disguise and the rogues’ frame-breaking doubling as fiddlers on stage. At the gallows, the performative trajectory reaches its apex with Footpad’s histrionic coup de théâtre.

‘Footpad’ connotes a bandit who robs on foot as opposed to the more glamorous, mounted highwayman, like the notorious Captain James Hind whose fleetness is evoked at V.4.4. Post-Restoration literature and works published in the mid-eighteenth century project a romanticized view, and an increasing toleration of the mounted highwayman, reflected in sobriquets like ‘knight of the road’ and ‘gentleman of the highway’. Footpad’s centrality to The Triumphant Widow’s wider metaphor of theft has resulted in his refashioning as a more sharply drawn, cynical figure than Newcastle’s original rogue in ‘Merrye Humor’. The gang’s ruses in The Triumphant Widow are reminiscent of the opportunistic gulling perpetrated by

---

158 The unquenchable optimism that Margaret identified as characteristic of her husband surfaces in one of Newcastle’s many courtship poems to her, lauding the itinerant life: ‘Sweet harte, we are beggars; our Comfort’s t’is seen,/ That we are Undunne for the Kinge and the Queene’. Margaret could have been forgiven a coolish reception to the lines promising that ‘when the wether growes cold and rawe,/ We’ll in to the Barne and Tumble in Straw’ (‘A Songe’, from The Phanseys, lines 1-2; 11-12).


trickster characters of Tudor jest books, widely circulated in the foundational works of rogue literature like Thomas Harman’s *A Caveat or Waring for Common Cursetors Vulgarely Called Vagabones* (1566) and Robert Greene’s ‘cony-catching’ pamphlets. It is a definition that perfectly captures Footpad’s modus operandi and ambition as, in sequence, he charms with song, personates a maimed beggar, insinuates himself into Lady Haughty’s house as a fiddler and contemplates, tongue-in-cheek, semi-retirement in a state-funded sinecure.

Commentators have remarked on the proliferation of alternative vagrant communities depicted in a group of plays performed in the 1640s, and note their agency in the diffusion of contemporary political, social and economic concerns. Crucially, the vagabond life enjoyed by these idealized communities is typically construed as finite; a temporary hiatus before the resumption of the comfort and security of a former, privileged life. However, it is one of the ironies of the era’s stage depictions of alternative communities, whether portraying aristocrats in their liberating green space or vagabonds, they invariably adopt a social stratification that mimics the very hierarchical power structures they appear to critique.

In the era of *The Triumphant Widow*’s staging, civil authorities were becoming increasingly concerned that the admonitory function of public executions was being undermined by the complex and unpredictable social energy of the crowds gathering to witness these events. The inherent instability of such theatres of punishment provides the satirical bite of one of the

---

161 For example, Greene’s *A Notable Discovery of Coosenage* (1591), *The Blake Bookes Messenger* (1592), and under the pseudonym ‘Cuthbert Cony-Catcher’ (possibly with Thomas Nashe), *The Defence of Conny Catching* (1592). Harman’s *A Caveat or Waring for Common Cursetors Vulgarely Called Vagabones* (1566) was dedicated to William Cavendish’s paternal grandmother, the Countess of Shrewsbury. Arthur F. Kinney comments tactfully that ‘[s]he was occasionally known for charity and her name was associated with the almshouse at Derby, but she was probably not as sympathetic to the poor as Harman seems to imply in his dedication of the pamphlet to her.’ *(Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars: A New Gallery of Tudor and Early Stuart Rogue Literature Exposing the Lives, Times, and Cozening tricks of the Elizabethan Underworld)* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), p. 297.

162 Introduction to *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture*, ed. Dionne and Mentz, pp. 1–2.


more humorous incidents in the play, when Footpad refuses to play the penitent’s role. The contours and conventions of gallows speeches are delightfully overturned when he upbraids the crowd for its incessant hounding: ‘You examine me as if you would hang me after I am hang’d: pray Officers rid me of these impertinent people and let me die in quiet’ (V.4.20-22). A last-minute reprieve, engineered by Lady Haughty, releases Footpad, who delivers one of the play’s Epilogues, in which he intimates that he may not be entirely ready to ‘go straight’.

One minor point needs to be made about the rogues’ language: other than ‘cheat’, used in a general sense for ‘fraud’ and ‘doxies’ as slang for ‘sweethearts’, there is no attempt to replicate the cant terms or ‘pedlar’s French’ of the foundational works of rogue literature, harnessed in the interests of authenticity in works like The Gypsies Metamorphos’d, John Fletcher’s The Beggar’s Bush (1647) and Brome’s A Jovial Crew. Footpad and his men fulfil a theatrical function as the subversive generators of the epitasis, the complicating factor.

Lady Haughty and Widowhood

Lady Haughty’s waiting woman, Nan, lays the groundwork for the ‘substitute bride’ trick, whereby she will supply her mistress’s place in a marriage to the unsuspecting Sir John Noddy. Haughty will arrive veiled because, Nan reveals, ‘she has some Suits at Law in her name, which are near ended: and if her Marriage be known, or can be proved, they must be begun again in your’s’. ‘My Lady has reason’ replies Sir John Noddy (V.2.269-72) and, since at the time of the play’s performance women comprised about a third of all legal plaintiffs, a good proportion of the audience would have empathized with the predicament.166 The reference to Haughty’s outstanding litigation foregrounds the play’s underlying concern with the sensitive issue of a widow’s loss of legal agency and autonomy with remarriage.

Case studies of seventeenth-century women’s property negotiations highlight the diversity and complexity of women’s legal involvement and the gulf between statute and practice. As a feme

166 Unresolved law suits ‘inherited’ by a widow could be continued in her own name by entering ‘bills of revivor’. For specific cases in which a widow’s change in status from feme sole to feme covert impacted on legal actions, see Tim Stretton, Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 39, 41, 111, 132-5.
covert, a married woman could not enter into contracts, assert or defend her rights in court without male assistance.\textsuperscript{167} Widows, however, enjoyed an independent legal status and could inherit property, sue and be sued in their own names, lend and borrow money.\textsuperscript{168} The most common arrangement was for a widow to enjoy ‘dower rights’, that is a life estate of one-third of all real property owned by her husband’s estate, but on remarriage and the woman’s return to coverture, her lifetime interest was usually revoked.\textsuperscript{169} Barbara J. Harris’s remarkable examination of records relating to sixteenth-century aristocratic women provides convincing evidence that widowhood offered an attractive and fulfilling alternative to remarriage. Widows frequently acted as even-handed executors of their husbands’ wills, were active in the daily operation of large estates, employed staff and supervised the collection and auditing of income.\textsuperscript{170} It seems that the desire to have more control over their own financial welfare may have contributed to the rising number of real life widows opting to remain single. For widows rich in business capital or property, the financial disincentive to remarry makes it hardly surprising that wealthy widows were less likely to remarry.\textsuperscript{171} Although dramatic representations of widows are generally skewed to the contrary, Jennifer Panek’s study takes issue with the notion that widows were discouraged from remarrying. She argues that remarriage for widows was ‘not only a common fact of life […] but a socially, economically, and morally approved fact as well’.\textsuperscript{172}

While the staple negative attributes of Jacobean and Caroline stage widowhood – sexual incontinence, gullibility and venality – remain trusty tools of dramatic limning, stage widows of the latter half of the seventeenth century are noticeably legally proactive.\textsuperscript{173} Lady Loveyouth in Shadwell’s The Humorists is a case in point. When considering a second marriage her knee-jerk response is to send for the scrivener: ‘bid him bring a Blank

\textsuperscript{170} Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (NY: OUP, 2002), pp. 128, 134, 148. This study, of course, is confined to the experiences of the wealthy aristocracy. Erickson maintains that ‘ordinary women’ also maintained substantial property interests but their records are more difficult to uncover (*Women and Property*, p. 19).
\textsuperscript{171} Erickson, *Women and Property*, pp. 196, 202.
\textsuperscript{173} From his study of dramatic representations of women’s legal engagement, Stretton observes a movement from representations of women as victims to women as litigants, developing into a character type that reached its apogee in Restoration comedy (*Women Waging Law*, p. 58). Awdry Fitchow of Richard Brome’s comedy, *The Northern Lass* (1632), provides a striking example of the crafty, litigiously savvy Caroline widow.
Conveyance with him: for though I do resolve to make Mr. Crazy my Husband, yet I will dispose of my Estates, as prudent Widdows are wont to do." Lady Chearly in A True Widow plans to marry her steward to prevent him from exposing her legal chicanery, reasoning that a husband cannot testify against his wife. In William Wyckerley’s The Plain Dealer (1677) Mistress Blackacre, the doyenne of litigating widows, wheedles for her independence: ‘O stay, sir; can you be so cruel as to bring me under covert-baron again, and put it out of my power to sue in my own name? Matrimony, to a woman, is worse than excommunication, in depriving her of the benefit of the law, and I would rather be deprived of life." Conventionally, these comedic widows put up a plucky fight but are bested by their male opponent and recuperated back into the patriarchal order. It is likely, therefore, that Lady Haughty’s renunciation of remarriage early in The Triumphant Widow would have been received with scepticism by contemporary audiences, who might assume from the play’s title that it would conclude with a rapprochement of the genders.

Lady Haughty’s rejection of marriage ‘because this Age affords not such a man as I would have’ (V.5.87-8) is followed by a desiderata of the attributes of her ideal partner. The tone of the speech looks back to Moll Cutpurse’s similar deferral of marriage in Middleton and Dekker’s The Roaring Girl (1611). When asked by Lord Noland ‘when wilt marry?’ Moll’s reply is impersonal and conditional upon a moral regeneration of London’s citizenry that is clearly unrealistic: ‘[when] … Honesty and truth unslandered,/ Woman man’d but never pandred’. Lady Haughty’s list chimes with the verbal modelling of the ideal husband by characters in two of Margaret Cavendish’s plays, The Public Wooing (1662) and The Sociable Companions; or, The Female Wits (1668). In the former instance, Lady Prudence champions the selection of a mate by inner qualities rather than physical appearance and wealth. In the latter instance marriage to ‘an old and wise’ partner is advocated in an address which it is hard

176 For example, Lady Flippant of Wycherley’s Love in a Wood, or St. James’s Park (1672) protests that she will never remarry but finally capitulates to Sir Simon Addlepot.
177 Lady Haughty’s claim to self-determination has been registered by Barbara J. Todd, ‘The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered’, in Women in English Society 1500-1800, ed. by Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 54-92, (p. 55). More recent research suggests that Todd may have overestimated societal pressure on widows to remarry.
not to read as a vindication of Margaret’s personal choice of an older mate. In the 1677 edition of *The Triumphant Widow*, the Colonel’s amazement at her manifesto sparks off this exchange:

**COLONEL BOUNCE:** When do you think to find such a man? God take me, I’d not be such a man for such a Widow.

**LADY HAUGHTY:** Nor I neither, I desire to be a Politician and a States-man, for nothing but that I may have power to do wrong, there is such pleasure in it. (V.5.108-12).

Douglas Canfield suggests that Lady Haughty’s lines above have been misattributed and should rightfully be spoken by Justice Spoilwit. Rather, I believe they should be ascribed to the subversive Footpad, whose satire of court-appointed sinecures (a Monopoly of Roguery) is registered earlier (III.3.80). Then follows the coda, a paean to imperial self-sufficiency, by Lady Haughty:

*Till such a man I find I'le sit alone,*  
*And triumph in the liberty I owne:*  
*I ne’er will wear a matrimonial Chain,*  
*But safe and quiet in this Throne remain,*  
*And absolute Monarch o’re my self will reign.* (V.5.113-7)

Margaret Cavendish scholars would be quick to identify the ethos of retreat and withdrawal espoused by Haughty with the discourse of absolute selfhood that Margaret Cavendish frequently mobilises. Catherine Gallagher has suggested that in the light of women’s exclusion from political appointment, and with the denial of full constitutional subjectivity for women, Cavendish embraced the metaphor of monarchy as a paradigm of ‘self-enclosed, autonomous’ female subjectivity. Unlike Footpad, Haughty cannot envisage embarking on

---


180 Canfield reasons that at the play’s conclusion Justice Spoilwit remains without a suitable spouse and ‘will sublimate his frustrated sexual desires’ (*Tricksters and Estates*, p. 150).

181 Rejection of the ‘chain’ of maternity in favour of female reclusion accords with Margaret’s scrutiny through her plays and orations of the vicissitudes and inequities of marriage. In Cavendish’s *The Female Academy* (1662), *Bell in Campo* (1662), *The Convent of Pleasure* (1668) and *The Description of a New World, called The Blazing World* (1666), characters transcend culturally prescribed modes of behaviour to establish exclusively female communities within non-domestic spheres. Typically, the community is dismantled at the end of the play and the status quo of patriarchal authority restored. See Erin Lang Bonin, ‘Margaret Cavendish’s Dramatic Utopias and the Politics of Gender’, *SEL*, 40 (2000), 339-54 (p. 340).

a career as ‘a Politician and a States-man’ (line 110) for the very reason – the prohibition of women from taking public office – that is cited as the impetus for Margaret Cavendish’s conception of female sovereignty.\textsuperscript{183} Haughty’s dependence on male agency in having to enlist her brother to order a reprieve for Footpad underscores the prescriptive state of women’s access to political appointment that currently prevailed.

Although Haughty’s manifesto has close ideological parallels to Margaret’s work, there are also striking verbal and metaphorical similarities to Clarinda’s plangent renunciation of love in Shadwell’s \textit{The Virtuoso} (1676):

\begin{quote}
\textit{But spight of Love I will be free,}
\textit{And triumph in the liberty}
\textit{I without him enjoy.}
\textit{I’th’ worst of Prisons I’ll my body bind,}
\textit{Rather than Chain my free-born mind,}
\textit{For such a foolish Toy.} (III, IV, p. 155)
\end{quote}

Victoria Kahn, Susan Staves and Michael McKeon are amongst scholars who cite the works of Margaret Cavendish, Shadwell and Newcastle as evidence that increasingly, in dramas of the latter part of the seventeenth century, women protagonists signal a nascent political consciousness through the discourse of absolutist politics.\textsuperscript{184} They argue that since the political relationship of sovereign and subject supplied the paradigm for the relationship of husband and wife, so changing notions of the contractual obligations of kingship posited marriage as a contract wherein the interests of both parties are acknowledged.\textsuperscript{185} Specifically addressing Lady Haughty’s speech above, McKeon reads the declaration in the context of seventeenth-century contractarian political theory. He suggests that ‘[William] Cavendish uses the public figure of the absolute monarch to signify the negative liberty of the private widow,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{183} In an address ‘To the Two Universities’, accompanying Cavendish’s \textit{Philosophical and Physical Opinions}, she amplifies her frustration that women are ‘shut out of all power, and Authority by reason we are never employed either in civil nor marshall affaires, our counsels are despised, and laught at, the best of our actions are troden down with scorn, by the over-weaning conceit men have of themselves and through a dispisement of us’ (\textit{Philosophical and Physical Opinions, Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, an\textemdash Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle} [London: Printed for J. Martin and J. Allestrye, 1655], sig. B2’.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{185} Staves, \textit{Players’ Scepters}, p. 186; Staves, \textit{Married Women}, p. 164; McKeon, pp. 147-51.
\end{flushright}
who has been freed from the chains of marriage’, the implication being that ‘to be free of
subjection to another is to be subject to oneself’. 186

*The Triumphant Widow*, then, delivers a salutary message that for the woman with financial
security and a sense of self-sufficiency, the prospect of travelling what Haughty calls ‘the
common High-way of Love’ (II.4.45) can be a desultory journey. During the latter end of the
seventeenth century, public anxiety over the successful passage of property to the next
generation was reflected in legislative measures that ultimately disadvantaged both wives and
widows. 187 John Locke’s theories of contract added another dynamic to the problematic issue
of remarriage, and I believe that we catch a sense of this shift in social values in the depiction
of Lady Haughty’s truculent stand.

**Country-house Hospitality and Governorship**

Amongst the Portland Collection of literary manuscripts is an undated verse entitled ‘The
Divorce’, an elegy composed by Newcastle at the prospect of his departure from Welbeck. In
a style reminiscent of Jonson’s ‘To Penshurst’, the country seat is limned not as an Arcadian
retreat of solitary introspection but as the site of elegant sociability:

[...] No more the Neater wine turne the house round,
And Strangers Cares in the Arch’d Cellars dround,
Or daintie Fare best drest, Apollo’s Beere,
And softer musique ravishing the Eare,
Or sumptuous Hangings, heavy Antique Plate,
Carpets of Persia, Cloath of Gold the State,
Pictures, Romes pride would emulate to see,
The Entertainments made Men statues bee;
And all the Pleasures, Arts that man devises,
Welbecke could warme you at her better Fires.
Therefore farewell, since now thou’rt left alone,
Nothing to brag on, but old wood to stone. 188

---

186 McKeon, pp. 128, 135-6.
187 Amy Louise Erickson maintains that ‘[f]rom the late seventeenth century Parliament and the judiciary steadily
eliminated widows’ property rights, after a long period (two or three hundred years) of relative stasis’. She adds
that ‘[t]he rapidly declining number of widows named executrix following the statutory limitations of the late
seventeenth and early eighteenth century reflects the limitation of widows’ power intended by those statutes,
adopted by ordinary men.’ (‘Property and Widowhood in England 1660-1840’, in *Widowhood in Medieval and
188 Nottingham University MS PwV26 fol. 131r. It is transcribed in Rolleston’s hand.
Newcastle’s distress is quickened by the recollection of the times when Welbeck’s richly adorned walls supplied a theatrical backdrop for the indulgence of sensual pleasures – food, wine, music and entertainment. His houses were specifically designed to maximise the dramatic potentiality of their spaces but, so the poem concludes, these walls are reduced to their base elements without the essential, vivifying component of human sociability.  

Leah Marcus, Cedric Brown, James Knowles, Julie Sanders, Lisa Hopkins and Matthew Steggle are amongst scholars who have addressed Newcastle’s royal entertainments at Welbeck and Bolsover with a particular focus on their complex negotiation of the traditions of rural hospitality and courtly compliment. Newcastle’s political pre-eminence and his cultural interests, Brown argues, were enhanced by Jonson’s careful mediation of the dynamic potentialities of locality, patron and guest. In a discussion of Brome’s A Jovial Crew and its valorisation of rural hospitality, Matthew Steggle describes Newcastle’s Nottinghamshire location as ‘an idyllic land of pastoral virtue and old-fashioned custom’ with a rich tradition of country-house drama. The decline of these values of aristocratic obligation and social reciprocity is registered in The Triumphant Widow.

Isabella describes Lady Haughty’s house as ‘the Exchange for Suitors, the Dining-room is always full of Lovers of you, and the Hall always full of eating Parsons and other Lovers of lusty Dinners’ (I.2.16–19). The play emphasizes Haughty’s strong imperative to uphold the sociability and civility associated with noble country houses, yet such traditions were in decline as patterns of entertaining, domestic spaces, and notions of individual privacy changed. These spatial changes are registered in The Triumphant Widow by the servants’ command over the Great Hall, once the focus of ‘the drama of commensality’, while Haughty and her guests dine in a more intimate room above.

Lady Haughty’s values are presented in bleak opposition to the ill manners of Sir John Noddy and, to a lesser extent, Justice Spoilwit whose trite conversation at the dining table and disrespectful treatment of her staff transgress contemporary codes of civility. By drawing a weapon on a fellow guest, Colonel Bounce doubles the gravity of his offence. Even the notion of the nobleman’s country-seat as a cradle for élite dramatic performance, which Newcastle personally had been so careful to cultivate, takes a hammering along the way. Crambo’s entertainment is curtly dismissed by the hostess, by now at the end of her tether: ‘This Dance is very well written indeed, as fine a pen’d Dance as can be: I’le go see what’s become of my Cousin…’ (V.5.10-12).

Despite Haughty’s punctilious stewardship, the sexual promiscuity of her servants is a developing threat to the harmony and stability of the household. In Early Modern parlance, ‘family’ was understood to encompass all those living under the same roof, including servants. This unit itself was subject to the hierarchies of family proper, ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ servants, with the master or mistress of the household exercising, in Michael McKeon’s phrase, ‘something like “absolute” “public” authority of employment and discipline’. The seigneurial, almost prurient interest Haughty takes in her servants’ sexual activity is informed by prevailing precepts of prudent domestic management. In an assumed trickle-down of moral pastorship, a house was judged as much by the comportment of its staff as by that of its master or mistress. This is balanced by the benevolent face of noblesse oblige when Haughty promises her newly-wed servants, ‘I’le give you your first piece of Household stuff’ (III.1.121). The model offered of good stewardship is interesting in the light of the scandals that enveloped the Newcastles in the 1670s, after Margaret alienated servants and family members by playing an increasing role in the management of Welbeck estate affairs.194


194 Threatened by Margaret’s scrutiny of their record-keeping and by the spectre of her rule after the Duke’s death, some of the couple’s servants connived at a plot devised to separate the pair. An anonymous letter libeling Margaret was sent to the Duke, but the perpetrators were discovered and court proceedings followed. After Margaret’s death, early in 1674, rumours circulated that some of the young maidservants, ‘being presumptuously and extravagantly ambitious’, were making sexual advances to the Duke (Whitaker, p. 342, citing University of Nottingham MS PwL 74).
Sequestration and Colonel Bounce

As we have seen, comedies of the seventeenth century abound in younger sons who resort to the cynical, calculated pursuit of a wealthy widow to resolve the financial consequences of primogeniture. In the plots of post-Restoration comedies, the widow-hunting schema gains a new impetus as destitute royalist supporters add a fresh cohort to the ranks of opportunistic younger brothers and aristocratic wastrels. In *The Triumphant Widow* we learn that Colonel Bounce is driven to woo Lady Haughty following the sequestration of his estate during the Interregnum. In an exchange with Isabella, whom Bounce actually prefers, he confesses:

**BOUNCE:** Look ye, Madam, the case is this, I'le go upon the square with my Lady, I have a thousand pounds a year, but ‘tis mortgaged very deep, for I was hatter’d and sequestred, as many brave Fellows were for serving the King; but no more to be said. (III.2.1-5)

The Colonel’s intentions are couched in the familiar rhetoric of commercial exchange, albeit with a reversal of gender conventions, as he continues: ‘the business is, thus was my Estate engaged, and I hearing of this Widow, faith was content to mortgage my body to her to redeem my Land’ (III.2.22-4). Bounce’s predicament links *The Triumphant Widow* ideologically to a group of comedies composed in the 1660s, including John Tatham’s *The Rump* (1660), John Wilson’s *The Cheats* (1664) and Sir Robert Howard’s *The Committee* (perf. c.1662, pub. 1692). These works are heavily freighted with satire at the expense of hypocritical puritans, parliamentarian political aspirants and committeemen who, having greedily snatched up confiscated estates of delinquent royalists now ape their ‘betters’ by developing a taste for the high life.

The 1660 Act of Indemnity and Oblivion absolving all but a few offenders (notably the regicides) from their partisan malfeasances of the 1640s and 1650s was designed to help secure constitutional cohesion, delicately balanced upon a coalition of unlikely political bedfellows. However, the resentment of delinquent royalists was exacerbated when they enviously watched their former adversaries reaping the financial rewards of political patronage. Newcastle’s estates were sequestrered and finally confiscated in July 1651, allegedly to fund

---

Parliament’s war in Ireland. A substantial proportion of the landholdings of William and his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, were sold off in piecemeal fashion between 1652 and 1653. Gallingly, the family homes at Welbeck and Bolsover were purchased by old Parliamentarians. Margaret Cavendish’s Life of the Duke documents the complex wrangling required to settle Sir Charles’s debts and regain her husband’s estate at rates which, according to Margaret, were ‘more then [sic] many others had paid for much greater Estates’. Shadwell, too, suffered a reversal of his family fortunes when his father, John Shadwell, was ‘heavily mulcted [i.e. taxed] by the Parliament’ and suffered sequestration of his estates.

Major General Blunt of Shadwell’s The Volunteers, or The Stock-Jobbers (1693) is described in the play’s Dramatis Personæ as ‘an old Cavalier Officer, somewhat rough in Speech, but very brave and honest, and of good Understanding, and a good Patriot’. He embodies the good-humoured stoicism of one who has been able to come to terms with royalist grievances and has philosophically put the past firmly behind him. Speaking of his ability to provide his daughters’ dowries he reassures them:

M.G. BLUNT: I have a pretty good Estate, and might have had a Thousand Pound a Year more, but that I must flye from the University forsooth, to run a Cavaliering, and so to have the honour to be flung from one Jayle into another, and be sequester’d and Decimated, after being run, and shot through, and hack’d to some purpose for my Loyalty.

(V, I.1, pp. 164-5)

Blunt’s dignified acceptance of his predicament is offset against the vainglory of two characters simply identified as ‘Cavalier 1’ and ‘Cavalier 2’ who squabble pointlessly over who came ‘nearer being hang’d for Plots for the King’. In The Triumphant Widow similar post-bellum braggadocio surfaces in Colonel Bounce’s blackly humorous complaint that he ‘had as like to have had the honour of being hang’d for the King as any man, and ’tis true many undeserving persons were brought to the Scaffold, that did not merit the honour like my self’ (III.2.10-12).
By the time of *The Triumphant Widow*’s staging, ‘cavalier’, as Graham Roebuck reminds us, had become a deeply ambivalent term. Used by the Roundheads in the 1640s as a signifier of ‘vanity… ready violence, sexual depravity, and fallen fortunes leading to rashness of action’, royalist exiles recuperated the term to impute loyalty. Post-Restoration, ‘cavalier’ bifurcated oddly to denote either wit and buffoonery or discontent and impetuosity, the latter trait being Colonel Bounce’s particular ‘humour’. Bounce’s revelation of his impecuniousness draws Isabella’s sympathy and significantly, establishes his bona fides as a royalist supporter and sufferer at the hands of Commonwealth authorities. The moral laxity and boorish antics of counterfeit officer characters like Cutter and Worm of Abraham Cowley’s *Cutter of Coleman Street* (1663) and Bilboe and Titere Tu of John Wilson’s *The Cheats* had muddied audiences’ preconceptions of the integrity of disbanded royalist soldiers. Cowley’s play, set in the final days of the Protectorate, includes a royalist supporter, Colonel Jolly, who puts aside his partisanship and marries a parliamentarian’s widow in order to recover his confiscated land. The alacrity with which Jolly suspends his loyalty greatly antagonised the audience at the play’s première and Cowley felt compelled to clarify, in a Preface to the printed edition, that the ‘Pretended Officers of the Royal Army’ were, in fact, ‘Aliens who only usurped that name.’ Sir Robert Howard’s *The Committee* leaves no room for interpretative ambivalence as Colonels Blunt and Carlesse eschew taking the Covenant and face a similar financial predicament to *The Triumphant Widow*’s Bounce, for their land must be sold or mortgaged to alleviate debt. Howard’s immediate satirical target is the hypocrisy of puritans whose personal cupidity is cloaked by the collective, high-minded aspiration ‘whereby they [committeemen] may have a godly Opportunity of doing good for themselves’ and confiscated estates ‘may of right fall into the hands of the Chosen’.

The comedies referred to above register two related concerns: at a muted level, a perception that the King had failed to address the financial suffering of many of his loyal followers, and more stridently, the anxiety of those who felt that the ascendancy of the middling sort was encroaching on privileges that inhered in aristocratic birth. Charles Hammond’s plea for

---

203 Ibid, Act II.1, sig. L2’.
more assistance for distressed royalists explicitly addresses this resentment that ‘our Poverty for our Fidelity shall make us ridiculous, our inferiors predominating over us, and our Own Party not able to help one another, our complaints being kept from his majesty’s ear, as our persons, by our poverty are kept from his presence.’

Doubtless, many former royalist supporters were of Hammond’s view. However, after studying royalist land transactions in south-eastern England during the Interregnum Joan Thirsk concludes that although ‘[s]ome of the lesser Royalist gentry disappeared into social oblivion as a result of the sales, […] a larger number, including most of the nobility, managed to reassemble all or part of their estates before the Restoration. In The Triumphant Widow we are invited to read Sir John Noddy, a parvenu with a knighthood that cost him ‘five hundred pound’ (III.4.39), as one who has profited through canny side-choosing during the civil wars. Sir John’s integrity is marginally less tainted by quislingism than the unnamed target of Beauregard’s odium in Thomas Otway’s The Souldiers Fortune (1681), of whom it is said that

He was born a Vagabond, and no Parish own’d him, his Father was as obscure as his Mother publick, every body knew her […] The first thing he chose to rise by, was Rebellion, so a Rebel he grew, and flourisht a Rebel, fought against his King, and helpt to bring him to the Block […] In short, he was Committee man, Sequestrator and persecutor General of a whole County, by which he got enough at the Kings Return to secure himself in the general Pardon.

When Sir John realises that he has been tricked into marrying Nan rather than Lady Haughty, his protestations are squashed by Haughty with a sharp reminder of his humble parentage: ‘she whom you have married, is a better Gentlewoman than you are a Gentleman; her Father was a Gentleman, your’s [sic] an Ironmonger at London; her’s was ruin’d by Loyalty, as your’s was raised by Rebellion.’ (V.5.367–40). Royalist discontent over real or imagined reparative inequities may have abated in the 1670s but was not completely quenched in the succeeding decades. The volatile political climate of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis of the late 1670s and 1680s rekindled public concern that constitutional monarchy was under threat. Another crop of plays, including Aphra Behn’s adaptation, The Roundheads (1682), Otway’s The Souldiers Fortune (1681) and Thomas D’Urfey’s The Royalist (1682) rehearse and amplify

---


207 Newcastle himself had ‘bought’ his viscountcy: see Worsley, ‘Building a Family’, p. 245.

208 Thomas Otway, The Souldiers Fortune (London: Printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes, 1681), D2"
unresolved Royalist grievances. In the interim, Colonel Blunt in *The Triumphant Widow* offers a recension of Royalist self-sacrifice that attests to the durability of the stage cavalier phenomenon.

Shadwell, Dryden and ‘Crambo’

The intriguing role played by *The Triumphant Widow* in what was effectively a post-Restoration poetomachia has largely been unexplored but is significant to plot developments concerning the ‘heroic’ poet, Crambo. The quarrel was played out against a spate of disagreements amongst the leading playwrights, including the Duke of Newcastle’s protégés, Shadwell, Dryden, Elkanah Settle, and Richard Flecknoe. As discussed in an earlier section, Dryden’s *Of Dramatick Poesie* sparked a feud between the poet laureate and Shadwell, his eventual successor. Ostensibly engaging in a debate over literary aesthetics, Shadwell’s Prefaces and Dryden’s response in *An Evening’s Love* (perf. 1668, pub. 1671), dedicated to Newcastle, chart their intensifying tussle for pre-eminence as the arbiter of dramatic form, and for clientage. In the initial stages of the dispute Shadwell’s aggression was countered by Dryden’s serene reasonableness and what appears to be his alacrity to engage in a fruitful intellectual debate. However, ill-feeling was exacerbated by the protagonists’ respective allegiances to fiercely competitive, rival playhouses. As both a patron and dedicatee, the Duke was deeply implicated.

The quarrel between Dryden and Shadwell overlaps with a falling out between Elkanah Settle and Shadwell. Settle’s vitriolic attack on Dryden in the dedication of his lavishly expensive edition of *The Empress of Morocco* is thought to have generated the conviction amongst his peers that Settle, a usefully connected young dramatist, was an upstart who needed putting in his place. Dryden and Shadwell temporarily suspended hostilities to join with John Crowne in attacking Settle in their collaborative critique, *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco* (1674). Shadwell and Dryden then fell back happily to their own vendetta. However, even after rattling off a robust defence in his *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco*

---

209 The Royalist touches on another vexation faced by dispossessed landowners, recalcitrant tenants who, unclear of their legal position, were understandably reluctant to pay rents until their legal situation was clarified.
Revised, Settle remained disgruntled and generated the accusation discussed earlier in relation to Shadwell’s collaboration with Newcastle.

In *The Triumphant Widow* Isabella’s remark that heroic poets ‘are better Subjects of a Play than Authors’ (II.1.209-10) refers to the current rash of comedies satirising poet figures: Edward Howard was lampooned as the poet Ninny in *The Sullen Lovers*; Dryden as Drybob in *The Humorists*, as Bayes in Buckingham’s *The Rehearsal* (perf. 1671, pub. 1672), and as the Tutor in Joseph Arrowsmith’s *The Reformation* (1673). The ‘heroic poet’, Crambo, in *The Triumphant Widow* can be read simply as a variation on the poet manqué character that both Newcastle and Shadwell incorporated into their earlier comedies. However, let us consider whether there is a case for suggesting that Dryden, rather than Settle, is being targeted in the play’s characterisation of Crambo. The ‘heroic poet’, Crambo, in *The Triumphant Widow* can be read simply as a variation on the poet manqué character that both Newcastle and Shadwell incorporated into their earlier comedies. However, let us consider whether there is a case for suggesting that Dryden, rather than Settle, is being targeted in the play’s characterisation of Crambo. The scene takes as its inspiration the sequence in Jonson’s *The Poetaster, or, His Arraignement* (1602) in which Crispinus, a figure accepted as lampooning Thomas Dekker, is arraigned by a court of his Augustan peers to answer charges of bombast and plagiarism. His punishment includes dosing with emetics to ‘purge/ His brain and stomach of those tumorous heats’, followed by a restorative regimen metaphorically realised in classical works: ‘Catoes principles’, ‘the best Greekes as Orpheus, Musaeus, Pindarus’ and so on. Dekker retaliated in *Satiro-mastix; or, the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet* (1602) by reformulating Horace, a figure with whom Jonson personally identified, as a servile, mercenary character. Robert C. Evans draws an interesting parallel between Dekker’s intended humiliation of Jonson, and by implication his patrons, and Jonson’s reliance on patronage from Newcastle and his family. Dekker’s intention, Evans suggests, was ‘to enbarrass and humble the poet but also, less obviously, to

---

210 See Winn, p. 222.
211 David Vieth is prepared to entertain the possibility that ‘Dryden as well as Settle may be represented by Crambo’, ‘A Session of the Poets’ Reconsidered’ in *Attribution in Restoration Poetry: A Study of Rochester’s ‘Poems’ of 1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 296–321 (308-9, n9).
212 MS PwV23, fols. 4v-5r.
intimidate and provoke second thoughts among any of his potential patrons’. How fitting, given the centrality of Jonsonian comedy to the animus between Shadwell and Dryden, that a symbolically charged scenario of the first Poetomachia is salvaged in *The Triumphant Widow* in the cause of debunking a poetaster.

The mid-1670s proved to be something of a professional backwater for Dryden. As chief dramatist for the King’s Company, a troupe struggling to compete against the superior production capabilities of their opposition, Dryden would have been acutely conscious of the ramifications of his productive slough. Settle, on the other hand, was in his late twenties, revelling in the success of *Cambyses* and the distinction of securing Prologues from Dryden’s erstwhile patron the Earl of Rochester, and the Earl of Mulgrave for *The Empress of Morocco* – a work so successful that it was accorded a burlesque from the rival playhouse. Dryden was the wunderkind whom the Court wits – Buckingham, Buckhurst, Rochester and company – indulged but, as their lampoons attest, disdained for his neediness, his persistent striving for inclusion in their clique. Part of their ambivalence was, as Harold Love says, that ‘Dryden never tired of showing that he could perform the wits’ literary tricks even better than they could.’ He relished ridiculing his contemporaries’ Latin solecisms, and Crambo’s vaunt: ‘I am best at Translation’ (V.2.37), has the ring of mockery aimed at Dryden’s classical pedantry. We are on firmer ground with Crambo’s laments: ‘A Pox on’t, I am so dull, I cannot make a Quibble’ (III.1.67) and ‘I cannot break a Jest’ (V.2.37), which are unmistakable echoes of Dryden’s admission, ‘I am none of those who endeavour to break Jests in Company

---

216 According to Kunz, ‘Dryden was patronized by aristocrats, but he was never taken into the circle of Court Wits the way Shadwell was’ (*The Drama of Thomas Shadwell*, p. 5); see also Combe, ‘Introduction: Considering Shadwell’, p. 88.
218 Bayes admits to cribbing from the classics: ‘Perseus, Montaigne, Seneca’s Tragedies, Horace, Juvenal, Claudian, Pliny, Plutarch’s lives’ (I.1, sig. B2). Hume and Love comment that ‘none of these writers was particularly apropos to Dryden’s published work in 1671, though in the eighties and nineties he was to become a noted translator of and commentator upon classical authors. Buckingham’s point seems to be to suggest classical pretentions that neither Bayes nor Dryden can sustain’, *Plays, Poems*, I, (p. 636). ‘Translation’ in the sense of Dryden’s adaptation of French drama could, of course, also be implied.
or make repartees'. Dryden's self-deprecation was seized upon gleefully by Shadwell and put into the mouth of Drybob, in *The Humorists*: ‘Indeed I do value my self upon Reperty a little’ (I.204) and later, in an observation of his rival: ‘he has not wit; a damn’d dull fellow, he cannot break a jest in an hour’ (I, II, p. 205). Ironically, Crambo’s habit of surreptitiously copying his companions’ witty sayings into a notebook: ‘Very fine! I’le set it down, I’le use it’ (III.2.90) is itself a plagiary from Buckingham’s *The Rehearsal* in which Bayes-as-Dryden admits to carrying ‘a book of Drama Common places; the Mother of many other Plays’ for recording bon mots:

BAYES: I come into a Coffee-house, or some other place where witte men resort; I make as if I minded nothing; (do you mark?) but as soon as anyone speaks, pop I slap it down, and make that, too, my own.

Significantly, given the centrality of Jonson to Shadwell and Dryden’s bickering, the suggestion of an application of ‘my dear Friend Mr Johnson’s Works’ to Crambo’s head, elicits the warning ‘Oh, have a care, Doctor he hates *Ben Johnson*, he has an Antipathy to him’ (IV.1.80-1). ‘Oh, I hate *Johnson*, oh oh, dull dull, oh oh no Wit’ confirms Crambo (IV.1.82-4), evoking Dryden’s incendiary judgement of Jonson in *Of Dramatick Poesie* as a poet of ‘frugal wit’.

Admittedly, the accusation of plagiarism, like that of ‘dullness’, was a routine jibe of combatants in the poetical war, most notably in Rochester’s opening salvo in ‘An Allusion to Horace’ (‘Well Sir, ‘tis granted, I said Dryden’s Rhymes,/ Were stollen, unequal, nay dull many times’), and redirected at his nemesis by Dryden in *Mac Flecknoe*.

---

219 Dryden: ‘I know I am not so fitted by Nature to write Comedy: I want that gayety of humour which is required to it. My conversation is slow and dull, my humour Saturnine and reserv’d: In short, I am none of those who endeavour to break Jests in Company, or make reparties’, ‘A Defence of an Essay of Dramatique Poesie’ prefixed to the second edition of Dryden’s *The Indian Emperour* (1668), Dryden, *Works*, IX, (p. 8, lines 1–5). Shadwell’s ‘The Medal of John Bayes: Or, a Satyr Upon Folly and Knavery’, contains the lines ‘For thou are Saturnine, thou dost confess,/ A civil word thy Dulness to express’ (Shadwell, *Works*, V, p. 253). The poem’s title is erroneously given by Summers; it was printed as ‘The Medal of John Bayes. A Satyr against Folly and Knavery’ (1682). Hume and Love remark that ‘obviously few members of the public would have known whether Dryden was a brilliant wit and conversationalist; Buckingham’s unkind dig was intended for insiders’ (*Plays, Poems*, I, Explanatory Note 34:25–6, p. 640). See also Winn, pp. 222–4.


221 In *What You Will* (1607) John Marston used ‘antypathy’, considered an ‘outlandish’ word, to mock Jonson’s objection to neologisms.

222 The charge rankled with Shadwell to the extent that he was still referring to it in 1687 in the Dedication to Sir Charles Sedley of his translation of *The Tenth Satyr of Juvenal*.

In *The Triumphant Widow* the poet’s ill health is ‘cured’ by Lady Haughty’s gift of money, a departure from ‘The King’s Entertainment’ where the poet is cured through music, and curious for its cynical explication of the mercenary underpinnings of the patron and client bond. Both ‘The King’s Entertainment’ and *The Triumphant Widow*, it can be argued, through the self-referential nature of their poet and patron figures, Crambo and Lady Haughty, keep in focus the potentially vexed contours of such relationships. If Dryden was, indeed, being intentionally targeted in *The Triumphant Widow*, the lampoon would strengthen Harold Love’s argument that allowing the Duke to take credit for the success of *Sir Marin Mar-all* led to the breakdown of their association. Settle, on the other hand, was still courting the Duke and dedicated *Love and Revenge* to Newcastle in 1675. If Settle truly believed that he was being mocked as the heroic poet in *The Triumphant Widow* and that the Duke was a complicit party, surely he would have resiled from further humiliating himself by grovelling to the author of his embarrassment? Whatever the causes, the association between Newcastle and Dryden foundered and the poet, quite sensibly, courted other, more influential patrons. Dryden’s final gesture to the Duke was to represent him metonymically as the ‘Northern Dedications’ of *MacFlecknoe*. The inclusion in Dryden’s satire of so many recipients of Newcastle’s patronage: Shirley, Flecknoe, Settle and Shadwell, has raised Harold Love’s suspicions. Offering what he admits is a ‘purely speculative’ hypothesis, Love suggests that the Duke rather than Shadwell may have been the intentional target in *Mac Flecknoe* and that Flecknoe was purely a decoy for Newcastle, whom Dryden would or could not attack directly because of the strength of the Newcastle family connections. Many of the issues his hypothesis

224 Love, ‘Shadwell, Rochester’, p. 120.
226 Love modifies his position slightly in a later work: ‘Dryden’s *MacFlecknoe* has the duke’s [Newcastle’s] circle as one of its covert targets’ (*English Clandestine Satire*, p. 80).
raises have since been resolved by Paul Hammond, and few scholars would be prepared to agree with Love that Dryden ‘may have set out to make his Flecknoe bear a recognizable resemblance to the old cavalier [Newcastle] for those among his readers who had the wit to see it‘.  

**The Play in Performance**

*The Triumphant Widow* is recorded as having been staged by the Duke’s Company at the Dorset Garden Theatre on 26 November 1674, but there is no evidence as to whether this was the première, or a later performance. The record of a single performance does not necessarily betoken failure: as the research of Judith Milhous and Robert Hume suggests, short runs were the norm, even for successful plays. Nell Gwyn included the cost of her entry to a performance on that date in an account submitted to the Exchequer, however it is likely that Newcastle’s failing health prevented him from undertaking the trip to London to attend in person. Since no eye-witness account of the play’s staging has come to light, a good deal of the following comment relies on generalisations and speculation based on prevailing theatrical customs and conditions.

For the fortnight prior to, and including the mid-November date(s) of *The Triumphant Widow*’s staging, violent storms wrecked English shipping, closing ports and causing problems in London sewers. We can reasonably bet that London theatre audiences were no different from their modern counterparts in their reluctance to move from their hearths in such conditions. Sandwiched between performances of the highly popular, semi-operatic version of *The Tempest* and overshadowed by the preparations for the winter Court entertainment, *Calisto, The Triumphant Widow* faced stiff competition, both in terms of catching playgoers’

---

230 William Van Lennep, ‘Nell Gwyn’s Playgoing at the King’s Expense’, *HLB*, 4 (1950), 405-8, p. 406. The Duke began to exhibit the symptoms of Parkinson’s disease, a condition which degenerated between 1665 and 1667. His failing health prevented his attendance at Margaret Cavendish’s funeral service in London in January 1674 (Whitaker, pp. 266, 341).
231 CSPD, Nov. 1 1673-Feb. 28 1675, pp. 416-29.
attention and in competing for the technical skills of those servicing theatrical productions. Although the Duke and Shadwell are likely to have discussed the play's staging in broad terms, Shadwell would have acted as Newcastle's representative in London, liaising with the Duke's Company shareholders and players. By convention, the author took charge in rehearsals, but a play written by an 'unknown' may have been guided to production by a senior actor. In the case of works by celebrated genteel amateurs, the anticipation of a house full of aristocratic acquaintances and the morbidly curious (often one and the same), sometimes paying inflated admission fees, may have gone some way towards mollifying the players' financial and aesthetic grievances.

The years between 1673 and 1675 have been hailed as 'among the most exciting years in the history of English musical drama'. As early as September 1674 preparations for John Crowne's comédie-ballet, Calisto, or the Chaste Nimph, had captured the imagination of London's élite. Aristocratic performers were supplemented by professional players, and a certain éclat attached to those chosen for the honour of performing with the Princesses Mary and Anne. Calisto eventually premièred in late February 1675, shortly before the opening of Shadwell's next semi-operatic extravaganza, Psyche. The taste of London theatre-goers for novelty and spectacle and its consequent suppression of appetite for conventional drama is sourly recorded in the Prologue to Elkanah Settle's tragedy, Love and Revenge, performed at the Dorset Garden Theatre two or three weeks prior to the staging of The Triumphant Widow. Settle's obsequious dedication to the Duke of Newcastle is followed by a complaint that

Plays without Scene, Machin, or Dance, to hit,
Must make up the defect of shew, with Wit.
As sometimes course Girle takes in homely Gown
Whose Beauty, though 'tis little, is her own,
Before a gaudy Flutterer of the Town.
So 'tis with plays; and though a Gaudy sight,

---

232 Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation, p. 59; Kewes, Authorship and Appropriation, p. 19.
233 A company could subpoena a week's wages if a player refused to take a part. See Milhous and Hume, Producible Interpretation, p. 49.
235 For a discussion of the conjectured date of Psyche's première, see Peter Holman, Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690 (Oxford: OUP, 1993), p. 346.
Song, Dance, and Shew, more briskly, move delight.  

