A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY THEATRICAL REPERTOIRE.

THE British Museum Egerton MS. 1994, a folio volume of 349 leaves, containing fifteen plays, is well known to scholars. Their attention was first prominently called to it by Mr. A. H. Bullen in the second volume of his 'Collection of Old English Plays' (1883). In this volume Mr. Bullen printed two of the plays in the manuscript 'Dicke of Devonshire' and 'The Lady Mother,' and in an appendix he gave an account of the contents of the manuscript as a whole, with short illustrative quotations. In the fourth volume of his collection he printed another play from the manuscript, 'The Captives.'

It must always rank as one of Mr. Bullen's greatest services to Elizabethan scholarship that he was the first to recognise the importance of this Egerton MS. But he was concerned with it, in a sense, incidentally. He was not dealing with the manuscript as a whole (except for the summary of its contents in the appendix), but merely using it as one of the sources of his Collection. He, therefore, did not enter into any detailed examination of the problems raised by it from the point of view of bibliography, or of stage history.

It is somewhat surprising that in the more than thirty years that have passed since Mr. Bullen's Collection was issued, the manuscript has attracted so little attention from scholars. So far as I know, only one further play from it has hitherto been printed. In 1870, Halliwell-Phillipps had issued eleven copies of a historical drama, which has no title in the manuscript, but which he called 'A Tragedy of King Richard the Second, concluding with the Murder of the Duke of Gloucester at Calais.' In 1899 this play was reprinted from the manuscript by Prof. Wolfgang Keller in the 'Jahrbuch' of the German Shakespeare Society, under the title of 'Richard II. Erster Teil,' with an introduction and textual notes. In 'The Fortnightly Review' for September, 1902, I discussed some of the features of the play, and attempted to trace its relation to Shakespeare's 'Richard II.'

I have recently made a transcript of another historical drama contained in the manuscript, 'Edmond Ironside,' and of this I hope soon to publish an account. Some features in the copy of this play led me to examine the volume as a whole, and I believe that I can throw some additional light on its *provenance* and its place in stage history.

The manuscript was bought by the Museum at the sale of Lord Charlemont's library in 1865. Sir George Warner thought that it was one of the volumes of manuscript plays bequeathed to Dulwich College by the actor, William Cartwright, the younger, towards the end of the seventeenth century. His theory was that it was among the documents borrowed from the college for long periods

by Edmund Malone, and that Malone had lent it to his friend, Lord Charlemont, who never returned it. I think that from internal evidence I can now bring some support to the view that the volume was one of Cartwright's legacies.

The volume contains the following plays: (1) 'The Elder Brother,' (2) 'Dicke of Devonshire,' (3) 'The Captives,' (4) 'Calisto,' (5) 'Edmond Ironside,' (6) a Charlemagne romance play, (7) 'The Fatall Maryage' or 'A second Lucreatya,' (8) 'Richard II,' (9) 'The Lady Mother,' (10) an allegorical Masque, (11) 'The two noble Ladies,' (12) 'The Tragedy of Nero,' (13) 'The Poore Mans Comfort,' (14) 'Loves changelinges change,' (15) 'The lanchinge of the Mary' or 'The seamans honest wyfe.'¹ All are anonymous, though in the case of the concluding piece, the dramatist's initials (W. M.), are given. But there is no doubt about the authorship in several cases. The 'Elder Brother' is Fletcher's comedy, first printed in 1637. From Sir Henry Herbert's office-book we learn that 'The Captives' was by Thomas Heywood, and was acted by the Cockpit Company on 3rd September, 1624. 'Calisto,' which follows it in the manuscript in the same hand, is a cento of episodes from Heywood's 'The Golden Age' (1611) and 'The Silver Age' (1613). 'The Poore Mans Comfort,' printed in 1655, is by Robert Daborne. Mr. Bullen has claimed 'Dicke of Devonshire' doubtfully for Heywood, and 'The Lady Mother' certainly for Glapthorne.

¹ Titles are wanting in the manuscript for 1, 3, 6, 8 and 10. Each play is written in a different hand except 3 and 4.

