UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

WILLIAM HAUGHTON'S
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY
OR
A Woman Will Have Her Will

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
ALBERT CROLL BAUGH

A THESIS
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
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To

MY FATHER AND MOTHER
PREFACE

The present edition of *Englishmen for My Money* was presented to the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, in 1915, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. As a result of investigations carried on since it was accepted, a few changes have been made in the introduction.

In the preparation of the text no pains have been spared to produce an absolutely accurate edition. In carrying on the work a number of obligations have been incurred, which it is a pleasure to acknowledge here. To Mr. William A. White, of New York, I wish to express my gratitude for so freely putting in my hands on two occasions his copy of the first quarto. To Mr. Henry E. Huntington, of New York, I am similarly indebted for permission to make use of the two copies of the second quarto and four copies of the third quarto in his collection. In this connection I am indebted to Mr. George D. Smith for his kindness on two occasions; and to Mr. George Watson Cole I am deeply grateful for his unflagging courtesy that made my days spent in the Huntington library so pleasant. In matters touching the introduction and notes, particular obligations are recorded in their special connections. It is, however, a special pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of Professor Charles William Wallace, who not only communicated to me his discovery of Haughton's will, but gave considerable time to the investigation of one or two points in which I was especially interested. In the whole study I have been under constant obligation to the members of the English department at Pennsylvania. To Professor
Clarence G. Child I am especially indebted for his interest in all parts of the work and for his constant stimulation and encouragement. And to Professor Felix E. Schelling I owe my greatest debt. It was he who suggested the work; under his direction it was carried on; and his searching and quickening criticism at all times has prevented it from being more imperfect than it is.

A. C. B.

Philadelphia, June 1, 1917.
INTRODUCTION
I.


On the fifth of November 1597 the theatrical manager Philip Henslowe entered in his account book: "lent vnto Robart shawe... to by a booke of yonge horton for the company of my lord admeralles men & my lord of penbrockes the some of [ten shillings]." ¹ This memorandum is the first record we have of a dramatist who was connected with the Elizabethan stage for the brief period of five years, who attained but little renown in his own day, and who has remained but little noted since. Following this entry in the Diary there occur from time to time many similar jottings recording advances of various sums, mostly as payments for plays. These memoranda, except for his literary work, are almost the only materials we have out of which to construct the life and career of William Haughton.

To trace the career of a second or third rate dramatist is often attended with great difficulty. The general unimportance of such a man in his own age leaves us with few documents concerning him, and his inability to achieve fame or even to become generally known deprives us of such ordinarily available matter as allusions to him or his work. In most cases we must be content with only the scan-

tiest documentary remains and, as is to be expected, we have but the scantiest of William Haughton. The one personal incident in Haughton's life for which we have had direct testimony is that he was for a time in the Clink, a prison on the Bankside. A few new facts are here added from his will, hitherto unpublished. All other records of him that we possess concern his work as a writer of plays. We do not know when he was born or the exact date when he died, and his immediate family as well as the district in which it was situated is unknown.

The Haughton family—the name is more often written Houghton—appears to have been in England from a very early date. As far back as the time of Henry II, one Adame de Hoghton (if our source can be relied upon) held a carucate of land in the county of Lancaster.¹ Lancashire appears to have been the district originally occupied by the Haughtons and it remained the principal seat of the family for a long period. The Houghtons of Houghton Tower held in the reign of Elizabeth a position of considerable prominence in affairs both local and national, and all those who bore the name Haughton and who had any care for their pedigree attempted to trace their descent from this house. The family was not confined, however, to Lancashire. It early spread to other sections of the country and even into Ireland. The records of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show Haughtons in almost every county of England. London in the time of Elizabeth contained a large number of them representing all classes of society, and other sections of the country showed them in almost equal force if not of equal importance. References to them in the documents of the period occur with surprising frequency and we should in all probability be justi-

¹ See Burke, J., Hist. of the Commons, 1833, i. 523.
In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there appear in the record several Haughtons to whose names some interest or importance is attached in connection with their time. The first that may be mentioned is John Haughton, the last prior of the Carthusian monks of Charterhouse, in London, who was executed at Tyburn 4 May 1535 on the charge of treason, for refusing to acknowledge Henry VIII as the supreme Head of the Church of England. Frequent contemporary reference to the event attests the notoriety it obtained. Next, perhaps, may be mentioned the name of Peter Haughton, who occupied several offices in the government,—was for a time farmer of the imposts, later became a sheriff of London, and finally an alderman of the city. His death occurred in 1596. About

The writer has collected references to upwards of five hundred different individuals bearing the name 'Haughton' in the England of the time and the number can certainly be increased. Prof. Wallace says in a letter, "I come upon Haughton's by the hundreds... Few days of extensive search pass without meeting the name."

For a full account, see Froude, Hist. of England, 1870, II, 352-383.

In connection with his being farmer of the imposts, cf. Cal. State Papers, Domestic, III (1591-4), pp. 386-7; Acts of the Privy Council, XXII, 86, 513; XXIII, 180, 319, 321. For him as sheriff, see Stow, Survey, ed. Kingsford, 1908, II, 183 and State Papers as above, pp. 336, 423; as alderman, see Acts of the Privy Council, XXVI, 19, 363, 525. Other information may be found in Acts, XXIV, 330; State Papers, Dom., IV (1595-7), 18, 19, 33; and on p. 57 of the latter an interesting document concerning his income. He died, as Stow tells us (I, 197), in 1596, and the parish register of St. Michael Cornhill under date of 18 January 1596 records the burial of "Mr Peter Houghton, Alderman of this citty." (Harleian Registers, VII, 207). In 1591 he was apparently living in the parish of St. Gabriel, Fanchurch, Langborne ward (Exch. K. R. Certificates of Residence, Bdl. 177, Letter H). His father was Thomas Houghton (Stow, I, 168). His wife, Mary, married again a little over a year after his death, as appears from the marriage license granted 14 May 1597 ("Thomas Vavasor, of London, Esq., & Mary Hawghton, widow of Peter Hawghton, late one of the Aldermen of London; Gen. Lic."—Marriage Licenses Granted by the Bishop of London, Harl. Soc. XXV, 238).
the same time there appears in the records one Roger Haughton, who received certain grants from the crown and on two occasions considerable sums of money as reimbursements for ships belonging to him which had been sunk. Space does not permit the recording of details here. It must suffice to say that he appears as a man of considerable means, more or less closely connected with the government. Still better known is the name of Sir Robert Haughton who was born in co. Norfolk, studied law at Lincoln's Inn, occupied various positions in connection with his profession until he became a Member of Parliament, and from 1613, when he was knighted, until his death was a Justice of the King's Bench. Finally, Haughton seems to have been the name of Milton's grandmother on his father's side. If this is so, she belonged to a branch of the family situated in Oxfordshire, more humble than the Haughtons of Lancashire and London. These few names which we have thus been able to mention will serve perhaps to show the importance to which some members of the Haughton family attained in Elizabethan England, and especially in Elizabethan London.

It would be an interesting discovery if it could be shown that William Haughton, the dramatist, was connected with any of the persons just mentioned. But this is unfortunately not possible. Were evidence forthcoming—in the parish registers, for example—to show that the bearer of any one of these

1 Those who are interested may consult Devon, F., Issues of the Exchequer . . . James I, London, 1836, p. 5; State Papers, Dom., III (1591-4), 360; IX (1611-18), 109; VI (1601-03), 163; VIII (1603-10), 538, 613; Index Library, IV, 42, 50. See also the parish register of St. James, Clerkenwell, Harleian Registers, XVII, 136.


names had a son William, an identification with the dramatist would still not be warranted, for our problem is complicated by another circumstance. There were other William Haughtons than the dramatist living in London, and in other parts of England, at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The parish register of St. Mary, Aldermary, London, for example, records the burial 31 May 1598 of a "William Hawton"; and in the same year there was probated in the consistory court at Canterbury the will of "William Houghton, citizen and merchant tailor of London, St. Nicholas Cole Abbey." Several William Haughtons seem to have lived in the district of Clerkenwell, particularly in the parish of St. James. As early as 1577, in a will, there is mention of a "house in Turmhill-street, which one William Houghton, of London, saddler, holdeth . . . by lease"; and in the early seventeenth century the parish register of St. James, Clerkenwell, contains several records of William Haughtons. On 19 February 1629 there is the christening of a "Dorothy d. of William Haughton & Isabell vx." and on 3 June 1633 the burial of this "Isabell wife of Will'm Haughton." On 31 July 1623 there was interred "Drayner s. of Mr. William Haughton, in South Ile," and the latter was himself buried 17 September 1624. On 23 July 1641 "Will. Haughton, a lodger" was buried, and on 21 September 1647 there was interred "William s. of Henry Houghton.

1 Harleian Registers, V, 149.  2 British Rec. Soc., XXV, 200.
4 Harleian Registers, IX, 113.
5 Ibid., XVII, 208.  6 Ibid., XVII, 160.
7 "Mr William Haughton, Esq, in South Ile" (Ibid., XVII, 164). This cannot be the same as the William Haughton, husband of the Isabel above mentioned, who was buried in 1633, for she had a daughter Dorothy, also mentioned above, who was christened in 1629.
8 Ibid., XVII, 247.
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gent." 1 The burial of "Elizabeth d. of William Haughton" (probably one of the above) is recorded under date of 23 March 1623/4. Numerous other William Haughtons, within and without London, will be mentioned below or are referred to in the footnote appended to this passage. 2 We have only space here to note finally that in Weever's Epigrams, published in 1599 (ed. Mc Kerrow, p. 92), there occurs an epigram addressed to "Gulielmum Houghton," not, it would seem, the dramatist. 3 So many William Haughtons living in

1 Harleian Registers, XVII, 273.
2 There is no need here to record in detail the particulars concerning the William Haughtons whom we have not been able to mention in the text. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the following sources where he may easily find the material available: Index Library, IV, 6; Chetham Soc., IV, 28-9n; Oxford Hist. Soc., XXIII, 93; XXXVII, 244; Harleian Registers, XIII, 72; British Record Soc., XXIII, 6, 11; Acts of the Privy Council, XXII, 546; Pettigrew, T. J., Chronicles of the Tombs, Lond., 1878, p. 476; Index Lib., I, 90, 135, 159; Brit. Rec. Soc., XXVII, 122; VIII, 93; VII, 443.
3 The epigram is as follows:

In Gulielmum Houghton,
Faine would faire Venus sport her in thy face.
But Mars forbids her his sterne marching place:
Then comes that heau'nly harbinger of loue,
And ioyns with Mars & with the queen of Loue
And thus three gods these gifts have given thee,
Valour, wit, fauour, and ciuilitie.

Since Mc Kerrow in the notes to his edition (p. 122) says, "I can discover no William Houghton," it may be worth while to note here that the person referred to was probably William Houghton, son of the Thomas Houghton who was killed in a brawl at Lee Hall (Lancashire) in 1560 and who is possibly the subject of Weever's epigram 'In tumulum Thomae Houghton Armig,' (also on p. 92). This Thomas was perhaps the brother of the Sir Richard Houghton, to whom Weever dedicates the (first half of the) volume and who is the subject of epigrams on pages 91 and 112. The three epigrams on Sir Richard, Thomas and William are printed consecutively in the volume except for a tail-link. (For the murder of Thomas Houghton, see Cal. State Papers, Domestic, III (1591-4), p. 188; Chetham Society, vol. 90, p. 131; Whitaker's History of Whalley, etc.).
London, and elsewhere in England, at this period make it quite impossible to identify the dramatist. There is no reason to identify or connect him with any of the Haughtons just mentioned or with any of the more important members of the family spoken of above, although that he was not connected with them is, of course, in most cases equally incapable of proof.

Since we are so badly off for definite information concerning Haughton, our account of his life must needs be somewhat fragmentary. That his first name was William we may be altogether certain, notwithstanding the confusion that at times has existed about it and the occasional reference to him as Thomas. In Henslowe's Diary he is on all occasions save one, where the surname is used, called William, and we have in the Diary no less than eight autograph signatures, all of them showing the name correctly as William Haughton. The one entry \(^1\) in which he is called Thomas is in another hand and is obviously a mistake. In the spelling of his last name there is considerable variation. In the Diary the forms Harton, Horton, Hauton, Hawton, Howghton, Haughtoun, Haulton and Harvghton all occur beside Haughton;\(^2\) but the latter is the only spelling used in the autographs and is thus the one preferred by the dramatist himself.

The date of Haughton's birth is unknown, but we can estimate it with a fair degree of approximation. When he first appears in the Diary he is called "yonge horton," an indefinite appellation capable of a variety of interpretations. The meaning may be absolute or relative. Henslowe may have meant that Haughton was literally a youth; or he may have considered him young in comparison with the other playwrights working

\(^1\) F. 64 line 5.

\(^2\) Strangely enough the spelling Houghton does not occur. It is, however, the spelling of the will.
for him. We unfortunately know very little about the dramatists who were in Henslowe’s employ in November 1597. It is not until this date that Henslowe begins to record the names of the authors who were writing for him and when he does Haughton’s is the first that appears. Jonson, though his name occurs in the Diary as early as 28 July 1597, is not mentioned as a writer until 3 December of that year. Next, if we omit two unnamed young men, come Drayton and Munday (22 Dec.); on 8 January 1598 Dekker appears, and Chettle is first mentioned 20 February 1598. Of all these men Jonson was the youngest, being in November 1597 twenty-four; and if Haughton then was younger than the rest of the writers in Henslowe’s employ, the evidence at our disposal, though incomplete and uncertain, would lead us to presume that Haughton was less than twenty-four. On the other hand, there is

1 The question whether Dekker was connected with Henslowe’s company as early as 1590 or 1594 is of small moment in the present connection, since there is no reason to suppose that the association was a continuous and unbroken one. On the contrary the 8 January 1598 appears to mark the beginning of a new connection.

We should not forget that there is no evidence that any of these men were writing for Henslowe before the date when they first appear in the Diary, and that there may have been others not mentioned by name.

Other suggestions, probable or improbable, which might be made to account for the epithet “young” are that the dramatist was youthful in appearance, young for his years, etc., or that he was a “young writer”—a new man. It might be argued that the designation “young Haughton” implies on Henslowe’s part a certain familiarity with the dramatist at the time he made the entry; but it might be urged with equal justice that Henslowe so referred to him because he was not very familiar with him, perhaps did not know his first name. Of the latter possibility nothing can be said. In the former case, Haughton may have been writing for Henslowe before the records in the Diary begin; or he may have been known to Henslowe through some other circumstance. Henslowe had, for example, during the last five years of his life, a charwoman named Joan Horton (Cf. Greg. II, 19): but it is idle in the absence of evidence to speculate on the possibility of any connection between the dramatist and the woman here mentioned.
reason to think that he was not a mere boy. His mind shows a certain maturity, his education suggests a university training, and his knowledge of foreign languages seems greater than was common among Elizabethan youths. It is unlikely that he was under twenty when he began to work for Henslowe. Gayley has guessed the date of his birth to be about 1578. Our own deductions would place it between about 1573 and 1577. This is as much as to say he was not older than Ben Jonson and possibly a few years younger. The year 1575 or 1576 is probably not far from the date of his birth.

Of his birth place, early life and education nothing is known. The last, however, seems not to have been neglected. In his work, as we have said, we not infrequently meet with things that suggest his having gone to college. His reference to Oxford, allusions to philosophy and classical antiquity, mythological, literary, and historical,—all furnish grounds for the opinion, which has several times been expressed, that he was a university man. An attempt has been made on at least one occasion to connect him with a particular university. Cooper, in his Athenae Cantabrigienses (II, 399), identifies the dramatist with a "William Haughton, M. A. of Oxford, [who] was incorporated in that degree here in 1604." This identification has several times been doubted on general grounds, but never disproved. It is, however, erroneous. An appeal to the Registrary of Cambridge University, which was answered most courteously by his assistant, Mr. C. J. Stonebridge, revealed the fact that Cooper's identification was based upon a misreading of the records. The words of Dr. J. Venn, to whom the matter was referred, are as follows: "Cooper's statement is wrong. It was a William Langton who incorporated from Oxford in 1604. Richardson in his MS. Catalogue of incorporations, had misread the word as

1 Ward, II, 666; Bullen in D. N. D., etc.
Haughton; and Cooper followed him. On Cooper's and Richardson's authority, the mistake was repeated in the "Matriculations and Degrees," though the correct name, William Langton, there appears in its place." This of course, disposes of the whole matter. From the same authority, Dr. Venn, I learn that there is no record of early date of any William Haughton at Cambridge save one who matriculated at St. John's College in 1605, received the degree of B. A. 1608-9 and M. A. 1612. Since this can not be the dramatist, there is no evidence that Haughton was ever at Cambridge.

Even if it were not possible to show the incorrectness of Cooper's identification, evidence would be strongly against the assumption that Haughton was a Cambridge man. In the first scene of Englishmen for My Money, Anthony, the schoolmaster, is made to say:

When first my mother Oxford (Englands pride)
Fostred mee puple-like, with her rich store, ...

With a full recognition of the qualities of dramatic speech and a thorough appreciation of the danger that attends attributing to an author sentiments and opinions expressed by the characters in a play, we may still feel perfectly confident in asserting on the strength of this passage that Haughton's university was not Cambridge. No Cambridge man would have written these lines; they rather indicate on the part of the author a certain interest in Oxford, an interest possibly objective, perhaps merely local. But whatever interest Haughton had in any university, we may depend upon it, was centered in that one which he calls "England's pride." There is, however, no evidence that Haughton was at Oxford. The register of the university contains no William Haughton, of approximately this period, that is earlier than 1608 and 1614.¹ and there is no

¹ Register of the University of Oxford, vol. II (1571-1622) Part IV
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other information forthcoming. We are forced to leave the question without a final answer, but we may venture the opinion that if Haughton was a university man at all he probably received his university training at Oxford.

Haughton's dramatic career, so far as we know, extends from 1597 to 1602. How continuous and uninterrupted it was it is difficult to say. If his activity was confined entirely to Henslowe's mart it was interrupted by several very definite and at times considerable breaks, for his dealings with Henslowe fall in point of time into four rather distinct periods. During the intervals which separate these periods we hear nothing of him and he may have been working elsewhere. However this may be, all his dramatic activity that we know anything about was employed in the service of Henslowe; and the periods into which it falls may be taken as convenient sections or divisions by which to obtain a rapid survey of his work.

The first period of his activity extends from the time when he first appears in the Diary, 5 Nov. 1597, until May 1598. Though not of very long duration, and not even uninterrupted while it lasts, it is for us the most important portion of his career. During the last three of these six months he was writing his most important play, if not his only extant unaided piece, Englishmen for My Money, the play by which he is chiefly known to-day. After the last recorded payment on this play there is an interval of a year and three months during which he disappears from sight.

When he returns to view in August 1599, receiving payment for The Poor Man's Paradise, the second period of his ac-
tivity begins. At this time he began to work regularly for Henslowe, and it is here that we have, except for his first period, by far the most interesting section of his career. During the ten months that it lasted (till May 1600) he was working at tremendous speed and produced either alone or in collaboration with others no less than twelve plays. At times in this period he produced as many as three plays in one month and on occasions must have had three and even four plays under way at the same time. True, only four (or five) were his unaided work, but with all necessary allowances such a burst of industry is remarkable and is safe evidence of the fertility and facility of the man when he was in the mood.

With the entry of May 1600, however, for a play called *Judas*, Haughton's work for Henslowe is again interrupted and the next six months mark the second considerable gap in his career. His apparent inactivity this time was probably an enforced one. From the circumstance that the careers of Chettle, Dekker, Day, Hathway and Munday suffered a similar interruption in July 1600 and were not resumed until the following December and January, Greg concludes that there was a "suspension of dramatic activity from July to Nov. 1600"—a conclusion which is fully justified by the evidence. When activities are resumed, however, Haughton and Dekker are the first to reappear in Henslowe's accounts and with the payment of twenty shillings for a play called *Robin Hood's Pen'orths*, 12 Dec. 1600, Haughton's third period of activity begins.

In this term, which also lasted about a year, he was not working so intensely as before, but he managed to turn out nine plays, all except the first in collaboration with others. In this period we find him no longer writing with Dekker and Chettle

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1 This number includes *The Devil and His Dame.*
as his collaborators. Instead he is very closely associated with Day, producing with him six plays in steady succession. Hathway and Wentworth Smith are his only other co-workers in this period. In Nov. (1601) the entries once more cease and with them Haughton’s last period of real activity. It may be noted that from February to April 1602 Henslowe again suspended operations. Haughton’s absence from the Diary, however, is of greater duration, continues in fact close to a year. When he finally appears again for the fourth and last time it is only for a brief period in September 1602 when he received fifty shillings from Henslowe for a play called William Cartwright. This is our last trace of him in the Diary.

As we look back over these alternating spells of activity and inactivity, the question immediately presents itself: How was Haughton engaged during the periods when he appears, so far as Henslowe’s record is concerned, to have been unproductive? Few if any of Henslowe’s playwrights could afford such periods of leisure and there is good reason to believe that Haughton was not one who could. On one occasion, for example, when he was in prison Henslowe had to advance him ten shillings to procure his release. Again, that he was forced at times to appeal to Henslowe for small loans is evidenced by the entries “lent to w^m hawton . ijs” and “lent more ijs” in the margin of Fol. 69v opposite an entry dated 14 June 1600. It would seem to have been imperative for Haughton to have had some means of earning a living during the breaks in his activity for Henslowe. But what this means was we do not know. Some of the dramatists, such as Heywood or Jonson, were also actors; some, like Dekker or Munday, were general pamphleteers and hack writers. But there is no evidence that Haughton was either; as far as we know he was only a dra-

1 Greg, II, 372.
2 See below, p. 20.
matist. There are cases where it is certain that dramatists wrote exclusively for one company. In other cases, however, we know that it was not unusual for a playwright to jump from one company to another. Hathway, whose career is broken up very much like Haughton's by intervals during which we hear nothing of him, was probably writing, Greg suggests, "for other companies of which we have no detailed records." It is not impossible that Haughton was doing the same. This would mean that he was the author of other plays than those the names of which we know from Henslowe. The fact that we know nothing of such plays is not surprising. Haughton, like Heywood, was not in the habit of publishing his plays, but was apparently careless of his work when he had once converted it into money. To be brief, while direct evidence is lacking, there seems no more likely way to account for gaps which certainly ought to be accounted for than to suppose that during these intervals Haughton was working for other companies than Henslowe's.

It has been mentioned above that Haughton was at one time imprisoned in the Clink. The evidence for this detached biographical detail is to be found in an entry in Henslowe that runs as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Lent unto Robarte shaw the 10 of March 1599 } x^g \\
&\text{to lend wth harton to Releace him owt} \\
&\text{of the clynke the some of } \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

The date would of course be 1600, new style, and the sum equivalent to about fifteen dollars to-day. The Clink was one of the five "prisons or Gaoles" which Stow tells us were situated in Southwark; and he further describes it as "a Gayle or prison for the trespassers in those parts, Namely in olde time

1 *Diary*, II, 270.

2 *Diary*, F. 68 (Greg. p. 119).
for such as should brabble, frey, or breake the Peace on the saide banke." It should be observed that Stow merely says the prison was put to such use "in olde time." Wheatley and Cunningham (I, 426) are authorities for the statement that it was also used for debtors. This appears to have been the case. We cannot tell why Haughton was there, but it may easily have been for debt. Massinger, Chettle, Daborne and others were for a time confined there. We have other cases, too, in which Henslowe bailed his playwrights out of prison. On one occasion he lent Dekker forty shillings to discharge him from the Counter and in 1599 he advanced ten shillings to Chettle to release him from the Clink, the same sum he had lent Haughton. On the whole we need not be at all surprised that Haughton was in the Clink; on the contrary we should see in the incident but one of many evidences manifesting how typical a member he was of Henslowe's following.

Within three years after the last appearance of his name in the Diary Haughton died. His death occurred between the sixth of June and the twentieth of July 1605. That we are able to state this fact definitely is due to the researches of Professor Wallace and to his kindness in permitting here the publication of the dramatist's will. It is a nuncupative will, made *in extremis*, and witnessed by his friend and collaborator, Wentworth Smith, "and dyuers others":

\footnote{1 Stow, *Survey*, ed. Kingford, 1908, II, 55-6. Taylor, the Water-poet, has the following verses on the prisons of Southwark:

Five jayles or prisons are in Southwarke placed,
The Counter once St. Margaret's church defaced,
The Marshalsea, the King's Bench, and White Lyon,
Then there's the Clink where handsome lodgings be.

(Quoted Stow, II, 366). But Strype says the prison is "of little or no concern." Cf. Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, I, 426.}

\footnote{2 The text here given is from the transcript sent me by Dr. Wallace in a letter dated 17 Sept. 1915. Abbreviations I expand in italics.}
T[estamentum] Willemi Houghton memorandum that on the 5th daie of June 1605, William Houghton of the parishe of Allhollowes Stayninges London, made his last will, Nuncupatiue in manner & forme or in effect followinge, That is to saie, The saide William Houghton beinge demaunded to whom hee would giue his goodes, Hee answered in these wordes or like in effect, viz: I doe giue all my goodes chattells & dehtes whatsoever vnto my wief Alice Houghton towards the payment of my debtes, and the bringinge vp of my children, And I doe nominate and appoynte the saide Alice my wief, my sole Executrix, These beinge witnesses: Wentworth Smyth, Elizabeth Lewes and dyuers others:

Probatum fuit huiusmodi testamentum coram Thoma Creake legum doctore Surrogato &c Vicesimo die mensis Julij Anno Domini 1605 iuramento Alice Relicte et executoris Cui &c de bene &c Ac de pleno &c necnon de vero &c Jure &c Saluo iure &c :

From this we learn, in addition to the time of Haughton’s death, that he was married and had children, that his wife’s name was Alice, and that he was of the parish of Allhallows Staining in London. Unfortunately the parish register of Allhallows Staining does not begin until 1642, and other rec-

1The history of the parish has been written by the Rev. A. Povah, Annals of the Parish of St. Olave, Hart St., and Allhallows Staining, London, 1894. It is distressing to think how much we might know about Haughton if only the parish records that once existed were extant. ‘The heading of the earliest surviving Register, 24th June, 1642, is “Christnings continued from the former parchment booke with ended with...” That there was a former parchment Register is proved by the following entry amongst Inventory of Goods belonging to Allhallows’ parish in churchwardens’ book, “17th October 1585. One booke wherin is written all weddings, christnings & burials, and another smale Jornalle to write in again, and a gretter booke comonly cauled a lidger of p[arch]ment”. This entry of 1585 shows an ample equipment of books for the purposes of registration, viz., a waste book for rough entries, a journal into which to post the rough entries under their proper headings of Baptisms, Marriages or Burials (these two were paper books), and, finally, the parchment Register.’ (Povah, p. 334).
ords of the parish, so far as they are accessible in print, contain no allusion to the dramatist. The signature of Wentworth Smith as one of the witnesses to the will throws a pleasant light on the friendly relations that must have existed between the two former collaborators. Elizabeth Lewes, the other witness whose name appears in the document, is unknown, and even imagination cannot supply the identity of the "dyuers others".

In the course of his researches at the Record Office Professor Wallace has turned up a number of references to William Haughtons and forwarded them to me. While most of them, he is as fully convinced as I, have no connection with the dramatist, one or two may be quoted here as possibilities. Strangely enough, in the Lay Subsidies 146/396, assessment of Langbourne ward, London, no Haughton appears in Allhallows Staining or in any other parish. In neighboring parishes, however, the name is of rather frequent occurrence. In 146/393, assessment of Aldersgate ward, St. Botolph's parish, the second of the three subsidies lately granted by Parliament in 39 Eliz., dated 1 Oct. 41 Eliz. (1599) occurs the entry:

\[ Wm Houghton \ldots \ldots \ iijl\ldots \ldots \ vijs \]

This may be the dramatist. The amount is the same as for many others in this and other parishes. In the same list, the twenty-fourth name below, the entry is repeated; and Dr. Wallace notes, "I have not elsewhere seen a name duplicated in any list." There were also other Haughtons in the parish. The ninth entry below the one last mentioned is for a "John Houghton coppersmithe." Since Haughtons with various Christian names are found in parishes all around Allhallows Staining, the absence of the name from the subsidies from this parish where the dramatist died seems rather significant. Per-

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1 Perhaps Haughton's wife was a Lewes; in this case Elizabeth might be his sister-in-law.
haps he did not reside there until shortly before his death. If so, there is even greater possibility that the record from the subsidies just quoted refers to the dramatist.

From September 1602, when his name last appears in the *Diary*, Haughton is lost sight of until his death. It should be remembered that Henslowe's accounts for his expenditures on behalf of the company only continue down to 16 March 1602/3; and Haughton may have continued his connection with the stage until he died. The probability is that he did so. This, however, is a chapter of his career that must remain unwritten.  

II.

*Englishmen for My Money*—Date—Entries in Henslowe's *Diary*—Editions—Title and Plot—Sources: Usurer Motive, National Element, Minor Features—Character of Pisaro—Other Characters—The First Comedy of London Life—Relation to the Usurer Play—Popularity—Allusions—Versification.

Haughton's dramatic career begins somewhat auspiciously with the excellent comedy, *Englishmen for My Money*, or *A Woman Will Have Her Will*, his only unaided play that has come down to us. In the elaborate system of accounts which Henslowe began towards the close of 1597 the first dramatist whom he mentions specifically by name is William Haughton. The entry, which is quoted at the beginning of this introduction, is dated 5 November 1597, and records the loan of ten shillings "to by a booke of yonge horton for the company" (F. 37). The reference here is rather vague, and since no title is mentioned, it is not certain to what play the entry refers. Its form would indicate an old play, but, as Mr. Greg

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1 No connection is known between the dramatist and Robert Haughton, the actor, who is mentioned in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVIII (1912), 109, and *Malone Soc. Coll.*, I (1911), 385.

2 This entry was crossed off when later transferred to F. 43 (Cf. Greg, II, 81).
says, "the sum paid is so small that it seems likely that it was really in earnest of his Woman will have her Will." 1 This play is specifically mentioned in the next entry relating to Haughton:

lent vnto Robarte shawe the 18 of february 1598
to paye vnto horton for a comodey called a
woman will have her wille the some of . . . . . . 2

and in the undated entry which occurs between the 2 and 9 May 1598:

Lente vnto dowton to paye vnto horton
in pte of payemente of his booke called
a womon will have her wille . . . . . 3

These are the only entries in the Diary relating to Englishmen for My Money and the sum total of the amounts paid, including the ten-shilling payment, is only £2, 10s. This can hardly be the full price of the play. If it is not, there must have been payments not recorded in the Diary, for which consequently there is no record. That the play was completed, the extant editions leave no room for doubt.

In the Stationers' Register under date of 3 August 1601 there occurs the entry: "Entred for his copie vnder the hand of master Seton A comedy of A woman Will haue her Will . . . vjd." Besides the entry stands the name "William white." 4 There is, however, no edition, as is sometimes erroneously said, belonging to the year 1601. The first quarto known to have been published was that issued by this William White in 1616 with the title "English-men For my Money: or, A pleasant Comedy, called, A Woman will haue her Will." Ten years later, 1626, a second quarto was issued by I. N., i. e.

1 Diary, II, 188. 2 Diary, F. 44v (Greg, I, 84).
3 Diary, F. 45v (Greg, I, 85).
4 Arber, Transcript, III, 190.
John Norton II, with the same title; and in 1631 a third quarto was published by "A. M. [i. e., Augustine Matthews] and are to be sold by Richard Thrale." In this edition the title-page has been altered to read "A Pleasant Comedie Called, A Woman will have her Will. As it hath beene diverse times Acted with great applause." The relation of these editions to one another will be discussed below. It will be sufficient to note here that it is somewhat difficult to account for successive editions by William White, John Norton II, and Augustine Matthews. No transfer of the rights of the play is recorded and our knowledge of the three printers named does not suffice to explain with certainty how these rights passed from one to the other. The question is only of bibliographical interest and the evidence at hand will be brought forward in its proper place. We may leave the matter for the present while noting that the three extant editions are almost certainly the only ones ever published.

None of these editions of the play bears on its title-page any evidence of the authorship, but fortunately the evidence of the entries in Henslowe's Diary points so obviously to this play that no one has ever doubted Haughton's authorship of it. These entries, too, fix for us rather accurately the date of writing as the first few months of 1598, possibly also the end of 1597. So far as is known the text of the first quarto, though it was not printed till 1616, represents the play as it was originally written; at all events there is nothing to contradict this belief. True, in Act I, Scene II (lines 310-11), Frisco, the clown speaks of "the Kings English" and this, it has been said at various times, suggests some sort of revision. Mr. Greg, who has most recently repeated the statement, notes that it may be only a change introduced by the

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1 This statement appears also on Q2.

2 See p. 92.
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printer. Even this explanation, however, is unnecessary. "The King's English" was a stereotyped expression familiar in the reign of the Queen as well as in the times of her masculine predecessors or successors. It is used by Wilson in his Arte of Rhetorique 1 (1560 and all later editions) and, what is still more interesting, in the very year of Haughton's play (1598) it is used by Shakespeare in his Merry Wives (I, iv. 6) where the phrase occurs, "abusing of God's patience and the King's English." The latter instance is alone sufficient to establish the currency of the phrase in Elizabeth's reign 2 and to make pointless any argument of revision in Englishmen for My Money based on the evidence of this phrase. 3 A much more certain instance of revision, or rather alteration, is that in the 1626 edition which concerns the repression or modification of oaths and other forceful, but irreverent, expletives. Where the 1616 edition prints "sbloud I will", "Swounds", "Sbloud" (247, 600, 1030), the 1626 and 1631 quartos print "that I will", "Come" and "what". One would be tempted, from these changes, to infer that the statute against profanity had recently been reaffirmed, perhaps upon the accession of the new monarch. In other instances in the play, however, the expressions remain unaltered and the changes seem to have been

1 "...yet these fine English clerkes will say, they speake in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for counterfeiting the Kings English." (Ed. G. H. Mair, Oxford, 1909, p. 162.)

2 The only early occurrence of the phrase 'the Queen's English' that I have found is in Nashe: "...but still he must be running on the letter, and abusing the Queenes English without pittie or mercie." (Strange News of the Intercepting Certaine Letters, 1592. "To the Gentlemen Readers," Works ed. McKerrow, I, 261.)

3 I cannot see anything in Englishmen for My Money to support the statement of Mr. R. Bayne (Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit., V, 367) that, 'This play, in its general style, savours so fully of the seventeenth century that we are inclined to wonder whether any revision of it took place before 1616, the date of the first extant edition.' It has all the marks of a play written before 1600.
made merely sporadically. Apart from these few unimportant alterations made in the 1626 edition, the text as we have it shows no evidence of revision and represents probably as accurately as the average Elizabethan quarto, the play as the author wrote it.

The first title of the play is not altogether descriptive of its contents. *Englishmen for My Money* was one form of a familiar colloquial expression that appears in such variations as "London for My Money", "Yorke, Yorke, for my monie" or "Good Ale for My Money." ¹ It occurs elsewhere in Elizabethan drama—for example, in Heywood’s ² *If You Know Not Me* (I, i), in a passage that perhaps is reminiscent of Haughton’s play.³ The second part of the title was still more common and was a well known Elizabethan proverb. "Women must have their wills while they live, because they make none when they die" was one of those saws, as Hazlitt tells us, "which legal changes have deprived of their truth and application."⁴ The proverb was recorded by Manningham in his diary⁵ in 1602, the year after Haughton’s play was entered on the Stationers’ Register. In addition, the saying recommended itself particularly to the Elizabethan wit by its punning use of the word ‘will’. As Sir Sidney Lee notes, the word ‘will’, in addition to its general sense of volition, was a synonym “alike for ‘self will’ or ‘stubbornness’... and for ‘lust’, or ‘sensual passion.” It also did occasional duty for its own diminutive ‘wish’, for ‘caprice’.”⁶ In all these senses is the expression applicable to *Englishmen for My

¹ See *Ballad Soc.*, V, 411; *Roxburgh Ballads*, Lond., 1873, p. 1.
² See below p. 44.
⁵ *Life of Shakespeare*, 1916, p. 690; cf. also pp. 691-8.
Money. Elsewhere, too, the saying is found rather frequently in Elizabethan drama in the same or slightly different words. As early as Ralph Roister Doister the "Second Song" runs:

Whoso to marry a minion wife,
Hath had good chance and hap,
Must love her and cherish her all his life,
And dandle her in his lap.

If she will fare well, if she will go gay,
A good husband ever still,
Whatever she lust to do, or to say,
Must let her have her own will.¹

In Porter's Two Angry Women of Abington (Scene I, line 111), Master Barnes says to his wife, "Go to, youle have your will"; and in Lyly's Maid's Metamorphosis (II, i) there occurs the line: "Juno's a woman, and will haue her will." So frequently does the phrase occur that we must be wary of supposing that such occurrences are, as Fleay claimed of the last,² allusions to Englishmen for My Money. One or two cases there are which may conceivably be allusions to Haughton's play; and these will be noted in their proper connection. It will suffice here to observe the familiar or proverbial character of the expressions chosen by Haughton, and the popular appeal which they would make to an Elizabethan audience.

The plot of Englishmen for My Money is easily told. Pisaro, a rich Portuguese merchant, has come to England, married, and settled in London where he plies his "sweet loved trade of usury." He is the father of three lively daughters, Laurentia, Marina, and Mathea, whom he wishes to marry against their wills to three wealthy foreigners, — a Dutchman, a Frenchman and an Italian respectively. The daughters love, and are loved by, three English youths, Heig-

² Shakespeariana, IV, 551.
ham, Harvey, and Walgrave; but these unfortunately have been rather thriftless and have got into the clutches of Pisaro, have pawned their lands to him and by him are being swindled. Incidentally they hope, by a marriage with his daughters, to cancel their debts and get their property back again. This, to be sure, is not easily done and requires much trickery before it is accomplished. But finally, aided by the concerted scheming of the girls and their intriguing schoolmaster, Anthony, the English youths outwit the usurious father and marry his daughters, while the three foreign lovers are left in the lurch. When Pisaro learns that for once in his life he has been overreached, he makes the best of things, accepts his new sons-in-law, and is so far reconciled as to say as the play ends:

I see that still,  
Do what we can, Women will have their Will.  
Come, let us in: for all the storms are past  
And heaps of joy will follow on as fast.

The haste with which the average Elizabethan dramatist produced plays left little time for him to invent his plots. In most cases he took his material from any source that was conveniently at hand and there is an a priori probability in the case of any Elizabethan play that the plot is not original. Consequently we should be justified in expecting to find a source for Englishmen for My Money, or at least something capable of furnishing the suggestion for its plot. Yet a rather extended search has failed to reveal anything that can be considered a direct source of Haughton's inspiration. The play is clearly a compound of more or less familiar situations and characters. And yet these situations are combined so organically and the characters are woven into the scheme of the plot so completely that one is scarcely prepared to believe that so ingenious a combination is an original product of the author's
imagination. Upon analysis it is possible to distinguish four situations, all of them to be met with individually in other places. Two of these might be called major elements, the other two, minor elements of the story. We may call the first two the *usurer*, and the *national* motives respectively; these form the basis of the play. The latter two we may designate the *basket story* and the motive of *disguise*; these are elements of less importance, but essential to the development of the comedy.