Under the management of Thomas Betterton and Henry Harris, several new players were inducted into the Duke’s Company during the 1673-4 season to fill an alarming number of vacancies caused by the loss of ‘eight [actors] by death and three by force of Love’.  

Frust-ratingly few cast lists have survived for plays performed in the 1674-5 season and we are without an original list for The Triumphant Widow.  Approximately ten male and seven to nine female actors are required to fill the main roles and a supplementary ten male and two female players for the minor roles, with some doubling.

Professional dramatists wrote with type-casting in mind and there was a tendency for players to retain a role throughout their career.  For this reason, and acknowledging the lengthy gap between the two productions, it is worth reviewing the casting of Mr Oldwit and Sir Humphrey Noddy in Bury-Fair with their prototypes in The Triumphant Widow, Justice Spoilwit and Sir John Noddy.  Since the former play was printed in the year in which it premièred, its Dramatis Personæ should be accurate in details relating to the major roles.  Cave Underhill played Mr Oldwit, the character resembling Justice Spoilwit in The Triumphant Widow, and James Nokes took the part of Sir Humphrey Noddy (Sir John Noddy).  In Shadwell’s highly successful production of The Sullen Lovers, Nokes performed the part of the poet Ninny, a role similar to that of Crambo in The Triumphant Widow.  After Nokes’s tour de force in the title role of Sir Martin Mar-all, Newcastle and Shadwell may have amplified the slapstick content of The Triumphant Widow with a view to harnessing his particular comic talent.  Anthony Leigh, a relative newcomer to the Company, is another contender for one of the major roles in The Triumphant Widow.  He quickly established himself as an important comic force, often playing opposite Nokes, in roles demanding the type of nimbleness demanded by routines allied to the commedia dell’arte but his repertoire included the roles of

---

239 Underhill was a huge success in the role of the country magistrate, Clodpate, in Epsom-Wells.
240 John Downes claims that the part of Sir Martin Mar-all was adapted ‘purposely for the Mouth of Mr. Nokes’, Roscius Anglicanus, or an Historical Review of the Stage, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p.62.
blustering military characters similar to that of Colonel Bounce.\(^{241}\) The Duke’s Company was well served with actors of low comedy, including Samuel Sandford and Thomas Jevon (possibly, Shadwell’s brother-in-law). The latter was adept at ‘light-footed trickster’ characters but he was a new recruit and there are no records of him playing major roles.\(^{242}\) Footpad’s role is not overly demanding of acting skills but requires a performer with a strong singing voice, which limits casting options.\(^{243}\) The leading male and managing actor of the Duke’s Company, Thomas Betterton, specialised in ‘rake-hero’ parts in the 1670s but is reputed to have been unable either to sing or dance, thus narrowing his role possibilities in *The Triumphant Widow* if, indeed, he performed in the play.\(^{244}\) Betterton’s commanding vocal projection, said to give ‘more Spirit to Terror than to the softer Passions’ may have animated the Cook’s melodramatic recital of the ‘Battle of the Food’ in Act III, scene 3.\(^{245}\)

Mary Betterton was often cast in the roles of witty, sophisticated women and her relatively mature age (thirty-seven), suggests her suitability for the role of Lady Haughty in *The Triumphant Widow*. Between December 1674 and February 1675 she is known to have been preparing the two Princesses for their roles in *Calisto*, although this would not necessarily preclude her professional commitments to the Duke’s Company. Another possible ‘Lady Haughty’ would have been Mary Lee (later Lady Slingsby), whose roles progressed with her maturity from those requiring ‘youthful sweetness’ to ‘a valiant woman, martial in demeanour and capable of violence’.\(^{246}\) Her transition from ingénue to hard woman seems to have begun at about 1676, possibly hastened by the mass departure of the older performers referred to above. Mrs Lee frequently delivered epilogues and prologues, as Lady Haughty is required to

---

\(^{241}\) Highfill, p. 224. Leigh is thought to have joined the Duke’s Company in spring or summer 1672 (*Rosinus Anglicanus*, p. 115); Deborah Payne Fisk, ‘Leigh, Anthony (d. 1692)’, *ODNB*.

\(^{242}\) Holland, p. 80.

\(^{243}\) Henry Harris had played the comic foil to Nokes in *Sir Martin Mar-all*, delighting audiences with his devastating impersonation of Sir Robert Howard in the role of Sir Positive At-all. In mid-1673 Harris took the singing role of King Muly Labas in Settle’s *The Empress of Morocco*, but by late 1674 he was caught up with preparations for *Calisto* in his capacity as Yeoman of the Revels (*A Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1737*, comp. and ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 2 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), I: 1660-1714, pp. 171–9).

\(^{244}\) For Betterton’s repertoire see, for example, Holland, *Ornament of Action*, p. 80; Highfill, p. 92; Judith Milhous, ‘Betterton, Thomas (bap. 1635, d. 1710)’, *ODNB*.


\(^{246}\) Deborah Payne Fisk, ‘Lee, Mary [other married name Mary Slingsby, Lady Slingsby] (fl.1670–1685)’, *ODNB*. 70
do, and took the title role in Thomas Durfey’s comedy *Madame Fickle* (1676) which was written specifically for her.²⁴⁷

The physical dimensions of the Dorset Garden Theatre and its sophisticated stage machinery modelled on French equipment, offered dramatists a canvas for the creation of spectacular productions in a sumptuous auditorium.²⁴⁸ Whilst most of the action is thought to have taken place on the forestage, continuing the pattern of the Elizabethan stage, the manipulation of a series of wings and shutters allowed for ‘discovery’ scenes of properties and performers. In the case of *The Triumphant Widow* this system would be particularly useful for effecting the change in Act I, scene one (Footpad’s lair) to the following scene, when shutters would open to ‘discover’ Lady Haughty’s garden with the actors already in place.²⁴⁹ Plays for which new scenery or costumes were devised were often tagged by John Downes as ‘new-dressed’, but it is likely that scenery for *The Triumphant Widow* was selected from stock.²⁵⁰ The Duke’s Company shareholders would have resiled from outlaying more expense than was necessary on a play of doubtful longevity. Scenery for the garden and interior scenes of Lady Haughty’s house would have been drawn from stock, as would scenery for the field site of the aborted duel (Act Four, scene three).²⁵¹ However, the stage direction specifying ‘The Kitchen’ (Act Two, scene two) is a less common setting and may have required a specially commissioned backdrop. In any case, scenery was intended to be suggestive, rather than realistic. Judith Milhous believes that Davenant may have followed the French practice of using painted crowd scenes, and such a backdrop could have usefully bulked out the gallows scene in Act

²⁴⁹ There is no ‘entry’ direction for the characters, whose conversation has a sense of being *in medias res*.
²⁵⁰ Some of the plays for which new costumes were provided, based on Downes’s notes, are listed in the Introduction to *London Stage*, pp. xci-xciii. According to Milhous and Hume, ‘[w]e are probably safe in assuming that almost any standard setting could be approximated from the company’s stock, if the manager thought it worth the bother. A demand for an arcane setting was likely to be met by the substitution of something already extant’ (Milhous and Hume, *Producible Interpretation*, p. 53).
Arguably, the most striking characteristic of plays performed in the 1670s is their prolific musical and dance content. Curtis A. Price comments that the lack of relevance of inset entertainments and musical scenes in Restoration plays can sometimes produce an ‘uncomfortable mixture of music, dance, and spoken drama’ and makes the inspired suggestion that we think of these theatrical hybrids as precursors of the modern Broadway musical.\(^{253}\) The Triumphant Widow includes a significant proportion of vocal music, yet the songs are comfortably integrated into the plot, and in the case of Footpad’s ballads in Act One, fulfil a semi-narrative function. The composition of some of the songs dates to Newcastle’s Antwerp sojourn, when he and Margaret were members of a coterie of élite musical patrons and performers, including Matthew Locke and Nicholas Lanier.\(^{254}\) Amongst the Portland Collection of Cavendish papers are two autograph songs composed by Matthew Locke: ‘Foot Padds song’ (‘Oh the brave Jolly Gipsie’), and ‘A Cooks song’ ('Fy, fy, this Love keeps such a Coyle’).\(^{255}\) Both songs, in modified form, are included in Newcastle’s ‘Merrye Humor’, along with ‘Coume mayds nowe, what doe you Lack?’ and ‘To fayres & markets I did goe’; the four pieces being reused in The Triumphant Widow.\(^{256}\) After the Restoration Locke held positions with the King’s Musick and moonlighted as a composer for the Duke’s Company.\(^{257}\) Shadwell is credited with revisions to ‘I am an over-growne Gipsye’ from ‘Merrye Humor’, excising lines 15-22 and 27-36 from the original air and adding six new lines.\(^{258}\) It is possible that popular ballad tunes in strophic form were used for the songs not known to have been set by


Colin Visser confirms that ‘[o]n the wings and shutters were painted not only scenes but also people; the early theatre did not object to the mingling of real and painted figures’, ‘Scenery and Technical Design’, in The London Theatre World 1660-1800, ed. by Robert D. Hume (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), pp. 66-118, (p. 84).

\(^{253}\) Curtis A. Price, ‘…to make amends for One ill Dance: Conventions for Dancing in Restoration Plays,’ Dance Research Journal, 10 (1977-8), 1-6 (p. 1).


\(^{256}\) ‘Merrye Humor’ (fols 19a, 20b).

\(^{257}\) Lefkowitz, p. 42. Locke and John Banister composed ‘most if not all the incidental music for the London theatres from 1660 until the mid 1670s because this was the period when groups from the Twenty-four Violins [King Charles’s band] were working regularly for the patent companies’, Holman, p. 336.

Locke.\textsuperscript{259} For example, Justice Spoilwit’s ballad, ‘When as King Henry govern’d the land’ (III.4.116-27) was commonly sung to the traditional tune ‘Chevy Chase’.\textsuperscript{260} Sir John Noddy’s disparagement of the ballad as ‘a foolish old fashion’d Song’ (III.4.130) reflects the shift in contemporary musical tastes, attributed to the influence of Continental musicians brought to London in the 1660s and 1670s as part of Charles II’s initiatives to establish an English opera.\textsuperscript{261} Spoilwit’s performance of a shambling Derbyshire hornpipe at Act Three, scene four, marks him as a provincial bore while Sir John Noddy’s preference for the aestheticized courtly dance form, the minuet, defines him as a slavish adherent of French foppishness.\textsuperscript{262}

Engravings by W. Dolle accompanying the lavish edition of Settle’s \textit{The Empress of Morocco} (1673) suggest that the music room of the Duke’s Theatre was situated above the proscenium arch. Shadwell made unorthodox use of the pit to accommodate the expanded orchestra accompanying \textit{Psyche}, but for \textit{The Triumphant Widow} we can confidently assume that the orchestra performed in its usual space. Typically, the orchestra would play as the audience took their seats, again after the prologue, and provide short items, written specifically for the play, after each act except the final one.\textsuperscript{263} Although referred to as ‘fiddlers’, a stage ensemble, usually four in number, would commonly include two violins and a bass viol; a lutenist provided the continuo unit.\textsuperscript{264} The supporting rogue roles in \textit{The Triumphant Widow} make little demands on acting skills and would have been filled by stage musicians.

Dance historians uniformly bewail the ephemeral status accorded dance on the Restoration stage and the vacuum of source material relating to notation for theatre choreography. We often need to surmise a dance tempo from the rhythm by examining the accompanying song lyrics (if any) or other contextual clues. A stage direction for the Kitchen scene in Act Two,

\textsuperscript{259} According to Curtis A. Price, ‘rare is the play whose surviving music is all by the same composer’, ‘Restoration Stage Fiddlers and their Music,’ \textit{Early Music}, 7 (1979), 315-22 (p. 321).

\textsuperscript{260} The score is in Playford’s \textit{Wit and Mirth}, V, (London, 1714), pp. 154-9 (cited in RTSA item code WCTTW6b).


\textsuperscript{262} In a discussion of attitudes to music expressed by characters of Shadwell’s comedies, H. James Jensen observes that, generally, oafish country bumpkins, rogues and bullies champion old English songs while those who are educated and well-bred support French or Italian music’, ‘English Restoration Attitudes Toward Music’, \textit{The Musical Quarterly}, 55, (1969), 206-47.

\textsuperscript{263} Price, \textit{Music in the Restoration Theatre}, p. 53.

scene two heralds a dance performed by the under-cooks: ‘they all come out and dance, while some dance, others are keeping time with their Chopping-knives’. The instruction suggests a lively, percussive routine of kitchen utensils drumming on the kitchen dresser and on the edges of stage property trenchers or platters while dancers perform. There is a short break while the dancers are thanked by the Clerk of the Kitchen, then there is a reprise of the dance. The Master Cook commands ‘come, my Boys, take up your Drum-sticks, your Chopping-knives, let the Dresser be your Drum, and upon the Butter-meats and Sallets beat a Call, then sound your Trumpet, your Yard of Can for a Charge, and dish up quickly’ (II.2.136-140). A ‘trumpet call’ to battle is mimed with drinking canisters and the sequence ends in a crescendo: ‘[a] great noise of chopping upon the Dresser’ (II.2.144.0). The action imaginatively extends the military theme of the ‘battle of the food’ and the choreography may have been based on a stylised form of the martial jig. A dance presented by the newlyweds, Gervas and Cicely, accompanied by ‘three Country Clowns, and Country Wenches’ (III.1.117.0–1), reflects the sustained popularity of the traditional country dance on the Restoration stage. A stage direction calls for the removal of the dining table and cloth to make space for the dancers who enter with Gervas and Cicely later in the same Act, raising a question of the physical location of the accompanying stage band. It is possible that the musicians would have been positioned in the wings and relied on verbal cues – Gervas’s ‘Strike up, Musicians’ and Lady Haughty’s command ‘Very well; farewell’ (III.1.125, 126) to commence and end the accompaniment. Stage musicians, who needed to be skilled improvisers, would simply repeat a simple dance tune with figural variations until cued to stop. Later in the scene Lady Haughty mischievously orders a trial of her suitors’ singing and dancing abilities, a ruse designed to display actors’ special talents for burlesque. The travesty of the minuet danced by Justice

265 The action echoes the percussive motif of the dance performed during the entertainment for Charles I and Queen Henrietta at Bolsover in which dancers representing Vulcan and Cyclops beat out time on an anvil. See Brown, ‘Courtesies of Place’, p. 162.

266 For the application of mock-battle themes to dance sequences performed on the Caroline stage, see Barbara Ravelhofer, The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music (Oxford: OUP, 2006), pp. 218-23.

267 The country dance, which had often been a component of the antimask of early Stuart court masques, survived the transition to the post-Restoration stage where its agreeable form and colourful costuming provided attractive theatrical entertainment. See Ravelhofer, The Early Stuart Masque, pp. 42-3. Ravelhofer points to the ten editions of John Playford’s The Dancing Master between 1651 and 1700 as a mark of the form’s popularity.

268 The marginalia of a recovered manuscript, believed to have been the property of a seventeenth-century playhouse fiddler, includes directions such as ‘play this till you see they have done’ and ‘play til thay speak to leave off’[1], (British Library MS 38189 (fols. 31’ and 34’), cited in Price, ‘...To Make Amends’, p. 5.

269 John Fletcher’s character Lillia-Bianca forces her beau to undergo a similar song and dance trial in The Wild-Goose Chase (1621), II.2.
Spoilwit in Act Three, scene four is reminiscent of Sir Andrew Aguecheek’s terpsichorean hubris in *Twelfth Night* (Act I, scene 3).  

The potential for an imaginative and arresting dance sequence is afforded in Act V, scene 5 with Crambo’s provision of an ‘Entertainment’ for Lady Haughty’s guests. An ‘entertainment’, in Restoration theatrical parlance encompassed any musical episode ranging from an elaborate, formal masque to a short, modest excursion from the play’s dialogue. Crambo assures Lady Haughty that he has ‘done the main part of it […] the Dance and the Show, that’s the first thing we Heroicks think on when we write’ (V.5.3; 5–6). Several contemporary playwrights were piqued that their own plays in which song and dance are absent or negligible were playing to thin houses while crowds flocked to meretricious stage extravaganzas. As one commentator sourly observed:

> poetry is so little regarded there [at the playhouses] and the Audience is so taken up with show and sight that an Author need not much Trouble himself about his Thoughts and Languages, so he is in Free with the Dancing-Masters and has but a few Luscious Songs to Lard his dry Composition.

A stage direction calls for ‘[a] Mimick Dance of Masqueraders in different odd Habits’ (V.5.9.1). There are few uses of the term ‘mimic’ in relation to stage dance in post-Restoration theatrical productions, although Davenant’s *Playhouse to Be Let* (1673) includes a dance of Peruvian ‘Indians’ in which a dance heavily augmented by gesture is called for. The movements and costuming of the ‘grotesque’ anti-masque characters of early Stuart court productions may offer the best interpretative model. The choreographer Josias Priest, reputedly ‘the greatest master of grotesque dancing that has appear’d on our stage’ had danced in Duke’s Company productions, including Dryden and Newcastle’s *Sir Martin Mar-all*. Priest assisted the French dancing master, Monsieur St André to prepare dances for *Calisto* and *Psyche* and it has been suggested that Priest’s stylistic approach was shaped by his contact with French

---

271 The audience’s expectation of such diversions is addressed by Price in *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, pp. 32-4.  
272 *London Stage*, pp. cxi-cxii.  
273 The stage direction has an antecedent in Newcastle’s interlude ‘The King’s Entertainment’, which calls for a scene ‘of excellent Duncers, apparil’d in strang formes and as strange postures in their Dances, with as strange Tunes’ (Portland MS PwV23 (fol. 9r), lines 312-15).
choreographers.\textsuperscript{274} Crambo's entertainment, perhaps a stately chaconne by dancers in bizarrely mismatching habits, is designed to assuage the audience's expectation of a terminating dance which, in the light of Widow Haughty's demurral at marriage, is not an appropriate concluding motif.

\textsuperscript{274} Cohen, ‘Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing’, p. 29.
Editorial Procedure

Act divisions are preserved according to the copy-text and scene divisions are supplied where these are thought appropriate. No attempt is made to preserve the lineation or pagination of the copy-text. The beginning of each new page of the copy-text is recorded in the right-hand margin of this edition in brackets. The spacing of the copy-text has not been retained, nor has the spacing between words or around punctuation. Catchwords are dispensed with but manifest errors, in catchwords, for example, are recorded.

No attempt is made to replicate the typography of the copy-text. Ligatures of seventeenth-century fonts are modernized. The long ‘s’ (ſ) is silently replaced by the modern ‘s’. Digraphs such as æ are retained. Modern typographical usages of i/j and u/v are adopted and ‘VV’ and ‘vv’ are silently replaced with ‘W’ and ‘w’. Dropped initial capitals plus ordinary capitals at the beginning of each act or scene have been silently changed to an initial capital plus lower case. Book titles and foreign words are silently italicised.

Punctuation

Any editorial process risks unintentionally obliterating features of the copy-text that may be intention-bearing and this edition follows McKerrow in striving to retain the copy-text pointing ‘unless it is either definitely wrong or liable to misinterpretation’.¹ The punctuation of the copy-text is retained with these exceptions:

i. Where a remark clearly bears interrogative content, a question mark is supplied if missing.

ii. Where, in the copy-text, punctuation in italics follows a word in italics which is part of a sentence in roman font, the punctuation in italics is silently emended in this edition.

iii. Multiple dashes, for example ‘the De---’, are uniformly set as a single em dash (‘—’) in this edition.

iv. Where, in the copy-text, an extra long dash indicates a pause, for example for rhetorical effect at the beginning of the Master Cook’s recitation, a double em dash (‘——’) serves the same purpose in this edition.²

² Here I am following the suggestion of Lukas Erne that the punctuation of Early Modern texts may indicate pauses of various lengths (Shakespeare’s Modern Collaborators (London: Continuum, 2008), p. 18).
Abbreviations such as ‘i’faith’ and ‘to’r’ follow the copy-text. This edition follows the copy-text in preserving the spacing of expressions like ‘to day’ and ‘my self’ where the modern convention is to fuse the two words.

Stage directions

In the interests of clarity, entries are centred and the names of the main characters are expanded in full. Lower-case italics are used for the entry of minor characters in order to preserve the distinction between named characters and generic social labels (e.g. FOOTPAD as against Rogue).

Exits follow the copy-text in placement to the right and the preceding angled bracket is silently removed. Abbreviations of characters’ names and the use of ‘Ex.’ or ‘Exit’ follow the copy-text and distinctions between roman and italic fonts are preserved.

Other stage directions are centred and the contrasting fonts of the copy-text are mainly preserved.

‘(Aside)’ always precedes the relevant section of the speech rather than following, as is occasionally the case in the copy-text and any changes are recorded.

Speech-prefixes are in upper-case italics, in an unabbreviated form. Multiple names for the same character are prevalent in the copy text and to avoid confusion the format of some speech prefixes requires editorial intervention.

1. The speech-prefixes ‘Master Cook’ and ‘Master’ of the copy-text are standardized to ‘MASTER COOK’ to retain a sense of the specificity and hierarchy of his office and avoid confusion with his subordinates. The ‘1 Cook’ who sings at the Master Cook’s command is twice addressed erroneously as ‘James’ in the copy-text (Act II, lines 36 and 63), although it is clear that ‘1 Cook’ is the singer. Accordingly, the injunction: ‘Come on’ (II.2.38) is attributed to the ‘Master Cook’. The recitation of the battle of the food is attributed to ‘Cook’ in the copy-text, which is potentially a cause of confusion. A musician subsequently addresses him as ‘Mr. Cook’ (III.3.24), and the cook’s authority to dispense drink to visitors suggests that the character in question is, indeed, the Master Cook and the relevant speeches are attributed to him in this edition.
2. The copy-text’s inconsistency in the application of the speech-prefixes ‘James’ and ‘Butler’ to the same character poses an editorial problem. McKerrow’s rule of thumb, to choose the name used at the character’s first entry, must be balanced by the primacy of his christian name rather than his function in the Dramatis Personæ list. The use of ‘James’ is more prevalent in the copy-text speech-prefixes and its familiarity chimes with the play’s concern with the private world of Lady Haughty’s domestic staff. Speech-prefixes for other domestic staff use simply their christian name, and James is addressed familiarly by Lady Haughty’s visitors. For the sake of clarity and to keep his household designation in mind, I have adopted the form ‘JAMES the Butler’ for entries and ‘JAMES’ for speech-prefixes, and record these emendments in the collation.

In Act Five, scene two (line 89), the character addressed as ‘waiter’ who denies intimacy with ‘Dido Carthage Queen’ is named ‘Footman’ in his first speech prefix of the copy-text (line 91) and ‘James’ in a subsequent stage direction (line 99). Justice Spoilwit, who is on familiar terms with James the Butler, addresses this character by the impersonal term ‘Footman’ (V.2.4). The part is a minor one and in this edition the speech-prefix ‘FOOTMAN’ is used.

Lady Haughty’s grange-man, Gervas, has a secondary role as the parish constable and his stage entry (IV.5.25.1) is expanded to clarify his double function.

The subsequent speech prefixes for the ‘Old Woman’ who enters at IV.3.143.1 are expanded to ‘OLD WOMAN’ in this edition to differentiate her from the women who appear in Act Five. The latter are assigned speech prefixes in chronological order: ‘1 WOMAN’, ‘2 WOMAN’, etc. Similarly, other minor characters (rogues, billmen and officers) have been assigned numerals, ‘1 OFFICER’ etc, where the copy-text has omitted to do so.

Square brackets are applied, when necessary, to indicate names or stage directions additional to the copy-text.
THE
Triumphant Widow,
or the
Medley of Humours.
A
Comedy,
Acted by His
Royal Highness's
Servants.

Written by
His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

London,
Collation

Register of exemplars collated:


L  British Library T.C.I.267 CH. Microfilm.

LC  Library of Congress, Call Number PR3605 N4T7 1677. CD-ROM.

LVD  Dyce 6941, held by the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum. (Dyce Collection). Book plate of William Holgate [Bull's head].

O  Bodleian Library, Oxford, reference Harding D561. CD-ROM.

TU  University of Texas at Austin, Shelfmark HRC AJ N432 677T. Microfilm.

WF  Folger Shakespeare Library, Shelfmark N891. Holdings Record ID 199212 Microfilm.

WSL  Lewis Walpole Library, Call Number LWL 49 92. Has *Ex Museo Arbuteano W.S. Lewis* on inner cover. This edition is missing the Licence page. CD-ROM.

No press variants have been found. The following discrepancies, attributable to type damage, failure of inking, and in one instance, an incorrect catch-word are common to all copies examined:

Sig. B3v (p. 6)  (1.1.162) ‘i’ in ‘Girl’ faint or missing

B4v (p. 8)  (1.1.220) l ts

G4v (p. 48)  (III.3.86) ther fore

I’ (p. 57)  (III.4.276) n’ re

I3v (p. 61)  (IV.1.101) Speech prefix – ‘Is b’

J4v (p. 64)  (IV.2.12-13) Hang panni r

Kv (p. 66)  (IV.3.30) Catchword ‘hungry’ – should be ‘hunger’
M’ (p. 81) (V.2.3) G t some – ‘e’ of ‘Get’ appears to be missing from all copies except Newberry

M4’ (p. 88) (V.2.266) Sir John’s speech: ‘I’ missing or poorly inked

In the Newberry Library edition, at K3’ (p. 69), (IV.3.123) type appears to have become dislodged from the bottom line and the letters ‘ound’, viz. Rogue: Lye still … stick you to the gr[ound] – ‘ound’ missing.
Dramatis Personæ.

Lady Haughty, The Triumphant Widow.
Isabella, Her Kinswoman.
Nan, Lady Haughty’s Woman
Mall, The Chamber-maid.
Cicely, The Dairy-maid.
Margaret, Another Chamber-maid.
Footpad, A Rogue.
Codshead, A Coxcomb.
Crambo, His Friend an Heroick Poet.
\{ A foolish old Justice much
\{ affected with clinching.
\{ An arch Wag, a Coxcomb full
\{ of Monkey-tricks.
Justice Spoilwit,
Sir John Noddy,
Colonel Bounce.
Doctor.
John, The Master Cook.
1 Cook.
2 Cook.
Clerk of Kitchen.
James, The Butler.
4 Rogues.
Footman.
Old Woman.
Music.
Servant of the House.
Officers, Rabble of Men and Women, Post.
ACT I.
SCENE 1.

Enter FOOTPAD with four more Rogues.

FOOTPAD. Nature never contrived so fit a place for the Retreat of Rogues as this, where we have found a Cave the Sun never saw, where we have our Lodging and Tyring-room; for your compleat Rogue must shift as often as your Player: I hate a Fool that will set up upon single stealing, any Block-head may do’t.

1 ROGUE. Well said, Noble Captain Footpad, you are a brave Rogue Commander both of Courage and Conduct.

2 ROGUE. And truly we have rob’d as comfortably under you, as ever we did under any man.

3 ROGUE. We were once sixteen of a Company, but this vile staple Commodity of Hemp has snatch’d away a dozen of the Number.

4 ROGUE. But, Captain, this place is better than you think, for hard by here lives a wealthy Widow, young and handsom, she keeps a noble House, and has many Suitors, and a vast Resort of Gentry coming daily to her House, there will be prey enough for us.

FOOTPAD. I know’t, good Sir, I did not chuse this place for nothing: well the Trade of Rogues, a noble Trade, and thrives with many Professions; sometimes Rogue appears like a Gentle-
man, then Rogue walks like a great Man; but is indeed very
like a Lawyer; sometimes he is like a Scholar, but indeed
they are most like Fools.

4 ROGUE. Oh! but Rogue is very like a Politician Captain.

2 ROGUE. And like a Courtier too i'faith.

3 ROGUE. But is indeed the same with a Citizen.

FOOTPAD. Indeed it fits all Trades, and Country-men; the Souldier’s
poor without it; the Gamester cannot live without it.

1 ROGUE. Seamen may scape it; for I have heard they are very
conscientious.

2 ROGUE. O yes, especially Pirates.

FOOTPAD. Oh! but Rogue fits an Attorney admirably, it sticks to him
like his green Wax, the Attorney is married to’t till death
them depart: in short, Mankind is one great, very great
Rogue.

ALL. Ah, brave Captain.

2 ROGUE. Well said, noble Captain.

FOOTPAD. But Roguing will not last long in one shape, I must shift
like a Cameleon upon every occasion; for my Charter of
Rogue allows me the freedom of using of all Trades and
Callings.

3 ROGUE. Truly, Captain, you can appear in any Profession, ’tis a great
mercy you were well bred; for none but a man of good
Breeding could have made so good a Rogue.

FOOTPAD. I am beholden to my Parents for that, truly they did breed
me very well, rest their Souls, they were both slain at
Tyburn, I heard ’em there at Good people take warning, but I
had more Grace than to take it, but for my first
transformation, I mean to turn Pedler, for I have left a
Pedler fast asleep under a Hedge, I have stollen his Pack,
and bound him, and now I am set up.

1 ROGUE. How will you dispose of us?

FOOTPAD. Be gone to your retreat, when craft is to be used I’le do’t
my self, when violence you shall assist me.

4 ROGUE.
But, good Captain, let us comfort and confirm our selves with the Catch you made upon our Vocation of Thieving, before we go.

FOOTPAD.
Come on.

They sing.

Since ev'ry Profession’s become a lewd Cheat,
And the little, like fish, are devour’d by the great;
Since all Mankind use to rob one another;
Since the Son robs the Father, the Brother the Brother;
Since all sorts of men such Villains will be,
When all the World plays the Rogue, why should not we?

ALL.
Ah brave Captain.
Ah noble Captain.
Ah brave Captain.

Enter GERVAS and CICELY, with another Maid.

FOOTPAD.
Let’s away, I'le to my Pack, here come Customers, that young Wench will be overjoy’d at the sight of a Pedler.

Ex. Footpad with Rogues.

GERVAS.
Sweet Cicely, how long have you intosticated me? I never was good Market man since I had honestly a mind to your body, that’s the truth on’t.

CICELY.
How can I help that? I never did any thing to you in my life, not I.

GERVAS.
You look so sweetly upon me, you make my mouth water extremely, therefore if you like me so, if not, tell me; for would I might ne’re stir, I’le not be so mudled again for all your Dairy, with all the product of Cream, Custard, and Sullibubs, not I.

CICELY.
Truly, Gervas, I cannot love.

GERVAS.
Love, why thou art a lusty Wench, and that will provoke thee, Love is nothing but being lusty, the rest is twittle twattle: they say Love is a Boy, by the Mass I think Love is
ACT I.

SCENE 1

a Girl by that: it may be you young Wenches think Love is a Boy, you love Boys too well to the disgrace of Beards. Ah consider, you know not what a man is, I would fain have you know me, there is pith, there is pith in a man, and that thou shalt find to thy cost, if thou’lt but marry me, by the Mass.

CICELY. Why, Gervas, I must think of it.

GERVAS. Nay if you think of it, or I either, we shall never do’t; let us marry first, and think of it afterwards, as most do: why, Cicely, I will give you a white Fustian Wastcoat, and a brave Stamel Petticoat, regarded with black Velvet.

CICELY. Guarded sure you mean, Gervas.

GERVAS. Guarded, pish that’s but one Guard, and regarded is two, at the least, you have no Language or Expression. You are no Scholar, Cicely, one is the Singular Number, and two is the Plural, Oh a Grammarian is a fine thing, I will give you three, that’s the Plural Number indeed.

CICELY. I thank you, Gervas; but what must I give you again?

GERVAS. A little thing that shall cost thee nothing, Cicely, Oh for a blessed Pedler, if it be thy will; for there are more Wenches won, with their Trinkets, than with any we have about us; mass wish and have. Look where he is, peace.

Enter FOOTPAD like a Pedler.

Footpad sings.

Come, Maids, what is it that you lack?

I have many a fine knack

For you in my Pedler’s Pack.

Your Sweet-hearts then kindly smack,

If they freely will present you,

And with Trinkets will content you.

CICELY. Oh rare, how rarely he sings!

Three or four Maids and Men come running,

crying, Oh here’s the Pedler, the Pedler.
Footpad sings.

*Brushes, Combes of Tortoise shell*

*For your money I will sell,*

*Cambrick, Lawn as white as milk,*

*Taffata as soft as silk,*

*Garters rich, with silver Roses*

*Rings with moral divine Posies.*

1 MAID. Oh what brave things he has got!

2 MAID. Peace, peace, let him troll it away, he sings curiously.

Footpad sings.

*Rainbow-Ribbands of each colour,*

*No walking shop yet e’er was fuller,*

*Various Points and sev’ral Laces*

*For your Boddies straight embraces,*

*Silver Bodkins for your hair,*

*Bobs, which Maidens love to wear.*

1 MAN. Oh this is a rare Fellow, I warrant he’s pure Company.

2 MAN. I warrant you he is very ingenious, peace.

Footpad sings.

*Here are various Pick-tooth Cases,*

*And the finest Flanders Laces,*

*Cabinets for your fine Doxies,*

*Stoppers and Tobacco Boxes,*

*Crystal Cupids Looking-glasses*

*Will enamour all your Lasses.*

CICELY. Sure, Gervas, this is the Kings Pedler, he has such rare things about him, and he sings like a Nightingal.

GERVAS. I believe he’s the Kings Pedler indeed.

Footpad sings.

*Fine gilt Pray’r-Books, Catechisms,*

*What is Orthodox, or Schisms,*

*Or for loyal Faith defendant*

*Presbyter, or Independent;*
Ballads fresh, all singing new,
And all those Ballets too are true.

GERVAS. That’s rare, come let’s see ’em. 145
1 MAN. Let me see.
2 MAN. Stand away, let me come.
GERVAS. You come! stand away, you Puppy, you have no judgment. [6]
CICELY. Oh pray let Gervas see, he has a notable vein this way.
1 MAID. Ay, pray let Gervas see.
GERVAS. Oh Ballets, fine Ballets, Oh I love a Ballet but e’ne too well.
Heaven forgive me, for being so given to the love of Poetry. What are the Contents of this, for I scorn to read?
FOOTPAD. Marry, Sir, a most lamentable business.
GERVAS. Oh it’s no matter, so it be a fine Ditty. 155
CICELY. Oh I love a melancholy Ditty, I can weep at a Ballet so sweetly——
FOOTPAD. Why it is of a Virgin of thirteen or fourteen that dy’d a Maid, that’s the truth on’t.
GERVAS. Nay I’le be hang’d then, thirteen or fourteen, and die a Maid? it cannot be now a days.
1 MAN. What a scandalous World this is, to abuse a poor Girl so.
GERVAS. Ay, and after her death too.
CICELY. Methinks they should have more conscience, than to speak ill of the dead. 165
GERVAS. First and formost, I hope she had more Grace than to die so, I speak like a Christian.
2 MAN. If she did die so, mercy of her say I, that’s charitable I’m sure.
GERVAS. If she did die so, let it be a warning to you Maids, to shun such abominable ways.
CICELY. I hope it will, Gervas, be a warning an’ we had but Grace.
1 MAID. Yes we should lay it to heart, and take warning.
2 MAN. Look here, what fine Ballet’s this?
FOOTPAD. This is a very strange Ballet, of a lusty Widow. 175
GERVAS. A lusty Widow is no strange thing.

FOOTPAD. Yes a lusty Widow, that lives and dies chastly.

GERVAS. Is't possible a lusty Widow live and die chast?

2 MAN. Lord, Lord, what lying things these Ballets are, and to be in print too!

FOOTPAD. All the Parish Hands are to the Certificate to confirm it. [7]

2 MAN. Puh, 'twas plain malice in 'em, to asperse a lusty Widow so.

GERVAS. The Parish should have had a lusty young Vicar, and he'd have converted her i'faith. Maids have a care; for you hope to be Widows, have a care I say of dying chast.

CICELY. Well, we'l think on't; but pray let's see his Ware.

GERVAS. How now, Cicely, you are a Wag, have patience, and he will shew you all. Oh vile Flesh and Blood! Oh corrupt Nature, to despise the edification of Ballets: but what's this?

FOOTPAD. A Ballet of a Courtier that died rich.

GERVAS. That's a miracle indeed, I warrant he cozen'd many a poor body for't.

FOOTPAD. No, Sir, he scorn'd to meddle with the poor.

GERVAS. That shew'd he had some conscience; but Oh Cicely, here's the brave Ballet you and I use to sing, I know it by the Picture.

CICELY. Oh pray let's sing it.

They sing.

GERVAS. To Fayrs and Markets I did go,

CICELY. And I did follow you, you know.

GERVAS. As I return'd, I threw you down

CICELY. Upon the Grass,

GERVAS. My sweetest Lass;

And so did give you a green Gown.

CICELY. But if it chance my Belly swell,

GERVAS. Then will Marriage hide it well.

CICELY. Your Son and Heir, or Daughter fair,

If you'l not stay,
GERVAS.  

But run away,  
Is left unto the Parish care.

Enter a Servant in haste.

SERVANT.  
Oh, Sirs, my Lady wants ye, there are a great sort of strangers that are to come to dine here, and none of ye in the way to receive Orders, come away.

1 MAN.  
Come, honest Pedler, up with your Pack, and follow us, we'll make you welcome i'faith.

GERVAS.  
We'll buy all his Trinkets to the last Jet Ring, or inch of Incle, we'll hamper him i'faith, we'll leave him nothing.

FOOTPAD.  
Bless you, bless you till I complain.

1 MAN.  
Nay, Gervas, you shall go with us, and these Maids too come along.

CICELY.  
Ay, good Gervas, let's follow the Pedler.

Exeunt omnes.

SCENE 2.  The Garden.

LADY HAUGHTY, ISABELLA her Kinswoman, NAN her Waiting Gentlewoman.

LADY HAUGHTY.  
Well, Nan, have you given order to all the Servants to be ready, and to mind their business?

NAN.  
I have, Madam.

LADY HAUGHTY.  
And whom shall I be troubled with to day, what Suitors, what Guests?

NAN.  
Sir John Noddy, Madam, has sent word he'll wait on you. Oh he's the finest merry Gentleman.

LADY HAUGHTY.  
[Aside.] Oh do you name him first? [To Isabella.] My Woman is my Rival, Cousin, there, she is a well-wisher to that Knight; therefore we must speak well of that Coxcomb before her. But who else dines here?

NAN.  
Justice Spoilwit, then Colonel Bounce.

LADY HAUGHTY.  
Worthy men indeed, we have a Coxcomb that lies in the
house too, Mr. Codshead, I think he will not be answered with his Friend and Governor Mr. Crambo, a Heroick Poet. Your Ladiships House I think is the Exchange for Suitors, the Dining-room is always full of Lovers of you, and the Hall always full of eating Parsons, and other Lovers of lusty Dinners; but, Madam, every body wonders, that your Ladiship keeps open House to all Suitors, and yet denies 'em every one their Suit of Love.

ISABELLA. I have answer'd most of the men of sense, but the turbulent Fools will still pester me: how I despise the little follies of Mankind, the little subtilties they think to intrap a Woman with, too cheap to cozen Babies with! I will triumph over all the overweening Fools, and still preserve the freedom of a Widow.

ISABELLA. Your Ladiship is in the right; for Marriage now enslaves the Wife, but sets the Husband free.

NAN. But methinks solitary Widowhood is but an uncomfortable condition: can no man be fit for your choice?

LADY HAUGHTY. None.

NAN. What says your Ladiship to a Souldier?

LADY HAUGHTY. Oh he's too boisterous, I shall have no conversation from him, I shall hear of nothing but Naseby, Edgehill, the first and second Newbery, Marston-Moor, and the rest, nothing but of roaring Cannon, Battel, Murther, and sudden death; all his Discourse disordered and confused like a routed Army, one had as good converse with a Drum: besides they are de-bauch'd in drink, which is a great enemy to the civility that's due to a Wife.

NAN. What says your Ladiship to a Lawyer then?

ISABELLA. A Lawyer! there's a Husband, what with his Terms, and his Circuits, a Wife may go hang her self for his company.

LADY HAUGHTY. Right, Cousin, there's no enduring on't, unless it were lawful to make a Letter of Attorny to a Gallant; what should
one do, there are so many Geofails, a Lawyer only makes his Entry to hold his Claim, that’s all, I’le none of him.

NAN. What says your Ladiship to a Bishop?

ISABELLA. A Bishop! why he cannot confer Honour upon his Wife; should I marry a Bishop, it would be your Lordship to him, and to me how do you, Mistress: no, I would draw in an equal yoke, when I do draw.

LADY HAUGHTY. Besides he’ll not be govern’d, he’d not let a Woman be Head of the Church; this makes a Wife show like a Con-cubine, which shows Marriage is unlawful to the Priest-hood; then he entertains his Wife, as if he were teaching a Boy Greek, as if we had no capacities but accidental.

ISABELLA. You had best marry him, Nan, and let some Gentleman have good luck to Horse-flesh by you.

NAN. But, Madam, a rich Citizen is a brave thing.

LADY HAUGHTY. I hate to see a Husband walk the length of his Shop as a Fox, or a Civet-Cat does the length of his Chain, backward and forward, backward and forward.

ISABELLA. And then his House is so dark, as if he were mad, and put there to recover his Wits.

LADY HAUGHTY. And a Garden scarce big enough to lye at length, and be buried in.

ISABELLA. ’Tis a fine sight to see him strut ten yards before one on a Sunday to Church.

LADY HAUGHTY. And if he be Sheriff or Lord Mayor, ’tis a comely sight to see him on a grey Gelding, with golden Trappings, sit in Judgment over penny Loaves and pounds of Butter.

ISABELLA. Or to see him sleep over Malefactors at the Old-Baily.

LADY HAUGHTY. Out on ’em, from their Custards, Fox-furrs, gold Chains, seal’d Rings, gold fring’d Gloves, little Cuffs, Chamolet Cloaks, and little plain Bands, Heaven deliver me.

NAN. You are very hard to please, but a Country Gentleman is—

LADY HAUGHTY. Not to be endured, his head’s full of nothing but Dogs and
Hawks, and the House pester’d with here a Marrow-bone, there the excrement of a Dog, there the muting of a Hawk.

_out on ’em, Country Gentlemen take more delight in Beasts than in Women._

And he’s no company, yet talks as confidently, as if he talked well, and as loud always, as if he were at a Horse-Race, a Bowling green, or a Cock-pit: I like him not.

Well, I’m sure a young Heir newly of Age, whose Father died young will fit you.

No, no, they are all Fools, caudled up by their Mothers.

Why there’s it, Madam, are not some Wives twenty, nay some thirty years before they can make their Husbands Fools, and you shall have him so the first day, is not that to your advantage?

Well said, _Nan_, that was home.

Oh but, _Nan_, your Squire Fool is a stubborn Animal, your dandled Fool made my young Master, by the flattery of old Serving-men and Country Neighbours, a wise man is more easily govern’d.

Ay, Madam, but I do not mean such a young Heir, I mean one that’s a Scholar, and has been at the University.

Nay, _Nan_, there you are out, such a Fool will be so peremptory, because he can conster and perse a little Greek or Latine, to think himself a wise man.

That’s true, Cousin, such Fools as value themselves upon Languages, never consider Language is but a Trunk to convey our meanings by; for ought I know Welch is as good as Hebrew; a Dictionary is no wise book, nor a walking Dictionary a wise man.

Suppose he has three words, Hebrew, Greek, and Latine for that Tree, he understands no more of it, than I do by the word Tree, nor the use of it more.

Right, Cousin, only his head is pester’d with three words
more than I have, which is to his disadvantage; for men whose heads are full of words, are always empty of sense.

Nan. Madam, your Ladiship is so hasty; I’d have him after he has been at the University, to be bred well at the Inns of Court.

Lady Haughty. Now you have hit it, one must needs be a dull Fellow, who eats nothing but dry Loins of Mutton, and pores all day upon huge Volumes of Reports, and Year-books, and Presidents, or trots to Westminster, and fills his Note-books with the Opinions of old Gentlemen in Coiffs, and when they have got Law, they think they have got the very guts of knowledge; but their Worships are mistaken, Wisdom and Knowledge cannot be lost: but where was their Law in the Rebellion? The Conqueror always makes Law, and alters Divinity as he pleases.

Isabella. And upon such an alteration, where would be the wisdom or usefulness of Lawyers and Parsons?

Nan. Your Ladiship is very nice, I rather than have no Husband, would have all the ill qualities of all these put into one man, and take him for a Husband, and without so much as a shirt too, or hopes of ever getting one.

Lady Haughty. Indeed, Nan, you are in a very desperate condition.