Although the Egerton manuscript itself is no guide to the authorship of the plays, it contains, in certain cases, important information about the performances. At the end of 'The Lady Mother' there is an official note in the handwriting of William Blagrave, the Deputy to the Master of the Revels: 'This play call'd the Lady Mot[her]¹ (the Reformatiōns obseru'd) may [be]¹ Acted October the xvth, 1635.' 'The Masque,' which (as Mr. Bullen has pointed out) includes a passage from Chapman's 'Byron's Tragedy,' has beneath the *nomina aëtorum* the date, 'August 5th, 1643.' This is after the outbreak of the Civil War, and can scarcely be that of a first (if of any) performance. 'The Two Noble Ladies' is described as 'A Tragecomicall Historie often tymes acted with approbation At the Red Bull in St Johns Streete By the Company of y^e Revells.' The last piece in the volume, 'The lanchinge of the Mary'² or 'The Seamans honest wyfe,' has at the end the following official notes by Sir Henry Herbert:

This Play called 'y^e Seamans Honest wife,' all y^e Oaths left out in the y^e action as they are crost in y^e booke & all other Reformatiōns strictly obserud may bee acted, not otherwyse. This 27th June 1633. Henry Herbert.

I commande your Bookekeeper to present mee with a faire Copy hereafter and to leaue out all oathes, prophaness & publick Ribaldry as he will answer it at his perill H. Herbert.

¹ Part of the leaf is torn away.

² Mr. Bullen reads by mistake 'The May'; 'Old Plays,' II, 432.

It is evident from the official notes by Blaggrave and Herbert, and the consequent alterations that have been made in the manuscripts, that we have here the original playhouse copies of 'The Lady Mother' and 'The lanchinge of the Mary.' And this is the case also, I believe, with at least five other plays in the volume, 'The Captives,' 'Edmond Ironside,' the Charlemagne play, 'Richard II,' and 'The Two Noble Ladies.' All these pieces contain a number of annotations by hands other than those of the original scribes, bearing upon the performances at the theatre. In the first place many passages are marked for omission, either by being bracketed or being scored through. In some cases this has been done to meet the objections of the Master of the Revels, but more frequently to shorten the piece for the 'three hours' traffic of the stage.'

Additional entries and exits have also been marked, and directions have been inserted about music, properties, and stage paraphernalia generally. Thus in 'The Captives,' at the beginning of Act I, Scene ii, a 'chaire' is entered in the margin, doubtless for the Abbot who here enters 'with his covent of Fryars.'¹ At the beginning of Act I, iii, where the original manuscript has the stage-direction 'A greate Tempestuous Storme,' a later hand has added in the margin 'Thunder,' and has repeated it about a dozen lines lower down. At the opening of Act II the same hand has added 'Storme contynewed.' Towards the close of the

¹⁶ ¹ This marginal entry is omitted in Mr. Bullen's edition.

the scene the original stage-direction is 'The bell ringes to mattens.' The later hand has inserted 'Bell rings,' as an instruction to the member of the company responsible, two lines higher up. At the beginning of II ii, 'Tempeste' and 'Thunder' have been added. In III i, Lord de Auerne (f. 61) calls for 'Som pen and Inke.' To make sure of their being to hand, the theatrical manager has added a note about sixteen lines before (f. 60'), 'Ink: paper ready,' and, when the servant Dennis enters at Auerne's call, has added 'with pen Inke & paper.' At the beginning of IV iii, Dennis enters with a Friar, who has been strangled, on his back. The direction is added 'from aboue,' and there are further marginal additions in the same scene connected with this episode.

In the Charlemagne play, where the original stage-direction (f. 119') is 'Loude musique,' another hand has added 'Hoboyes.' On folio 125 'Softe musique' has been added, on folios 119 and 134 'fflorish,' and on folio 135, towards the close of the piece, 'Deadmarche.'

In Richard II, at the beginning of Act II (f. 166), where the original direction is 'Trum-petts Sound,' in the margin 'fflorish' has been added, and the same addition is made elsewhere in the manuscript. In the same scene (f. 166') there is a marginal addition 'Booke.' This is explained about twenty lines lower where the King turns to his favourite, Busshey, and asks him: 'How now what readst thou, Bushey?' and he answers, 'The monument of English Cronicles my lord.' The manager of the company evidently

intended that there should be no mistake about Busshey having the book at the proper time. In the following scene 'Petitions,' a 'Mace' (f. 167^v) and a 'Paper' (f. 168) are noted in the margin as properties that are successively required, and in Act III, i, 'Blankes' (f. 170^v) are a similar reminder of the 'blanke charters' that are shown by the Chief Justice to the King. In Act IV, ii, before the entrance of a 'mask,' there have been added the marginal directions 'Anticke flourish Cornetts: Dances musique: Cornetts.' After the mask, before the entrance of a troop of soldiers, there is the note (f. 179) 'A Drome afare of,' and there are later notes of a kindred type.