The usurer motive is the most important in the plot of the play and is the basis of the action. The theme is as old as the Middle Ages and in its most general form may be stated as follows: The victim of a usurer contrives to marry the usurer’s daughter and thus regain his money or property. Sometimes it is the widow of the usurer whom the victim marries as in *Exemplum No. 173* of Jacques de Vitry: “A Knight whose property had been absorbed by a usurer was reduced to the greatest straits and thrown into prison. The usurer died, and the Knight contracted a marriage with his widow, and not only recovered his own property, but all that the usurer had possessed.”¹ The motive is used in several Elizabethan plays later than Haughton’s and is allied to the Jessica-Lorenzo story in the *Merchant of Venice*. In its fully developed form, however, it is not found anywhere in Elizabethan drama before *Englishmen for My Money*,² nor does it seem to occur in


² In the *Jesu of Malta* the daughter of Barabas enters a monastery. In the Jessica-Lorenzo story Lorenzo is not a prodigal and has not borrowed from Shylock. *A Knack to Know an Honest Man* and *Wily Beguiled* approach more nearly to the fully developed motive, but fail to achieve it. In *Wily Beguiled* the usurer, Gripe, attempts to marry his only daughter for money to a common fellow while she loves a poor scholar; here the resemblance to *Englishmen for My Money* ends. We have simply the familiar plot of the girl forced to marry against her choice; in this case the girl’s father happens to be a usurer. Cf. also the article by Stonex cited below.
either of those fruitful sources of Elizabethan dramatic material, the Italian *novella* and the Italian drama. Mr. A. C. Lee, whose excellent book on the sources and analogues of the Decameron is an invaluable storehouse of story material, writes me: "I cannot call to mind any Italian 'novella' bearing on the subject although it is very possible there may be one. I am inclined, however, to think that the source may rather be found in some Italian play ... than a 'novella', although I cannot fix it on any one." Prof. Toldo, of the University of Bologna, the eminent specialist on the sixteenth-century Italian comedy, knows of no Italian play containing the motive. The theme that is coupled with this story of the usurer, the attempt of a mercenary father to marry his daughter for wealth against her inclination, is a very common one. It is the basis of the usurer play, *Wily Beguiled*, the nearest approach to the plot of Haughton's play that is to be found before 1598, but at best the resemblance is slight. Thus the characteristic usurer plot, the theme of the trapper trapped, which is the central motive of *Englishmen for My Money* and is here employed in a triple manner, is, notwithstanding the fact that it goes back to the twelfth century, apparently first found fully developed in Elizabethan drama in Haughton's play.

A second element of the plot, which is made to coincide with this first motive, is what we have called the national element. The three suitors whom Pisaro has chosen as the future husbands of his three daughters are foreigners—'strangers', to use the Elizabethan word so frequently employed in the play—a Dutchman, a Frenchman and an Italian respectively. The lovers who are the choice of the girls are, however, English; and the success of the plot depends upon the triumph of the English lovers over the foreigners, and the

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1 This I learn through the courtesy of Prof. Ernesto Monaci of the University of Rome and my friend Dr. Vincenzo Di Santo.
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attendant patriotic appeal. This preference of an English lover to a 'stranger' is found elsewhere, as would be expected. There is a ballad mentioned by Hazlitt\(^1\) called "The Coy Cook-Maid, who was courted importunately by Irish, Welsh, Spanish, French, and Dutch, but at last was conquered by a poor English Taylor"; and in the Roxburgh Ballads (1873, p. 100) there is one called Bléw Cap for me, which tells the story of a Scotch lass wooed in Part I by an Englishman, a Welshman, a Frenchman and an Irishman, in Part II by a Spaniard, a German, and a Netherlander, but who at last welcomed a Scotchman. This form of patriotic appeal was a familiar one, and its appearance in Englishmen for My Money, though important, needs perhaps no explanation or 'source'.

The two features of the plot which have been mentioned above as 'minor' elements concern details of the story which have not as yet been mentioned. In the fourth act of the play Vandalle, the Dutchman, comes to Pisaro's house by night, hoping to gain access to Laurentia, the daughter of Pisaro intended for him, by assuming the disguise of her English lover. His broken English, however, instantly betrays him, and the daughters, when they have once seen through his trick, determine to teach him a lesson. While one holds him off by conversation, the others procure a large basket. This Laurentia lets down for him to enter and be pulled up to her window, telling him that in no other way can he come to her without waking her father. Unsuspecting, he enters the basket and is pulled part way up. When the basket reaches a point midway between the ground and Laurentia's window, the girls cease pulling and he is left suspended foolishly in the air until the following morning when he is discovered, to his great confusion, by the other characters, and let down.

This situation, which is conveniently called the basket-story,

\(^1\) Handbook, p. 376.
is an old and widely known motive. Mr. Greg calls attention to its occurrence in a novella of Pietro Fortini; but there are many more common occurrences of the story than in this Italian novella whose novels remained in manuscript until the eighteenth century. The most famous of all its occurrences is in that body of popular legend that grew up surrounding Virgil in the Middle Ages. Space does not permit a mention here of the many places in which the story is told of Virgil's love of a gentlewoman and "Howe the gentylwoman pulled uppe Virgilius, and howe she let hym hange in the basket when he was halfe way up to hyr wyndowe, and how the people wondered and mocked hym." and of the terrible revenge which Virgil took upon the gentlewoman. The story appears, among many other places, in English in the prose romance of Virgilus, from which the few lines just quoted have been taken, which was printed in Antwerp c. 1518 (?) and again in England c. 1561 (?), perhaps by William Copland. A similar story was told of Hypocritas and later of Boccaccio. In the Elizabethan age the trick must have been a rather familiar one for it is used or alluded to in a number of places. In the prose romance of Friar Rush the priest is caught in a basket hung

2 'Un pedante credendosi andare a giacere con una gentildonna, si lega nel mezzo perché ella lo tiri su per una finestra; resta appiccato a mezza via: di poi messolo in terra, con sassi e randelli gli fu data la corsa.' Novelle di Autori Senesi, vol. I., Milano, 1815, p. 252. The novel is No. 5 in this reprint.
3 The fullest list of references, though it is by no means complete, is to be found in Comparetti, D., Virgil in the Middle Ages, tr. E. F. M. Benecke, Lond., 1895, pp. 326 ff.
7 See Thoms, as above, pp. 436-7.
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by a rope outside a window. In Chapman's The Widow's Tears (I, i) Lysander says to Tharsalia: "But if this deity should draw you up in a basket to your countess's window, and there let you hang for all the wits in the town to shoot at; how then?" The Widow's Tears belongs to the year 1605 and the allusion may perhaps be to Haughton's play; this possibility, however, should not be pressed too far. Even Jonson alludes (reprehensively) in his Discoveries to the device of pulling the philosopher up in a basket to make the spectators of a comedy laugh: The multitude "love nothing that is right and proper. The farther it runs from reason or possibility with them the better it is. What could have made them laugh, like to see Socrates presented, that example of all good life, honesty, and virtue, to have him hoisted up with a pulley, and there play the philosopher in a basket."¹ We need not pursue further the track of this amusing device.² The frequency with which it is alluded to is sufficient to show how well known it was and to make pointless any attempt to fix with definiteness the source from which Haughton derived it.

The last element of the plot which we have distinguished scarcely calls for consideration. It is the familiar device of the disguise in which the man dresses in woman's clothes and the woman masquerades in the garb of a man. In the last act Walgrave gains access to Mathea by disguising himself

¹ Timber or Discoveries, ed. Schelling. F. E., Boston, 1892, pp. 82-3. The allusion is to the Clouds of Aristophanes in which Socrates is at one point suspended in the air. Cf. the edition by W. J. M. Starkie, London, 1911, pp. 57 ff. It is interesting to note, while speaking of the Clouds, that at line 240 Strepsiades says, "For, thanks to usury and usurers most curst, I'm spoiled and undone, and my property is distrained," (p. 65).

² It is not necessary to enter here into the possible connection of this motive with Chaucer's Miller's Tale or to notice later occurrences of it. It is found in a piece called "Li vecchi scherniti," acted in Paris 31 Dec. 1733 (Stoppato, L., La Commedia Popolare, 1887, pp. 90-91) and is still met with to-day, as, for example, in Strauss's opera, Feuersnot.
as Master Moore's daughter, and Laurentia escapes to Ferdin-
and in the guise of Anthony, her schoolmaster. The device is
such a familiar one that, as with the trick of the basket, dis-
cussion of its source would be purposeless. It may be noted,
however, that the disguise motive as here employed is not so
artificial as it is usually thought,—thanks to the fashions of
Elizabethan dress. The garb of men and women in the Eliza-
bethan age was not always so dissimilar as it is to-day and the
difficulty of distinguishing the one from the other was at times
very real. In this connection will be remembered the words of
Harrison when he speaks of the excesses of Elizabethan dress:
"I have met with some of these trulls in London so disguised
that it hath passed my skill to discern whether they were men
or women." 2

From the brief discussion of the plot of Englishmen for
My Money it will be seen that there is in this feature of the play
nothing strikingly original. Except in the main action of the
victim's outwitting the usurer and retrieving his fortune by
marrying the usurer's daughter, Haughton shows little advance
over his predecessors. Here, indeed, he shows real creative
ability in plot construction and development. But in general
his merit lies chiefly in the skill with which he weaves together
into an organic whole a variety of motives and comic situations
and in his ability to employ in the most effective way possible
elements which in themselves might easily remain common-
place.

The character of Pisaro is the most interesting in the play.
He is not what one can quite call a pleasant character, yet he
is far from repellent. He is a usurer and therefore fore-
doomed to dislike; yet, easy as it is for an author to make such

1 On the general subject see Freeburg, V. O., Disguise Plots in Eliza-
bethan Drama, New York, 1915.

a figure a scoundrel or a monster, Pisaro is neither. He calls himself a merchant and his worst qualities are to a certain extent excused by the fact that he is a Portuguese. These qualities are merely the characteristic vices of Elizabethan usurers in general, as they are represented in the writings of the day. Lodge, in his Alarum against Usurers, speaks of those “Merchants, who though to publyke commoditie they bring in store of wealth from forrein nations, yet such are their domestrical practises, that not onely they inrich themselves mightelye by others misfortunes, but also eate our English gentrie out of house and home.”¹ This description fits completely the character of Pisaro. Not only does Pisaro charge “two and twenty in the hundred, When the Law gives but ten” (2322-3); he is also guilty of other tricks of extortion. In the pamphlet just quoted, Lodge refers to the practice of the usurer or usurer’s broker lending the gallant “fortie or fiftie poundes of course commoditie, making him beleve that by other meanes monie maye not be had . . . ” The gallant, wishing to convert it into money, gets the broker to sell it for him, and “if it be fortie, the youth hath a good peniworth if in ready money he receive twentie pound . . . ” The broker or go-between, he explains, “in this matter getteth double fee of the Gentlemen, trible gaine in the sale of the commoditie, and more. a thousand thankes of this devillish Usurer.”² Pisaro, as we see early in the play, deals in cloth and is no doubt guilty of the practice that Lodge scourges. Pisaro is a type and has most of the characteristics of the usurer type. But he is not only a type; he is distinctly individualized. He is not a personification of trickery and deceit; he is not wholly bad. When we think of the characters of Nicholas Breton in The Good and The Bad (1616), the one A

¹ Shakespeare Society, vol. 49 (1853), p. 43.
² Ibid., p. 46.
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Worthy Merchant (24), and the other An Usurer (32), we find almost more that fits him in the former than the latter. Pisaro, usurer that he is, has redeeming qualities that show us the human side of the man. He thinks in one or two places of his dead wife and speaks of her in touching terms. So thoroughly humanized is the character that when he hears of the loss of his ship at sea, much as we object to his usurious practices, we find ourselves unconsciously sympathizing with him in his grief. In comparison with the stock character of the usurer in so many other Elizabethan plays, Pisaro in Englishmen for My Money is a living human being who remains in our memories as a real personality.

The other characters in the play are in most cases equally well drawn. The three English lovers are distinguished and individualized with care. Walgrave, in the words of his friend, is "a rash and giddie headed youth", a "mad-man, mad cap, wild-oates". Harvey is more moderate in his demeanor, though merry withal, and Heigham is obviously the most quiet of the three. The three daughters are likewise well distinguished. Mathea, the youngest, is "scant folded in the dozens at most", but claims she is "three yeares mo". Marina and Laurentia are older and correspond more closely in character with their lovers, Harvey and Heigham. The three foreigners are admirably distinguished. Each speaks his special kind of broken English and possesses characteristics supposedly typical of his race. Delion, the Frenchman, is proud, forward, and arrogant; Alvaro, the Italian, is more amorous and "can tell Of Lady Venus, and her Sonne blind Cupid"; and Vandalle,

2 Cf. Works of Nicholas Breton, ed. Grosart, 1879, vol. II.
the Dutchman, though devoted in his blundering way, is unromantic and, in his conversation on the price of cloth in Antwerp, a bit dull to his "sout Lady". Finally, the characters of Frisco the clown, and Anthony, the intriguing schoolmaster, are among the most lifelike and interesting persons in the play. In his secondary personages, no less than in the figure of Pisaro, Haughton showed his ability to portray character clearly and distinctly.

*Englishmen for My Money* is a realistic comedy of London life. In the opening speech of the play Pisaro tells us that since his wife's decease, "in London [he has] dwelt", and a little later (ll. 233-4) there is mention of "Croched-Fryers where old Pisaro, and his Daughters dwell." In the course of the comedy we pass over Tower-hill, converse in Leadenhall Street where we are reminded of its water standard with four spouts, walk through Fanchurch Street, and pause at "the farthest end of Shoreditch" where the Maypole stands "on Ivy-bridge, going to Westminster". We witness departures for Bucklersbury and the *Rose* in Barking, hear Bow-bell ring, and catch frequent mention of well known streets and objects about the city: Cornhill and Canning Street, Cheapside Cross and Bridewell. The instant appeal of familiarity which allusions such as these had, must have been singularly effective in bringing the play close to every Londoner who witnessed it. The scenes depicted are those of the everyday middle-class life of the metropolis and the play thus belongs to that type of drama which has been happily called the "citizens' drama". Of the two branches of this citizens' drama, portraying respectively rural life and London life, "the latter [was] by far the most popular, dependent as it was upon local color and typical allusion, the success of which lay in its familiarity to the auditor." ¹ Consequently the type when once attempted was in-

stantly imitated and the number of plays of this class, written from 1598 on, is very large.

In the development of this realistic drama of everyday London life the importance of Haughton has seldom been fully appreciated. The treatment of everyday life on the stage is of course as old as the morality itself. In like manner the daily life of a small town or rural community, had been the subject of a number of plays by the year 1597-8,—*Wily Beguiled, Two Angry Women of Abington* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, to mention only notable examples. But the idea of writing a play solely on so familiar a subject as the daily life of the people in London seems to have occurred to no one before this date. London had been the scene of occasional chronicle plays or parts of chronicle plays, but, though such scenes may have suggested the very natural transition from the everyday life of a rural community to the everyday life of the capital, the chronicle play is in general far removed from the spirit of the comedy of London life. It apparently remained for Haughton to show for the first time the full possibilities that lay ready to hand in the familiar city life about him. Most of the action takes place in the immediate neighborhood of the parish in which he was living just before his death. Consequently, what he did was not merely to write about London, but to write his own neighborhood into a play. His *Englishmen for My Money* is, so far as we can tell, the first regular comedy of realistic London life in the English drama. To be the inaugurator of a type of drama destined to become so fruitful and so popular as the comedy of London life became in the hands of his imitators and successors, is to have achieved a position beside the great leaders of dramatic modes in Elizabethan drama, Lyly, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher. The new mode pointed out by *Englishmen for My Money* became instantly popular and was,
as said above, immediately imitated. One of the most notable plays of the kind, *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, owes its origin in all probability to the success of Haughton's play.\(^1\) Many others followed, too numerous to mention\(^2\) and the realistic comedy of London life enjoyed a continued popularity for almost twenty years and, in the case of some plays, down to the very end of the Elizabethan period. Only once has Haughton been given the credit he deserves for this contribution to English drama. Professor Gayley, after noticing the points of similarity between *Englishmen for My Money*, *Patient Grissel* and *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, concludes: “But the fact remains that in these features Haughton’s *A Woman Will Have her Will* anticipates the realistic comedies of Dekker. It also anticipates the portrayal of London life afforded by Jonson’s *Every Man in his Humour*; and is of as early a date as Porter’s *Two Angry Women*. It is probably the earliest extant effort to transfer to London the comic realism of Shakespeare’s *Merry Wives of Windsor*.”\(^3\) Haughton’s importance as the successful originator of the comedy of London life is thus deserving of the fullest recognition.

*Englishmen for My Money* is also of the first importance in the development of the usurer play. The usurer play is a drama in which the action turns upon the successful attempt of the chief characters to outwit a usurious money lender. One of the most frequent devices employed is that which forms the main action of *Englishmen for My Money*,—the situation of

\(^1\) *The Shoemakers' Holiday* is first mentioned 15 July 1598. Concerning this date of the play, Miss Hunt (*Thomas Dekker*, p. 57n) says: “There seems to be no reason for dating the play earlier than its entry in the *Diary*. Fleay’s date, 1597, has nothing to support it. Deloney’s *Gentle Craft*, though entered S.R. October 19, 1597, does not seem to have been printed before 1598.”

\(^2\) On the type, see Professor Schelling’s *Elizabethan Drama*, Vol. I, Ch. XI.

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the rebellious daughter, prodigal, and usurer. While Haughton was not the inventor of this situation, he carried it a step further than it had been carried before¹ and was the first to present it in its fully developed form in Elizabethan drama. But a situation or plot once successful was sure to be copied and imitated; and from the time *Englishmen for My Money* was produced there appeared a succession of plays having for their main or sub-plot the story (often showing individual modifications) of a gallant, cozened by a usurer, and succeeding in recovering his wealth by marrying the usurer's daughter or relative. It forms the sub-plot involving Moll, daughter of the usurer, Berry, in the *Fair Maid of the Exchange* (1602) and furnishes the main or sub-action of *Michaelmas Term* (1604), *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (1606), Greene's *Tu Quoque* (1609-12), *No Wit No Help Like A Woman's* (1613), *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl* (1613), *A Match At Midnight* (1623), *The Constant Maid* (1638?), and other plays still later, to say nothing of variations such as in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (before 1626). That three titles in this list should be connected with the name of Middleton is only one of many evidences of the close connection between the work of Haughton and Middleton which we shall discuss later. The frequency with which this usurer plot was used by others as well, however, and the closeness with which some of the plays resemble *Englishmen for My Money* are indicative of the influence of Haughton's comedy in the development of the type known as the usurer play.²

¹ See above, p. 31.
² *The Usurer in Elizabethan Drama* has been studied by my friend Prof. Arthur B. Stonex, of Trinity College, Connecticut, and for a detailed discussion of the plays and question treated in this paragraph, the reader is referred to his article in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXI (1916), 190-210. In this paper forty-five dramas in which the usurer plays an important part are discussed. On p. 196 will be found a brief statement of the relation of the usurer play to the theme of the prodigal in Elizabethan drama.
Important as Englishmen for My Money is in relation to the usurer play and important as is its place in the comedy of London life, it is by no means only because of these historical considerations that the play is interesting to-day. Judged by absolute standards it is one of the sprightliest comedies that we have. Its bustling intrigue and somewhat noisy exuberance are, perhaps, its most characteristic qualities. It is true that, as has been observed, the characters have no romantic charm and the daughters are lacking in refinement both of manners and morals. But the character of Anthony, the intriguing schoolmaster and that of Frisco, the clown, are full of a racy naturalness that sorts well with the rest of the play and is itself not without a certain attractiveness. When we remember, in addition, the amusing nature of the plot with its “unforced succession of ludicrous incidents” we are not surprised to find that these things which interest us to-day, made the play popular in its own day. That it did appeal to its time is evident from the circumstances that three contemporary editions were issued, to say nothing of the statement on the title-page of the last two that it had been “diverse times acted with great applause.” Its appeal to the groundlings, to civic pride and national feeling, not overdone; its ridicule of the foreigners; its outwitting of a character all too hateful to Elizabethan Londoners and one whom it greatly pleased the audience to see duped; all these things would have insured the success of even a less deserving play. As it was they merely augmented the interest which was already inherent in its lively and spirited portrayal of the youth sowing his wild oats, in the love story of the gentleman seeking the hand of a citizen’s daughter, and in its representation of avarice cheated. We can see that the popularity of Englishmen for My Money was reasonable and well deserved.

1 Bayne, R. in the Cambridge Hist. of English Literature, V, 367.
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Allusions to the play are not always easy to fix, because of the proverbial character of the title. In two plays, however, both of which are probably Heywood’s, passages occur which are reminiscent not only of the title but of parts of the play itself. In the second part of If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody (c. 1604?), the Courtesan says (I. i):

.... I have tried, ere now,
The sweaty Spaniard and the carousing Dane,
The foggy Dutchman, and the fiery French,
The brisk Italian, and indeed what not;
And yet of all and all, the Englishman
Shall go for me: ay, y’are the truest lovers,
The ablest last night, and the truest men
That breathe beneath the sun.
John. Why, then, the Englishman for thy money: ¹

In How A Man May Choose A Good Wife From A Bad (V, i, 1 ff) there occurs the following passage:

Marry. Not haue my will, yes I will haue my will.
Shall I not goe abroad but when you please?
Can I not now and then meete with my friends,
But at my comming home you will controwle me?
Marry come vp.
Yong Ar[thur]. Where art thou patience?
Nay rather where is become my former spleene?
I had a wife would not haue vsde me so.
Marry. Why you lacke sawce, you Cuckold, you what not,
What am I not l of age sufficient
To go and come still when my pleasure serues,
But must I haue you sir to question me?
Not haue my will? yes I will haue my will.
Yong Ar[thur]. I had a wife would not haue vsde me so,
But shee is dead.
Bra[bo]. Not haue her will, sir she shall haue her will,
She saies she will, and sir I say she shall.
Not haue her will? that were a least indeed.
Who saies she shall not, if I be disposde
To man her forth, who shall finde fault with it?

¹ Shakespeare Soc., vol. 46 (1851), 126.
What's he that dare say black's her eie?
Though you be married sir, yet you must know
That she was euer borne to haue her will.

Splay. Not haue her wil, Gods passion I say still,
A woman's no bodie that wants her will.1

These lines remind one strongly of Englishmen for My Money and it may not be too daring to suppose that both this and the preceding passage could have been suggested by a recollection of Haughton's play.

Before leaving the discussion of Englishmen for My Money it may be as well here as elswhere to pause for a few words concerning Haughton as a craftsman in verse. About two-thirds of the play is in blank verse and an exhaustive analysis and application of the various verse tests to it justify certain generalizations. In the first place, the verse is distinctly end-stopped and characterized by masculine endings, although feminine endings are sufficiently frequent (18%) to give variety to the rhythm. Again, for the first work of a dramatist it is remarkably free from rime.2 The percentage of rimed lines is about fifteen, and when we remember that Shakespeare's first play contains about sixty-six rimed lines in every hundred, Haughton's relative freedom in this respect is rather noteworthy. The verse is likewise characterized by the almost complete absence of weak and light endings. In placing the caesura Haughton shows considerable freedom, although a preference is observable for a pause after the fourth or sixth foot. In the position of the accents within the line and in the admission of incomplete lines, Haughton's verse again is decidedly free. Between speeches in blank verse he frequently inserted lines of two or three words, which are outside the metrical scheme. Moreover, whenever the blank verse became

1 Farmer Facsimile Rpt., Sig. I 2.
2 The proportion of rime is also somewhat dependent upon the nature of the play.
at all inconvenient, he had no hesitation in dropping it for more simple and rapid prose dialogue. These and other practices are evidence that his matter dominated his form. He wrote blank verse freely and apparently without difficulty. Sometimes, in rapid dialogue, he divided a blank verse line among as many as three speakers, even when the final syllable of the verse was part of a rime. On the whole, while it cannot be said that the verse of Haughton is remarkable for its grace or variety, it is in general smooth, sufficiently varied to be agreeable, and quite adequate to the demands made upon it.

III.

Resumption of Activity—Cox of Collumpton—Tragedy of Thomas Merry—Not to be Identified with Two Lamentable Tragedies—No Connection with Day's Italian Tragedy or Chettle's Orphans' Tragedy—Fleay Opposed—His Fallacies and Inconsistencies—Contrary Evidence—Conclusion—Arcadian Virgin—Patient Grissel—Authorship—Haughton's Share—Spanish Moor's Tragedy—Connection with Lust's Dominion—Seven Wise Masters—Ferrex and Porrex—English Fugitives—The Devil and His Dame—Connection with Grim the Collier of Croydon—Strange News out of Poland—Mr. Pett—Judas—Summary of Second Period.

After an interval of six months from the date of the last recorded payment on Englishmen for My Money, Haughton began in November 1599 to work with Day on some plays of a different kind. The attention of the two dramatists was apparently attracted at this time by a temporary return to popularity of a type of drama which had been made notable some years earlier by Arden of Feversham. In this piece the murder play had for the time reached its greatest height, but in the last few years of the sixteenth century it experienced a new vogue which was productive of more activity in the type than had been seen at any time before. In particular, Dekker had just finished. 2 September 1599, a play for the company called

1 See Schelling, F. E., Elizabethan Drama, I, 345 ff.
Page of Plymouth, concerned with the murder of one Master Page by his wife; and the success of this play may have been the suggestion which prompted Haughton and Day to continue the vogue. Probably the first play of the kind which Haughton had a hand in was the Tragedy of John Cox of Collumpton, or, as it is once called in Henslowe, the "tragedie of cox of collinster". From the Diary we learn that it was the work of Haughton and Day and was paid for between 1 and 14 November 1599. That it was a murder play is not quite certain, but seems likely. Collumpton, now usually spelled Cullempton, is a small town in Devonshire, not far from Exeter. Collier says the play was based on a murder committed in that place, and, since the conjecture has a certain plausibility, it has been generally accepted by later writers. But, so far as I can discover, there is no record of such a murder. Recently the statement has been made that the play dealt with a "notorious" crime of the day, but no authority is given and apparently none exists beyond the conjecture of Collier. We must leave the question for the present where it is; if we remember that Collier's view is not supported by evidence, we may accept it conditionally since it is in line with what we shall see to be Haughton's tendencies in the drama. That he was one of the authors of that peculiar type of the journalistic drama, the murder play, is apparent from his next attempt.

Scarcely was Cox of Collumpton finished when Haughton and Day decided to continue the vein with a tragedy which in the Diary, is variously called Beech's Tragedy or the Tragedy of Thomas Merry. For this play Henslowe paid them five

1 Stage, 1831, III, 50.
pounds (in full) between 21 November and 6 December 1599; and it was licensed and probably performed early in 1600. Though it is not extant we may be quite certain as to its subject matter. On 29 August 1594 there was entered on the Stationers' Register "A true discourse of a most cruell and barbarous murther committed by one Thomas Merry on the persons of Robt. Beech and Thoms [sic] Winchester his seruaunt, on the Fridaie night the 23. of August, beinge Bartlemie Eve, 1594. Together with the order of his arraynement and execution..." 1 The murder was a notorious one, and was described in five other broadsides licensed in rapid succession, 29 August, 3, 7 (two) and 9 September. 2 A play by Day and Haughton on this subject should cause no surprise; nor need the circumstance that it was written five years after the event treated had occurred seem unusual when it is remembered that Arden of Feversham (1586-92?) is concerned with events that happened in 1551. The piece could be quickly dismissed were it not for a discussion in which it has been involved by reason of another play.

In 1601 was published a play with the title Two Lamentable Tragedies or Two Tragedies in One, 3 the author of which is given both on the title-page and at the end as Rob. Yarington. This piece is an exceedingly curious production. Its plot, as the first title implies, is a double one, consisting of approximately alternate scenes from two murders. The one tells "of the Murther of Maister Beech A Chaundler in Thames-streete, and his boye, done by Thomas Merry ", an inn-keeper; the other "of a Young childe murthered in a Wood by two Ruffins,

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2 Hazlitt, ib. 390.
3 This second title appears only at the head of the text. The play is reprinted by Bullen, Old Plays, vol. IV, and reproduced by Farmer in his facsimile series. The page references below are to Bullen's edition.
with the consent of his Vnckle." The two plots are united by allegorical personages who comment chorus-wise on the action. It is apparent that the first of these two plots is the same as that of Haughton and Day's play. The second is a version of the Babes in the Wood story and was traced conjecturally by Bullen to a ballad on the Babes in the Wood which was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1595. But it is hard to believe that any play should have been originally written in the form of the Two Tragedies in One. The two parts of the plot are wholly unconnected. There is no under-plot or even a minor character, common to both, to bind them together. They are united only by the allegorical personages who contribute prologue and epilogue and intercalary comment between the acts. Moreover the two parts differ somewhat in style and the play has a certain appearance of being made by the combination of two separate plays. When this was perceived it was but natural that students should speculate upon the identity of the earlier works. And here the circumstance that Day and Haughton were at work on a non-extant play of Thomas Merry a year or more before the Two Lamentable Tragedies was printed made it easy to jump to conclusions.

Apparently the first to suggest that the Merry part of the Two Tragedies in One and the Tragedy of Merry were identical was Collier. In 1881 Bullen mentioned Collier's suggestion, but queried, 'how are we to overlook the fact that the name of Thomas [sic] Yarrington appears at full length on the title-pages of the Two Tragedies?' In 1885, in the introduction to his reprint of the Two Tragedies in One, he

1 Cf., however, Law, R. A., Mod. Lang. Rev., V, 177, for the opinion that the ballad is the later version.

2 Henslowe's Diary, Shakespeare Soc., 1845, p. 92. He only suggests that the material used in both was identical.


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called attention in a footnote to 'a piece by Chettle called "The Orphanes Tragedy", a title which at once reminds us of the second plot of Yarington's play'. He attached no importance to the coincidence and went on to say: 'Although not published until 1601, the Two Tragedies in One would seem from internal evidence to have been written some years earlier. The language has a bald, antiquated look, and the stage-directions are amusingly simple'. He then suggested that perhaps in this play and A Warning for Fair Women we have 'early essays by the author whose genius displayed its full power in Arden of Feversham'. Singer in 1891 took the hint in Bullen's footnote, however, and suggested the possibility that Haughton and Day's Thomas Merry and Chettle's Orphans' Tragedy, both of which date from 1599, were united by Yarington two years later, adding 'sonst lässt sich die seltsame ineinanderschachtelung zweier handlungen ... schwer erklären.' In the same year Fleay stated the hypothesis in more positive terms and called attention to the possible connection of a third play, Day's Italian Tragedy, which he would identify with Chettle's Orphans' Tragedy. Fleay's statement reads: "This singular production [Two Lamentable Tragedies] is made up of alternate scenes from two stories—1. Merry's murder of Beech, a Thames Street chandler: 2. The murder of an orphan in Italy, the story being the same as that of the ballad of The Babes in the Wood. Still more curious is the fact that in Nov. 1599 Chettle began a play for the Admiral's men at the Rose called The Tragedy of Orphans, for which in Sept. 1601, when they had removed to the Fortune, he got a further payment on account, but apparently never finished; and that at a


2 Das bürgerliche Trauerspiel in England, Leipzig Diss., 1891, p. 29.

very close date, Nov.-Dec. 1599, Haughton and Day got full payment for their Tragedy of Merry. This coincidence is sufficiently striking; but when we find that in 1600 the Master of the Revels was paid for licensing Beech’s Tragedy, which was evidently the same play, the connexion grows stronger: for I have shown in my History of the Stage that such payments in Henslow’s Diary were for licenses to print, and not to perform. This play was published by Matthew Law, who is only known as a play-publisher from this instance and that of [Heywood’s] How to choose, &c. I can see no doubt that this play was the publication paid for, made up out of the two by Chettle, Day, and Haughton; that Yarrington was a fictitious name; and that the 10s. paid in 1601 was for alterations, perhaps for Chettle’s pains in consolidating the two plays. Moreover, on 10th Jan. 1600 Day got paid £2 for his Italian Tragedy, which may have been the same as The Tragedy of Orphans.” Fleay’s conclusions were accepted and reaffirmed by Greg in his edition of Henslowe’s Diary.

Though the theory urged by Fleay is based upon a chain of assumptions which are often contrary to probability, and is the result of contradictory reasoning, it has been openly opposed only once. In an article in the Modern Language Review (V: 167-77) Mr. R. A. Law sought to show (1) that the Two Tragedies in One is not an amalgamation of plays by Haughton, Day and Chettle; (2) that it was written immediately after the murder of Beech (that is to say, in 1594); and (3) that it is the work of one man. With this attempt the present writer is in substantial sympathy, but since there are some points in the article with which he cannot agree, and since it is not the purpose of the present discussion to go into the whole problem presented by the Two Lamentable Tragedies, space will not be taken to examine the paper in detail here. The points that seem helpful to getting at the truth of the matter will be noted in their place.
It is safe to say that the *Two Tragedies in One* would never have been connected with the name of either Haughton or Day or Chettle were it not for the coincidence between the subject of Haughton's play and the Merry portion of the *Two Tragedies in One*. The *Two Tragedies in One* is indeed a wretched affair. As Greg says, “The Merry part is written in an extraordinary wooden bombast of grotesque commonplace, which it would be difficult to parallel except from some broadside ballads, and which one may well hesitate to father on any one.” But with such a coincidence as a starting point it was possible for the theory of Fleay to arise and grow despite the fact that the obvious character of the play makes the hypothesis on its very face highly improbable. The theory is fallacious from beginning to end. Unfortunately, space does not permit us to examine the steps of the argument in detail, but we may strike at the root of the matter by scrutinizing the most fundamental points.

It is assumed by Fleay that Chettle's *Orphans' Tragedy* and Day's *Italian Tragedy* are identical; and the means by which he justifies this otherwise unsupported assumption may be taken as typical of the kind of reasoning which has been employed in support of his theory. It is assumed, first, that since Chettle's *Orphans' Tragedy* and the second part of the *Two Lamentable Tragedies* concern an orphan (or orphans[?] in Chettle's play), these two plays are the same. Now, the scene of this part of *Two Tragedies in One* is Italy, and so, by a deduction from an assumption, the *Orphans' Tragedy* is Italian. But this inference, based on an assumption, is made the basis of still another conclusion. Day was the author of a certain *Italian Tragedy*. Chettle's *Orphans' Tragedy* is inferred to be Italian in setting. Therefore Day's and Chettle's plays are one and the same. It is needless to point out that by reasoning such as this it would be possible to prove Romeo
and *Juliet*, *Othello* and the *Duchess of Malfi* all one and the same play. Italian tragedies—does it seem necessary to recall?—were rather numerous in the Elizabethan Age. Wentworth Smith wrote one specifically called *The Italian Tragedy*; yet we are told that this play (the title of which is also all that remains) has no connection with the unfinished *Italian Tragedy* of Day.\(^1\) In support of such reasoning it is urged that the plays identified are of approximately the same date and that in the *Diary* they are not fully paid for. The first plea may be disregarded; the second is rendered valueless by the circumstance that plays partially paid for are of frequent occurrence in the *Diary*. In the meantime, however, it is forgotten that the only thing that we know about either Chettle’s *Orphans’ Tragedy* or Day’s *Italian Tragedy* is its title, and that the only thing the titles have in common is the word ‘tragedy’.\(^2\)

In addition to the fact that the reasoning just illustrated is based on a series of violent assumptions, there is the circumstance that it is in its nature circular. The assumption that the Babes in the Wood part of the *Two Tragedies in One* is the same as Chettle’s *Tragedy of Orphans* and Day’s *Italian Tragedy* is based upon the assumption that the last two plays are the same. But this assumption itself is based, as we have just seen, on the *Two Tragedies in One*.

Apart, however, from the method by which Fleay’s opinion is reached, there are other serious obstacles in the way to accepting it. To put the matter as briefly as possible, it may be urged (1) that as the *Orphans’ Tragedy* is but partly paid for in the *Diary*, there is no evidence that it was ever finished;

\(^{1}\) The writer may say that he agrees fully with this opinion. Smith’s play seems to be quite an independent production.

\(^{2}\) It is unnecessary to point out that if the initial assumption be questioned—that the *Orphans’ Tragedy* and the Babes in the Wood part of *Two Tragedies in One* are identical—the whole fabric crumbles to pieces at the beginning.
(2) that those who wish to consider it a finished play are forced to eke it out by identifying with it an Italian Tragedy by Day; (3) that even by so doing they are only able to bring the total sum paid for it up to £3 10/ —, only a little more than half the usual price of a finished play. Moreover, the identification of the Orphans' Tragedy and the Italian Tragedy is damaged by the fact that in the Diary the entries for these plays are quite distinct and there is no evidence that the Orphans' Tragedy was Italian or that the Italian Tragedy had anything to do with orphans.

The looseness of the reasoning by which Fleay's theory is supported may be seen in another of his arguments. The payment of 7s. which Henslowe made to the Master of the Revels, Jan. 1600, for licensing Bech's Tragedy, Fleay claims was for license "to print, and not to perform", and he adds, "I can see no doubt that this play [he is now speaking of the Two Lamentable Tragedies] was the publication paid for, made up out of the two by Chettle, Day, and Haughton; that Yarrington was a fictitious name; and that the 10s. paid in 1601 was for alterations, perhaps for Chettle's pains in consolidating the two plays".¹ Such a complete disregard of chronology would be hard to parallel. If the two plays were not combined until the 24 Sept. 1601, the date when Chettle received the 10s. payment, we are met by the strange phenomenon of a play's being licensed for publication a year and five months before it was written. If anyone could be imagined to support such a position, it may be pointed out that Fleay's argument rests upon a mistaken notion of the significance of the entries in Henslowe for licensing plays. That these payments to the Master of the Revels were not for licenses to print, but for permission to act, has been conclusively shown by Mr. Greg.² It is, however, an equally untenable assump-

¹ Fleay, Drama, II, 386.
² Diary, II, 113-6.
tion that the licensing of Becchi’s Tragedy in Jan. 1600 was
for permission to act the Two Lamentable Tragedies; for then
we should have Henslowe paying the Master of the Revels
for license to act a play seventeen months before, on Fleay’s
own admission, that play was in existence. In this respect the
argument of Fleay is a tissue of absurdities.

When we have thus cleared the ground of the results of
such erroneous reasoning we find that there is nothing to
support the identification of any plays by Haughton, Chettle,
or Day, with Yarington’s Two Tragedies in One. We may
next note that such an identification has been attended by a
number of actual difficulties which its supporters themselves
are conscious of. Some of these have already been mentioned,
and there are others equally great. For example, even Mr.
Greg, who supports Fleay’s theory, is unable to find any trace
of Day’s hand in the Two Tragedies in One, and since Day
wrote a part of each of the plays of which he thinks the Two
Tragedies in One was made, he is forced to explain the ab-
sence rather fancifully: “I conjecture,” he says, “that Day
constructed a more or less independent underplot to each, and
that these were dropt when the main plots were amalga-
mated.” ¹ This, however, is by no means convincing and is
needed only to explain away a difficulty which exists but as a
result of Fleay’s theory. Again, there is the name of the
author, as given on the title-page, Rob. Yarington. Naturally
this presents considerable difficulty to those who wish to find
in the Two Tragedies in One an amalgamation by Chettle of
plays by Haughton, Day and himself. None of the attempts
to explain it has been plausible. Fleay thinks that Yarington
was a fictitious name; Greg, that it was the name of the
scribe. But all such explanations are likewise attempts to
account for a difficulty which in reality does not exist. Fleay’s

¹ Diary, II, 209.
theory is possible only by the employment of impossible logic and at the expense of difficulties which its supporters have not been able to explain away.

In the last place, all the evidence that exists is directly opposed to the theory. Each of the authors to whom any portion of Yarington's play is attributed were competent, experienced dramatists in 1599-1600. Haughton, to mention only pieces still extant, had already produced the excellent comedy edited in the present volume and was at this very time sharing with Dekker and Chettle in the authorship of Patient Grissel. Chettle had written nearly a dozen plays. Of the quality of Day's work alone we cannot speak with much certainty at so early a date; but Mr. Greg is authority for the assurance that there 'is certainly no trace of his hand now remaining' in the Two Lamentable Tragedies. In direct contrast to the work of these three experienced dramatists stands the Two Tragedies in One. This play is conspicuous for its crudity, woodenness and general amateurishness. It is filled with undramatic 'talk' and the author was so incapable of appreciating the dramatic in his material that he was forced in places to eke out with narrative an action which the combined resources of two plots failed to fill. Characterization is reduced to a minimum. The author repeats ideas and even rimes within a few lines of each other, and he at times confuses his characters. But perhaps his versification is the strongest mark of his individuality, and most clearly distinguishes him from Haughton, Chettle and Day. The verse of Yarington's play is extremely 'regular': each line consists almost invariably of only ten syllables, is usually end-stopped, and has almost without exception a masculine ending. There are only about

1 The rime 'pray-clay' occurs twice on the same page (17); 'dye-cruelly' occurs three times within 16 lines (pp. 57-8).

2 Cf. the confusion in the characters of the two ruffians in II, ii and III, ii. (Both scenes belong to the same half of the play.)
a dozen feminine endings in the whole play. When one compares this with the freedom and at times irregularity of Haughton's verse, the difference is too apparent to need discussion. Other marks of inexperience and amateurishness have been noted at various times, such, for example, as the curious stage-directions: but these need not be catalogued here. After all, what stamps this play on every page as the work of a novice are those subtle characteristics and qualities which do not admit of brief analysis and exposition, but which are apparent to everyone upon the first reading of the play. Everything about the play is in direct contrast with what we know to be the quality and character of Haughton, Day and Chettle, and contradicts on the very face of things Fleay's whole theory.