Enter Codshead and Crambo.

Isabella. Yonder’s Codshead and Crambo, good Madam, let’s in and dress our selves.

Lady Haughty. Let’s avoid ’em. Come on.

Ex. Lady, Isabella, and Nan.

Crambo. Lord, what ail you, Mr. Codshead, this morning? I never saw you in such a dump before.

Codshead. Faith I am as dull as a Dog, the Devil take me, and as lazy as a Dog i’faith.

Crambo. Why what’s the matter, man?

Codshead. Why I was drunk as a Dog last night with the Butler i’faith, and I am sleepy as a Dog this morning, and cold as a Dog
i’faith; but the Devil take me, I made the Butler spew like a Dog, and when I had done, I e’en left him, for he stunk like a Dog, and I warrant him he is as sick as a Dog; but for all that I am as hungry as a Dog, i’faith, for my stomach never fails me.

CRAMBO.

Will you never leave off your Similes of a Dog? I have told you of this, why the Widow is a witty Woman, and will laugh at you extremely, and she’ll never marry one she laughs at.

CODSHEAD.

Faith they lye so readily at one’s tongue’s end, I cannot avoid them, I hate to pump for a Simile; but the dear Dog serves one upon all occasions, as lean as a Dog, as ill-natur’d as a Dog, as dry as a Dog, as hot as a Dog, as cholerick as a Dog, as lame as a Dog, as deaf as a Dog, and a matter of a hundred and fifty more; but since you say the Widow will laugh, I will bite my tongue, but I’le avoid it.

CRAMBO.

Practise before hand, and see if you can talk without it.

CODSHEAD.

Faith I must have some other Phrase then, now don’t I know what to say, I am as heavy and as dull as a Devil, what a Devil shall I say to this Widow? Gad take me, she is as coy as a Devil, that is, she seems to be, but she’ll dissemble like the Devil; Pox on’t I am as sick as a Devil, I am in no humour to make Love, and this scurvy Widow is as proud as the Devil, the Devil take her.

CRAMBO.

Lord, what a stir is here with the Devil! this is as bad as a Dog.

CODSHEAD.

No, the Devil’s fitter for a Gentleman than a Dog, I hope; but I may use such Similes as these, as brown as a Berry, red as a Rose, black as Jet, soft as Silk, round as a Ball, sweet as Honey, drunk as an Owl, as strong as a Horse, as dull as an Ox, et cetera. Faith these are fine smart things in discourse, and fill up finely.

CRAMBO.

Out on ‘em common and dull, fit for Fellows of no sense,
the Widow will never endure them, I can assure you, if you mean to get her, leave 'em.

CODSHEAD. Pox on her for me, I don’t know what I shall do with her, I must have something to fill up the chinks of my discourse. If you forbid me these excellent Similes, I must swear and curse bloodily, the Devil take me.

CRAMBO. And be damn’d will you?

CODSHEAD. So one be damn’d like a Gentleman, with a good grace, especially when ’tis the fashion to be damn’d too, I think he’s a strange ridiculous Fellow, that will take exceptions at it (for my part) I’m sure no Man of Honour will, they know better what belongs to a Gentleman than so.

CRAMBO. There’s not so foolish and impertinent a sin as Swearing, not natural, no pleasure, though the rest of the deadly sins are pleasant, very pleasant.

CODSHEAD. I never saw such a man in my life, may not one swear by Heavens?

CRAMBO. Why, that was an Oath in Kings James his time, and exploded long since.

CODSHEAD. I have heard it was used in those days, when holy Anchorites called roaring Boys dwelt in Milford-lane; but what say you to by my truly?

CRAMBO. ’Tis a childish Oath.

CODSHEAD. Believe me ’tis pretty methinks.

CRAMBO. Believe me! why there’s another, who will believe one another now? Are not these foolish and unnecessary words?

CODSHEAD. What say you to Faith and Troth? for I must have some word or other.

CRAMBO. Faith and Troth! why there’s no Faith nor Troth amongst men now a days.

CODSHEAD. Oh Lord, I have found out the finest, prettiest, innocent word, I’m sure will please you, Adaid, ah adaid, no adad, that’s fine, very fine Adad.
That’s a silly word fit only for Fanatcks to cheat with.

What shall I do? What shall I do? I have found it now I’m sure, as I am an honest man, as I am an honest man, so it be spoke loud and heartily, with your hand at your breast, and repeated often.

Men may use that Phrase, and never be forsworn in this Age, but I’le not allow you that, nor by this light, they’re Milliners Oaths, and Haberdashers of small Wares to cozen with.

Mercy upon me, what will become of me? but I will use one word in despight of the Devil, as she is deadly handsome, deadly pretty, her complexion is deadly lovely.

If you do use it, you will lose a friend of me, and I’m sure my Lady will laugh at you immoderately, ’tis ridiculous, deadly lively.

Will you give me leave then to curse? as a Plague on you, Jack, a Pox take you for an arch Rogue, or so?

By no means, men are apt enough to the Pox, without your cursing, if you mean the great Pox.

Great Pox! what should I mean, the small Pox? take you; that’s not worth the cursing; but to a proud Lady’s face ’tis a foolish sniveling curse, I would as soon say the measels take you.

But none of these will I allow you, they’re foolish affectations not to be endur’d.

You are very rigid, what will become of me? neither as hungry as a Dog, nor as proud as a Devil, nor as drunk as an Owl, nor no full-mouth’d Oaths, nor midling Oaths, nor your pretty little, little Oaths, nor Curses neither; why a fashionable Gentleman should not speak at all by these Laws; if these were strictly observed, our Gallants would be dumb, for they cannot speak without them. Would you have a Gentleman to make signs, or say nothing but ah, ah,
ah, like a Turkish Mute?

Better than to talk affectedly or nonsensically; why should men be so foolish to use unnecessary words?

Oh lamentable! unnecessary do you call 'em? Swearing is very necessary in many cases, as in an Army for an Officer; if he says, Truly I will break your head, or, Truly I will hang you, the Souldier will not believe it; but if he lifts up his Cane, and cry Zounds, I'll pay you, he'll crouch and obey.

This is a sensless errour, no man is thought honester, valianter, or truer of his word for swearing, they swear on purpose to cozen, these foolish by-words are nothing but custom, try and break your self on't, or you will certainly be laught at, and lose this Widow.

Well for your sake I will try, but I shall ne're do't, at least I shall have no joy in discourse, it will be so dull and heavy.

You are mistaken, try in private.

I will; but 'tis very hard, I'le to my Chamber and practise.

Do so, and let's meet at dinner.

Exeunt.

ACT II.

SCENE 1

Enter JUSTICE SPOILWIT, and a Servant of the House.

Is my Lady at home?

She is, Sir, but she's in her Chamber dressing.

Prethee Friend call the Butler, that I may have a Cup of Sack before Dinner.

I will, an' please your Worship.

Ex. Servant.

Enter COLONEL BOUNCE.

Whom have we here? Coll. Bounce? Gad save you.
ACT II. SCENE 1

COLONEL BOUNCE. How do’st thou honest Justice Spoilwit?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Thank ye Coll. but what wind brings you hither?

COLONEL BOUNCE. Why faith there is here a rich, and they say, a merry good humor’d Widow; and if she thinks fit, I'le venture my body with her in lawful Wedlock.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. (Aside.) But I will forbid the Banes, good Colonel Bounce.

Enter SIR JOHN NODDY.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Fa, la, la, la, Oh honest Justice, how is it?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Sir John Noddy! in good faith I am heartily glad to see you, now we are compleat, we shall be as merry as the Maids; Coll. this is a Friend of mine, pray know him.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Noble Coll. I kiss your hands.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Your Servant, Sir: prethee Justice what Butterfly is this?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Oh he is a very witty merry Knight, he’s of the Noddy's of the North, an arch Wag indeed, la.

The Justice leans upon his Cane, Sir John Noddy strikes it away, and the Justice is ready to fall upon his Nose.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ha, ha, ha, ha, brave Justice, ha, ha.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Ha, ha, ha, ha, well go thy ways, thou art an arch one, you would make one die with laughing, ha, ha, ha.

COLONEL BOUNCE. (Mocking them.) Ha, ha, ha, ha, i’faith, Sir, you would make one die with laughing, Pox on him: is this a merry, witty Knight, with his Monkey tricks?

SIR JOHN NODDY. Faith I love to be merry, my Lord, my Neighbour is so pleas’d with me; he’ll never be without me.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Indeed, Colonel, he’s excellent company, he would make one burst with laughing.

SIR JOHN NODDY. I remember yesterday at my Lords, ha, ha, ha, ha.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. What Sir John! ha, ha, ha.

SIR JOHN NODDY. I laid a hot stone in the Window, and his Man Tom came, and ha, ha, ha, did so horribly, ha, ha.

The Justice all the while laughs with him.

COLONEL BOUNCE. What burn him?
ACT II. SCENE 1

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ay, ay, and he threw it away, and ran for Sallet-oil, ha, ha, ha, it had like to have kil’d my Lord.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Ha, ha, ha, very good, nay you are the best at these things in the world, i’faith he is, Colonel.

COLONEL BOUNCE. As God save me, but if he should use me so, I would beat him exceedingly.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Another time one of my Lords Men stood very soberly, I held my finger thus, and called him Jack of a sudden, and he turn’d suddenly, and hit his Nose such a bump, ha, ha, ha, I had almost died with laughing, and all that were by laugh’d so it was wonderful: my Lord hearing it ask’t what was the matter, which they told him, then says he, I thought it could be no body but my Neighbour Jack Noddy; for there is not such a witty Fellow in the whole Country again.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. No more there is not i’faith, Sir John.

COLONEL BOUNCE. The Devil take me, if I see any such thing, he is for ought I see a most gross, absurd Coxcomb.

SIR JOHN NODDY. But says my Lord, these are gifts that Nature bestows on men, on some more, on some less, as she pleases: his Lordship is in the right, they are gifts, that’s the truth on’t, but ha, ha, ha. I remember another was standing by the fire, I heated the great end of my Riding-rod, and put it in his hand, he flew such a way, ha, ha, ha, from the fire, oh, oh, oh: Men, Women, and Children laugh’d so horribly, swearing that Sir John Noddy was the best company in the Earth, and the wittiest Gentleman.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Look you there, Colonel, he is a very merry, brisk, facetious person indeed.

COLONEL BOUNCE. He is a very witty person indeed.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Alas, Sir, no not I, not I by no means, Sir, yet I swear my Lord will seldom be without me, especially at Christmas, if I be but away a fortnight at any time, he sends poste for me, he cannot be without me.
ACT II. SCENE 1

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Does no body ever take you on the pate for these things?

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** No, no, sometimes they’ll say Leave your fooling, or I’ll knock you, I vow I’d teach you better manners, were it not for my Lord, or so; then I laugh and protest I meant ’em no harm, and drink drunk with ’em, and all’s well again.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Ay, ay, why who can take such pretty innocent mirth ill?

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** And then I entertain them well at my house, and my Sister makes much of them, they love me the best of any Gentleman in the Shire of any Quality.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** I find you have a very good Sister, that will make much of people.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** I, Sir, she’s as good a Sister as any man has, I thank God.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Justice, one word with you, does he come to make Love to the Widow?

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** I believe he does.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Ha, ha, oh, oh, hum.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Ha, ha, ha, oh, oh, ’um, get you gone, you Wag.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** This is a Trick I have made my Lord laugh with, till he has been ready to fall down.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** For ought I hear he is the merriest Lord in Europe.

Enter [JAMES] the Butler.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Oh how now, James, art thou come?

**JAMES.** I am glad to see your Worship well, Sir John I am your Worship’s humble Servant.

Sir John beats the Butler’s Hat out of his hand.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Justice and Butler laugh.

**JAMES.** Ha, ha, your Worship will never leave these things, ha, ha.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Ha, ha, ha, well you are the very’st arch one; but dear Sir John forbear, you will kill me with laughing, I shall break a vein i’faith.

**JAMES.** Come, Gentlemen, will you please to take a cast of my Office, and take a Cup of lusty Canary or March Beer, that will
ACT II. SCENE 1

SIR JOHN NODDY. make a Cat speak.

Well said, James; but where’s my Lady?

JAMES. Not drest yet: come, Gentlemen, be pleased to walk in the while, her Ladiship’s a dressing.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Come, Gentlemen, I am for a Cup of Sack before Dinner clearly.

Sir John takes the Justices Cane, and sets it before James, who falls down.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Ha, ha, oh, oh, forbear, good Sir John, or I must leave you, I am not able to endure it, ha, ha, oh, oh, ‘um.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Faith I cannot help it, I love to be merry, ha, ha, ha.

JAMES. Nay I know your Worship will never leave, till your mouth be cold, as the saying is, ha, ha, ha.

Exeunt omnes laughing.

CODSHEAD. Ha, you are all my Rivals, but there’s ne’re a handsome Fellow amongst them, the Devil take me; I am cursing again like a Devil; look there again, like a Devil, what shall I do to speak? I see the Justice is going with the Butler, he will be as drunk as an Owl—drunk as an Owl, why there ‘tis again! I will bite my tongue like a Devil, but that I’le remember it, again like a Devil! I shall be undone, what will become of me? I am in a desperate condition, Gad take me I shall lose the Widow: now am I swearing again, I will bite my tongue enough to remember it; let me see your eyes, Madam, your bright eyes; ah it was a coming; your bright eyes have so enslaved me, that the De—(ah it was just a coming there) that I can no longer, as I ho—there it was again; that, Madam, I can no longer call my heart my own; that was pretty well—You are the pretty Thief that stole it, and go—O Lord it was e’en out, this is a cruel pain; but, Madam, think me not rude, if I apprehend your Ladiship for this Love-felony: for if you do not restore my heart, or—
give me some comfort, the— oh I shall be as dull as a— oh hold, hold, it must be over-come with great labour and industry. Well before I marry her, I will do what I can to abstain; but when I have her, I am resolved to take my full swing: ha, there was a whole sentence without oaths or curses.

*Enter Crambo.*

Crambo. Oh Mr. Codhead, I am glad to see you alone, you have been practising.

Codhead. I have a little I’m sure, I sweat for’t.

Crambo. Come pray let me hear how you have profited.

Codhead. I shall never do’t; yet just now when I was a practising, me-thought I did it pretty well, I see I must take great pains for it.

Crambo. Try I’le help you, begin some discourse.

Codhead. Just now I met Blunderbus, my Neighbour, coming to the house.

Crambo. Did you?

Codhead. I vow ’tis true.

Crambo. I vow!

Codhead. The Devil take me else.

Crambo. What swear and curse!

Codhead. Oh I beg your pardon with all my heart.

Crambo. What said he to you?

Codhead. Why he said he was as lean as a Dog, and fallen away like a Devil.

Crambo. Dog and Devil again!

Codhead. He said— I would not say’t for a thousand pound, he said too I look’d as thin as a Shrimp.

Crambo. Thin as a Shrimp! pish you forget. [21]

Codhead. No, I tell you he said, What no difference of persons! take me with such a trick, and hang me.

Crambo. Hang ye! that’s fine.
CODSHEAD. Lord, I never saw such a man in my life, why that was not in my Lesson; but to go on, I am sure if I look lean, this restraint must cause it, for want of due swearing and cursing, and some graceful expressions, I'm very much heart-burnt for want of 'em I'le swear.

CRAMBO. You swear.
CODSHEAD. No, I said I would swear, but I did not.
CRAMBO. Why then you did lie.
CODSHEAD. Why shall a Gentleman have no liberty, neither swear nor lie, nor any thing? this is to give over being a Cavalier, I had rather be a Cobler, he may swear and lie, and do what he will.
CRAMBO. So this was well, you begin to mend, try once again; what would you say, if you were with my Lady?
CODSHEAD. Thus, Madam, I never saw so pretty a white Devil.
CRAMBO. Again at the Devil!
CODSHEAD. Ay, a white Devil, why 'twas a black one you forbid; there are Devils of all colours, like Conies, black, blue, white, gray, what d'e lack, but you put me out; I will tell her she's a pretty Thief, and has stoln my heart.
CRAMBO. Ay, that's well, I would make use of that thought my self, shall I borrow it of you for my next work?
CODSHEAD. With all my heart, and I am glad I have it to serve you I protest.
CRAMBO. Out on't protest!
CODSHEAD. Lord, what shall I do?
CRAMBO. Not swear.
CODSHEAD. Faith and Troth I do not swear.
CRAMBO. Are Faith and Troth no Oaths?
CODSHEAD. Oh none at all to those Rappers I have.
CRAMBO. But you must not swear at all.
CODSHEAD. Then I doubt I must not speak.
CRAMBO. But pray go on.
CODSHEAD. I have forgot, you have put me out, I must go again and practise by my self.

CRAMBO. Do then, to your Chamber. [22]

CODSHEAD. Well adieu then. 195

Exit Codshead.

CRAMBO. How splenetick, how dull am I! when I would compose a Sonnet to the fair Isabella, I am clouded with fogs and fumes, and such a Theme would inspire any man but me, I fear my days of ballating draw near, I am impotent, bewitched in Poetry, awake my drowsie Fancy, will my Muse show me a Jades trick at last? rowse up.

Hum—Thou joy of my heart,
Thou wonder of Nature,
Thou, Hum—— I can go no further.

It will not do, I fear I am lost, I thought to have won her heart by Poetry, and now it fails me.

Enter ISABELLA.

ISABELLA. [Aside.] Is he here my Rimer? — methinks he is a very dull Fellow, I have heard some of these Heroick men are very foolish; if they be all like him, they are better Subjects of a Play than Authors: 'twould be a great ease to Comical Poets to be supply’d with Heroick Fools.

CRAMBO. Here she is: Madam, I knew you were here before I saw you.

ISABELLA. I warrant you heard me.

CRAMBO. No, Madam, the Garden smiled, and put on a fresh Verdure.

ISABELLA. It seems the Garden is merrily disposed.

CRAMBO. Your presence would turn a Winter into a Spring, since you arriv’d the Flowers became more fragrant, the blushing Tulips raised their drowsie heads, and started at the sight of your bright Beauty.
ISABELLA. You are very Poetical this morning.
CRAMBO. Love, Madam, is the Fountain of all Poetry.
ISABELLA. I did not observe the Tulips to do that you speak of.
CRAMBO. Poets and Lovers are quick-sighted, Madam; Lilies look pale to see their white outvy’d in your fair Face, and Roses blush for shame, seeing the fresher Crimson of your Cheeks.
ISABELLA. They are too modest of all conscience, I had thought the Lilies and Roses had had more discretion; but, Sir, I am glad to find you so Poetical, for my Cousin my Lady Haughty would beg the favour of you to make some pretty rustick entertainment in Poetry, she has Servants enough to study it, and Musick we have within our selves, here will be much Company, and it will much increase our mirth.
CRAMBO. She honours me with her Commands; if you would joyn your’s, it would inspire me.
ISABELLA. If that will do you good, I do. (Aside.) Any way, so we have it done.
CRAMBO. The Honour is infinite, I kiss your fair hands, it shall be done in a moment.

Exit Crambo.

Enter MALL in haste.

ISABELLA. How now, Mall, whither in such haste?
MALL. My Lady has sent me to the Cook, Madam, to bid him make haste with Dinner.
ISABELLA. 'Tis well.

Ex. Mall, Isabella.

SCENE 2.

The Kitchen with the MASTER COOK with three or four Cooks, and three or four under-Servants.

MASTER COOK. Look to the Boiler there, keep gentle fires, see that the Olio be taken care of.
1 COOK. It shall be done, Master.
MASTER COOK. Be very careful and diligent there in the Scalding-house.
2 COOK. They shall.

MASTER COOK. You for the Range, look you spend as much Butter as you can for Fees, that we may not want another day.

1 COOK. I’le warrant you, let us alone for that.

MASTER COOK. Arm the Roast-meat with Paper, my Lady’s Bills, Answers and Depositions in Chancery, with all her Ladiship’s Attorney’s Letters, these are ordained for the Roast.

2 COOK. It shall be done, Master: then for the Pastry Prius Works with Coriats Crudities, and the long Presbyterian Expositions upon the Psalms, with the old Ordinances of both Houses.

1 COOK. All these we have already.

MASTER COOK. Oh, if we had but some correspondence with the two Play-houses, they would furnish us rarely, they say they have hundreds of Plays brought to them in a year, that are good for nothing else, we might buy ’em at two Shillings a Stone; these are those they refuse, and they might throw us several of those they Act in to the bargain.

Enter MALL.

MALL. Master Cook, my Lady has sent me to you, to desire you of all loves, that you will take very great care, that the Meat may be order’d, lest she should be thought an ill House-keeper, and you disgraced.

MASTER COOK. My Sweet-heart, first give me a Kiss, and then I will answer my Lady.

MALL. Stand away, you are the strangest man.

MASTER COOK. In a word, we want all things we should have, but I’le do what I can, and a man can do no more; but prethee sit upon my knee, my Dear. Here fill some Plum-porridge for this Gentlewoman, bring some of the Tarts and Custards too, and you shall pay nothing, but now and then a Kiss.

MALL. Nay pish, Mr. Cook, my Lady will be an angred.

MASTER COOK. Ounds, I love thee Sweet, and have done ever since I came to the House, and so thou shalt find. Cook, prethee sing the
Song I made of Mrs. Mary to the single Cittern: come bring out the Tarts and Custards. Come on.

Mall eats sitting upon his Lap.

1 COOK.

Sings

Fy, fy, this Love keeps such a coil,
So high’t does boil.

Love’s heat does make so great a fire
Of hot desire,

That all my fancy it does trouble,

Love so doth bubble.

My loving Pot can hold no more,
But does run o’re.

MASTER COOK. How do you like it, my Dear?

MALL. I doubt you mean naughtiness, forsooth, or else it is very pretty.

1 COOK.

Thou should’st skim Love upon the top,

Or with a Sop

To Soak it, or else to dip it,

Many a Sippet

Would keep’t within Love’s circle, then

Stir it agen;

And if it rise, ’twill down, you know,

If that you blow.

MALL. This is scurrility, as my Lady’s Chaplain says.

MASTER COOK. Nothing but similizing, as Poets must do; but here’s a Cup of Wine, my Heart and Soul to thee, Ounds no man loves you better than I do.

MALL. But I cannot stay, forsooth, my Lady will miss me.

MASTER COOK. But a little, go on Cook.

1 COOK.

Then dish it up unto your wish

In Love’s sweet Dish:

When Love’s sweet morsels we have tasted,

None shall be wasted;
What’s left we’ll set up cold to eat
For butter’d meat.

An ill Cook now is he that lingers
To lick his fingers.

MALL. Oh gemini, what Songs you make me here! well I don’t mind ’em, I don’t understand ’em: come will you let me go, my Lady will chide me grievously.

MASTER COOK. Good Sweet-heart, stay but one Song more, and I have done.

MALL. I’le stay no more Songs, not I: if you don’t let me go, I purtest I’le never come again.

[Master Cook] kisses her.

Look now, now Fiddles, you are the strangest man.

MASTER COOK. But one Copy of Verses, dear Sweet-heart.

I will invite thee to Love’s back-house,
There bolt our Love; for Love will make us
Not mealy-mouth’d, but in Love’s Oven,
The heat that’s there will make us loving.

MALL. Nay get you gone, I am a young Maiden, and not fit for these kinded things.

MASTER COOK. Nay good Sweet-heart, if thou say’st no,
Then out, alas! my Cake is dow.

Look you there that’s extempory, Mrs. Mary, how do you like it?

MALL. Farewel, I will not stay, that’s once.

[Master Cook] kisses her.

Nay pish, fy, get you gone.

Exit Mall.

MASTER COOK. Farewel my Heart and Soul with thee: here where’s the Clerk of the Kitchen?

Enter CLERK

CLERK. Here, what do you want?

MASTER COOK. Want! quoth he, we want every thing in the World, a Pox

108
ACT II. SCENE 2

CLERK.

Be patient and you shall have all.

MASTER COOK.

Patience! Pox on patience, 'Sounds my Lady is dishonoured for ever, you will never be able to repair it.

CLERK.

Prethee what’s the matter man?

MASTER COOK.

Blood, there wants a wooden Candlestick in the Pastry. Cook, quoth he! the Devil would not be a Cook at this rate.

CLERK.

Is that the matter? that will be a great dishonour indeed, come there shall be one.

MASTER COOK.

And then we have none but Rush-candles in the Kitchin, when we should have Torches, it is so dark.

CLERK.

Come be patient, and you shall want nothing.

Enter MUSIC

Mr. Cook, here is a Friend of mine, pray make him welcome.

MASTER COOK.

You’re welcome, Sir, cut off a piece of the Chine of Beef presently, some Anchoves, and Westphalia, here’s a Boule of Sack to you, here give me the Can that measures Ale by the Yard, Derby measure, Sir, here’s this Can of Sack to you, Sir, I cannot stay, Sir, you see I must be gone Sir. Come, where are ye, ye lazy Rogues? fall to your work, open the Oven there, and see how the Pyes colour.

CLERK.

Master Cook, you do not know the good qualities of this Gentleman.

MASTER COOK.

Truly I do believe he is a very civil Person, pray eat heartily, Sir: well, Boys, how are the Pyes?

2 COOK.

All very well, Master.

MASTER COOK.

Look to the Boiler, it does not boil too fast; but what were you saying, Sir? Mich’y good dit ye.

CLERK.

This Gentleman plays rarely on the Musick.

MASTER COOK.

Faith, Sir, since I have given you a cast of my Office, pray give me one of yours, and i’faith here’s the other Can of
Sack to your health.

*MUSIC.*

With all my heart.

*MASTER COOK.*

Come out you Myrmydons, and shake your heels, i’faith I’le have a Dance, though my Lady has no Dinner.

2 *COOK.*

Come out, Boys.

3 *COOK.*

Come out, Lads.

_They all come out and dance, while some dance, others are keeping time with their Chopping-knives._

*CLERK.*

Very well done, Boys, well danc’d.

*MASTER COOK.*

Thank you, good Sir, here’s t’other Can to you, Sir: come, my Boys, take up your Drum-sticks, your Chopping-knives, let the Dresser be your Drum, and upon the Butter-meats and Sallets beat a Call, then sound your Trumpet, your Yard of Can for a Charge, and dish up quickly.

*MUSIC.*

Why you have Military Terms for all these things.

*MASTER COOK.*

Sir, I have been a General’s Cook, after Dinner I’le give a full description of all, but now I cannot stay, farewel, Sir.

*MUSIC.*

Your Servant, Sir.

_A great noise of chopping upon the Dresser._

*MASTER COOK.*

Come you Rogues, take off your Cans, and be nimble to’ t, Boys.

_Exeunt omnes._

SCENE 3

_Enter FOOTPAD and the Rogues._

1 *ROGUE.*

This was a brave business, and well laid.

2 *ROGUE.*

We unbound the Pedler, who roared out for help and inquir’d after you.

3 *ROGUE.*

We pitied his condition mightily, and told him we had seen you, and directed him a wrong way, whither he is gone in great haste to pursue you.

*FOOTPAD.*

That was bravely done, with my Pedler’s Pack I made ’em all cut their Purses willingly, never Indian King parted with his Gold at easier rates for Hatchets and Knives, than my
Coxcombs have parted with their Money for my Trinkets.

4 ROGUE. What is the Purchase, Captain?

FOOTPAD. Fourteen pounds and a Noble.

ALL. Ah, brave Captain.

FOOTPAD. They pick't their own Pockets, but now I hope we shall pick 'em for 'em: they love Gypsies mainly, and methinks we look as like the Race of Ptolomy.

1 ROGUE. As Hogs grease, and the Rind of Walnuts can make us.

2 ROGUE. There are Strangers there, brave Gentry, an we could light o'them.

3 ROGUE. Luck if it be thy will, that we thrive in our Profession.

FOOTPAD. Have at thee Fortune, they say thou are a Whore I will have a bout with, though thou art grown so common, thou favourest every Blockhead.

4 ROGUE. Would some of the Strangers would come out to us, be sure they're full of Money.

FOOTPAD. Come, let's roar out our Song of the Gypsies with laudable voices, and that may train 'em out of the house.

1 ROGUE. Come on, let's be merry by our selves.

2 ROGUE. Come— I love singing mightily.

FOOTPAD. So well, that as thou livest singing, thou wilt die singing, a Psalm I mean.

2 ROGUE. Oh the brave jolly Gypsie,
   Who often is tipsie,
   And has strong Ale good store
   With a little black Whore.
   When credit does fail
   With fat Hostess for Ale,
   He grows dogged and sullen,
   Steals her Geese and her Pullen.
   And Linen that's bleaching,
   If it be within reaching,
   'Tis juggled away
By night or by day.

Then Fortunes we tell,
But stealing does well
To help out the Trade,
Which is somewhat decay’d.
When Maids are a kissing,
Their things never missing,
Then we take our time,
And think it no crime,
And then the next morning,
Their Hue and Cry scorning,
We care not a straw
For their Statute Law.

1 ROGUE. Here come some of ’em.

Enter JUSTICE SPOILWIT, COLONEL BOUNCE,
SIR JOHN NODDY, and [JAMES] the Butler.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. We’l take a Turn here before Dinner, bring us word when her Ladiship comes down.

JAMES. I will, Sir, I must go look after my Mistress Margery: here are so many Gentlemen’s Men, I shall have one or other snap her up.

Exit James.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. I’faith was it you that made this Musick? you are brave Gypsies, melodious Gypsies.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Where are the rest of your Company?

FOOTPAD. They are behind, an please your Worship, but I am chief.

ALL ROGUES. This is our Captain.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. What, I warrant you can tell Fortunes, prethee look in my hand, and tell me mine.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Prethee, Justice, why wilt thou be such an Ass? dost thou think they can tell?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Colonel, I do assure you I have known notable under-
standing men, men of excellent parts Gypsies.

1 ROGUE. Sir, I'le warrant you, I'le tell you yours.

COLONEL BOUNCE. I'm sure I'le give you nothing.

1 ROGUE. 'Tis no matter.

2 ROGUE. Sir, let me see your hand.

The Justice and Sir John give 'em money.

1 ROGUE. ———By your Venus Trench

You should love a Wench.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Should? why I do you Puppy, and so does all the World.

FOOTPAD. I see plainly that you will be Knighted, and marry a rich Widow.

As they tell their Fortunes, they pick their Pockets.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Ounds ye lying Rogues, to flatter him so.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Good Sir, have patience, i'faith they are men of skill, I know 'em.

FOOTPAD. How Fools will lie, and help to cozen themselves!

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. So God save me, I have known some Gypsies predict as well as Lilly or Gadbury.

2 ROGUE. ———Sir, it has been your mishap

In your time to get a Clap.

They all laugh.

COLONEL BOUNCE. What dull Rogues these are! why you Rascals, is there a Gentleman that has not had a Clap?

SIR JOHN NODDY. Faith and Troth I have had six, little and great, ha, ha, ha.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Ha, ha, ha; but i'faith shall I be Knighted, and marry the Lady, hah?

1 ROGUE. Pray, Sir, let me see.

By your hand and this line

You love a Glass of Wine.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Why you abominable dull Rascal, does not every body love Wine and Women? there's a Secret indeed; why thou stupid blockheaded Puppy, I could beat thy brains out, if thou had'st any: come, a Pox on't, let's be gone.
JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Nay, good Colonel, have patience, alas! you do not understand these things, these are gifts.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Gifts! I’m sure, I’le give them nothing.

3 ROGUE. Alas, Sir, I am ingram man, I desire no money, I’le pray for your Worship.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Ay, I think you may have wit enough for that.

FOOTPAD. By this Line of Honour, Sir, I find you’l be made a Lord before you die.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Come away, you blockheaded Justice.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Well I come; a Lord! Oh brave, a Lord! well stay here, and I’le get my Lady to send for ye, and pray let her know that she is to marry me.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Come away, poor witless Cheats, poor Fools.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ha, ha, ha, look you there, Justice.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Ha, ha, ha, I thought we should have ye i’faith, hah, ha, ho, ho.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ha, ha, ha, have I caught you, Justice?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Ha, ha, ha, you will never leave i’faith, you are the pleasantest man, ha, ha, ha.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Come, these are the silliest cheats.

FOOTPAD. Go your ways, you’l find your selves Fools by and by.

Tis true you are witty, but my judgment’s righter,

Since my Pocket’s full, and your Pocket’s lighter.

Come my brave Rogues, let’s be gone, this was a brave booty, let’s away, and shift and divide, lest if we should stay, we may be taken and hang’d about this business.

ALL. Come away, noble Captain.


FOOTPAD. Ex. Rogues.
SCENE 4

Enter LADY HAUGHTY, ISABELLA, NAN.

LADY HAUGHTY. Where are my doughty Lovers? I have stay’d a pair of minutes for ’em at least.

ISABELLA. Some Ladies would be as proud of such a Train of Lovers, as Lawyers are of many Clients, or Divines of heaps of Parishes to follow them.

LADY HAUGHTY. Some Lady would strut and take upon her, like a new up-start Favourite to a Prince, that flyes above the Gentry of his Country, and uses ’em scurvily. Indeed I have not much reason to triumph to day, for I have none but Coxcombs.

ISABELLA. But you have every day variety, as a Favourite has.

LADY HAUGHTY. And I use ’em scurvily too, but yet they come and dissemble, fawn, flatter, worship, and fall down before me, as if they took me for the golden Calf, and I all the while look upon them with the same scorn, that a new-raised Favourite does upon his Betters.

NAN. Did your Ladiship find such great affliction in Matrimony, that you are such a violent enemy to it?

LADY HAUGHTY. So much, as I am resolved never to be so constrained again, I’le continue as free as Nature made me; why should we submit to that foolish Animal Man? Let him be head! I’le keep the Fools at a distance, and make them crouch.

NAN. But I hear of one Courtier too, that is coming down, that will win you, the finest nice, perfum’d, periwig’d, feather’d Person in the World.

LADY HAUGHTY. I know who ’tis; what shall I marry an outside of a man, a Fellow put together by a Milliner, Perfumer, Feather-man, and French Taylor?

ISABELLA. When Women fall much in love with men for their fine Cloaths, I wonder they are not more in love with the Taylors that made ’em.

LADY HAUGHTY. A rich Suit out of an old Wardrobe would make as good a
Husband, I’le give a Receipt of him: Take fine rich Cloaths, and do not pay for ’em, take a Barber for a Counsellor, rail at all but the present, scorn and endeavour to depress all Arts and Sciences, which he knows nothing of, whisper Proclamations in your ears for Secrets, tell you what the King said to him once upon a time that shall be nameless, when he scarce takes notice of him once a year, perhaps speaks to him neer.

Oh, but they are rare men for making Love, Madam.

Faith they have but one Receipt of making Love, which is like an Almanack for the Meridian of the Court, and generally serves ’em for all England, Quack-salvers, Empiricks in Love, that have but one Receipt for every thing. The common High-way of Love, flatter you, and condemn others, extol your Wit, and yet think to make you a Fool, praise your Vertue, and yet strive to lie with you.

And at such easie rates too, swear he is your Vassal, and lie at your feet, nothing but lie, cog, flatter, and dissemble, which can cozen none but overweening self Lovers.

Right, Cousin, they can deceive none but those that contribute to deceive themselves.

Lord, should one suspect honest Gentlemen, when they give one so good words too?

They that do not suspect, will be more than suspected.

For what, Madam?

For Fools.

But here come the Gentlemen now, Madam Isabella observe Sir John Noddy, ’tis the merriest pretty Gentleman.

Enter JUSTICE SPOILWIT, SIR JOHN NODDY, COLONEL BOUNCE, they salute the Ladies.

Gentlemen you are welcome, Sir John how do all our Friends in your Country? how does my Lord your Neighbour?
SIR JOHN NODDY. Very well, Madam, I was a hunting with my dear Lord t’other day, and he lighted, and we all lighted, and I sneaked behind one of his Gentlemen, and thrust him into a plash of water, ha, ha, ha.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Very good i’faith, ha, ha, ha.

SIR JOHN NODDY. But had you seen my Lord how we laught, the tears ran trickling down his Honour’s cheeks, he desired me to forbear, or I should kill him, then charged every body not to speak of it, that he might tell it first when he came home.

NAN. Madam, did not I tell you, what a pretty, witty, wild Gentleman Sir John was?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Madam, yonder are Gypsies without have told us our Fortunes: if your Ladiship please to hear your’s, i’faith they are rare men, men of excellent skill. (He feels in his Pocket.) Ha, hum, what a Devil, Oh Pox where’s my money? O Devil.

LADY HAUGHTY. What’s the matter? have the Gypsies bewitch’t you?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. O Lord, Oh they or some body have pick’t my Pocket of five pound in Silver, and forty pound in old Gold.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Truly, Justice, they are men of skill, excellent skill.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ha, ha, ha, oh, oh, hum, what have your Pocket pick’t, Justice? that a man should be such an Ass!

COLONEL BOUNCE. Ha oh, Devil, where is it? Ounds, they have done the same for me, I have lost every cross.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Oh, have you so, Colonel?

SIR JOHN NODDY. I am the Son of a Strumpet, if they have not got all mine too.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Ha, ha, ha, Knight, your Pocket pick’t! that a man should be such an Ass, Knight!

The Cook knocks on the Dresser, for Dinner carrying up.

LADY HAUGHTY. Come, Gentlemen, let’s in, the Cook summons us to Dinner with that knocking; comfort your selves after your losses, here is money in the house, you may make use of it, Gentlemen, if you please; but let’s to dinner.
ACT II. SCENE 4

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Come, Madam, we wait on you, I shall have a hundred pound paid me by a Fellow that lives hard by; you shall have what you will, as far as that goes, Gentlemen.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Thank you, good Sir.

Sir John pulls off [the Justice's] periwig, and flings it away.

There ha, ha, ha, oh, good Justice, now I am even with you, ha, ha.

JUSTICE NODDY. Ha, ha, oh, oh, well go thy ways, I never saw such a merry man in my life.

LADY HAUGHTY. What a strange Coxcomb is this Knight! Cousin, come.

ISABELLA. He is so, but methinks the other is a handsom Gentleman, there is a noble roughness in his countenance, that speaks an honest plainness, and a wise contempt of those Fools he is in company with; his Mine and Air pleases me strangely.

LADY HAUGHTY. Allons, Gentlemen.

COLONEL BOUNCE. We wait on you, Madam.

Ex. omnes.

ACT III.
SCENE 1.

LADY HAUGHTY, ISABELLA, COLONEL BOUNCE, JUSTICE SPOILWIT, SIR JOHN NODDY, CODSHEAD, and CRAMBO, and NAN at the lower end of the Table at Dinner.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Come, Madam Isabella, are you for some Plaice? here is a great Plaice, Ladies love to take place, ha, ha, ha.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Very good, ha, ha, ha.

ISABELLA. You are the pleasantest company, Sir John, where do you learn these things, amongst the Wits?

SIR JOHN NODDY. No, Madam, Pox the Wits are dull Fellows, they call themselves Wits, but they are dull, very dull; I keep company with the Clinchers, they are the rare company.
COlonel BOUNCE. Did ever man light into the company of such Fools?

LADY HAUGHTY. What are these Clinchers?

Sir John Noddy. What are they? why they are the gravest of Divines and Lawyers, Judges will do’t upon the Bench at an Arraign-
ment, and sometimes your States-men are good at it, they cannot forget when they were Sophisters.

Justice Spoilwit. Faith, Madam, these Clinchers are the wittiest people in the World.

LADY HAUGHTY. Pray, Mr. Spoilwit, cut me a piece of that Rabit.

Justice Spoilwit. Madam, it is a raw bit, and not a Rabit, for it is not half roasted, ha, ha.

Sir John Noddy. Ha, ha.

Crambo. Very good, ha, ha, ha.

Codshead. 'Tis very good, the Devil take me.

Crambo. Again at the Devil!

Codshead. Peace, I hope my Lady took no notice on’t.

Colonel Bounce. (To Isabella.) I never knew any great Lady keep above one Fool, and my Lady has four or five, Madam.

Isabella. I think she had best put 'em in Livery, Sir.

Justice Spoilwit. Here is a very good Fowl, will you prove a Goose, Sir John? ha, ha, ha.

Sir John Noddy. Ha, ha, no, no, but there’s a very good Woodcock, Justice, ha, ha, I love a Woodcock Justice, ha, ha.

Crambo. Very good on both sides.

Colonel Bounce. That Poet, Madam, is a very dull Fellow.

Isabella. As dull a Poet as one shall see in a Summers day.

(Aside.) This man has sense, and looks like a Gentleman.

Sir John Noddy. What are you for a Gull Justice? ha, ha, ha.

Justice Spoilwit. No, no, I had as live’s eat of an Owl Sir John, I love not a Gull Sir John, ha, ha, ha, there I gave it him i’faith, Colonell.

Sir John Noddy. Ha, ha, ha, very good i’faith; well there is nothing like this Wit at Dinner.

Justice Spoilwit. Wit is never so good as at Meals, it makes one digest the
LADY HAUGHTY.  Wit is indeed a fine thing; but do grave Men, Divines, and Lawyers, and Men of great business use this kind of Wit?

SIR JOHN NODDY.  Oh ever while you live, they are the wittiest people, they are so full of Jests, and will so laugh, especially at Meals.

JUSTICE SPOILWITT.  I’faith Sir John’s in the right, your Wits, your flashy Wits are nothing to them, when they please to be merry.

SIR JOHN NODDY.  Oh there was a Judge that use to come our Circuit, the purest company: a Gentleman ask’t a Lady, whether she would have any Custard, says the Judge Cus-turd, you may be ashamed to name so uncivil a thing to so fine a Gentlewoman, ha, ha, ha.

JUSTICE SPOILWITT.  Passing good, ha, ha, ha.

SIR JOHN NODDY.  There was such laughing, the Ladies did so tihie under their Napkins, and could not eat a bit after it i’faith; but when they look’t most demurely, out went the Tihie again under the Napkin, ha, ha. I am a Villain, if the Tihie did not take a reverend old Gentlewoman when she was a drinking, and she did squirt the Beer out of her Nose, as an Indian does Tobacco, ha, ha.

CODSHEAD.  This was very good, Gad take me, this would have made one laugh like a Devil.

CRAMBO.  Why, are you mad? will you ruine your self?

CODSHEAD.  Lord bless me, I did quite forget, I was so transported at the Jest.

CRAMBO.  A Pox on’t, I am so dull, I cannot make a Quibble, and yet all the bawdy Jests in my Plays are nothing else.

CODSHEAD.  Pray, Sir John, give me some of that Custard for all your Jest, I were a Fool, if I should refuse that Custard, ha, ha, ha, that’s very good, is not that very good, Ladies, ha, ha, ha.

SIR JOHN NODDY.  Ay faith it is Cousin. ha, ha, ha.

JUSTICE SPOILWITT.  Excellent! we are rare company, talk of your Wits, and your
Wits, and this and that, i’faith, they are full Fools to us.

**Colonel Bounce.**

Gentlemen, if you have leisure for your immoderate and most incomprehensible Wit, which if you do not leave it, it will kill you, pray drink my Lady’s Health. Madam, your Ladiships Health; Justice to you.

*He drinks.*

**Justice Spoilwit.**

Tope, as the French say.

**Sir John Noddy.**

Nay on my conscience, as the Colonel says, Wit will be the death of me, ’twill kill me at last.

**Codshead.**

Ay, and me too, the Devil—Oh it was just a coming.

**Sir John Noddy.**

Come here’s my Lady’s Health, about with her, I would I could have a bout with her, Justice, ha, ha.

**Justice Spoilwit.**

Very good, very good.

**Isabella.**

Are you not cloy’d with these fulsom, nauseous Fools, Madam?

**Lady Haughty.**

No, your gross Fool is good company enough for variety, I do not mean your Fool of God’s making, he is to be pitied; but your Fool of his own making, that pretends to be witty, one that takes great pains to make himself a Fool.

**Isabella.**

Not your natural, but artificial Fool.

**Lady Haughty.**

Right, Cousin: Sir John, pray cut me a piece of that Cheshire Cheese.

**Sir John Noddy.**

Cheshire Cheese! ’tis Windsor Cheese, Madam.

**Lady Haughty.**

I’m sure it was sent me by a Friend out of Cheshire.

**Isabella.**

What makes you call it Windsor Cheese?

**Sir John Noddy.**

Because it is near Eaton, ha, ha, ha.

**Justice Spoilwit.**

Ha, ha, this is the best that ever was, I shall die with laugh- ing.

*They laugh.*

**Codshead.**

Admirable, most incomparable.

**Crambo.**

I am so dull, I cannot make one for the blood of me.

**Nan.**

Sir John is the merriest Gentleman, I’le swear he would kill me to keep him company.
SIR JOHN NODDY. Ha, ha, I'll tell you the best Jest in the World, Madam: a Doctor of Divinity, that shall be nameless, said that his Wife always gave him three Dishes, Bitter, Powt, and Tart; was it not very good, Madam?

LADY HAUGHTY. Oh very good.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Admirable, these Joques are excellent things, this harmless playing upon words, your scurvy Wits they are all upon things, and men full of Satyr, as they call it.

Enter JAMES the Butler.