In 'The Two Noble Ladies,' which contains unusually full stage directions by the original scribe, a number of these directions are duplicated (for no obvious reason) by the later hand, which also adds a few further notes, e.g., 'Thunder,' 'Low Larum,' 'Low March within.'

But what is of greatest interest is that four of the plays, 'The Captives,' 'Richard II,' 'The Two Noble Ladies,' and 'Edmond Ironside' contain, in addition to the other notes and directions, the names here and there of actors who played minor parts. In his edition of 'The Captives' Mr. Bullen quotes the entries in the margin of that play, but curiously misinterprets one of them. In Act III, ii (f. 61^v) some 'country fellowes' are introduced. A few lines above in the margin there is the entry 'Gib. Stage: Taylor,' i.e., the players who are to impersonate these 'fellowes.' 'Gib.' is an abbreviation of 'Gibson,' whose full name is given in Act

V, i (f. 69), where he appears as a 'Factor.'¹ Mr. Bullen, who is followed by Mr. Tucker Murray,² prints 'Stage Taylor' as if it were the name of one actor. But 'Stage' is an abbreviation of the 'Stagekeeper' (or Stagekeepers), who, in addition to his other services, took 'mute' parts. In V, ii (f. 70) we have the marginal note 'Stagekeeper as a guard.' Here the word is spelt in full. Taylor was a minor member of the company.

In 'The Two Noble Ladies' the names of the actors mentioned in 'The Captives' reappear with several others. In II, i (f. 228^v) Tay[lor] and the Stagek[eeper] form a 'guard,' and in III, i (f. 233), with the addition of Gib[son], they are 'souldiers.' In the same scene 'a Lord of Babilon with his sword drawn' is impersonated by Anth[ony] Brew. It is he who as 'Anth[ony]' had appeared with Gibs[on] in I, 4 (f. 227) as two of three soldiers who are mentioned; and again in III, iii (f. 235^v), 'Anth[ony]' and Gib[son] enter as 'two souldiers dragging' a lady. In III, iii (f. 234^v) a 'Spirrit' is impersonated by Geo[rge] Stut[field],³ and later in the scene (f. 235^v), Stut[field] and 'M^[r] Bond' appear as '2 Tritons.'

In 'Edmond Ironside,' Act II (f. 104^v), Stut-

¹ I have also found Gibson's name in a earlier Scene, I ii, where Mr. Bullen has overlooked it. The marginal note is 'Jack: Gibsen' (f. 54). As several characters enter, I think that 'Jack:' (whether a Christian name or an abbreviation of Jackson) stands for another actor. Gibson's Christian name seems to have begun with 'H.' See below, 2233 note.

² 'English Dramatic Companies,' I, 259.

³ I have to thank Mr. D. T. B. Wood, of the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum, for help in interpreting this and some other abbreviations.

f[ield] and Grad[ell] are the young sons of two English nobles. In Act III (f. 107) the latter actor appears as Herald, and his name is given in full as 'Mr. Gradell.' On the same leaf 'May' is noted as playing the part of a 'Balife,' and both in Acts II and III (ff. 105^v and 107) Gibs[on] is a messenger.¹

In 'Richard II,' Act III, ii (f. 172^v) 'George' (who may be identified with George Stutfield) is noted in the part of a servant,² and in IV, ii (f. 178), where the marginal stage-direction is 'Enter Ser[vant],' the later hand has erased 'Ser' and substituted the name of the actor, 'Toby.'³

It is clear from the interlacing of the actors' names that at any rate 'The Captives,' 'The Two Noble Ladies,' 'Edmond Ironside,' and 'Richard II' were played by the same company. It does not, of course, follow that the actors, whose names have been thus preserved, were the original creators of their (usually very minor) rôles. It will be shown that those of them whom we can identify 'flourished' in the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century. But on internal evidence of style, both 'Edmond Ironside' and 'Richard II' seem to belong to about 1590-5. 'The Two

¹ In both cases H[enry?] seems to be prefixed, but the earlier entry is indistinct, and the latter slightly torn.

² The marginal 'George' has been omitted by Wolfgang Keller in the notes to his reprint of the play.