It has been thought necessary to go at some length into the problem presented by Yarington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies* in order to show that Fleay's theory is unsupported by a single scrap of evidence, and that it is, moreover, quite untenable. Of course, our chief purpose has been to remove from Haughton the responsibility for any share in this wretched play; and this, it is believed, has been sufficiently done. Yet it is possible to establish the case with still greater certainty through evidence of another sort.

It has been shown by Mr. Law in the article referred to above that the orphan-part of Yarington's play shows a number of passages closely parallel to, or imitating, plays which were on the stage in 1594, and that one unusual line in the Merry portion is found likewise in one of these early plays.¹

¹ I do not wish to go into the question here whether the *Two Tragedies in One* is the work of one man or two. The two parts show on first reading a rather marked stylistic difference; but successive re-readings leave one less certain of the difference, and when one attempts to tabulate the evidence of rime and other versification tests, tests of vocabulary, etc., the testimony is conflicting. What may have been the
This, together with certain other evidence, has been taken as establishing a probability that Yarington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies* was written as early as 1594. However this may be, it is capable of almost exact demonstration that at least the Merry portion of the *Two Tragedies in One* was written before November, 1599 when Day and Haughton wrote their *Tragedy of Thomas Merry*. In Act IV, Sc. iii, of Yarington's play there occurs the only attempt at comedy in the whole piece. Here are introduced two Thames watermen on their way to their boats, one of whom is portrayed with a mannerism of speech that furnishes the comedy. In their conversation there arises the time-honored jest of the hangman's budget, whereupon the First Waterman remarks that "Bull always strips all quartered traitors quite". This allusion to the hangman is so casual that it has entirely escaped notice; but since it is such a wholly gratuitous one, it is of the greatest value in determining the date of the play. The common hangman of London in the early nineties, as fairly frequent contemporary allusion shows, was named Bull; and he was still living and executing his office in 1597. About this time, however, he must have died and have been succeeded by one Derrick, who held the post for nearly fifty years. Already by the beginning of the year 1600 the name of the latter had passed into common use as a synonym for hanging. It is so case is that two sources, not necessarily plays, differing materially from each other in general character and poetic quality, were made over pretty thoroughly by one man of very mediocre ability. Whether the author was Robert Yarington, as seems most likely, or some one else is of no importance in the present discussion.

1 P. 63. The watermen have just stumbled upon the sack containing Beech's head and legs and they do not know what it means.

2 Bull is mentioned several times by Nash: cf. *Works* ed. McKerrow, s. v. in Index. The last allusion to him that I have found is in Harvey's *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe (1567)*; *Works*, ed. Grosart, III. 70.

3 Hence our word 'derrick'. Cf. *Oxford Dictionary*. 
used in Kemps Nine Daies Wonder, licensed 22 April 1600; and such use implies a certain lapse of time for the development. It seems not unlikely that Bull was dead in 1597 or 1598, and if such was the case, Yarington’s allusion must belong to a time prior to this date. If the Merry part of Yarington’s play was written before 1597 or 1598, it cannot be based upon Haughton and Day’s play, which was not written till Nov. 1599. Internal evidence thus tends to confirm the conclusion already reached in an entirely different way.

A few words by way of résumé may conclude the whole matter. The attempt to identify Yarington’s Two Lamentable Tragedies with plays by Haughton, Day and Chettle arises from a mere coincidence, rests upon a series of assumptions which are without justification, and involves illogical reasoning and a disregard for chronology which when corrected fill it with contradictions. It involves several difficulties which it has not been found possible to explain away, and disregards the most patent evidence of the play itself. Finally, as opposed to this attempt there is good reason to believe that the Two Tragedies in One is early, perhaps going back even to 1594;

1 One that hath not wit enough to make a ballot, that... would Pol his father, Derick his dad, doe anie thing, how ill so euer...' (ed. Camden Soc., vol. IX, 1840, p. 21.)

Derrick is frequently alluded to in contemporary literature. Collier (Athenaeum, no. 1606, p. 150, Feb. 6, 1847) quotes a ballad representing Derrick as the hangman who officiated at the execution of the Earl of Essex in 1601. Whether the ballad is genuine I do not know. Other allusions will be found in Dekker’s Wonderful Year, 1603 (Grosart, Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, 1884-6, I, 148), Seven Deadly Sins of London, 1606 (ib. II, 27), Jests to Make You Merry, 1607 (ib. II, 318), The Belman of London, 1608 (ib. III, 141, 169), and Gull’s Hornbook, 1609 (ib. II, 215); Middleton’s Black Book, 1604 (Works, ed. Bullen, 1885-6, VIII, 13, 38) and Father Hubbard’s Tales, 1604 (ib., p. 70); William Rowley’s Search for Money, 1609 (Percy Soc., II, 15). On the hangmen of London, see [N & Q], 12 Ser. I, 286 and previous notes there referred to, especially 2 Ser. XI, 445.
while the allusion to a man as then living who was presumably dead in 1597 or 1598 makes it almost certain that the Merry part antedates by at least a year the writing of Haughton and Day's play. When reduced to its lowest terms, what we know of Haughton and Day's *Tragedy of Thomas Merry* is that in Nov.-Dec. 1599 these men wrote such a play and were paid in full for it, that the play was licensed immediately and probably acted, and that it is not extant in any form to-day.

*Thomas Merry* could hardly have been finished when Haughton turned his attention to a type of drama wholly different from his last two pieces, and this time his collaborator was Chettle. The *Arcadian Virgin* would seem from its title to be a pastoral, but since we know of it only from Henslowe's accounts we cannot be sure of its nature. In the *Diary* it is but partly paid for: two payments amounting to 15s. were made 13 and 17 Dec. 1597. From this it would seem that the play was never finished. Greg suggests that it may have been based on the story of Atalanta,1 but the title is so general that it reminds one equally of the *Faithful Shepherdess*. Its subject is of minor importance, not only because the play is not extant, but because Haughton seems never to have tried the type again. Indeed he and Chettle may even have given up writing the *Arcadian Virgin* before it was finished to devote themselves more fully with Dekker to the play on which they were meanwhile at work, *Patient Grissel*.2

Between 16 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1599 Samuel Rowley on behalf of the company borrowed from Henslowe twenty shillings to pay "harrye chettell in Earneste of the playe of patient Gryssell". Two months later, 19 Dec. 1599, Robert Shaw authorized Henslowe to pay three pounds to "thomas dickkers


harey chettell w"m harton in earnest of a Booke called patient grissell”. One week later, 26 Dec. 1599, Dekker received five shillings of Henslowe “in earnest of a playe called pacyent gresell”, and the next day, 29 Dec., Haughton received in like manner a similar sum. Both of these payments have been thought to refer to a continuation or second part, and this explanation is a plausible one. Without these two payments the amounts paid for Patient Grissel total the unusual sum of £10, a price that is not equaled in Henslowe for so early a date. Later the price of plays rose considerably, but, as is well known, £6 is the sum usually paid for a play before 1600, with occasional cases of £5 and £7. Since the sum of £10 for one play is extraordinary, it is often branded as impossible. Greg says “the authors certainly did not get £10.10s. in earnest of the piece, although it is clear that that is what Henslowe disbursed. I think, with Fleay, that £6 was the price paid, though it is clear that the entry of 26 Dec. was not ‘inclusive’ as far as Henslowe was concerned”. Though improbable, it is worth remembering that £10 for one play is not impossible. Dekker and Jonson received £8 for Page of Plimouth (1599), Chapman £8 for The Fount of New Fashion (1598), and Day and Chettle received between them £9 4s for the Conquest of Brute (1598). Because of the sum, the last is without other evidence sometimes assumed to be two plays. If the authors did not receive £10 for Patient Grissel, there is as yet no entirely convincing explanation of the entries for this play in Henslowe.

On 26 Jan. 1599/1600 the sum of twenty shillings was paid for “a grey gowne for gryssell”, and the play was probably performed soon after. At all events, by 18 March 1599/1600 a version of the play had got into the hands of a printer, for on this day Henslowe advanced £2 “to staye the printing of

1 Greg, II, 207.
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patient grisell". Curiously enough, ten days after this payment (28 March) the play was entered on the Stationers' Register. If this entry refers to the present play it is difficult to explain it, unless the registration was to prevent any one else from obtaining the publishing rights. At all events, the play was not printed till 1603, when it appeared with the title-page: The pleasant Comedie of Patient Grissill. As it hath beene sundrie times lately plaid by the right honorable the Earle of Nottingham (Lord high Admirall) his servants. London. Imprinted for Henry Rocker . . . . 1603.

Although in this title-page the names of the authors are not given, there can be little doubt, considering the entries in Henslowe, of the authorship of the play. From these entries it appears that Chettle began the piece and that Dekker and Haughton joined him in the enterprise two months later. The whole play, from the evidence in Henslowe, belongs to the end of the year 1599 and was the joint work of the three men named. Yet the obviousness of this conclusion has been somewhat disturbed by the speculation of Prof. Bang, following a suggestion of Collier. Prof. Bang argues from certain inconsistencies in the text of Patient Grissel that the play as we have it is an earlier piece by Chettle (dating perhaps as early as 1594) revised and in part rewritten by him in 1599 in collaboration with Dekker, Haughton and Ben Jonson. Without going into the matter here, suffice it to say that Prof. Bang's conclusions have not met with much favor. Nor is his evidence convincing: the little contradictions and inconsistencies upon which he bases his theory are such as appear everywhere in Elizabethan drama and in this play are easily explained by the circumstance that the piece was the joint work of three men. Moreover, such a theory is not consistent with the nature of the entries in the Diary and makes still more difficult the

\[1\] Dekker Studien, Englische Studien, XXVIII (1900), 208 ff.
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explanation of the £10 paid for the piece, since this sum would certainly not be paid for a mere revision. On the whole, there seems no good reason for doubting that the play was an original work by Chettle, Dekker and Haughton, dating from 1599. What the respective shares of the three playwrights were will be the subject of treatment below.

Our knowledge of the sources of Patient Grissel is as yet in a rather unsatisfactory state. The plot is three-fold. It consists of the main story, that of Patient Griselda, the submissive and suffering wife, and of two sub-plots: one, the attempt of Sir Owen, a Welsh Knight, to subdue the widow Gwenthian—the taming of a shrew; the other, the refusal of Julia to be won by any of her three suitors—a variant of the situation of Much Ado. The three plots are brought into intimate connection with one another through the circumstance that the main character of each is connected to the chief character of the others by family relationship. Of the main plot alone has a source been suggested. The story of Patient Grissel was known in England from the time of Chaucer, who had it on his own account of Petrarch, and various versions in prose and verse were printed in the sixteenth century. The relation of our play to the earlier versions of the story has been several times treated, but the attempts that have been made are all either inadequate or marred by absurdities. Hübsch, for example, tries to show that the English version comes from the German of Steinhowel because the form of the name "Grissell" is the same in both and because of certain vague resemblances. He also says that it owes something to Petrarch. The immediate sources of the play, Hübsch's conclusion is, are the English prose version, which he thinks is based on Steinhowel and Petrarch, and the English ballad, which comes out of the English prose version. We are cer-

1 Collier, edition of play; Westenholtz, F. von, Die Griseldis-Sage in der Literaturgeschichte, Heidelberg, 1888; Hübsch, o. e.

2 Introduction, pp. xxiii-iv.
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certainly not prepared to accept this conclusion as final. The marked variations in the play make it more probable that the source was a version of the story not at present known unless we accept these variations as the invention of the dramatists. It is not, however, unlikely that the known English versions were also used. Dekker's inimitable lyric in the play, *O sweet content!* may have owed something by way of suggestion to a line in the ballad version, *Where love and virtue dwell with sweet content.* There is not space here to pursue further the question of source, but certainly much work remains to be done on the originals of *Patient Grissel.*

The problem of dividing the play among the three dramatists concerned is a difficult one and one the solution of which must leave way for considerable difference of opinion. Fleay thinks Dekker "mainly wrote the scenes in which Laureo [Grissell's brother] and Babulo [the fool] (characters not found in the old story) enter, and Chettle the Welsh scenes; Haughton the remainder, besides helping Dekker in his part." With parts of this division there can be only agreement. There can be no doubt that the scenes which contain Laureo and Babulo and in which the daily life of the tradesman class is portrayed are Dekker's; the resemblance to the *Shoemakers' Holiday* is striking. But it is much more likely that Dekker wrote the Welsh scenes than Chettle, since, as Miss Hunt notes, Dekker had a considerable liking for Welsh, introducing another "British knight" into *Satiromastix* and another into *Northward Ho.* Haughton's share, I believe, is limited to the scenes in which Julia appears. Here among

2 *Drama,* I, 271.
3 Mr. Tucker Brooke (*Tudor Drama,* 410) adds: 'That Dekker was indeed mainly responsible for this sub-plot... is pretty evident from the recurrence of the identical theme and figures in the Mistress Miniver and Sir Rus ap Vaughan episode in his "Satiromastix."'
other likenesses is his characteristic tendency to group things in threes. Just as in *Englishmen for My Money* there are three daughters, three English lovers and three foreign suitors, so in *Patient Grissel* Julia is sought after by three admirers. The part of these scenes in which Sir Emulo appears are, however, probably by Dekker. This leaves a rather smaller share of the play to Chettle than is usually assigned to him. Since he is supposed to have begun the play it is usual to credit him with the bulk of the main plot. But even here Miss Hunt perceives traces of Dekker’s hand. From my own analysis of the play I should assign the largest part to Dekker. Swinburne says: “Chettle and Haughton, the associates of Dekker in this enterprise, had each of them something of their colleague’s finer qualities; but the best scenes in the play remind me rather of Dekker’s best early work than of ‘Robert, Earl of Huntington’ or of ‘Englishmen for My Money’.”\(^1\) Professor Penniman likewise expresses the view that of *Patient Grissel* “Dekker evidently wrote a considerable part”\(^2\) If the relative shares of the three men were indicated tabularly, the result, I think, would be roughly as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Walter</th>
<th>B. Sir Owen, Welsh Knight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Marquess of Pavia</td>
<td>Rice, his servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario</td>
<td>Gwentian, the widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepido</td>
<td>Babulo, fool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furio</td>
<td>Laureo, brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grissel</td>
<td>“</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Janiculo, father to Grissel

Chettle

Dekker

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\(^1\) Swinburne, *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 72-3.

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C. Julia
Onophrio
Farneze
Urcenze
Emulo (with Dekker)

The attribution of the Sir Emulo parts to Dekker raises the question of the relation of Patient Grissel to the ‘War of the Theatres’. The striking similarity of the Emulo–Sir Owen duel in this play and the Brisk–Lentulo duel in Jonson’s Every Man out of His Humor has long been noted; and the similarity in the characters of Brisk and Emulo in their use of absurdly affected language is equally clear. Fleay, Small and Penniman are at one in believing these characters to be take-offs of the poet Daniel. Wallace calls the Emulo–Owen duel “a clear imitation of Jonson’s Brisk–Lentulo duel”,¹ but, as Bang² points out, the scene in Patient Grissel is dramatically more appropriate than in Jonson and appears to be the original. One is at a loss to explain Tucker Brooks’s cavil: “There appears to be no support for the idea of Fleay and Penniman that the poet Daniel is satirized as Master Matthew and Fastidious Brisk in Jonson’s Every Man plays and as Emulo in Patient Grissell.”³ The theory has every plausibility. We have the testimony of Lodge that Daniel was “choice of word”,⁴ and as Professor Penniman shows “Dekker was collaborating with Jonson at the time Patient Grissel was being written”.⁵ It is not possible to decide with finality upon the relation of Patient Grissel to the War of the Theatres. Prob-

² Englische Studien, XXVIII, 214.
³ Tudor Drama, 374 n.
⁴ Wits Miserie, quoted in Penniman. Poetaster and Satiromastix, p. x.
⁵ Ib., p. x.
ably Haughton's connection with the quarrel was slight and rather accidental. Yet despite the fact that Haughton's share in the play is, it would seem, somewhat less than has at times been supposed, it is nevertheless significant to find him associated with Dekker and Chettle in the enterprise.

The eclectic character of Haughton's art may be seen from the next play on which he was at work. In Henslowe there is the record: ¹

\[
\text{Layd owt for the company the 13 of febrearye tragedie 1599 for a booke called the spaneshe more} \setminus \text{vnto thomas deckers w™ harton John daye in pte of payment the some of} \ldots \ldots \ldots
\]

There is no further record of the piece and it may not have been finished. No play of this name is extant to-day; but there exists a play called *Lust's Dominion*, printed in 1657 as by Marlowe, which has for its chief character a Spanish Moor. This play, so far as subject and title go, could easily be the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy*. It is much earlier than the date when it was printed, strongly resembles *Titus Andronicus* and some of Marlowe's plays, and would seem to be certainly as early as 1600. It shows a slight indebtedness to a short account, printed in 1599, called *A Brief and True Declaration of the Sicknesse, Last Wordes, and Death of the King of Spaine, Philip, the Second* . . . ,² while Fleay perceived traces of still earlier work which he thought there was no reason to believe "should not have been written by Marlowe" ³

*Lust's Dominion* was identified by Collier ⁴ and Fleay ⁵ with

¹ *Diary*, F. 67v (Greg, I, 118). Malone read the title as the "Spanish Morris, tragedy".
² First noted by Collier. The tract is printed in *Harleian Miscellany* (1809), II, 284 ff.
³ See *Drama*, I, 272.
⁴ *English Dramatic Poetry*, III, 96.
⁵ *Drama*, I, 272-3.
Haughton, Dekker and Day’s play; and the matter has been the subject of more or less comment since.

Since Collier’s suggestion was so confidently reasserted by Fleay, opinion has until very recently been much less certain in ascribing Lust’s Dominion to the dramatists mentioned. Ward thinks the identification rests “on insufficient grounds”, and can “perceive nothing in this play which there seems reason for assigning to Dekker individually”.1 Professor Schelling calls the identification “not impossible”,2 and Mr. Greg thinks it “not unlikely”.3 That Dekker had a hand in the play has been asserted with the greatest confidence by Mr. Swinburne,4 and denied with equal assertiveness by the latest special student of Dekker.5 It is strange that those who have studied in most detail the work of the collaborators in the Spanish Moor’s Tragedy usually deny the presence of their particular dramatist’s work in Lust’s Dominion. Miss Hunt, speaking from the point of view of a student of Dekker, says: “It is not only wholly unlike the known work of Dekker, but it is also for the most part unlike that of his collaborators. . . . The Queen and Eleazer were conceived by a more “robust” mind than that of Dekker, who never drew either a convincing villain or a bad woman of imposing presence, or told in his plays a story of successful lust. Nor can I see any evidence in characterization or in phrasing that he retouched this drama, least of all the opening scene, which Swinburne so positively claims for him”.6 Mr. Bullen, the editor of Day’s works, says, “I certainly can find no trace of Day’s hand in

2 Elizabethan Drama, 1, 222.
3 Diary, II, 211.
4 Age of Shakespeare, pp. 85-7.
6 Hunt, op. cit., p. 63.
"Lust's Dominion." As for Haughton, though there are occasional similarities, yet there is nothing that can be conclusively proved to be his.

The question has most recently been discussed by Mr. H. D. Sykes in Notes and Queries, who asserts that "Miss Hunt is wrong and Swinburne is right." His communication aims to establish Dekker's authorship in the extant Lust's Dominion. "Although 'Lust's Dominion,'" he says, "is unlike most of Dekker's work, a comparison of it with his early ventures in the domain of tragedy, and especially with 'Old Fortunatus,' will at once place its identity with 'The Spanish Moor's Tragedy' beyond a doubt. That of all Dekker's plays it should be 'Old Fortunatus' that, in its style and diction, is most closely connected with 'Lust's Dominion' is natural, since the latter play (taking it to be 'The Spanish Moor's Tragedy') was written immediately after Dekker had finished working on 'Old Fortunatus.'" The evidence upon which the identification is made consists chiefly of parallel passages from Lust's Dominion and other plays of Dekker. Some of these are striking, others are less convincing, and still others are weakened by being drawn from works not wholly Dekker's. But in the main the citations are apt. In addition to the testimony of parallel passages, evidence is drawn from the similarity between the scene (III, ii) in which "Fernando endeavors to debase the chaste Maria" and corresponding scenes in Satiro-mastix, Westward Ho, Old Fortunatus and The Honest Whore. The further occurrence of certain of Dekker's mannerisms and some of his favorite words convinces the writer of the article that the identification is sound. And so far as Dekker's hand in Lust's Dominion is concerned, he seems to have proved his point.

1 Works of John Day, 1. 8.
2 The Spanish Moor's Tragedy' or 'Lust's Dominion,' N. & Q., 12 Ser. 1, 81-4 (Jan. 29, 1916).
To admit Dekker’s partial authorship of Lust’s Dominion is as much as to admit the identity of that play with the Spanish Moor’s Tragedy, and consequently the presence of Day’s and Haughton’s hands in it as well. In the division of the play, however, among the three collaborators, there is again disagreement. Fleay gives I, II.i and V to Dekker; III.i-iv and all of IV to Day; II.ii-v and III.v-vi to Haughton. With this division Greg cannot agree. In his judgment “III.i-iv are certainly by one hand (? Day’s) and II.iii-iv by another (? Haughton’s), and the rest may be by one hand (? Dekker’s), though this is doubtful.” Sykes, in addition to positing Dekker’s general supervision and revision, assigns I, II.i-ii, III.ii (to the entry of the fairies), iii-iv, V.v-vi to Dekker; III.i and end of ii, and IV to Day; V.i-iv to Day and Dekker; and II.iii-vi, III.v-vi to Haughton. My own concern is primarily with Haughton’s share, and it may be interesting to note that my determination of Haughton’s part, made before the publication of Sykes’ article, coincides rather closely with his (and Fleay’s) division. If there is anything of Haughton’s whatever in the play, it is III.v; and this scene so resembles II.iii that both scenes must be assigned to the same author. Scenes iv-v of Act II are by the same hand as Scene iii; but I see nothing else to add. This would make Haughton’s share in the play consist of but four scenes (II.iii-v, III.v). His part in the play is consequently not very large.¹

Between 1 and 8 (or 10?) March 1599/1600 Henslowe paid £6 for a play called The Seven Wise Masters, the work of Chettle, Dekker, Haughton and Day. Very little is known of this play or of the relative shares of the four dramatists concerned in it. Such evidence as there is to be gleaned from

¹ My assignment of these scenes to Haughton is based upon resemblances between them and Englishmen for My Money. To Sykes’ evidence drawn from a comparison of the play with Grim the Collier of Croydon, a piece only doubtfully attributed to Haughton, I cannot attach great importance.
Henslowe's entries would suggest that Chettle and Day were responsible for the largest part, though such an inference is none too safe. The story of the Seven Sages, which must have been the basis of this play, is an old one and its essential elements are quickly told. The son of the Emperor Diocletian is tempted by the queen, his step-mother, but rejects her advances. His rebuff angers her, and in revenge she accuses him of insulting her and of plotting against his father. Thereupon the emperor condemns him to death. The execution of the sentence is delayed by seven wise men, who tell in the day-time, for seven days, seven stories of the guile of women. But at night each day's story is offset by one told by the queen, until finally, at the end of the seven days, when the queen has apparently prevailed, the young prince himself speaks, accuses his step-mother and succeeds in bringing upon her his own threatened punishment. This interesting story was extremely popular in medieval and early modern times, existing in several Middle English manuscripts and in a long series of printed versions running through the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of the latter, one of the most popular was a metrical version of John Rolland, first published in 1578 (?), which passed through seven editions between 1590 and 1631. This may conceivably have been the basis of our play. If the stories told by the wise men and the queen are suppressed or properly curtailed, the plot of the Seven Wise Masters is sufficiently dramatic for representation, certainly as capable of dramatization as the themes of a great many other Elizabethan plays. Whether or not it was suc-

1 The first payment (1 March) is 40 shillings to all four writers; the second (2 March) is 30 shillings to Chettle alone; and the last (8 March), 50 shillings to 'harry chettell & John daye in fulle payment . . .' (Diary, Ff. 67r-68.)

2 On this famous theme see the excellent introduction by K. Campbell to his edition of the Seven Sages of Rome, Boston, 1907.
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cessful, surely it deserved to be. The production must have been a sumptuous one, since in three consecutive entries (between 25 March and 2 April) Henslowe records the expenditure of £38 on it, chiefly for "taffetaes & sattyns". Unfortunately the name is all that we have left of a play which we would gladly know more about.

Still experimental in his methods and not seeing fit to confine his attention to any one type of play, Haughton found himself in March 1600 working at a play on English pseudo-history, on no less a subject than that of Gorboduc. It is an interesting comment on the persistent interest in plays of this kind that the subject which interested the spectators of our "first regular English tragedy" should have remained attractive through all the years, to have been rewritten forty years after it was first made the subject of a play. *Ferrex and Porrex*, as Haughton called his version of the story, is usually regarded as a "revision" of Sackville and Norton's play; but there is no reason for so considering it. It was more probably a complete reworking of the story. It may, of course, have been based on the old play, but the entries in Henslowe seem to point to more than a mere revamping of the earlier work. Henslowe's payments extend from the 18 March to a date well on in April, amounting in all to £4.15s.; and between 6 and 10 May the customary fee was paid to the Master of the Revels for a license. Such evidence as there is suggests a new play.

With his next play, the *English Fugitives*, we are in the midst of that period of Haughton's activity when he was working at greatest tension and producing with great rapidity a series of plays of which we have only the titles to-day. Two and sometimes three a month are paid for in the *Diary* or are recorded with a part payment and not otherwise mentioned. The circumstance that some of these were only noted in one
or two payments, amounting to but a small part of the price of a finished play, has caused Mr. Greg to suggest that Haughton "Either, which is quite possible, . . . received many payments not recorded in the Diary, or else he was obtaining money by a series of unfulfilled projects".¹ It is quite possible, of course, that he did either or both of these things. There is reason to believe that a piece called Judas which he began was finished by others,² while there is nothing to make it certain that a play was unfinished because it is not fully paid for in the Diary. It is even possible that subsequent payment may have been made for some plays under titles different from those originally used. Identifications based on this possibility have been suggested, but they are almost always incapable of substantiation. We are not in a position to speak with definiteness concerning most of the plays which Haughton was writing at this time. What we can with safety conclude, however, leaves us with the impression of feverish haste and prolific industry as the characteristics of his activity during the early months of 1600.

For the English Fugitives, Haughton received two payments, 16 and 24 April 1600, amounting to thirty shillings; and nothing further is known of the piece. Yet here as elsewhere conjecture has not been idle and we have guesses concerning its identity, its subject and various other matters. Mr. Greg suggested that it may conceivably have been the same as Robin Hood’s Pen’orthis; but this does not seem to the present writer likely. Collier surmised “that the play was on the story of the Duchess of Suffolk, afterwards dramatised by Drue, and printed in 1631 . . . ” Greg, however, thinks it “more likely that the . . . play was connected with two tracts, ‘The Estate of English Fugitives under the King of Spain and his ministers’, and ‘A Discourse of the Vsage of the Eng-

¹ Diary, II, 212. ² See below, p. 79.
lish Fugitives by the Spaniard, both printed in 1595." Into
the relative merits of these claims it is not profitable to go,
since there is no hope of fixing the matter. All that we have
left of the English Fugitives is its title.

More vexing is the question which has grown up about
Haughton's next play, The Devil and his Dame. In this piece
we have an excellent illustration of the uncertainty which
exists concerning the nature of Haughton's dealings with
Henslowe at this time. The entry in the Diary reads:

Lent vnto w™ harton the 6 of maye 1600 in earnest of
of a Booke wth he wold calle the devell & his dame.¹

This entry is the only record of the play in the Diary and it is
crossed out. The cancellation, Greg thinks, means that the sum
was repaid: and if this is so it would imply that Haughton did
not complete the play. Yet another circumstance prevents us
from being absolutely sure that the piece was not finished.

There was published in 1662 a volume called "Gratiae Thea-
trales. Or a choice Ternary of English Plays. . . . Never
before published." In this volume one of the three plays is
"Grim the Collier of Croydon, or the Devil and his Dame;
with the Devil and St. Dunstan: A Comedy, by I T". Although
not printed until 1662 there can be no doubt that the play of Grim the Collier was written much earlier. Indeed it
has at different times been said that the piece was printed in
1599, 1600 or 1606;² but these statements are all without
foundation. Nevertheless it certainly has every appearance of
having been written by 1600. Who its author was is not
known: the initials 'I. T.' tell us nothing. It is strange that
two plays on the same subject and with the same title³ should

¹ Diary, F. 69 (Greg, I, 121).
² By Chetwood, Ward, and Jacob respectively. See the summary of the
 matter in Greg, II, 213.
³ That the original title of Grim the Collier was the same as that of
Haughton's play is evident from lines in Act V, Scene i, "And after judge,
if we deserve to name This play of ours, The devil and his dame."
have been written at so nearly the same time; and the suggestion has been made that in *Grim the Collier of Croydon* we have the piece mentioned in Henslowe’s *Diary*.

This identification has been viewed with varying degrees of favor. Fleay, as usual, is very positive and asserts as though a fully established fact his opinion that the two plays are the same. Professor Schelling is less credulous and merely calls *Grim* “a play not impossibly to be identified with Haughton’s promised comedy”. Mr. Greg does not commit himself, but says “Haughton’s solitary advance of 5s., which seems to have been repaid, is not much evidence for his authorship of the extant play, though of course he may quite well have written it for the company even though the record of payment is not found”. The question is a difficult one to approach and perhaps not capable of final solution. It is complicated besides by the fact that there were several earlier plays—extant and non-extant—based in part upon the same material, and that there may have been some connection between a non-extant play and the existing *Grim the Collier of Croydon*.

It is true that there are certain features of *Grim the Collier* that remind one of Haughton’s other comedy, *Englishmen for My Money*. The opening is in the same manner,—

... Know then (who list) that I am English born.
My name is Dunstan; whilst I liv’d with men, ... etc.

whereupon the abbot proceeds to give an account of himself much as Pisaro does in the opening speech of *Englishmen for My Money*. Again the device of carrying forward the plot by stating the method in advance is characteristic of Haughton. From *Grim* it may be illustrated by these lines, anticipating the action:

1 *English Drama*, I, 273. He also thinks that Drayton is caricatured as Robin Goodfellow, and that Belphegor as the doctor is Lodge.

2 *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 356.

3 *Diary*, II, 213.
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Thou shalt this night be brought unto his bed
Instead of her, and he shall marry thee:
Musgrave shall have my daughter, she her will;
And so shall all things sort to our content.¹

The habit, too, of frequent parenthesis, which is common in *Englishmen for My Money*, is also found in parts of *Grim the Collier of Croydon*,² and a few minor matters suggest the possible presence of Haughton’s hand. But the evidence is perhaps not very striking or convincing, and the play of *Grim the Collier* seems to reveal a variety of styles in its various portions. The serious scenes which concern the Earl Lacy and Honorea are very different in manner and versification from those that concern Grim and (later) the pranks of Robin Goodfellow. The latter show a crudeness and irregularity of metre and a tendency to run into doggerel verse that make these parts seem earlier than the rest of the play. There are other indications, though slight, which point in the same direction for the Marian-Castiliano scenes, and it is possible that the whole play is the making over of an old play—perhaps the “historie of the Collyer” which was performed 30 Dec. 1576 by Leicester’s men at Hampton Court.³ At all events if Haughton had anything to do with *Grim the Collier of Croydon* it is probable that he was concerned in only a part of it; and the part which shows the most resemblance to his manner is the first scene of the first act. Perhaps he wrote this and no more, or perhaps in the rest of the play he touched up old work. If either of these possibilities were true there would be some reason for Henslowe’s payment of five shillings, and its cancellation would have to be differently accounted for. But when all has been said, the evidence of Haughton’s hand in *Grim the Collier of Croydon* is slight and is hardly sufficient

¹ Dodsley, VIII, p. 411.
to establish his authorship of the play. We must once more be content, in the case of this play, with the uncertainty that characterizes the work of Haughton at this time.

Two other plays, *Strange News Out of Poland* and *Judas*, complete this second and extremely busy period of Haughton's career. *Strange News Out of Poland* has caused historians of the drama considerable difficulty because the payment of £6 which Henslowe records 17 May 1600 is to "Will: Haulton & Mr Pett". The difficulty is caused by the name "Mr. Pett". No Pett is known elsewhere to have written plays, and Fleay queried, " Should it not be Chett., i. e., Chettle?"Greg notes "Henslowe often has Cett for Chettle, which is even nearer, but only where he is crowded for room, and he never applies to him the title of Mr." The last mentioned circumstance makes it somewhat unlikely that Chettle is meant. If Haughton's collaborator, however, really was a Mr. Pett, then he is very difficult to identify. Hazlitt mentions a John Pett, Gentleman, who compiled "The great Circle of Easter Containing A short Rule To Know upon what day of the month Easter day will fall . . . 1583", and a Peter Pett who was the author of "Times journey to seeke his Daughter Truth . . . 1599", in verse. The first of these individuals is not likely to have been the Pett in Henslowe. But it is just possible that the latter was, especially if he can be identified with the Peter Pett about to be mentioned. In a genealogy of the Pett family printed in the *Ancestor* there occurs the following passage: "Peter Pett, called Peter Pett the younger . . . [was] after the confusing fashion of his day, one of two sons with the same name. After his mother's death he was for a time in

1 *Drama*, I, 273.  
2 *Diary*, II, 213.  
3 *Collections*, II, 470.  
the cruel hands of his stepfather, Thomas Nunn, who put him out to a gentleman's house in Suffolk as teacher to the children. At the death of Thomas Nunn in 1599 he came to his good brother Phineas at Limehouse, and was prenticed by him in London. Soon afterwards he left his master for an idle life, which he was not long to lead, for on 21 June 1600 he died of small-pox at the Dolphin in Water Lane. On 23 June he was buried in the churchyard of Allhallows, Barking."

While in London he thus lived, it seems, near Haughton. Whether the suggested identification be considered plausible or not (it is made only as a suggestion), inability to identify the collaborator of Haughton is no evidence that the entry is incorrect or that there was no such person. Though we cannot fix the identity of the "Mr. Pett" in the Diary, we shall do well to credit Henslowe with knowing whom he was paying money to, and to consider, until definite evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, that the persons mentioned by him were the authors of *Strange News Out of Poland*. The subject of the play is not known. "News from Spaine", "News from Barbary", "News from Turkie", etc., were not unusual titles of Elizabethan prints; and there was printed in 1621 "News from Poland. Wherein is Truely inlarged the Occasion, Progression, and Interception of the Turks formidable threatening of Europe."

And particularly the invading of the

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1 P. 153. Possibly Phineas Pett himself was the man mentioned by Henslowe. "He was made assistant master shipwright in March 1603, and in January 1603 he was chosen by his good patron the Lord High Admiral to build for the young Prince Henry a little ship wherewith 'to acquaint his grace with shipping' . . ." (p. 155). In 1605 he was appointed master shipwright. An autobiography of him exists in MS. Harl. 6279.

2 Fleay's statement (Drama, I, 273) 'A “shrew” play' is as Greg notes (Diary, II, 213-4) due to a printer's error. The words have dropped out of their proper place in the entry concerning the *Devil and His Dame*.

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Kingdome of Poland. . . . "  

Creizenach suggested that the play might have been a historical drama, but we cannot well conjecture what its subject was.

The play of Judas is the last work of Haughton’s to be recorded in Henslowe for over six months. Its title is not absolutely certain, since the entries in the Diary may be read as either Judas or Judas. The former, however, seems to be the correct reading. On 27 May 1600 Haughton received ten shillings in earnest of the play, but apparently went no further with it. At all events, he seems not to have received any other payment for it. At all events, he seems not to have received any other payment for it. A year and a half later, however, December 1601, William Borne and Samuel Rowley received £6 “for a Booke called Judas”. The character of the entries would suggest an independent work, but it is possible that these two men were working on Haughton’s unfinished undertaking. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that Haughton ceased writing in the midst of the play and at the same time severed his connections with Henslowe for the next six months. When we next hear of him he is engaged upon an entirely new work.

As we look back over the period of Haughton’s career thus completed, we are amazed by the number and variety of the plays written in it. In the nine months of its duration Haughton wrote or began to write no less than twelve plays covering the widest variety of subjects and types. Seven of them were in collaboration, five alone; of them all, only one, Patient Grisel, has been preserved. Written in feverish haste, sometimes three at a time, they seem to have been produced in a

1 Hazlitt, Collections, 3rd series, p. 198.
3 Mr. Greg (I, 229) comments, “It is either Judas or Judas, and re-appears in the same form at 95 29 and 95° 9. There was a play distinct from the present one on the West Indies which H. always spells enges, except in one solitary case (104 2) where he has Indies. We may therefore safely conclude that Judas is here meant.”
vain endeavor to supply a purse that appears to have become very easily and quickly emptied. Some of them may have been written in prison, for it was during this time that Haughton was shut up for a while in the Clink. Of their quality we are scarcely able to judge, but even the little we do know of them and the circumstances attending their production makes this one of the more important portions of Haughton’s career.

IV.

Upon his return, 20 December 1600, to the company for which Henslowe was banker, Haughton produced a play called Robin Hood’s Pen’orths. The payments recorded for it extend to 13 January and amount in all to four pounds. One can hardly tell what story of Robin Hood it treated, and Prof. Thorndike says, “Of Robin Hood’s Pennyworths nothing can be even surmised”. My friend and former colleague, Dr. Charles Wharton Stork, however, suggests that the play may possibly have dealt with the story of Robin Hood and the Potter, or Robin Hood and the Butcher, stories which tell how Robin Hood attempted to collect toll from the potter (and the butcher) and later in disguise sold for a few pence each his opponent’s pots (or meat) worth much more, but how he made up for his loss by enticing the sheriff to the green woods and relieving him of all his possessions.\(^1\) The incident is used in the Playe of Robyn Hood, printed by Copland at the end of his edition of the Geste,\(^2\) and may easily have been the subject of Haughton’s play.

The same month Haughton joined Day in an attempt to

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follow up the success of a play by the latter and Chettle which had just been performed. This play, *The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green*,¹ had apparently pleased the public with its "merry humor of Tom Strowd the Norfolk Yeoman". Consequently we find Henslowe between 29 January and 5 May 1601 paying Day and Haughton (though Haughton had no share in the first part) £6 for a "second pte of the blinde beager of bednowle grene", or as he sometimes called it "the second pte of thome strowd". This in turn was sufficiently successful to warrant still a third part which Henslowe paid the same dramatists, Day and Haughton, £6. 10s. for from 21 May to 30 July. We know that the third part contained a fire drake because Henslowe paid three shillings sixpence 1 Sept. "to bye blacke buckrome to macke a sewte for a fyer drack in the 3 pte of thome strowde"; ² but beyond this we can judge of the contents of the two later plays only by their being a continuation of the extant part.³

While these two pieces were in progress Haughton was at work with Day on several other plays. *The Conquest of the West Indies* was the joint work of these authors in collaboration with Wentworth Smith. The first mention of the play is contained in an interesting note from Samuel Rowley to Henslowe dated 4 April 1601:

> Mr hinchloe J haue harde fyue shetes of a playe of the Conqueste of the Indes & J dow not doute but It wyll be a verye good playe therefore J praye ye delyuer them fortye shyllynes Jn earneste of It & take the papers Jnto yo¹ one hands & on easter eue thaye promyse to make an ende of all the reste:

Samuell Rowlye ⁴

² Diary, F. 93.
⁴ *Henslowe Papers*, Art. 32 (Greg, Supplement, p. 50).
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On the strength of this note Henslowe advanced to Haughton and Day the forty shillings. But the dramatists did not fulfil their promise by Easter. On the 4 June they were still working on the play, as the following note to Henslowe of this date and in Day's hand witnesses:

J have occasion to be absent about the plott of the
Jndyes therfore pray delyver it [some money] to
will hamton sadler
by me John Daye

Payments for the play continue until 1 Sept. No final payment is recorded but the play must have been finished within a short time of this date, for between 1 Oct. and 21 Jan. following, Henslowe expended over £14 for properties. Since the play is not extant, its subject and source are not known. Prof. Creizenach thinks it may have dealt with one of the expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh. It would not be surprising, however, if it were connected with a tract published first in 1578 and again in 1596, and having the title "The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne, Atchieued by the worthy Prince Hernando Cortes Marques of the valley of Huaxacat, most delectable to Reade: Translated out of the Spanishe tongue, by T. N. [Thomas Nicholas]". However this may be, nothing further or more definite is known of the play.