JAMES. Madam, here's your Grange-man Gervas, and your Dairy-maid Cicely have committed Matrimony this day, and desire your Ladiship will give 'em joy, and will present you with a Dance.

LADY HAUGHTY. With all my heart, where are they?

Enter GERVAS, CICELY, three Country Clowns, and Country Wenches with Ribbands upon their Hats.

GERVAS. How now, Gervas, are you married?

CICELY. He has overcome me, Madam, he has such a way with him.

LADY HAUGHTY. Joy to ye, I'll give you your first piece of Household stuff.

ISABELLA. And I the next.

GERVAS. Thank your Worships.

LADY HAUGHTY. But where's our Dance?

GERVAS. Strike up, Musicians.

They rise, and the Table and Cloth, &c. is taken away.

They dance.

LADY HAUGHTY. Very well; farewell, much joy to you. Gentlemen, let us retire, and about half an hour hence I'll meet ye all in the Garden.

Ex. Gervas, Cicely, and Dancers.

COLONEL BOUNCE. (To Isabella.) Madam, will you give me leave to wait upon you for a moment?

LADY HAUGHTY. I hope, Mr. Crambo, you are pleased to remember your
CRAMBO.

I do, Madam; Pox on that Colonel, he’s going with my Cloris: I am troubled with dulness, I have such vapours in my head, I am not able to write, I fear.

Sir John pushes one of the Servants with the Service full of Trenchers, Plates, and Dishes upon his Nose, they all go out laughing and hugging Sir John, except the Butler and Servants, who are removing the things. Then Exeunt all but the Butler.

To him

Enter MARGERY the Chamber-Maid.

[JAMES.] Ah, Margery, have you the face to look on me, after what I saw just now before Dinner?

MARGERY. Why, what did you see, good Mr. Butler and Taylor? for those are your two Titles of Honour.

JAMES. Did not I see you in a corner laughing and playing with Sir John Noddy’s Man?

MARGERY. Would not you have one civil to a Stranger? you ill-bred Taylor.

JAMES. Civil with a Pox d’e call it?

MARGERY. What you are jealous, are you? I defy your Yard and your Spanish Needle, and your middle finger, with your Corslet Thimble.

JAMES. Marry come up, Mrs. Caudle-maker, you Keeper of my Lady’s secrets! you would hold the door for a need, if my Lady were such a one; ’tis well her Ladiship is not lewdly given, I know what you would be else.

MARGERY. Why what would I be, thou Goose?

JAMES. A Bawd, a Bawd, a Bawd Margety.

MARGERY. A Thief, a Thief, a Thief James, I’m sure one cannot be a Taylor without it.

JAMES. You scurvy tittle tattle, Tell-tale of the house, that makes lies, and are believ’d, flatters my Lady, and says the Crow’s white, if she says so, all this for a little Money and Cloaths,
and then you mince and trip and amble to Church, not for Religion, but to show my Lady’s old Wardrobe furbit up upon thy scurvy body.

**MARGERY.** Scurvy body! out you Prick-louse, 'tis as good a body—and that most young Men of the house will say, thou unconscionable Item of searing Candle, Bumbast, and Canvas.

**JAMES.** There’s stiffening too, good Mrs. Wasp, with a sting in your tail.

**MARGERY.** Not so much as you should have put in, you cheating Rogue, you cozened me in that too.

**JAMES.** Come you are rank, you are rank, every Dog-bolt in the house follows you, with a Pox to you, that will be the end of it, to thy shame, thou lascivious Woman.

**MARGERY.** Oh you base Taylor and Butler made up of shreds and chip-pings, ne’re a one of the house will say so much of me.

**JAMES.** 'Tis their goodness more than your desert.

**MARGERY.** I am sure never a Fellow of mine, since I came, if they speak truly, but will say I have been ready to do 'em courtesies early and late, I am sure of that. (Crys.)

**JAMES.** Her tears do mollifie me, I am tender-hearted.

**MARGERY.** And you to lay these things in my dish, that have not deserv’d 'em at your hands.

**JAMES.** Well I’le say no more at present then.

**MARGERY.** But 'tis no matter, I am e’en served well enough, to love such a one; I thought ne’re to have said so much, but truth’s truth and shame the Devil.

**JAMES.** Come, peace then Margery, I believe thou dost love me. [41]

**MARGERY.** Do I? Ay that I do, even but too well, God knows.

**JAMES.** Nay good dear Margery, peace, thou wilt break my heart to see thee cry so.

**MARGERY.** Your unkindness will be the death of me some time or other; but yet, James, I would not have you cry, it is not manly for a Taylor to cry, therefore quiet your self, 'tis no
matter what becomes of me.

JAMES. Oh Margery, thou hast—

MARGERY. What have I done?

JAMES. Why thou hast drawn womanish tears from the Flood-gates of my manly Taylors eyes. Prethee forgive me.

MARGERY. Well I do with all my heart.

JAMES. I know thou art vertuous and religious.

MARGERY. Ay, James, I should be sorry else; for every Holy-day when I put on my best Cloaths, I read my Psalter, many a leaf do I turn over with a wet thumb, I have a new Bible too, and when my Lady left her Practice of Piety, she gave it me, and you shall have it; therefore pray think well of me, I am no Papisht I thank God.

JAMES. Sweet Margery, forgive me all my faults, and let’s kiss upon that.

MARGERY. With all my heart.

JAMES. ———The best of Love with quarrels is possest,

Amantium inæ amoris redintegratio est.

Exeunt.

SCENE 2.

Enter COLONEL BOUNCE and ISABELLA.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Look ye, Madam, the case is this, I’le go upon the square with my Lady, I have a thousand pounds a year, but ’tis mortgaged very deep, for I was hatter’d and sequestred, as many brave Fellows were for serving the King; but no more to be said.

ISABELLA. I have heard you were a great Sufferer. [Aside.] He looks like a brave Fellow, his roughness and honest bluntness pleases me strangely.

COLONEL BOUNCE. I say nothing of that; but I had as like to have had the honour of being hang’d for the King as any man, and ’tis true many undeserving persons were brought to the Scaffold, that did not merit the honour like my self; and if I
had not had palpable injustice, I’m sure I had had the honour; but no more to be said.

**ISABELLA.**
A loyal Man.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.**
But Merit was not look’d upon, they prefer’d Fellows to be hang’d, that Gad were no more fit for’t, than your Ladships Chamber-maid.

**ISABELLA.**
Do not repent, Sir, methinks ’tis well as ’tis.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.**
No, Madam, nothing shall trouble me, what cannot be cur’d must be endur’d, but I serv’d in all the War, I say nothing, but the business is, thus was my Estate engaged, and I hearing of this Widow, faith was content to mortgage my body to her to redeem my Land, and so, Madam, I beg you will please to let her know from me. You are her Kinswoman, and I thought the fittest person to break the Ice to her, I see she is pester’d with Fools, I could not do’t my self.

**ISABELLA.**
Do you love her by hearsay only?

**COLONEL BOUNCE.**
I thought it convenient for her and me too, and for Love Widows seldom trouble themselves with that.

**ISABELLA.**
Then you are not much in Love.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.**
Faith, Madam, I am a Souldier, and hate lying, I am not dangerously.

**ISABELLA.**
(Aside.) I know not what’s the reason, but methinks I am glad to hear that.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.**
Faith, Lady, I could love you a great deal better, if it were as convenient for me.

**ISABELLA.**
Say you so?

**COLONEL BOUNCE.**
Yes faith; but I like my Lady, and I know what belongs to a Gentleman, and am honest, I’le make a kind Husband to her, and Gad I’le deal like a Gentleman with her, and that she shall find as soon as she pleases, and that’s the short and long on’t.

**ISABELLA.**
These Souldiers are all a word and a blow; but methinks this
honest bluntness is better than the fawning flattery of your perfumed feather’d hufty tufty Fools: yonder comes my Lady, let us retire, and consult what I shall say to her.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.**
Come, I see she’s persecuted damnably with Coxcombs, let her but say one word, and I’le beat ’em every one out of the house.

**ISABELLA.**
*Allons.*

*Ex. Col. and Isab.*

*Enter LADY HAUGHTY, CODSHEAD, and CRAMBO meeting ’em.*

**CRAMBO.**
Your Servant, Madam, I have been meditating for your Ladiships Service.

**CODSHEAD.**
Peace, Crambo, do not interrupt me, I am very busie.

**CRAMBO.**
Come let’s hear no swearing.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** *(Aside.)* These Fools begin to be troublesome, I can enjoy no privacy for ’em.

**CODSHEAD.**
As I was saying, Madam, you are a pretty Thief, and steal every bodies heart, no man can keep a heart in quiet for you.

**LADY HAUGHTY.**
Did not you steal that out of the *Academy of Complements*, Mr. Codshead?

**CODSHEAD.**
No, as I hope to be saved.

**CRAMBO.**
How now, Mr. Codshead!

*Crambo pulls him by the Elbow.*

**CODSHEAD.**
Why, would not you have me hope to be saved, when I have left off swearing? I never saw such a man in my life, i’faith, you’ll put me quite out. Madam, your Eyes hum— your bright Eyes hum— have so enslaved me, that, hum, hum— I can no longer call my heart my own.

**LADY HAUGHTY.**
Good lack a day, but are you serious?

**CODSHEAD.**
Ay the De— hum— could you but see your self, you would not doubt it, hum—

**CRAMBO.**
That was very well.
Crambo claps him on the Back.

_CODSHEAD._
And then that stately and majestical Forehead adorned by, or rather adorning those curles— hum— those snares for hearts.

_LADY HAUGHTY._
This Fool has been bred up to nothing but Questions and Commands and cross purposes.

_CODSHEAD._
That Arch upon your Brow is Cupids Bow, as I, hum—

_LADY HAUGHTY._
These commendations come not from your heart, you hum and pause, and seem to be in pain.

_CODSHEAD._
I am a Son of a Whore, Madam, if they be not from my heart, and that’s an excellent word, and no swearing.

_The Widow smiles._

_CRAMBO._
For shame, don’t you see her laugh at you for it?

_CODSHEAD._
Peace, I have a thousand commendations more for you, as that your breath is a heavenly dew, sweeter than Eastern Winds— hum— that o’re the flowry Gardens blow— hum, ha— or than the choicest of Arabian Gums.

_CRAMBO._
Very fine! I’le set it down, I’le use it. Lord, to see some ordinary men light of things now and then, a good as one of us!

_CODSHEAD._
Your teeth like— hum— Oriental Pearls, or Twin Lambs newly shorn.

_LADY HAUGHTY._
How came those Lambs and Pearls together? they never met before.

_CRAMBO._
Pardon me, Madam, ’tis a fine Trope, and I’le steal that too: Lord, to see how Wits are beholding sometimes to Fools!

_CODSHEAD._
Your Eyes, Madam, are two clear resplendent Fountains, two—

_LADY HAUGHTY._
Two, what not other things I hope too!

_CODSHEAD._
Two Helicons, when you weep, and your snowy Breasts are—

_LADY HAUGHTY._
What I beseech you, Sir?

_CODSHEAD._
Two _Parnassus_ Hills covered with Snow— hum— ha— and
then your—

**LADY HAUGHTY.**

Hold, hold, Sir, go no further, you’ll be uncivil by and by: do you intend to read a Lecture over me, as they do upon a body at the Physick Schools? I’le have no more on’t.

*Enter Nan*

**NAN.**

I desire a word with your Ladiship in private.

**LADY HAUGHTY.**

Your Servant, I must leave you.

**CODSHEAD.**

Your Servant, Madam.

*Ex. Lady and Nan.*

**CRAMBO.**

This was well for a beginning; but why did you hum and ha so, and make such long pauses in your Discourses?

**CODSHEAD.**

Why, if you will have the truth on’t, when I paused I was swearing and cursing to my self, or else I never could have gone through with it.

**CRAMBO.**

What, mental swearing and cursing!

**CODSHEAD.**

Ounds I’le no more of it, the Devil take me, if it had not almost like to have kil’d me, blood, it was such a pain to me, as if I was gyved and fetter’d, I was so sick all the while, God take me, and in such pain, I had no joy in my life; God, now methinks I am so free, so lightsom, Ounds, me-thinks I could leap over the house, the Devil take me, if ever you shall shackle me again, Sir, nor she neither; if there be no getting of her but upon these hard terms, there’s an end on’t, I’le go home and swear and curse and lye, and do what I will in my own ground.

**CRAMBO.**

Come, I’le put you in a way to do it without pain.

**CODSHEAD.**

Away, ’tis impossible, I’le never think on’t.

**CRAMBO.**

I’le make you confess your self in the wrong, I have written a Scene of Love for you, which you shall get by heart.

**CODSHEAD.**

Thank you for that, how shall I know her answers?

**CRAMBO.**

Why, I have writ them too.

**CODSHEAD.**

Can you know before-hand what she’l answer?

**CRAMBO.**

Ay, ay, she can make no other answers to what I write, I
were no Poet else, there’s the Art on’t, Man.

Codshead. There’s the Art on’t indeed, I think I could make a shift to get a thing by heart, without putting in my Oaths and wonted Phrases, but the Devil take me, that will be hard.

Crambo. I warrant you, try.

Codshead. But if she should make cross answers, I should be damnably disappointed, God take me.

Crambo. My life for your’s, pray let’s into the Chamber, I am much indisposed, and on the sudden taken very ill, methinks.

Codshead. Prethee don’t be sick before thou givest me the Scene, for shame come on.

Crambo. I am very dull and stupid, I am as dull—

Codshead. As a Dog, I know you were always so, God take me, for you’ll never keep good Company, nor drink a Glass, and a man must be as dull as a Devil that lives so.

Crambo. Well, you will have your own way, but I grow worse, let’s go.

Ex. Codshead and Crambo.

SCENE 3.

Enter Clerk of the Kitchin, [Master] Cook, Musicians, and the under-Cooks.

Master Cook. Faith, Sir, you play the best upon the Fiddle, and are the finest Musicioner that can be, and such a melodious Pipe you have for singing.

Music. You are pleased to say so.

Master Cook. Come, good Sir, sans Ceremony, let’s go in and take off two or three Derby Cans.

Music. You have ply’d me so hard, I must take a little fresh air, and breathe a while, for I can swallow no more yet.

Master Cook. Faith you are not so good a Fellow, as I took you for.

Music. By and by, there’s no time lost; but now after you drew up your Dinner in Battel array, with all your military words of
Command, go on, as you promised me, with the rest.

MASTER COOK. With all my heart, ’tis very tragical, ’tis a most dismal relation.

CLERK. It will bring tears out of your Eyes, though you resolve against it.

MUSIC. Come, Sir, go on, I love Tragedy, especially Heroick, Oh, it does chime, and make the finest noise, ’tis no matter whether it be sense or no, so it be Heroick.

He speaks it and mouths it in a very tragical tone.

MASTER COOK. Well then——

MASTER COOK. Oh, oh, oh, all’s lost, we are defeated quite:
There are no further hopes of a Relief,
The Battel’s gone, the day is lost.

MUSIC. How, good Mr. Cook?

CLERK. You shall hear.

MASTER COOK. The powder’d Beef stone dead in Cabbage lay,
Onsluaths upon the Custards and the Pyes
Broke in with fierce assaults upon the crust;
Then Gravy all upon the board did run,
The wings of Fowl cut off from all retreat,
A Leg of Pork lying here slash’d and cut,
The Loins of Veal shot through with Orange shot,
A Breast of Mutton broken were the bones.

MUSIC. Passion on me, ’tis wondrous sad.

MASTER COOK. Gammons of Bacon shot all full of Cloves,
Saw Rabbits lying there without their legs.
A cloven Calves head with the brains dash’d out,
A sad Pigs head close from the body cut.

MUSIC. Oh my heart!

MASTER COOK. A Chine of Beef slash’d mangled to the bones,
Shoulders of Venison in their own blood wallowing,
Our Ordnance Marrow-bones dismounted quite,
The wriggleld Brawn so massacred with wounds,
Tripes hanging out most hideous to see,
With excrement of Mustard dropping down.
There Oysters now gaping for their last breath,
Lobsters and Crevices all bloody red.

1 COOK.
I can hold no longer, my heart melts.

MASTER COOK.
None made retreats but Crabs, that I could see,
The Forlorn hope of Porrige all was spilt,
And the Reserve of Fruit and Cheese thrown down,
Some few were rallied, for the fight 'ith' Hall;
But being chang'd, they could not stand at all.
So the dead bodies, scatter'd bones, and crusts,
Were in the Alms Tub buried first, and then
Rak'd up by rav'nous Crows and Kites call'd Beggers,
Wherewith their hungry maws and scrips they fil'd.
This is the sad relation of that day,
The fatal day of our so great defeat.

MUSIC.
'Tis the most tragical story e're was heard, the expression forced a tear from me, e’re I was aware on’t; I see moving passion is a great matter, though in Kitchin Poetry.

CLERK.
See what number is, so Musick moves with Number.

MUSIC.
It does so; but if this had been in Rime! Oh Rime, if it be but spoke violently, and well mouth’d, it touches mightily.

Enter FOOTPAD and 1 Rogue with Fiddles.

FOOTPAD.
By your leave, will it please you to hear a fit of Musick? we are Fidlers, and we can smell out Feasts and good Company.

MUSIC.
Ay, pray let’s have 'em.

CLERK.
Ay, with all my heart.

MASTER COOK.
Come, Gentlemen, follow me, I’le give you a lusty Derby Can.

FOOTPAD.
I'faith we’ll follow, Sir: come Comerade in danger and in spoil, if we had mist this Habit of Fidler, all had been spoil’d.

1 ROGUE.
Oh Rogue agrees with Fidler extremely, Fidler is a Rogue.
FOOTPAD. Oh yes, one Fidler is one Rogue, two Fidlers two Rogues, three a noise of Rogues, and five a company of Rogues, fine Statute legal Rogues.

1 ROGUE. Well, would I had a Monopoly of Roguery, that none might play the Rogue but by my Patent.

FOOTPAD. Why, thou would’st have money enough to overcome the Grand Signior, thou unconscionable Fellow.

1 ROGUE. Faith I love to wish to the purpose, but let’s in.

FOOTPAD. Come on, but remember still that thieving is a more profitable Roguery than fidling, and therefore be sure to keep thy hand in ure.

1 ROGUE. Shall I ever live to have it said of me, that my right hand forgot to steal? no, no, never may I live to see that day.

FOOTPAD. Nobly spoke, and like a Roman—Thief I mean; but here come the Ladies, let’s in.

Exeunt.

SCENE 4.

Enter LADY HAUGHTY, ISABELLA, and NAN.

LADY HAUGHTY. Ha, Cousin, I am afraid this victorious Colonel has overcome you.

ISABELLA. Not so, Madam, but he appears the better for being amongst the Fools here.

LADY HAUGHTY. That’s true; but prethee dissemble not with me, for I find this blustering Souldier has storm’d your heart.

ISABELLA. My heart, Madam! why should you imagine it?

LADY HAUGHTY. ’Tis so; no more: I’le endeavour to mollifie this Dub a Dub, this tempestuous Colonel for you.

ISABELLA. I beseech you, Madam, don’t believe this of me.

(Aside.) And yet to say truth, I begin to believe it of my self, I would I had not seen him.

LADY HAUGHTY. He seems to be a good honest rough Fellow, and may make a good Husband: here’s Nan, is such an arrant Lover of Sir
John Noddy, she’s mawdlin for him.

Nan. Madam, I neither can nor will dissemble, he is so fine a witty facetious person, no body needs be ashamed of him, and the handsomest Gentleman upon earth.

Lady Haughty. Come, I’le endeavour to oblige ye both.

Enter Sir John Noddy, Justice Spoilwit, and Colonel Bounce.

Come on, Gentlemen, you are come to take the Air.

Sir John Noddy. No, Madam, I am come to take something else.

Lady Haughty. What’s that, Sir John?

Sir John Noddy. Your heart, Madam, ha, ha, ha, that was well.

Lady Haughty. You won’t rob me, will you?

Justice Spoilwit. Prethee stand by, you take her heart!

My bucksom Lady, I am come to you,

An ancient Justice, that in Love does sue

To draw with you in that most happy yoke

Of Wedlock, and you’l find him heart of Oke.

I know your humor’s pleasant, gay, and merry,

And so is mine you’l find with a hey down derry.

Lady Haughty. You’re a very merry Justice, though not in your prime.

You have been a Spark I warrant you in your time.

And, Sir, you’re heartily welcome in Rime.

There’s Poetry for your Poetry.

Justice Spoilwit. Ha, ha, very good, i’faith, was a Spark! I am still so, and as merry a Fellow as any of the Quorum, i’faith.

Sir John Noddy. If mirth will please you, if I make you not merry, I’le lose my Knighthood, that cost me five hundred pound. Why, I make every body die with laughing, that I keep company withal, ask my Lord my Neighbour; on my conscience and soul, I shall be the death of him for one.

Lady Haughty. Then ’twill be dangerous venturing upon you, I shall be in fear of my life for you.

Colonel Bounce (Blustering up to her.) Stand by, who is it that dares pretend to
ACT III. SCENE 4

SIR JOHN NODDY. The Colonel’s mad, he looks as if he would eat one.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Fair Lady, I’le withdraw, my Suit must cease,
When War appears, no Justice of the Peace.

LADY HAUGHTY. [To the Justice.] No, stay, what will you quit me so?
[To the Colonel.] What are you, Sir? what would you have?

COLONEL BOUNCE. I am a Souldier, and to speak plain English, I am for you which way you will, and way in the world.

LADY HAUGHTY. As how, good boisterous Sir? you mean to make Love, as they make War, with Fire and Sword.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Faith, Madam, I would lie with you, and not marry you, or marry you, and not lie with you, or lie with you and then marry you, or marry you and then lie with you, or neither marry you, nor lie with you: chuse which, and take your course.

LADY HAUGHTY. Why, you are all Gun-powder, would you blow up a poor Widow at first?

ISABELLA. Did not I tell you he was a pleasant man, Madam?

LADY HAUGHTY. I see you love War, Cousin, and have a mind to follow the Camp.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Why look you? in short, you are a very merry Widow, and I am a merry Souldier, if you like me so, faith, make no more words on’t, here’s my hand, Lady, and there’s an end on’t.

LADY HAUGHTY. But what if I do not like you, Noble Colonel?

COLONEL BOUNCE. Why then so, I hope a man may keep a poor little thing of his own, as the world goes, when the worst comes to the worst, and that will offend no body.

LADY HAUGHTY. Good Colonel, let me be a little free with you.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Take your course.

LADY HAUGHTY. Have not you been advised by some experienced frail Matron, that a Widow is to be won with huffing and blustring?

COLONEL BOUNCE. I am my own Counsellor, God ye are most of you too cun-
ning to be won by Stratagem, and you must be carried by storm.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** You are a mad Colonel, and I like you the better for it, I hate the common Road of Woing in the Dunstable Highway of Matrimony. I love to be woed fantastically; but let’s see what you can do for me now. Do you shew your parts, and these Gentlemen shall shew theirs, that I may chuse discreetly.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** What a Pox, Madam, do you take me for your Dog, your Spaniel, to fetch and carry, and shew tricks for you?

**LADY HAUGHTY.** Good Mr. Mars, be not so passionate.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Ounds, Madam, do you think to rank me with Coxcombs?

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Who the Devil does he call Coxcomb? a Knight a Coxcomb! that’s impossible.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** I’faith, if I thought he meant me, I’d bind him to the good Behavior: a Justice a Coxcomb! that were a good one, i’faith.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Death, Madam, I am not to be used thus.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** Then, good Sir, leave me to those that will be used so, I will divert my self here; pray take you a Walk with my Cousin in the mean time, and see if she will use you better.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** With all my heart. *To Isabella.* Madam, give me leave to wait upon you, since she’s no better company.  

*Ex. Col. and Isabella.*

**LADY HAUGHTY.** Come, let me see what good qualities you have, give me leave to sit, and judge betwixt you, that I may chuse discreetly, a Chair in the first place, he that I marry must sing well, that’s certain.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Oh Pox, if singing will do, I’le fit you to a hair, i’faith.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** If I ever fail you in that, Madam—

**LADY HAUGHTY.** Come on, Justice, and begin.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Hem, will you hear how a Spanish Lady wooed an English Man?
Garments gay, as rich as may be,
Deck’d with Jewels had she on.

LADY HAUGHTY. Good Justice some other, I like not that so well.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ha, ha, ha, I thought how he’d please her.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Now I shall fit you.

When as King Henry govern’d the Land,
The second of that Name,
Besides his Queen he dearly lov’d
A fair and Princely Dame.

Most parlous was her Beauty found,
Her favour and her face;
A sweeter Creature in this World
Did never Prince embrace.

Her crisped Locks, like Threads of Gold,
Appear to each mans sight:
Her comely Eyes, like Orient Pearls,
Did cast a heavenly light.

LADY HAUGHTY. Well done, Justice, there’s enough at once, now, Sir John, try you.

SIR JOHN NODDY. His is a foolish old fashion’d Song, Madam, but mine’s of the new cast.

I dote, I dote, but am a Sot to show it,
I was a very Fool to let her know it;
For now she doth so cunning grow
She proves a friend worse than a foe.
She’ll neither hold me fast, nor let me go;
She tells me I cannot forsake her.
When straight I endeavour to leave her,
She to make me stay
Throws a kiss in my way:
Oh then I could tarry for ever.

LADY HAUGHTY. Very well on both sides.

SIR JOHN NODDY. But you shall hear what he says to her, ’tis fine, fine, very
fine.

   But good Madam Fickle be faithful,
   And leave off your damnable dodging.
   Either love me, or leave me,
   And do not deceive me,
   But let me go home to my Lodging.

De’ see, Madam, God, that was smart.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. That smart! fy, your old Songs are better by half, they are more passionate.

   There was a rich Merchant man
   That was both grave and wise,
   He kil’d a man in Athens Town,
   Great quarrels there did arise.
   Oh a sweet thing is Love!
   It rules both heart and mind,
   There is no comfort in this World
   To Women that are kind.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. I think that was a good Trillo, Madam.

LADY HAUGHTY. Very good.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Madam, hear but one Song of mine, and if I do not put him down.

   Oh my dear pretty Soul,
   How thy black Eyes do rowl,
   And rule without controul
   My poor Heart.

   How can my dear Jewel
   Be to it so cruel,
   When she can see well
   His great smart?

NAN. Oh Madam, he’s the finest Gentleman in the World, I shall die with looking on him.
SIR JOHN NODDY. 'Tis very passionate and fine, Madam.  

LADY HAUGHTY. 'Tis very well indeed; but the next thing I must make trial of, must be of your Dancing, for I must have a Husband courtly and well bred.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. If I do not fit you for that, may I never examine Malefactor more; why I was a Reveller at Grayes-Inn in my youth, Madam.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Begin, I fear you not.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Here's no Musick, but I'le sing to my Dancing.

He dances ridiculously.

LADY HAUGHTY. Very well, admirable well.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Come, I'le dance the Minoutes, you do not know what that is, Justice, Ha, ha, ha.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Pox on your French kickshaw Dances, I love your true Derbyshire Horn-pipe.

Sir John dances, and sings to it.

Codshead and two or three more bring in

CRAMBO sick upon a Chair.

CODSHEAD. Come, bring him hither for fresh Air, this is a shrewd Fit, pray Heaven it does not carry him away.

CRAMBO. Oh, oh, Spleen, I am sick, sick.

LADY HAUGHTY. What's the matter?

CODSHEAD. Oh Madam, here's the Poet so sick, the Dev— Oh— he was in his Chamber writing, he fell into Raptures, Ecstasies, Furies, heated, and swell’d, and big with Muse, and cannot be delivered.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Fetch a Midwife for him, ha, ha, ha.

LADY HAUGHTY. Nan, fetch down some Cordial-water: can he not speak? Mr. Crambo!

CRAMBO. Oh, oh, Fumes, Fumes.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Death, he’l sound, tweak him by the Nose, box him on the Ears, let me come.

CODSHEAD. Hold, Cousin, forbear.
Enter COLONEL BOUNCE and ISABELLA hastily.

LADY HAUGHTY. Oh here’s Mr. Crambo in a Fit of Poetry, as bad as a Fit of the Mother.

NAN. Here’s the Cordial, Madam, burn some Partridge-feathers under his Nose.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Pox, is this all? nothing but a Poet sick?

LADY HAUGHTY. I see blockheaded Souldiers make nothing of a Poet.

Enter FOOTPAD and 1 Rogue.

FOOTPAD. Will it please you to have any Musick?

CODSHEAD. Ounds, you Rogue, is this a time for Musick?

FOOTPAD. Sir, I heard your Poet was sick, and perhaps Musick may do him good, I have an excellent Song, how the nine Muses invited a Poet to Dinner.

CODSHEAD. Death, you Rascal, get you gone.

LADY HAUGHTY. Hold, Mr. Codshhead, it may do him good, and please me, prethee Fellow sing it.

FOOTPAD. ’Tis to the Tune of Cook Laurel.

The Nine Lady Muses would make me their Guest,
And invited me to Parnassus to dine,
And promised me there a Poetical Feast,
And vow’d that their Helicon should turn to Wine.

The very first Dish was Heroical Verse
Bak’d in a Pasty with swelling puff’t Paste;
No Gravy there was for me to rehearse,
’Twas dull to the appetite, dry to the taste.

Love-Sonnets in Lovers tears then were drest,
Stew’d in Love-sighs, and set by to cool,
With excellent Cream and Eggs of the best,
And then this Loves Dish all said was a Fool.

Then Epigrams dress’d and cook’d with pains,
With Vinegar, Limon, the Sauce full of Art,
And added unto it old Martials Brains,
So this all the Muses said was their Tart.

Sad Epitaphs, Elegies, if not mistaken,
Came to the Board, and so were set down;
They look'd like a Westphalia Gammon of Bacon,
In his long Cloke or black Mourning-gown.

Then like a Shoulder of Venison in blood,
A Tragedy dish't with Mustard, because
It drew down a Deluge of Tears like a Flood,
With bitter Herbs added to heighten the Sauce.

A Comedy sweet and poignant then came
By Natures Cook drest so finely and fit
With all the sweet Herbs that any can name:
For spice, strew'd with Satyr, with Humour and Wit.

A Bisk or an Olio, then one in brings
With French Railleries and French Lampoons,
With Riddles in Rimes, and Posies for Rings: (Spoons.
For the Meat they used Knives, for the thin Broth their

Raw Fruit, great Dishes of School-boys Themes,
Then sharp and quick Jests, which all were preserv'd;
This flow'd like a flood of witty sweet streams,
And thus their Desert and Banket was serv'd.

The Thespian Spring all the Poets told me,
Ravish'd the Palate, it was so divine,
Since Water and Wit can never agree,
They all concluded it was Spanish Wine.
ACT III. SCENE 4

The Muses then tun’d their Fiddles each string,
And vow’d for a while with them I should stay
To hear a merry Song, which they would sing:
When ended, I kiss’d their hands, and came away.

LADY HAUGHTY. ’Tis very well, there’s money.
JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Sir John, give him some money.
SIR JOHN NODDY. Pox on you, was not my Pocket pick’t?
JUSTICE SPOILWIT. I shall have a hundred pound to be paid me, it lies at the Town within half a mile, I’le walk over for it presently.
FOOTPAID. Do you hear that Sir?
I ROGUE. Ay, and am glad to hear it, we’ll be with him, i’faith.
LADY HAUGHTY. Carry him up to Bed.

They remove Crambo.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Peace, peace.

Sir John steals behind the Colonel, who stands with his hands behind him, and bites him by the Thumb.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Ha, ha, ha.
COLONEL BOUNCE. (Kicks him.) Ounds, you Rascal, I reward you for your Monkey-tricks!

LADY HAUGHTY. How now, what’s the matter?
SIR JOHN NODDY. Nay I know not, Madam, I ne’re saw the like in my life; he’s the strangest cholerick person in the whole World, I vow to God, to box and kick a man for a Jest.

LADY HAUGHTY. Pray, Sir, be civil.
COLONEL BOUNCE. Madam, I must be civil to my Honour.
SIR JOHN NODDY. Honour with a Pox! I never saw such a cholerick uncivil man, since I was born, as I hope to be sav’d.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Swear the Peace against him, I’le give you my Warrant.

CODSHEAD. Do you hear, Cousin? if you do not fight with him, you are a shame to your Family, the Devil take me.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Not I, why he’s mad, I do not know what mischief he would do, if one should fight with him.
LADY HAUGHTY. Gentlemen, I must leave you; Justice, do you keep the Peace here.

Ex. Lady, Isab. and Nan.

CODSHEAD. Do you hear angry Colonel? God take me you shall give satisfaction for this.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Why, he'l ne're fight.

CODSHEAD. 'Tis no matter, bring your Friend, and if he will not, I and another will, the Devil take me, in the Corn-field by the Gallows an hour hence.

COLONEL BOUNCE. 'Tis a dreadful place; but I'le meet you, I'le seek a Friend.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Come away.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Well, I wish I may never stir, if ever I saw such a peevish Fellow.

Exeunt omnes.

ACT IV.

SCENE I.

Enter CODSHEAD.

CODSHEAD. I have at length got my Scene by heart; but if the Colonel should kill me by and by, 'twould quite spoil my Scene.

Yo'are like the new sprung Lilies of the field,

Whose native colour, hum—

Darkning the milkie way, hum—

Then says she,

Your Phrases make my modesty to blush.

Then I again,

Then you appear like the new-budded Rose,

With modest blushes of Vermilion, hum—

Vegetables— hum— hum— odoriferous lustre.

Then says she,

My ignorance pleads my excuse.
Then I,

*Lady 'tis love, your heart may feel that flame.*

Then she,

*I never knew yet what it was to love.*

Then I,

*I'le teach you, Virgin.*

Pox, she’s a Widow, I shall forget to alter that word; besides I am plaguily afraid of putting Oaths and Curses into the blank Verse. Then says she,

*Oh, if this Love were constant.*

Then I,

*Constant as Rocks, that stand great Neptunes floods, et cetera.*

*Enter DOCTOR.*

Oh, Doctor, you are welcome, here’s Poet Crambo is in a desperate condition.

*I am come to try my skill upon him.*

*Codshead.*

I will have him brought out to you.

*Enter LADY HAUGHTY and ISABELLA.*

*Lady Haughty.*

Come, Doctor, are you come to work a Wonder, and make a dull Poet write?

*Doctor.*

I cannot do Miracles, but I’le do my best.

*Codshead.*

Good Doctor do, and you shall be well rewarded, besides the honour of the Cure.

*They bring in Crambo.*

Without your skill he is lost, ‘tis a shrewd Fit.

*Doctor.*

Come, Sir speak, he cannot: here, take this Pen, can you write? No, he is far gone, his Muse is weak, he must have some Poetical Remedies. This it is to take impossibilites in hand, to think that Wit can go beyond the limits of Wit, they strain it into fustian and nonsense: well this fustian will be the death of some Heroick Poet or other; if they take not care, the very speaking on’t is enough to bring the Actors into consumptions.
ACT IV. SCENE 1

LADY HAUGHTY. 'Tis true, Doctor; besides, that constant noise of Rimming, when every two Verses sound alike, like the Larum of a Clock, disturbs me, it makes my head ake to hear it.

CODSHEAD. What say you to him?

DOCTOR. Why, I think fit to apply a Cataplasm of Homer.

CODSHEAD. By no means, Doctor, it would raise such vapours in his head with Æacus, Minos, and Radamanthus, 'twould make him ten times worse.

DOCTOR. What do you think of Anacreon or Pindar for his Distemper?

CODSHEAD. Oh, all Greek Poets, with the strange Characters of Crows feet in his head, would make him worse; besides he has made use of 'em all, and stole from every one of 'em, which he understands already.

DOCTOR. Why then some Pills of Virgil.

LADY HAUGHTY. I have heard he did but imitate Homer.

CODSHEAD. Such lofty Lines are not fit for his weak stomach.

LADY HAUGHTY. Oh, strong Lines would stick in his Throat, and choak him.

CODSHEAD. What think you of a Cordial of Horace?

DOCTOR. Oh, it will not work upon your Heroicks at all, he has too much sense in him for them: what if I should try Ovid?

LADY HAUGHTY. That will make him metamorphose himself into Trees, and Beasts, and Birds.

DOCTOR. Perhaps so, and his false Astronomy may do him harm, and then Lucan with his Swords, Darts, and Piles is too strong for him.

CODSHEAD. Good Sir, try some English Poets, as Shakspear.

DOCTOR. You had as good give him preserv’d Apricocks, he has too much Wit for him, and then Fletcher and Beaumont have so much of the Spanish Perfume of Romances and Novels.

LADY HAUGHTY. That’s true; besides they may put him into a whining Fit of Love, with Oh and Ah, with folded arms.

ISABELLA. You had as good apply Liquorish and Sugar-candy to him, with Pastor fido.
DOCTOR. The last Remedy, like Pigeons to the soles of the feet, must be to apply my dear Friend Mr. Johnson’s Works, but they must be apply’d to his head.

CODSHEAD. Oh, have a care, Doctor, he hates Ben. Johnson, he has an Antipathy to him.

CRAMBO. Oh, I hate Johnson, oh oh, dull dull, oh oh no Wit.

DOCTOR. ’Tis you are dull; he speaks now, but I have less hopes of him for this; dull! he was the Honour of his Nation, and the Poet of Poets, if any thing will do’t, he will bring your Poet into his Wits again, and make him write Sense and Reason, and purifie his Language, and make him leave his foolish phantastical heroick Fustian.

CODSHEAD. Oh, have a care what you do, he hates him mortally.

CRAMBO. Oh, oh, oh.

DOCTOR. Well, Sir, he must be forc’d to take Johnson’s Works, his Disease is desperate, and he must have this Cure: come, remove him in, I’le order him.

CRAMBO. Oh, oh, no Johnson.

DOCTOR. Come in with him, sick men still nauseate their Remedies.

LADY HAUGHTY. Cousin, prethee take the Key of my Cabinet, and take the Net-purse with Gold in it, and put it in his Pocket, ’tis a better Cordial than all the Doctor has named.

ISABELLA. I will, Madam; if money does not recover his senses, nothing will.

LADY HAUGHTY. This is a Judgment upon him for stealing so, they say he never writ any thing that was his own.

CODSHEAD. He was indeed a little given to filching; but now for my Scene, how shall I bring it in?

LADY HAUGHTY. Lady your look is more victorious than I have ever seen it.

LADY HAUGHTY. No, sure, you’re mistaken.
CODSHEAD. Now, now.

Y’are like the new sprung Lily of the field,
Whose native colour, when it does appear,
Darkens what’s light, it’s self the tender flower,
So innocent it trembles to be toucht. The Devil—

Oh, oh, I was cursing.

Fearing a spot from the serener Air,
Darkning the milkie way of Stars so fair.

(Aside.) Now answer right, if it be thy will.

LADY HAUGHTY. Methinks I do not look so very pale as a Lily, though I confess I am very pale.

CODSHEAD. [Aside.] Pox on’t, she should have said,

Your Phrases make my modesty to blush.

But I’le go on, come what will, the Devil take me.

Then you appear like the new budded Rose,
With modest blushes of Vermilion die,
In your fair sight no Vegetable dare
Sprout out, and be so impudent t’appear
In the high presence of Apollo’s Court
Without your sweet and odoriferous lustre.

LADY HAUGHTY. Odoriferous lustre! what’s that?

CODSHEAD. [Aside.] ’Sdeath, she should have said,

My ignorance pleads my excuse.

’Tis damn’d cross.

Lady ’tis Love, your heart may feel that flame.

LADY HAUGHTY. [Aside.] This Fellow’s mad, sure.

Sir, you are troubled with Fumes like Poet Crambo.

CODSHEAD. [Aside.] Why, there was another cross answer: she should have said,

I never yet knew what it was to love.

I will on.

I’le teach you, Virgin, (Aside.) Oh I forgot that,

I’le teach you, Virgin Widow, what it is,
Love is to one, and does possess him all,
The rest of Females seem not Womankind—
[Aside.] God take me. Ounds, I was swearing and
spoiling the Verse.
Contented sorrow and delightful trouble,
His sadness eas’d with sighs, on which he lives,
And melancholy thoughts his harmony;
Her looks his day, and soft perfumed speech
Is Musick to his Soul, and this is Love.

LADY HAUGHTY. [Aside.] Either this Fellow is running mad, and has nonsense
by inspiration, or has got some foolish Fustian of Crambo’s
by heart, and thinks to palm it upon me.
[To Codshead.] You speak most eloquently.

CODSHEAD. [Aside.] ’Sounds the Devil is in it: she
should have said,
Oh, if this Love were constant, Sir.
Oh misfortune!

LADY HAUGHTY. What troubles you, Mr. Codshead, will it not out?

CODSHEAD. Constant as Rocks, that stand great Neptunes floods,
Or as the fixed Earth, which never moves,
Or like the Gods Decrees, which are unalterable.

LADY HAUGHTY. Indeed, Mr. Codshead, this was a fine pen’d Scene, and
spoken with skill; but I cannot now stay to hear you act any
longer— adieu.

Exit Lady.

CODSHEAD. I am undone beyond redemption, a Pox on this Poet
Crambo and his Scene, what shall I do? But I must now
about another business, I must make War instead of Love,
and for the honour of our Family, but I must cheat Sir John
unto it, he’l ne’re fight, if he knows it; for my part I am so
angry, I shall fight like a Devil.

Enter SIR JOHN NODDY and NAN.

SIR JOHN NODDY. But do you think you can bring about a Marriage with my
Lady?
NAN. I warrant you, never doubt it, Sir, do you make good your promise, and I'le perform mine. 175

SIR JOHN NODDY. Upon my Honour I will give you 500 Guinnies upon the nail.

NAN. I'le do’t, but Codsdale observes us, leave me.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Your humble Servant, sweet Mrs. Anne. 180

NAN. Your humble Servant, sweet Sir John. [Aside.] But I intend, good Sir, to supply my Lady’s place, if it be possible: he is the finest, pretty, wild, merry Gentleman my eyes e’re saw.

Exit Nan.

SIR JOHN NODDY. With all my heart, Cousin, we’l take a Walk together: which way shall we go?

CODSHEAD. Towards the Gallows field. 185

SIR JOHN NODDY. Come on, ’tis a fine Walk.

CODSHEAD. I am sure he shall fight now, or have his Throat cut. [64]

Ex. Sir John and Codsdale.

SCENE 2.

Enter JAMES [the Butler] and MARGERY.

JAMES. Ay, you will be showing your self, with a Pox to you, where the Gentlemen are still? thou salacious Chambermaid.

MARGERY. Marry come up, go Snuff, take Pepper in the Nose, and have no Box to put it in. 5

JAMES. Oh you Lolpot, you Scanderbag, you Slolop.

MARGERY. You Raggamuffin, you Drawlatch, you Scurff, you Nit.

JAMES. Go you Carriers Pack, you Make-bate, you Spittle.

MARGERY. Are you grown so malepert, you Jail bird, you Mungrel, you Widgeon? 10

JAMES. Oh you Face of ill Luck, you Drable-tail, you Drill.

MARGERY. Oh you lick-trencherly Scab, you Weasel, you Hang-pannier.

JAMES. Marry Gip with a pestilence, you Jilflert, you Wriggle-tail.
MARGERY. I never wriggled to displease you, you scurvy Stinkard. 15
JAMES. Go you Beggars Brat.
MARGERY. Indeed you are of an ancient Family, that which belongs to your no House, is an old Coat powder’d with Vermine; I had a Brother was a Refactor for a Merchant far beyond the Sea, and so hadst never thou Todpool. 20
JAMES. You are of a Royal stock indeed, have I not seen your Mother with a Petticoat of more patches than one can number, indented at the bottom, and so short, I saw up to her old cruel Garters, with her Stockins of three colours, three stories high, with Incle about her Hat, knitting at the Gate for an Alms?
MARGERY. My Mother was an honest Woman, I thank God, and that’s more than you can say of your’s. 25
JAMES. She was so ugly, no body would touch her.
MARGERY. That’s false, you Nit, there’s not a body so ill favour’d, but some good body now and then will have a charity for them. 30
JAMES. You were Son to the Gold-finder of the house, and were advanc’d, forsooth, by the Nursery-woman, because they found you a bold Boy always putting forward: Oh thou Epicrot, thou wouldst dissemble with thy own Father. [65]
MARGERY. I’m sure thou are an Epigram, a great Epigram, thou eatest more than all the house.
JAMES. Oh thou are as arrant a Taylor, that is, a whole Thief, and but the ninth part of a man. 35
MARGERY. Oh you proud Slattern, you have a fine place with your Vails and Nimming too; how many ends of Cambrick, Lawn, Holland-lace, Ribbands, Hoods, Scarfes, Gloves, Masks hast thou stolen?
JAMES. Oh thou Camelion Rogue, thou never mad’st any thing in the house, but thou stolest something. 40
MARGERY. Oh thou are as arrant a Taylor, that is, a whole Thief, and but the ninth part of a man.
JAMES. Oh you proud Slattern, you have a fine place with your Vails and Nimming too; how many ends of Cambrick, Lawn, Holland-lace, Ribbands, Hoods, Scarfes, Gloves, Masks hast thou stolen?
MARGERY. Oh thou Camelion Rogue, thou never mad’st any thing in the house, but thou stolest something. 45
JAMES. I am sure I am an honest man, and serve my Lady without ends, good Mrs. Tawdry.
MARGERY. You lie you Tyger, you have all the Candles ends.