³ Probably, like George, a Christian name, but 'Edward Tobye' is mentioned among the members of a 'Children of the Queen's Revels Company' in a licence granted by the Deputy Master of the Revels on 9th April, 1623. Cf. Tucker Murray.
16. 'English Dramatic Companies,' I, 362.

Noble Ladies' states on the title-page that it was 'often times acted . . . At the Red Bull . . . by the Company of y^e Revells.' But none of the actor's names quoted above appears in the list of 'the chiefe players at the Red Bull called the players of the Revels,' given by Sir H. Herbert in his office-book under the date 1622.¹ In the same year Herbert speaks of the Princess Elizabeth's men as the players of the Cockpit or Phœnix in Drury Lane. They were probably acting there in September, 1624, when Heywood's 'Captives' was produced, but it does not follow (as Mr. Tucker Murray infers²) that Gibson and Taylor, whose names appear in the manuscript, were members of the original cast. In any case they are not mentioned by Herbert in a list of 'the chiefe of them at the Phœnix in 1622.'³

It is not till ten years afterwards that we find the names of some of the actors mentioned in the Egerton MS. appearing in a play-list. Shackerley Marmion's 'Holland's Leaguer' was entered on 26th January, 1632, as having been 'lately and often acted' by Prince Charles' men at Salisbury Court Theatre. Prince Charles was the infant heir to the throne (born 29th May, 1630), who had become nominal patron of the famous company known successively as The Lord Admiral's, Prince Henry's, and the Palsgrave's men. 'Holland's Leaguer'

¹ Boswell-Malone, iii, 59; quoted by J. Tucker Murray, 'English Dramatic Companies,' I, 198.

² 'English Dramatic Companies,' I, 258-9.

³ Boswell-Malone, iii, 59-60; quoted in 'English Dramatic Companies,' I, 255.

contains a list of sixteen actors and their parts, among them:

Capritio, <i>a young Novice</i>	.	.	.	Henry Gradwell
Miscellanio, <i>his Tutor</i>	.	.	.	Thomas Bond
Fidelio, <i>friend to Philautus</i>	.	.	.	Edward May

Gradwell, who here is 'a young Novice,' is evidently the 'Gradell' who appeared as a nobleman's son, and afterwards as a herald in 'Edmund Ironside.' May was a bailiff in the same play, and Bond was one of the Tritons in 'The Two Noble Ladies.' The Prince's men, though they afterwards moved to the Red Bull, continued to act till 1641, when they visited Dover. Their place at Salisbury Court was taken by the King's Revels Company, which in 1635 acted there Richard Bromal's 'The Sparagus Garden.' In the same year, on 10th March, 1635, we get a list of this King's Revels Company from the Mayors' Court Books at Norwich, where they applied unsuccessfully for leave to act.¹ Twenty-eight names are given, including the leader of the company, 'George Stutvile.' This is the George Stutfield who acted a 'Spirrit' and a Triton in 'The Two Noble Ladies,' a nobleman's son in 'Edmund Ironside,' and probably a servant in 'Richard II.' Edward May, who had been associated with Stutfield in 'Edmund Ironside,' is now found in the Norwich list, having migrated from the Prince's men to the

¹ Tucker Murray, 'English Dramatic Companies,' I, 279-80. The name of the company is not given in the Norwich list, but five of the actors in the list are found in the cast of Nathaniel Richard's 'Messallina' (printed 1640), 'acted . . . divers times, by the Company of his Majesties Revells.'

King's Revels Company. And the Antony Bray, who ends the list, may probably be identified (taking into account the variants in Elizabethan nomenclature) with the Anthony Brew who had enacted a 'Lord of Babilon' and a soldier in 'The Two Noble Ladies.'

But what is specially important is that the Norwich list includes the names of William Cartwright, senior, and William Cartwright, junior. The former was in 1635 one of the veterans of the stage. As early as 21st April, 1598, Henslowe had mentioned him in his 'Diary' as the recipient with Richard Jones of a loan of 10 sh. Jones was one of the Lord Admiral's men and Cartwright appears to have recently joined the company. His name appears in the plots of 'The Battle of Alcazar' (c. 1598), 'Fortune's Tennis' (?) c. 1599, and 'I Tamar Cam,' 1602. On the death of Prince Henry, who had succeeded the Lord Admiral as patron, the company received a new patent (4th Jan., 1612-3), as the Palsgrave's men, and Cartwright is one of the fourteen players mentioned in it. When the company leased the Fortune from Alleyn on 31st October, 1618, his name appears as one of the ten lessees. He is mentioned as dining with Alleyn on various occasions till 18th August, 1622, but otherwise there seems to be no record of him till the Norwich list of 1635. He was then a member of the King's Revels Company, and it is probable that he had joined it when it began to perform at the Salisbury Court Theatre, built in 1629.