Another play belonging to approximately the same time, and likewise the work of Haughton and Day, is The Six Yeomen of the West. From the payments in the Diary, which extend from 20 May to 8 June 1601, it is evident that this play was being written at the same time the authors were also working on the 3 Blind Beggar and the Conquest of the West

1 Ib., Art. 35, p. 57.
2 Gesch. d. neueren dramas, IV, 220 note; Eng. trans., p. 183 note.
3 Hazlitt, Collections, I, 101-2.
It is apparently a dramatization of matter derived from Thomas Deloney's *Thomas of Reading, or The sixe worthie Yeomen of the West.* With the play of the *Six Yeomen of the West* three other plays are very closely associated, so closely that the last two have at times been wrongly considered identical with the others. The three plays thus related to the *Six Yeomen of the West* are 2 *Tom Dough* and 1 and 2 *Six Clothiers.* Tom Dough is one of the characters in Deloney's story, and the play of the 2 *Tom Dough*, also by Day and Haughton, is probably a continuation of the *Six Yeomen of the West*. The payments for it came between 30 July and 11 Sept. 1601. The sum paid for the *Six Yeomen* was £5 in full; for 2 *Tom Dough* the payments made amount to £4. The other two plays, 1 & 2 *Six Clothiers*, followed soon after the completion of these. The circumstance that the six yeomen in the *Six Yeomen of the West* were clothiers has led some to identify the last two plays with the first; but the entries in the *Diary* leave no room for doubt that they are quite independent productions. The first part of the *Six Clothiers* was paid £5 for, so far as the sums are recorded. On the second part Henslowe advanced the sum of £2 between the 1 and 8 Nov. (1601). The authors mentioned in connection with both parts are Haughton, Hathway and Wentworth Smith. Just what the subject of these two plays was is not to be discovered. It is possible that they were based, like the *Six Yeomen*, on Deloney's *Thomas of Reading*. Certainly there is in this work enough material to furnish the basis for all four plays. In any event, what we have in one or all is an attempt to dramatize this popular 'novel' of the day just as


2 For the entries of all these plays, see *Diary*, Ff. 87-100, *passim*. 
we dramatize novels to-day and just as another novel of Deloney's, *The Gentle Craft*, had been so successfully dramatized two years before in *The Shoemakers' Holiday.*

*Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Antwerp* would seem to have been written by Day and Haughton at irregular intervals during the latter half of 1601. The entries extend from 4 July to 29 Nov.; and on 21 Jan. 1602 Chettle was paid ten shillings for "mending" the piece, presumably for the court. The familiar story of *Friar Rush* had been used more than once in Elizabethan drama. From an allusion in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (III, ii) it would seem that it had been dramatized even at that early date, and later it was used by both Dekker and Jonson. But the Friar Rush story as generally known has nothing to do with a proud woman, and Fleay has expressed the opinion that "*The Proud Woman of Antwerp* was a separate play by Chettle alone," presumably meaning, as Greg remarks, "by Haughton". Professor Herford, however, has suggested that the dramatists combined with the Friar Rush plot the story of Belphegor, which had already been treated on the stage. More recently Prof. Creizenach has gone one step further and made the rather plausible suggestion that a source of the play was a story told by Stubbes in his *Anatomy of Abuses.*


2 *Drama*, I, 108.
3 *Diary*, II, 218.
6 *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, IV, 243.
7 "And amongst many other fearful examples of God's wrath against Pride, to set before their eyes, the fearful judgement of God, shewed
It would be a cheerful bit of irony if Stubbes were used as a source for an amusement he so violently attacked, but since the play is not extant it would be foolish to do more than call attention in passing to this interesting suggestion.

Haughton's last play was an unaided piece called *William Cartwright*, for which he received fifty shillings 8 Sept. 1602. It has usually been said that in this piece he returned to the

upon a gentlewoman of Eprautna [Antwerp] of late, even the 27 of Maie 1582, the fearfull sound whereof is blowen through all the worlde, and is yet fresh in every mannes memorie. This gentlewoman beeyng a very riche Merchante mannes daughter: vpon a tyme was inuited to a Bridall, or Weddyng, which was solemnized in that Toune, against whiche daie she made greate preparation, for the pluming of her self in gorgious arraie, that as her body was moste beautifull, faire, and proper, so her attire in every respecte might bee corespondent to the same. For the accomplishment whereof, she curled her haire, she died her lockes, and laied them out after the best maner, she coloured her face with waters and Ointmentes: But in no case could she gette any (so curious and daintie she was) that could starche, and sette her Ruffes, and Neckercers to her mynde: wherefore she sent for a couple of Laundresses, who did the best thei could to please her humors, but in anywise thei could not. Then fell she to sweare and teare, to curse and banne, castyng the Ruffes vnder feete, and wishing that the Deuill might take her, when she weare any of those Neckercers againe. In the meane tyme (through the suffer-ance of God) the Deuill, transformyng himself into the forme of a young man, as braue, and proper as she in euery poyncte in outward apperaunce, came in, faining hymself to bee a woer or suter vnto her. And seyng her thus agonized, and in suche a petyng chafe, he demaunded of her the cause thereof, who straight waie tolde hym (as women can conceale no thyng that lieth vpon their stomackes) how she was abused in the settyng of her Ruffes, which thyng beeyng heard of hym, he promised to please her minde, and thereto tooke in hande the setting of her Ruffes, which he performed to her greate contention, and likyng, in so muche as she lokyng her self in a glasse (as the Deuill bad her) became greatly inamoured with hym. This dooen, the yong man kissed her, in the doyng whereof, he whirhe her necke in sonder, so she died miserly, her bodie beeyng Metamorphosed, into blacke and blewe colours, most vrggelsome to behold, and her face (whiche before was so amorous) became moste deformed, and fearfull to looke vpon." Stubbes, P., *The Anatomic of Abuses* (New Shakspere Soc. Pub., Series 6, No. 4, p. 71-2).
murder play and dramatized a pamphlet of "the cruel outrageous Murder of William Storre, Minister and Preacher . . . by Francis Cartwright, one of his Parishioners." An account of the murder was published, according to Hazlitt, in 1603 and another in 1613. Greg casts doubt upon the supposition, pointing out that the murderer's name was Francis, not William, and asserting that the account was not published until 1613. The two editions listed in Hazlitt, however, seem to be independent and different publications; the former was printed at Oxford, the latter at London. I am by no means convinced that the account was not published, as the evidence seems to indicate, in 1603. Whether or not there was any connection between these pamphlets and Haughton's play is another matter incapable, of course, of determination.

V.
Haughton as a Dramatist—Variety of his Productions—A Forerunner of Middleton—A Typical Playwright of the Henslowe Class.

As we look back over the plays which Haughton wrote in the brief course of his dramatic career the list reveals a surprising variety of subjects. He apparently turned his hand with equal ease to almost any type of drama, and the number of types he tried is consequently large. He seems to have written in the fashion of the moment and to have changed as often as the fashion changed. When towards the end of 1599 the murder play attained a renewed vogue, he wrote Thomas Merry and Cox of Collumpton; when towards the end of the century the pastoral fad touched the drama, he wrote the Arcadian Virgin; after Chettle and Munday had aroused interest in the story of Robin Hood, he produced his play of

1 Handbook, pp. 336, 468.
2 Diary, II, 224.
Robin Hood's Pen'orths; and so the list might be continued until mention had been made of his plays on foreign history, on subjects drawn from folk-lore and magic, the Bible, and numerous other sources. He was particularly fond of the drama of contemporary incident, the journalistic drama, and in this we again see him in the rôle of an opportunist. But eclectic as he was in his practice and prone as he was to follow the fashion of the day, he was by no means incapable of striking out new paths for himself and undertaking types not yet attempted. His *Englishmen for My Money* not only gave to English drama a new variation of plot, but it added a new type of play, the comedy of London life. We have in Haughton a dramatist who tried everything with apparent carelessness, who succeeded without effort, and whose mind was yet capable, when he chose to give it free rein, of work notable for its novelty and originality.

To generalize about Haughton's art is not easy since we have so little material to base our observations upon. So far as the limitations of our knowledge permit, however, we see in Haughton chiefly the first notable example of the kind of drama later so cultivated by Middleton. In the latter's comedies, as Professor Schelling has said, "recur again and again the young spendthrift, going the pace, eternal darling of those who delight in the theatre; the usurious money-lender whom we laugh to see hoist with his own petard; uncles and fathers duped, . . . fools despoiled and abused; and wit forever triumphant".¹ All this is to be found already present in *Englishmen for My Money*. Haughton's art is not romantic and his attitude is not that of the moralist. In this and other respects, too, he suggests Middleton. His realism, his worldliness, the absence of poetry from his work, his content to look at the world as it is and to make laughter out of the daily life

¹ *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, 1910, pp. 186-7.
about him—all these things are as typical of Middleton as of Haughton. Haughton differs slightly from Middleton in the absence of the satirical—or should we say cynical?—purpose. He portrays simply and realistically the world and the world’s follies because they are subjects of laughter and comedy; Middleton treats the follies of mankind satirically, not, it is true, because they are not moral, but because they are foolish. Next to Middleton, Haughton is most likely to be thought of in connection with Dekker. Yet such a comparison cannot but be to the former’s disadvantage. There was, we feel, in the character of Dekker a certain grace and charm and kindliness which we cannot perceive in Haughton. It is possible that we are doing the latter an injustice in denying these qualities to him on the strength of only his first play. But in this play there is a worldly attitude, none too moral as it is none too sympathetic, which fails to draw us particularly to the author. In Dekker’s plays, especially in the Shoemakers’ Holiday, there is a spirit which pervades the work, that radiates from the man and is responsible, one feels, for not a little of the play’s charm. Leaving such comparisons aside, however, we recognize in Haughton a briskness and vivacity, a humor boisterous at times yet merry withal, and a homely realism and truth to life that sorted well with the audience for which he wrote.

In conclusion, we have in Haughton a man in every way typical of the Henslowe class of playwrights. Able, facile and business-like, he has the air of competence characteristic of the professional as opposed to the amateur. With an inexhaustible store of material and an unusual capacity for work, he is characteristically the fertile maker of ‘popular’ plays, productive of temporary success and immediate financial return. Writing in haste for the present and with no concern for the future, he is sharply distinguished from such a man as Ben Jonson, who consciously produced ‘literature’, spent a
year upon a play, and was careful to publish his work during his lifetime in an authoritative edition for the discerning. But in the face of circumstances so destructive of good work, Haughton succeeded in producing one play of permanent value and in influencing considerabily the course of the drama of his day. Together with Chettle, Day and Dekker, his most frequent collaborators, he completes during the last years of the sixteenth century the most characteristic group of playwrights in Henslowe's employ. In this group he is certainly not the least notable, and in the history of the Elizabethan drama his place must always remain one of real interest and importance.

THE TEXT

Three quartos of Englishmen for My Money exist, dated 1616, 1626 and 1631. Gayley is mistaken in thinking there are four old editions (Rep. Eng. Com., II, xxix), and Baker (I, 313) and Jacob (II, 310) are in error in listing editions of 1578 and 1656 respectively. In the preparation of the present edition two copies of the first quarto, two of the second and five of the third have been used. Of the 1616 quarto the copies collated are: (1) one in the collection of Mr. William A. White, of New York (referred to as W: it may be identified by the 1874 book-plate of Locker-Lampson); and (2) a copy in the Barton collection in the Boston Public Library (referred to as B: it contains the armorial book-plate of William Holgate). Reference has also been made to the British Museum specimen as reproduced in facsimile by Farmer (Students' Facsimile Series; referred to as BM). Of the 1626 quarto, both copies used are in the possession of Mr. Henry E. Huntington, of New York. The first, referred to as H, is a large, finely-preserved copy that can be distinguished by the ex-libris of Robert Hoe in the cover. The other, referred to as H2, is a smaller, closely-trimmed copy, formerly in the possession of Mr. C. Bohn Slingluff (signature on fly-leaf) and of Mr. Beverly Chew (ex-libris on inside of cover). Of the
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third quarto, most use has been made of the copy in the library of the University of Pennsylvania (referred to as P). The four other copies used are all in the library of Mr. Huntington: (1) that referred to as H3 (containing the Jester book-plate of Locker-Lampson); (2) that cited as H4 (containing the ex-libris of Robert Hoe); (3) one called H5 (containing the ex-libris of Mr. Beverly Chew); and (4) a copy referred to as H6 (formerly in the possession of John P. Kemble and later in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire). In this copy each page has been cut out and mounted in the manner common to books from the Kemble-Devonshire collection. The copy is especially useful because of its clean presswork. Letters and punctuation marks which have failed to print in other specimens are frequently found fully impressed in H6. This is, of course, due merely to the accidental circumstance that in gathering the sheets for this copy the printer happened to get well-printed ones.

The play was reprinted in the first volume of a collection called The Old English Drama, London, Thomas White, 1830, and the text and apparatus of this edition were reproduced in the 1874 Dodsley, vol. X. More recently the 1616 quarto has been reprinted by the Malone Society, [1913 for] 1912. All of these editions have been compared with the present text, but variants are not recorded. The first two are modernized editions and not always trustworthy. The last is a careful reprint containing but few slips. To justify the reading of the text here presented it may be noted that errors occur in lines 442, 824, 1310, 1413, 1427, 1464, 1477, 2142 and 2508 (= Malone Soc. numbers 458, 848, 1349, 1455, 1471, 1509, 1522, 2210, 2680). Unrecorded variants between BM and the Malone Soc. reprint occur at lines 318, 331, 2446 (= 327, 362, 2523) and in the list of doubtful readings "Heighun" should be "Heightm" (Mal. Soc. 454).

The present text is almost an exact reprint of Q1 in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, line division, etc. It has been made up on the basis of forms. A comparison of B and W, BM and the Bodleian copy (as recorded in the variants of the Malone Soc. reprint) shows that B has an uncorrected outer form in
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sheet B (318, 331, 438 s. d., 442); and that W has an uncorrected inner form in sheet F (1495), in sheet G (1744), and in sheet K (2543). Other variations between B and W occur at lines 1704, 2069, 2078 and 2446, but they are due probably to faulty impression rather than to actual correction by the printer. In only a few cases have readings of Q2 and Q3 been substituted for the readings of Q1. Wherever the text of Q1 has been departed from, the departure is recorded in the notes. The distinction of roman, italic and black-letter type has been preserved except in the punctuation. Here, where the kind is often difficult to detect, the quartos have been adhered to only so far as was practicable. Long "s" has been replaced by the modern form and the difference between ornamental and plain characters of the italic font has been ignored. The line division of the first quarto has with few exceptions been kept, but no attempt has been made to reproduce the spacing of the old copies. The piece has been divided into acts and scenes, and a few necessary stage directions have been added—all in brackets. In the full critical apparatus accompanying the text all cases in which the second or third quartos show variation from the first have been noted. Differences in the kind of type have not been noted for the punctuation. In the references to the quartos, the abbreviation "Q3" indicates that all copies of the third quarto agree; the designation "Q2, etc." signifies that all copies of the second and third quartos examined are alike in the reading recorded.

Finally, the character and relation of the three quartos may be easily indicated. Q1 represents the text in its most accurate form. From the stage directions at lines 772 and 1296 it might be inferred that the original from which the printer set his type was a stage version, but this evidence is hardly sufficient to establish the point. Q2 was set up from Q1. This is evident from the repetition of errors in the original quarto. Although it offers many variant readings, chiefly in spelling, punctuation, etc., it is on the whole a careful and intelligent reproduction. Q3 was set up from Q2, as may be seen from the many readings in which it agrees with Q2 but differs from Q1, and from the fact that it is
a line-for-line copy of Q2. In a few cases Q3 agrees with Q1 and not with Q2, but each of these cases can be ascribed to chance or can be otherwise reasonably accounted for. Q3 is a much less careful piece of work than Q2; occasionally whole lines are omitted, to the detriment of the sense. The differences between the quartos, however, concern for the most part spelling, punctuation and typography. None of the later editions presents any notable textual variation from the first quarto.

Since the Stationers' Register does not record any transfer of the rights of the play, the conditions under which these editions were published are, as Mr. Greg says, somewhat obscure, "for though Augustine Matthews is known to have had dealings with John White, the son and heir of William, in 1622, and with John Norton in 1624–6, no direct connexion is known between either John or William White and John Norton." One may go even further and doubt whether the 1626 edition really was printed by John Norton, in spite of the statement on the title-page. There is some reason to think that Augustine Matthews, printer of the 1631 edition, was also the printer of this. The device on the title-page (No. 238β in McKerrow, Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485–1640, London, 1913) is one which, McKerrow suggests, probably "passed by way of William and John White to Augustine Mathewes in 1622". (On the relations of these men, see McKerrow, Dictionary, pp. 188, 288). From 1624 to 1626 Matthews printed several books for John Norton (ibid., p. 188) and McKerrow suggests (Publishers' Devices, p. 91) that since the two men seem to have been working in partnership at about this date, the 1626 edition of Englishmen for My Money was printed for Norton by Augustine Matthews. The ornamental headpiece is the same as that used by Matthews in his 1631 edition of the play. On the title-page of this edition the device is that of A. Hart, Edinburgh (McKerrow, No. 379) with the initials voided. It seems likely that from William White, who originally entered the play on the Stationers' Register, it passed to his son, John White, and from him to Augustine Matthews, who issued two editions,—one in 1626 for John Norton, and the other for himself in 1631.
ENGLISH-MEN
For my Money:
OR,
A pleasant Comedy,
called,
A Woman will have her Will.

Imprinted at London by W. White,
dwelling in Cow-lane. 1616.
ENGLISH-MEN
For my Money:
OR
A pleasant Comedy
Called,
A Woman will haue her Will.

As it hath beene divers times Acted
with great applause.

LONDON,
Printed by I. N. and are to be sold by Hugh Perry at his
Shop in Brittaines Burffe at the signe of the Harrow. 1626.
A Pleasant
COMEDIE
Called,
A Woman will have her Will.

As it hath beene diverse times Acted
with great applause.

LONDON,
Printed by A. M. and are to be sold by Richard
Thrale, at the Croffe-Keyes in Paules-Church-
yard, neere Cheape-side. 1631.
The Actors names.

Pisaro, a Portingale.

Laurentia,
Marina,
\{ Pisaros Daughters. \\
Mathca, \\
\}

Anthony, a Schoolemaister to them.

Harvie,
Ferdinand, or Heigham, \{ Suters to Pisaros Daughters. \\
Ned, or Walgrau, \\
\}

Delion, a Frenchman,
Aluaro, an Italian, \{ Suters also to the 3. daughters. \\
Vandalle, a Dutchman, \\
\}

Frisco a Clowne, Pisaros man.

M. Moore.

Toverson a Marchant.

Balsaro.

Browne a Clothier

A Post.

A Belman.

[For variant readings see notes at end of volume.]
[Act I. Scene I. Before Pisaro's House.]

Enter PISARO.

Pisaro.

How smugge this gray-eyde Morning seemes to bee,  
A pleasant sight; but yet more pleasure haue I  
To thinke vpon this moystning Southwest Winde,  
That driues my laden Shippes from fertile Spaine:

But come what will, no Winde can come amisse,  
For two and thirty Windes that rules the Seas,  
And blowes about this ayerie Region;  
Thirtie two Shippes haue I to equall them:

Whose wealthy fraughts doe make Pisaro rich:

Thus euery Soyle to mee is naturall:

Indeed by birth, I am a Portingale,

Who driuen by Westerne winds on English shore,  
Heere liking of the soyle, I maried,

And haue Three Daughters: But impartial Death

Long since, depriude mee of her dearest life:

Since whose disease, in London I haue dwelt:

And by the sweete loude trade of Vsurie,
Letting for Interest, and on Morgages,
Doe I waxe rich, though many Gentlemen
By my extortion comes to miserie:
Amongst the rest, three English Gentlemen,
Haue pawnde to mee their Liuings and their Lands:
Each seuerall hoping, though their hopes are vaine,
By mariage of my Daughters, to possesse
Their Patrimonies and their Landes againe:
But Gold is sweete, and they deceiue them-selues;
For though I guild my Temples with a smile.
It is but Iudas-like, to worke their endes.
But soft, What noyse of footing doe I heare?

Enter Laurentia, Marina, Mathea, and Anthony.

Laur. Now Maister, what intend you to read to vs ?
Anth. Pisaro your Father would have me read morall Philosophy.
Mari. What's that?
Anth. First tell mee how you like it ?
Math. First tell vs what it is.
Pisa. They be my Daughters and their Schoole-maister, Pisaro, not a word, but list their talke.
Anth. Gentlewomen, to paint Philosophy,
Is to present youth with so sowre a dish.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

As their abhorring stomaches nill digestes.
When first my mother Oxford (Englands pride)
Fostred mee puple-like, with her rich store,
My study was to read Philosophy:
But since, my head-strong youths vnbridled will,
Scorning the leaden fetters of restraint,
Hath prunde my fea[t]hers to a higher pitch.

Gentlewomen, Morall Philosophy is a kind of art,
The most contrary to your tender sexes:
It teacheth to be graue: and on that brow,
Where Beawtie in her rarest glory shines,
Plants the sad semblance of decayed age:
Those Weedes that with their riches should adorne,
And grace faire Natures curious workmanship,
Must be converted to a blacke fac’d vayle,
Griefes liuerie, and Sorrowes semblance:
Your food must be your hearts abundant sighes,
Steep’d in the brinish liquor of your teares:
Day-light as darke-night, darke-night spent in prayer:
Thoughts your companions, and repentant mindes,
The recreation of your tired spirits:

39 stomaches] stomachs Q2 etc. nill Q3
40 Englands] Englands Q3 41 mee puple] me pupil- Q3
42 study] studie Q2 etc. read] reade Q2 etc. Philosophy]
Philosophy Q3 45 prunde] prund Q3 feahers] feathers Q2 etc.
pitch.] pitch. Q3
46 Morall Philosophy] morall Philosophy Q3 kind] kinde Q2 etc.
49 Beawtie] Beautie Q2 Beauty Q3 51Weedes] VWeedes Q2
52 workmanship] workemanship Q2 etc. 53 converted] converted Q3
53 blacke fac’d] blacke-fac’d Q2 blacke-fac’d Q3
54 liuerie,] livery Q3 55 food] foode Q2 etc.
55 abundant] aboudant Q2 abundant Q3
56 brinish liquor] bruish lyqour Q2 brinish liquor Q3
57 All hyphens except first omitted Q2 etc. 59 tired] tyred Q2 etc.
Gentlewomen, if you can like this modestie.

Then will I read to you Philosophy.

Laur. Not I.

Math. Hang vp Philosophy, Ile none of it.

Pisar. A Tutor said I; a Tutor for the Diuell.

Anth. No Gentlewomen, Anthony hath learn'd

To read a Lector of more pleasing worth.

Marina, read these lines, young Haruie sent them,
There euer line repugnes Philosophy:
Then loue him, for he hates the thing thou hates.

Laurentia, this is thine from Ferdinande:
Thinke euer golden circle that thou see'st,
The rich vnualued circle of his worth.

Mathca, with these Gloues thy Ned salutes thee;
As often as these, hide these from the Sunne.
And Wanton steales a kisse from thy faire hand,
Presents his serviceable true harts zeale,
Which waits vpnon the censure of thy doome:
What though their Lands be morgag'd to your Father;
Yet may your Dowries redeeme that debt:
Thinke they are Gentlemen, and thinke they loue;
And be that thought, their true lones aduocate.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Say you should wed for Wealth; for to that scope
Your Fathers greedy disposition tendes,
The world would say, that you were had for Wealth,
And so faire Beawties honour quite distinct:
A masse of Wealth being powrde vpon another,
Little augments the shew, although the summe;
But beeing lightly scattred by it selfe,
It doubles what it seem'd, although but one:
Euen so your selues, for wedded to the Rich,
His stile was as it was, a Rich man still:
But wedding these, to wed true Loue, is dutie:
You make them rich in Wealth, but more in Beawtie:
I need not plead, that smile shewes hearts consent;
That kisse shew'd loue, that on that gift was lent:
And last thine Eyes, that teares of true ioy sendes,
As comfortable tidings for my friends.
(Mari. Haue done, haue done; what need'st thou more
When long ere this I stoop'd to that faire lure:
Thy euer louing Harvie I delight it:
Marina euer loving shall requite it.
Teach vs Philosophy? Ile be no Nunne;

83 Wealth] wealth Q2 etc. scope] scope, Q2 etc.
84 tendes] tends Q2 etc. 85 Wealth] wealth Q3
86 Beawties] Beauties Q2 beauties Q3 87 powrde] pour'd Q2 etc.
87 another] an other Q2 etc. 88 summe:] summe: Q2 etc.
89 beeing] being Q2 etc. 91 Euen] Even Q3 92 Rich] rich Q3
94 Beawtie] Beautie Q2 Beauty Q3
95 All Qq read: I need not plead that smile, that smile shewes....
95 In Q1 'consent' is divided, 'con-' concluding l. 95 and 'sent;' appearing
on the line below.
97 Eyes.] Eyes P H4 sends.] sends, Q2 etc.
98 procure] procurs Q2 etc. 101 euer louing] euer-louing Q2
ever-loving Q3 Harvie] Harvie Q3 102 euer louing] ever loving Q3
102 Q1 reads: Marina euer louing shall requite it young. it.] it Q2
102 young.] Omitted Q2 etc. 103 Philosophy] Philosophy Q3
103 Nunne] Xunne Q3
Age scornes Delight, I loue it being [young] : 
There's not a word of this, not a words part.
But shall be stamp'd, seal'd, printed on my heart;
On this Ie read, on this my senses ply:
All Arts being vaine, but this Philosophy.

Laur. Why was I made a Mayde, but for a Man?
And why Laurentia, but for Ferdinand?
The chastes Soule these Angels could intice?
Much more himselfe, an Angell of more price:
were't thy selfe present, as my heart could wish,
Such vsage thou shouldst haue, as I gie this.

Anth. Then you would kisse him?
Laur. If I did, how then?
Anth. Nay I say nothing to it, but Amen.
Pisa. The Clarke must haue his fees, Ie pay you them.

Math. Good God, how abiect is this single life,
Ie not abide it; Father, Friends, nor Kin.
Shall once dissuade me from affecting [him]:
A man's a man; and Ned is more then one:
Yfayth Ile haue thee Ned, or Ile haue none;
Doe what they can, chafe, chide, or storme their fill.

Mathca is resolu'd to haue her will.

Pisa. I can no longer hold my patience.
Impudent villaine, and laciuous Girles,
I haue ore-heard your vild converisions:
You scorne Philosophy: You'le be no Nunne,
You must needes kisse the Pursse, because he sent it.
And you forsooth, you flurgill, minion.
A brat scant folded in the dozens at most,
Youle haue your will forsooth; What will you haue?

Math. But twelue yeare old? nay Father that's not so,
Our Sexton told mee I was three yeares mo.

Pisa. I say but twelue: you'r best tell mee I lye.

What sirra Anthony.

Anth. Heere sir.

Pisa. Come here sir, & you light huswiues get you in:
Stare not vpon me, moue me not to ire: Exeunt sisters.

Nay sirra stay you here. Ile talke with you:
Did I retaine thee (villaine) in my house,
Gaue thee a stipend twenty Markes by yeare,
And hast thou thus infected my three Girles,
Virging the loue of those, I most abhord;
Vnthrits, Beggers; what is worse.
And all because they are your Country-men?

Anth. Why sir, I taught them not to keepe a Marchants Booke, or cast accompt: yet to a word much like that word Accounte.

Pisa. A Knaue past grace, is past recouerie.

Why sirra Frisco, Villaine, Loggerhead, where art thou?

Enter Frisco, the Clowne.

Frisco. Heere's a calling indeed: a man were better to liue a Lords life and doe nothing, then a Seruing creature, and neuer be idle. Oh Maister, what a messe of Brewesse
standes now upon the poyn of spoyling by your hastiness; why they were able to haue got a good Stomacke with child even with the sight of them; and for a Vapour, oh precious Vapour, let but a Wench come neere them with a Painted face, and you should see the Paint drop and curdle on her Cheekes, like a peec of dry Essex Cheese toasted at the fire.

_Pisa._ Well sirra, leaue this thought, & minde my words, Giue diligence, inquiere about

For one that is expert in Languages,
A good Musitian, and a French-man borne;
And bring him hither to instruct my Daughters,
Ile nere trust more a smooth-fac'd English-man.

_Frisc._ What, must I bring one that can speake Languages? what an old Asse is my Master; why he may speake flaunte taunte as well as French. for I cannot vnderstand him.

_Pisa._ If he speake French, thus he will say, awee awee:
What, canst thou remember it?

_Frisc._ Oh, I haue it now, for I remember my great Grandfathers Grandmothers sisters coosen told mee, that Pigges and French-men. speake one Language. awee awee; I am Dogg at this: But what must he speake else?

_Pisa._ Dutch.

_Frisc._ Let's heare it?

_Pisa._ Hauncs butterkin slowpin.

155 standes] stands Q2 etc.
155 poyn] point Q2 157 child] child, Q2 etc. even Q3
159 Painted .... Paint] painted .... paint Q3
162 minde] mind Q2 etc. 165 French-man] French-man Q3
167 nere] ne're Q2 etc. English-man] Englishman Q2 English-man Q3
169 Master] Master Q2 etc. he] hee Q2 etc.
awee] awee, Q3 177 Dutch.] Dutch, Q2 Dutch, Q3 Frisc.] Frisc, Q3
Fris. Oh this is nothing, for I can speake perfect Dutch when I list.

Pisa. Can you, I pray let's heare some?

Fris. Nay I must haue my mouth full of Meate first, and then you shall heare me grumble it foorth full mouth. as Haunce Butterkin slowpin frokin: No, I am a simple Dutchman: Well, Ile about it.

Pisa. Stay sirra, you are too hastie; for hee must speake one Language more.

Fris. More Languages? I trust he shall haue Tongues enough for one mouth: But what is the third?

Pisa. Italian.

Fris. Why that is the easiest of all, for I can tell whether he haue any Italian in him euen by looking on him.

Pisa. Can you so, as how?

Fris. Marry by these three poynts; a Wanton Eye, Pride in his Apparell, and the Diuell in his Countenance. Well, God keepe me from the Diuel in seeking this Frenchman: But doe you heare mee Maister, what shall my fellow Anthony doe, it seems he shall serue for nothing but to put Lattin into my young Mistresses. Exit Frisco.

Pisa. Hence asse, hence loggerhead, begon I say. And now to you that reades Philosophy. Packe from my house, I doe discharge thy servise,
And come not neere my dores: for if thou dost,
Ile make thee a publike example to the world.

_Antho._ Well crafty Fox, you that worke by wit,
It may be, I may lye to fit you yet. _Exit Antho._

_Pisa._ Ah sirra, this tricke was spide in time.
For if but two such Lectures more they’d heard,
For euer had their honest names been marde:
Ile in and rate them: yet that’s not best.
The Girles are wilfull, and seueritie
May make them carelesse, mad, or desperate.
What shall I doe? Oh! I haue found it now,
There are three wealthy Marchants in the Towne,
All Strangers, and my very speciall friendes.
The one of them is an Italian:
A French-man, and a Dutch-man, be the other:
These three intyrely doe affect my Daughters.
And therefore meane I, they shall haue the tongues,
That they may answere in their seuerall Language:
But what helps that? they must not stay so long.
For whiles they are a learning Languages,
My English Youths, both wed, and bed them too:
Which to preuent, Ile seeke the Strangers out.
Let’s looke: tis past aleauen, Exchange time full.
There shall I meete them, and conferre with them,  
This worke craues hast, my Daughters must be Wedde,  
For one Months stay, sayth farrewell Mayden head.  

Exit.

[Scene II. The Same.]

Enter Haruie, Heigham,  
and Walgraue.

Heigh. Come Gentlemen, w're almost at the house,  
I promise you this walke ore Tower-hill,  
Of all the places London can afforde,  
Hath sweetest Ayre, and fitting our desires.

Haru. Good reason, so it leades to Croched-Fryers  
Where old Pisaro, and his Daughters dwell,  
Looke to your feete, the broad way leades to Hell:  
They say Hell standes below, downe in the deepe,  
Ile downe that Hill, where such good Wenches keepe,  
But sirra Ned, what says Mathca to thee?  
Wilt fadge? wilt fadge? What, will it be a match?  

Walgr. A match say you? a mischiefe twill as soone:  
Should I can scarce begin to speake to her,  
But I am interrupted by her father.  
Ha, what say you? and then put ore his snoute,
Able to shaddow Powles, it is so great.
Well, tis no matter, sirrs. this is his House,
Knocke for the Churle bid him bring out his Daughter;
Ile, sbloud I will, though I be hanged for it.

Heigh. Hoyda, hoyda, nothing with you but vp & ride,
Youle be within, ere you can reach the Dore,
And haue the Wench, before you compasse her:
You are too hastie, Pisaro is a man,
Not to be fedde with Words, but wonne with Gold.
But who comes heere?

Enter Anthony.

Walg. Whom, Anthony our friend?

Say man, how fares our Loues? How doth Mathea?  
Can she loue Ned? how doth she like my sute?
Will old Pisaro take me for his Sonne;
For I thanke God, he kindly takes our Landes,
Swearing, Good Gentlemen you shall not want,
Whilst old Pisaro, and his credite holds:
He will be damn'd the Roage, before he do't?

Haru. Prethy talke milder: let but thee alone,
And thou in one bare hower will aske him more,
Then heele remember in a hundred yeares:

244 Powles] Paules Q2 etc. 245 sirrs] sirs Q2 etc. House] house Q3
246 Churle] Churle, Q2 etc. Daughter] Daughters Q3
247 Ile, sbloud I will] Ile, that I will Q2 etc. it] it. Q2 etc.
248 Heigh.] Heig. Q3 & ride.] and ride; Q3
249 Dore] doore Q2 etc. 251 too] to Q2 hastie] hasty Q2 etc.
252 fedde] fed Q3 Words] words Q3 wonne] won Q3
253 heere] here Q2 254 Whom.] Whom Q2 etc. 256 sute] suit Q2 etc.
257 Sonne] sonne Q3
258 Landes] Lands Q2 etc. 259 Good Gentlemen] good Gentlemen, Q2 etc.
260 credite] credit Q2 etc. holds] hold Q3
261 damn'd the Roage.] damn'd, the Rogue Q2 etc.
263 hower] houre Q2 etc. will] wilt Q3 264 a] an Q2 etc.
264 hundred] hundrd Q3 yeares] yeeres Q3
Come from him Anthony, and say what newes?  

Anthony. The newes for me is badd; and this it is:

Pisaro hath discharg'd me of his service.

Heigh. Discharg'd thee of his service; for what cause?

Anthony. Nothing, but that his Daughters learne Philosophy.

Heigh. Maydes should reade that, it teacheth modestie.  

Anthony. I, but I left out mediocritie,

And with effectuall reasons, vrgd your loues.

Walger. The fault was small, we three will to thy Maister
And begge thy pardon.

Anthony. Oh, that cannot be,

Hee hates you farre worser, then he hates me;
For all the loue he shewes, is for your Lands,
Which he hopes sure will fall into his hands:
Yet Gentlemen, this comfort take of me,
His Daughters to your loues affected be:
Their father is abroad, they three at home,
Goe chearely in, and cease that is your owne:
And for my selfe, but grace what I intend,
Ile overreach the Churle, and helpe my Frend.

Heigh. Build on our helpes, and but devise the meanes.

Anthony. Pisaro did commaund Frisco his man,  

(A simple sotte, kept onely but for myrth)
To inquire about in London for a man,
That were a French-man and Musitian,
To be (as I suppose) his Daughters Tutor:
Him if you meete, as like enough you shall,
He will inquire of you of his affayres;
Then make him answere, you three came from Paules,
And in the middle walke, one you espide,
Fit for his purpose; then describe this Cloake,
This Beard and Hatte: for in this borrowed shape,
Must I beguile and ouer-reach the Foole:
The Maydes must be acquainted with this drift.
The Doore doth ope, I dare not stay reply,
Least beeing discride: Gentlemen adue,
And helpe him now, that oft hath helped you. Exit.

Enter Frisco the Cloivne.

Wal. How now sirra, whither are you going?
Fris. Whither am I going, how shall I tell you, when I
doe not know my selfe, nor vnderstand my selfe?
Heigh. What dost thou meane by that?
Frisc. Marry sir, I am seeking a Needle in a Bottle of
Hay, a Monster in the liknesse of a Man: one that in stead
of good morrow, asketh what Porrage you haue to Dinn-
er, Parley voussigniour? one that neuer washes his fingers,
but licks them cleane with kisses; a clipper of the Kings.
English: and to conclude, an eternall enemie to all good Language.

_Haru._ What's this? what's this?

_Fris._ Doe not you smell me? Well, I perceiue that witte doth not always dwel in a Satten-dublet: why, tis a French-man, Bassimon cue, how doe you?

_Haru._ I thanke you sir, but tell me what wouldest thou doe with a French-man?

_Fris._ Nay fayth, I would doe nothing with him, vnlesse I set him to teach Parrets to speake: marry the old Asse my Maister, would haue him to teach his Daughters, though I trust the whole world sees, that there be such in his house that can serue his Daughters turne, as well as the proudest French-man: but if you be good laddes, tell me where I may finde such a man?

_Heigh._ We will, goe hye thee straight to Paules, There shalt thou find one fitting thy desire; Thou soone mayst know him, for his Beard is blacke, Such is his rayment, if thou runn'st appace, Thou canst not misse him _Frisco._

_Fris._ Lord, Lord, how shall poore _Phrisco_ rewarde
your rich tydings Gentlemen: I am yours till Shrouetewesday, for then change I my Copy, & looke like nothing but Red-Herring Cobbes, and Stock-Fish; yet Ile doe somewhat for you in the meanes time: my Maister is abroad, and my young Mistresses at home: if you can doe any good on them before the French-man come, why so? Ah Gentlemen, doe not suffer a litter of Languages to spring vp amongst vs; I must to the Walke in Paules, you to the Vestrie. Gentlemen, as to my selfe, and so forth.

Exit Frisco

Haru. Fools tell the truth men say, and so may he: Wenches we come now, Loue our conduct be. Ned, knocke at the doore: but soft forbeare;

Enter Lawrentia, Marina, and Mathea.

The Cloude breaks vp, and our three Sunnes appeare. To this I fly, shine bright my liues sole stay, And make griefes night a gloryous summers day.

Mari. Gentlemen, how welcome you are here, Guesse by our lookes, for other meanes by feare Preuented is: our fathers quicke returne Forbidds the welcome, else we would haue done.

Walg. Mathea, How these faithfull thoughts obey.

Mat. No more sweet loue, I know what thou wouldst
A WOman WILL HAVE HER WILL

You say you loue me, so I wish you still, (say:)
Loue hath loues hier, being ballancst with good will:
But say; come you to vs, or come you rather 355
To pawne more Lands for mony to our father?

[Laurentia & Heigham

talk apart.

I know tis so, a Gods name spend at large:
What man? our mariage day will all discharge;
Our father (by his leaue) must pardon vs,
Age saue of age, of nothing can discusse:
360
But in our loues, the prouerbe weele fulfill:
Women and Maydes, must alwayes haue their will.