JAMES. That's a clinch, you Quean you.

MARGERY. It is not a lie, it is true; what do you give me the lie in Greek, which you learnt of our Chaplain?

JAMES. By my Troth, Mangery, thou hast made me desperate, I will do that which shall make your heart ake.

MARGERY. My heart ake! why what will you do?

JAMES. What will I do? why I will marry you.

MARGERY. Do your worst, I am ready to marry you, when e're you dare, I think we shall ne're be quiet till we do.

JAMES. Why, we quarrel and live like Man and Wife already, we had as good marry, our quarrelling then will be more Canonical.

MARGERY. 'Tis all one, you shall find me as desperate as you can marry when you durst.

Ex. Margery.

JAMES. There's no more to be said, it must be so, I'le marry her to have lawful authority over her body.

(Aside.) If after that the saucy Quean dares quarrel, I'le use strict discipline, and hoop her Barrel.

Ex. James.

SCENE 3.

Enter JUSTICE SPOILWIT with a hundred pound Bag under his Arm, in the Field.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. This hundred pound will do well, all my Rivals will be obliged to me.

Enter COLONEL BOUNCE.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Honest Justice, I am glad I have met you.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Why, what's the matter, Colonel?

COLONEL BOUNCE. I am to fight a Duel just by with Sir John Noddy, and Mr. Codshead is his Second, and I wanted one, but now you'll supply the place.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Why, I am a Justice of the Peace, Sir.
COLONEL BOUNCE. But you have Honour, have you not, Sir?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Faith yes, a kind of Country-honour, a Pox of this French honour of Duels and Seconds fighting; but they have left it off, and we like Fools must continue it, but I’le not deny it, I was as good a Back-sword man in my time, as any at Grays-Inn, I tell you that I have had there many a Venue.

COLONEL BOUNCE. You are a Man of Honour, and I am obliged to you.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Faith I will mow ’em, I will have a Leg or an Arm of ’em at least; but what shall I do with my hundred pound?

Enter FOOTPAD in the shape of a poor old Cripple.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Let the Conqueror take it, ’twill be the spoil of the field by right of War.

FOOTPAD. Bless you, sweet Masters, one penny to a poor Lazer for charity sake, which will gain you Heaven, thousands of blessed Acres for the cheap Purchase of a poor earthly transitory Penny.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Get you gone, one cannot talk together for this Rascal.

FOOTPAD. Good Gentlemen if not for charity, to be rid of me.

[Aside.] Pox on these lazy Rogues, will they never come? Sweet-fac’d Gentlemen, Right Worshipful, Right Honourable, and well-beloved Gentlemen, spare a penny for the poor, vanquish with your bounty my numerous and horrid enemies, hunger, thirst, cold, and saving your presence lousiness, that makes me itch and scratch for your money: bless ye, sweet Masters, remember the poor.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. There, a Pox go with ye, one can never be quiet for those Beggars.

FOOTPAD. A thousand blessings fall on you for your curses, when they come thus attended, bless you, Masters, bless you. [Aside.] A plague on those Rogues, will they never come? what an opportunity shall we lose?

COLONEL BOUNCE. Yonder I think I see ’em coming.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Let ’em come, I fear ’em not, i’faith, I’le slash ’em, have at a
Col. Bounce. Ah brave Justice; but what will you do with your money?

Just. Spoilwit. There's no body near, I think I had best make this poor Cripple hold it, he looks as if he were honest.

Col. Bounce. If he were not honest, he's alone, and a Snail would out-run him.


Footpad. Bless you, sweet Master.

Just. Spoilwit. You must do me a courtesie.

Footpad. I can do nothing, but pray for your sweet Worship.

Just. Spoilwit. Take this hundred pound, and hold it till I go into the next Close, and dispatch a little business.

Footpad. Alas, Sir, I am a poor man, a wretched poor Cripple, that walks on wooden Legs, a Snail pace, with great agony and pain; alas, any body may take it from me.

Just. Spoilwit. No, I'le trust thee with it.

Footpad. 'Tis a sign your Worship is weary of your money for the present, but I'le be faithful to your Worships Bag. (Aside.) Now I shall do it without those Rogues.

Just. Spoilwit. Come take it, man.

Footpad. Oh I shall never hold it, wanting my Limbs, both Legs and Arms, Sir.


Footpad. Oh, I shall never hold it.

Gives him the Bag.

Footpad. Falls down with the Bag.

Oh, oh, that ever I was born! Oh the pain I suffer! Oh the heavy burthen of Riches!

Col. Bounce. I never saw such a weak Fellow in my life, help him up, come give him his Crutches, tye it upon his back like a Knapsack.

They tye it upon him.

Footpad. Oh, good your Worship, make haste, for I am not able to
ACT IV. SCENE 3

sustain this heavy burthen long.

Enter SIR JOHN NODDY and CODSHEAD.

COLONEL BOUNCE. They are come.

FOOTPAD. Pray hear me, Gentlemen, though I am a poor man, I will do nothing behind your backs: Oh, oh, I am faint, oh, I am weak, oh, oh, I am ready to depart.

He runs away, and leaves his Crutches,
the Col. and Justice run after the Rogue.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Stop Thief, Rogue, Dog.

COLONEL BOUNCE. This is a rare Cripple.

CODSHEAD. Holloa, what do you run from us? you mighty Colonel, oh Cowards, hey Cowards.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ay, ay, they run, they yield, come let’s be going, we have the Victory without fighting, prethee let’s go, what should we stay for?

CODSHEAD. Hold, I think I see them coming back again.

SIR JOHN NODDY. The Devil you do! a plague on ’em, they do come, let’s be going, they ran from us, and that’s enough for our honour.

CODSHEAD. You are my Cousin German, and you shall not put up a box on the Ear and a Kick; if you do, Sir, I will cut your throat my self, for the honour of my Family.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Pox on the honour of my Family for me, would I were of another Family.

CODSHEAD. Come bear up, and fight well, ’tis nothing; but God take me, if you offer to flinch, or fight scurvily, I will be in the body of you my self.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Oh, Sir, let me tell you under the Rose, you have done very will to train a man out, under pretence to walk, and then bring him to fight, that has no disposition to’t, let me tell you that I love to live in peace and quietness with all men, well Beati pacifici I say: Cousin, you are a bloody-minded man.

CODSHEAD. Come bear up, thou shalt get Honour.
Enter JUSTICE SPOILWIT and COLONEL BOUNCE.

SIR JOHN NODDY.  A Pox of Honour, if it cannot be had without venturing ones life for’t, I ventured nothing but my money for my Knighthood.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT.  I’le send a Hue and Cry after him, there’s no overtaking him.

COLONEL BOUNCE.  Come, Gentlemen, did you think we ran from ye?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT.  Run, quoth he! I’le have a Leg or an Arm, I assure you, before I part with you; run! with a washing blow I will cut off his left Ear.

SIR JOHN NODDY.  Oh Lord bless me, Cousin, a Raven flew over my head and croaked, besides the Salt was spilt towards me at dinner to day, what shall I do? Let’s put it off till a more lucky day.

Codshead.  No putting off I tell you.

COLONEL BOUNCE.  Come, Gentlemen, make ready, you shall find we are no Cowards.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT.  Come dispatch, I long to be at it; come, Mr. Codshead, I must wait upon you.

SIR JOHN NODDY.  What a Pox if I must die, I had as good die fighting, a Devil take ‘em for provoking me to this, I’le be the death of one of ’em, if I can.

Enter FOOTPAD and Rogues at a distance.

FOOTPAD.  Let’s wait here for the spoil of the field, now is the time, run in and plunder.

They fight, and close, and tumble down, and struggle upon the ground, the Rogues come in, and take away their Swords.

1 ROGUE.  Lye still all of ye, or we will stick you to the ground.

COLONEL BOUNCE.  How now, Rogues, what’s the matter?

2 ROGUE.  Such another word, and I will cut your throat.

SIR JOHN NODDY.  Ha, I see fighting’s nothing, but ’tis a scurvy thing to be rob’d after it.

FOOTPAD.  Come faggot them quickly.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT.  Oh Rogues, ha this was the Beggar.
ACT IV. SCENE 3

FOOTPAD. Your upper Garments we have, but now off with your 
Breeches, we must ease you of the vanity of fine Cloaths.

3 ROGUE. These must into our Wardrobe.

CODSHEAD. Oh you Rogues, if I were loose—

FOOTPAD. Who are the greatest Rogues ye or we? You were commit-
ting Murder contrary to Law, and we steal contrary to Law.

4 ROGUE. Shall we strip off their Shirts too? they are of very good 
Holland.

FOOTPAD. No hang’t, we’ll leave them decently: farewel, Gentlemen,
the next that comes will unloose you.

1 ROGUE. Your Servant, Gentlemen.

2 ROGUE. Your Servant, your Servant, ha, ha.

Ex. Rogues.

SIR JOHN NODDY. This is fine Honour, i’faith, but I see fighting’s nothing, any 
Blockhead may do it.

Enter an Old Woman.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Oh good Woman help us, help us.

[OLD] WOMAN. What, are you not well?

CODSHEAD. Not very well, that’s the truth on’t.

OLD WOMAN. For ought I know, you may have the Plague.

COLONEL BOUNCE. No, no, nothing, but some sprinklings of the Pox, as 
Gentlemen should have.

OLD WOMAN. Mercy on me, what a pickle you are in, almost as naked as 
you were born; who bound you thus?

SIR JOHN NODDY. Thieves, Thieves, prethee no questions, but unbind us.

OLD WOMAN. Marry, here’s Cord enough to hang them all, if you could 
catch them— poor hearts, why you have hardly enough left 
to hide, hum— your hum, what de’ call ’ems?

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. A small matter will do that now. [71]

OLD WOMAN. The more’s the pity, I would have ’em hid better, now first 
undone help his Fellows, pray give me the Lines to hang my 
Linen on, they shall hang something, till they can light on 
the right owners.
COLONEL BOUNCE. Come on, Gentlemen, we have fought, and since we have satisfied our Honours, let’s be friends.

CODSHEAD. Come with all our hearts.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Faith, Cousin, if I had my Sword, I have a great mind to have t’other bout at it.

OLD WOMAN. Come, Sweet-hearts, come to my house, and I’le get you such things as I have to warm ye.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Thou art a good Woman; come, Gentlemen, we’l cover our nakedness a little, and then to the Widows where we have Cloaths.

Exeunt omnes.

SCENE 4.

Enter DOCTOR and CRAMBO, and a Servant or two waiting.

DOCTOR. Come on, Johnson has wrought very well, I shall recover you again.

CRAMBO. Do you think so, Doctor? this Spleen is a cruel thing.

DOCTOR. You have a spice of the Pox too, you will never be perfectly well till you flux; but I’le patch you up to write well enough for the present.

CRAMBO. Ha, here’s Gold in my Pocket, how came this here? this is the Cordial, this will make me write better, by your favour, than Quick-silver: what good Angel has done this?

Enter LADY HAUGHTY and ISABELLA.

LADY HAUGHTY. How now, Doctor, how does your Patient?

DOCTOR. Your Ladiship is come to see the last operation, give me the Bottle of Burgundy Wine; drink lustily; give me some more Wine to anoint his Temples; so, so, now for my Charms.

[Doctor] anoints [Crambo’s] Head with Wine.

Ye Gods this Poet now restore,

Or else he never will write more;

Him with Poetick flames inspire,

And give him a Celestial fire,

Give him fresh Fancies, new, unknown,
Ne’re let him write but what’s his own.

A Poet is not made, but born,
All helps of reading he should scorn,
Ne’re vexes Authors, but will look
On the whole World, that is his Book.

Let him not here languishing lye,
Restore him now, or let him dye.

The Poet starts up on a sudden.

How’s this! I find my self renew’d,
And all obstructions that were crude,
Quite banisht from my head and heart,
My health I find in every part,
My blood flows high, and swells each vein,
I’m brought to common sense again;

All fumes are dissipated clear,
My Fancies flame does now appear

(To Isabella.) In it’s full lustre. This power lyes

I’th’ radiant beams of your bright Eyes.

Enter NAN.

Oh, Madam, we are undone, undone.

What’s the matter?

Oh your Ladiship’s Closet-lock has been pick’t, and your little Casket with Jewels is stollen.

My Jewels stollen! Oh misfortune, whom should we suspect?

It seems the two Fidlers that sung and play’d, when Mr. Crambo was sick, stole out of the house of a sudden, and took no leave, besides they were lurking hereabouts.

Send one immediately for Gervas my Grange-man, he is Constable, let him make speedy search for ’em.

I will, Madam.

Ex. Nan.
Enter MARGERY.

MARGERY. Oh, Madam, your gilt Caudle-cup is stollen, what shall I do?

Enter [JAMES] the Butler.

JAMES. Madam, I beg upon my knees, you’ll pardon me.

LADY HAUGHTY. For what?

JAMES. There’s forty pounds worth of Plate stollen out of the Buttery.

ISABELLA. Unconscionable Rogues to steal so much!

LADY HAUGHTY. Let’s to my Closet, perhaps they have stollen more. Cousin, send out my Servants every way in search for ’em.

Ex. all but Doctor and Crambo.

Enter JUSTICE SPOILWIT, COLONEL BOUNCE, SIR JOHN NODDY and CODSHEAD in Ruggs, Mantles, &c.

DOCTOR. Whom have we here?

CRAMBO. What’s this, an Interlude? Mr. Codshead, what’s the matter?

CODSHEAD. Oh, are you recover’d?

CRAMBO. Rob’d?

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ay, rob’d, stript just as you see.

CRAMBO. Ha, ha, ha.

DOCTOR. I took you for Highlanders, ha, ha.

SIR JOHN NODDY. De’ you hear? If you laugh I will fight with you both, Gentlemen, let me tell you that.

DOCTOR. Be not angry, Sir, the House is rob’d of Plate and Jewels, and Lord knows what: my Lady has sent to search.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. I have sent a Hue and Cry by Gervas the Constable; but I am plaguily cold, let’s in to dress us a little, and drink a Bottle to comfort us.

COLONEL BOUNCE. I am damnably cold, come let’s in.

CRAMBO. Come on. Rob’d, quoth he! ha, ha, ha.

Exeunt omnes.
SCENE 5.

*Enter FOOTPAD solus.*

FOOTPAD. So, I have sent my fellow Rogues away to dispose of the Cloaths and some transitory Moveables, and have appointed 'em to meet elsewhere, for this place will be too hot for us. Here has been a brave harvest, but I have sunk and cheated my Comerades of all the Jewels and Plate, *Omnia mea mecum porto.* These Riches make me ambitious; if I live six months longer, I shall do my business, for ought I know be able to buy a place, for any Rogue may have a place that will give money enough; let me see, a place in the Custom-house to take Bribes, and cheat the King there, or an Office in some Court in *Westminster*-Hall, where the formality and noise may hide my Roguery.

*A noise within of follow, follow.*

But hark, what noise is that? by Heaven it is a Hue and Cry, my ambition is nipt in the bud. What shall I do for my life?

*Enter a Fisherman.*

FOOTPAD. Honest Fellow, what art thou?

FISHERMAN. A poor Fisher, I came to see if the fish will bite in this part of the Brook.

FOOTPAD. Death, what shall I do? Good honest Fisherman change Coats and Hats with me, and give me thy tackling, and there’s three pieces for thee quickly.

*A great noise of follow, follow.*

FISHERMAN. With all my heart, and thank you too.

The noise continues.

FOOTPAD. Quick and be gone, say nothing, there’s the money.

FISHERMAN. Thank you, Sir.

Exit Fisher.

FOOTPAD. I will sit unconcern’d, and throw in my Line, I will sing too, fa, la la la, fa la.
Enter [GERVAS as] the CONSTABLE with Bill-men with Hue and Cry, crying, Follow, follow, follow.

CONSTABLE. How now, Fisherman, did you see no body here?

FOOTPAD. Alas, Sir, how can a body see no body?

CONSTABLE. No Thieves I mean, thou Sot.

FOOTPAD. Bless me from Thieves, Sir, I saw no Thieves.

CONSTABLE. What dost thou fish for?

FOOTPAD. I am hired for six pence a day, Sir, and meat and drink.

CONSTABLE. But for what fish I mean?

FOOTPAD. Why, for Gudgeons, Sir.

1 BILLMAN. Fy, Mr. Constable, a man of your beard and Authority neglect your Hue and Cry thus!

CONSTABLE. Cry you mercy, good Sir, Information makes me wiser than my Billmen: fare thee well simple Fellow.

Ex. all but Footpad.

FOOTPAD. Are you gone?

Noise of follow, follow.

Counter you Puppies, you hunt Counter: well how did I dwindle before lawful Authority? like Holland Veal before the fire: Oh, guilt's a strange thing, and conscience, but nothing troubles my conscience but hanging, that raises many scruples.

Enter CONSTABLE and Billmen.

Oh Heaven! they return, methinks, I smell Hemp already.

1 BILLMAN. Why, will you go back again?

CONSTABLE. You shall instruct me in my Office, shall you! I know what I do, I ne’re saw that Fellow before, apprehend that Fellow.

2 BILLMAN. Oh fy, what do you do? he's a poor silly Fellow.

CONSTABLE. Peace, I say; first and foremost, Sir, I ask you, are not you a Rogue?

FOOTPAD. I a Rogue, Sir! alas I am a poor man.

CONSTABLE. Poor man! God forbid, but a poor man may be a Rogue sometimes as well as a rich man, Heaven makes no dif-
ere of persons. Were not you a Pedler once, a singing
Pedler? hah, I have seen that face: besides, Neighbours, I
have skill in Physiognomy, I served one Mr. Matthew
Mattical, that lived at a town call’d Euclid, and taught a petty
School of A, B, C, there. Well answer me, were not you a
singing Pedler?

**FOOTPAD.**

*(Aside.*) A plague on the Rascal.

I, Sir! I have no voice, not so much as for Ballets.

**CONSTABLE.**

I warrant you you’ll have singing enough to make a shift to
be hang’d with.

**FOOTPAD.**

Sir, I cannot read.

**CONSTABLE.**

Nor write? I shall come home to him.

**FOOTPAD.**

I can write but one letter for my Name, which is *T.* for
*Thomas.*

**CONSTABLE.**

I shall come up to you by and by; Neighbours, this is an
equiblicating Rascal, for *T.* stands for Rogue, as well as
*Thomas,* or else my Learning fails me.

**1 BILLMAN.**

By’r Lady, Mr. Constable, that may be very well.

**CONSTABLE.**

Then, Sir, you were a Gypsie afterwards, I have heard of
your tricks.

**FOOTPAD.**

A Gypsie! *(Aside.*) Methinks I feel the Noose already. What
is a Gypsie?

**CONSTABLE.**

What is a Gypsie? why a Gypsie is, a— a— a— Gypsie. Do
you think to stumble Authority? you’ll examine me, will
you?

**1 BILLMAN.**

A Gypsie steals Poultry and Linen, and is born in a far
Country, where it rains Bacon and Walnuts upon their
faces, which makes ’em so tawny.

**CONSTABLE.**

Filly, fally, will you teach me Geogrecum? Mr. *Viccar*
show’d me the place in the Map, a place with a little green
about it, and hard by it the Sea, where, Heaven bless us, a
fish spouts out water out of its head; but you hinder the
proceedings of Justice.
2 BILLMAN. It was Nilus and Crockadils, bless us all.

CONSTABLE. I know not those foolish words, but do not interrupt Authority; but then, Sir, you were a Beggar, I can hear of your Rogueries.

FOOTPAD. (Aside.) Death, I shall shrink to skin and bones before this Fellow.

CONSTABLE. Were not you a Beggar? answer to that.

FOOTPAD. I was never a rich man, not I.

CONSTABLE. Ay, how cunningly the Rogue answers! I shall be with you by and by. Then, Sir, you came like a Souldier.

FOOTPAD. A Souldier’s a very honourable Profession, they say.

CONSTABLE. But I would be loth to be alone with your Honour in a narrow Lane for all that; and now, Sir, last of all, Sir, you are a Fisherman, Sir, and think that will carry it off.

FOOTPAD. Why, Sir? there have been very good men Fishermen.

[77]

CONSTABLE. I marry, Sir, better than you, or I would pull off all the heads of my Wife’s Apostle-Spoons, I tell you that.

2 BILLMAN. Pray, Mr. Constable, let him go, he’s a poor silly Fellow.

CONSTABLE. Have patience, Neighbours, I will apprehend some body, that’s certain, they’ll say I am idle else in my Office, therefore I will apprehend him.

FOOTPAD. (Aside.) Death, I shall be hang’d, the Assizes too are here now, I shall be hang’d presently.

1 BILLMAN. Good Mr. Constable let him go, the next Justice will but laugh at you.

CONSTABLE. Will he? then I’le laugh at the Justice, and so we’ll be merry in our Offices, and there’s an end on’t, search him, I say search him.

The Rogue strives a little.

1 BILLMAN. Hah, here’s a little Box, hah, ’tis full of Jewels I think.

CONSTABLE. Oh is it so! you are wise.

2 BILLMAN. Here’s Plate too in his Trousers, come out with it, out with it.
FOOTPAD. Well, I'm not a man of this world: Oh murderous Villain that invented Gallows's!

CONSTABLE. Now, Neighbours, who is wise, you or I? I thought I should hamper him: now you see these things are taken about him, *Ipsum factum*, we'll carry him to the Assizes which now sit, this is the last day, he shall be last condemned, and hang'd forthwith: who is wise now, Neighbours?

1 BILLMAN. Nay, Mr. Constable, you are even the luckiest at being wise that ever I knew.

FOOTPAD. Oh damn'd misfortune! Oh Rogues! I hope you will be hang'd shortly, some of ye at least.

CONSTABLE. Are you angry, Sir? the Hangman will anger you worse: look to the stollen Goods, and carry 'em to my Lady some of you, go and search for his Comerogues, while I with the rest of ye convey him.

FOOTPAD. Oh my curst Stars! must this be the end of me? Well I have had a merry life, though a short one.

Exeunt omnes.

ACT V.
SCENE 1.

Enter LADY HAUGHTY, ISABELLA and NAN.

ISABELLA. Madam, since your Jewels and Plate is all restored, 'tis pity the poor Rogue should be hang'd.

LADY HAUGHTY. I hope he will not, for the Court is not far off here in the Country this Vacation, and I have sent to my Lord my Broth-er, to get a Reprieve for him of the King.

NAN. If it come not soon he will be hang'd, this is Execution day.

LADY HAUGHTY. I gave my Man a strict charge to make haste, he rides Post.

Enter JAMES [the Butler] and MARGERY.

How now, what would you have?
JAMES. Mar|gery and I have a Petition to your Ladiship.

LADY HAUGHTY. What's that?

MARGERY. I beseech your Ladiship you would please to let me have our James in lawful Wedlock.

LADY HAUGHTY. Is that it? are you contented, James?

JAMES. Yes, Madam, I would fain be at James take thee Marga|ry.

LADY HAUGHTY. Why, Marriage is honourable.

JAMES. Yes, Madam, right honourable, and please you.

LADY HAUGHTY. I have heard strange things of you, did you never abuse my House?

MARGERY. I'm sure your Ladiships House has often abused us, for they speak their pleasures of us.

LADY HAUGHTY. To you James I speak, have you behaved your self well and honestly with Marga|ry?

JAMES. I must refer my self to her for that, she knows my Behaviour.

MARGERY. Truly, Madam, he has done what he could, and no man can do more than he can, I must justifie him so far, or else I were no good Christian.

LADY HAUGHTY. Hold your peace: James, I ask you, Did you never naughtily together?

JAMES. I swear we did always well together, as I thought, speak Marga|ry.

MARGERY. Truly, James, I find no fault, neither could my Lady, if she knew all.

LADY HAUGHTY. You are so full of your prattle; did you use no uncleanness in my house?

JAMES. I rub'd every place as clean as I could, Madam.

LADY HAUGHTY. You Blockhead, I mean was there no fornication betwixt you?

JAMES. I'le swear by all the Books in England, I know not what fornication is, 'tis too fine a word for us poor folks to understand.
MARGERY. Fornication is fit for your Ladiship, God bless us, what should we meddle with such things? I have heard the Chaplain speak of it, indeed he could instruct one, if he would. 45

LADY HAUGHTY. Come Huswife, I hear you are with child by him.

MARGERY. With child, Madam! I’m sure no body can say black’s mine eye, and they speak true.

LADY HAUGHTY. No, your eye’s gray; but they say you are with child by him, Huswife.

MARGERY. Well, Heaven forgive my enemies; if I be with child it will come out, that’s certain, in spight of all my adversaries.

LADY HAUGHTY. Well, ’tis time enough to marry these two or three months.

JAMES. Oh ’tis not, if your Ladiship knew all.

MARGERY. Pray let it be now, Madam, we have been made fast, Madam, ask James else.

JAMES. Ay, fast and loose again often, we were betrothed for the honour of your Ladiship’s house.

MARGERY. Good Madam, think of a poor frail Woman by your self. 80

LADY HAUGHTY. Go, go together, the sooner the better.

JAMES. Thank your Ladiship.

Ex. James and Margery.

Enter [MASTER] COOK and MALL.

ISABELLA. What’s here another Couple?

LADY HAUGHTY. How, now, John Cook, what would you have?

MASTER COOK. Why, Madam, I have serv’d your Ladship these seven years honestly, without thinking of Matrimony, or of any kind of concupiscence, to the dishonour of your House.

LADY HAUGHTY. And what then?

MASTER COOK. I have a violent inclination, if your Ladiship please, to fall aboard on this young Maiden by the way of Wedlock.

LADY HAUGHTY. And are you agreed to’t, Mall?

MALL. Yes, Madam, I think so, if your Ladiship will not be an anger’d, he does keep much a coil with one, one can ne’re
be quiet for him, unless one marries him, I think.

**MASTER COOK.** The Chaplain will be here within this hour.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** Stay two or three months, and consider.

**MASTER COOK.** Not I by the faith of my body, I have held out already as long as I can, the fire makes us cholerick and very amorous, and my passion is so violent, I cannot stay; if you love the honour of your House, let us marry, for we are now roasting in love, and we shall burn else.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** Well take your course, hanging and marrying day comes togethier I see now.

**MASTER COOK.** Thank your Ladiship.

**ISABELLA.** 'Tis Execution day here, Madam, now.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** If 'twere your Execution-day, you’d not desire a Reprieve; but where are my Guests?

**NAN.** They were rob’d and stript, and are drinking and comforting themselves with the Bottle, and have drunk pretty deep already. Now, Madam, will be my time for Sir John Noddy, he has promised me 500 pounds to marry him to your Ladiship, I intend to save him that money, and marry him to my self for nothing.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** This Footpad’s a brave Rogue, I would not have him hang’d. But how canst thou bring the Marriage about?

**NAN.** Let me alone for that, if your Ladiship be pleased to lend me your Diamond Ring and Bracelets, and one of your Gowns, I do not doubt it.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** With all my heart: come, Cousin, be not disconsolate, here’s my hand, thou shalt have the Colonel.

**ISABELLA.** I think not of him, Madam.

**LADY HAUGHTY.** Allons, let’s go.

_Exeunt omnes._
SCENE 2.

_A drunken SCENE of SIR JOHN NODDY, JUSTICE SPOILWIT, COLONEL BOUNCE, CODSHEAD, CRAMBO, DOCTOR, and Servants, waiting._

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Come, we have drunk long enough in the Buttery, let’s to’t here now.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Get some Champinions, Caviary, and Potargo.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** In the Name of Heaven do you conjure? why, they are three Devils Names, are they not?

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** And do you hear, bring some _Westphalia_ Bacon.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** There was one Mr. _Francis Bacon_, a very pretty hopeful man of our house, that did write Essays; he would have made a pretty man, if he had liv’d till now.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Oh eternal Blockhead, did you never write Essays?

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** I did essay to write Essays, but cannot say I writ Essays. Oh this Wit is such a thing, ’twill never leave one.

**ALL.** Very good, very good.

**CRAMBO.** How prettily it clinches upon the word!

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Come, let us sit.

As the Col. is sitting down, Sir John pulls the Chair from under him, and gives him a Fall.

**ALL.** (Laughing.) Ha, ha, very good.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Ah, Sir John, you are the merriest man, ha, ha, ha.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Ounds, I’le reward you.

The Col. and Sir John draw.

**CRAMBO.** God forgive me, their Swords out, what shall I do?

Crambo runs up and down.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Ay, come I am as ready to fight as your Worship, and you be for fighting, i’faith I’le fit you.

**CODSHEAD.** Prethee, Cousin, be quiet.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** I’faith, I cannot help it, I do so love to be merry, and the Colonel is so peevish.

168
JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Come i’faith, Colonel, there was no harm meant. 

COLONEL BOUNCE. Well, sit, I’le endure it for once.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Come, give me some Wine.

(Sings.) Oh this Wine

Is most divine,

Give me the Cup,

I’le drink’t all up,

Here’s every sup.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Justice, tye up your Poetick fury.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. I have done.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Prethee Poet, let’s have some conceit of yours.

CODSHEAD. Ay, prethee Mr. Crambo break a Jest.

CRAMBO. I cannot break a Jest, I am best at Translation, I’le tell you one.

Mittitur in disco mihi piscis ab Archiepisco

Po non ponatur, quia potus non mihi datur.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Very pretty, po non ponatur, alluding to potus, because he gave him no drink, being part of Archiepiscopo, excellent.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Quiet your Exposition.

CRAMBO. I render’d it thus,

Here in a Dish

Is sent me some fish

By the Archbish,

Hop was not there,

Because he sent me no Beer.

COLONEL BOUNCE. [Aside.] A Pox on this Poet, he has stollen this, ’tis old, but they make nothing of that.

DOCTOR. The most happy Translation in the world, never any thing so fine.

CODSHEAD. Oh, that I could have made such a one, ’tis a very happy one.

COLONEL BOUNCE. By your leave, I see no such great happiness, all the happiness is in Hop.
ACT V. SCENE 2

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Why, Colonel, Hop makes Beer, there’s the conceit, and the Hop joining to Bish, puts down the Original po for potus most egregiously, i’faith. 60

COLONEL BOUNCE. Again your Explanation.

DOCTOR. I profess it is as good as Daemon languebat, or the Devil was sick: or, Cum socio mingas, aut saltem mingere fingas.

COLONEL BOUNCE. But, good Mr. Crambo, let’s hear something of your own.

CRAMBO. I write very little of my own, I borrow most. 65

COLONEL BOUNCE. That’s a civil word for stealing, for such borrowers never pay again.

CRAMBO. I’le try if I can remember.

Where is the Man?— Ah hum.

Where is the Man?— Pish.

I protest I have such a treacherous memory, Oh I have it.

Where is the Man that never heard
Of Dido Carthage Queen. 70

DOCTOR. Where is the man, strange!

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Admirable! Where is the man, oh lofty, very lofty.

CRAMBO. Let me see.

Where is the Man that never heard
Of Dido Carthage Queen, whose Castle Walls
Did loudly echo to her amorous sighs.

DOCTOR. Oh admirable, The Walls echo to her sighs! 80

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Then the loud Echo to a sigh, strong, pithy!

CODSHEAD. Fine, fine, very fine, the Devil take me.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Why, an Echo to a sigh is nonsense, Gentlemen, a loud Echo is worse.

DOCTOR. Oh fy, it is Poetical. 85

JUSTICE. Very Poetical.

CRAMBO. Ay, ay, ’tis Poetical.

COLONEL BOUNCE. That which you mean by Poetical is nonsensical I find; but come hither, Waiter, did you ever hear of Dido Carthage Queen? 90

170
FOOTMAN. No by my Troth, Sir, not I never in my life, I hope your Worship does not think so ill of me, for, i'faith, some body has done me some ill office, I never was acquainted with her in my life.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Oh 'tis very fine! the Colonel's Genius does not lie this way: Oh very fine! Pray let's hear some more on't.

Where is the man that never heard

Of Dido Carthage Queen.

COLONEL BOUNCE. (Taking Footman.) Here is the man that never heard

Of Dido Carthage Queen.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Is't possible?

DOCTOR. What an unlucky Fellow's this!

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Oh Heaven! there's the best line that ever was, spoiled by a Footman.

Sir John steals behind the Justice, and pins him to the Chair.

CRAMBO. Lord, how ignorance will overturn Learning sometimes! who would write in this Age?

COLONEL BOUNCE. Come, Justice, I find you are very forward, let's hear you recite some of your Works.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Come on, Colonel, I'de have you know when I was at the University, I was as arch a Scab, as notable a Wag, as any was in the Colledge.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Come on, Justice, i'faith; but put about a Glass, I begin to be almost tipsied, i'faith.

CRAMBO. So am I too, a little overjoy'd.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Now you shall hear my University Verses, the heat of my Youth, I made an Elegy upon one Mr. Murrials Horse that died there.

Oh cruel Mors

That kill'd the Horse

Of Mr. Murial!

Oh scholars all

Of Pembrook-Hall
Come to his Burial.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Very good, i’faith.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Nay, when I was a young man, nothing could scape me, nothing, i’faith.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Ha, ha, very witty, to’t again, Justice.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Well then, there was a Man, his Wife, Son, and Daughter that died, I writ this on ’em.

Here lies John Sanderson, and here lies his Wife.

Here lies his Dagger, and here lies his Knife.

Here lies his Daughter, and here lies his Son.

And oh, oh, oh, oh, for John Sanderson.

Ha, ha, what say you? — hum.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Excellent at Epitaphs both of Man and Beast.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Then some Rogues stole sheep from one Mr. Prat. I made these upon good Mr. Prat.

Your Weathers were fat,

We thank you for that.

We left the Skins

To buy your Wife Pins,

Thank her for that.

We left the Horns

Upon the Thorns,

Look you to that.

Ha, ha, there was not such a Rakehel in the Town again. They saw I could not be a Divine, and so I was sent to the Inns of Court, i’faith.

CODSHEAD. [Aside.] I will steal away, and go to my Lady.

Ex. Codshead.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Then at London I had such a fancy at Rebuses, Libels, and Lampoons, this whorson riming would not leave me, I made this upon one Rawly.

What’s indigested with the word of disgrace

Is the Gentleman’s name that hath a bad face.
Raw is indigested, and ly the word of disgrace, Rawly: had I been catcht I had been firkt i'faith. Then upon one Noel.

*The word of denial, and the Letter of fifty*

*Is the Gentleman’s name, that will never be thrifty.*

No, the word of denial, and L. the Letter of fifty, Noel. Had I been known I had been paid, i’faith; but Wit will have its fling in spight of the Privy Council, i’faith it will.

CRAMBO. I must beg leave to be gone, I dare not drink more.

*Ex. Crambo.*

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Ay, prethee go, thou art a damn’d dull Fellow.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** What a pox is this, one of your Wits? Go they are dull Fellows, the Clinchers are rare men indeed, give me your harmless Joques. You shall hear a Clincher run from Dioper Napkin, Nipkin to King *Pippin*, i’faith in Wit; I have heard a Dean do it.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Did you ever keep company with a Dean?

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Yes, yes, and with Privy Councellors too; but they are too grave for me, they will be asking what navigable Rivers, what Commodities our Country abounds in, what Market-Towns, how they are inclin’d, who governs the Country best; but you little think what manner of man, I think, the wittiest man I ever met with in my life.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** No, i’faith, Sir John: fore God, Colonel, I begin to be as drunk as a Drum.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** I’le tell you now you talk of a Drum, the Devil take me, ’twas a Drummer I spoke of.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** A Drummer a witty man!

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Ay, the wittiest Rogue, my intimate friend, I call him *Tom*, and he calls me *Jack*, for all I am a Knight; he can break a jest upon his Drum, would make you split your sides.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** How so?

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** He will purr upon the Velum, and then rap upon the wood, makes all the people laugh, and forty other excellent
qualities, he is the best company in the world, he will act any thing in the world, he will act a stubble Goose flying over a Gutter, he will act a company of Hogs justling in straw for room, but he was old Dog at a Parret and a Turkeycock.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** This is a rare man indeed.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Oh this is nothing, why as well as living Creatures, he would act any thing that had not life in it, as a Pig upon the Spit, nay I have seen him act a Windmil.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** A Windmil!

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** A Windmil, any thing in the world, a Weather-cock, a Cart-wheel ungreas’d, a door off the Hinges; but he has the finest Songs in the world, he sings this rarely.

\[
\text{And then he did as he was wont,}
\]
\[
\text{For he took her fast by the ha, ha, ha.}
\]

So Gentleman-like, so civil it comes off, without any scurrility in the world.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Methinks 'tis rude.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Oh by your favour, Sir, he means nothing; if wicked interpretation wrest it, who can help it?

**JUSTICE NODDY.** In troth it is very pretty.

**SIR JOHN NODDY.** Oh 'tis pity that the Author is forgot, he was certainly the best Lyrick Poet in the world, and deserves a Statue of Brass.

\[
\text{And then he did as he was wont,}
\]
\[
\text{For he took her fast by the ha, ha, ha.}
\]

But drink about a brimmer to my friends health: here, Justice, to you.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Come on, Sir John.

**COLONEL BOUNCE.** Doctor, wake, what’s the matter?

**DOCTOR.** Drunk, drunk, double, double drunk.

**JUSTICE SPOILWIT.** Come let’s have one Catch, i’faith, I have the rarest one in the world, the Wittiest and the merriest.
SIR JOHN NODDY. Come on i'faith, Justice.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Oh the merry time I have had with this Catch!

   What if I turn this over my Thumb,
   Then thou art no boon,
   Then thou art no boon Companion,
   Companion, Companion,
   Oh then thou art no boon Companion.

But now you shall hear.

   But what if I turn this over my Tongue,
   Oh then thou art a boon,
   Oh then thou art a boon Companion,
   Companion, Companion,
   Oh then thou art a boon Companion.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Very fine; but, Colonel, you want the Drummer’s health.

COLONEL BOUNCE. I’le drink ne’re a Drummer’s health in Christendom.

SIR JOHN NODDY. You had not best refuse my friends health, I say do not provoke me.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Provoke you! why, what will you do?

SIR JOHN NODDY. What will I do? why I will beat you as long as I am able to beat you, or as long as you are able to be beaten.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Death, you Rascal, beat me! take that. (Strikes him.)

SIR JOHN NODDY. Come, Sir, have at you, I’le tickle your sides.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Hold, hold, Colonel: why, Sir John, are you mad?

DOCTOR. Ay, ah, Sir John, are you mad?

   Justice rises with the Chair hanging to his Breech,
   two or three hold Sir John.

   The Doctor wakes and runs towards them, and falls down.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Let me go, Oh my Honour, my Honour! I’le cut his throat,

   Oh let me go, my Honour, my Honour!

COLONEL BOUNCE. Ne’re trouble your self, I shall find a time to answer you.

   Ex. Colonel.

Enter NAN.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Oh but my Honour, my Honour, Gentlemen, that’s the
NAN. How now, what’s the matter here?
SIR JOHN NODDY. Nothing, but I have been fighting a little for my Honour, nothing else.
JUSTICE SPOILWIT. I will steal out, I am something too drunk, and will repose a while. A pox on this Sir John for hanging this Chair at my Breech, it must be he.

Ex. Justice, and all but Sir John and Nan.

NAN. Don’t talk of Honour, now this is the time to look after your Love.
SIR JOHN NODDY. Alas, you cannot blame me, my Honour’s dear to me; but what progress have you made in my Love?
NAN. So much, that she will marry you presently, and that she says after a while will stop every body’s mouth, and free her from all trouble of Suitors that persecute her daily.
SIR JOHN NODDY. A thousand thanks, good Mrs. Anne; but how shall I do to be married? under the Rose I am damnably drunk.
NAN. That’s nothing, you are sober enough to speak after a Parson.
SIR JOHN NODDY. I’le make a shift.
NAN. But I must tell you, my Lady will be married privately, and with her Vail on, that it may not be proved, though suspected; for she has some Suits at Law in her name, which are near ended: and if her Marriage be known, or can be proved, they must be begun again in your’s.
SIR JOHN NODDY. My Lady has reason; but how shall I know that it is she? I may marry another instead of her.
NAN. You’l know her by her rich Cloaths, her Diamond Ring, and her Bracelet, besides you shall see her face just before.
SIR JOHN NODDY. That’s well, sweet Mrs. Anne, thou shalt have thy 500 Guinnies.
NAN. Go you, and wait you in your own Chamber, I’le bring her and the Parson to you.
SIR JOHN NODDY.  

Adieu, dear Soul, if I should fall asleep, being drunk, prethee dear Rogue, wake me.

NAN.  

I will, but be gone quickly.

SIR JOHN NODDY.  

Adieu, dear, dear Love.

Ex. Sir John.

SCENE 3.

Enter LADY HAUGHTY, CODSHEAD, and COLONEL BOUNCE.

CODSHEAD.  

Dear Madam, believe me, adad, no man can love your Ladiship better, adad, they cannot, no adad.

LADY HAUGHTY.  

Adad, Sir, no body loves you less than I do, adad they do not, no adad. I have private business with the Colonel, pray leave us, Sir, a while.

CODSHEAD.  

[Aside.] Well, no more to be said, private business with the Colonel, says she? is it thereabout? I will cut the throat of this Colonel; but I am now as drunk as an Owl: I’le go sleep first. [To Haughty.] Madam, I leave you to your private business: Farewel.

Exit Codshead.

LADY HAUGHTY.  

Colonel, you are a Gentleman of Quality and Worth, and I will undeceive you, the rest are Coxcombs, and will not be answer’d.

COLONEL BOUNCE.  

What do you mean, Madam?

LADY HAUGHTY.  

I will never marry any man, I am resolv’d to live in freedom.

COLONEL BOUNCE.  

Why then it cannot be help’d, there’s an end on’t.

LADY HAUGHTY.  

But if you will marry my Cousin, I will add so much to her Fortune, as shall redeem your Estate.

COLONEL BOUNCE.  

Da God, Madam, and thank you too; this is that I would have chosen, she’s a very pretty Gentlewoman.

LADY HAUGHTY.  

Go find her, and make your application to her presently.

COLONEL BOUNCE.  

I will, Madam: your Servant.
Exit Colonel.

NAN. Oh, Madam, if your Ladiship does not stand my friend I am undone, now is the time.

25

LADY HAUGHTY. How so?

NAN. I have planted Sir John Noddy, be pleased to lend me your Diamond Ring and Bracelet.

LADY HAUGHTY. There; but what then?

NAN. If your Ladiship would be pleased now to step up with me into his Chamber, and only say to him you will come presently, and then go out, and put off that Petticoat, and lend it me, I were sure of him.

LADY HAUGHTY. With all my heart, and much good may it do you with him. Here comes the Colonel and my Cousin, I’le withdraw.

30

Ex. Lady and Nan.

Enter COLONEL BOUNCE and ISABELLA.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Faith, Madam, I think my Lady’s proposition is very reasonable, and da God, Madam, if you can like me, let’s make as few words as can be about it.

ISABELLA. You are the hastiest Colonel that ever was.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Faith, Madam, I am in haste, and that’s a sign of great Love; I love you ten times better than the Widow; I am an honest blunt Fellow, but da God you shall find me a Man of Honour.

ISABELLA. I do not doubt your Honour, but I must be careful of my own.

COLONEL BOUNCE. The best way for your Honour is to marry quickly; if marrying be a good thing, why then the sooner the better: I am honest, you shall find I will love you very well, and use you as a Gentleman should do, and that’s the short and long on’t: never stand, Shall I, Shall I, but take my Lady in the humour.

40

ISABELLA. Good Colonel, you’l over-set me, give me leave to retire.
and consider a while: your Servant.

Ex. Isab.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Nay I'le not leave her, I am resolv'd on't, till I get her in
the humour.

Ex. Colonel.

SCENE 4.

Enter FOOTPAD, to be hang'd, with Officers, [JAMES the Butler,
MARGERY,] and a great many people,

Men, Women, and Children following him.

OFFICERS. Room for the Prisoner there, room for the Prisoner.

FOOTPAD. Make room there, 'tis a strange thing, a man cannot get to
be hang'd without crowding for it.

1 FELLOW. Pray, Sir, were not you akin to one Hinde?

FOOTPAD. No, I had run away faster then.

2 FELLOW. Pray Prisoner before your death clear your conscience, and
tell me truly, Had you not a Gingerline Cloth-Cloke of
mine with an Olive Plush Cape, bound about with a little
Silver Galoon Lace?

FOOTPAD. I scorn your thread-bare lowsie Cloke, you had best send to
London to search Long-Lane, and hang some Broker for't.

[1] WOMAN. Pray answer me, as you have a Christian Soul, did not you
steal all my head-gear once?

FOOTPAD. Pox on your gear, I never medled with it.

MARGERY. I am sure you had my Lady's gilt Caudle-cup.

FOOTPAD. Yes, and would have kept it, but she has it again, has she
not?

JAMES. And the Plate out of my Buttery.

FOOTPAD. Well, and had she it not again? what a pox would you have?
You examine me as if you would hang me, after I am
hang'd: pray Officers rid me of these impertinent people,
and let me die in quiet.