We have at any rate the authority of Wright in

his 'Historia Histrionica' (1699) for the statement that his son, William Cartwright, junior, acted at Salisbury Court, while the Norwich list shows that father and son were associates in the Revels Company. During the Civil War the younger Cartwright became a bookseller and publisher, and among the works issued by him was a new edition of Heywood's 'Apologie for Aētors,' under the title 'The Aētors Vindication' (1658). After the Restoration he joined the company formed out of 'the scattered Remnants' of players belonging to the older Houses that in 1663 established itself in the new theatre in Drury Lane under the management of Thomas Killigrew. This company, known as the King's servants, had a rival in the Duke of York's servants, under the management of Sir William Davenant, which acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields from 1662 to 1673, and afterwards at Dorset Garden. In 1682 the two companies amalgamated under the leadership of Betterton, and Cartwright's name is mentioned second by Downes among those of the King's servants who continued to act at Drury Lane after the fusion. He died in 1687.

Thus the careers of the two Cartwrights cover almost a century of stage history. They form a link between Edward Alleyn of the Fortune and Thomas Betterton of Drury Lane. And from the data set forth above we learn that almost in the middle of the period—when the father was ending and the son beginning his professional work—they both acted with some of the players whose names are found on the margins of the Egerton MS. This is not only interesting in itself, but it helps

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to confirm Sir George Warner's theory that the volume originally belonged to the younger Cartwright, and was one of his bequests to Dulwich College.

As an actor and a bookseller Cartwright had a double interest in theatrical documents, and his republication of Heywood's pamphlet proves his devotion to stage history. Thus, when the companies were broken up during the Puritan régime, he probably got possession of the theatre-copies of some of the plays in which he and his fellows had been acting. Among these were not only recently written dramas, but older works like 'Richard II' and 'Edmond Ironside,' which seem to have been part of the theatrical stock-in-trade since the days when his father first trod the stage. Doubtless he would get hold at the outset of manuscripts that had belonged to the Revels Company, but the theatrical chaos due to the Civil War, and the fusion of the old companies after the Restoration would bring into his hands plays that had been the property of other Houses. Thus it is significant that 'The Elder Brother,' the first play in the manuscript volume, originally acted at Blackfriars by the King's Men in 1637, was performed in 1678 at Drury Lane by the company of which Cartwright was a member.¹ 'The Captives' and 'Calisto' would be of special interest to him as works of Heywood, whose pamphlet he had republished. 'The Captives,' as has been seen, had been first produced at the Cockpit; so also (as we

¹ See the title-page of the quarto of 1678; quoted by W. W. Greg, 'Hand-List of English Plays,' p. 10.

learn from the 1655 quarto) was 'The Poore Man's Comfort.' 'The Lady Mother' was probably staged at the Salisbury Court Theatre, Whitefriars.¹ From all these quarters Cartwright 'conveyed' the documents which now form Egerton MS. 1994.

The world of scholars has recently been thrilled by the revival, with increased authority, of the view that three folios of 'Sir Thomas More' are in Shakespeare's own handwriting. Egerton MS. 1994, does not furnish any problem of such universal interest. But to the student of the Elizabethan and Stuart stage few volumes should appeal more than this collection of plays, precious flotsam and jetsam that have been salvaged from the 'waves and weathers of time.' Here plays of Fletcher and Heywood keep company with the amateur productions of 'W. M. Gent.,' recently back from East India. Here the censor is seen at work, cancelling, altering, threatening pains and penalties. Here, above all, are the memoranda of theatrical managers—short practical directions about music or properties, cues for the entrance of actors, of whom we get fleeting glimpses that whet our curiosity. As we turn the leaves of the manuscript we are back in the Red Bull, the Cockpit, or Salisbury Court, not with the gallants or the 'prentices in the auditorium, but in the tiring-house with the Cartwrights, Stutfield, and May, and the whole 'cry of players.'

F. S. BOAS.

¹ This is the inference, as Fleay first pointed out, from the passage in II, i: *Crackley*. Now on my life this boy does sing as like the boy at the *Whitefryers* as ever I heard: how say you Captain? *Sucket*. I, and the Musicks like theirs.