Heigh.  Say thou as much, and adde life to this Coarse,
Law.  Your selfe & your good news doth more enforce:
How these haue set forth loue by all their witte,
365
I sweare in heart, I more then double it.
Sisters be glad, for he hath made it playne,
The meanes to get our Schoole-maister againe:
But Gentlemen, for this time cease our loues,
This open streete perhaps suspition mouses,
370
Fayne we would stay, bid you walke in more rather,
But that we feare the conning of our father:
Goe to th'Exchange, craue Gold as you intend,
Pisaro scrapes for vs; for vs you spend:
We say farewell, more sadlier be bold,
Then would my greedy father to his Gold:
Wee here, you there, aske Gold; and Gold you shall:
Weele pay the intrest, and the principall.  Execute Sisters
Walg. That’s my good Girles, and Ie pay you for all.
Haru. Come to th’Exchange, and when I feele decay, Send me such Wenches, Heauens I still shall pray. Execute.

[SCENE III.  The Exchange.]

Enter Pisaro, Delion the Frenchman, V’andalle the Dutchman, Aluaro the Italian, and other Marchants, at severall doores.

Pisa. Good morrow, M. Strangers.
Strang. Good morrow sir.
Pisaro. This (louing friends) hath thus emboldned me,
For knowing the affection and the loue Maister V’andalle, that you beare my Daughter:
Likewise, and that with ioy considering too, you Mounsier Delion, would faine dispatch:
I promise you, mee thinkes the time did fit.
And does bir-Lady too, in mine advice,
This day to clap a full conclusion vp:
And therefore made I bold to call on you,
Meaning (our businesse done here at the Burse)
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

That you at mine intreaty should walke home,
And take in worth such Viands as I haue:
And then we would, and so I hope we shall,
Loosely tye vp the knot that you desire,
But for a day or two; and then Church rites
Shall sure conforme, confirme, and make all fast.

And then we would, and so I hope we shall,
Loosely tye vp the knot that you desire,
But for a day or two; and then Church rites
Shall sure conforme, confirme, and make all fast.

V'and. Seker Mester Pisaro, mee do so groterly dancke you, dat you macke mee so sure of de Wench, datt ie can neit dancke you genough.

Delio. Monsieur Pisaro, mon pere, mon Vadere, Oh de grande ioye you giue me (econte) mee sal go home to your House, sal eat your Bakon, sal eat your Beefe, and shal tacke de Wench, de fine Damoysella.

Pisa. You shall, and welcome; welcome as my soule:
But were my third Sonne sweete Aluaro heere,
Wee would not stay at the Exchange to day,
But hye vs home and there end our affayres.

Enter Moore, and Towerson.

Moore. Good day maister Pisaro.

Pisa. Maister Moore, marry with all my heart good morrow sir; What newes? What newes?

Moore. This Marchant heere my friend, would speake with you.

Tower. Sir, this jolly South-west wind with gentle blast,
Hath driven home our long expected Shippes,
All laden with the wealth of ample Spaine,
And but a day is past since they arriue
Safely at Plimouth, where they yet abide.

Pisa. Thankes is too small a guerdon for such newes. How like you this Newes friends? Maister Vandalle,
Heer's somewhat towards for my Daughters Dowrie:
Heer's somewhat more then we did yet expect.

Tower. But heare you sir, my businesse is not done;
From these same Shippes I did receiue these lines,
And there inclosde this same Bill of exchange,
To pay at sight; if so you please accept it.

Pisa. Accept it, why? What sir should I accept, Haue you receiued Letters, and not I?
Where is this lazie villaine, this slow Post?
What, brings he euery man his Letters home,
And makes mee no bodie; does hee, does hee?
I would not haue you bring me counterfeit;
And if you doe, assure you I shall smell it:
I know my Factors writing well enough.

Tower. You doe sir; then see your Factors writing:
I scorne as much as you, to counterfeit,

Pisa. Tis well you doe sir.
Enter Haruie, Walgrauc, and Heighan.

What Maister Walgrauc, and my other frindes:
You are growne strangers to Pisaros house,
I pray make bold with me.

*W*alg. I, with your Daughters
You may be sworne, weele be as bold as may be.

*Pisa.* Would you haue ought with me, I pray now speak.

*Heigh.* Sir, I thinke you understand our sute,
By the repaying we haue had to you:
Gentlemen you know, must want no Coyne,
Nor are they slaues vnto it, when they haue:
You may perceiue our minds; What say you to't?

*Pisa.* Gentlemen all, I loue you all:
Which more to manifest, this after noone
Betweene the bowers of two and three repaire to mee;
And were it halfe the substance that I haue,
Whilst it is mine, tis yours to commaunde.
But Gentlemen, as I haue regard to you,
So doe I wish you'll haue respect to mee:
You know that all of vs are mortall men,
Subiect to change and mutabilitie;
You may, or I may, soone pitch ore the Pearch,

Pisa. What, M. W’algae, Q3 frindes:] friends, Q2 etc.
440 Pisaro house,] Pisaro’s house: Q2 etc. 441 with] vwith Q3
442 Walg.] So in W Walsg. B and Q2 ’W’alg- Q3
442 with] vwith Q3 your] y our Q1 443 weele] vveele Q3
447 Gentlemen] Gentlemen, Q2 etc. 448 when] vvhen Q3
449 minds] mindes Q2 etc. What] VVhat Q2
450 which] VWhich Q2 manifest,] manifest Q2 etc.
452 howers] howres Q2 etc. mee] me Q2 etc.
454 Whilst] VWhilest Q2 Whilst Q3 commaunde] commande Q2
command Q3 456 you’ll] youle Q2 etc. mee] me Q2 etc.
Or so, or so, haue contrary crosses:
Wherefore I deeme [it] but meere equitie,
That some thing may betwixt vs be to shew.

Heigh. M. Pisaro, within this two months without faile,
We will repay.

Enter Browne.

Browne. God saue you Gentlemen.

Gentlemen. Good morrow sir.

Pisa. What M. Browne, the onely man I wisht for,
Does your price fall? what shall I haue these Cloathes?
For I would ship them straight away for Stoade:
I doe wish you my Mony fore another.

Brow. Fayth you know my price sir, if you haue them.

Pisa. You are to deare in sadnesse, maister Heigham:
You were about to say somewhat, pray proceede.

Heigh. Then this it was: those Landes that are not morgag'd

Enter Post.

Post. God blesse your worship.

Pisaro. I must craue pardon; Oh sirra, are you come?

Walg. Hoyda, hoyda; Whats the matter now;

461 Wherefore] Wherefore Q2 equitie] equity Q3
462 some thing] something Q2 463 within] within Q3
463 months] moneths Q2 moneths Q3 without] without Q3
469 away] omitted Q2 etc. Stoade:] Stoade. Q2 Stoade: Q3
470 Mony] money Q2 etc. 471 Brow.] Browne Q2
471 Fayth] Faith Q2 etc. you] you Q2
472 maister] master Q2 M. Q3 474 Landes] Lands Q2 etc.
475 morgag'd] morgag'd. Q2 etc.
pardon:] pardon: Q2 etc. 478 hoyda:] hoyda: Q2 etc.
Whats] What's Q2 etc. now:] now? Q2 etc.
Sure, yonder fellow will be torne in pieces. (about: 

Haru. What's hee, sweete youths; that so they flocke 480

What old Pisaro tainted with this madnesse?

Heigh. Upon my life, tis some body brings newes;
The Courte breakes vp, and wee shall know their Coun-

Looke, looke, how busely they fall to reading. (sell:

Pisa. I am the last, you should haue kept it still: 485

Well, we shall see what newes you bring with you;
Our duty premised, and we haue sent unto your worship
Sacke, siuill Oyles, Pepper, Barbery sugar, and such other
commodities as we thought most requisite, we wanted
mony therefore we are fayne to take vp 200. l. of Maister 490
Towersons man, which by a bill of Exchange sent to him,
we would request your worship pay accordingly.
You shall commaund sir, you shall commaunde sir,
The newes here is, that the English shipes, the Fortune,
your shipe, the adventure and good lucke of London coa-

sting along by Italy Towards Turky, were set vpon by to

479 pieces] pieces Q2 etc.
480 What] What's Q2 etc. hee] he Q2 etc. sweete] sweet Q2 etc.
youths;] youths, Q2 etc.
about:) about? Q2 etc. 481 What] What, Q2 etc. 482 tis') tis Q2 etc.
bringes newes;] brings newes: Q2 etc. 483 Courte] Court Q2 etc.
wee] we Q2 etc. 484 busely] busily Q2 etc. 485 last,] last: Q2 etc.
still:) still. Q2 etc. 486 you;) you: Q2 etc. 487 duty] dutie Q2
premised,) premised; Q2 etc. 488 siuill] Siuill Q2 Sinill Q3
Barbery sugar] Barbary Sugar Q2 etc. 489 we] wee Q2
requiste, we] requisite. Wee Q2 etc. 490 mony] money, Q2 etc.
Master Q2 etc. 491 bill] Bill Q2 etc. 492 we] We Q3 accordingly.)
accordingly Q3
493 commaund] command Q2 etc. commaunde sir,) command sir. Q2 etc.
494 ships] ships Q2 etc. 495 shipe] ship Q2 etc. 495 adventure] Adventure Q2 etc. good lucke] Good Lucke Q2
Good-Lucke Q3 London] London, Q2 etc. 496 Italy] Italy Q3
Towards] towards Q2 etc. Turky] Turkie Q2 Turkie Q3
to] two Q2 etc.
Spanish-gallics, what became of them we know not, but doubt much by reason of the weathers calmesse.

Pisa[.] How ist six to one the weather calme, Now afore God who would not doubt their safety, 500
A plague vpon these Spanish-galli Pirattes.
Roaring Caribdis, or deuowring Scilla,
Were halfe such terroour to the antick world,
As these same antick Villaines now of late,
Haue made the Straights twixt Spaine and Barbary. 505

Tower[.] Now sir, what doth your Factors letters say?
Pisa. Marrie he saith, these witlesse lucklesse doults,
Haue met, and are beset with Spanish Gallies,
As they did saile along by Italy:
What a bots made the dolts neere Italy,
Could they not keepe the coast of Barbary,
Or hauing past it, gone for Tripoly.
Beeing on the other side of Sicily,

497 Spanish-gallies] Spanish-galleis Q1
Spanish-galleys: Q2 Spanish-galleys: Q3 them] them, Q2 not,] not; Q2 etc.
498 much] much, Q2 etc. calmesse] calmenesse Q2 etc.
499 Pisa] Pisa. Q2 etc. ist] ist: Q2 etc. six] sixe Q3
one] one, Q2 etc. calme:] calme: Q2 etc. 500 God] God, Q2 etc.
safety,] safetie? Q2 safety? Q3 501 vpon these] So Q2 etc. vponthese
Q1 Spanish-galli] Spanish-galli Q3 Pirattes] Pirates Q2 etc.
502 Caribdis] Carybdis Q2 etc. deuowring] deuowring Q2 etc.
503 terrour] terror Q2 etc.
503 Were halfe] Were but halfe Q2 etc. terrour] terror Q3
504 late,] late Q2 etc.
505 Straights twixt] Straits’twixt Q2 Straits’twixt Q3 Spaine] Spaine Q3
Barbary] Barbarie Q2 Barbarie Q3 Tower] Tower. Q2 etc.
506 letters] Letters Q2 etc. 507 Marrie] Marry Q2 etc.
doults,] doults Q2 etc. 508 Spanish] Spanish Q3
509 saile] sayle Q2 etc. Italy:] Italy. Q2 Italy. Q3
510 dolt] doults Q2 etc. Italy:] Italy? Q2 Italy? Q3
511 coast] Coast Q2 etc. Barbary.] Barbary? Q2 Barbary? Q3
512 hanuing] having Q3 Tripoly] Tripoly Q3 513 Beeing] Being Q2 etc.
Sicily] Sicily Q3
As neere, as where they were vnto the Straights:
For by the Gloabe, both Tripoly and it,
Lie from the Straights some twentie fine degrees;
And each degree makes three-score english miles?

Tower. Very true sir: But it makes nothing to my Bill
of exchange: this dealing fits not one of your account.

Pisa. And what fits yours? a prating wrangling toung,
A womans ceaselesse and incessant babling,
That sees the world turnd topsie turvie with me:
Yet hath not so much witte to stay a while.
Till I bemone my late excessiue losse.

Wal. 'S wounds tis dinner time. Ile stay no longer:
Harke you a word sir.

Pisa. I tell you sir, it would haue made you whine
Worse then if shooles of lucklesse croking Rauens,
Had ceasd on you to feed their famisht paunches:
Had you heard newes of such a rauenous rout,
Ready to cease on halfe the wealth you haue.

Wal. 'Sbloud you might haue kept at home & be hangd,
What a pox care I.

Enter a Post.

Post. God saue your worship, a little mony and so forth.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Pisa. But men are senseless now of others woe. 535
This stony age is growne so stony harted,
That none respects their neighbours miseries,
I wish (as Poets doe) that Saturnes times
The long out worn world weare in vse againe,
That men might sayle without impediment.

Post. I marry sir that were a merry world indeede. I
would hope to gette more mony of your worship in one
quarter of a yeare, then I can doe now in a whole twelue-
moneth. 540

Enter Balsaro.

Balsa. Maister Pisaro how I haue runne about,
How I haue toyld to day to sinde you out,
At home, abroade, at this mans house, at that,
Why I was here an hower agoe and more,
Where I was tould you were, but could not finde you.

Pisa. Fayth sir I was here but was driuen home, 550
Heres such a common hant of Crack-ropse boyes,
That what for feare to haue m'apparell spoyld,
Or my Ruffes durted, or Eyes strucke out:
I dare not walke where people doe expect mee:

535 senseless] senselesse Q2 etc. woe:] woe: Q2 etc.
536 stony age] stonie age Q2 etc. stony] stonie Q2
harted] hearted Q2 etc. 537 miseries] miseries. Q2 etc.
538 I] turned Q1 Saturnes] Saturnes Q2 114 H5 H6 Saturnei H3 P
times] times, Q2 etc. 539 out worne] out-worne Q2 etc.
world] world, Q2 etc. weare] were Q2 etc. 541 sir] sir. Q2 etc.
indeed] indeede: Q2 indeed: Q3 542 gette] get Q2 etc.
mony] money Q2 etc. 543 yeare] yeere Q3
545 Maister Pisaro] Master Pisaro, Q2 etc.
546 toyld] toyld Q2 etc. sinde] finde Q2 etc. out:] out: Q2 etc.
547 abroade] abroad Q2 etc. that:] that. Q2 etc.
548 hower] houre Q2 etc. agoe] agoe. Q2 etc. 549 tould]
told Q2 etc. 550 Fayth] 'Fayth Q2 etc. here] here. Q2 etc.
driuen] driven Q3 home] home: Q2 etc. 551 Heres] Here's Q2 etc.
hant] haunt Q2 etc. boyes] Boyes Q2 etc. 552 apparell] apparrell Q2
spoyld] spoyld Q2 etc. 553 out:] out. Q2 etc. 554 mee] mee. Q2 me. Q3
Well, things (I thinke) might be better lookt vnto, And such Coyne to, which is bestowde on Knaues, Which should, but doe not see things be reformd, Might be imployde to many better vses: But what of beardlesse Boyes, or such like trash: The Spanish Gallies: Oh, a vengeance on them. 

Post. Masse, this man hath the lucke on't, I thinke I can scarce euer come to him for money, but this a vengeance on, and that a vengeance on't, doth so trouble him, that I can get no Coyne: Well, a vengeance on't for my part; for he shall fetch the next Letters him selfe.

Brownie. I prethee, when thinkst thou the Ships will be come about from Plimouth? Post. Next weeke, sir.

Heigh. Came you sir from Spaine lately?

Post. I sir; Why aske you that, Marry sir, thou seems to haue bin in the hot countries, thy face looks so like a peece of rusty Bacon: had thy Host at Plimmoth meat enough in the house, whé thou wert there?

Post. What though he had not sir? but he had, how then? Marry thanke God for it; for otherwise, he would doubtles haue Cut thee out in Rashers to haue eaten.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

thee; thou look'st as thou weart through broyld already.

Post. You haue sayd sir; but I am no meate for his mo- ing, nor yours neither: If I had you in place where, you should find me though enough in digestion, I warrant you.

Walgr, What will you swagger sirra, will yee swagger? 580

Brow. I beseech you Sir, hold your hand; Gette home yee patch, cannot you suffer Gentlemen lest with you?

Post. Ide teach him a Gentle tricke and I had him of the burse; but Ie watch him a good turne I warrant him.

Moor. Assure yee maister Towerson, I cannot blame him. I warrant you it is no easie losse;

How thinke you maister Stranger? by my fayth sir, Ther's twentie Marchants will be sorry for it, That shall be partners with him in his losse.

Str. Why sir, whats the matter.

Moor. The Spanish-gallies haue besette our shippes, That lately were bound out for Siria.

March. What not? I promise you I am sorry for it.

Walg. What an old Asse is this to keepe vs here:

Maister Pisaro, pray dispatch vs hence.

Pisa. Maister Fandalle I confesse I wronge you:

But Ile but talke a word or two with him, and straight turne to you.

Ah sir, and how then yfayth?

Heigh. Turne to vs, turne to the Gallowes if you will. 600

Haru. Tis Midsomer-Moone with him: let him alone,

He call's Ned Walgraue, Maister Vandalle. (Pisaro.

Walg. Let it be shrouetide, Ile not stay any nche maister

Pisa. What should you feare: ende as I haue vow'd be-

So now againe; my Daughters shalbe yours: (fore, 605

And therefore I beseech you and your friendes,

Deferre your businesse till Dinner time;

And what youd say, keepe it for table talke.

Haru. Marrie and shall; a right good motion:

Sirrs, old Pisaro is growne kind of late,

And in pure loue, hath bid vs home to dinner.

Heigh. Good newes in truth: But wherf ore art thou sad?

Walg. For feare the slaue ere it be dinner time,

Remembring what he did, recall his word:

For by his idle speaches, you may sweare,

His heart was not confederat with his tongue.

Haru. Tut neuer doubt, keepe stomacks till anone,

And then we shall haue cates to feede vpon.

Pisa. Well sir, since things doe fall so crossely out,

I must dispose my selfe to patience:

598 you.] you Q3 599 yfayth] yfaith Q2 etc. 600 will,] will. Q3
602 call's] calles Q2 calls Q3 Maister] master Q2 etc.
603 Walg.] VValg. Q3 be] bee Q3 maister] master Q2 M. Q3
604 ende] end Q2 and Q3 vow'd] vowd Q2 etc. 605 shalbe] shall be Q2 etc.
fore,] fore Q2 etc. 606 friendes] Friendes Q2 friends Q3
608 table] Table Q2 609 Marrie] Marry Q2 etc. 610 Sirrs] Sirs Q2 etc.
kind] kinde Q2 611 loue,] Loue Q2 etc. dinner] Dinner Q2 etc.
612 wherfore] wherefore Q2 etc. sad?] sad. Q2 etc.
613 Walg.] W'Algr. Q2 V'Valg. Q3 time,] time Q2 etc.
616 confederat] confederate Q2 etc. tongue.] tongue Q3
619 crossely] crossely Q2 etc.
But for your businesse, doe you assure your selfe, 
At my repayring home from the Exchange. 
Ile set a helping hand vnto the same. 

Enter Aluaro the Italian. 

Alua. Bon iurno signcour Padre, why be de malancollie so much, and graue in you a: wat Newes make you looke 625 so naught? 

Pisa. Naught is too good an epithite by much, 
For to distinguish such contrariousnesse: 
Hath not swift Fame told you our slow sailde Shippes 
Haue been ore-taken by the swift saile Gallies, 
And all my cared-for goods within the lurch 
Of that same Catterpiller brood of Spaine. 

Alua. Signior si, how de Spaniola haue almost tacke de Ship dat go for Turkie: my Pader, harke you me on word, 
I haue receiue vn lettre from my Factor de l'ennise. dat after 635 
vn piculo battalion, for vn halfe howre de come a Winde fra de North, & de Sea go tumble here, &umble dare, dat make de Gallies run away for feare be almost drownde. 

Pisa. How sir; did the Winde rise at North, and Seas waxe rough: and were the Gallies therefore glad to fly? 640 

Alu. Signior si, & de Ship go drite on de Iscola de Candy.

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624 malancollie[ malancholy Q2 etc. 625 you] you, Q2 etc. 
wat] what Q3 627 epithite] Epithite Q2 etc. 
628 contrariousnesse:] contrariousnesse? Q3 629 Shippes] 
Ships Q2 etc. 630 been] bene Q2 etc. saile] sayld Q2 etc. 
631 cared-for] cared-for H2 cared for H 632 Spaine] Spaine Q3 
633 Alua.] Alua. Q3 Signor] Signior Q2 etc. si] cy Q2 etc. 
634 go] goe Q3 me] mee Q2 on] one Q2 etc. 635 l'ennise] 
Vennise Q3 637 & de] and de Q3 go] goe Q2 etc. 
639 sir.] sir, Q2 etc. 640 waxe] vaxxe Q3 were] vvere Q3 
641 Alu.] Al. Q2 etc. Signior si] Signieur cy Q2 etc. 
Ship] ship Q3 on de] on the Q3 Candy.] Candc. Q2 Cande Q3
Pisa. Wert thou not my Aluaro my beloved,
One whom I know does dearely count of mee,
Much should I doubt me that some scoffing lacke,
Had sent thee in the middest of all my griefes.
To tell a feigned tale of happy lucke.

Alua. Wil you no beleuue me? see dare dan, see de lettre.

Pisa. What is this world? or what this state of man,
How in a moment curst, in a trice blest?
But euen now my happie state gan fade,
And now againe, my state is happie made,
My Goods all safe, my Ships all scapt away,
And none to bring me newes of such good lucke,
But whom the Heauens haue markt to be my Sonne:
Were I a Lord as great as Alexander,
None should more willingly be made mine Heyre
Then thee thou golden tongue, thou good-newes teller
Joy stops my mouth.  The Exchange Bell rings.

Balsa.  M. Pisaro, the day is late, the Bell doth ring:
Wilt please you hasten to performe this businesse?

Pisa. What business sir? Gods mee, I cry you mercie:
Doe it, yes sir, you shall command me more.

Tower.  But sir, What do ye meane, doe you intend
To pay this Bill, or else to palter with mee?

Pisa.] Pisaro, Q3  643 mee] me Q2 etc. 645 middest] midst Q3
Alu.] Alu, Q2  Wil] VVill Q2  Will Q3 beleuue] beleue Q2 etc.
me] mee Q3 see] See Q2 etc. 648 Pisa.] Pisa, Q3 What]
VVhat Q2 what] vvhat Q3 650 happie] happy Q2 etc.
state] State Q2  happie] happy Q2 etc. 652 Goods] goods Q2 etc.
all] turned a Q3
Heauens] heauens Q3 markt] mark'd Q2 etc. Sonne] sonne Q3
Were] VWeere Q2 Alexander] Alexander Q3 656 Heyre] Heyre, Q2 etc.
teller] teller, Q2 etc. 658 mouth] mouth Q2 etc.
me] me Q2 etc. mercy:] mercie, Q2 mercy, Q3
command] command Q2 etc.
me] me Q2 etc.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Pisa. Marry God sheild, that I should palter with you: 665
I doe accept it, and come when you please;
You shall haue money, you shall haue your money due.
Post. I beseech your worship to consider mee.
Pisa. Oh, you cannot cogge: Goe to, take that,
Pray for my life: pray that I haue good lucke,
And thou shalt see, I will not be thy worst maister.
Post. Marry God blesse your Worship; I came in happy
time: What, a French crowne? sure hee knowes not what
he does: Well, Ile begon, least he remember himselfe, and
take it away from me againe: Exit Post. 675
Pisa[.] Come on my lads, M. Vandalle, sweet sonne Aluaro:
Come don Balsaro, lets be iogging home
Bir laken sirs, I thinke tis one a clocke.

Exitt Pisaro, Balsaro, Aluaro, Delion, and Vandalle.

Brow. Come M. Moore, th’Exchange is waxen thin,
I thinke it best we get vs home to dinner. 680
Moor. I know that I am lookt for long ere this:
Come maister Towerson, let’s walke along.

Exit Moore, Brozynne, Towerson, Strangers, & Marchant.

Heigh. And if you be so hot vpon your dinner,
Your best way is, to haste Pisaro on,
For he is cold enough, and slow enough;

He hath so late digested such cold newes.

_Walg._ Mary and shall: Heare you maister _Pisaro._

_Haru._ Many _Pisaros_ heere: Why how now _Ned_;

Where is your _Matt_’ your welcome, and good cheare?

_Walg._ Swounds, lets follow him; why stay we heere? 690

_Heigh._ Nay prethee _Ned_ _Walg._ lets bethinke our selues,

There’s no such haste, we may come time enough:

At first _Pisaro_ bade vs come to him

_Twixt_ two or three a clocke at after noone?

Then was he old _Pisaro:_ but since then, 695

What with his griefe for losse, and ioy for finding,

Hee quite forgat himselfe, when he did bid vs,

And afterward forgat, that he had bade vs.

_Walg._ I care not. I remember’t well enough:

Hee bade vs home; and I will goe, that’s flat,

To teach him better witte another time.

_Haru._ Heer’le be a gallant iest, when we come there,

To see how maz’d the greedie chuffe will looke

_Vpon_ the nations, sects, and factions,

That now haue borne him company to dinner:

But harke you, lets not goe to vexe the man;

Prethee sweet _Ned_ lets tarry, doe not goe.

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687 _Walg._] _VW alg Q3_ Mary] _Marry Q3_ maister] master _Q2_ etc.
688 heere] here _Q2_ etc. Why] vwhy _Q3_
689 The mark before your is a turned comma. _Q2_ etc. read Matt, your cheare] Cheare _Q2_ 690 _Walg._] _VW alg. Q3_ Swounds, lets]
Come, lets _Q2_ etc. why] Why _Q2_ etc. heere] here _Q2_ etc.
691 Nay] Nay, _Q2_ etc. selues,] selues _Q2_ etc.
692 bade] bad _Q2_ etc. 694 clocke] Clocke _Q2_ etc. 695 was] vvas _Q3_
697 Hee] He _Q2_ etc. quit] quit _Q2_ 698 bade] bad _Q2_ etc.
699 remember’t] remember it _Q2_ etc. 700 Hee bade] He bad _Q2_ etc.
home;] home, _Q2_ etc. 701 witte] wit _Q2_ etc. 702 iest] Iest _Q2_
when we] vwhen vve _Q3_ 703 greedie] greedy _Q2_ etc.
704 nations, sects, and factions] Nations, Sects, and Factions _Q2_ etc.
705 dinner] Dinner _Q2_ 706 lets] let vs _Q3_
Walg. Not goe? indeed you may doe what you please;  
Ile goe, that's flat: nay, I am gon already,  
Stay you two, and consider further of it.  

Heigh. Nay all will goe, if one: I prethee stay;  
Thou'rt such a rash and giddie headed youth,  
Each Stone's a Thorne: Hoyda, he skips for haste;  
Young Harvie did but iest; I know heele goe.  

Walg. Nay, he may chuse for mee: But if he will,  
Why does he not? why stands he prating still?  
If youle goe, come: if not, fare-well?  

Haru. Hier a Poast-horse for him (gentle Francke)  
Heer's haste, and more haste then a hastie Pudding:  
You mad-man, mad-cap, wild-oates; we are for you,  
It bootes not stay, when you intend to goe.  

Walg. Come away then.  

Exeunt.
[Act II.  Scene I.  Pisaro’s House.]

Enter Pisaro, Aluaro, Delion, and Vandalle.

Pisa.  A thousand welcomes friendes:  Monsier Delion, Ten thousand Ben-venues vnto your selfe. Signior Aluaro, Maister Vandalle; Proude am I, that my roofe contains such Friends. Why Mall, Larentia, Matth; Where be these Girles?

Enter the three Sisters.

Liuely my Girles, and bid these Strangers welcome; They are my friends, your friends, and our wel-willers: You cannot tell what good you may haue on them. Gods mee, Why stirre you not?  Harke in your eare, These be the men the choyse of many millions, That I your carefull Father haue prouided To be your Husbands:  therefore bid them welcome.

Math.  Nay by my troth, tis not the guyse of maydes, To giue a slauering Salute to men:  (aside,

If these sweete youths haue not the witte to doe it.

Wee haue the honestie to let them stand.

Vanda.  Gods sekerlin, dats vn-fra meskin, Monsieur
Delion dare de Grote freister, dare wode ic zene, tis vn-fra
Daughter, dare heb ic so long loude, dare Heb my desire so long gewest.

Alua. Ah Venice, Roma, Italia, Frauncia, Anglitera, nor all
dis orbe can shew so much belliza, veremante de secunda,
Madona de granda bewtie.

Delio. Certes me dincke de mine depeteta de little Angloise, de me Matresse Pisaro is vn nette, vn becues, vn fra, et vn tendra Damosella.

Pisa. What Stocks, what stones, what senceles Truncks be these?

When as I bid you speake, you hold your tongue:
When I bid peace, then can you prate, and chat,
And gossip: But goe too, speake and bid welcome;
Or (as I liue) you were as good you did.

Mari. I cannot tell what Language I should speake:
Yf I speake English (as I can none other)
They cannot vnderstand mee, nor my welcome.

Alua. Bella Madona, dare is no language so dulce; dulce,
dat is sweete, as de language, dat you shall speake, and de vell come dat you sal say, sal be well know perfaytemente.

Mari. Pray sir, What is all this in English?

Alua. De vsa sal vell teash you vat dat is; and if you sal please, I will teash you to parler Italiano.

Pisa. And that mee thinkes sir, not without need:
And with *Italian*, to a Childes obedience.

With such desire to seke to please their Parents,

As others farre more vertuous then them selues,

Doe dayly striue to doe: But tis no matter,

Ile shortly pull your haughtie stomacks downe:

Ile teach you vrge your Father; make you runne,

When I bid runne: and speake, when I bid speake:

What greater crosse can carefull parents haue (knock within

Then carelesse Children. Stirre and see who knocks?

*Enter Haruie, Walgrae, and Heigham.*

*Walgr.* Good morrow to my good Mistris Mathea.

*Mathe.* As good a morrow, to the morrow gierer.

*Pisa.* A murren, what make these? What do they heere?

*Heigh.* You see maister Pisaro, we are bold guestes,

You could haue bid no surer men then wee.

*Pisa.* Harke you Gentlemen; I did expect you

At after noone, not before two a clocke.

*Haru.* Why sir, if you please, you shall haue vs heere at
two a clocke, at three a clocke, at foure a clock; nay till to
morrow this time: yet I assure you sir, wee came not to
your house without inviting.

*Pisa.* Why Gentlemen, I pray who bade you now?

Who euer did it, sure hath done you wrong:
For scarcely could you come to worser cheare.

Heigh. It was your owne selie bade vs to your cheare,
When you were busie with Balsaro talking;
You bade vs cease our suites till dinner time,
And then to vse it for our table talke:
And wee I warrant you, are as sure as Steele.

Pisa. A murren on your selues, and surenes too:
How am I crost: Gods mee, what shall I doe,
This was that ill newes of the Spanish Pirats.
That so disturb'd mee: well, I must dissemble,
And bid them welcome; but for my Daughters
Ile send them hence, they shall not stand and prate.
Well my Maisters, Gentlemen, and Friends,
Though vnexpected, yet most heartily welcome;
(Welcome with a vengeance) but for your cheare,
That will be small: [aside] yet too too much for you.

Mall, in and get things readie.

Laurentia, bid Maudlin lay the Cloth, take vp the Meate:
Looke how she stirres; you sullen Elie, you Callet,
Is this the haste you make? Exeunt Marina & Laurentia.

Alua. Signor Pisaro, ne soiat so malcontento de Gentle-
woman your filigola did parler but a litella to, de gentle
homa y our graunde amico.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL 

Pisa. But that graunde amico, is your graunde inimico: 810 One, if they be suffred to parlar, Will poll you, I and pill you of your Wife: They lone togeather: and the other two, Loues her two Sisters: but tis onely you Shall crop the flower, that they esteeme so much. 815

Aliu. Do dey so: vell let me lone, sal see me giue dem de such graund mocke, sal be shame of dem selues.

Pisa. Doe sir, I pray you doe: set lustily vpon them,

Walg. But Matt, art thou so mad as to turne French? 820

Math. Yes marry when two Sundayes come together;

Thinke you Ile learne to speake this gibberidge, Or the Pigges language? Why, if I fall sicke,

Theyle say, the French (et-cetera) infected mee.

Pisa. Why how now Minion; what, is this your seruice? 825 Your other Sisters busie are imployde,

And you stande idle: get you in, or. Exit Mathea.

Walg. Yf you chide her, chide me (M. Pisaro:

For but for mee, she had gon in long since.

Pisa. I thinke she had: for we are sprights to scare her; 830 But er't be long, Ile druiue that humor from her.

811 suffred] suffered Q2 etc. 812 ] I Q3 Wife] wife Q2 etc.

813 togeather] together Q2 etc. 816 vell] vel Q2 etc.

818 ] I Q3 819 Ile] Ile Q3 820 Matt] Mat Q2 etc.

French] French Q3

821 marry] marry, Q2 etc. together;) together? Q3

822 Thinke you Ile learne] Thinke you I learne Q2 Thinke you I

learne Q3 823 ] I Q3 824 French] French Q2 French Q3

et-cetera] et cetera Q2 etc. mee] me Q2 etc.

825 what,) what Q2 etc.

826 imployde] implode Q2 827 stande] stand Q2 etc.

or,) or Q2 etc. We should print or— Mathea.] Mathea Q2

828 Yf] If Q2 If Q3 (M. Pisaro:) (master Pisaro:) Q2 etc.

829 mee] me Q2 etc. gon] gone Q2 etc. 830 Pisa.] Pisar. Q3

her;) her: Q3 831 er't] er't Q2 etc.
Alua. Signor, me thincks you sould no macke de wenshe so hardee. so disobedient to de padre as ditt madona Matt.  

Walr. Signor, me thinkes you should learne to speake, before you should be so foole-hardy, as to woe such a Mayden as that Madona Matt?  

Delio. Warrent you Monsieur, he sal parle wen you sal stande out the doure.  

Haru. Harke you Monsieur, you would wish your selfe halfe hang'd, you were as sure to be let in as hee.  

Van. Macke no doubt de signor Alua. sal do vel enough.  

Heigh. perhaps so: but me thinkes your best way were to ship your selfe for Stoad, and there to batter your selfe for a commodity; for I can tell you, you are here out of liking.  

Pisa. The worst perhappes dislike him, but the best esteeme him best.  

Haru. But by your patience sir, mee thinks none should know better who's Lord, then the Lady.  

Alua. Den de Lady, vat Lady?  

Haru. Marry sir, the Lady let her alone: one that meanes to let you alone for feare of trouble.  

Pisa. Evry man as he may: yet sometimes the blinde
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

may katch a Hare.

Heigh. I sir, but he will first eate many a Fly:
You know it must be a wonder, if a Crab catch a Fowle.

Vand. Maer hort ens; if he & ic & monsier Delion be de
Crab, we sal kash de Fowle wel genough, I warrent you.

Walg. I, and the Foole well enough I warrant you;
And much good may it doe yee.

Alua. Mee dineke such a piculo man as you be, sal haue no de such grande lucke madere.

Delio. Non da Monsieur, and he be so granda amorous
op de Damosella, he sal haue Mau'dlyn de witt Wenshe in
de Kichine by maiter Pisas leaue.

Walg. By M. Pisas leaue, Monsieur Ile mumble you, except you learne to know, whom you speake to: I tell thee Francois, Ile haue (maugre thy teeth) her that shall make thee gnash thy teeth to want.

Pisa. Yet a man may want of his will, and bate an Ace of his wish: But Gentlemen, euery man as his lucke serues, and so agree wee; I would not haue you fall out in my house: Come, come, all this was in iest, now lets too't in earnest; I meane with our teeth, and try who's the best Trencher-man.

Exeunt.
FRISC. Ah sirra, now I know, what manner of thing 875 Powles is: I did so marle afore what it was out of all count: For my maister would say, Would I had Powles full of Gold. My young Mistresses, and Grimkin our Taylor, would wish they had Powles full of Needles: I, one askt my maister halfe a yard of Freeze to make me a Coate and 880 hee cride whoope holly-day, it was big enough to make Powles a Night-gowne. I haue been told, that Duke Humfrie dwelles here, and that he keeps open house, and that a braue sort of Cammileres dine with him euery day; now if I could see any vision in the world towards dinner, I 885 would set in a foote: But the best is, as the auncient English romaine Orator saith, So-lamc-men, Misers, House-wines, and so foorth: the best is, that I haue great store of compa-nie that doe nothing but goe vp and downe, and goe vp and downe, and make a grumbling togeather, that the 890 meate is so long making ready: Well, if I could meete
this scurvie Frenchman, they should stay mee, for I would be gone home.

Enter Anthony.

Antho. I beseech you Monsieur, giue mee audience.  
Frisc. What would you haue? What should I giue you?  

Antho. Pardon, sir mine vnciuill and presumptuous intrusioin, who indenbour nothing lesse, then to prouoke or exasperat you against mee.

Frisc. They say, a word to the Wise is enough: so by this little French that he speakes, I see hee is the very man I seeke for: Sir, I pray what is your name?  

Antho. I am nominated Monsieur Le Mouche, and rest at your bon service.

Frisc. I vnderstand him partly; yea, and partly nay: Can you speake French? Content pore vous monsicur Madomo.  

Antho. If I could not sir, I should ill vnderstand you: you speake the best French that euver trode vpon Shoe of Leather.

Frisc. Nay, I can speake more Languages then that: This is Italian, is it not? Nella slurde Curtezana.  

Antho. Yes sir, and you speake it like a very Naturall.

Frisc. I beleue you well: now for Dutch:

892 stay mee] stay me Q2 stay for me Q3 893 s.d. Anthony] 
Anthoinie Q2 etc. 894 you] you, Q2 etc. Monsieur] Monsieur Q2 etc. giue] give Q3 mee] me Q2 etc. 896 sir] sir, Q2 etc. 

vnciuill] ncivil Q3 898 exasperat] exasperate Q2 etc.

900 little] little Q3 hee] he Q2 901 for:] for. Q3 pray] pray, Q2 etc. 
902 Monsieur Le Mouche] Monsieur Le Monche Q2 904 Frisc.] Fris. Q2 
vnderstand] Vnderstand Q2, I vnderstand him partly; yea, and partly nay:] I vnderstand him; partly yea, and partly nay: Q3 

905 French] French Q3 Madomo] madamo Q2 etc.

907 French] French Q3 910 Nella] Nelle Q2 etc. 

912 Frisc.] Frisco. Q2 etc. 1] I Q3 beleue] beleue Q2

Dutch:] Duch: Q2 Duch. Q3
Ducky de doc watt heb yee ge brought.

Antho. I pray stop your mouth, for I neuer heard such Dutch before brocht.

Frisc. Nay I thinke you haue not met with no pezant: Heare you M. Mouse, (so your name is I take it) I haue considered of your learning in these aforesaid Languages, and find you reasonable: So, so, now this is the matter; Can you take the ease to teach these Tongues to two or three Gentlewomen of mine acquaintance, and I will see you paide for your labour.

Antho. Yes sir, and that most willingly.

Fris. Why then M. Mouse, to their vse, I entertaine yee, which had not been but for the troubles of the world, that I my selfe haue no leasure to shew my skill: Well sir, if youle please to walke with me, Ile bring you to them.

Exeunt.

[Scene III. A Room in Pisaro’s House.]

Enter Laurentia, Marina, and Mathea.