1 WOMAN. Oh Lord how angry he is! that shews he is a right
Reprobate, I'le warrant you.
FOOTPAD. I believe if all you were to be hang’d (which I hope may be in good time) you’d not be very merry. 25

2 WOMAN. No, we’ll see you hang’d first: Lord, what a down look he has! 27

1 WOMAN. Ay, and what a Cloud in his Forehead! Goody Twattle mark that. 92

2 WOMAN. Ay, and such frowning wrinkles too, I warrant you, not so much as a smile from him. 30

FOOTPAD. Smile, quoth she? though ’tis sport for you, ’tis none for me I assure you.

1 WOMAN. Ay, but ’tis so long before you’re hang’d. 35

FOOTPAD. I wish it longer, good Woman.

1 MAN. Prethee Mr. Thief, let this be a warning to you for ever doing the like again.

FOOTPAD. I promise you it shall.

2 WOMAN. That’s well, thank you with all my heart, Law, that was spoken like a precious godly man, now. 40

1 WOMAN. By my truly, methinks now he is a very proper man, as one shall see in a Summers day.

FOOTPAD. Ay, so are all that are hang’d, the Gallows adds a great deal of grace to ones person.

2 WOMAN. I vow he is a lovely man, ’tis pity he should be taken away, as they say, in the flower of his age.

1 WOMAN. Happy are we that die in our beds, my Masters.

FOOTPAD. We that are hang’d go a nearer way by twenty or thirty years: pray try, my Masters, and I’le follow, I had rather be Epilogue than Prologue to this Tragi-Comedy; I see you have no mind to go to Heaven yet for all your pretended zeal, you would still live in this vale of misery and transitory peregrinations; but if any be ambitious to be exalted, I’le render him my place. 50

2 MAN. No, no, thank you, Sir, ’tis well as ’tis.

FOOTPAD. To see the villany of man, to joy in one another’s miseries
more than in their seven deadly sins.

[1] OFFICER. Come dispatch, what a pox shall we stay all day, and neglect our business to hang one Thief?

2 OFFICER. Pray be hang’d quickly, Sir, for I am to go to a Fayr just by.

1 OFFICER. And I am to meet some friends to drink out a stand of Ale by and by, I must have you hang’d quickly, my friends will stay on me.

1 WOMAN. Nay, pray let him speak and die like a Christian.

2 WOMAN. Oh I have heard brave Speeches at this place before.

1 MAN. Ay, and I have heard ’em sing melodiously here, like Night- ingals I vow.

FOOTPAD. Well, good people, if I may be bold to call you so, this Pulpit was not of my chusing, I shall shortly preach mortality to you without speaking; therefore pray take example by me, and then I know what will become of ye, shortly I will set a Death’s head before ye, to put you in mind of your ends, Memento mori.

1 MAN. Oh he speaks rarely.

2 MAN. Ay, and he’s a Scholard, and does Latine it.

FOOTPAD. I will be, I say, your memento mori, hoping you will all follow me: I have been too covetous, and at last taken for’t, and am very sorry for’t; I have been a great sinner, and condemn’d for it, which grieves me not a little, that I made not my escape, and so I heartily repent it, and so I die with this true Confession.

1 WOMAN (Weeping.) Mercy on him, for a better man was never hang’d.

2 WOMAN. So true and hearty repentance, and so pious!

2 MAN. Help him up higher on the Ladder: now you are above us all.

FOOTPAD. Truly I desire you were all equal with me, I have no pride in this world.

1 MAN. Will not you sing, Sir, before you’re hang’d?
FOOTPAD. No I thank you, I am not so merrily disposed, Sir.
HANGMAN. Come, are you ready?
FOOTPAD. Yes, I have been preparing for you these many years.
1 WOMAN. Mercy on him, and save his better part.
2 WOMAN. Oh to stop so sweet a Pipe!
1 WOMAN. You see what we must all come to.
1 FELLOW. I, that’s certain.

A Post windes his Horn, and comes with a Reprieve.

POST. Hold, hold.
[1] OFFICER. What’s the matter?
POST. Here’s a Reprieve from his Majesty.
[2] OFFICER. A Reprieve! how came that?
POST. My Lady Haughty procur’d it by her Brothers means, and he shall have his Pardon.

FOOTPAD. Say you so, Sir? Thank you with all my heart, it came in the nick, Sir, thank my Lady, for truly, Sir, she has obliged me very much in it.
1 MAN. Pish, what must he not be hang’d now?
2 MAN. What did we come all this way for this?
1 WOMAN. Take all this pains to see nothing!
FOOTPAD. Very pious good people, I shall show you no sport to day.
POST. My Lady desires he may be brought to her house hard by.
FOOTPAD. I will always say while I live, that her Ladiship’s a civil person.
[1] OFFICER. Come along.

Exeunt omnes.

SCENE 5.

Enter Lady Haughty, Justice Spoilwit, Codswell, and Crambo.

LADY HAUGHTY. Come, Mr. Crambo, have you thought of any pretty Entertainment for us?
CRAMBO. I have done the main part of it.
LADY HAUGHTY. What is that?
CRAMBO. Why, Madam, the Dance and the Show, that's the first thing we Heroicks think on when we write.

LADY HAUGHTY. Pray let's have that in the mean time.

CRAMBO. That you shall, Madam, they have been practising now, and are just ready, strike up Musick.

A Mimick Dance of Masqueraders in different odd Habits.

LADY HAUGHTY. Thank you, Mr. Crambo. This Dance is very well written indeed, as fine a pen’d Dance as can be: I'le go see what's become of my Cousin and the Colonel; I'le wait upon you presently.

Exit Lady.

Enter SIR JOHN NODDY, and NAN masked.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Come faith, Madam, discover your self now you are my Wife, that we may be rid of these Coxcombs, poor sneaking Fools.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. How now, Sir John, what Lady is that?

SIR JOHN NODDY. You may go home again, you may go, Gentlemen.

CODSHEAD. Why, what's the matter?

SIR JOHN NODDY. What's the matter? my Lady has engaged her self to me, we will make them welcome now and then at our house, though, Madam, they are good honest Gentlemen, fa, la, fa, la.

CODSHEAD. What do you mean? what Lady do you speak of?

SIR JOHN NODDY. None but the Lady of the House, Sir, that's all.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. She the Lady of the House!

Enter LADY HAUGHTY, COLONEL BOUNCE and ISABELLA.

SIR JOHN NODDY. What a Devil! do I see my Lady's Ghost there? I have got my Lady.

NAN. No, Sir, you have not, I will not counterfeit her person any longer.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Hah, hah, what's this?

NAN. Even so, Sir.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Death and Hell, Furies, Devil, Damnation, Murder.
JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Well, Sir, we will come and visit you at your House.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Death, I'le cut all your throats, you Rascals.

LADY HAUGHTY. Hold, Sir John, let me speak with you, be not so passionate, she whom you have married, is a better Gentlewoman than you are a Gentleman; her Father was a Gentleman, your's an Ironmonger at London; her's was ruin'd by Loyalty, as your's was raised by Rebellion.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Is she such a Gentlewoman?

LADY HAUGHTY. Besides, to my knowledge she was extremely in Love with you: this, with the consideration that it cannot be undone, may appease your choler.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Ay, but now I have lost all hopes of your Ladiship.

LADY HAUGHTY. There's nothing lost, for I will never marry any man, you shall presently hear my solemn resolutions.

SIR JOHN NODDY. Nay then I am contented, I never had a Woman in love with me before.

LADY HAUGHTY. Now, Colonel, I wish you Joy with my Cousin, the money shall be paid when you will for the redemption of your Estate.

CRAMBO. Death, have I lost my Cloris? I am undone, I shall have my Spleen again.

COLONEL BOUNCE. You're a noble Lady, and I have a Sword and Arm at your service; always and Madam Isabella, who are my lawful Wife, you shall find I will behave my self like a Gentleman, and like a Man of Honour.

ISABELLA. I do not doubt it, I had heard that Character of you, or I had not ventur'd on you.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Da God, Madam, I love and honour you, and will do as long as I live, and there's an end on't.

LADY HAUGHTY. Call all my Servants and the new-married Couples in.

Enter all Servants, &c.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Now, Madam, since you have disposed of those
LADY HAUGHTY. Gentlemen, I hope you have reserv’d your self for me. I assure you I have not, nor will I ever marry you; examine your age, and you will find you are not in such great need of a Wife, as you think.

JUSTICE SPOILWIT. Operam et oleum perdidi, as the Latines have it.

CODSHEAD. I find, Madam, you have disposed of yon two, and denied the Justice, which makes me apt to believe you intend me the honour of being your Husband.

LADY HAUGHTY. Never, Sir, upon my word; since I have refus’d Gentlemen of the best Fortunes, the best bred men, and the wittiest men of England, why should you imagine I would marry you?

CODSHEAD. Nay, God take me I can’t tell, Madam.

LADY HAUGHTY. Nor I, Sir, I assure you.

CODSHEAD. Then there’s an end on’t, there is no more to be said.

Enter FOOTPAD with Officers.

NAN. Madam, here’s the Prisoner that was to be hang’d.

LADY HAUGHTY. So, Sir, I hope this warning will make you leave off stealing, and live honest.

FOOTPAD. If it be possible to break an ill habit, I will, Madam, I give your Ladiship a thousand thanks; for as the case stood, you could not have done me a greater courtesie.

COLONEL BOUNCE. Is your Ladiship resolved never to marry?

LADY HAUGHTY. No, because this Age affords not such a man as I would have.

COLONEL BOUNCE. What man would you have?

LADY HAUGHTY. I am resolved never to marry,

Till I can find a man of noble blood,

With Vertues greater than his Pedigree,

One that fears nothing but to do a wrong,

Remembering every thing but injuries;

Who has courage beyond the Lion in his pride,

Yet hides that courage in his gentle breast:
That’s just for Justice sake, and one that weighs
All things in Judgment’s balance with clear sight,
Can hit the mark of men and business:
That prudently foresees from what is past
With Wit equal to all the Roman Poets,
With Fancy quick and sharp, yet not offensive:
His Discourse clear and short, and what’s his own,
Easie and natural on all occasions:
Of Nature excellent, a melting Soul,
Ready still to oblige all Mankind, were it in his power.

This is the Man I would enjoy.

COLONEL BOUNCE. When do you think to find such a man? God take me, I’d not be such a man for such a Widow.

[FOOTPAD.] Nor I neither, I desire to be a Politician and a States-man, for nothing but that I may have power to do wrong, there is such pleasure in it.

LADY HAUGHTY Till such a man I find I’le sit alone,
And triumph in the liberty I owne:
I ne’re will wear a matrimonial Chain,
But safe and quiet in this Throne remain,
And absolute Monarch o’re my self will reign.

FINIS.
Epilogue by Footpad.

Worthy Spectators, though I was a Rogue,
I here presume to speak the Epilogue.
For my offences I was doom’d to day,
But in the nick found mercy in our Play.
Now I am clear, no punishment is due
To me, except fresh Crimes I act anew.
If you are pleas’d, let me by you be freed,
Or I shall wish that I were hang’d indeed.

Epilogue by Lady Haughty.

'Tis not the Poet with celestial fire,
Nor all the Muses that can him inspire
'Tis in you the power is had,
'Tis as you make it either good or bad;
But he in hopes of your kind Judgment stands,
Which he would have confirm’d by all your hands.
Commentary

Title-Page

2 *Triumphant*] ‘Victorious; graced with conquest’ (*OED* 2).

4 *MEDLEY]* ‘Heterogeneous combination’; an extended application, ‘a mixed company (of different occupation, rank, etc) with more or less disparaging connotations’ is also applicable (*OED* III 8b). However, the oldest usage, ‘the mixing or mingling of people in combat’ (*OED* I) is one with which Newcastle would have been familiar, and is attractive in that it neatly picks up the agonistic nature of competitive courtship that unfolds in the play.

4 *HUMOURS]* The Early Modern concept of humoral theory draws on Hippocratic and Galenic pathology for a construction of human personality based on an excess of one of the four *humours*: phlegm, blood, yellow bile or black bile, thus determining an individual’s temperament as phlegmatic, sanguine, choleric or melancholic.

7-8 *Acted by HIS ROYAL HIGHNES's SERVANTS]* i.e. The Duke's Company, under the management of Thomas Killigrew. A performance of *The Triumphant Widow* is recorded on 26 November 1674 (*The London Stage*, pp. 224-5).

11 *His Grace the Duke of Newcastle]* William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne.


13-15 H. Herringman…New-Exchange] Henry Herringman was a prominent London bookseller and publisher with a shop in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange between 1653 and 1693. The New Exchange escaped the fire of London which crippled or eliminated many of his competitors.

**Dramatis Personæ**

The order of appearance of female characters’ names at the head of the list in the 1677 edition is unusual. ‘Footpad’ has been moved to reflect his prominence and the following characters (omitted from the 1677 edition) are included: Colonel Bounce, Cooks 1 and 2, Music, Clerk of the Kitchen and Old Woman.

2 *Lady Haughty]* Possibly attributive: ‘stately, dignified’ or ‘of exalted character, style or rank’ (*OED* 1b, 2).
Nan] Pet form of ‘Anne’ and ‘Agnes’, commonly given to a serving maid (OED 2). The name of a lady’s maid in seven of Margaret Cavendish’s dramas.

Mall] Pet form of ‘Mary’ (used by the Cook) (OED moll, sb.²). ‘Mall Mean-bred’ is a country girl in scenes written by Newcastle for Cavendish’s play, The Lady Contemplation (1662).

Cicely] A generic name for a maid.

Margaret] Also referred to as ‘Margery the Chamber-Maid’ by the Butler and in stage directions.

Footpad] A highwayman who robs on foot (OED).

Codhead] ‘a stupid fellow’ (OED 2).

Coxcomb] fool.

Crambo] The name is pertinent to the on-going theoretical debate between Shadwell and Dryden (see Introduction). Crambo was a popular imitative parlour game in which one player gives a word or line of verse to which others find a rhyme (OED 1.a). The game may be inspired by the phrase Crambe repetita = cabbage served up again; from Juvenal (Juvenal vii, 154: Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros), describing any distasteful repetition. By the late seventeenth century Crambo was applied pejoratively to rhyme or rhyming. In a Prologue to The Sullen Lovers Shadwell evokes the game in disparagement of rhyming verse (I, p.13). Dryden picks up the literary application in his Preface to An Evening’s Love, or, the Mock-Astrologer (1671), a work dedicated to Newcastle, where he suggests that Jonson’s humours comedies are for the most part ‘but a Crambe bis cocta; the same humours a little vary’d and written worse’ (Dryden, Works, X, p. 204, line 804).

Heroick Poet] Composer of verse dealing with heroic or noble deeds. The ten-syllable verse form became synonymous with an exaggerated, high-flown style and became a popular target for satirise by Shadwell and others; cf. III.3.17.

affected with] partial to.

clinching] making puns or word play.

wag] ‘any one ludicrously mischievous’ (Johnson, cited in OED wag, n.² 2).

Noddy] ‘noddy’ = a fool, simpleton (OED sb.¹); cf. Shadwell’s character Sir Humphrey Noddy in Bury-Fair (1689).


Clerk of the Kitchen] His duties would include overseeing the provisioning, accounts and transactions of the kitchen, and maintaining discipline.

Gervas] Also the parish constable in Acts IV and V.
Grange-man] One in charge of the granary.

4 Rogues] The 1674 edition lists ‘three more Rogues’ which is incompatible with the stage direction at I.1.0. Since the Rogues also play the part of fiddlers, a separate listing for ‘Fidlers’ seems superfluous.

Act I, scene 1.

0.1 four more Rogues] the Dramatis Personæ refers to ‘three more’.

3 Tyring-room] Literally, a playhouse dressing-room; here used figuratively to introduce the analogy between the life of a rogue and that of a Player (see line 4 below); cf. MND, III.1.3–4: ‘This green plot shall be our stage, this hawthorn brake our tiring-house’.

4 compleat] consummate. From the mid-seventeenth century, compleat was a vogue word in the title of handbooks claiming to be the definitive work on a particular subject.

4 shift] The primary senses are ‘change appearance’ and ‘make a living by one’s own devices’ (OED 5.a), but the sense ‘change one’s lodging’, with a glance towards the peripatetic life of the common player is also active.

4 Player] A controversial term. In his characterisation of ‘A Common Player’ the law student John Cocke claims that his ‘chiefe essence [is] a daily Counterfeit’, and comments that ‘The Statute hath done wisely to acknowledge him a Rogue’ (Satyrical Essays, Characters and Others (1615), cited in Webster, Works, III, p. 448). The Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds (1572) was designed to differentiate between travelling players (deemed ‘Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars’) and ‘legitimate’ actors, identifiable by the livery of a particular aristocratic patron (cf. Statute legal Rogues, III.3.79). Jonson sustains this discrimination on the title-page of The New Inne (1629): ‘As it was never acted, but most negligently play’d by some, the Kings Servants. And more squeamishly beheld, and censured by others, the Kings Subjects.’

5 set up] establish himself.

5 single stealing] (1) theft carried out alone; (2) ‘simple, plain; without further qualification or addition’ (OED I. 12.a), with the implication that craft should be brought to bear.

8 Courage and Conduct] aptitude for leadership or management. In his Dedication of The Libertine to William Cavendish, Shadwell praises his ‘Courage and Conduct, above all
Generals’, but the phrase was a commonplace of seventeenth-century biography (see *OED* *conduct*, *sb.*¹).

11-12 staple…hemp (1) staple = ‘a principal industrial product of a country, town or district’ (*OED* ¹, 3.b). In 1663 an Act was passed to encourage the local making of cloth from hemp to encourage local manufacture and relieve unemployment; (2) puns on hemp = the fibre from which rope used at public hangings was made (*OED* *sb.*³ 1.a) and staple = the platform for executions (*OED* staple, *n.*¹).

14 hard by] close by.

16 Resort] throng.

21 Professions] Laying the ground for the metaphor of the ‘vocation of thieving’ at line 57 below.

21, 22 Rogue…Rogue] Abbott observes that the indefinite article was sometimes omitted where the noun stands for the class (Abbott, 84) – here, ‘Rogue’.


33 Attorney] After the Restoration the term was applied to both common law court practitioners and those in Chancery. Often used reproachfully as almost = ‘knave or swindler’ (*OED* *sb.*¹).

34 Wax] sealing wax.

34-5 till … depart] a variation of the phrase in the wedding ceremony in the Book of Common Prayer, ‘till death do us part’.

39-40 shift…Camelion] i.e. change appearance according to circumstances or surroundings. Used figuratively for an inconstant or variable person (*OED* 2), cf. ‘Camelion Rogue’ at IV.2.44.

40-1 Charter of Rogue] with irony, since rogues operated outside of the law.

48 Tyburn] London’s principle place of public execution until 1783 (situated at the junction of the present Oxford Street, Bayswater and Edgware Roads).

48 Good people take warning] The conventional opening phrase of the condemned person’s gallows speech which characteristically expressed contrition and the hope that spectators would learn from his sinful past. Footpad inverts the customary tribute to an exemplary upbringing.
comfort and confirm i.e. strengthen and unite our sense of purpose; the equivalent of a modern-day sports team’s pre-match bonding ritual.

57 Catch ‘A short composition for three or more voices, which sing the same melody’ (OED sb.1).

60-6 The song ‘Since ev’re Profession’s become a lewd Cheat’ is listed in Monash University’s Restoration Theatre Song Archive, ref. WCTTW1. Further references to this archive will refer to ‘RTSA’ and the appropriate item code.

60 lewd Cheat] i.e. one great fraud. The phrase comes from thieves’ cant for a deceptive practice and is usually preceded by some descriptive word e.g. nubbing-cheat, topping-cheat, etc. The sentiment that ‘ev’ry Profession’s become a lewd Cheat’ and that ‘all Mankind use to rob one another’ was commonplace. In Richard Brome’s The City Wit, or, The Woman Wears the Breeches, Rufflit makes a similar observation: ‘All things rob one another: Churches poule the People, Princes pill the Church […] What ist in man, one man to rob another?’ (London: Printed by T.R. for Richard Marriot, 1653), III.1., sig. E3. In the 1668 revival of Thomas Tomkis’s student drama, Albumazar (1615), the ubiquity of cheating is developed into an excursus on plagiarism: ‘This Poet is that Poets Plagiary’ (I.1.20). Dryden supplied a Prologue for the play, limning his fellow dramatists as highwaymen.

71 intosticated] i.e. ‘intoxicated’.

77 so] so be it.

78 stir] feel passionate.

80 Sullibubs] sillabubs (syllabubs); concoctions of milk or cream, curdled by wine and often sweetened, sold by dairymaids.

83-4 twittle twattle] ‘idle talk’ (OED).

85 by that] i.e. in response to that notion; used here for emphasis.

85-6 Love is a Boy] i.e. Cupid or Eros, represented as a naked, winged boy with bow and arrows with which he wounds his victims.

86 disgrace of Beards] misfortune and ignominy of older and presumably more sexually experienced men.

88 pith] virility, vigour.

88 know] have carnal knowledge of.

89-90 by the Mass] an oath, ‘in some dramatic uses perhaps indicative of the speaker’s rusticity or ignorance’ (OED sb.1 4.a).

94 Fustian] a coarse cotton cloth used in the clothing of ‘low-class persons and servants’ (Linthicum, p. 108).
Wastcoat] a feminine undergarment. In the late Stuart period, if worn without an upper gown, it appears to have been considered a mark of a woman of inferior class. A waistcoateer was a common prostitute.

brave] showy.

Stamell; a fine woollen cloth, commonly dyed red, associated with coarse country clothing. In Ben Jonson’s ‘The King’s Entertainment at Welbeck’ (1633) six maids attending the ‘bride’ wore ‘Stammell Petticotes, drest after the/ Cleanliest Countrey guise’ (Jonson, Works, VII, lines 248-9).

Petticoat] In this case, a skirt worn externally and intended for display.

regarded] An old pun on guard (OED 7) = to ornament with a lace or braid border, to keep the edge from fraying (cf. OED regard v. b.).

Grammarian] By the mid-seventeenth century, often synonymous with pedantry.

Trinkets] Perhaps with a bawdy secondary meaning = male genitals (Williams, pp. 1424-5).

Song: ‘Come, Maids, what is it that you lack’, RTSA item code WCTTW2.

what...lack?] The traditional cry of the pedlar.

smack] ‘kiss noisily or loudly’ (OED sb.² 2.a).

troll] ‘Sing in a full, rolling voice’ (OED IV.10.a).

curiously] excellently (OED 5).

Taffata] A glossy, thin silk of changeable colour.

Garters] Bands worn round the leg to keep stockings up.

Posies] short mottoes (see also III.4.249)

brave] beautiful.

troll] ‘Sing in a full, rolling voice’ (OED IV.10.a).

Posies] short mottoes (see also III.4.249)

brave] beautiful.

troll] ‘Sing in a full, rolling voice’ (OED IV.10.a).

Points] Laces for attaching the hose to the doublet, lacing a bodice, and fastening various parts where buttons are now used (OED II.5).

sev’ral] sundry.

Boddlies] A ‘pair of bodies’ = a corset worn on the upper part of the body.

straight] tight.
Bodkins] ‘Long pins or pin-shaped ornaments used by women to fasten up the hair’ (*OED 3*).

Bobs] Drop earrings.

*Pure* A general term of appreciation; jolly. (*OED IV. 8.a*).

Pick-tooth Cases] Cases for holding tooth-picks, a fashionable accessory.

Doxies] Sweethearts; originally vagabond’s cant for the unmarried mistress of a rogue.

Stoppers] Plugs for compressing tobacco in the bowl of the pipe (*OED sb.*)

*Kings Pedler*] Such riches as Footpad sings of, Cicely assumes, would be coveted by a king.

*Rare* often applied to comparatively trivial objects.

*Nightingal* (1) a melodious song bird; (2) evoking the shifty ballad-singer in Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*. See also *Nightingals* at V.4.67–8.

Ballad, Ballets] Simple songs, often celebrating or scurrilously attacking persons or institutions (cf. Crambo’s fear of becoming the subject of a ballad at II.1.199–200). They were usually printed in broadsheet form, often headed by an illustrative woodcut (see *Picture*, line 196 below) and sold for one penny.


*But e’tie too well* excessively.

*Scorn to read* Gervas is probably standing on his dignity; cf. his literary skills at IV.5.82-5.

*Maid* i.e. virgin.

*Grace* ‘sense of propriety’ (*OED 13.b*).

*An’ we* if.

*Parish Hands* i.e. parish officials as signatories to the truth of the ballad. Cf. *WT*, IV.4.283–4, in which Autolycus swears to the veracity of his ballads: ‘Five justices’ hands at it, and witnesses more than my pack will hold’.

*Picture* i.e. a woodcut illustration, a feature of broadsheet ballads.

Song: ‘To Fayrs and Markets I did go’, *RTS* item code WCTTW3.

*Green Gown* A dress stained by the grass during outdoor seduction. Cf. chorus of the song sung by Shepherds and Shepherdesses in Shadwell’s *The Royal Shepherdesse* (I, III, pp. 135-6): ‘And when we have done, we laugh, and lie down,/ And to each pretty Lass we give a green Gown.’
Parish care] Abandoned illegitimate infants left to the care of the parish were a financial drain on the community.

in the way to] prepared to.

Indle] linen tape.

hamper] obstruct; a pun on hamper as the pedlar’s pack; cf. IV.5.122.

Act I, scene 2

Possibly a ‘discovery’ scene where sliding shutters open to reveal the players ready in position.

lies in the house] i.e. a house guest, as opposed to dinner guest.

be answered with] make amends for.

Governor] Tutor or one charged with a young man’s education and occupations.

Exchange] Here, probably referring to the New Exchange built in 1609, so named to distinguish it from the original shopping arcade, the earlier Royal Exchange. After the Great Fire in 1666 many traders moved west to Covent Garden, the Strand or Holborn. The Middle (Salisbury) and Exeter Exchanges were built in the 1670s to meet the demand of London’s burgeoning consumerist culture. The Exchanges became a mecca of luxury goods for customers, and their arcades and benches became notorious sites of sexual intrigue. Cf. Wycherley, *The Country Wife* (1675), III.1.

Naseby, Edgehill…second Newbery, Marston–Moor] The sites of four English civil war battles between Charles I’s army and Commonwealth troops. At the battle of Naseby (1645) the Royalist army under Prince Rupert was defeated by Cromwell’s New Model Army in an engagement considered to mark the final collapse of the Royalist cause. The battle of Edgehill (1642) in south Warwickshire, was the first major encounter between the Royalist army and Parliamentary forces led by the Earl of Essex. Charles’s forces, raised in Wales, Yorkshire and the Midlands, were opposed in their march to the capital by the Parliamentary army. Although the Royalists outpaced their opposition, Charles failed to exploit his advantage and Essex’s troops reached London first. A month later the Royalists’ attempt to push through to London was repulsed at Turnham Green and they retired to Oxford. After receiving reinforcements, Prince Rupert overran Bristol and returned to besiege Gloucester. Essex’s troops came to relieve the city and the two armies re-engaged at Newbury (hence, the second). The largest and most important battle of the civil wars at Marston Moor (2 July 1644)
south-west of York, was a source of personal ignominy for William Cavendish. After the Royalist defeat at Selby, Cavendish withdrew to York where he was relieved by the arrival of Prince Rupert’s troops. Scottish and Parliamentary forces attempted to block the Royalist path south and although Newcastle’s men fought bravely, the Royalists lost at least four thousand men.

43 Terms] The four periods of the year in which judicial business was transacted: Hilary, Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas.

44 Circuits] The journey of judges through certain appointed areas for the purpose of holding courts.

46 Letter of Attorney] = modern-day ‘power of attorney’.

47 Geofails] ‘Mistakes or oversights in pleading or other legal proceeding; also, an acknowledgement of such errors’ (OED jeofail).

48 Entry] (1) legal right to access; (2) with the bawdy implication that a lawyer engages in sexual intercourse solely to produce heirs who will ‘hold his Claim’ (line 48) = secure the family’s lineage.

53 equal yoke] The image of marriage as a yoke is paradoxical: as oxen jointly pull a plough, so the wife works in partnership with her husband, yet is subject to his governance.

57 entertains] treats.

60 Horse-flesh] i.e. whores.

63 Civet-Cat] Civets were kept in captivity for the musky essence, used in perfumery, obtained from the glands of the anal pouch.

65–6 House…Wits] Living accommodation was often above or behind retail premises with little natural light. The incarceration of Malvolio in TwN (III.4.135–6) is congruent with contemporary cures for madness.

73 penny Loaves…Butter] i.e. trivial disputes.

74 Old-Baily] Old Bailey, the seat of the Central Criminal Court.

75 Custards] At the Lord Mayor’s banquet it was customary for a jester to leap into a large bowl of custard. Jonson satirises the practice in The Devil is an Ass (Works, i, 1.95–7): ‘Hee may perchance, in taile of a Sherifles dinner,/ Skip with a rime o’ the Table, from New-nothing,/ And take his Almaine-leape into a custard’. An ‘Almaine-leape’ is a dancing leap with three steps and a jump.

76 Chamolet] from the Fr. Chamelot: a mix of hair from the angora goat and wool or possibly silk.

77 Bands] collars or ruffs worn around the neck.
bird excrement (OED sb.¹ 2, citing this usage).

all pastimes that were banned, but not
totally suppressed, during the Interregnum.

cauled up] pampered; cf. Caudle-maker at III.1.148.

that was home] ‘well observed’ (OED 5a).

By the early seventeenth century the honorific, squire, had become
detached from its feudal military origins and gained currency as an attributive, expressing
rustic boorishness.

Confer and perse] Analyse the grammatical construction of a sentence, especially
a classical language, and identify its component parts. Such rote exercises were fundamental to
Tudor pedagogy.

Presidents] precedents.

Westminster] Westminster Hall, site of the Courts of Common Law. Part of
the hall was taken up by the commercial activities of book-sellers and vendors of small wares,
whose activities made the hall notoriously noisy.

Coffes] caps worn as an insignia of office.

dump] melancholy, low spirits (OED sb.¹ 2).

pump] labour.

Cited in OED (ox 1b) as illustrative of the proverbial obstinacy of
the ox.

‘A fine gentleman, is a fine Whoring, Swearing, Smutty,
Atheistical Man. These Qualities it seems compleat the Idea of Honour’, fulminated Jeremy
Collier (A Short View of the Immorality, and Profaneness of the English Stage, Together with the
Sense of Antiquity upon this Argument (London: Printed for S Keble, R. Sare and H. Hindmarsh,

Kings James his time] i.e. is now out of date.

exploded] rejected, discredited (OED 2).

The common term Roaring Boys was applied to dissolute, riotous bullies. Possibly a reference to
the arrest of thirty-six Catholic dissidents (Anchorites?) whose plot to fire London in 1642 was
thwarted by their arrest in Milford Lane. The rebels were subsequently hanged.
202  Are not…words] Crambo’s exasperation reflects contemporary aristocratic notions of honour and the assumption that since a gentleman’s word was binding, oaths and written contracts were unnecessary. He reiterates the point at lines 252-4 below.

203  Faith and Troth] A fashionably empty expression; the stock phrase of Sir Simon Addlepot of William Wycherley’s Love in a Wood, or, St. James’s Park (1672).

208  Adaid…adad] Possibly a variation of ‘egad’ (OED adad), an expletive of asseveration or emphasis. From a desire to avoid actual use of the sacred name come various distorted or minced pronunciations of the word (for other examples, see OED god 12).

210  Fanaticks] nonconformists.

217  Milliners…Haberdashers] The truthfulness of tradespeople and those below gentry rank was considered inferior. Cf. Codshad: ‘I had rather be a Cobler, he may swear and lie, and do what he will’ (II.1.169–71).

224  deadly lovely] perhaps mocking Codshad’s pronunciation of ‘deadly lovely’, line 221 above.

226  pox] syphilis; also known, xenophobically, as the ‘French pox’ or ‘great pox’ (see line 229 below).

233  Turkish Mute] ‘A servant deprived, usually deliberately, of the power of speech who serves a Turkish sultan’ (OED 3.b).

250  Zounds] ‘a euphemistic abbreviation of “by God’s wounds”’ (OED).

255  break…on’t] i.e. ‘break yourself of the habit’.

Act 2 scene 1

0.1  Servant of the House] Not James the Butler, who enters at line 89.

4  Sack] A white wine formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries.

6  Coll.] A familiar abbreviation of ‘Colonel’ in the second half of the seventeenth century.

6  Gad save you] ‘Gad’ was substituted for ‘God’ in various phrases to avoid blasphemy; cf. ‘Gad take me’ at line 117 below.

12  forbid the Banes] i.e. ‘object formally to the intended marriage’. Banns (pronounced and spelled Banes in editions of the English Book of Common Prayer from 1559 to 1661); a proclamation made in church of an intended marriage, in order that those who know of any impediment thereto may lodge an objection (OED bane sb.²; bauns 1.b.).

18  Butterfly] A vain, gaudily attired person.
la] An exclamation used to call attention to an emphatic statement. By the mid-seventeenth century it marked the speaker as a slave to French fashion and speech.

Sallet-oil] salad oil, c.f. ‘Sallets’, II.2.139.

Jack] ‘a man of the common people; a lad, fellow, especially a low-bred or ill-mannered fellow’ (OED sb.¹ 2.a).

again] anywhere.

ought] anything; an archaic form of aught (OED aught, n.², A).

brisk] lively.

facetious] ‘agreeable’ (OED 2b).

post] ‘with speed’ (OED b). Also at V.1.7.

take…pate] hit you on the head.

makes much] treats hospitably.

jerk…Ham] A sudden push in the back of the knee.

arch] waggish (OED 2.)

cast…Office] i.e. sample some of the beverages of the cellar (the Butler’s ‘office’). See also II.2.127.

Canary] ‘Canary wine, a light sweet wine from the Canary Islands’ (OED 2).

March beer] ‘a strong beer with good keeping qualities, brewed in spring’ (OED sb.² II.2.b).

make…speak] Said of something extraordinarily good (often drink).

till … cold] i.e. until you are dead.

drunk…Owl] Proverbial, especially of something befuddled or drowsy (OED 1.2.b).


take my full swing] = indulge myself.

Blunderbus] The name of a character in Shadwell’s The Woman-Captain (1680).

I vow] Used to strengthen an assertion, but the phrase had lost its force by the mid-seventeenth century (see OED sb.² 2.b, citing Hobbes, Leviathan I, xiv. 69: ‘They that vow anything contrary to any law of Nature, vow in vain’).

thin as a Shrimp] ‘used contemptuously for a diminutive or puny person’ (OED 2.a).
156 difference...persons] Shadwell uses this phrase in *The Amorous Bigotte* (1690) where the sense equates to ‘show some respect’ (V, III, p. 49).

162 heart-burnt] discontented; cf. Shadwell, *The Royal Shepherdesse* (1669), (I, II, p. 119): ‘So! now 'tis out; I had been most abominably heart burnt if I had kept it in’.

168 give...Cavalier] Royalists were also known as ‘Dammes’ because ‘God damn me’ was a common curse. At the Restoration profanity became part of the ‘witty’ idiom of the town gallant; cf. III.2.83.

169 rather...Cobler] See I.2.217n.

173 white Devil i.e. hypocrite. Proverbially ‘the white devil is worse than the black’ (Tilly D310).

174 Conies] rabbits.

177 put me out] disconcerted me (*OED sb.* 1 48.f). The first recorded *OED* usage is in Wycherley’s *The Gentleman Dancing Master* (1673), so perhaps a phrase in vogue.

188 Rappers] ‘arrant lies’ (*OED* 3.a).

190 doubt] fear.

196 splenetick] Originally referring to disorder of the spleen, which was regarded as the seat of melancholy or morose feelings. Cf. spleen at III.4.191.

197-8 clouded...fogs...fumes] According to Galenic theory, vapours produced in the stomach rose to the brain.

198-199 I fear...near] i.e. ‘I fear that I shall soon be the subject of a ballad’ and ridiculed publicly (see I.1.143-4n).

200 Fancy] poetical imagination often, as here, inspired by a ‘Muse’.

201 Jades trick] jade = contemptuous name for horse. Figuratively, a term of reprobation applied to a woman; here, Crambo’s poetic muse (*OED sb.* 1.2.b).

207 Rimer] Rhymer; especially an inferior poet. Cf. Jonson: ‘The common Rymers powre forth Verses, such as they are, (ex tempore) but there never come[s] from them one Sense, worth the life of a Day. A Rymer, and a Poet, are two things’ (*Timber, or Discoveries*, Jonson, *Works*, VIII, lines 2445-9, p. 638).

208-10 Heroick...Play] See the Introduction for satirical stage representations of heroic poets.

225 quick-sighted] perceptive.

228 of all] in all.

231 rustick] rustic; here, plain and simple, having the charm of the country.
Act Two, scene two

0.1 The Kitchen] For an imaginative reconstruction of daily life at Newcastle’s Bolsover estate see Worsley, Cavalier, in particular the section covering household preparations for the royal entertainment, ‘The King and Queen’s Entertainment at Bolsover’, pp. 85–99. Worsley draws on authentic floor plans of the ‘Little Castle’ at Bolsover, including the layout of the kitchen, scullery and beer cellar, and supplies the names of many kitchen staff from estate records: ‘Nedd Watson, the caterer or officer responsible for making food purchases [is] also able to turn his hand to the role of musician, and has in his room at Welbeck a flute, a flute recorder and a broken bass violin’ (Worsley, Cavalier, p. 89, citing Lynn Hulse, ‘The Duke of Newcastle and the English Viol’, Chelys, Journals of the Viola da Gamba Society, 29, 2001).

1 Boiler] In large kitchens a boiler built over a brick fireplace was used for cooking meat and making stock. The hearths at Bolsover featured a specially designed chimney crane by which cauldrons of boiling water were suspended above a fire (Worsley, Cavalier, p. 90).

1 Olio] From the Spanish olla podrida, a spiced meat and vegetable stew (also at III.4.247); by extended application, a mixture of heterogeneous elements. This exotic dish is often invoked in opposition to hearty, traditional English fare, cf. Shadwell, The Sullen Lovers (I, V, p. 87) and The Volunteers (V, II.1, p. 183), where it is associated with luxurious town living. Margaret Cavendish applied the word figuratively in the title of her miscellany, The World’s Olio (1655).

4 Scalding-house] ‘a room in which utensils or the carcasses of animals are scalded’ (OED).

6 Range] A fire-place with one or more ovens on the side.

6 spend] use.

7 Fees] A servant’s perquisite (OED sb.² 8.a).

8 let us alone] i.e. ‘you can rely on us’.

9 Ann] Use as fuel, see note at lines 17-21 below. As waste paper was scarce, cheap texts were recycled in a number of ways, from providing stuffing for scarecrows to stopping mustard bottles (see Adam Smyth, ‘“Reade in one age and understood i’th’next”: Recycling Satire in the Mid-Seventeenth Century’, HLQ, 69 (2006), 67–82).

9-11 See the Introduction for stage portrayals of the litigious widow.
Prins Works] William Prynne (1600-1669), lawyer and Puritan pamphleteer, is best known for his criticism of the theatre, *Histrio-Mastix: The Players Scourge* (1633), denouncing female actors at a time when Queen Henrietta Maria and her attendants were participating in a court pastoral. Prynne was found guilty of sedition and had his ears cropped. Post-Restoration, Prynne published weighty tomes on English constitutional history. The *Works* referred to here is likely to be his lengthy volume, *The Works of William Prynne of Swainswick, Esquire since His Last Imprisonment* (1655).

Coriats Crudities] *Coryats Crudities* (1611), the account by Thomas Coryate (1577?-1617) of his European travels, which was followed by a slimmer volume of miscellaneous verse and orations, *Coryats Crambe* (1611). The titles of both books draw on the analogy of literature as food to be ingested and regurgitated (See Michelle O’Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 102-27).

*Presbyterian Expositions*] e.g. David Dickson’s *A Brief Explication of the Psalms* (London, 1653-4) which ran to 399 pages.

two Playhouses] By metonymy, the two patent theatre companies: the King’s under Thomas Killigrew and the Duke’s under Sir William Davenant.

furnish…bargain] Waste paper was used to insulate the bottoms of pies while cooking and was wrapped around meat joints to prevent burning. This reference to the practice predates an anecdote concerning the accidental destruction of some fifty or more unpublished dramatic manuscripts by the cook of antiquarian John Warburton (1682-1759), see MacDonald Jackson, ‘Plays and Pies: Seventeenth-Century Predecessors of Warburton’s Cook’, *N&Q*, 51 (2004) 373-4.

two Shillings a Stone] A shilling was a silver coin valued at twelve pence; *stone* = a measure of weight equalling fourteen pounds avoirdupois.

of all loves] A phrase of strong entreaty (OED sb.¹ 7.b), similar to the modern-day ‘for heaven’s sake’.

order’d] carefully prepared.

strangest] most unpredictable.

Plum-porridge] ‘A thick soup made by stewing vegetables, herbs, or meat, often thickened with barley, pulses’ (OED 1). Dining records for the Great Hall at Welbeck show that the Cavendish children commonly shared a dinner of savoury porridge (Worsley, *Cavalier*, p. 91).
This construction appears to be a marker of lower-class speech; cf. Shadwell, *The Virtuoso* (III, V, p. 174) and Richard Brome’s *The Sparagus Garden* (V.II.2. sig. G2): ‘and if you be an anger’d, takt in your angry teeth’ (London: Printed by I. Okes for Francis Constable, 1640).

*single Cittern* Or cithern, a plucked instrument with wire strings; from the mid-seventeenth century the cittern was associated with simple, popular music-making. ‘It was commonly kept in barbers’ shops for the use of customers, and often had a grotesquely carved head’ (Shadwell, *Works*, I, p. 287, n71).

The phrase is misattributed to ‘1 Cook’ in the 1677 edition. It should properly be ascribed to the Master Cook who is inviting ‘1 Cook’ to sing.

An autograph manuscript of the song ‘Fy, fy, this Love keeps such a coil’ composed by Matthew Locke, is held in the Portland Collection of the University of Nottingham Library (MS PwV23, fol. 2’). See Hulse’s article, ‘Matthew Locke: Three Newly Discovered Songs for the Restoration Stage’, *Music and Letters*, 75 (1994), 200-13, which includes a photographic plate of the manuscript.

keeps such a coil] i.e. causes such a fuss; cf. ‘keep much a coil with one’ at V.1.72.

doubt] suspect.

naughtiness] here, sexual innuendo.

*Sop…Sippet* Bread for dipping in wine or similar, prior to eating.

if it rise…down] with sexual innuendo.

similizing] express in similes; setting up the conceit of the Master Cook as master poet. Newcastle expounds on the culturally determined role of ‘similizing’ in his advice book to Charles II: ‘whencever we see, we are always similizing, such as white as snow, white as a lily, or something. So this Godly educated man sees white, immediately he thinks: white as a surplice, that surplice upon a preacher [….] This is custom. Another that has been bred more in cavalier style, when he sees white he similizs it, too, as white as a smock’ (cited in Anzilotti, p. 177).

*butter’d meat* A method of preserving meat whereby it was first parboiled, then baked and packed tightly in stone pots into which melted butter was poured to seal the meat. Meat potted in this fashion would keep for several months; cf. line 138 below.

An ill Cook…fingers] A reworking of the proverb ‘He is an ill cook that cannot lick his own finger’ (Tilley C636).
Oh gemini] a mild oath, mainly used by women; possibly a corruption of Jesus Domine.

stay but] stay only for.

purtest] protest.

Fiddles] a playful name for a wag.

Copy of Verses] A short composition in verse, especially Greek or Latin (OED 7a).

back-house] (1) An obsolete form of bakehouse; (2) bawdy double entendre.

bolt] (1) a baking term, ‘to sift or sieve; hence figuratively, to search and try’ (OED sb. 2); (2) secure.

mealy-mouth’d] reticent; a pun on ‘meal’, the edible part of grain (OED mealy-mouthed (OED I. 1.a).

kinded] ‘of such a kind ‘(OED).

my…dow] Proverbially, ‘my cake is dough’ = ‘my project has failed’ (OED 1.b).

extemporary] Anglicized form of extempore (OED).

pish, fy] Exclamations of impatience, often with mock pretence of shock.


‘Sounds] A corruption of ‘God’s wounds’.

wooden Candlestick] Presumably, used to support the pie crust.

Rush-candles] An inferior, cheaper form of lighting than wax candles, made by dipping the pith of a rush in tallow.

Chine] A meat joint of the back ribs or sirloin.

presently] immediately.

Anchovies] anchovies.

Westphalia] i.e. to the Westphalia recipe, which involved hanging the pork for two days, rubbing it with saltpetre, salt and sugar, and hanging it to cure.

Boule] Drinking bowl, wide rather than deep.

Derby measure] Perhaps a generous measure; cf. ‘Derby Cans’ at III.3.6.

Mich’y…ye] ‘Much good may it do you’ (OED).

Gentleman] i.e. ‘Music’ welcomed at line 109 above.