Lauren. Sit till dinners done; not I, I sweare:
Shall I stay? till he belch into mine eares
Those rustick Phrases, and those Dutch French tearmes, Stammering halfe Sentences dogbolt Eloquence:
And when he hath no loue for-sooth, why then

913 ge] gee Q2 etc.
914 I] I Q3 fot] for Q2 etc. I] I Q3 916 Frisc.] Frisc. Q2 etc.
917 Mouse] Mouse Q2
1] I Q3 (both occurrences)
921 I] I Q3 922 paide] paid Q3 924 Fris.] Frisc. Q3
925 M.] M. H M H2 1] I Q3 yee] ye Q2 etc. 926 I] I Q3
927 mee] mee Q3 lle] lle Q3 927 s.d. Marina...Mathea]
Marina...Mathea Q2 928 dinners] Dinners Q2 etc. 1, I] I Q3
929 I] I Q3 930 rustick] Rusticke Q2 etc. tearmes] termes Q2 etc.
931 Eloquence:] Eloquence Q2 etc. 932 loue] loue, Q2 etc.
then] then, Q3
Hee tells me Cloth is deare at Antwerp, and the men
Of Amsterdam haue lately made a law,
That none but Dutch as hee, may trafficke there:
Then standes he still and studies what to say;
And after some halfe houre, because the Asse
Hopes (as he thinkes) I shall not contradict him,
Hee tells me that my Father brought him to me,
And that I must performe my Fathers will.
Well good-man Goose-cap, when thou woest againe,
Thou shalt haue simple ease, for thy Loues paine.

Mathe. Alas poore Wench, I sorrow for thy hap,
To see how thou art clog'd with such a Dunce:
Forsooth my Sire hath fitted me farre better,
My Frenchman comes vpon me with the Sa, sa, sa;
Sweete Madam pardone moyc I pra:
And then out goes his Hand, downe goes his Head,
Swallowes his Spittle, frissles his Beard; and then to mee:
Pardone moy mistresse Mathea,
If I be bold, to macke so bold met you,
Thinke it go will dat spurres me dus zp yow.
Dan cast neit off so good ande true Louer,
Madama celestura de la, (I know not what)
Doc oft pray to God dat me woud loose her:
And then hee reckons a catalogue of names
of such as love him, and yet cannot get him.

  Mari. Nay, but your Monsieur's but a Mouse in cheese, Compaird with my Signor; he can tell
Of Lady Venus, and her Sonne blind Cupid:
Of the faire Scilla that was lou'd of Glaucus, And yet scornd Glauceus, and yet lou'd King Minos; Yet Minos hated her, and yet she holp'd him: And yet he scornd her, yet she kild her Father To doe her good; yet he could not abide her: Nay, heele be bawdy too in his discourse; And when he is so, he will take my Hand, And tickle the Palme, wincke with his one Eye, Gape with his Mouth, and

  Laur. And, hold thy tongue I prethee: here's my father.

Enter Pisaro, Aluaro, Vandalle, Delion, Haruic, Walgrae, and Heigham.

Pisa. Vnmannerly, vntaught, vnnurtred Girles, Doe I bring Gentlemen, my very friends To feast with mee, to reuell at my House, That their good likings, may be set on you, And you like misbehaud and sullen Girles, Turne tayle to such, as may advance your states:

957 of] Of Q2 etc. love him] him omitted Q3 958 Monsieur's] Monsieur's Q2 Monsieurs' Q3 cheese] Cheese Q2 etc.
959 Compard] Compar'd Q2 etc. Signor:] Signior: Q2 etc.
hee] Hee Q2 He Q3 960 Cupid:] Cupid; Q2 etc.
961 Scilla] Scilla, Q2 etc.
962 scornd] scornd Q2 etc. 964 her,] her: Q2 etc. kild] kill'd Q2 etc. Father] Father, Q2
965 To doe her good] To doe him good Q2 etc. her:] her, Q2 etc.
966 heele] heele Q2 etc. bawdy] bawdie Q2 discourse:] discourse, Q3 968 wincke] winke Q2 970 And.] And Q3 tongue] tongue, Q2 etc.
prethee:] prethee, Q3 971 vnnurtrd] vnnurtr'd Q2 etc.
972 friends] friends, Q2 etc. 973 mee] me Q2 etc. House] house Q3 974 likings,] likings Q2 etc. you,] you; Q2 etc.
975 you] you, Q2 etc. misbehaud] misbehau'd Q2 etc.
I shall remembert, when you thinke I doe not.  
I am sorrie Gentlemen, your cheare's no better; 
But what did want at Board, excuse me for, 
And you shall haue amendes be made in Bed. 
To them friends, to them; they are none but yours: 
For you I bred them, for you brought them vp: 
For you I kept them, and you shall haue them: 
I hate all others that resort to them: 
Then rouse your bloods, be bold with what's your owne: 
For I and mine (my friends) be yours, or none. 

Enter Frisco and Antho. 

Frisco. God-gee god-morrow sir, I haue brought you 
M. Mouse here to teach my young Mistresses: I assure you 
(for-sooth) he is a braue Frenchman. 
Pisa. Welcome friend, welcome: my man (I thinke) 
Hath at the full, resolu'd thee of my will. 
Monsieur Delion, I pray question him: 
I tell you sir, tis onely for your fake, 
That I doe meane to entertaine this fellow, 

Antho. A bots of all ill lucke, how came these heere? 
Now am I posde except the Wenches helpe mee: 
I haue no French to flap them in the mouth,
Haru. To see the lucke of a good fellow, poore Anthony
Could nere have sorted out a worser time:
Now will the packe of all our sly deuises
Be quite layde ope, as one vndoes an Oyster:
Francke, Heigham, and mad Ned, fall to your muses,
To helpe poore Anthony now at a pinch,
Or all our market will be spoyld and marde.

Walg. Tut man, let vs alone, I warrant you. (vous.
Delio. Monsieur, Vous estes tresbien venu, de quell pais estes
Anth. Vous, thats you: sure he saies, how do men call you
Monsieur le Mouche?

Mari. Sister, helpe sister; that's honest Anthonic,
And he answers, your woer cuius contrarium.

Delio. Monsieur, Vous n'entens pas, le ne demaunde puit,
vostre nom?

Math. Monsieur Delion, he that made your Shooes, made
them not in fashion: they should haue been cut square at
the toe.

Delio. Madame, my Sho met de square toe, vat be dat?
Pisa. Why sauce-box; how now you vnreuerent mincks
Why? in whose Stable hast thou been brought vp.
To interrupt a man in midst of speach?
Monsieur Delion. disquiet not your selse,
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

But as you haue begun, I pray proceed
To question with this Countriman of yours.

Delio. Dat me sal doe tres beien, but de bella Madona
de iune Gentlewoman do monstre some singe of amour to
speake lot me, epurse monsieur, mee sal say but two tree
foure fiue word to dis francois: or sus Monsieur Le
mouche en quelle partie de Fraunce esties vous ne?

Haru. Fraunce.

Heigh. Ned.

Walg. Sbloud, let mee come.

Maister Pisaro, we haue occasion of affaires,
Which calles vs hence with speed; wherefore I pray
Deferre this businesse till some fitter time,
And to performe what at the Exchange we spoke of.

Antho. A blessing on that tongue, saith Anthony.

Pisa. Yes marry Gentlemen, I will, I will.

Aluaro to your taske, fall to your taske,
Ile beare away those three, who being heere,
Would set my Daughters on a merry pin:
Then chearely try your luckes; but speake, and speed,
For you alone (say I) shall doe the deed.
Excunt Pisaro, Haruy, Walgrauæ, and Higham.

Frisc. Heare you M. Mouse, did you dine to day at Paules with the rest of the Gentlemen there?

Antho. No sir, I am yet vn dine.

Frisc. Mee thinkes you should haue a reasonable good stomacke then by this time. as for me I can see no thinge within me from my mouth to my Cod-peece but all Emptie, wherefore I thinke [it] a piece of wisdome to goe in and see what Maudelin hath prouided for our Dinner maister Mouse will you goe in?

Antho. With as good a stomacke and desire as your

Frisc. Lett's passe in then (selle.

Excunt Frisco, and Anthonie.

J'anda. Han seg you Dochtor, vor vat cause, voer why bede also much grooterlie strange. Ic seg you wat. if datt ghy speake to me, is datt ghy loue me.

Lauren. Ist that I care not for you, ist that your breath stinke, if that your breath stinke not, you must learne sweeter English or I shall neuer vnderstand your suite.

Delion. Pardone moy Madame.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Math. With all my heart so you offend no more.

Delio. Is dat an offence to be amorous of one belle Gentlewoman.

Math. I sir see your Belle Gentle-woman cannot be amorous of you.

Mar. Then if I were as that belle Gentlewomen's lover, I would trouble her no further, nor be amorous any longer.

Aluar. Madona yet de Belleza of de face beutie deforme of all de Corpo may be such dat no perriculo, nor all de mal shaunce, can make him leave hir dulce visage.

Laur. But signor Aluaro if the perriculo or mal shaunce were such, that she should loue and flye with an other, then the dulce visage must be left in spite of the lovers teeth, whilst he may whine at his owne ill fortune.

V'anda. Datts waer matresse, for it is vntrue saying, dey wint he taught dey verleif lie scrat sin gatt.

Math. And I thynke to are like to scratch there but neuer to claw any of my Sisters loue away.

V'and. Dan sal your sistree do gainst her vaders will, for your vader segt dat ick sal heb har vor mine wife.

Laur. I thynke not so sir, for I neuer heard him say so, but Ile goe in and ask him if his meaning be so.

1060 Withall] With all Q2 etc. heart] heart, Q2 etc. 1061 dat] dar Q3 offence] offence, Q2 etc. 1062 [leawoman.] teawoman? Q2 etc. 1063 belle] Belle Q2 etc. be] bee Q3 1065 belle] Belle Q2 1066 longer.] longer Q3 1067 Aluar.] Alua, Q2 etc. face] Face, Q2 etc. beutie] beuty Q3 1068 such] such, Q2 etc. 1070 signor] Signior Q2 etc. Aluaro] Aluaro, Q2 etc. perriculo] perriculo Q2 etc. 1071 sutch] such Q3 she] shee Q2 etc. an other] another Q2 etc. 1072 be] bee Q2 etc. lovers Q3 1073 whilst] whilst Q2 etc. 1074 V'anda.] V'and. Q2 etc. 1075 he] de Q2 etc. 1076 are] y'are Q2 etc. there] there, Q2 etc. 1077 Sisters] sisters Q2 etc. 1078 doe Q2 etc. vaders] Vaders Q2 etc. 1079 vader] Vader Q3 1080 neuer] never Q3
Mari. Harke sister signor Aluaro sayth, that I am the frayrest of all vs three,

Laur. Beleeue him not for heele tell any lie.

If so he thinkes thou mayst be pleasd thereby,
Come goe with me and neere stand pratinge here,
I haue a jest to tell thee in thine eare,
Shall make you laugh: come let your signor stand,
I know there's not a Wench in all this Towne,

Maister Vandalle, as much I say for you;
If needes you marry with an English Lasse,

Math. Tut that's a French cogge; sure I thinke.
There's nere a Wench in France not halfe so fond,
To woe and sue so for your Mounership.

Delio. Par may fooy Madame, she does tincke dare is no Wenche so dure as you: for de Fillee was cree dulce, tendre, and amarous for me to loue hir; now me tincke dat I being such a fine man, you should loua me.

Mathe. So thinke not I, sir.

Delio. But so tincke esh oder Damosellas.

Mathe. Nay Ile lay my loue to your commaunde,
That my Sisters thinke not so: How say you sister Mall?
Why how now Gentlemen, is this your talke?
What beaten in plaine field: where be your Maydes?
Nay then I see their louing humor fades,
And they resigne their intrest vp to mee:
And yet I cannot serue for all you three:
But least two should be madd, that I loue one,
You shall be all alike, and Ie loue none:
The world is scant, when so many lacke Dawes,
Houer about one Coarse with greedy pawes:
Yf needes youle haue me stay till I am dead.
And so farewell, wee Sisters doe agree,
To haue our willes, but nere to haue you three.  

Delio. Madama attendez, Madama: is she alle? doe she mocke de nows in such sort?

Vand. Oh de pestilence, noe if dat ick can neite dese Englese spreake vel, it shal hir Fader seg how dit is to passe gecomen.

Enter Pisaro.

Aluar. Ne parlate, see here signors de Fader.

Pisa. Now Friends, now Gentlemen, how speeds your worke; haue you not found them shrewd vnhappy girls?

1104 Sisters] sisters Q2 etc. Mall] Mall Q2 1105 Why] Why, Q2 etc. 1105 talke?] talke Q1 talke; Q2 etc. 1106 Maydes] maydes Q2 etc. 1107 Nay] Nay, Q2 etc. their] there Q2 1108 mee] me Q3 1110 least] lest Q3 madd] mad Q3 1112 Iacke Dawes] Iackes-Dawes Q3 1114 Yf] If Q2 etc. 1115 for] So Q2 etc. sor Q1 1116 wee] we Q2 etc. Sisters] sisters Q3 1117 Exeunt.] Exeunt Q2 1118 attendez] z doubtful Q3 she] shee Q2 1119 mockque] moque Q2 etc. nows] nous Q2 etc. 1120 noe] possibly hoe with broken h Q1 hoe Q2 ho Q3 dat ick] datick Q2 etc. neite] neit Q2 etc. dese] de se Q2 etc. 1121 it] ick Q2 etc. shall] sal Q2 etc. hir] her Q2 etc. dit] omitted Q2 etc. 1123 Aluar] Alua Q2 etc. here signors] heere signiers Q2 etc. 1124 speedes] speeds Q2 etc. 1125 girls] Girles Q2 etc.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Vand. Mester Pisaro, de Dochter maistris Laurentia calle me de Dyel, den Asse, for that ic can neit englesch sprekken.

Alua. Ande dat we sal no parler, dat we sal no hauar den for de wiue.

Pisa. Are they so lusty? Dare they be so proude? 1130
Well, I shall find a time to meete with them:
In the meane season, pray frequent my house.

Enter Frisco running.

Ho now sirra, whither are you running?

Fris. About a little tiny businesse.

Pisa. What businesse, Asse?

Fris. Indeed I was not sent to you: and yet I was sent after the three Gen-men that din'd here, to bid them come to our house at ten a clocke at night, when you were abed.

Pisa. Ha, what is this? Can this be true?
What, art thou sure the Wenches bade them come?

Fris. So they said, vnlesse their mindes be changed since: for a Woman is like a Weather-cocke they say, & I am sure ye no more then I am certaine of: but I go in and bid them send you word, whether they shall come or no.

Pisa. No sirra, stay you heere: but one word more: 1145 Did they appoint the come one by one, or else al together?

Fris. Altogether: Lord that such a young man as you

1126 l'and.] l'anda. Q3 Laurentia] Laurentia, Q2 etc. 1127 me] omitted Q2 etc. that] dat Q2 etc. ic] iek Q2 etc. englesch sprekken] English spreaken Q2 etc. 1128 dat] dot Q3 we sal] we sall Q2 etc. we sal] wee sal Q3 1129 wiue] wiue Q2 1131 find] finde Q2 etc. meete] meet Q2 etc. 1133 Ho] Ho, Q2 etc. 1135 businesse] bussinesse Q2 1136 Frisc.] Frise H2 1137 din'dl] din'de Q2 etc. 1140 bade] bede Q2 etc. 1141 be] bee Q2 etc. 1142 &] and Q2 etc. 1143 goe] goe Q2 etc. 1144 whther] vwhether Q3 come] com Q3 1145 heere] here Q2 etc. 1146 the] them Q2 etc. al together] altogether Q2 etc. 1147 a young] a yoong Q2 an old Q3
should have no more wit: why if they should come together, one could not make Rome for them; but coming one by one, they'd stand there if there were twenty of them.

Pisa. How this newes glads me, and requies my soule: How say you sirs, what will you haue a jest worth the telling: I haue it Gentlemen, I haue it Friends.

Alia. Signor Pisaro, I prey de gratia watte maniere sal we haue? wat will the parler? wat bon doe you know Signor Pisaro, dicheti noi signor Pisaro.

Pisa. Oh that youth so sweete, so soone should turne to age; were I as you, why this were sport alone for me to doe.

Harke yee, harke yee; heere my man.
Saith, that the Girles haue sent for Maister Heigham
And his two friends; I know they loue them dear,
And therefore wish them late at night be heere
To renell with them: Will you haue a jest,
To worke my will, and giue your longings rest:
Why then M. Vandalle, and you two,
Shall soone at midnight come, as they should doe,
And court the Wenches; and to be vnknowne,
And taken for the men, whom they alone
So much affect; each one shall change his name:
Maister Vandalie, you shall take Heigham, and you
Younge Haruye, and monsieur Delion Ned,
And vnder shadowes be of substance sped:
How like you this deuice? how thinke you of it?

Delio. Oh de braue de galliarde deuise: me sal come by de
nite and contier faire de Anglois Gentlehomes dicte nous
ainsi monsieur Pisaro.

Pisa. You are in the right sir.

Alua. And I sal name me de signor Haruy, ende mon-
sieur Delion sall be piculo signor Ned, ende when mado-
na Laurentia sall say, who be dare? mister Vandalie sall say,
Oh my sout Laide, hier be your loue Mestro Heigham: Is
no dis de brauissime, maister Vandalie?

Vanda. Slaet vp den tromele, van ick sall come
Vp to de camerken, wan my new Wineken
Slaet vp den tromele, van ick sall come.

Pisa. Ha, ha, ha, maister Vandalie,
I trow you will be merrie soone at night,
When you shall doe in deed, what now you hope of.

Vanda. I sall v seg vader, Ick sall tesh your Daughrer
such a ting, make her laugh too.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Pisa.  Well my Sonnes all, (for so I count you shall)
What we haue heere deuis'd, prouide me for:
But abowe all, doe not (I pray) forget
To come but one by one, as they did wish.

Vanda.  Mar hort ens vader, ick veite neite de wecke to
your houis, hort ens sall maister Frisco your manneken
come to calle de me, and bring me to v house.

Pisa.  Yes marry shall hee:  see that you be ready.

And [To Frisco] at the hower of eleuen sone at night:
Hie you to Bucklersburie to his Chamber.
And so direct him straight vnto my house:
My Sonne Aluaro, and monsieur Delion,
I know, doth know the way exceeding well:
Well, weele to the Rose in Barken for an hower:
And sirra Frisco, see you proue no blabbe.

Exeunt Pisaro, Aluaro, Delion, and Vandalle.

Frisco.  Oh monstrous, who would thinke my Maister
had so much witte in his old rotten budget: and yet
yfayth he is not much troubled with it neither. Why what
wise man in a kingdome would sende me for the Dutch-
man?  Does hee thinke Ile not cousen him:  Oh fine, Ile

1193 Sonnes] sonnes Q3 1194 we] vve Q3 deuis'd] deuisde Q2 etc.
1196 wish] vvish Q3 1197 wecke] weye Q2 vveye Q3
1198 sall] sal Q2 etc. maister] master Q2 etc. 1199 calle]
call Q2 etc. 1200 Pisa.] Pisa P H3 hee] he Q2 etc.
1201 eleuen] a eleuen Q2 etc. sone] soone Q2 etc.
1202 Bucklersburie] Bucklersbury Q3 1203 house] House Q2
Aluaro] Aluaro Q3 monsieur] Monsieur Q2 1205 know.] know Q2 etc.
way] vway Q3 well] vvell Q3 1206 weele] weel Q2 vveel Q3
Barken] Barken Q3 hower] howre Q2 houre Q3 1207 sirra]
sira Q2 etc. blabbe] blab Q2 etc. 1207 s.d. Pisaro] Pisa Q3
Aluaro] Aluaro Q3 and] & Q2 etc. 1208 who] viho Q3 would]
vwould Q3 Maister] Master Q2 master Q3 1209 wit] wit Q2 etc.
1210 yfayth] yfaith Q2 etc. he] hee Q2 with] vwith Q3
1211 kingdome] Kingdome Q2 etc. would] vwould Q3 sende]
send Q2 etc. me] mee Q2 etc. 1211-2 Dutchman] Dutchman Q3
1212 hee] he Q3 him:] him? Q2 him; Q3
haue the brauest sport: Oh braue, Ile haue the gallentest sport: Oh come: now if I can hold behinde, while I may laugh a while, I care not: Ha, ha, ha.

Enter Antho. (tily?)

_Antho._ Why how now _Frisco_, why laughest thou so har-

_Frisco._ Laugh _M. Mouse_: Laugh, ha, ha, ha. (merry?

_Antho._ Laugh, why should I laugh? or why art thou so

_Frisco._ Oh maister _Mouse_, maister _Mouse_, it would make 1220 any Mouse, Ratte, Catte, or Dogge, laugh to thinke, what sport we shall haue at our house sone at night: Ie tell you, all, my young Mistresses sent me after _M. Heigham_ and his friendes, to pray them come to our house after my old Maister was a bed: Now I went, and I went; and I runne, 1225 and I went: and whom should I meete, but my Maister and _M. Pisaro_ and the Strangers: so my Maister very worshipfully (I must needs say) examined me whither I went now? I durst not tell him an vntruth, for feare of lying, but told him plainely and honestly mine arrande: Now who 1230 would thinke my Maister had such a monstrous plaguie
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

witte, hee was as glad as could be: out of all scotch and notch glad, out of all count glad? and so sirra he bid the three Vplandish-men come in their steades and woe my young Mistresses: Now it made mee so laugh to thinke how they will be cousend, that I could not follow my Mai-stre: But Ie follow him, I know he is gone to the Tauerne in his merry humor: Now if you will keepe this as secret as I haue done hitherto, wee shall haue the brauest sport soone, as can be. I must be gone, say nothing. [Exit. 1240

Antho. Well, it is so:
And we will haue good sport, or it shall go hard;
This must the Wenches know, or all is marde.

Enter the three Sisters.
Harke you Mis. Moll, Mis. Laurentia, Mis. Matt,
I haue such newes (my Girles) will make you smile. 1245

Mari. What be they Maister, how I long to heare it?
Antho. A Woman right, still longing, and with child,
For euery thing they heare, or light vpon:
Well. if you be mad Wenches, heare it now,
Now may your knaueries giue the deadliest blow
To night-walkers, cauese-droppers, or outlandish love,
That ere was stristen.

Math. Anthony Mowche,

1232 witte,] wit? Q2 etc. was] vvas Q3 be] bee Q2 etc.
1233 glad?] glad: Q2 etc. and] And Q2 etc. he] hee Q2 etc.
1234 steades] steads, Q2 etc. woe] vvoe Q3 1235 Mistresses:]
1236 he] bee Q3 cousend] cousen'd Q2 etc. 1236-7 Maister]
1238 humor:] humour. Q2 etc.
1240 be] bee Q3 (both occurrences) gone.] gone: Q2 etc.
Exit.] added Q2 etc. 1241 Antho.] Antho. Q3 so:] so, Q2 etc.
1242 goe hard: ] goe hard: Q2 etc. 1243 marde:] mar'd Q2 mar'd. Q3
1244 Mis. Mis. Mis.] Mis Mis. Mis. Q2
1247 Antho. ] Antho. Q3
1248 every] every Q3 1249 Well.] Well, Q2 etc.
1252 stristen] stricken Q2 etc. 1253 Anthony] Anthony Q3
Moue but the matter: tell vs but the iest.
And if you find vs slack to execute,
Neuer giue credence, or beleue vs more.  

  Antho. Then know: The Strangers your Outlandish
Appoynted by your Father, comes this night
In stead of Haruie, Heigham, and young Ned,
Vnder their shaddowes to get to your bed:
For Frisco simply told him why he went:
I need not to instruct, you can conceiue,
You are not Stockes nor Stones, but haue some store
Of witte and knauerie too.

  Mathe. Anthony, thanks
Is too too small a guerdon for this newes:
You must be English: Well sir signor sowse,
Ile teach you trickes for comming to our house.

  Laur. Are you so craftie, oh that night were come,
That I might heare my Dutchman how hee'd sweare
In his owne mother Language, that he lones me:
Well, if I quit him not, I here pray God,
I may lead Apes in Hell, and die a Mayde;
And that were worser to me then a hanging.

  Antho. Well said old honest huddles; here's a heape
Of merrie Lasses: Well, for my selfe,
Ile hie mee to your Louers, bid them maske
With vs at night, and in some corner stay
Neere to our house, where they may make some play

1257 Antho.] Antho. Q3  1258 Appoynted] Appointed Q3
1259 Haruie] Haruy Q3  1264 knauerie] knauery Q3
1267 signor] signor Q2 etc.
1269 craftie] craftie Q2  crafty Q3  1270 Dutchman] Dutchman Q3
1273 Mayde:] Mayde: Q2 etc.
1275 Antho.] Antho. Q3  huddles:] huddles: Q2 etc.
1276 merrie] merry Q3  1277 mee] me Q2 etc. Louers] Lovers Q3
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Vpon your riuals, and when they are gon,

Come to your windowes.

Mari. Doe so good Maister.

Antho. Peace, begon; for this our sport.

Some body soone will moorne.

Exeunt.

[Act III. Scene I. A Room in Pisaro’s House.]

Enter Pisaro[ , Anthony, and the three Sisters].

Pisa. How fauourable Heauen and Earth is scene,

To grace the mirthfull complot that is laide,

Nights Candles burne obscure, and the pale Moone

Fauouring our drift, lyes buried in a Cloude:

I can but smile to see the simple Girles,

Hoping to haue their sweete-hearts here to night,

Tickled with extreame ioy, laugh in my face:

But when they finde, the Strangers in their steades,

Theyle change their note, and sing an other song.

Where be these Girles heere? what, to bed, to bed:

Mau’dlin make fast the Dores, rake vp the Fire;

Gods me, tis nine a clocke, harke Bow-bell rings: Knocke.
Some looke downe below, and see who knockes:
And harke you Girles, settle your hearts at rest,
And full resolue you, that to morrow morn,
You must be wedd to such as I preferre;
I meane Aluaro and his other friendes:
Let me no more be troubled with your nayes.
You shall doe what Ie haue, and so resolue.

Enter Moore.

Welcome M. Moore, welcome,
What winde a-gods name driues you foorth so late?

Moor. Fayth sir, I am come to trouble you,
My wife this present night is brought to bed.

Pisa. To bed, and what hath God sent you?

Moor. A iolly Girle, sir.

Pisa. And God blesse her: But what's your will sir?

Moor. Fayth sir, my house being full of Friends,
Such as (I thanke them) came to see my wife?
I would request you, that for this one night,
My daughter Susan might be lodged here.

Pisa. Lodge in my house, welcome withall my heart,

Matt harke you, she shall lye with you.
Trust me she could not come in fitter time.
For heere you sir, to morrow in the morning,
All my three Daughters must be married,
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Good maister Moore lets haue your company,
What say you sir; Welcome honest friend.

Enter a Servant.

Moor.  How now sirra what's the newes with you?
Pisa.  Mowche heare you. stirre betimes to morrow,
For then I meane your Schollers shall be wed:
What newes, what newes man that you looke so sad,
Moor.  Hee brings me word my wife is new falne sicke,
And that my daughter cannot come to night:
Or if she does, it will be very late.
Pisa,  Beleeue me I am then more sorry for it.
But for your daughter come she soone or late,
Some of vs will be vp to let her in,
For heere be three meanes not to sleepe to night:
Well you must be gone? commend me to your wife,
Take heede how you goe downe, the staires are bad,
Bring here a light.

Moor.  Tis well I thanke you sir.

Exit.
Pisa.  Good night maister Moore farwell honest friend,
Come, come to bed, to bed tis nine and past,
Doe not stand prating here to make me fetch you,
But gette you to your Chambers.

Exit Pisaro.

Antho.  Birlady heres short worke, harke you Girles,
Will you to morrow marry with the strangers.
Mall. Yfayth sir no Ile first leape out at window, Before Marina marry with a stranger, 1345

Antho. Yes but your father sweares, you shall haue one. Ma. Yes but his daughters, swears they shall haue none,

These horeson Canniballs, these Philistines, These tango mongoes shall not rule Ore me, Ile haue my will and Ned, or Ile haue none.

Antho. How will you get him? how will you get him? 1350 I know no other way except it be this, That when your fathers in his soundest sleepe, You ope the Dore and runne away with them,

All sisters. So wee will rather then misse of them. Antho. Tis well resolude yfayth and like your selues, 1355 But heare you? to your Chambers presently, Least that your father doe discry our drift, Exeunt Sisters.

Mistres Susan should come but she cannot. Nor perhaps shall not, yet perhaps she shall. Might not a man conceipt a prettie iest? 1360 And make as mad a Riddle as this is, If all thinges fadge not, as all thinges should doe, Wee shall be sped y'fayth, Matt shall haue hue.

1343 no] no, Q2 etc. window] Window Q3 stranger,] stranger. Q2 etc. stranger.]
1355 Antho.] Antho. Q3 resolude] resolved Q2 etc. yfayth] yfaith, Q3 Least] Lest Q3 Sisters.] Sisters Q2 etc. Mistres] Mistris Q2 etc. Susan] Susan Q3 prettie] pretty Q3 things] things Q2 etc. (both occurrences) 1363 Wee] We Q2 etc. sped] sped, Q2 etc. y'] omitted Q2 etc. Matt] Matt Q2 hue] her due Q2 etc.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

[Scene II. Cornhill.]

Enter Vandalle and Frisco.

Vand. Wear be you mester Frisco.

Fris. Here sir, here sir, now if I could cousen him, take heede sir hers a post.

Vand. Ick be so groterly hot, datt ick swette. Oh wen sal we come dare.

Fris. Be you so hotte sir, let me ick swette, I assure you it will ease you much.

Vand. Dare here, dare, tis so Darke ey can neit see.

Fris. I, so so: now you may trauell in your Hose and Doublet: now looke I as like the Dutchman, as if I were spit out of his mouth: Ile straight home, & speake groote and broode, and toot and gibrish; and in the darke Ile haue a fling at the Wenches. Well, I say no more; farewell M. Mendall, I must goe seeke my fortune. Exit Frisco.

Vanda. Mester Frisco, mester Frisco, wat sal you no speak; make you de Foole? Why mester Frisco; Oh de skellum, he be ga met de Cloake, me sal seg his mester, han mester Frisco, waer sidy mester Frisco. Exit Vandal.

[Scene III. Before Pisaro's House.]

Enter Haruie, Heigham, and Walgraue.

Haruy. Goes the case so well signor bottle-nose? It may be we shall ouerreach your drift;

1366 sir] sir, Q3 hers] heres Q3
1367 swette] sweette Q2 etc. wen] when Q3
1371 Vand.] Vand H 1372 so so] so, so Q2 so so, so Q3 1373 Dutchman]
Dutchman Q3 were] vvere Q3 1374 &] and Q2 etc.
1381 Frisco] Frico Q3 1381 s.d. Haruie] Haruy Q3
Walgraue] Vulgraue Q3 1382 Haruy.] Haru. Q3 well] vwell Q3
signor] signior Q3 1383 drift;] drift? Q3
This is the time the Wenches sent vs word
Our bumbast Dutchman and his mates will come.
Well neat Italian, you must don my shape:
Play your part well, or I may haps pay you.
What, speechlesse Ned? fayth whereon musest thou?
Tis on your French coriuall, for my life:
Hee come etc vostre, and so foorth,
Till he hath foysted in a Brat or two?
How then, how then?
Walg. Swounds Ille geld him first,
Ere that infectious loszell renell there.
Well Matt, I thinkne thou knowst what Ned can doe:
Shouldst thou change Ned for Noddy, mee for him,
Thou didst not know thy losse, yfayth thou didst not.
Heigh. Come leaue this idle chatte, and lets prouide
Which of vs shall be scar-crow to these Fooles,
And set them out the way?
Walg. Why that will I.
Haru. Then put a Sword into a mad-mans hand:
Thou art so hasty, that but crosse thy humor.
And thou'lt be ready crosse them ore the pates:
Therefore for this time, Ille supply the roome.
Heigh. And so we shall be sure of chatt enough;
Youle hold them with your floutes and gulles so long,
That all the night will scarcely be enough
To put in practise, what we haue deside:
Come, come, Ile be the man shall doe the deed.

_Haru._ Well, I am content to saue your longing.
But soft, where are we? Ha, heere's the house.
Come let vs take our stands: Fraunce stand you there,
And Ned and I will crosse t'other side.

_Heigh._ Doe so: But hush, I heare one passing hither.

Enter _Aluaro._

_Aluar._ Oh de favorable aspect of de heauen, tis so obs
scure, so darke, so blacke dat no mortalle creature can
know de me: I pray a Dio I sal haue de reight Wench: Ah
si I be recht, here be de huis of signor Pisaro, I sall haue de
madona Marina, and daruor I sall knocke to de dore.

_Heigh._ What a pox are you mad or druncke;
What, doe you meane to breake my Glasses?

_Alua._ Wat be dat Glasse? Wat druncke, wat mad?

_Heigh._ What Glasses sir; why my Glasses: and if you
be so crancke, Ile call the Constable; you will not enter into a mans house (I hope) in spight of him?

_Haru._ Nor durst you be so bold as to stand there,
Yf once the Maister of the House did know it.

_Aluar._ Is dit your Hous? be you de Signor of dis Cassa?

_Heigh._ Signor me no signors, nor cassa me no cassas: but get you hence, or you are like to taste of the Bastinado.

_Haru._ Do, do, good Ferdinand, pummell the loggerhead.

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1411 _Well]_ VVell _Q2_ 1412 _heere's]_ heer's _Q3_ 1415 _s.d. Aluaro]_ Alvaro _Q3_ 1416 _Aluar._ _Alva._ _Q3_ favorable] favorable _Q3_ heauen] heaven _Q3_ 1417 _blacke]_ blacke, _Q2_ etc. 1420 _Marina]_ Marina _Q2_ 1421 _druncke:]_ drunke _Q2_ drunke, _Q3_ 1423 _Glasses]_ Glasses _Q2_ etc. _drunke_ _Q2_ etc. 1424 _Glasses_ _Q2_ etc. (both occurrences) _why]_ vvhy _Q3_ 1428 _Maister_ _Master_ _Q2_ etc. _House]_ house _Q3_ 1432 _Haru._ _Heigh._ _Qt_ etc. loggerhead _Q2_ etc.
Alua. Is this neit the Hous of mester Pisaro?
Heigh. Yes marry when? can you tell: how doe you?
I thanke you heartily, my finger in your mouth.

Alua. Wat be dat?
Heigh. What sir; why Leaden-hall, could you not see
the foure Spoutes as you came along?

Alua. Certenemento Leden hall, I hit my hed by de way,
dare may be de voer Spouts: I prey de gratia, wish be de
wey to Crochefriers?
Heigh. How, to Croched-friers? Marry you must goe
along till you come to the Pumpe, and then turne on your
right hand.

Alua. Signor, adio.
Exit Aluaro.

Haru. Farewell and be hang'd Signor:
Now for your fellow, if the Asse would come.

Enter Delio.

Delio. By my trot me doe so mush tincke of dit Gentle-
woman de fine Wenshe, dat me tincke esh houer ten day,
and esh day ten yeare, till I come to her: Here be de huise
of sin vader, sall alle and knocke.

He knocks.
Heigh. What a bots ayle you, are you madd?
Will you runne ouer me and breake my Glasses?
Delio. Glasses, wat Glasses? Prey is monsieur Pisaro to
de mayson?
Haru. Harke Ned. there's thy substaunce
Wal. Nay by the Masse, the substaunce's heere,
The shaddow's but an Asse.
Heigh. What Maister Pisaro?
Loggerhead, heere's none of your Pisaros?
Delio. Yes but dit is the hous of mester Pisaro.
Wal. Will not this monsieur Motley take his answer?
Ile goe and knocke the asse about the pate.
Har. Nay by your leave sir, but Ile hold your worship.
This surre we should have had, had you stood there.
Wal. Why, would it not vexe one to heare the asse,
Stand prating here of dit and dan, and den and dog?
Haru. One of thy mettle Ned, would surely doe it:
But peace, and harke to the rest.
Delio. Doe no de fine Gentlewoman matresse Mathca
dwell in dit Plashe?
Heigh. No sir, here dwels none of your fine Gantle-woman:
Twere a good deed sirra, to see who you are;
You come hither to steale my Glasses.
And then counterfeite you are going to your Queanes.
Delio. I be decen dis darke height; here be no Wenshe.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

I be no in de right plashe: I prey Monsieur, wat be name dis Streete, and wishe be de way to Croshe-friers?

Heigh. Marry this is Fanchurch-streete,
And the best way to Crotchted-friers, is to follow your nose

Delio, Vanshe, streete, how shaunce me come to Vanshe. vell monsieur, me must alle to Croche-friers.

Exit Delio.

Walg. Farewell fortipence, goe seeke your Signor, I hope youle finde your selues two Dolts anone:

Hush Fredinand, I heare the last come stamping hither.

Enter Frisco.

Frisc. Ha sirra, I haue left my fatte Dutchman, and runne my selfe almost out of breath too: now to my young mistresses goe I, some body cast an old shoe after me: but soft, how shall I doe to counterfeite the Dutchman, be cause I speake English so like a naturall; Tush, take you no thought for that, let me alone for Squintum squantum: soft,

her's my Maisters house,

High. Whose there.

Frisc. Whose there, why sir here is: Nay thats too good

English: Why here be de growtte Dutchman.

Heigh. Then there's not onely a growtte head, but an 1500 Asse also.

Frisc. What be yoo, yoo be an English Oxe to call a gentle moan Asse.

Haru. Harke Ned yonders good greeting.

Frisc. But yoo, and yoo be Maister Mouse that dwell here, tell your matressa Laurentia datt her sweete harte Maister Vandall would speake with horde,

Heigh. Maister Mendall, gette you gon, lest you get a broken Pate and so marre all: heres no entrance for mistres Laurentios sweete heart.

Frisc. Gods sacaren watt is the luck now.

Shall not I come to my friend maister Pisar Hoose?

Heigh. Yes and to maister Pisaros Shooes too, if hee or they were here.

Frisc. Why my groute friend, M. Pisaro doth dwel here. 1515

Heigh. Sirra, you lye, heere dwells no body but I, that haue dwelt here this one & forty yeares, and sold Glasses.

Walg. Lye farder, one and fifty at the least.

Fris. Hoo, hoo, hoo; do you giue the Gentleman the ly?

1509 English] English Q3 here] heere Q3
growttes] growrte Q2 etc. Dutchman] Dutchman Q3 1502 be] bee Q3
yoo be] yoo bee Q2 etc. English] English Q3 gentle] gentile Q2 etc.
1505 be Maister] bee master Q2 etc. 1506 matressa] Matressa Q2 etc.
sweete harte] sweet heart Q2 etc. 1507 Maister] master Q2 etc.
harde,] horde. Q2 etc. 1508 Maister] Master Q2 etc. gette]
get Q2 etc. gon] gone Q2 etc. least] lest Q2 etc. get]gett Q2 etc.
1509 Pate] pate Q3 1509-10 misstres] mistresse Q2 etc.
1510 sweete] sweete Q1 1511 the luck] de lucke Q2 etc.
1512 maister] master Q2 etc. Hoose] hoose Q3
1513 Yes] Yes. Q2 etc. maister] master Q2 etc. Shoes] Shooes Q2 etc.
hee] he Q2 1515 dwell] dwell Q2 etc.
heere] heere Q2 1517 &] and Q2 etc. yeares] yeeres Q3 forty]
fortie Q2 1518 fiftie] fiftie Q2 1519 Fris.] Frisc. Q2 etc.
do] doe Q2 etc. Gentleman] gentleman Q2 etc. ly] lye Q2 etc.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Haru. I sir, and will give you a lice of my Cudgell, if ye stay long and trouble the whole streete with your bawling: hence dolt, and goe seeke M. Pisaros House.

Frisc. Goe seeke M. Pişaros House;

Where shall I goe seeke it?

Heigh. Why, you shall goe seeke it where it is.

Frisc. That is here in Croched-friers.

Heigh. How Loger-head, is Croched-friers heere.

I thought you were some such drunken Asse, That come to seeke Croched-friers in Tower-streete:

But get you along on your left hand, and be hang'd; You haue kept me out of my Bedd with your bangling, A good while longer then I would have been.

Frisc. Ah, ah, How is this? Is not this Croched-friers?

Tell mee, Ile hold a Crowne they gane me so much Wine at the Tauerne, that I am druncke, and know not ont.

Haru. My Dutchman's out his Compasse & his Card; Hee's reckning what Winde hath drue him hither:

Ile sweare hee thinkes neuer to see Pisaros.