Myrmidons] i.e. the servants; in Homer’s Iliad, the Myrmidons were the soldiers of Achilles.
The servants’ lively dance, perhaps a jig, is accompanied by the musician’s pipe or recorder. Others keep the beat with chopping knives on the dresser. The Master Cook’s injunction: ‘take off your Cans’ at line 145 below suggests that these drinking vessels are suspended from a strap, or similar, worn around the neck.

Sallets] salads. Ingredients often included a mixture of herbs, lettuces, cooked vegetables, dried fruit, olives, spices and oil.

Call] summons by drum beat.

Act Two, scene three

An exterior scene.

never…Trinkets] A number of heroic dramas like Dryden and Howard’s The Indian Queen (1665), its sequel, The Indian Emperour, or, The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards (1670) and a redaction of John Fletcher’s The Indian Princess (1669) reflect the contemporaneous expansion of English colonial power.

Purchase] spoil (OED II 8.a).

Noble] ‘English coin first minted by Edward III, usually valued at 6s 8d’ (OED).

mainly] greatly.

Race of Ptolomy] A common erroneous association of gypsies with Egypt; cf. Jonson’s Gypsies Metamorphos’d, in which the gypsy children are described as ‘the offspring of Ptolemy […] begoten upon several Cleopatras in their several countries’ (Works, VII, lines 53-6).

Hogs…Walnuts] Supposedly, used to darken skin.

Strangers] ‘guest or visitors; in contradistinction to the members of the household’ (OED 3.a)

light] ‘relieve’ by plundering.

Have…Fortune] a challenge to fate. ‘Fortune is a whore’ was a commonplace, intensifying the proverb ‘Fortune is fickle’ (Tilley F606).

die…Psalm] Psalm 51 (50 in the Vulgate Bible), Miserere, beginning Miserere mei Deus (‘Have mercy upon me, O God’). The psalm was the literacy test (known as the ‘neck test’) for those claiming benefit of clergy and was often sung at executions; cf. V.4.67.

Matthew Locke provided the musical setting for the song ‘Oh the brave Jolly Gypsie’ (MS PwV23, fol. 2’); see Hulse, ‘Matthew Locke’, pp. 202-9.
tipsie] inebriated.

Pullen] poultry.

juggled] ‘conveyed away as if by magic’ (OED 4.b).

Hue and Cry] chase in pursuit of a felon; Lady Haughty mounts such a pursuit at IV.3.104.

I have…Gypsies] Cavendish’s aristocratic friends took the roles of gypsies in performances of The Gypsies Metamorphos’d when the work was performed in the 1620s (see ‘Analognes’ in the Introduction).

Venus Trench] In palmistry, the Mount of Venus is the line encircling the root of the thumb.

Lilly…Gadbury] William Lilly (1602–81) and John Gadbury (1627–1704), astrologers and almanac compilers.

Clap] Gonorrhœa.

ingram] ignorant (OED).

Line of Honour] Lines around the wrist.

shift and divide] Move on and go separate ways.

Act Two, scene four

The scene is the garden of Lady Haughty’s house. See Haughty’s suggestion, ‘let’s in’ at line 91 below.

pair] a couple.

new…Prince] See the section addressing ‘Sequestration and Colonel Bounce’ in the Introduction for the bitterness of former Royalist supporters, post-Restoration.

scurvily] shabbily.

golden Calf] Referring to the golden idol made by Aaron during the absence of Moses on Mt Sinai (Exodus 32). When Moses descended from the mountain with the tablets of Law and found the people worshipping the calf, he broke the tablets and melted the calf. This symbol of Christian apostasy is used here in reference to the ‘worship’ of wealth.

resolved…again] Foreshadowing Lady Haughty’s declaration at V.5.87–8.

foolish Animal Man] The phrase echoes the philosophical thrust of Rochester’s A Satyr against Reason and Mankind, a work which circulated in manuscript from June 1674. In turn, its contempt for that ‘vain animal’ man is indebted to the writings of Montaigne, Boileau and Hobbes. Cf. Shadwell, Timon of Athens (III, 1, p. 206): ‘What is this foolish animal
man, that we/ Should magnifie him so? a little warm,/ And walking Earth that will be ashes soon’.

26–7 Milliner…French Taylor] The demand for fashionable apparel and the emulation of French modes supported a diversity of specialist suppliers to the clothing trade. Contemporary drama satirises French tailors for holding English aspirants to fashionable dress in thrall.

32 Receipt] formula.

35–6 whisper…Secrets] i.e. passes off common knowledge as insider intelligence.

39 neer] a contraction of ‘never’.

42 Almanack] i.e. ‘predictable’, but with a glance at the finite usefulness of such handbooks.

42 Meridian…Court] i.e. ‘to the tastes and habits peculiar to the Court’, cf. Jonson, ‘The Prologue for the Court’, The Staple of News (1640), promising that the play is ‘writ to the Meridian of your court’ (Works, vi, line 3).

43–4 Quack-salvers, Empiricks] charlatans.

45 common High-way] Cf. ‘the Dunstable High-way of Matrimony’ (III.4.82-3).

48 easie rates] With little pretence of dissimulation.

49 cog] deceive.

59.2 salute] Bow (‘make legs’), or kiss the women’s hands.

64 lighted] dismounted.

65 splash] puddle.

85 cross] ‘a coin generally’ (OED 20).

90.1 SD The Cook… up] An off-stage cue; serving dishes were placed on the Dresser, a table in the dining hall.

103 Cousin come] Some action by Lady Haughty is implied by this remark. She leads Isabella apart from the group and the women are drawn back at Bounce’s prompting, ‘We wait on you, Madam’ (line 109 below).

107 Mine] mien; general conduct and appearance.

108 Allons] Fr. ‘let us go’.

Act Three, scene one

0.1- . This scene may open as a ‘discovery’ whereby shutters are drawn apart to reveal the actors seated at the dining table.
0.3 SD lower … Table] Nan’s position at the table reflects her inferior social rank; cf. the pun on *Plaice/place* at lines 1-2.

1 *Plaice* (1) a common European flat-fish; (2) a pun on *place* = precedence, at line 2.

5 *Wits* The ‘Court Wits’ of the Restoration, a group of Shadwell’s friends that included George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset; Sir George Etherege; John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester; Sir Charles Sedley and William Wycherley.

8 *Clinchers* The name of this phantom fraternity suggests that its members delight in word play, especially *clinches* (or *clenches*, like the pun at lines 1-2 above). Such forced word play was considered an inferior form of humour. The Wits attracted their imitators whose counterparts in Restoration comedy include characters like Drybob in Shadwell’s *The Humorists*.

12-13 *Arraignment* A formal accusation of criminal charges.

14 *Sophisters* A second- or third-year Cambridge student.

27 *put…Livery* i.e. formalise their role as ‘Fools’ by attiring them in the uniform worn by household retainers.

28, 30 *Goose…Woodcock* Both reputedly stupid birds; hence, applied allusively to a gullible or foolish person.

34 *As…day* A variation on the proverb ‘as good as one shall see on a summer’s day’ (Tilley S967); also at V.4.42-3.

36 *Gull* The term could be applied to either a trickster or his victim.

37 I had as live’s] The archaic construction ‘I had as lief’ = I had rather (OED A1c).

37 *Owl* Shadwell’s favourite epithet for ‘fool’.

45 *ever…live* an affirmative phrase.

55 *tihie* cf. modern ‘teehee’.

70 *Fool* A pun on the name of a pudding combining stewed fruit and cream or custard; cf. III.4.230.

76 *incomprehensible*] pointless; the Colonel’s patience has worn thin.

77 *kill you* i.e. ‘be the death of you’, c.f. lines 80-1 below; hyperbole.

77 *drink…Health*] The Colonel is desperately trying to bring a measure of decorum back to the table.

79 *Tope* = ‘I pledge you’. As Spoilwit correctly identifies, derived from the French *toper* = accept a wager.
about with her] (1) ‘Pass the glass about’ was a common drinking expression; (2) sets up the pun in line 84 of bout = sexual encounter.

fulsome] ‘offensive’ (OED 7).

Fool…making] i.e. a ‘natural’ (cf. lines 91-2 below) or ‘born’ fool, ‘one who is deficient in, or destitute of reason or intellect’ (OED sb.1) 4). See the Introduction for Shadwell’s differentiation between ‘artificial’ and ‘natural’ fools.

Cheshire…Windsor] Well known varieties of cheese.

Eaton] a pun (or clinch).

for…me] at any cost.

Bitter, Pout, and Tart] (1) Bitter = bitter beer; Pout = a name given to various kinds of fish; Tart = a sweet or savoury flan; (2) all are puns on surly behaviour and found in Song 24 in an anthology compiled by Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Sir Charles Sedley and Sir William Davenant: ‘Twelve sorts of meat my wife provides,/ And bates me not a dish’ (The New Academy of Complements, Erected for Ladies, Gentlewomen, Courtiers etc., (London, Printed for Tho. Rooks, 1671), p. 107).

these Joques…upon things] Spoilwit prefers the cruder, classically low form of humour circulated in popular anthologies to the aesthetically refined forms of satire circulated by the Court Wits, which were often politically charged or lampooned fellow authors.

Country Clowns] country folk, rustics.

gone…flesh] An adaptation of the biblical phrase ‘to go the way of all the earth’ (Josh. xxiii. 14; 1 Kings ii. 2) meaning ‘to die’; here, used in the sense of having undergone a common ritual (matrimony), with resignation at its inevitability.

Cloris] A name popularly associated with with the précieuse movement, used in pastoral and amatory verse. So hackneyed had it become that A Song by Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset begins

Methinks the Poor Town has been troubled too long
With Phillis and Cloris in every Song;
By fools, who at once can both love and despair,
And will never leave calling them cruel and fair.


vapours] A morbid condition supposed to be caused by the presence of exhalations of the stomach, depression of spirits and other nervous disorders; cf. III.4.194-200 and IV.4.32.
135.1 Service] The closest OED definition: ‘the furniture of the table, esp. set of dishes’ (28a) is not a precise match for the sense here, of a ‘Service’ as something into or on which dishes are conveyed; a tray for example.

145-7 Yard…Spanish Needle…middle finger…Thimble] All terms relating to tools of the tailor’s trade but with sexual innuendo; Yard = penis; Spanish Needle = venereal disease; middle finger = penis (this passage cited in Williams, pp. 484, 1279). A Corslet Thimble would be used to adjust tight-fitting garments to the body. Williams says of the comedic tailor: ‘as with shoemakers, opportunities for intimate access to women make him a folkloric figure of sexual activity’ (Williams, p. 1358).

148 Marry come up] An expression of amused surprise or contempt (OED 2c).

148 Caudle-maker] A caudle is a warm, restorative drink consisting of thin gruel mixed with wine or ale, sweetened and spiced, given to the sick and women in childbed (see caudled up, I.2.89). Here the intention is clearly derogatory, perhaps by negative association with the intimacy of birthing practices. Lady Haughty’s Caudle-cup is stolen at IV.4.48.

149 hold…need] i.e. keep watch during illicit trysts or sexual assignations if required.

153 A Bawd…Bawd] Here and elsewhere in the scene, mocking repetition echoes the strident taunting of victims in village shaming rituals, or charivari.

156, 161 scurvy] contemptible; cf. IV.2.15.

162 Prick-louse] ‘an expression of contempt, specifically used with reference to tailors’ (OED louse, n. 1.b).

164 searing Candle, Bumbast, and Canvas] All items related to the tailor’s craft. A searing candle was used to apply wax to cloth to prevent fabric ends fraying; Bumbast = bombast, cotton wool used as padding or stuffing but also setting up the pun on stiffening in the line below; Canvas = a low-quality fabric.

169 rank] licentious.


172-3 chippings] Continuing the metaphor of the Butler as a ‘man of straw’, at line 164 above.

182 e’en] even; used here as an intensifier (OED 9.d).

183-4 truth’s…Devil] Proverbially, ‘Speak the truth and shame the devil’ (Tilley T566).

Practice of Piety] Lewis Bayly’s The Practise of Pietie: Directing a Christian How to Walke That He May Please God (1612) was a popular treatise on pious living, reprinted several times in the seventeenth century.

Amantium…est] A version of ‘amantium ire amoris integration est’ = ‘the quarrels of lovers are the renewal of love’ (Terence, Andria, III, 6, 556).

Act Three, scene two

The scene returns to the garden: see Lady Haughty: ‘I’le meet ye all in the Garden’, III.1.127-8).

go… square] speak frankly.
hatter’d and sequestred] ‘hatter’ = to bruise or batter; sequestered = deprived of estates under the Commonwealth. Hence, figuratively, financially ‘battered’ by the confiscation of his estate (see the Introduction).

calpable injustice] The phrase recurs in Shadwell’s Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Charles Sedley of A True Widow (1679).

what…endur’d] Probervial (Tilley C922).

engaged] ‘mortgaged’ (OED I.i.)

break the Ice] A popular metaphor for initiating a course of action (Tilley I3).

hufty tufy] ‘swaggering’ (OED A).

meditating for] contriving. The classical etymological and cultural associations of meditating support Crambo’s grandiose figuring of Lady Haughty as his ‘muse’.

Academy of Complements] A popular miscellany of exemplary amorous phrases, songs, dialogues, love letters and discourses, composed by John Gough. It was published in 1648 and underwent at least twelve reprints. For Codshead’s rehearsal of the dialogical compliment and response format, see IV.1.3-25.

Good lack a day] An apheted form of ‘alack-a-day’, an expression of surprise.

Questions…cross purposes] ‘Questions and commands’ and ‘Cross purposes’ were the names of two parlour games (OED question, 6.b; cross, 2).

Cupids Bow] The earliest recorded use of the phrase in reference to lips is 1858 (OED 1b). Presumably, Codshead is drawing unwelcome attention to Lady Haughty’s wrinkled brow.

Son…Whore] An expression in vogue among London dandies, ridiculed in the anonymous broadside Character of a Town-Gallant exposing the extravagant fopperies of som[e] vain
self-conceited pretenders to gentility and good breeding: ‘His whole Library consists of the Academy of Complements … he admires the Eloquence of, Son of a Whore … and therefore applyes it to every thing; So that if his Pipe be faulty … Tis a Son of a Whore Pipe’ (London: Printed for W.L., 1675, A2’-A3’).

84.1 SD The Widow smiles] The play’s sole stage direction governing facial expression.

89 Arabian Gums] Products used in perfumes.

91 light of] discover.

102 Helicons] Mount Helicon in Bœtia, central Greece, was believed by the ancient Greeks to be one of the haunts of the Muses and hence used allusively in reference to poetic inspiration (also at III.4.222).

105 Parnassus] A mountain north of Dephi in Greece which, in ancient times, was associated with Apollo and the Muses and regarded as a symbol of poetry; cf. III.4.220, IV.1.127.

108–9 Lecture…Schools] Dissection lectures were conducted at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the College of Physicians, or the College of Barber-Surgeons (the latter two in London). Members of the Royal Society met at Gresham College to attend dissections, while those held at Surgeon’s Hall were well attended by the public.

121 gyved and fetter’d] synonyms for ‘shackled’.

141 warrant] command (OED 10).

142 cross] contrary to expectation.

Act Three, scene three

2 Pipe] voice.

5 sans] without.

6 Derby Cans] Presumably, generously sized cans to hold Derby ale, cf. Derby measure (II.2.116). The phrase is unfamiliar to modern-day enthusiasts of Derby beer.

9 Fellow] convivialist.

19.1 SD mouths] declaims histrionically.

26 powder’d] Cured by salt, pickling or spices.

32 shot … Orange shot] Perhaps studded with slivers of orange peel.

34 Passion on me] an oath.

35 Gammons] ‘Sides of bacon, sometimes smoked or cured’ (OED 2).
Chine] A joint of meat from the back of the animal.

Ordnance…dismounted] Marrow-bones are conceived as an artillery unit, thrown from their horses.

wriggled] slashed.

Brawn] Flesh of the boar, potted or pickled.

Tripes] The stomachs of a ruminant or pig entrails.

Crevices] Smaller forms of lobsters.

Forlorn hope] A military term for the front line troops.

Reserve] Troops withheld as reinforcements or to provide cover in the case of retreat.

Alms Tub] A vessel into which food remnants were left for distribution to the poor. A Servingman in Shadwell’s *The Woman-Captain* (IV, I, p. 19) is described as having ‘Breath like the fume of an Alms-Tub’.

maws] Throats of the insatiably hungry.

screps] Small bags, especially those carried by beggars.

music…Number] The Clerk may be referring to Pythagoras’s theory of musical consonances and harmony by which mathematically proportioned music was thought beneficial to the human soul. St Augustine developed this theory in his treatise *De Ordine* (386), arguing that number was the unifying principle in astronomy, geometry and music. Colonel Vitruvius in Jonson’s ‘The King and Queen’s Entertainment at Bolsover’ (1634) compliments the singers and dancers: ‘Well done, my Musicall, Arithmetical, Geometrical Gamesters! or rather my true Mathematicall Boyes! It is carried, in number, weight, and measure; as if the Aires were all Harmonie, and the Figures a well-tim’d Proportion!’ (*Works*, VII, p. 810, lines 67-70.) A sales catalogue of books from the libraries of the Dukes of Newcastle includes works by English, German, Italian and French music theorists. (For Newcastle’s and Charles Cavendish’s interest in the relationship between mathematics and music see Lynn Hulse, ‘Amorous in Music’, p. 87.)

fit] piece, strain (OED, n.1 obs.).

Habit of Fidler…Law] Perhaps a tan-coloured coat; cf. Jonson, *The Poetaster*: ‘we must have you turn fiddler againe, slave, get a bass violin at your backe, and march in a tawnie coate with one sleeve’ (*Works*, IV, III.3.133-5). Itinerant fiddlers who did not wear the livery of an aristocratic or royal household were not *Statute legal* (line 79 below); cf. I.1.4n.

noise] company of musicians.

Grand Signior] The Sultan of Turkey; references to his opulent style of living and the ease with which he added women to his seraglio abound in seventeenth-century drama. Shadwell’s characters cite him in relation to autocratic male behaviour in *The Woman-Captain* (IV, I.1, p.28; III.1, pp. 28, 49).

84 *to the purpose*] To the matter in hand.

87 *in ure*] in practice. The phrase was also commonly applied with reference to the enforcement of statutes, thus extending the legal conceit launched at line 79.

88 *right hand*] Perhaps obliquely connected to the proverbs ‘He knows not his right hand from his left’ (Tilley H74), or ‘His one hand wots not what the other is doing’ (Tilley H79).

90 *Roman*] ‘in a stately fashion’ (*OED* sb.1 4b).

91 *let’s in*] This is the prelude to the robbery of Lady Haughty by Footpad and 1 Rogue, so their exit should appear to be towards the interior of the house.

Act Three, scene four

0 Set in the garden - see line 20 below: ‘Come on, Gentlemen, you are come to take the Air’.

6 *blustering*] Violent in speech and demeanour (*OED* 3), exemplified by the Colonel’s peremptory action at line 45 below.

8 *Dub a Dub*] A metonymic application of the refrain of a popular royalist military ballad; cf. the version in Shadwell, *Epsom-Wells* (II, V.1, p. 166): ‘Hold, can’t you sing *Hey for Cavaliers, ho for Cavaliers, Dub, a dub, dub, have at old Belzebub, Oliver stinks for fear*.’

14 *arrant*] thorough; here, an intensifier of opprobrium.

15 *mawdlin for him*] infatuated by him.

26 *bucksom*] gracious (*OED* I, 1c)

29 *Oke*] = oak; dependable, ‘solid’.

33-4 *You…Rime*] Lady Haughty may either sing or recite these lines. Although in the copy-text lines 33-34 are italicised as a couplet, equally, lines 32-34 could be set as a triplet. *Spark* = elegant or foppish character; cf. Aphra Behn, *The False Count, or, A New Way to Play an Old Game*: ‘he has enough to set up for a Modern Spark - the Fool has just wit and good manners sufficient to pass for a Fop of fashion; and, where he is not known, will gain the Reputation of a fine accomplisht Gentleman’ (London: Printed by M. Flesher for Jacob Tonson, 1682), V.1., sig. I’.
Quorum] The specific number of justices of the peace necessary to constitute a bench.

blow up] Bring into discredit, continuing the conventional military metaphor for love-making initiated at line 54 above.

follow the Camp] The comment is teasing; although the euphemism ‘camp-follower’ = whore was not active until the nineteenth century, the symbiosis of military men and prostitutes transcends time. Both ballads that Justice Spoilwit sings below concern aristocratic women who yearn to follow their lovers to war.

poor…own] i.e. a grateful, undemanding mistress.

Dunstable High-way] A road notable for its long stretches and even surface, and by extension, a metaphor for directness and plainness.

fantastically] imaginatively.

parts] Social skills like dancing, singing or recitation.

bind…Behavior] literally or figuratively constrain (OED 17c).

a Chair] A reaction from one of the men to supply a chair is called for.

to a hair] with utmost exactness.

how a Spanish Lady…Man] The opening lines of ‘The Spanish Ladies Love to an English Gentleman’, from The Garland of Good Will (Thomas Deloney, The Garland of Good Will, London: Printed for J. Wright, 1678). A Spanish woman is seduced by an English captain on military service in Spain and offers to follow him on his campaign, disguised as his page. When he declines, confessing that he has a wife at home in England, she asks that he deliver her jewellery to his wife and wishes him well.

When…light] The opening verse of ‘Fair Rosamonde’, sung to the traditional tune ‘Chevy Chase’ or ‘Flying Fame’, which luridly embellishes the illicit relationship of Henry II to Rosamund Clifford. Rosamonde pleads unsuccessfully to be allowed to accompany Henry to war and is poisoned by the jealous ‘Queen Ellinor’ (Deloney, The Garland of Good Will, sig. A3).


The song, ‘I dote, I dote’ is listed as RTSA item code WCTTW7.

Sot] fool.
Madam Fickle] Coincidentally, the title of Thomas D’Urfey’s comedy *Madam Fickle or the Witty False One*, performed at the Duke’s Theatre in November 1676.

There was…kind] This appears to be a version of the ballad *The Rich Merchantman*, or *The Merchantman and the Fiddler’s Wife* (William Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (NY: Dover, 1965), 1, pp. 381-2); RTSA item code WCTTW8.

*Trillo*] tremolo; a foreign affectation despised by Newcastle.

Oh…smart] provenance untraced.

rowl] roll.

*Reveller at Grayes-Inn*] A participant in the annual entertainments staged during the twelve days of Christmas at Gray’s Inn, one of four Inns of Court in London. Lavish banquets, dancing and a variety of entertainment marked the festivities.

Minoutes] Minuet, a courtly dance in triple time, in contrast with the country rusticity of the Justice’s favoured dance.

kickshaw] a corruption of the French quelque chose = something valueless.

Derbyshire *Horn-pipe*] a traditional country dance.

*Spleen*] See II.1.196n; also at IV.4.3.

*Cordial-water*] a medicinal drink.

*Fumes*] According to early modern psychophysiology, noxious vapours were thought to rise to the brain from the stomach; cf. IV.4.32.

sound] swoon, faint (*OED* sb.4).

*Fit…Mother*] A medical complaint thought to arise from a disorder of the uterus, and its upward displacement against other organs, but also applied to a condition with similar symptoms in men and children.

*burn…Nose*] The burning of feathers for restorative purposes recurs in other of Shadwell’s works: cf. *The Sullen Lovers* (I, II, p. 33): ‘perhaps it may be a fit of the Mother; If it be, we must burn some Blew-Inckle, and Partridge Feathers under your Nose’.

*Tune…Laurel*] See ‘Anallogues’ in the Introduction.

*The Nine Lady Muses*] According to Greek mythology the Muses presided over the arts and sciences and were said to inspire poetic genius.

*Fool*] See III.1.69

Martials*] of Martial (c. AD40-103/4), a Roman satirist and renowned epigrammatist.
An erroneous etymology linked satyr and satire. However, a culinary connection is active as the Latin phrase lanx satura (literally ‘full dish’) was applied to a dish containing various kinds of fruit, or food composed of many different ingredients.

Bisk] a rich soup.

Olio] See II.2.1n.

French Railleries] ridicule (from the French râillerie, f. râiller to rally).

French Lampoons] scurrilous pamphlets; from the French lamponner, to ridicule.

Posies] See I.1.119n.

Desert…Banket] Dessert and banquet; courses of sweetmeats, fruit, and wine, served either as a separate entertainment, or as a continuation of the principal meal and served in a different room.

Thespian Spring] Here used figuratively for a dramatic well-spring, cf. the waters of Mount Helicon, at line 222 above.

Spanish Wine] A more prosaic stimulus of poetic genius than the springs of Helicon.

Muses…Fiddles] The quotidian imagery is a travesty of the representation of the Muses as sublime, ethereal creatures.

cholerick] See the discussion of ‘humours’ comedy in the section of the Introduction discussing characters and language.

Swear the Peace] As in the phrase ‘to swear the King’s or Queen’s peace’ = protection guaranteed by the monarch to certain people, such as those travelling the highway on royal business (OED 9).

Com-field] I have been unable to authenticate this location.

Gallows] At Tyburn. Gallows Field was located off London Road approximately where Marble Arch is today.

Friend] a second in a duel.

Act Four, scene one.

Enter CODSHEAD] The scene is the interior of Lady Haughty’s house.

Yo’are…Then] The format of alternating compliment and anticipated response parodies the hackneyed paradigms offered by contemporary courtship manuals like The Academy of Complements (see III.2.62).

odoriferous] Originally ‘odoriferous’ = bearing a pleasant scent (OED 1), clearly an absurd coupling with lustre.

ignorance…excuse] Proverbially, ‘ignorance of the law excuses no man’ (Tilley 119).

plaguy] exceedingly; an intensifier.

shrewd] severe.

fustian] inflated, ridiculously lofty speech.

consumptions] consumption = the advanced state of tuberculosis; here, figured as the debilitating consequence of reciting fustian.

every…alike] Lady Haughty probably means that every two lines (of rhyming couplets) sound alike.

Cataplasm] poultice.

Homer] An epic poet (c.750-650 BC), traditionally held to have authored the narrative poems the Iliad and the Odyssey. Modern scholarship places the Homeric poems in a pre-literate oral tradition in which successive bards elaborated on traditional stories of the heroic age.

Æacus, Minos, and Radamanthus] In Greek mythology, the sons of Zeus and demi-gods of the underworld. After their deaths the three became judges of the dead in the underworld.

Anacreon…Pindar] Greek lyric poets. Anacreon was famous for his poetry written in celebration of love and wine. Pindar’s surviving works include odes celebrating victories won in athletic contests at Olympus and elsewhere.

Characters…feet] i.e. characters of the Greek alphabet.

Virgil] (70-19BC) Roman author of the Eclogues, ten pastoral poems, the Georgics and the epic poem, the Aeneid.

Horace] A poet and critic (65-8 BC) of the Augustan period, much imitated by seventeenth-century English poets. Ben Jonson took upon himself the neo-classical mantle of Horace, most controversially explicated in The Poetaster. His translation of Horace’s Ars Poetica was published posthumously.

Ovid] Publius Ovidius Naso (43BC-AD c.17). The theme of transformation and change of Ovid’s mythological poem, Metamorphoses, prompts Lady Haughty’s comment
at lines 64-5 below. Dryden’s translation of the work, published posthumously in 1717, is still considered exemplary.

66 false Astronomy] The Doctor refers to Ovid’s Fasti, a poetical calendar of the Roman year with one book devoted to each month. Ovid’s uncompleted design was to study the calendar in the light of old annals and to show which events are commemorated on each day and the origins of the various rites. It accordingly records day by day the rising and setting of the constellations but was not without errors.

67 Lucan…Piles] Lucan (AD 39-65), a Roman poet whose major work, De Bello Civili, is a vivid account of the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey in 49BC. Marlowe’s translation, The First Booke of Lucan (London: Printed by P. Short, 1600), begins ‘We sing, whose conquering swords their own breasts launched’ and describes the carnage of ‘darts answering darts’ and the scene of destruction: ‘walles of houses halfe reaer’d [sic] totter,/ That rampiers fallen down, huge heapes of stone/ Lye in our townes, that houses are abandon’d (sig. B1’, lines 3, 7; sig. B1’, 24-27).

70 preserv’d Apricocks] A fruit reputed to have aphrodisiacal qualities. In the anonymous comedy Lady Alimony, ‘preserved apricot’ is included in a list of ‘incentive and salacious Cates,/ As quicken hours, and sharpen appetite’ (Lady Alimony, or The Alimony Lady (London: Printed for Tho. Vere and William Gilbertson, 1659), IV.2, sig. H2’).

71-2 Fletcher…Spanish Perfume] Spanish romance plays enjoyed great popularity on the post-Restoration stage. John Fletcher, either solus or writing in collaboration with Francis Beaumont and Shakespeare (Cardenio) looked to Cervantes for the source material of a number of works.

73-4 whining…arms] Andrew Gurr has traced the convention of the lover’s pose ‘with folded arms’ to an anonymous preface to The Cyprian Conqueror (c.1633), in which it is suggested that the appropriate posture for an amorous role is ‘closed eies, hanging downe lookes, & crossed armes’ (BM. Ms Sloane 3709, fol. 8r, cited in Gurr, p. 100).

75 Liquorish and Sugar-candy] A concoction made from liquorice strips steeped in water was allegedly a good remedy for purging phlegm.

76 Pastor fido] Giovanni Battista Guarini’s pastoral drama, Il pastor fido: or The faithful Shepheard (1589), was a model for John Fletcher’s tragi-comedy, The Faithful Shepherdess (c. 1610), on which Isabella’s lines at 77-8 below are based.

77-8 By…Hook] echoing lines from Fletcher’s The Faithful Shepheardess:

How often have I sat Crown’d with fresh flowers
For Summers queene, whilst every Shepheards Boy
Puts on his lusty greene, with gaudy hooke,  
And hanging scrippe of finest cordevan.


Jonson’s careful editing and selection of his dramatic and poetic works for this folio publication reoriented Early Modern conceptions of authorial self-presentation.

no Wit] See Introduction on the theoretical debate between Shadwell and Dryden over the constituent components of comic drama.


sick…Remedies] The phrase evokes the classical Greek notion of the pharmakon, a substance that embodies both healing and poisonous qualities. The pharmakon had a metaphorical application in Humanist pedagogy whereby the ‘ingestion’ of morally efficacious sayings was considered to be an antidote to deleterious texts. Erasmus and Vives, for example, specified that pages of Scripture could serve this purpose.

dye.  
Apollo’s Court] on Parnassus, see III.2.105n; cf. III.4.220.

Contented…Love] The antithetical construction and syntax is similar to Poet Ninny’s verse in Shadwell’s The Sullen Lovers (I, IV, pp. 65–6); this is discussed in the Introduction.

the Devil…it] i.e. mischievous forces are at work.

SD] Sir John Noddy and Nan enter and begin conversing before noticing Codshead, who is standing apart.

Guineys] guineas; English gold coins first struck in 1663 with the nominal value of 20 shillings.

upon the nail] immediately.

There appears to be a speech of Codshead’s missing prior to this line, which would prompt Sir John Noddy’s agreement, ‘With all my heart, Cousin’.

Gallows field] Reference is made to the duel taking place ‘in the Corn-field by the Gallows’ at III.4.294–5, but the link to violent death is not inappropriate.
Act Four, scene two

1    with a Pox to you] a common retort.

4    Marry come up] an expression of indignation or outrage.

4    Snuff…Nose] ‘to take pepper in the nose’ (‘snuff pepper’) = become angry.


7    Raggamuffin…Drawlatch…Scuff…Nit] Raggamuffin (ragamuffin) = disreputable man or boy; Drawlatch = literally, a thief who enters by drawing up the latch, sneak; Scuff = scum (OED n.1, 5a); Nit = ‘louse’, a term of contempt (OED n.1 2).

8    Carriers Pack…Make-bate…Spittle] Carriers Pack = an insult, perhaps figuratively, ‘a bag of tawdry goods hawked around the countryside’; Make-bate = one who incites quarrels (OED n.1.a); Spittle = whore (Williams, pp. 1288-9). The term derives from the name of the London charitable foundation for the diseased poor, Spital.

9    malepert…Jail bird…Mungrel] malapert = impudent; Jail bird = incorrigible rogue; Mungrel = (1) a person of low or indeterminate status, a contemptible person (OED II, 5, 5a).

10   Widgeon] (1) a breed of duck; (2) applied to a person, in allusion to the supposed stupidity of the bird: a fool (OED 2). In Shadwell’s Epsom-Wells (ii, II.1, p. 127) Mrs Bisket directs the epithet at her husband.

11   Drable-tail…Drill] ‘drab’ = harlot; drabble-tailed ostensibly, ‘one whose skirts drag in the mud (Williams, pp. 412-3); Drill = an insult deriving from a species of West African baboon, Mandrillus leucophaeus, cf. Shadwell, The Humorists (i, II.1, p. 208): ‘And as well match’d as any three Baboons in Europe, why, Madam, I would as soon Marry a Drill as one of them’.

12   lick-trencherly…Scab] ‘lick-trencher’ = plate-licker; parasitic (OED 8); Scab = a low, ‘scurvy’ fellow.

12-13  Hang-pannier] ‘Panniers’ or baskets were carried by mules, often in pairs hung over the animal’s back, so by extension (and picking up the ‘carriers pack’ insult at line 8 above), ‘one good for nothing better than carrying weighty baskets’.

14    Marry Gip] an exclamation of indignation.
Jilflert...Wriggle-tail] Jilflert = gill-flirt, a wanton or giddy girl or woman; Wriggle-tail = whore, ‘a woman who, like a bird, keeps her tail in continual motion’ (Williams p. 1553, citing this usage). Margaret is being accused of shamelessly exploiting her sexuality, as wriggled in the following line implies.

scurry] See III.1.156n.

powder’d with Vermine(1) sprinkled with parasites, ‘lousy’; (2) a pun on ‘powdered ermine’ = white fur decorated with black spots.


Todpool] A variant of ‘tadpole’.

indented] A heraldic term = notched. Used by James here mockingly, and sustaining the heraldic associations of ‘powdered’ at line 18 above.

cruel] = crewel, a thin, double ply yarn used for embroidery and hosiery (OED 3.a).

Garters] bands worn to support stockings; perhaps coincidentally, another heraldic term.

Inkle] = inkle, a type of linen tape.

Gold-finder] scavenger.

Epicrot] a malapropism for ‘hypocrite’.


ninth...a man] a common phrase for a worthless person.

Vails] (1) a gratuity to a servant; (2) the remnants of material left over after making a garment or suit.

Nimming] (1) a cambrick or lawn fabric (cf. Cambrick, Lawn, I.1.116n); (2) slang for stealing (OED 2).

Holland-lace] Lace manufactured in Holland was considered to be of high quality, as opposed to ‘tawdry lace’, a cheap, showy product commonly sold at fairs, a sense which the insult ‘Mrs Tawdry’ (line 47 below) extends.


Mrs Tawdry] an insult, see line 42 above.

Candles ends] A perquisite of service.

clinch] here, outrageous accusation, but cf. clinches at III.1.8n.

Quean] (and at line 65 below) strumpet.

lie in Greek] i.e. in unintelligible speech.
Canonical] i.e. legitimate; conforming to ecclesiastical edict.

durst[ the conditional form of ‘dare’ which was also used indefinitely of present time (OED sb.¹ 5).

hoop her Barrel] i.e. confine her, as hoops bind the staves of a tub.

Act Four, scene three

0.1 SD hundred…Bag] The bag carried by Justice Spoilwit may be distinctively marked to indicate its contents.

Duels…off] English anti-duelling proclamations had failed to suppress this entrenched form of aristocratic combat. An innovation in the conduct of post-Restoration duelling was that often the seconds fought each other, as was the case in a duel between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1668 when one of the seconds was killed on the spot. Louis XIV’s strict anti-duelling measures and the provision of a court of honour as an alternative were upheld as a mode (see Markku Peltonen, The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 87, 201-8, 219-220).

Back-sword man] An exponent of the backsword, a sword with only one cutting edge.

Venue] fencing bout.

Lazer] leper.

dispatch…business] i.e. urinate; cf. WT, IV.4.826-7: ‘I will but look upon the hedge’. Perhaps a sign of the Justice’s nervousness.

Cousin German] first cousin, but also used in a looser sense for any close relative.

in the body] i.e. Codshoe will attack Sir John.

under the Rose] in confidence.

train] entice.

Beati pacifici] ‘blessed are the peacemakers’; from the Latin Vulgate translation of the Gospel of Matthew, V. The phrase was associated with James I’s non-interventionist foreign policy.

Hue and Cry] See II.3.53n.

washing blow] slashing blow of great force.

Raven…croaked…Salt…spilt] omens of ill-fortune.

SD at a distance] i.e. from upstage.
faggot] to bind hand and foot or to bind persons in couples.

Holland] i.e. Holland cloth, a type of linen (OED sb.1 2a), cf. Holland-lace, IV.2.42n.

Shaking hands or some sort of reconciliatory gesture is called for here.

Act Four, scene four

a spice] a slight touch.
flux] purge.
Quick-silver] metal mercury. Mercurial preparations were used extensively in the treatment of syphilis.
Angel] an English gold coin often, as here, the source of a pun.
Celestial fire] Poetic inspiration, cf. Epilogue by Lady Haughty: ‘Tis not the Poet with celestial fire’.
A Poet...born] Echoing Jonson’s encomium to Shakespeare in the First Folio: ‘For a good Poet's made, as well as borne’ (lines 59-64).
crude] indigestible.
fumes] See III.4.200n.
Caudle-cup] A cup in which caudle was served (see Caudle-maker, III.1.148n)
Buttery] A storeroom for liquor and other provisions.
Interlude] A light or humorous presentation between the acts of a longer piece; here, alluding to the men’s comical state of undress.
Highlanders] An image inspired by the trio’s entry with blankets draped across their shoulders in the fashion of Scottish dress. Highlander was applied to any wild man, not necessarily of Scottish origin.

Act Four, scene five

sunk] acted dishonourably.
Omnia...porto] ‘All my things I carry with me’.
Bill-men] i.e. officers of the watch armed with bills: weapons shaped like a combined battleaxe and spear.
Gudgeons] Small, edible fish said to bite at any bait, hence applied to a gullible person.
Information] ‘Intelligence’ in the senses of (1) education or training, and (2) knowledge of events.

Counter] A hunting term: the opposite direction to the course taken by the game.

Holland…fire] Veal imported from Holland. Butchers reputedly blew up veal ‘to make it look, for a time, more substantial and of better quality than it is’ (Webster, *Works*, (‘An Arrant Horse–Courser’), III, p. 500).

smell Hemp] i.e. the noose at Tyburn; cf. I.1.11-12.

Physiognomy] ‘the study of the features of the face, or of the form of the body generally, supposedly indicative of character’ (*OED* 1a).

 petty School] The most rudimentary form of formal education. In this case, supervised by the parish vicar (see line 82 below).

I…read] Crucially, Footpad will not be able to pass the ‘neck test’ (see II.3.30-1n).

come home] Usually carrying the sense of ‘speak frankly’; here, ‘get the better of him’.

come up to] an unusual construction = ‘come to you’.

equiblicating] a malapropism for ‘equivocating’.

T…Thomas] ‘T’ for ‘Tyburn’ was branded on the thumb of felons and a second offence could lead to the gallows. Ben Jonson was thus stigmatized for killing Gabriel Spenser.

By’r Lady] a contraction of ‘by our Lady’, an expletive (*OED* byrlady).

stumble] (1) confuse (*OED* 4c); (2) hinder (*OED* 4d).


Filly, fally] an expression of dismissal of a foolish notion.

Geogrecum] a malapropism for ‘geography’.

fish…head] a common illustrative embellishment of early cartography.

Nilus…Crockadils] Latin *Nilus* = Nile; *Crockadils* = a corruption of the Latin *crocodilus* = crocodile.

with you] ‘be even with you’ (*OED* 22d).

Honour] mocking ‘honourable’ in the previous line.

good men Fishermen] The occupation of the twelve apostles whom Jesus Christ sent forth to preach his Gospel.
Apostle-Spoons] Silver spoons, the handles of which end in figures of the Apostles.

Assizes] The sessions held periodically in each county of England for the purpose of administering civil and criminal justice, by judges (e.g. the Justice at line 110 below) acting under certain special commissions (OED 12.a).

Plate...Trousers] Lady Haughty’s valuables would, one imagines, create conspicuous bulges in Footpad’s trousers.

Assizes] The sessions held periodically in each county of England for the purpose of administering civil and criminal justice, by judges (e.g. the Justice at line 110 below) acting under certain special commissions (OED 12.a).

Plate...Trousers] Lady Haughty’s valuables would, one imagines, create conspicuous bulges in Footpad’s trousers.

Footpad’s reluctance to relinquish his booty could provide some amusing stage business, particularly if his clothing has obscured a surprising quantity of loot.

Gallows’s] A seldom used phonetic representation of ‘gallowses’, a form which may refer to the ‘two posts of which the apparatus mainly consisted’ (OED 1).

Ipsum factum] = ipso facto: ‘by that very fact’.

even] just.

Comerogues] Not in OED but suggests a combination of ‘comerades’ and ‘rogues’.

Act Five, scene one.

Vacation] The period during which activities at law courts and universities are suspended or closed.

of the King] i.e. from the King; the primary sense of of = ‘away from’ is an obsolete construction (OED).

fain] gladly.

honourable] The marriage ceremony in the Church of England Book of Common Prayer includes the phrase ‘for marriage is an honourable estate’.

House] The Early Modern concept of ‘household’ is discussed in the Introduction.

justifie] Under the scriptural concept of justification man is freed from sin and made righteous.

Did…naughtily together] i.e. ‘Did you never behave naughtily together’; naughtily = behave promiscuously (OED naughtily 1c, citing this usage).
37 fornication] The marriage ceremony states that marriage is ‘ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication, that such persons as have not the gift of continency, might marry, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ’s body’.

47-8 black’s mine eye’ to find fault’ (OED III.12).

50 Huswife] ‘a woman or girl of loose morals’ (OED 2).

55 made fast] i.e. have entered into a de futuro contract to marry, usually signified by the act of a couple joining hands before witnesses, known as ‘handfasting’.

57 fast and loose] (1) Figuratively, ‘to play fast and loose’ is to ignore at one moment obligations which one acknowledges at another; to be ‘slippery’ or inconstant; (2) James plays on the literal meaning of fast in the sense that James and Margery have ‘handfasted’, possibly after loose pre-marital sexual activity. It was not uncommon for couples to consummate their union between the time of betrothal and a church marriage ceremony. ‘Fast and loose’ is also the name of a game practised by con men, involving a stick and a piece of string.

59 by your self] i.e. ‘by comparing your frailty to mine’.

75 Stay] wait.


90 500 pounds] cf. ‘500 Guinnies’ at IV.1.176.

98-9 here’s my hand] The line calls for Lady Haughty to proffer her hand.

100 I…him] Isabella is dissembling; she has earlier confessed her attraction to the Colonel in an aside (III.2.7-8) and that she finds him ‘a pleasant man’ (III.4.63).

Act Five, scene two

3 Champinions, Caviary…Potargo] Champinions = champignons, edible mushrooms; Caviary = caviare; Potargo = a type of pickle or preserve, possibly West Indian in origin. Caviare and Potargo had a reputation as thirst stimulants. The fashion for these foreign delicacies at English tables is decried in William King’s Art of Cookery, in Imitation of Horace’s Art of Poetry (London: Printed for Bernard Lintott 1708, p. 61): ‘What lord of old wou’d bid his cook prepare,/ Mangoes, Potargo, Champignons, Cavare?’

5 Devils Names] The Justice’s confusion signals his provincialism.

7 Francis Bacon…house…Essays] Francis Bacon, Viscount St Alban (1561-1626), politician and philosopher whose works include The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Moral
While at Cambridge he was a member of Trinity College (Newcastle’s former house). The Justice’s description of him as ‘hopeful’ is ironic since Bacon was disgraced in 1621 after admitting to taking bribes as a judge.

8-9 *he...now* With the sly implication that bribe-taking is rife or condoned in the 1670s.

11 *I did essay* Word play on the etymology of the French verb *essayer* = to attempt, and the noun *essai* = trial, attempt. The English literary term derives from Michel de Montaigne’s explication of the genre in his *Essais* (1580).

14 *it* referring to the Justice; a patronizing usage.

18 *reward* punish (*OED* 7a.)

20-21 *and...for* if you wish to; the modern equivalent of ‘to be up for’ something.

21 *fit* ‘punish’ (*OED* sb.¹ 12).

26 *endure...once* Presumably the Colonel and Sir John resheath their swords at this point.

32 *sup* sip.

36 *break a jest* ‘crack a joke’.

39-40 *Mittitur...datur* It has been suggested that this Latin couplet was coined in A.D. 1170 when the Archbishop of York sent a salmon to the Chronicler of Malmesbury, with a request for a receipt in verse, which was handed to the bearer:

> Mittitur in disco mihi piscis ab Archieposco –
> - Po non ponetur nisi potus. Pol! mihi detur.
> I’m sent a fyshe, in a dyshe, by the Archbish –
> - Hop is not put here. Egad! he sent no beere.


The verse was a popular inclusion in seventeenth-century commonplace books and miscellanies. As the Colonel confirms at line 50, Crambo ‘has stollen this, ‘tis old’.

52 *happy* successful.

60 *egregiously* excellently; this was an ‘occasional’ use in the seventeenth century (*OED*).

62-3 *Dæmon...sick* Dæmon languebät, monachus bonus esse volebat; postquam convaluit, manuit ut ante fuit = ‘When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;/ But when the devil was well, the devil a monk was he’.

63 *Cum socio...fingas* = ‘Urinate with a friend, or at least pretend to urinate’.

95 *Genius* inclination.
arch a Scab] eminent a rascal.

put about] ‘send around’ (OED sb.¹ 34a).

overjoy’d] a euphemism for ‘inebriated’.

Mr. Murrials…Mors…Pembrook-Hall] Possibly Thomas Muriell (or ‘Myriell’). John Ross cites his connection to Pembroke as follows: ‘Muriell (d.1629) served as President and later Proctor of Pembroke. In 1616 the other Fellows charged him with being ‘a man of many unsound opinions and of no Religious or Conscionable deportments in his life and Conversation’ and as an administrator, high-handed and corrupt. A manuscript text in Bodley (MS Malone 19, p. 150) ‘On ye death of Mr Murialls horse’, begins: ‘Moste cruell Mors, hath killed ye Horse’ (Ross, ed. Bury-Fair, Appendix 1, pp. 282, 284-9). The perpetrator’s name is a pun on the Latin for ‘death’: mors mortis.

John Sanderson] His identity is unauthenticated.

Mr Prat] unknown. Prat = practical joke (OED sb.¹ obs.).

Rakehel] dissolute figure.

Divine…Inns of Court] A degree was considered a prerequisite to obtaining a place in the church ministry. As one contemporary observed, the gentry ‘did not feel their sons duly educated till they have passed some time in some of the houses of Law, though they never design them to practice it, as it seems to be evident from the many who commence Students and never are, and probably never design’d to be, Called to the Bar’ (William Downing, Observations on the Constitution, Customs, and Usage of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple… for the Use of Charles Worsley (London, 1896), p. 43), cited in Philip J. Finkelpearl, John Marston of the Middle Temple: An Elizabethan Dramatist in His Social Setting (Cambridge MA.: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 8).

Rebuses] ‘Enigmatical representations of a name, word, or phrase by figures, pictures, arrangement of letters, etc., which suggest the syllables of which it is made up’ (OED); cf. specimen at lines 157-9 below.

Libels…Lampoons] Defamatory or satirical leaflets, posted up or publicly circulated, although usually anonymous or unattributed. Printed libels and lampoons were treated as a serious breach of the peace. Harold Love’s English Clandestine Satire 1660-1702 (Oxford: OUP, 2004) provides a thorough, contextualized study of the form.

whorson] ‘an abusive epithet applied to a person or thing’ (OED).

Rawly] A joke at the expense of Sir Walter Ralegh (1554–1618), courtier, explorer and author. In Newcastle’s manual on horsemanship, A New Method, and Extraordinary Invention, to Dress Horses etc. (London, 1667), Ralegh is mentioned as having
‘tole me, That in the West-Indies there were the Finest Shap’d Horses and Barbs that ever he
saw; and they knew there so little the Use of Horses that they killed them for their Skins’, and
‘Sir Walter Rawley said well, That there are Stranger Things in the World than between
Stains and London’ (cited in Henry Perry, p. 139).

156  *firked* = firked, ‘thrashed’ (*OED* 4).

156  *Noel* A version of this rebus is included with poems of doubtful authorship
attributed to Elizabeth I, *The Poems* (1964) and to Sir Walter Raleigh (*The Poems of Sir Walter
Raleigh Now first collected and Authenticated, With Those of Sir Henry Wotton and Other Courtly
Poets from 1540 to 1650*, ed. by J. Hannah (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892), p. 55.

160  *paid* punished.

161  *Privy Council* As Newcastle had been a member of Charles I’s Privy Council
there may be an element of self-parody here and at lines 170-1 below.

164  *Wits* See III.1.5n.

165  *Clinchers* See III.1.8n.

167  *Dioper…Pippin* Possibly a schoolboy burlesque of a standard Greek declen-
sion, cf. John Wilson, *The Cheats*, III.3, sig. F4*: ‘This is *Draper, Diaper; Napkin, Nipkin;*
*Pipkin, King Pepin*’ (London: Printed for G. Bedell et al., 1664). King Pippin (c.715-68), also
known as ‘Pippin the Short’, was a Frankish king.

173  *how…inclin’d* their geographical and natural characteristics.

177  *drunk…Drum* A common phrase.

185  *pur…Velum* i.e. a light, consistent drum roll on the drum skin.

188  *stubble Goose* A goose fattened on wheat field stubble and therefore probably
ungainly in flight. Sir John may attempt these impressions himself.

189  *Gutter* ‘a natural watercourse’ (*OED sb.¹ 1a).

190  *old Dog at* ‘advent at’ (*OED sb.¹ 17i).

200-1  And…ha] Not traced. The chorus is reminiscent of a song from Dryden’s *An
Evening’s Love, or the Mock-Astrologer*: ‘Calm was the Even, and cleer was the Skie’, in which a
lover’s advances are inhibited by ‘A ha ha ha ha!’ (Dryden, *Works*, IV.1.47-70).

206  *wrest* ‘put a wrong construction on’ (*OED 5c*).

213  *brimmer* ‘a brimming cup’ (*OED 2*).

218  *Catch* ‘A short musical composition for three or more voices, which sing the
same melody, the second singer beginning the first line as the first goes on to the second line,
and so with each successive singer’ (*OED sb.¹ 14*).
222–32  What…Companion] A similar song in John Playford’s *Apollo’s Banquet: The Second Book* (London: Printed by E. Jones for Henry Playford, 1691) includes the round ‘Bacchus’s Health: To be sung by all the Company together, with Directions to be Observed’ (sig. E4'). Verse Three includes the repeated line ‘And thou’rt a boon Companion’. At the lines ‘What if I turn this over my Thumb’, the emptied drinking vessel is tipped over the left thumb nail to show that all the liquor has been drunk, a practice known as ‘supernaculum’ (*OED*).

224  boon Companion] good drinking companion.

240  At this point, Sir John and the Colonel may circle each other with their fists up.

243–3  wakes] rouses himself to activity; the Doctor has just spoken so cannot be asleep.

263  *under the Rose*] See IV.3.94n.


272  has reason] From the French phrase *avoir raison*, to be right. Evidently the phrase was considered an affectation; in Dryden’s and Newcastle’s *Sir Martin Mar-all, or, The Feign’d Innocence*, Mr Moody objects to Sir Martin’s Frenchified expressions:

SIR MARTIN: You have Reason, Sir!

MR MOODY: There he is again too; the Town Phrase, a great Compliment I wiss; you have Reason, Sir; that is, you are no beast, Sir. (Dryden, *Works*, IX, III.1.62-6)


Act Five, scene three

7  thereabout] Equivalent to the modern phrase ‘so that’s how it is’.

13  answer’d] ‘prove successful’ (*OED* 11).

18  Cousin] i.e. Isabella; the term was loosely applied to a kinsman or woman.

20  Da God] Possibly a contraction of the expression of gratitude ‘under God’ (*OED* *god* 9d, 13).

29  There] Lady Haughty removes the required jewellery and passes it to Nan.

50  Shall I…?] i.e. vacillating; an early form of the phrase *shilly-shally* (*OED* *shilly-shally*).

50–1  in the humour] i.e. in an agreeable spirit.

52  over-set] overwhelm.
Act Five, scene four

0.1-3 SD] Set in or near the gallows field.

4 Hinde] James Hind, highwayman and Royalist soldier.

7 Gingerline] According to Linthicum, ‘an Anglicization of the French zinzolin, a reddish colour containing some violet’ (Linthicum, pp. 38-9).

8 Plush] ‘A rich fabric of silk, cotton, wool, or other material with a long soft nap, often used for servants’ livery’ (OED sb.¹ 1.a).

9 Galloon Lace] ‘a tape or braid, sometimes of silk, used for binding and trimming’ (Linthicum, p. 140).

11 Long-Lane] Pawnbrokers and dealers of old clothes operated from Long Lane, a London thoroughfare running from Smithfield to Aldersgate Street. Reputedly, they drove a hard bargain. Cf. Jonson, Every Man Out of his Humour (Works, V.5.73): ‘usurous Long-lane Cannibals’.

29 Cloud…Forehead] gloomy countenance.

29 Goody] ‘a shortened form of ‘goodwife’; a term of civility applied to a woman, usually a married woman’ (OED sb.¹ 1a).

40 Law] an expression of astonishment or admiration.

41 precious] used as an intensifier: ‘proper’ (OED 4a).

42 proper] respectable; referring to the condemned as ‘a proper man’ was a commonplace.

42-3 as…day] See III.1.34n.

53-4 vale…peregrinations] i.e the world figured as a place of trouble or misery and the course of a person’s life viewed as a temporary sojourn on earth and a spiritual journey.

62 stand] booth.

64 stay on] await.

73 Death’s head] The human skull was a symbol of the inevitability of death.

74 Memento mori] Literally ‘remember to die’, i.e. ‘remember that you must die’.

76 Scholard] One whom the speaker regards as exceptionally learned, often used by the illiterate of one who is able to read and write.

82 true Confession] Posthumous publications of the ‘true confessions’ of notorious convicts were enormously popular in the seventeenth century (see the section relating to Footpad and his Rogues in the Introduction).

97.1 windes] ‘blows a call or note’ (OED sb.³ 3b).
104-5 *in the nick* ‘in the nick of time’ = ‘at a crucial moment’ (*OED* *nick*, *n.*¹ III, 11a), see also Epilogue by Footpad, line 5.

**Act Five, scene five**


26.1 The 1677 edition errs in providing an entry for ‘the Servants’ at this point. Later in the scene the servants enter in response to Lady Haughty’s injunction, ‘Call all my Servants’ (V.5.63).

69 Operam… perdidi] More usually, ‘oleum et operam perdere’ = ‘to waste one’s time and trouble’.

99 hit the mark] i.e. ‘act appropriately and judiciously’.

105 melting Soul] i.e. ‘capable of expressing strong or tender emotion’.

116 quiet] The usage of *quiet* here is consistent with the solitary, introspective notion of ‘Quietism’ but appears to predate application of the term to define a formal spiritual doctrine.

**Epilogue by Footpad**

5 in the nick] See V.4.104-5n..

**Epilogue by Lady Haughty**

1 celestial fire] See IV.4.17n.

7 confirm’d…hands] A conventional entreaty to the audience for their applause.
Editorial Emendations

All emendations of the copy text are listed here, other than those items silently emended (see 'Editorial Procedure'). No distinction is drawn between 'substantive' and 'accidental' variants. The lemma is the reading of this edition, followed by a square bracket and the rejected reading of the copy-text. The symbol ‘ ~ ’ is used to indicate that a word in the lemma is identical in the copy-text; the caret mark ‘^’ is used to denote an omission of any kind, whether a complete word, punctuation, or a missing letter due to typographical faults: unsatisfactory inking or damage to type.

Dramatis Personæ

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Footpad…A Rogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Colonel Bounce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The Master Cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1 Cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>2 Cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Clerk of Kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>4 Rogues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Footman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Old Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Servant of the House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Officers, Rabble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Post</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.1

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>read?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>let’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.2

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
her.] ~ :

But] but

Edgehill, the first^] Edgehill^ the first,
et cetera] &c

King^ James] Kings ~

Boys^ dwelt] Boys, ~

another^ now? Are] another? now^ are

II.1

12 SD] at end of line 12

24 (Mocking them.)] Coll. mocking ~

39 is, Colonel.] is^ ~

88.1 Enter [JAMES] the Butler.] Enter ^ the ~

90&c. S.N. JAMES.] Butler

91.2 SD] Just. & But-/ler (to left of line 92)

153 said —] said ^

207 SD] 1677 omits

237 SD] at end of line 238

II.2

0.1 S.N. MASTER COOK.] Master.

31 Dear. Here ] ~, here

36 Cook.] James,

38 Custards. Come on.] Custards. ^ ^ (^Come on.’ at line 39).

38.1 Mall eats] She ~

63 Cook.] James.

78.1 [Master Cook] kisses her] Kisses ~ (to left of line 79)

91.1 [Master Cook] kisses her] Kisses ~ (to left of line 92)

96 Want!] Want l

109 nothing.] ~,

109.1 SD] 1677 omits

139 Call, then^ ] Call^ then,
II.3  Scene 3] 1677 omits
56.1-2 Enter ... NODDY, and [JAMES] the Butler.] Enter ... Noddy, and ^^~
61.1  SD] 1677 omits

II.4  Scene 4] 1677 omits
76  skill. (He... Pocket.) Ha,] skill, [He... ~ ha,
98.1  the Justice's] his  (SD moved from line 97.1)

III.1
0.2  SIR JOHN NODDY, CODSHEAD,] Sir John^ Codshhead,
25  SD] Col./ to Isab. (to left of lines 25-26)
35  SD] at end of line 35
72  it is Cousin.] is it Cousin?
96  I'm] Im'
112.1  SD] 1677 omits
117.1-2  SD] at the end of line 117
118  How] how
129  SD] Col. to/ Isabel. (to left of lines 129-30)
177  SD] to left of line 179

III.2  Scene 2] 1677 omits
6  Sufferer.] Sufferer;  | SD] 1677 omits
35  SD] at end of line 36
52.1  SD] at end of line 51
57  SD] at end of line 58

III.3  Scene 3] 1677 omits
0.1-2 Enter ... [MASTER] COOK, ... under-Cooks ] Enter ... ^ Cook,...under-Cooks
(moved from III.2.147.1)
1&c. S.N. MASTER COOK.] *Cook.*

51 *down] done

86 therefore] ther‘fore

**III.4** Scene 4] 1677 omits

16 he is] he’s ∼

45 SD] to the left of lines 45-6

50 SD] 1677 omits

51 SD] 1677 omits What] what (at line 50)

100 heart. [To Isabella] Madam] heart, (omits SD) ∼

273 (Kicks him.)] Col. kicks / him. (to the left of lines 273-4)

276 ne’re] n^‘re

289.1 *Lady, Isab.*) Lady^~

**IV.1**

25 et cetera] &c.

25.1 SD] at line 22

101 ISABELLA.] Is^‘h.

117 SD] at end of line 117

120 SD] 1677 omits

130 SD] 1677 omits

134 SD] 1677 omits | mad, sure.] ∼ ^ sure; sure,

136 SD] 1677 omits

140 SD] at end of line 140

144 SD] 1677 omits

151 SD] 1677 omits

154 SD] 1677 omits

155 SD] 1677 omits

180 SD] at beginning of line 180

**IV.2** Scene 2] 1677 omits

0.2 Enter]AMES [the Butler.]] ~ ^ ~ (moved from IV.1.184.1)

12-13 Hang-pannier.] Hang-panni^‘r.
62.1 SD] 1677 omits
66.1 SD] 1677 omits

IV.3 Scene 3] 1677 omits
26 SD] 1677 omits
36 SD] 1677 omits
125 2 ROGUE.] 1 ~

IV.4 Scene 4] 1677 omits
13.1 [Doctor] anoints [Crambo’s] Head] He ~ his ~
47.1 SD] 1677 omits
49.1 Enter [JAMES] the Butler.] Enter ^ ^ ~

IV.5 Scene 5] 1677 omits
25.1 Enter [GERVAS as] the CONSTABLE] Enter ^ ^ ~ Constable
60 SD] at end of line 60
74 Methinks] methinks
82 Geogrecum?] Geogrecum,
91 SD] at end of line 92
108 SD] at end of line 109
112 we’ll] we^l

V.1
7 Post.] Post :
7.1 Enter JAMES [the Butler] and MARGERY.] Enter James and ~ (at line 8)
8 How] how
61.1 SD] 1677 omits
Enter [MASTER] COOK] Enter ^ Cook

S.N. MASTER COOK.] Cook.

Exeunt omnes.] Ex. Lady, Isabella, and Nan.

Servants, waiting] Servants^ waiting
Get] G^t
ALL. (Laughing.)] All laugh.
The Col. and Sir John draw.] They draw.
(at beginning of line 27)
SD] 1677 omissions
(Taking Footman.)] Col. taking/ James. (to the left of lines 99-100)
SD] 1677 omissions
I’le] ^le
Mrs. ~ ] Mrs^ Anne,

Enter LADY HAUGHTY, CODSHEAD.] ~ Lady, and
SD] 1677 omissions.
first. [To Haughty] ] first, (omits SD)

Enter FOOTPAD, to be hang’d, with Officers, [JAMES the Butler,
MARGERY.] and a] Enter Footpad with Officers to be hang’d, and ~
Lace?] Lace.
[1] OFFICER. Officer.

(Weeping.) [1] OFFICER. Officer.

[1] OFFICER. Officer.


[1] OFFICER. Officer.

V.5. Scene 5] 1677 omits

13.2 Enter SIR JOHN NODDY, and] Enter Sir John ~

26.1 Enter LADY … ISABELLA.^[ Enter Lady … Isabella, and

69 Operam et] Operam &

79 there is no ] there ^ no

110 [FOOTPAD.] Lady.

Record of Line-end Hyphens Retained

I.2.85 Horse-Race

II.2.4 Scalding-house

III.1.199 Holy-day

III.4.206 Partridge-feathers

IV.2.2 Chamber-maid

V.2.197 Weather-cock

V.4.7 Cloth-Close
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

British Library, Harleian MS 7267
British Library, Harleian MS 7367
British Library, Harleian MS 7650
Nottingham University Library MS Portland PwV23
Nottingham University Library MS Portland PwV24
Nottingham University Library MS Portland PwV26

Printed Books

Unless otherwise stated, editions printed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been accessed from the Early English Books Online database: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> (version current October 2009)

Behn, Aphra, The False Count, or, A New Way to Play an Old Game (London: Printed by M. Flesher for Jacob Tonson, 1682)


Cavendish, Margaret, *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle: To Which is Added the True Relation of my Birth, Breeding and Life by Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle*, ed. by C.H. Firth, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1906)


——— *Philosophical and Physical Opinions, Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London: Printed for J. Martin and J. Allestreye, 1655)


——— *The Varietie* (London: Printed for Hum. Robinson and Hum. Moseley, 1649)


Dibdin, Charles, *A Complete History of the English Stage… Collated in the Course of Five and Thirty Years by Mr. Dibdin*. 5 vols (London: C. Dibdin, 1800)


——— *De Mirabilibus Pecci, Being the Wonders of the Peak in Darby-shire, Commonly Called the Devil’s Arse of Peak* (London: Printed for William Crook, 1678)


——— *Every Man In His Humour*, ed. by Robert S. Miola (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

——— *Every Man Out of His Humour*, ed. by Helen Ostovich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)

——— *Jonson's 'Masque of Gipsies' in the Burley, Belvoir, and Windsor Versions*, ed. by W.W. Greg (London: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1952)

——— *The Magnetic Lady*, ed. by Peter Happé (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

——— *The Poetaster*, ed. by Tom Cain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)


Malcolm, Noel, and Jacqueline Stedall, eds., *John Pell (1611-1685) and His Correspondence with Sir Charles Cavendish* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)


Marlowe, Christopher, and George Chapman, *Hero and Leander: Beginne by Christopher Marloe: Whereunto is added the First Booke of Lucan* (London: Printed by Felix Kingstone and P. Short for John Flasket, 1600)

Middleton, Thomas, and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girle, or, Moll Cutpurse* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1611)

Otway, Thomas, *The Souldiers Fortune* (London: Printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes, 1681)

Ralegh, Sir Walter, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh Now first collected and Authenticated, With Those of Sir Henry Wotton and Other Courtly Poets from 1540 to 1650*, ed. by J. Hannah (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892)

Sedley, Sir Charles, *Sir Charles Sedley’s "The Mulberry-Garden" (1668) And "Bellamira: Or, the Mistress" (1687)*, ed. by Holger Hanowell (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001)


——— *The Preface To "Ibrahim"* ed. by Hugh Macdonald (Oxford: Published for the Luttrell Society by Basil Blackwell, 1947)


——— *The Rehearsal* (London: Printed for Thomas Dring, 1672)


Wilson, John, *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads* (Oxford: W. Hall, 1660)


**Secondary Sources**


Bonin, Erin Lang, 'Margaret Cavendish's Dramatic Utopias and the Politics of Gender', *SEL*, 40 (2000), 339-54

Brady, Jennifer, 'Collaborating with the Forebear: Dryden's Reception of Ben Jonson', MLQ, 54 (1993), 345-70
Brown, Cedric, 'Courtesies of Place and Arts of Diplomacy in Ben Jonson's Last Two Entertainments for Royalty', TSC, 9 (1994), 147-71
Butler, Martin, Theatre and Crisis, 1632-1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
Chalmers, Hero, 'Dismantling the Myth Of "Mad Madge": The Cultural Context of Margaret Cavendish's Authorial Self-Presentation', Women's Writing, 4 (1997), 323-40
Clare, Janet, ed., Drama of the English Republic, 1649-60 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)
Corman, Brian, Genre and Generic Change in English Comedy 1660-1710 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993)
De Mandach, André, Molière et La Comédie de Moeurs en Angleterre 1660-68 (Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 1946)
Devereaux, Simon, 'Recasting the Theatre of Execution: The Abolition of the Tyburn Ritual', Past and Present, 202 (2009), 127-74
Dharwadker, Aparna, 'The Comedy of Dispossession', SP, 95 (1998), 411-34
Dutton, Richard, Ben Jonson: Authority, Criticism (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996)


Evans, Robert C., *Jonson and the Contexts of His Time* (Lewisburg, Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994)


Forsythe, Robert Stanley, *The Relations of Shirley's Plays to the Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965)


Greg, W.W., 'Review: 'A Pleasaunte & Merrye Humor Off a Roge'', Bodleian Quarterly Record, 7 (1934), 389
Gurr, Andrew, The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642. 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
Hammond, Paul, 'Flecknoe and Mac Flecknoe', Essays in Criticism, 35 (1985), 315-29
Hirschfeld, Heather, 'Early Modern Collaboration and Theories of Authorship', PMLA, 116 (2001), 609-22
Holland, Peter, The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)
Holman, Peter, Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)


———'Plays and Pies: Seventeenth-Century Predecessors of Warburton's Cook', *N&Q*, 51 (2004), 373-4

———*Studies in Attribution: Middleton and Shakespeare* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1979)

Jacquot, Jean, 'Sir Charles Cavendish and His Learned Friends ', *Annals of Science*, 8:1, 8:2 (1952), 13-27; 175-91


Knowles, James, "In the Purest Times of Peerless Queen Elizabeth': Nostalgia, Politics, and Jonson's Use of the 1575 Kenilworth Entertainments', in The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 247-67

———“‘Songs of Baser Alloy’: Jonson's Gypsies Metamorphosed and the Circulation of Manuscript Libels" HLQ, 69 (2006), 153-76

———“‘We've lost, should we lose too our harmless mirth?’: Cavendish's Antwerp Entertainments', in Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648-1660, ed. by Ben Van Beneden and Nora de Poorter et al (Antwerp: Rubenshuis and Rubenianum, 2006), pp. 70-7

Kunz, Don R., The Drama of Thomas Shadwell (Salzburg: Institut Für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1972)


Lennep, Van, 'Nell Gwyn's Playgoing at the King's Expense', HLB, 4 (1950), 405-8


Linthicum, M. Channing, Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972)

Loftis, John, 'Dryden's Comedies', in Writers and Their Background: John Dryden, ed. by Earl Miner (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1972), pp. 27-57


———English Clandestine Satire 1660-1702 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)


———'Shadwell, Rochester and the Crisis of Amateurism', RSELC, 20 (1996), 119-34


McDonald, Charles O., 'Restoration Comedy as Drama of Satire: An Investigation into Seventeenth Century Aesthetics', SP, 61 (1964), 522–44


Moore, Robert Etheridge, Henry Purcell and the Restoration Theatre (London: Heinemann, 1961)


Perry, Henry Ten Eyck, *The First Duchess of Newcastle and Her Husband as Figures in Literary History* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1918)


———'Restoration Stage Fiddlers and Their Music', *Early Music*, 7 (1979), 315-22

———“...To Make Amends for One Ill Dance”: Conventions for Dancing in Restoration Plays', *Dance Research Journal*, 10 (1977-8), 1-6

Raber, Karen L., ‘“Our Wits Joined as in Matrimony: Margaret Cavendish’s *Playes* and the Drama of Authority’, *ELR*, 28 (1998), 464-93


———'Non-Verbal Meaning in Caroline Private Theatre: William Cavendish's and James Shirley's *The Varietie* (c.1641)', *TSC*, 21 (2006), 195-214

255
Rees, Emma L.E., Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Genre, Exile (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)
Rowe, Nick, ‘My Best Patron’ William Cavendish and Jonson's Caroline Dramas’, TSC, 9 (1994), 197-211
———'Jonson, The Sad Shepherd and the North Midlands', The Ben Jonson Journal, 6 (1999), 49-68
Scott, Virginia, Molière: A Theatrical Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
Siegfried, Brandie R., 'Dining at the Table of Sense: Shakespeare, Cavendish, and The Convent of Pleasure', in Cavendish and Shakespeare: Interconnections, ed. by Katherine Romack and James Fitzmaurice (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 63-83


———"Reade in One Age and Understood I' th' next": Recycling Satire in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', Huntington Library Quarterly, 69 (2006), 67-82


Spraggs, Gillian, Outlaws and Highwaymen: The Cult of the Robber in England from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century (London: Pimlico, 2001)


Spurr, John, 'Perjury, Profanity and Politics', TSC, 8 (1993), 29-50


———Players’ Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979)

Steggle, Matthew, Richard Brome: Place and Politics on the Caroline Stage (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)


———Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001)


Thirsk, Joan, 'The Sales of Royalist Land During the Interregnum', The Economic History Review, 5 (1952), 188-207


Tomlinson, Sophie, Women on Stage in Stuart Drama (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Towers, Tom H., 'The Lineage of Shadwell: An Approach to Mac Flecknoe', Studies in English Literature, 1550-1900, 3 (1963), 323-34


Turberville, A.S., A History of Welbeck Abbey and Its Owners (London: Faber and Faber, 1938)


———‘Nell Gwyn’s Playgoing at the King’s Expense’, HLB, 4 (1950), 405-8


Whitaker, Katie, *Mad Madge: The Extraordinary Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, the First Woman to Live by Her Pen* (New York: Basic Books, 2002)


Woodbridge, Linda, 'Jest Books, the Literature of Roguery, and the Vagrant Poor in Renaissance England', *ELR*, 33 (2003), 201-10

——— *Vagrancy, Homelessness and English Renaissance Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001)


——— *Cavalier: A Tale of Chivalry, Passion and Great Houses* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2007)


Wynne-Davies, Marion, 'Desire, Chastity and Rape in the Cavendish Familial Discourse', in *Women Writers and Familial Discourse in the English Renaissance: Relative Values* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 140-69


*Works of Reference*


Glossarial Index

Index entries are numbered according to the act, scene and line at which they appear in the Commentary.

_Academy of Complements_, III.2.62
Adaid, adad, I.2.208
Æacus, IV.1.50
affected with, D.P., line 12
again, II.1.49
_Allons_, II.4.108
Almanack, II.4.42
Alms Tub, III.3.55
alone, II.2.8
_Amantium…est_, III.1.209
an angered, II.2.34
an’ we, I.1.172
Anacreon, IV.1.52
Anchorites, I.2.196
Anchoves, II.2.113
Angel, IV.4.9
answer’d, V.3.13
answered with, I.2.14-15
Apollo’s Court, IV.1.127
Apostle-Spoons, IV.5.103
Apricocks, IV.1.70
Arabian Gums, III.2.89
arch, II.1.93
Arm, II.2.9
Arraignment, III.1.12-13
arrant, III.4.14
Assizes, IV.5.108
Astronomy [false], IV.1.66
Attorney, I.1.33

back-house, II.2.81
Back-sword, IV.3.13
Bacon [Francis], V.2.7
Bacon and Walnuts, IV.5.80
Ballads, Ballets, I.1.143, 144
Bands, I.2.77
Banes, I.1.12
Beards, I.1.86
_Beati pacific_, IV.3.98
Beaumont, Francis, IV.1.71
Bill-men, IV.5.25.1
bind…to good Behavior, III.4.93-4
Bisk, III.4.247
Bitter, Powt, and Tart, III.1.107
Bodkins, I.1.126
Boiler, II.2.1
bolt, II.2.82
boon Companion, V.2.224
Boule, II.2.113
brave, I.1.94, 120
Brawn, III.3.43
break yourself on’t, I.2.255
brimmer, V.2.213
brisk, II.1.62
bucksom, III.4.26
Bumbast, III.1.164
business [dispatch a little], IV.3.52
but e’ne too well, I.1.151
butter’d meat, II.2.69, 138
Butterfly, II.1.18
Buttery, IV.4.52-3
by that, I.1.85
by the Mass, I.1.89-90
By’r Lady, IV.5.71

Cake is dow, II.2.88
Call, II.2.139
Cambrick, I.1.116
Cameleon (Cameleon), I.1.40; IV.2.44
Camp [follow the], III.4.64-5
Canary, II.1.97
Candle [searing], III.1.164
Canonical, IV.2.60
Canvas, III.1.164
Carriers Pack, IV.2.8
cast… Office, II.1.96-7
Cataplasm, IV.1.48
Catch, I.1.57; V.2.218
Caudle-cup, IV.4.48
caudled, I.2.89
Caudle-maker, III.1.148
Cavalier [give over being a], II.1.168
Caviary, V.2.3
Celestial fire, IV.4.17; V.5.1
Chamolet, I.2.76
Championions, V.2.3
Charter of Rogue, I.1.40–1
Cheat, I.1.60
Cheshire, III.1.93
Chine, II.2.112; III.3.40
chippings, III.1.172-3
cholerick, III.4.277
Circuits, I.2.44
Cittern, II.2.37
Civet-Cat, I.2.63
Clap, II.3.89
clinch, IV.2.49
Clinchers, III.1.8; V.2.165
clinching, D.P., line 12
Cloris, III.1.134; V.5.53
clouded…fogs…fumes, II.1.197-8
cog, II.4.49
Coiffs, I.2.121
come home, IV.5.68
‘Come Maids’ [song], I.1.107
Comerogues, IV.5.132
comfort and confirm, I.1.56
Conies, II.1.176
conster and perse, I.2.102
consumptions, I.4.13
‘Cook Laurel’ [song], III.4.218
Copy of Verses, II.2.80
Cordial-water, III.4.198
Coriats Crudities, II.2.13
Corset Thimble, III.1.146-7
Counter, IV.5.39
Cousin German, IV.3.86
Coxcomb, D.P., line 9
Crevices, III.3.47
cross purposes, III.2.79
cross (= coin), II.4.85
cross (= contrary), III.2.142
crude, IV.4.27
cruel, IV.2.24
Cum socio…fingas, V.2.63
Cupids Bow, III.2.80
cur’d [what cannot be], III.2.21
curiously, I.1.121
Custards, I.2.75
Da God, V.3.20
Daemon languebat, V.2.62
Death’s head, V.4.73
Derby Cans, III.3.6
Derby measure, II.2.115
Derbyshire Horn-pipe, III.4.188
Desert…Banket, III.4.254
Devil is in it, IV.1.155
Devil, [shame the], III.1.183-4
difference of persons, II.1.156
Dioper…Pippin, V.2.167
Dog-bolt, III.1.169
door [hold, for a need] III.1.149
doubt, II.1.190
Doxies, I.1.132
Drible-tail, IV.2.11
drawlatch, IV.2.7
Dresser, II.4.90.1
Drill, IV.2.11
drunk as a Drum, V.2.177
drunk as an Owl, II.1.113
Dub a Dub, III.4.8
Duels, IV.3.11
dump, I.2.138
Dunstable High-way, III.4.82-3
durst, IV.2.62
e’en, III.1.182
easie rates, II.4.48
Edgehill, I.2.35
egregiously, V.2.60
Empiricks, II.4.44
engaged, III.2.22
terains, I.2.57
Entry, I.2.48
Epicrot, IV.2.35
Epigram, IV.2.36
even, IV.5.126
Exchange, I.2.16
exploded, I.2.195
extemporary, II.2.89
facetious, II.1.62; III.4.17
faggot, IV.3.128
fain, V.1.14
‘Fair Rosamonde’ [song], III.4.116-27
Faith and Troth, I.2.203
Fanaticks, I.2.210
Fancy, II.1.200
fantastically, III.4.83
fast and loose, V.1.57
Fees, II.2.7
Fellow, III.3.9
Filly, fally, IV.5.82
firkt, V.2.156
fit (= musical item), III.3.66
fit (= punish), V.2.21
flesh [gone the way of all] III.1.119
Fletcher, John, IV.1.71
flux, IV.4.5
Fool (= pudding), III.4.230
Fool [of God’s making], III.1.89
foolish Animal Man, II.4.20
Forlorn Hope, III.3.50
Fortune, II.3.21
French Lampoons, III.4.248
French Railleries, III.4.248
Friend, III.4.296
fulsome, III.1.86
Fumes, III.4.296; IV.4.32
Fustian, I.1.94; IV.1.40
fy, II.2.92
‘Fy, Fy’ [song] II.2.39

Gad save you, II.1.6
Gadbury, John, II.3.87
Gallows field, IV.1.184
Gallows, III.4.295
Galloon Lace, V.4.9
Gammons, III.3.35
Garters, I.1.118; IV.2.24
gemini, II.2.72
Genius, V.2.95
Geofails, I.2.47
Geogrecum, IV.5.82
Gingerline, V.4.7
golden Calf, II.4.13
Gold-finder, IV.2.32
Good lack a day, III.2.71
Good people take warning I.1.48
Goody, II.4.29
Goose, III.1.28
Governor, I.2.15
Grace, I.1.166
Grammian, I.1.100
Grand Signior, III.3.83
Grays-Inn, III.4.180
Greek [give the lie in], IV.2.50-1
green Gown, I.1.203
Gudeons, IV.5.33
Guimmies, IV.1.176; V.2.277
Gull, III.1.36
Gutter, V.2.189
gyved and fetter’d, III.2.121

Habit of Fidler, III.3.73
hair [to a], III.4.106
hanging and marrying day, V.1.81-2

Hang-pannier, IV.2.12-13
happy, V.2.52
hard by, I.1.14
hatter’d, III.2.3
heart-burnt, II.1.162
Helicon(s), III.4.222; III.2.102
Hemp [smell of], IV.5.40
hemp, I.1.11
Heroick Poet, D.P., line 10; I.1.208-10
Herringman, H., Title-page
Highlanders, IV.4.63
Hinde [James], V.4.4
His Royal Highnes’s Servants, Title-page
Hogs grease…Rind of Walnuts, II.3.17
Holland veal, IV.5.40
Holland (cloth), IV.3.137
Holland-lace, IV.2.42
Holland Veal, IV.5.40
home, I.2.94
Homer, IV.1.48
hoop her Barrel, IV.2.66
Horace, IV.1.61
Horse-flesh, I.2.60
Hue and Cry, II.3.53; IV.3.104; IV.5.25.1
hufty tufty, III.2.47
Humours, Title-page
Huswife, V.1.50

‘I dote’ [song], III.4.132-41
I vow, II.1.144
Ice [break the], III.2.26-7
ignorance…excuse, IV.1.13
ill Cook…licks his fingers, II.2.70-1
in the way to, I.1.211-12
Incle, I.1.216; IV.2.25
inclin’d [how they are], V.2.173
indented, IV.2.23
ingram, II.3.105
Interlude, IV.4.58
intosticated, I.1.71
Ipsum factum, IV.5.123

Jack, II.1.43
Jades trick, II.1.201
Jail bird, IV.2.9
jerk in the Ham, II.1.83.1
Jilflert, IV.2.14
juggled, II.3.42
justifie, V.1.26
kickshaw, III.4.187
kinded, II.2.86
know, I.1.88
la, II.1.20
Law, V.4.40
Lawn, I.1.116
Lazer, IV.3.20
Letter of Attorney, I.2.46
Libels and Lampoons, V.2.150-1
lick-trencherly, IV.2.12
light of, III.2.91
light (= plunder), II.3.18
lighted, II.4.64
Lilly, William, II.3.87
Line of Honour, II.3.108
Liquorish, IV.1.75
live’s [as], III.1.37
Livery [put in], III.1.27
Lolpot, IV.2.6
Long-Lane, V.4.11
Love is a Boy, I.1.85–6
Love-felony, II.1.126
loves [of all], II.2.22–3
Lucan, IV.1.67
made fast, V.1.55
Maid, I.1.159
mainly, II.3.15
make a Cat speak, II.1.98
Make-bate, IV.2.8
makes much, II.1.76
malepert, IV.2.9
March beer, II.1.97
mark [hit the], V.5.99
Marry come up, III.1.148; IV.2.4
Marry Gip, IV.2.14
Marston-Moor, I.2.36
Martial, III.4.233
mawdlin, III.4.15
maws, III.3.57
mealy-mouth’d, II.2.83
meditating for, III.2.53
Medley, Title-page
melting Soul, V.5.105
Memento mori, V.4.74
Meridian of the Court, II.4.42
Mich’y...ye, II.2.125
middle finger, III.1.146
Milford-Lane, I.2.197
Milliners Oaths, I.2.217
Mimick Dance, V.5.9.1
Mine, II.4.107
Minos, IV.1.50
Minoutes, III.4.185
Mittitut...datur, V.2.39-40
Monkey-tricks, D.P., line 14
Monopoly, III.3.80
Mother [Fit of the], III.4.204-5
mouths, III.3.19.1
Mr. Murrials [horse], V.2.116
Mungrel, IV.2.9
muting, I.2.81
Myrmydons, II.2.131
nail [upon the], IV.1.176-7
Naseby, I.2.35
naughtily, V.1.28
neer, II.4.39
Newbery, I.2.36
Newcastle, Wm. Cavendish, Title-page
nice, I.2.129
nick [in the], V.4.104-5; Epilogue by
Footpad, line 5
Nightingal(s), I.1.137; IV.4.67-8
Nils...Crockadils, IV.5.87
Nimming, IV.2.41
‘Nine Lady Muses, The’ [song] III.4.219
ninth part of a man, IV.2.39
Nit, IV.2.7
Noble, II.3.12
Noel, V.2.156
notable vein, I.1.149
Number [music moves with], III.3.63
Oaths [see Milliners oaths], I.2.217
Cobler, I.1.169
odoriferous, IV.1.11
of all, I.2.128
of, II.2.37
‘Oh the brave jolly Gypsie’ [song] II.3.32
‘Oh my dear pretty Soul’ [song] III.4.165
Oke, III.4.29
old Dog at, V.2.190
Old-Baily, I.2.74
Olio, II.2.1; III.4.247
Omnia...porto, IV.5.5-6
Operam...perdidi, V.5.69
order’d, II.2.24
ought, II.1.51
overjoy’d, V.2.114
over-set, V.3.52
Ovid, IV.1.63
Owl, III.1.37

paid, V.2.160
pair, II.4.1
Parish care, I.1.209
Parish Hands, I.1.181
Parnassus, III.2.105; III.4.220
Partridge feathers [burn], III.4.206–7
parts, III.4.84
Passion on me, III.3.34
Pastor fido, IV.1.76
Pembrook-Hall, V.2.122
Pepper [take up the nose], IV.2.4
Petticoat, I.1.95
petty School, IV.5.57–8
Physick Schools, III.2.109
Physiognomy, IV.5.56
Pick-tooth Cases, I.1.130
Picture, I.1.196
Pindar, IV.1.52
Pipe, III.3.2
pish, II.2.92
pith, I.1.88
plaguily, IV.1.21
Plaice, III.1.1
plash, II.4.65
Plum-porridge, II.2.31
Plush, V.4.8
Poet [not made, but born], IV.4.20
Points, I.1.124
Posies, I.1.119; III.4.249
poste, II.1.67
Potargo, V.2.3
powder’d, III.3.26
Pox [to you], I.2.226; IV.2.1
Practice of Piety, III.1.202
Prat [Mr], V.2.136
precious, V.4.41
Presbyterian Expositions, II.2.13
presently, II.2.113
Presidents, I.2.120
Prick-louse, III.1.162
Prins Works, II.2.12
Privy Council, V.2.161
Professions, I.1.21
proper, V.4.42
Psalter, III.1.200
Ptolomy, II.3.16
Pullen, II.3.39
pump, I.2.154
Purchase, II.3.11
pure, I.1.128
purpose[to the], III.3.84
purtest, II.2.79
put about, V.2.112
put me out, II.1.177
Quack-salvers, II.4.43
Quean, IV.2.49
Questions and Commands, III.2.78–9
quick-sighted, II.1.225
Quick-silver, IV.4.9
quiet, V.5.116
Quorum, III.4.37
Radamanthus, IV.1.50
Ragamuffin, IV.2.7
Rakehel, V.2.146
Range, II.2.6
rank, III.1.169
Rappers, II.1.188
rare, rarely, I.1.113, 136
Rawly, V.2.152
reason [has], V.2.272
Rebuses, V.2.150
Receipt, II.4.32
Refactor, IV.2.19
regarded, I.1.95
Reserve, III.3.51
Resort, I.1.16
Reveller, III.4.180
reward, V.2.18
right hand, III.3.88
Rimer, II.1.207
roaring boys, I.2.197
Roman, III.3.90
Rose [under the], IV.3.94; V.2.263
rowl, III.4.166
Rush-candles, II.2.107
rustick, II.1.231
Sack, II.1.4
Sallet-oil, II.1.36
Sallets, II.2.139
salute, II.4.59.2
sans, III.3.5
Satyr, III.4.246
Scab, IV.2.12
Scalding-house, II.2.4
Scanderbag, IV.2.6
Scholard, V.4.76
scrips, III.3.57
Scurff, IV.2.7
scurvily, II.4.8
scurvy, III.1.156, 161; IV.2.15
sequestred, III.2.3
Service, III.1.135.1
sev’ral, I.1.124
Shall I, Shall I, V.3.50
shift and divide, II.3.126
Shillings, II.2.19
shrewd, IV.1.35
similizing, II.2.59
Snuff, [go], IV.2.4
so, I.1.77
Son of a Whore, III.2.83
Sop, II.2.51
Sophisters, III.1.13
sot, III.4.132
sound, III.4.201
’sounds, II.2.99
’sSpanish Lady’s love to an English Gentleman’ [song], III.4.109-10
Spanish Needle, III.1.146
spend, II.2.6
spice, IV.4.4
Spittle, IV.2.8
Spleen, III.4.191; IV.4.3
splenetick, II.1.196
Square [go upon the], III.2.1
Stamel, I.1.95
stand, V.4.62
staple, I.1.11
Statute legal, III.3.79
stay but, II.2.75
stay on, V.4.64
Stay, V.1.75
stir, I.1.78
Stone, II.2.19
Stoppers, I.1.133
straight, I.1.125
Strangers, II.3.18
strangest, II.2.28
stubble Goose, V.2.188
stumble, IV.5.77
Sugar-candy, IV.1.75
Sullibubs, I.1.80
Summers day [as one shall see], III.1.34;
V.4.42-3
sunk, IV.5.4
sup, V.2.32
Swear the Peace, III.4.283
swing, [take my full] II.1.130-1
take…on the pate, II.1.69
Tart, III.4.234
Tawdry [Mrs], IV.2.47
Terms, I.2.43
‘There was a rich Merchant Man’ [song], III.4.153-60
thereabout, V.3.7
Thespian Spring, III.4.255
thin as a Shrimp, II.1.154
tihie, III.1.55
till death them depart, I.1.34-5
till your mouth be cold, II.1.107-8
Todpool, IV.2.19
Tope, II.1.79
train, IV.3.95
Trillo, III.4.161
Trinkets, I.1.105, II.3.8-10
Tripes, III.3.44
Triumphant, Title-page
troll, I.1.121
Turkish Mute, I.2.243
twittle twattle, I.1.83-4
Tyburn, I.1.48
Tyring-room, I.1.3
ure, III.3.87
vacation, V.1.4
Vails, IV.2.41
vapours, III.1.134
Venue, IV.3.14
Venus Trench, II.3.77
Vermilion, IV.1.10
Vermine [powder’d with], IV.2.18
Virgil, IV.1.57
wag, D.P., line 13
want, II.2.95
warrant, III.2.141
washing blow, IV.3.108
Wastcoat, I.1.94

Wax, I.1.34
Westminster, I.2.120; IV.5.11
Westphalia, II.2.113; III.4.237; V.2.6
‘What if... Thumb’ [song], V.2.222-32
what is it that you lack? I.1.107; II.1.177
‘When as King Henry’ [song] III.4.116
white Devil, II.1.173
whorson, V.2.151
Widgeon, IV.2.10
windes, V.4.9
Windsor, III.1.95
with you, IV.5.95
Wits [Court Wits], III.1.5; V.2.164
Woodcock, III.1.30
Workes [Jonson], IV.1.80
wrest, V.2.206
wriggled, III.3.43
Wriggle-tail, IV.2.14

Yard, III.1.145
yoke, I.2.53; II.4.28

Zounds, I.2.250