Frisc. Nay tis so, I am sure druncke: Soft let mee see, what was I about? Oh now I haue it, I must goe to my

1521 yee] ye Q2 etc. 1522 bawling] brawling Q3 House] house Q3 1523 M.] master Q2 etc. House] house Q3 1525 Heigh.] Heig. Q2 etc. is.] is, Q2 etc. 1526 here] heere Q3 Croched-friers]


here Q2 etc. 1529 Croched-friers] Crutched-fryers Q2 Crutched-fryers Q3 Tower-streete] Tower-street Q2 Tower-street Q3

1531 Bedd] Bed Q3 bawling] brangling Q3 1532 been] beene Q2 etc. 1533 ah.] ah. Q3 Croched-friers] Crutched-fryers Q2 Crutched-fryers Q3 1534 mee] me Q2 Crowne] crowne Q2 etc. me] mee Q3 Wine] wine Q2 etc. 1535 druncke] drunke Q2 etc.

1536 Dutchman's] Dutch-man's Q2 Dutchman's Q3 &] and Q3 1537 Winde] winde Q2 etc. 1538 hee] he Q2 etc. neuer] never Q3 1539 Nay] Nay. Q2 etc. druncke] drunke Q2 etc. Soft] soft Q3 mee] me Q2 etc.
Maisters house and counterfeite the Dutchman, and get
my young Mistresse: well, and I must turne on my left
hand, for I haue forgot the way quite and cleane:
Fare de well good frend, I am a simple Dutchman I.

Exit Frisco.

Heigh. Faire weather after you. And now my Laddes, 1545
Haue I not plide my part as I should doe?
Haru. Twas well, twas well: But now let's cast about,
To set these Woodcocks farder from the House.
And afterwards returne vnto our Girles.
Walg. Content, content; come, come make haste. Exit. 1550

[Act IV. Scene I. A Street.]

Enter Aluaro.

Alua. I goe and turne, and dan I come to dis plashe, I
can no tell waer, and sall doe I can no tell watt, turne by
the Pumpe; I pumpe it faire.

Enter Delion.

Delio. Me alle, ende alle & can no come to Croche-friers.

Enter Frisco.

Frisco. Oh miserable Blacke-pudding, if I can tell which 1555
is the way to my Maisters house, I am a Red-herring, and
no honest Gentleman.
Alua. Who parlato daer?
Delio. Who be der? who alle der?

Frisc. How's this? For my life here are the Strangers: Oh that I had the Dutchmans Hose, that I might creep into the Pockets: they're all three fall vpon me & beat me.

Alua. Who doe der ander?

Delio. Amis?

Frisc. Oh braue: it's no body but M. Pharoo and the Frenchman going to our House, on my life: well. Ile haue some sport with them, if the Watch hinder me not.

Who goes there?

Delio. Who parle der, in wat plashe, in wat strete be you?

Frisc. Why sir, I can tell where I am: I am in Tower-strete: Where a Diuell be you?

Delio. To be here in Lede-hall.

Frisc. In Leaden-hall? I trow I shall meete with you a-none: in Leaden-hall? What a simple Asse is this Frenchman.

Some more of this: Where are you sir?

Alua. Moy I be here in Vanshe-streete.

Frisc. This is excellent ynfayth, as fit as a Fiddle: I in Tower-streete, you in Leaden-hall, and the third in Fanchurch-streete.

Who] Who Q2 etc.
Dutchmans hose Q3 Dutchmans hose Q3 1562 Pockets] pockets Q3 & beat] and beat Q2 etc. 1563 doe] goe Q2 etc.
Amis?] Amis. Q2 etc. 1565 braue:] braue: Q3 it's] tis Q2 etc. M. Pharoo] Master Pharoo Q2 etc.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

streecte; and yet all three heare one another, and all three speake togeather: either wee must be all three in Leadenc-
hall, or all three in Tower-streete, or all three in Fanchurch-
streete; or all three Fooles.

Alua. Monsieur Gentle-home, can you well tesh de wey to Crochec-friers?

Frisc- How to Croched-friers? I, I sir, passing well if you will follow mee.

Delio. I dat me sal monsier Gentle-home, and give you tanks.

Frisc. And monsieur Pharo, I shall lead you such a iaunt, that you shall scarce give me thankes for. Come sirrs follow mee: now for a duttie Puddle, the pissing Condit or a great Post, that might turne these two from Asses to Oxen by knocking their Hornes to their Fore-heads.

Alua. Whaer be de now signor?

Frisc. Euen where you will signor, for I know not:

Soft I smell: Oh pure Nose.

Delio. Wat do you smell?

Frisc. I haue the scent of London-stone as full in my nose, as Abchurch-lane of mother Valles Pasties: Sirrs feele about, I smell London-stone.

Alua. Wat be dis?

Frisc. Soft let me see; feele I should say, for I cannot see:

Oh lads pray for my life, for we are almost at Croched-friers.

ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Delio. Dats good: but watt be dis Post?
Frisc. This Post; why tis the May-pole on Inie-bridge going to Westminster.

Delio. Ho Wemistere, how come we tol Wemistere?
Frisc. Why on your Legges fooles, how should you goe? Soft, heere's an other: Oh now I know in deede where I am; wee are now at the fardest end of Shoredich, for this is the May-pole.

Delio. Sordiche; O dio, dere be some nautie tinge, some Spirite do leade vs.
Frisc. You say true sir, for I am afeard your French spirt is vp so far already, that you brought me this way, because you would finde a Charme for it at the Blew Bore in the Spittle: But soft, who comes heere?

Enter a Belman.

Bel. Maydes in your Smocks, looke wel to your Locks, Your Fier and your Light: and God giue you good night.
Delio. Monsieur Gentle-home, I prey parle one, too, tree, fore, words vore vs to dis oull man.
Frisc. Yes marry shall I sir. I pray honest Fellow, in what Streete be wee?
Bel. Ho, Frisco, whither friske you at this time of night?
Delio. What, Monsieur Frisco?

Delio. Monsieur Gentle-home, I pray parle one, too, tree, fore, words vore vs to dis oull man.
Bel. Ho, Frisco, whither friske you at this time of night?
Delio. What, Monsieur Frisco?
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Alua. Signor Frisco?

Fris. The same, the same: Harke yce honesty, mee thinkes you might doe well to haue an M. vnder your Girdle, considering how Signor Pisaro, and this other Monsieur doe hold of mee.

Bell. Oh sir, I cry you mercie; pardon this fault, and Ile doe as much for you the next time.

Fris. Well, passing ouer superfluicall talke, I pray what Street is this; for it is so darke, I know not where I am?

Bell. Why art thou druncke, Dost thou not know Fanchurch-strecte?

Fris. I sir, a good Fellow may sometimes be ouerseeene among Friends; I was drinking with my Maister and these Gentlemen, and therefore no maruaile though I be none of the wisest at this present: But I pray thee Goodman Buttericke, bring mee to my Maisters House.

Bel. Why I will, I will, push that you are so strange now adayes: but it is an old said saw, Honors change Manners.

Fris. Good-man Buttericke will you walke afore:

Come honest Friends, will yee goe to our House?

Delio. Ouy monsieur Frisco.

Alua. Si signor Frisco.  [Exeunt.

1625 Alua.} Alva. Q3
1626 yee] ye Q3 mee] me Q3 1628 Girdle] girdle Q3
1629 Pisaro] Pifaro Q1 Alvaro Q3 1629 doe] do Q3 1630 Bell.] Bel. Q3
1632 mercie] mercy Q3 1632 Fris.] Frisc. Q2 etc. ouer] over Q3
1634 Bell.] Bel. Q3 druncke] drunke Q3 1635 Fanchurch-] Fanchurch Q2
goodman Q3 1640 mee] me Q2 etc. Maisters] Masters Q2 etc.
1641 House] house Q3 1641 Bel.] Bell. Q2 will] wil Q2
(second occurrence) now] now, Q3
1642 Manners] manners Q3 1644 Friends] friends Q3 yee] ye Q3
1646 Alua.] Alva. Q3 signor] signior Q2 etc.
[Scene II. Before Pisaro's House.]

Enter Vandalle.

V'and. Oh de skellam Frisco, ic weit neit waer dat ic be, ic goe and hit my nose op dit post, and ic goe and hit my nose op danen post; Oh de villaine: Well, waer ben ic now? Haw laet syen is dut neit croshe vrier, ya seker so ist 1650 and dit M. Pisaros huis: Oh de good shauce, well ic sall now haue de Wenshe Laurentia, mestris Laurentia.

Enter Laurentia, Marina, Mathca, above.

Mari. Who's there, Maister Haruie?
Math. Maister Walgrae?
Laur. Maister Heigham?
V'and. Ya my Louie, here be mester Heigham your groot frinde.
Mari. How, Maister Heigham my grot vrintede?
Out alas, here's one of the Strangers.
Lauren. Peace you Mammets, let's see which it is: wee 1660 may chaunce teach him a strange tricke for his learning:
M. Heigham, what wind driues you to our house so late?
V'and. Oh my leif Mesken, de lone tol v be so groot, dat het bring me out my bed voor you.
Math. Ha, ha, we know the Asse by his eares; it is the 1665 Dutchman: what shall we doe with him?

1647 Oh] O Q3 ic weit] it we it Q2 it wee it Q3 dat] omitted Q2 etc.
be] bee Q3 1650 dut] duit Q3 1653 Mari.] Mari. Q3
Maister] Master Q2 master Q3 Haruie] Haruy Q3
1654 Maister] Master Q2 etc. 1655 Maister] Master Q2 etc.
1657 frinde:] frinde, Q2 1658 Mari.] Mary Q3 How.] How Q2 etc.
Maister] Master Q2 master Q3 1650 alas,] alas; Q2 etc.
here's] heer's Q3 Strangers] strangers Q3
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Laure. Peace, let him not know, that you are here; M. Heigham, if you will stay awhile that I may see, if my Father be a sleepe, and Ile make meanes we may come togeather.

V'and. Dat sal ick my Loua. Is dit no well counterfett 1670 I speake so like mester Heigham as is possible.

Laure. Well, what shall we doe with this Lubber?

(Louer I should say.)

Math. What shall wee doe with him?

Why crowne him with a—

Mari. Fie Slutt: No, wele use him clenlier; you know we haue never a Signe at the dore, would not the lest proue currant, to make the Dutchman supply that want.

Laure. Nay, the foole wil cry out, & so wake my father.

Mat. Why, then wele cut the Rope & cast him downe. 1680

Laur. And so iest out a hanging; let's rather draw him vp in the Basket, and so starue him to death this frosty night.

Mari. In sadnesse, well aduisde: Sister, doe you holde him in talke, and weele prouide it whilst.

Laur. Goe to then. M. Heigham, oh sweete M Higham, 1685 doth my Father thinke that his vnkindnes can part you & poore Laurentia? No, no, I haue found a drift to bring you to my Chamber, if you haue but the heart to venter it.

V'and. Ventre, sal ick goe to de see, and be de see, and ore de see, and in de see voer my sweete Louue. 1690

1667 Laure.] Laure H Peace.] Peace Q3 1668 Wil] wil Q2 etc. se] see Q2 etc. Father] father Q3 1669 togeather] together. Q3 1670 Loua.] Loua. Q3 Is] is Q3 1672 Lubber?] Lubber; Q3 1673 Louer] Lover Q3 1674 wee] we Q3 1676 Mari.] Mari, Q3 1677 neuer] never Q3 Signe] signe Q3 1678 Dutchman] Dutchman Q3 1679 Laure.] Laur. Q3 &] and Q2 etc. father.] father Q2 1680 Rope &] rope and Q3 him] lihm Q2 1681 let's] apostrophe doubtful Q1 1684 prouide] provide Q3 it] it the Q2 etc. 1685 then.] then, Q3(?) M Higham] M. Heigham Q2 etc. 1686 &] and Q3 1689 V'and.] V'and· Q1 V'and, Q2 etc.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Laur. Then you dare goe into a Basket; for I know no other means to inioy your companie, then so: for my Father hath the Keyes of the Dore.
Vand. Sal ick climb vp tot you? sal ick fly vp tot you? sal ick, wat segdy?
Math. Bid him doe it Sister, wee shall see his cunning.
Laur. Oh no, so you may catch a fal. There M. Heigham, Put your selfe into that Basket, and I will draw you vp:
But no words I pray you, for feare my Sister heare you.
Vand. No, no; no word: Oh de secte Wenshe, Ick come, Ick come.
Laur. Are you ready maister Heigham?
Vand. Ia ick my sout Lady.
Mari. Merily then my Wenches.
Laur How heauie the Asse is: Maister Heigham, is there any in the Basket but your selfe?
Vand. Neit, neit, dare be no man.
Mari Nor neuer are you like to climbe more higher:
Sisters, the Woodcock's caught, the Foole is cag'd.
Vand. My sout Lady I be nuc neit vp, pul me tot v.
Math. When can you tell; what maister Vandalle,
A wether beaten soldier an old wencher,
Thus to be over reach'd by three young Girles:
Ah sirra now weele bragge with Mistres Moore.
To haue as fine a Parret as she hath,
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Looke sisters what a pretty foole it is:
What a greene greasie shyning Coate he hath,
An Almonde for Parret, a Rope for Parret.

Vand. Doe you moc que me seger seger.

I sal seg your vader.

Laur. Doe and you dare, you see here is your fortune,
Disquiet not my father; if you doe,
Ile send you with a vengeance to the ground,
Well we must confess we trouble you,
And ouer watching makes a wiseman madde,
Much more a foole, there is a Cusshon for you.

Mar. To bore you through the nose.

Laur. To lay your head on.

Couch in your Kennell sleape and fall to rest,
And so good night for London maydes skorne still,
A Dutch-man should be seene to curbe their will.

[Exeunt Sisters.

Vand. Hort ye Daughter, hort ye? gods se ker kin? will
ye no let me come tot you? ick bid you let me come tot you
watt sal ick don, ick woud neit vor vn hundred pounde
Aluaro & Dclion, should see me ope dit maner, well wat sal
ick don. ick mout neit cal: vor de Wenshes wil cut de rope
and breake my necke; ick sal here bleauen til de morning,
& dan ick sal cal to mester Pisaro, & make him shafe & shite
his dauctors: Oh de skellum Frisco, Oh des cruell Hores.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

[Scene III. The Same.]

Enter Pisaro.

Pisa. He put the Light out, least I be espied,
For closely I have stolne me forth a doares,
That I might know, how my three Sonnes have sped.
Now (afore God) my heart is passing light,
That I have overreach'd the Englishmen:
Ha, ha, Maister I'andalle, many such nights
Will swage your bigg swole bulke, and make it lancke:
When I was young; yet though my Haires be gray,
I haue a Young mans spirit to the death,
And can as nimbly trip it with a Girle.
As those which fold the spring-tide in their Beards:
Lord how the verie thought of former times,
Supples these neere dried limbes with actuennesse:
Well, thoughts are shadowes, sooner lost then seen,
Now to my Daughters, and their merrie night,
I hope Atuario and his companie,
Haue read to them morrall Philosophie,
And they are full with it: Heere Ie stay.
And tarry till my gallant youths come forth.

Enter Haruiic, Walgrawe, and Heigham.

(Thou?)

Heigh. You mad-man, wild-oats, mad-cap, where art 1760
Walg. Heere afore.

1741 least] lest Q3 espied,] espied, Q2 etc.
1742 doares] doores Q2 etc. 1744 light,] light, W
1746 Maister] Master Q2 etc. 1747 bigg] big Q3 1748 young;]
young, Q3 1749 Young] young Q3 1752 verie] very Q3
1755 merrie] merry Q3
1756 companie] company Q3 1757 morrall Philosophie] morall
Philosophy Q2 etc. 1758 Heere] Here Q2 1759 youths] youthes Q2
foorth] forth Q2 1759 s.d. Haruiic] Haryy Q3
1760 wild-] wilde- Q2 etc. 1761 Walg,] Walg, Q2 1'alg, Q3
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Haru. Oh ware what loue is? Ned hath found the scent;
And if the Connie chance to misse her Burrough.
Shee's ouer-borne yfayth, she cannot stand it.

Pisa. I know that voyce, or I am much deceiued.

Heigh. Come, why loyter wee? this is the Dore:
But soft, heere's one asleepe.

Walgr. Come, let mee feele:
Oh tis some Rogue or other: spurne him, spurne him.

Haru. Be not so wilfull, prethee let him lie. (house.

Heigh. Come backe, come backe, for wee are past the
Yonder's Matheas Chamber with the light.

Pisa. Well fare a head, or I had been discride.
Gods mee, what make the Youngsters heere so late?
I am a Rouge, and spurne him: well lacke sauce,

The Rogue is waking yet, to marre your sport.

Walgr. Matt, Mistris Mathea; where be these Girles?

Enter Mathea alone.

Math. VVho's there below?


1762 Haru.] Haru. Q2 scent;] scent, Q3
1763 Connie] Conny Q2 etc. Burrough] Borough Q2 etc.
1764 ouer-borne] ouerborne Q2 ovarborne Q3 yfayth] yfaith Q2 etc.
1765 Pisa.] Pisa, Q2 deceived] deceived Q3
1766 Heigh.] Heiga. Q3 wee] we Q2 etc. Dore] doore Q3
1767 heere's] here's Q2 1768 Walgr. Q2 Walgr. Q2 1769 Walgr. Q3
meel me Q2 etc. 1769 other;] other, Q2 etc. 1770 Haru.] Haru. Q2
lie] lye Q2 etc. 1771 wee] we Q2 1772 Matheas] Matheas Q2
Chamber] chamber Q3 1773 been] bene Q2 beene Q3
1774 meel me Q2 etc. make] makes Q2 etc. Youngsters] youngsters Q3
heere] here Q2 1775 Rouge] Rogue Q2 etc. 1776 Rogue] rogue Q3
yet.] yet Q2 etc. marre] spoyle Q2 etc. 1777 Walgr. 1778 Walgr. Q3
Matt] Matt Q2 Matheas:] Matheas. Q2 Mathea, Q3
VWho's] Who's Q2 etc. 1779 Walgr. 1778 Walgr. Q3
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

No, no, it is the Frenchman in his stead,
That Mounsieur motlicoate that can dissemble:
Heare you Frenchman, packe to your Whores in Fraunce;
Though I am Portingale by the Fathers side,
And therefore should be lustfull, wanton, light;
Yet Goodman Goosecap, I will let you know,
That I have so much English by the Mother,
That no bace slauering French shall make me stoope:
And so, sir Dan-delion fare you well.

What speachlesse, not a word: why how now Ned?
The Wench hath tane him downe,
He hanges his head.

You Dan-de-lion, you that talk so well:
Harke you a word or two good Mistris Matt,
Did you appoynt your Friends to meete you heere,
And being come, tell vs of Whores in Fraunce,
A Spanish lennet, and an English Mare,
A Mongrill, halfe a Dogge and halfe a Bitch;
VVith Tran-dido, Dil-dido, and I know not what?
Heare you, if you'le run away with Ned,
And be content to take me as you find me,
VVhy so law, I am yours: if otherwise,
Youle change your Ned, to be a Frenchmans Trull?

Math. Q2 Math Q3 Math Q4 Mounsier Mounser Q3
Fraunce Q3 side, side. Q2
French] base slauering French] base slaving French Q3
Dan] Dan Q3 1780 speachlesse] speechlesse Q2 etc.
Wench] VVench Q2 wench Q3 1791 hanges] hangs Q3
Dan-de-lion] Don-delion Q3 1793 Mistris] mistris Q3
Mistris] Matt. Q2 etc. 1794 meete] meet Q3 1795 Whores] VVhores Q2
Fraunce] Fraunce Q3
Spanish] Spanish Q3 English] English Q3
Dogge] Dogge, Q3 Bitch.] Bitch, Q2 etc. 1798 VVith] With Q3
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

VWhy then, Madame Delion, le vous lassera a Dio, et la bon fortune.

Math. That voyce assures mee, that it is my Loue:

Say truly, Art thou my Ned? art thou my Loue?

Wal. Swounds who should I be but Ned?

You make me sweare.

Enter abowe Marina.

Mari. Who speake you to? Mathew who's below?

Har. Marina.

Mari. Young maister Haruy? for that voyce saith so.

Enter Laurentia.

Laur. Speake sister Matt, is not my true Loue there?

Math. Ned is.

Laur. Not maister Heigham?

Heigh. Laurentia, heere.

Laur. Yfayth thou'rt welcome.

Heigh. Better cannot Fall.

Math. Sweete, so art thou.

Mari. As much to mine.

Laur. Nay Gentles, welcome all.

Pisa. Here's cunning harlotries, they feed these off

With welcome, and kind words, whilst other Lads

Reuell in that delight they should possesse:

Good Girls, I promise you I like you well.

Mari. Say maister Haruy, saw you, as you came,
That Leacher, which my Sire appoynts my man; 
I meane that wanton base Italian,
That Spanish-leather spruce companion:
That anticke Ape trickt vp in fashion?
Had the Asse come, I'de learne him, difference been
Betwixt an English Gentleman and him.
   *Heigh.* How would you vse him (sweete)
If he should come?
   *Mari.* Nay nothing (sweet) but only wash his crowne:
Why the Asse wooes in such an amorous key,
That he presumes no Wench should say him nay:
Hee slauers not his Fingers, wipes his Bill,
And sweares infayth you shall, infayth I will;
That I am almost madd to bide his woeing.
   *Heigh.* Looke what he said in word, Ile act in doing.
   *Wal*.
Leave thought of him, for day steales on apace,
And to our Loues: Will you performe your words;
All things are ready, and the Parson stands,
To ioyne as hearts in hearts, our hands in hands;
Night fauours vs, the thing is quickly done,
Then trusse vp bagg and Bagages, and be gone:
And ere the morninge, to augment your ioyes,
Weele make you mothers of sixe goodly Boyes.
   *Heigh.* Promise them three good Ned, and say no more.
   *Wal*.
But Ile get three, and if I gette not foure.
   *Pisa.* Theres a sound Card at Maw, a lustie lad,
Your father thought him well, when one he had,

Heigh. What say you sweetes, will you performe your wordes?

Matt. Loue to true loue, no lesser meede affordes? Wee say we loue you, and that loues fayre breath
Shall lead vs with you round about the Earth:
And that our loues, vowes, wordes, may all prove true,
Prepare your Armes, for thus we flie to you. they Embrace.

Walgl. This workes like waxe, now ere to morrow day,
If you two ply it but as well as I,
Weele worke our landes out of Pisaros Daughters:
And cansell all our bondes in their great Bellies,
When the slaue knowes it, how the Roge will curse.

Matt. Sweete hart.

Walgl. Matt.

Mathe. Where art thou.

Pisa. Here.

Mathe. Oh Jesus heres our father.

Walgl. The Diuell he is.

Har u Maister Pisaro, twenty times God morrow.

Pisa, Good morrow? now I tell you Gentlemen,
You wrong and mowe my patience ouermuch,
What will you Rob me, Kill me, Cutte my Throte:

And set mine owne bloud here against me too, 1875
You huswifes? Baggages? or what is worse,
Wilfull, stouborne, disobedient:
Vse it not Gentlemen, abuse me not,
Newgate hath rome, ther's law enough in England,

Heigh. Be not so testie, heare what we can say. 1880

Pisa. Will you be wiu'de? first learne to keepe a wife,
Learne to be thrietie, learne to keepe your Lands,
And learne to pay your debts to, I advise, else.

Walg. What else, what Lands, what Debts, what will
you doe?

Haue you not Land in Morgage for your mony.
Nay since tis so, we owe you not a Penny.
Frette not, Fume not, neuer bende the Browe:
You take Tenn in the hundred more then Law.
We can complayne, extortion, simony.

Heigh. Prethe haue done.

Walg. Prethiye me no Prethiye.
Here is my wife, Sbloud touch her, if thou darst,
Hearst thou. Ile lie with her before thy face.
Against the Crosse in Cheape, here, any where.
What you old craftie Fox you.

Heigh. Ned, stop there.

Pisa. Nay, nay speake out, beare witnesse Gentlemen.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Whers Moriche, charge my Musket, bring me my Bill.  
For here are some that meane to Rob thy maister.

Enter Anthony.  
I am a Fox with you, well lack sawce,  
Beware least for a Goose, I pray on you.  

Excunt Pisaro and Daughters.  
In baggages, Moriche make fast the doore.

Walgr. A vengeance on ill luke,  
Antho. What neuer storme,  
But bridle anger with wise gouernment.  

Heigh. Whom? Anthony our friend, Ah now our hopes,  
Are found too light to ballance our ill happes.

Antho. Tut nere say so, for Anthony  
Is not deuoyde of meanes to helpe his Friends.  

Walgr. Swounds, what a diuell made he foorth so late?  
Ile lay my life twas hee that faunde to sleepe,  
And we all vnsuspitious, tearme a Roage:  
Oh God, had I but knowne him; if I had,  
I would haue writt such Letters with my Sword  
Vpon the bald skin of his parching pate,  
That he should nere haue linde to crosse vs more.

Antho. These menaces are vaine, and helpeth naught;  
But I haue in the deapth of my conceit  
Found out a more materiall stratagem:  
Harke Maister Walgrane, yours craues quicke dispatch.

1900 Whers] Wheres Q2 etc. Bill] bill Q2 etc.  
1901 here] heere Q3 Rob] rob Q3 maister] master Q2 Master Q3  
1902 sawce.] sawce. Q2 etc. 1903 least] lest Q3 pray] prey Q2 etc.  
1908 Heigh.] Heig. Q2 hopes.] hopes Q3 1909 happes.] happes- Q3  
1910 Anthony] turned t Q1 1912 he] hee Q3 1914 we] wee Q3  
Rouge:] Rouge. Q2 Rogue. Q3 1916 writ] writ Q3 Sword] Sword Q3  
1918 Omitted Q3 1919 Antho.] Antho H2  
1922 Maister] Master Q2 etc. quicke] quick Q2 etc.
About it straight, stay not to say farewell. Exit Walgrau.
You Maister Heigham, hie you to your Chamber,
And stirre not forth, my shaddow, or my selfe,
Will in the morning earely visit you:
Build on my promise sir, and good night. Exit Heigham.
Last, yet as great in loue, as to the first:
Yf you remember, once I told a jest,
How feigning to be sicke, a Friend of mine
Possest the happy issue of his Loue:
That counterfeited humor must you play;
I need not to instruct, you can conceiue.
Vse maister Browne your Host, as chiefe in this:
But first, to make the matter seeme more true,
Sickly and sadly bid the churle good night;
I heare him at the Window, there he is.

Enter Pisa. above.

Now for a tricke to ouerreach the Diuell.
I tell you sir, you wrong my maister much,
And then to make amends, you give hard words:
H'ath been a friend to you; nay more, a Father:
I promise you, tis most vngently done.

Pisa. I, well said Mouche, now I see thy loue,
And thou shalt see mine, one day if I liue.
None but my Daughters sir, hanges for your tooth:
I'de rather see them hang'd first, ere you get them.

_Haru._ Master Pisaro, heare a dead man speake,
Who singes the wofull accents of his end.
I doe confesse I loue; then let not loue
Proue the sad engine of my liues remooue:

_Marinacs_ rich Possession was my blisse?
Then in her losse, all ioy eclipsed is:
As every Plant takes vertue of the Sunne;
So from her Eyes, this life and beeing sprung:
But now debard of those cleare shying Rayes,
Death for Earth gapes, and Earth to Death obeyes:
Each word thou spakst, (oh speake not so againe)
Bore Deaths true image on the Word ingrauen;
Which as it flue mixt with Heauens ayerie breath,
Summond the dreadfull Sessions of my death:
I leaue thee to thy wish, and may th'euen
Prooe equall to thy hope and hearts content.

_Marina_ to that hap, that happiest is;
My Body to the Graue, my Soule to blisse.

Haue I done well?            _Exit Haruic._ 1965

_Antho._ Excellent well in troth.

_Pisar._ I, goe: I, goe: your words moue me as much,
As doth a Stone being cast against the ayre.
But soift, What Light is that? What Folkes be those? Oh tis
_Aluaro_ & his other Friends, Ile downe & let them in. _Exit._ 1970
Enter Belman, Frisco, Vondalle, Delion, & Aluar.

Frisco. Where are we now gaffer Buttericke? (wits?
Bell. Why know you not Croched-friers, where be your
Aluar. Wat be tis Crosh-viers? vidite padre dare; tacke
you dat, me sal troble you no farre.  [Gives him money.
Bell. I thanke you Gentlemen, good night:

Good night Frisco.  Exit Belman.

Frisco. Farewell Buttericke, what a Clowne it is:
Come on my maisters merrily, Ile knocke at the dore.

Antho. Who's theere, our three wise Woers,
Blockhead our man? had he not been.
They might haue hanged them-selues.
For any Wenches they had hit vpon:
Good morrow, or good den, I know not whether.

Delio. Monsieur de Mouche, wat macke you out de
Houis so late?

Enter Pisaro below.

Pisa. What, what, young men & sluggards? fy for shame
You trifle time at home about vaine toyes,
Whilst others in the meane time, steale your Brides:
I tell you sir, the English Gentlemen
Had wel-ny mated you, and mee, and all;
The Dores were open, and the Girles abroad,
Their Sweet-hearts ready to receiue them to:

1072 Where] VWhere Q2 wits?] vvits Q3 1972 Bell.] Bell Q3
Croched-] Croched Q2 etc.  be] bee Q3 1973 viers?] viers. H3-6
1977 Buttericke] Butterike Q2  Butterike Q3 1978 maisters]
masters Q2 Masters Q3 1979 theere] there Q3 1980 been]
beene Q2 etc. 1981 them-selues] them selues Q2 themselves Q3
1990 mated] mared Q2 marred Q3 mee] me Q3 1991 Dores] dores Q3
1992 Sweet-] sweet- Q3
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

And gone forsooth they had been, had not I
(I thinke by revelation) stopt their flight:
But I haue coopt them vp, and so will keepe them.

But sirra Frisco, where's the man I sent for?
VWhose Cloake haue you got there?
How now, where's V'andalle?

Frisco.  For-sooth he is not heere:
Maister Mendall you meane, doe you not?

Pisa.  VVhy logerhead, him I sent for, where is he?
VVWhere hast thou been?  How hast thou spent thy time?
Did I not send thee to my Soone V'andalle?

Frisco.  I M. Mendall; why forsooth I was at his Cham-
ber, and wee were comming hitherward, and he was very hot, and bade me carry his Cloake; and I no sooner had it, but he (being very light) firkes me downe on the left hand, and I turnd downe on the left hand, and so lost him.

Pisa.  VVhy then you turnd togeather, Asse.

Frisco.  No sir, we neuer saw one another since.

Pisa.  VVhy, turnd you not both on the left hand?

Frisco.  No for-sooth we turnd both on the left hand.

Pisa.  Hoyda, why yet you went both togeather.

Fris.  Ah no, we went cleane contrary one from another.

Pisa.  VVhy Dolt, why Patch, why Asse.

On which hand turnd yee?
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Frisc. Alas, alas, I cannot tell for-sooth, it was so darke
I could not see, on which hand we turnd: But I am sure we
 turnd one way.

Pisa. Was euere creature plagud with such a Dolt? My Sonne Vandalle now hath lost himselfe.
And shall all night goe straying bout the Towne;
Or meete with some strange Watch that knowes him not;
And all by such an arrant Asse as this.

Anth. No, no, you may soone smel the Dutchmans lodg-
Now for a Figure: Out alas, what's yonder? (ing:
Fris. Hoyda, hoyda, a Basket: it turnes, hoe.
Pisa. Peace ye Villaine, and let's see who's there?
Goe looke about the House; where are our weapons?

Anth. Alas, my Sonne Vandalle, now hath lost himself;
And shall all night goe straying bout the Towne;
Or meete with some strange Watch that knowes him not;
And all by such an arrant Asse as this.

Anth. No, you may soone smel the Dutchmans lodg-

Fris. Peace ye Villaine, and let's see who's there?
Goe looke about the House; where are our weapons?

Pisa. Peace ye Villaine, and let's see who's there?
Goe looke about the House; where are our weapons?

Frisc. Looke, looke, looke; there's one in it, he peeps out:
Is there nere a Stone here to hurle at his Nose.

Pisa. What, wouldst thou breake my Windowes
with a Stone? How now, who's there, who are you sir?

Frisc. Looke, he peepes out againe: Oh it's M. Mend-
all, it's M. Mendall: how got he vp thither?

Pisa. What, my Sonne Vandalle, how comes this to passe?

Anth. Signor Vandalle, wat do yo goe to de wenshe in de
Basket?
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Vand. Oh Vadere, Vadere, here be sush cruell Dochters, ick ben also wery, also wery, also cold; for be in dit little Basket: Ick prey helpe dene.

Frisc. He lookes like the signe of the Mouth without Bishops gate, gaping, and a great Face, and a great Head, and no Body.

Pisa. Why how now Sonne, what haue your Adamants Drawne you vp so farre, and there left you hanging Twixt Heauen and Earth like Mahomet's Sepulchre?

Antho. They did vnkindly, who so ere they were, That plag'd him here, like Tantalus in Hell, To touch his Lippes like the desired Fruite, And then to snatch it from his gaping Chappes.

Alua. A little farder signor Vandallc, and dan you may put v hed into de windo and cash de Wensh.

Vand. Ick prey Vader dat you helpe de mee, Ick prey Goddie Vader.

Pisa. Helpe you, but how?

Frisc. Cut the Rope.

Antho. Sir, Ile goe in and see. And if I can, Ile let him downe to you. Exit Anthony.

Pisa. Doe gentle Mouche: Why but here's a iest; They say, high climers haue the greatest falles: If you should fall; as how youle doe I know not.
Birlady I should doubt me of my Sonne:
Pray to the Rope to hold: Art thou there Mouche?

**Enter Anthony aboue.**

*Antho.* Yes sir, now you may chuse, whether youle stay
till I let him downe, or whether I shall cut him downe?

*Frisc.* Cut him downe maister Mouse, cut him downe,
And let's see, how hele tumble.

*Pisa.* Why sauce, who ask'd your counsaile?
Let him downe. [The basket is lowered.
What, with a Cusshion too? why you proided
To lead your life as did Diogines;
And for a Tub, to creepe into a Basket.

*Vanda.* Ick sail seg v Vader, Ick quame here to your
Huise and spreake tol de Dochterken.

*Frisc.* M. Mendall, you are welcome out of the Basket:
I smell a Ratt, it was not for nothing, that you lost me.

*Vand.* Oh skellum, you run away from me.

*Pisa.* I thought so Sirra, you gaue him the slip.

*Frisc.* Faw, no for-sooth; Ile tell you how it was: when
we come from Bucklers-Burie into Corn-Wale, and I had
taken the Cloake, then you should haue turnd downe on
your left hand and so haue gone right forward, and so

---

2066 Mouche] Mouche Q2
2067 Antho.] Anthony. Q3 2069 maister] master Q2 etc.
downe,] So in W downe B downe, Q2 etc. 2070 let's] lets Q2 etc.
sec.] see Q2 etc. hele] heele Q2 etc. 2071 counsailc]
counsell Q2 etc. 2073 What,] What Q2 etc. 2074 lead] leade Q2 etc.
Diogenes] turned s Q1 Diogenes Q2 etc. 2075 Tubb] Tub Q3
2076 Vanda.] Vand, Q2 etc. sal] sal Q2 etc. 2077 Huise] Huis Q2 etc.
2078 Frisc.] Frisc B M.] Master Q2 etc. 2079 Ratt] Rat Q3
me] mee Q2 etc. 2080 skellum] skellam Q2 etc. 2082 when] vvhen Q3
2083 we] vve Q3 Bucklers-Burie] Bucklers-Bury Q2 etc.
Corn-Wale] Cornawale Q2 etc. 2084 Cloake] Cloke Q3 turnd]
turn'd Q2 etc. down] down Q2 doynvne Q3
2085 hand] hand, Q2 etc. forward] forvvard Q3
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

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turnd vp againe, and so haue crost the streate; and you like an Asse.

Pisa. Why how now Rascall; is your manners such? You asse, you Dolt, why led you him through Corn-hill, Your way had been to come through Canning streete. 2090

Fris. Why so I did sir.

Pisa. Why thou seest yee were in Corn-Hill.

Fris. Indeed sir there was three faults, the Night was darke, Maister Mendall drunke, and I sleepy, that we could not tell very well, which way we went. 2095

Pisa. Sirra I owe for this a Cudgelling:
But Gentlemen, sith things haue faulne out so, And for I see Vandalle quakes for cold,
This night accept your Lodginges in my house, And in the morning forward with your marriage, 2100 Come on my sonnes, sirra fetch vp more wood.

Exeunt.

[Scene IV. Pisaro's House.]

Enter the three Sisters.

Laur. Nay neuer weepe Marina for the matter, Teares are but signes of sorrow, helping not.

2086 streate] streete Q2 street Q3 like an] likean Q3
2088 Why] Why, Q2 etc. how now] how vovv Q3 Raskell;] Raskell Q2 etc. 2089 asse] Asse Q2 etc. why] vwhy Q3 2090 way] vway Q3 streete.] street. Q2 street, Q3
2091 Why] Why, Q2 etc. 2092 Why] Why, Q2 etc. seest] sayst Q2 etc. were] vvere Q3 Corn-Hill] Corne-hill Q2 Corn-hill Q3
2093 Fris.] Frisc. Q2 etc. was] vvas Q3 (both occurrences)
2094 Maister] M. Q2 etc. we] vvee Q3 2095 well, which way we went] vvell, v维奇 vvee vvent Q3 2096 owe] ovve Q3 a] omitted Q3
2097 faulne] falne Q2 fallen Q3 2098 Lodginges] lodgings Q2 etc. 2100 forward] forward Q3 with] vwith Q3 2101 wood] vwood Q3
2101 s.d. Exeunt:] Exeunt: Q2 Exeunt Q3 Sisters.] Sisters, Q3
2102 Nay] Nay, Q2 etc.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Mari. Would it not madde one to be crost as I, 2105
Being in the very hight of my desire?
The strangers frustrate all: our true loue's come,
Nay more, even at the doore, and Haruies armes
Spred as a Rayne-bow ready to receive me,
And then my Father meete vs: Oh God, oh God.

Math. Weepe who that list for me, y'faith not I, 2110
Though I am youngest yet my stomack's great:
Nor tis not father, friends, nor any one,
Shall make me wed the man I cannot loue:
Ile haue my will ynfayth. y'fayth I will.

Laur. Let vs determine Sisters what to doe, 2115
My father meanes to wed vs in the morning,
And therefore something must be thought vpon.

Mari. Weele to our father and so know his minde,
I and his reason too, we are no fooles,
Or Babes neither, to be fedde with words.

Laur. Agreede, agreede: but who shall speake for all?

Math. I will.

Mari. No I.

Laur. Thou wilt not speake for crying.

Mari. Yes, yes I warrant you, that humors left,

Bee I but mou'de a little. I shall speake.

And anger him I feare, ere I haue done.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Enter Anthony.

All. Whom Anthony our friend, our Schoole-maister?
Now helpe vs Gentle Anthony, or neuer.

Antho. What is your hastie running chang'd to prayer, 2130
Say, where were you going?

Laur. Euen to our father,
To know what he intendes to doe with vs.

Antho. Tis bootlesse trust mee, for he is resolu'd
To marry you to.

Mari. The Strangers.

Antho. Yfayth he is.

Math. Yfayth he shall not.

Frenchman, be sure weele plucke a Crow together,
Before you force mee giue my hand at Church.

Mari. Come to our Father speach this comfort finds,
That we may scould out griefe, and ease our mindes.

Anth. Stay, Stay Marina, and aduise you better,
It is not Force, but Pollicie must serue :
The Dores are lockt, your Father keepes the Keye,
Wherefore vnpossible to scape away :
Yet haue I plotted, and deuis'd a drift,
To frustrate your intended mariages,
And giue you full possession of your ioyes:

Laurentia, ere the mornings light appeare,
You must play Anthony in my disguise.

2128 maister] master Q2 etc. 2130 hastie] hasty Q3
2131 going?] going: Q2 etc. 2132 Laur.] Laur. Q3
2135 To] dropped to next line Q2
2136 Mari.] Mari Q3 2137 omitted Q3
2138 Yfayth] Yfaith Q2  Y faith Q3 2139 Frenchman] Frenchmen Q3
2140 mee] me Q2 etc. 2141 Father] Fathers Q2 etc.
2142 out] our Q3 griece,] comma doubtful B omitted Q2 etc.
2143 Anth.] Antho. Q2 etc. Stay] Stay, Q3
2144 Force] force Q3 2145 Dores] Doores Q3
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Math. \{ Anthony, what of vs? What shall we weare?
Mari. \{ Anth. Soft, soft, you are too forward Girles, I sweare,
For you some other drift deuid must bee?
One shaddow for a substance: this is shee.
Nay wepe not sweetes, repose vpon my care,
For all alike, or good or bad shall share:
You will haue Haruic, you Heigham, and you Ned;
You shall haue all your wish, or be I dead:
For sooner may one day the Sea lie still.
Then once restraine a Woman of her will.
All. Sweete Anthony, how shall we quit thy hire?
Anth. Not gifts, but your contentments I desire:
To helpe my Countrimen I cast about,
For Strangers loues blase fresh, but soone burne out:
Sweete rest dwell heere, and frightfull feare obiure,
These eyes shall wake to make your rest secure:
For ere againe dull night the dull eyes charmes.
Each one shall fould her Husband in her armes:
Which if it chaunce, we may auouch it still,
Women & Maydes will always haue their will. \textit{Exeunt.}

[\textit{Scene V. A Room in Pisaro's House.}]

Enter Pisaro and Frisco.

Pisa. Are Wood & Coales brought vp to make a fire?
Is the Meate spitted ready to lie downe:

\begin{verbatim}
2153 Anth.] Antho. Q2 etc. 2155 shee.] shee, Q3
2156 sweetes.] sweetes Q3 2157 alike] a like Q3
2162 All.] All, Q3 2163 Anth.] Antho. Q2 etc. 2166 heere] here Q3
obiure] obiure Q3 2167 your] you Q2 etc. 2170 chaunce,]
chaunce Q2 etc. auouch] a ououch Q3 2171 s.d. Frisco.] Frisco, Q3
2172 &] and Q2 etc.
\end{verbatim}
For Bakemeates Ile haue none, the world's too hard:
There's Geese too, now I remember mee:
Bid Mawdlin lay the Giblets in Past,
Here's nothing thought vpon, but what I doe.
Stay Frisco, see who ringes: looke to the Dore,
Let none come in I charge, were he my Father.
Ile keepe them whilst I haue them: Frisco, who is it?
   Frisc. She is come ynfayth.
   Pisa. Who is come?
   Frisc. Mistris Sushaunce, Mistris Moore's daughter.
   Pisa. Mistris Susan, Asse? Oh she must come in.
   Frisc. Hang him, if he keepe out a Wench:
Yf the Wench keepe not out him, so it is.

   Enter Walgraue in Womans attire.

   Pisa. Welcome Mistris Susan, welcome;
I little thought you would haue come to night;
But welcome (trust me) are you to my house:
What, doth your Mother mende? doth she recouer? I promise you I am sorry for her sicknesse.
   Ilalg. She's better then she was, I thanke God for it.
   Pisa. Now afore God she is a sweete smugge Girle,
One might doe good on her; the flesh is frayle,
Man hath infirmitie, and such a Bride,
Were able to change Age to hot desire:
Harke you Sweet-heart,
To morrow are my Daughters to be wedde,
I pray you take the paines to goe with them.

Wal. If sir youle give me leaue, Ile waight on them. 2200

Pis. Yes marry shall you, and a thousand thankes,

Such company as you my Daughters want,
Maydes must grace Maydes, when they are married:
Ist not a merry life (thinkes thou) to wed,
For to imbrace, and be imbrac'd abed.

Wal. I know not what you meane sir.

Heere's an old Ferret Pol-cat.

Pis. You may doe, if youle follow mine aduice;
I tell thee Mouse, I knew a Wench as nice:
Well, shee's at rest poore soule, I meane my Wife,
That thought (alas good heart) Loue was a toy,
Vntill (well, that time is gon and past away)
But why speake I of this: Harke yee Sweeting,
There's more in Wedlocke, then the name can shew;
And now (birlady) you are ripe in yeares:
And yet take heed Wench, there lyes a Pad in Straw;

Wal. Old Fornicator, had I my Dagger,
Ide breake his Costard.

Pis. Young men are slippery, fickle, wauering;
Constant abiding grace thon but Age:
Then Maydes should now waxe wise, and doe so,
As to chuse constant men, let fickle goe,
Youth's vnregarded, and vnhonoured:
An ancient Man doth make a Mayde a Matron:
And is not that an Honour, how say you? how say you? 2225

Wal. Yes forsooth.

(Oh old lust will you neuer let me goe.)
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Pisa. You say right well, and doe but thinke thereon, How Husbands, honored yeares, long card-for wealth, Wise stayednesse. Experient gouernment, 2230 Doth grace the Mayde. that thus is made a Wife, And you will wish your selfe such, on my life. 

Walg. I thinke I must turne womankind altogeather, And scratch out his eyes: For as long as he can see me, hele nere let me goe. 2235

Pisa. But goe (sweet-heart) to bed, I doe thee wrong, The latenesse now, makes all our talke seeme long.

Enter Anthony.

How now Mowche, be the Girles abed? 

Anth. Mathca (and it like you) faine would sleepe, but onely tarrieth for her bed-fellow. 2240 

Pisa. Ha, you say well: come, light her to her Chamber, Good rest wish I to thee; wish so to mee, Then Susan and Pisaro shall agree: Thinke but what joy is neere your bed-fellow, Such may be yours; take cousaille of your Pillow: 2245 To morrow weele talke more; and so good night, Thinke what is sayd, may bee, if all hit right.


Anth. Tis well, tis well: but this let me request, 2250 You keepe vnknowne, till you be laide to rest:

2229 Husbands.] Husbands Q3 honore|honoured Q3 2231 Mayde.] mayde Q3 2233 Walg.]
VValg. H3 H4 H6 VValg P H5 womankind altogeather] womankinde altogether Q3 2235 he] hee Q3 hele] heele Q3 2238 Mowche] Mo wehe Q2 2239 Anth.] Antho. Q2 etc. 2241 Pisa.] Pisa. Q3 you say] say you Q2 etc. come.] come Q2 etc. 2242 mee] me Q2 2243 Susan] Susan, Q3 2245 cousaille] counsell Q2 etc. 2247 bee] be Q2 etc. 2248 What.] What Q2 etc. Ned/] Ned, Q2 etc. 2249 desaru’d] desaru’de Q2 etc. 2250 Anth.] Antho. Q2 etc. well.] well Q3 2251 laide] layde Q2 etc.
And then a good hand speed you.

_Walg._ Tut, nere feare mee,

We two abed shall never disagree. _Exeunt Antho. & Walg._

_Frisc._ I haue stood still all this while, and could not speake for laughing: Lord what a Dialogue hath there bin betwene Age and Youth. You do good on her? even as much as my Dutchman will doe on my young Mistris: Maister, follow my counsaile; then send for M. Heigham to helpe him, for Ile lay my Cappe to two Pence, that hee will be asleepe to morrow at night, when he should goe to bed to her: Marry for the Italian, he is of an other humor, for there'le be no dealings with him, till midnight; for hee must slauer all the Wenches in the house at parting, or he is no body: hee hath been but a little while at our House, yet in that small time, hee hath lickt more Grease from our Maudlins lippes, then would haue seru'd London Kitchin-stuffe this tweluemonth. Yet for my money, well fare the Frenchman, Oh hee is a forward Lad. for heele no sooner come from the Church, but heele fly to the Chamber; why heele read his Lesson so often in the day time, that at night
like an apt Scholler, heele be ready to sell his old Booke to buye him a new. Oh the generation of Languages that our House will bring foorth: why euery Bedd will haue a propper speach to himselfe, and haue the Founders name written vpon it in faire Cappitall letters, Here lay, and so foorth.

Pisa. Youle be a villaine still: Looke who's at dore?

Frisc. Nay by the Masse, you are Mr. Porter, for Ile be hang'd if you loose that office, hauing so pretty a morsell vnder your keeping: I goe (old huddle) for the best Nose at smelling out a Pin-fold, that I know: well, take heede, you may happes picke vp Wormes so long, that at length some of them get into your Nose, and neuer out after: But what an Asse am I to thinke so, considering all the Lodginges are taken vp already, and there's not a Dog-kennell empty for a strange Worme to breed in.

[Act V. Scene I. A Room in Pisaro's House.]

Enter Anthony.

Antho. The day is broke; Matha and young Ned, By this time, are so surely linekt togetheer, That none in London can forbid the Banes. Laurentia she is neere provided for:
So that if Haruies pollicie but hold,
Else-where the Strangers may goe seeke them Wiues:
But heere they come.
Enter Pisaro and Browne [and Frisco].

Pisa. Six a clocke say you; trust mee, forward dayes: Harke you Muezche, hie you to Church,
Bid M. Browne be in readinesse:
Where goe you, that way?
Anth. For my Cloake, sir.
Pisa. Oh tis well: and M. Browne,
Trust mee, your earely stirring makes me muse,
Is it to mee your businesse?
Brown. Euen to your selfe:
I come (I thinke) to bring you welcome newes.
Pisa. And welcome newes.
More welcome makes the bringer:
Speake, speake, good M. Browne, I long to hear them.
Brown. Then this it is. Young Haruie late last night.
Full weake and sickly came vnto his lodging,
From whence this suddaine mallady procedes:
Tis all vncertaine, the Doctors and his Friends
Affirme his health is vnrecouerable:
Young Heigham and Ned Walgrauc lately left him.
And I came hither to informe you of it.
Pisa. Young M. Haruie sicke; now afore God
The newes bites neere the Bone: for should he die,
His Liuing morgaged would be redeemed,
For not these three months doth the Bond beare date:
Die now, marry God in heauen defend it:

2295 clocke] cloke Q3
2299 Anth.] Antho, Q2 etc. (Period omitted Q2) For] for Q3
Cloake,] Cloake Q3 2300 Pisa,] Pisa H2
2306 omitted Q3 2307 M.] M Q2 heare] heare Q2 etc. 2308 night.,] night. Q3 2309 lodging.] lodging: Q3 2310 proceeds:] proceeds, Q3
2313 Walgrauc] Walgrauce Q3 2315 Haruie] Haruy Q2 etc.
2317 redeemed] redeem'd Q2 etc. 2318 Bond] bond Q3
2319 heauen] Heauen Q3
Oh my sweete Lands, loose thee, nay loose my life:
And which is worst, I dare not aske mine owne,
For I take two and twenty in the hundred,
When the Law giues but ten: But should he liue,
Hee carelesse would haue left the debt vnpaide,
Then had the Lands beene mine Pisas owne.

Mine, mine owne Land, mine owne Possession.

Brow. Nay heare mee out.

Pisa. You'r out too much already,
Vnlesse you giue him life, and mee his Land.

Brow. Whether tis loun to you, or to your Daughter,
I know not certaine; but the Gentleman
Hath made a deed of gift of all his Lands,
Vnto your beautious Daughter faire Marina.

Pesa. Ha, say that word againe, say it againe,
A good thing cannot be too often spoken:

Marina say you, are you sure twas shee,
Or Mary, Margery; or some other Mayde?

Brow. To none but your Daughter faire Marina;
And for the gift might be more forcible,
Your neighbour maister Moore aduised vs,
(Who is a witnesse of young Haruies Will)
Sicke as hee is, to bring him to your house:
I know they are not farre, but doe attende,
That they may know, what welcome they shall haue.

Pisa. What welcome sir; as welcome as new life

Giuen to the poore condemned Prisoner:

2325 mine] mine, Q2 etc. 2326 Possession] possession Q3 2327 mee] me Q2 etc. 2329 mee] me Q2 etc. 2332 Lands.] Lands. Q2
2333 Daughter] Daughter, Q3 2334 Pesa.] Pisa. Q2 etc.
2338 Marina:] Marina. Q2 etc. 2340 maister] master Q2 etc.
vs.] vs. Q2 2342 hee] he Q2 etc. 2343 fare,] farre H5 attende,] attende Q3 2345 What] VWhat Q2
Returne (good maister *Brocne*) assure their welcome,
Say it, nay sweare it: for they’re welcome truly:  
For welcome are they to mee which bring Gold.  
See downe who knockes: it may be there they are:  
*Frisco*, call downe my Sonnes, bid the Girles rise:
Where’s *Moscche*; what. is he gon or no?

*Enter Laurentia in Anthonics attire.*  
Oh heare you sirra, bring along with you  
Maister *Balsaro* the Spanish Marchant.  
Laur. Many *Balsaros* I: Ile to my Loue:  
And thankes to *Anthony* for this escape.  
[Exit Laur.  
Pisa. Stay, take vs with you. Harke, they knocke againe,  
Come my soules comfort, thou good newes bringer,  
I must needes hugge thee euen for pure affection.  

*Enter Harnic brought in a Chaire, Moorc, Brocne,  
Aluaro, V’andalle, Delion, and Frisco.*  
Pisa. Lift softly (good my friends) for hurting him.  
Looke chearely sir, you’re welcome to my house.  
Harke M. *V’andalle*, and my other Sonnes.  
Seeme to be sad as greuing for his sicknesse,  
But inwardly reioyce. Maister *V’andalle*,  
Signor *Aluaro*, Monsieur *Delion*,  
Bid my Friend welcome, pray bid him welcome:  
Take a good heart; I doubt not (by Gods leaue)
You shall recover and doe well enough:
(Yf I should thinke so, I should hange my selue.)

Frisco, goe bid Marina come to mee.        Exit Frisco. 2370
You are a Witnesse sir, of this mans Will:
What thinke you M. Moore, what say you to't?

Moor. Maister Pisaro, follow mine aduice:
You see the Gentleman cannot escape,
Then let him straight be wedded to your Daughter;
So during life time, she shall hold his Land,
When now (beeing nor kith nor kin to him)
For all the deed of Gift, that he hath seald,
His younger Brother will injoy the Land.

Pisa. Marry my Daughter: no birlady. 2380
Heare you Aluaro, my Friend counsaile mee,
Seeing young M. Harvie is so sicke,
To marry him incontinent to my Daughter.
Or else the gift he hath bestowde, is vaine:
Marry and hee recover; no my Sonne,
I will not loose thy loue, for all his Land.

Alua. Here you padre, do no lose his Lands, his hun-
dred pont per anno, tis wort to hauar; let him haue de ma-
tresse Marina in de mariage. tis but vor me to attendre vne
day more: if he will no die, I sal giue him sush a Drinke,
sush a Potion sal mak him giue de Bonos noches to all de
world.

Pisa. Aluaro, here's my Keyes, take all I haue,
My Money, Plate. Wealth, Jewels, Daughter too: Now God be thanked, that I haue a Daughter, worthy to be Aluarocs bedfellow: Oh how I doe admire and prayse thy wit, Ile straight about it: Heare you Maister Moore.

Enter Marina and Frisco.

Frisc. Nay fayth hee's sicke, therefore though hee be come, yet he can doe you no good; there's no remedy but euen to put your selfe into the hands of the Italian, that by that time that he hath past his grouth, young Haruic will be in case to come vpon it with a sise of fresh force.

[Exit Frisco.

Mari. Is my Loue come, & sicke? I, now thou loust me, How my heart ioyes: Oh God, get I my will,
Ile driue away that Sicknesse with a kisse:
I need not faine, for I could weepe for ioy. [aside]

Pisa. It shall be so; come hither Daughter.
Maister Haruic, that you may see my loue Comes from a single heart vnfaynedly,
See heere my Daughter, her I make thine owne:
Nay looke not strange, before these Gentlemen,
I freely yeeld Marina for thy Wife.

Haru. Stay, stay good sir, forbeare this idle worke,
My soule, is labouring for a higher place,
Then this vaine transitorie world can yeeld:
What, would you wed your Daughter to a Graue?

2396 worthy] Worthy Q2 etc.
For this is but Deaths modell in mans shape:
You and Aluaro happie live togeather:
Happy were I. to see you live togeather.

Pisa. Come sir, I trust you shall doe well againe:
Heere, heere, it must be so; God giue you ioy,
And blesse you (not a day to live togeather.)

V'and. Hort ye broder, will ye let den ander heb your
Wiu? nempt haer, nempt haer your selue?

Alua. No, no; tush you be de foole, here be dat sal spoyle
de mariage of hem: you haue deceue me of de fine Wensh
signor Haruey, but I sal deceue you of de mush Land.

Haru. Are all things sure Father, is all dispatch'd?
Pisa. What intrest we haue, we yeeld it you:
Are you now satisfied. or rests there ought?

Haru. Nay Father, nothing doth remaine, but thankes:
Thanks to your selfe first, that disdaining mee,
Yet loude my Lands, and for them gaue a Wife.
But next, vnto Aluaro let me turne,
To courtious gentle louing kind Aluaro,
That rather then to see me die for loue.
For very loue, would loose his beawtious Loue.

V'and. Ha, ha, ha.
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR

Deli. Signor Aluaro, giue him de ting quickly sal make hem dy, autremant you sal lose de fine Wensh.

Alua. Oyime che hauesse allhora appressata la mano al mio core, ò suen curato etc, I che longo se tu arriuato, ò cieli, ò terra.

Pisa. Am I awake? or doe deluding Dreams

Make that seeme true, which most my soule did feare?

Haru. Nay fayth Father, it's very certaine true,

I am as well as any man on earth:

Am I siche sirres? Looke here, is Haruie siche?

Pisa. What shall I doe? What shall I say?

Did not you counsaile mee to wed my Childe?

What Potion? Where's your helpe, your remedy.

Haru. I hope more happy Starres will reigne to day,

And don Aluaro haue more company.

Enter Anthonic.

Antho. Now Anthony, this cottens as it should,

And every thing sorts to his wish'd effect:

Haruie ioyes Moll: my Dutchman and the French,

Thinking all sure, laughs at Aluaros hap;

But quickly I shall marre that merrie vaine,

2440 Deli. Deli, Q3 Signor] Signior Q2 etc. him] me Q3 ting] ring Q3 quickly] quickly Q2 etc. sal] sall Q2 etc.

2441 lose] loose Q3 2442 Alua.] Alua, Q3 Oyime] Oyme Q2 etc. allhora] al hora Q2 etc.

2443 core, ò] core, ø Q2 etc. sej] sei Q3 arriuato, ò etc. coro, o Q2 etc. arriuato, o ... o Q2 etc.

2444 awake?] awake Q2 awake, Q3 Dreams] Dreams, Q2 etc.


2450 counsaile mee] counsell me Q2 etc. Childe] childe Q2 etc.

2451 Potion] Portion Q3 helpe.] helpe Q3 2452 Starres] starres Q2 etc. reigne] raigne Q2 etc. day.] day. Q2 etc.

2453 Don] Don Q2 etc. 2453 s.d. Anthoie] Anthony Q2 etc.

2456 Haruir] Haruy Q2 etc. 2457 laughs] laughs Q2 etc.

2458 merrie] merry Q2 etc.
And make your Fortunes equall with your Friends.

Pisa. Sirra Mowche, what answere brought you backe?  

Will maister Balsaro come, as I requested?  

 Anth. Maister Balsaro; I know not who you meane.  

Pisa. Know you not Asse, did I not send thee for him?  

Did not I bid thee bring him, with the Parson?  

What answere made hee, will hee come or no?  

Anth. Sent me for him: why sir, you sent not mee,  

I neither went for him, nor for the Parson:  

I am glad to see your Worship is so merrie.  

Knocke.  

Pisa. Hence you forgetfull dolt:  

Looke downe who knocks?  

Exit Antho.  

Enter Frisco.

Frisco. Oh Maister, hange your selife: nay neuer stay for  

a Sessions: Maister Vandalle confesse your selife, desire the  

people to pray for you; for your Bride shee is gone: Laurentia  
is run away.  

Vanda. Oh de Diabolo, de mal-fortune: is matresse  

Laurentia gaen awech?  

Pisa. First tell mee that I am a liuelesse coarse:  

Tell mee of Doomes-day, tell mee what you will,
Before you say Laurentia is gone.

_Mari._ Maister Vandalle, how doe you feele your selfe? 2480

What, hang the head? fie man for shame I say,
Looke not so heauie on your marriage day.

_Haru._ Oh blame him not, his griefe is quickly spide,
That is a Bridegroome, and yet wants his Bride.

_Enter Heigham, Laurentia, Balsaro, _&_ Anthony._

_Bals._ Maister Pisaro, and Gentlemen, good day to all: 2485
According sir, as you requested mee,
This morne I made repaire vnto the Tower,
Where as _Laurentia_ now was married:
And sir, I did expect your comming thither;
Yet in your absence, wee perform'd the rites: 2490
Therefore I pray sir, bid God giue them ioy.

_Heigh._ He tells you true, _Laurentia_ is my Wife;
Who knowing that her Sisters must be wed;
Presuming also, that you'le bid her welcome,
Are come to beare them company to Church. 2495

_Haru._ You come too late, the Mariage rites are done:
Yet welcome twenty-fold vnto the Feast.
How say you sirs, did not I tell you true,
These Wenches would haue vs, and none of you.

_Laur._ I cannot say for these; but on my life, 2500
This loues a Cusshion better then a Wife.

_Mall._ And reason too, that Cusshion fell out right,
Else hard had been his lodging all last night.
A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

Bals. Maister Pisaro, why stand you speachlesse thus?
Pisa. Anger, and extreame griefe enforceth mee. 2505
Pray sir, who bade you meete mee at the Tower?
Bals. Who sir; your man sir, Mowche; here he is.
Anth. Who I sir, meane you mee? you are a jesting man.
Pisa. Thou art a Villaine, a dissembling Wretch,
Worser then Anthony whom I kept last:
Fetch me an Officer, Ile hamper you,
And make you sing at Bride-well for this tricke:
For well he hath deserude it, that would sweare
He went not foorth a dores at my appoyntment.
Anth. So sweare I still, I went not foorth to day. 2515
Bals. Why arrant lyer, wert thou not with mee?
Pisa. How say you maister Browne, went he not foorth?
Brow. Hee, or his likenesse did, I know not whether.
Pisa. What likenesse can there be besides himselfe?
Laur. My selfe ( forsooth) that tooke his shape vpon me, 2520
I was that Mowche that you sent from home:
And that same Mowche that deceiued you,
Effected to possesse this Gentleman:
Which to attaine, I thus be guil’d you all.
Fris. This is excellent, this is as fine as a Fiddle: you
M. Heigham got the Wench in Mowches apparell; now let 2526
Mowche put on her apparell, and be married to the Dutchman:
How thinke you, is it not a good vize?

2504 Maister] Master Q2 master Q3 2505 mee] me Q2 etc.
2506 mee] me Q2 etc. 2507 Bals.] Bals Q3 sir,] sir P
2508 Anth.] Antho. Q2 etc. mee] me Q2 etc. 2511 an] no impression
of n in H5 Officer] officer Q3 2513 well] we 1 H5 P
deserude] deseru’d Q3 2514 dores] doores Q3 appoyntment] appoint-
ment Q3 2515 Anth.] Antho. Q2 H3 H6 P Antho H4 H5
2516 mee] me Q2 etc. 2517 maister] master Q2 etc.
2518 Hee,] Hee Q3 2520 me,] me: Q3
2524 attaine,] attaine Q3 be guil’d] beguil’d Q3 all,] all Q3
2525 Fiddle:] Fiddle; Q3 2526 M.] M. Q3 2527 Dutch-] Dutch- Q2
2528 Maister] Master Q2 etc. shake] shafe Q2
Moor. Maister Pisaro, shake off melancholy,
When things are helpelesse, patience must be vs'd. 2530

Pisa. Tale of Patience? Ile not beare these wronges:
Goe call downe Matt, and mistris Susan Moore,
Tis well that of all three, wee haue one sure.

Moore. Mistris Susan Moore, who doe you meane sir?
Pisa. Whom should I meane sir, but your Daughter? 2535

Moore. You're very pleasant sir: but tell me this,
When did you see her, that you speake of her?
Pisa. I, late yester-night, when she came heere to bed.
Moore. You are deceiu'd, my Daughter lay not heere,
But watch'd with her sicke mother all last night.
Pisa. I am glad you are so pleasant M. Moore,
You're loth that Susan should be held a sluggard:
What man, t'was late before she went to bed,
And therefore time enough to rise againe.

Moore. Maister Pisaro, doe you floute your friends;
I well perceiue if I had troubled you,
I should haue had it in my dish ere now:
Susan lie heere? 'am sure when I came foorrh,
I left her fast asleepe in bed at home;
Tis more then neighbour-hood to vse me thus.
Pisa. Abed at your house? tell me I am madd,
Did not I let her in adores my selfe,
Spoke to her, talk'd with her, and canuast with her;
And yet she lay not heere? What say you sirra?

2530 thinges] things Q2 etc. 2531 Patience] patience Q3
2533 wee] we Q2 etc. 2535 sir,] sir: Q2 etc. 2538 Pisa.] Pisa Q3
deceiu'd] deceived Q3 2541 Moore] Moore Q2
2542 be held] beheld Q3 2543 t'was] t was Q2 twas Q3
2543 before] before W
2545 Moor.] Moor, Q2 Maister] Master Q2 etc. Pisaro] Pisaro Q3
2548 'am] I am Q3 foorrh] foorth Q2 etc. 2550 neighbour-]
neighbour H5 2551 madd] made Q3 2552 selfe] se fe H
2553 canuast] canuest Q2 conuerst Q3 her;] her: Q3
She did, she did; I brought her to her Chamber.  I say he lyes (that sayth so) in his throat.  
Masse now I remember me, I lye indeed.  
Oh how this frets mee: Frisco, what say you?  
Marry I say, if shee lay not heere, there was a familiar in her likenesse; for I am sure my Master and she were so familiar togeather, that he had almost shot the Gout out of his Toes endes, to make the Wench beleue he had one tricke of youth in him.  Yet now I remember mee shee did not lye heere; and the reason is, because shee doth lye heere, and is now abed with mistris Mathca; witnesse whereof, I haue set to my Hand & Seale, and meane presently to fetch her.  
Doe so Frisco.  Gentlemen and Friends.  Now shall you see how I am wrong'd by him.  
Lay shee not heere? I thinke the world's growne wise, Plaine folkes (as I) shall not know how to liue.

Enter Frisco.

Shee comes, shee comes: a Hall, a Hall.

Enter Mathca, and Walgraue in Womans attire.

Nay blush not wench, feare not, looke cheerfully.  
Good morrow Father; Good morrow Gentlemen:  
Nay stare not, looke you heere, no monster I,  
But euen plaine Ned: and heere stands Matt my Wife.  
Know you her Frenchman? But she knowes me better.  
Father, pray Father, let mee haue your blessing.

Moor.
Frisc.
Moor.
Frisco.
Walg.
Frisc.
Walg.
Frisc.
Frisc.
Walg.
Frisc.
For I haue blest you with a goodly Sonne;  
Tis breeding heere yfayth, a jolly Boy.  

_Pisa._ I am vndone, a reprobate, a slawe;  
A scorne, a laughter, and a jesting stocke:  
Gieue mee my Child, gieue mee my Daughter from you.  

_Moor._ Maister _Pisaro_, tis in vaine to fret,  
And fume, and storme, it little now auayles:  
These Gentlemen haue with your Daughters helpe,  
Outstript you in your subtile enterprises:  
And therefore, seeing they are well descended,  
Turne hate to loue, and let them haue their Loues.  

_Pisa._ Is it euen so; why then I see that still,  
Doe what we can, Women will haue their Will.  
Gentlemen, you have outreacht mee now,  
Which nere before you, any yet could doe:  
You, that I thought should be my Sonnes indeed,  
Must be content, since there's no hope to speed:  
Others haue got, what you did thinke to gaine;  
And yet beleue mee, they haue tooke some paine.  
Well, take them, there; and with them, God giue ioy.  
And Gentlemen, I doe intreat to morrow,  
That you will Feaste with mee, for all this sorrow:  
Though you are wedded, yet the Feast's not made:  
Come let vs in, for all the stormes are past,  
And heapes of ioy will follow on as fast.  

FINIS.

2580 yfayth] yfaith Q3 2581 vndone.] vndone Q3  
2582 stocke:] stocke. Q3  
2583 meeQ2 etc. (both occurrences) 2584 Maister] Master Q2 etc.  
2589 Loues.] Loues. Q3 2590 still!] still. Q2  
2591 we] you Q3 Will.] Will, Q2 2592 Gentlemen.] Gentlemen Q3  
2593 meeQ2 etc. 2595 Which] VWhich Q2 2596 content.] content Q3  
2596 thinke] rthinke Q3 gaine:] gaine. Q3 2597 mee.] me, Q2 me Q3  
2598 paine.] paine, Q2 2599 Well.] VWell, Q2 Well Q3  
them.] Black-letter m in Q1 them. Q2 them Q3
NOTES

*Englishmen for My Money* offers a few interesting examples of Elizabethan stage technique. The play was written for the Admiral's Men at the Rose. For convenience of reference the main features of the action are here epitomized:

I.i. The action begins before Pisaro's house. Pisaro soliloquizes; the first few lines show he is out-doors. His daughters and their tutor "enter" discussing their studies. At line 138 Pisaro says to the daughters "Get you in", and at line 210 he continues "Ile in and rate them", showing that he is still outside. "Exit."

I.ii. The same. "Enter Haruie, Heigham, and Walgraue" walking outside on their way to Pisaro's house. At line 282 Anthony bids them "Goe chearely in", showing that the scene is before Pisaro's house; this is confirmed at line 299 when he remarks "The Doore doth ope", whereupon Frisco enters. Later when Frisco has gone out and Harvy has bidden "Ned, knocke at the doore", the three daughters "Enter" and welcome the youths. The action is still in front of the house, for Laurentia says, "This open streete perhaps suspition moues, Fayne we would stay, bid you walke in more rather" (370-1). Hereupon the sisters go in ("Exeunt Sisters") and the three lovers "Exeunt" to the Exchange.

I.iii. The scene represents the Exchange, as appears from several remarks—"here at the Burse" (393), "Th' Exchange is waxen thin" (679), etc. The stage direction reads, "Enter Pisaro, Delion the Frenchman, Vandalle the Dutchman, Aluaro the Italian, and other Marchants, at seuerall doores". Alvaro does not enter till 622. "Exeunt."

II.i. The scene is in Pisaro's house. "Proude am I, that my roofe containes such Friends" (726). During the scene the stage direction "Knock within" occurs (772), and Pisaro says,
"Stirre and see who knocks". Immediately follows the stage direction, "Enter Haruie, Walgrae, and Heigham". Pisaro bids "Mall, in and get things readie" (803), and says to Mathea, "get you in". "Exeunt" to dinner.

II.i. Paul's Walk. This is evident from Frisco's remark in I.ii. 339, "I must to the Walke in Paules", and from the opening speech of this scene. "Enter Anthony." "Exeunt."

II.ii. The scene is a room in Pisaro's house. The characters enter the stage from the dining-room after dinner. Successively most of them "exeunt" to other parts of the house. Some come back again. Later Pisaro, Alvaro, Delion and Vandalle "Exeunt" "to the Rose in Barken for an hower", leaving probably by a different door from that used during most of the scene. At the end of the scene the stage direction reads "Exeunt" for Anthony and the girls, but they appear in the next scene without any direction for their entrance.

III.i. Pisaro's opening words suggest outdoors, but everything else in the scene proves conclusively that it takes place in his house ("Mawdlin make fast the Dores, rake vp the Fire" (1205), etc.). At 1206 the stage direction reads "Knocke", and Pisaro says, "Some looke downe below, and see who knockes"; whereupon "Enter Moore" and later "Enter a Servant". As Moore leaves, Pisaro says, "Take heede how you goe downe, the staires are bad. Bring here a light". Pisaro then bids his daughters "Gette you to your Chambers".

III.ii. A street (Cornhill). The words "take heede sir hers a post" probably refer to one of the pillars on the stage (1305-6).

III.iii. Before Pisaro's house. "Ha, heere's the house, Come let vs take our stands" (1412-3). Alvaro enters saying, "Ah, ... here be de huis of signor Pisaro. ... I shall knocke to de dore", and the stage direction reads, "He knockes". He probably enters by the door on one side, crosses the stage, and now knocks at the opposite door. After he has gone off, Delion enters, saying and doing what Alvaro did. When he in turn has gone out, Frisco enters and is sent on his way by the three lovers. "Exeunt."
IV.i. A street. Frisco and two of the strangers wander about in the dark, lost. Frisco agrees to guide the strangers, saying aside, "I shall lead you such a aunt, that you shall scarce give me thankes for. Come sirrs, follow mee: now for a durtie Puddle . . . or a great Post." They apparently walk around on the stage till Delion asks, "watt be dis Post?" and Frisco answers, "why tis the May-pole on Iuie-bridge going to Westminster", and (a moment later) "wee are now at the fardest end of Shoredich". At the end of the scene they depart, led by a bellman, though no "exeunt" is noted.

IV.ii. Before Pisaro's house. In this scene the balcony is used or at least an upper window. Vandalle enters, announcing that he is before Pisaro's house. Then follows the stage direction, "Enter Laurentia, Marina, Mathea, above". A conversation ensues. Laurentia suggests aside to her sisters, "let's . . . draw him vp in the Basket, and so starue him to death this frosty night". Mathea holds him in conversation while Laurentia and Marina go for the basket ("Sister, doe you holde him in talke, and weele prouide it whilst", 1683-5). Upon their return they apparently lower the basket (no stage direction), for Laurentia says, "There M. Heigham [Vandalle pretends he is Heigham], Put your selfe into that Basket, and I will draw you vp" (1697-8). Vandalle gets into the basket and they pull him halfway up, leaving him suspended between the ground and the window. No "exeunt" noted.

IV.iii. The scene is the same, without interval. Pisaro enters, saying, "For closely I haue stolne me foorth a doares" (1742), and supposing his favorites are in his house, "Heere Ie stay, And tarry till my gallant youths come foorth" (1758-9). "Enter Haruie, Walgrae, and Heigham." Heigham announces "this is the Dore" (1766), and later, when they have passed on, "Come backe, come backe, for wee are past the house. Yonder's Matheas Chamber with the light" (1771-2). "Enter Mathea alone", probably a mistake for "above", since she says, "Who's there below?" After a few speeches. "Enter aboue Marina", who asks, "Mathea who's below?" (1809). Then "Enter Lau-
rentia" to her sisters. The English youths ask the sisters to run away with them. After six lines of dialogue by the men, Mathea speaks five lines, ending "Prepare your Armes, for thus we flie to you" (1859), and the stage direction opposite the line is, "they Embrace". No direction is given or hint in the text as to how the sisters are to get from the balcony to the stage. Possibly during the six lines of dialogue between the men they exeunt from above and enter below. From this point on, the action is certainly below on the front stage, for when all are together, Pisaro, who has been a witness to the preceding scene, joins in the action. "Exeunt Pisaro and Daughters", Pisaro saying, "In baggages, Moteche make fast the doore" (1904). The English youths and Anthony remain on the stage. Anthony dispatches Walgrave and Heigham in turn, and the stage directions confirm the conversation ("Exit Walgrae", etc.). Anthony then says, "I heare him at the Window, there he is", and the stage direction reads, "Enter Pisaro aboue". After an interchange of speeches, "Exit Haruie" and "Exit [Pisaro]". Anthony remains on the stage. "Enter Belman, Frisco, Vandalle, Delion, & Aluaro". "Exit Belman." "Enter Pisaro below." Anthony asks, "what's yonder?" Frisco answers, "a Basket". It contains Vandalle and is hanging by a rope from the window. Anthony says, "Ile goe in and see, And if I can, Ile let him downe to you". "Exit Anthony." "Enter Anthony aboue." The dialogue shows that the basket is let down. Vandalle gets out. "Exeunt" (into the house).

IV.iv. The scene is in Pisaro's house. "The Dores are lockt, your Father keepes the Keyes, Wherefore vnpossible to scape away" (2145-6). "Enter the three Sisters." "Enter Anthony." "Exeunt."

IV.v. This scene is also in the house. "Enter Pisaro and Frisco." Pisaro says, "see who ringes: looke to the Dore, Let none come in I charge". "Enter Walgrae in Womans attire." "Enter Anthony." "Exeunt Antho. & Walg." Pisaro and Frisco talk. At the end of the scene there is no "exeunt", but they must go out.
NOTES

V.i. The scene is the same. "Enter Anthony." "Enter Pisaro and Browne [and Frisco]." Pisaro bids Anthony "hie you to church". Although there is no stage direction, Anthony must go out, for later "Enter Laurentia in Anthonies attire". She also goes out (without stage direction). "Enter Haruie brought in a Chaire, Moore, Browne, Aluaro, Vandalle, Delion, and Frisco." This may be either a discovery made by drawing the curtains of the inner stage or a genuine entry as in King Lear, IV.vii ("Enter Lear in a chair carried by servants"). Apparently Harvy is carried in, for Pisaro says, "Lift softly (good my friends) for hurting him" (2360). "Exit Frisco." "Enter Marina and Frisco." Frisco goes out (without stage direction). "Enter Anthonie." "Knocke." Pisaro says, "Looke downe who knockes". "Exit Antho." "Enter Frisco." "Enter Heigham, Laurentia, Balsaro, & Anthony." "Exit Frisco." "Enter Frisco." "Enter Mathea, and Walgrae in Womans attire." The play ends with Pisaro's speech, "Come let us in", etc.


1. smugge. The word is usually used of persons and has the meaning "trim, neat, smooth, fair", etc. See below, I. 2193. Cf. however, Dekker, Wonderful Year (Wks., ed. Grosart, I, 84), "The skie . . . lookte smug and smoothe. . . ."

45. prunde. Prune is to preen, to dress or trim, as birds their feathers. So in Shakespeare, 1 Henry IV, I.i. 98.

60. modestie, moderation, dullness(?).

64. Hang vp Philosophy. To hang up is to put aside in disuse. The 1830 editor quotes Rom. & Jul., III.iii.
Hang up philosophy!
Unless philosophy can make a Juliet...

71. this is thine from Ferdinand. The gift is a purse containing some coins.

75. As often as these, etc., i.e., as often as the gloves hide her hands.

86. distinct. The sense seems to demand "extinct" or "extinguished".

109. Why was I made a Mayde, but for a Man? Cf. Ballad Soc., VIII (Supl.), p. 1, "Why was I borne to liue and dye a Maid?"

127. villaine. In Qi the letters in have been transposed.

128. conversions, conversations? This meaning is not in NED.


131. minion, saucy woman.

141. Did I retaine thee (villaine) in my house, etc. Cf. A Knack to Know An Honest Man, Malone Soc. Rpt., I. 27, "Haue I retaind thee caitife in my house", etc.

154. Brezvesse, a kind of (thickened) broth; or, "bread soaked in boiling fat pottage, made of salted meat". NED. and N. & Q., 5th Ser. IV. 316.


175. I am Dogg at this, experienced in or adept at. Grim the Collier of Croydon (Dodsley, VIII. p. 418) has, "I am an old dog at it". Cf. the present English "shark".

213. now. This would indicate that the foreigners were simply a device to prevent a match with the three English lovers. But Pisaro has already sent for a tutor to teach them the strangers' languages.

215. stranger, foreigner. The misunderstanding of this word has led to some idle comments. Cf. below, I. 382.
NOTES

225. *Exchange.* The Royal Exchange, founded by Sir Thomas Gresham and opened Jan. 1571; called the "burse" in l. 583. The 1830 editor quotes from Heywood's *If You Know Not Me*, Part II:

Proclaim through every high street of this city
This place be no longer called a Burse,
But since the building's stately, fair and strange,
Be it for ever call'd the Royal Exchange. (Sig. H2)

It was the natural place for Pisaro to meet the foreigners. Thither merchants congregated from all quarters of the earth. Dekker alludes to this circumstance when he says, "At every turn a man is put in mind of Babel, there is such a confusion of languages ".

230. Tower-hill, the high ground to the northwest of the Tower.

233. *Croched-Fryers*, between Jewry Street, Aldgate and Mark Lane.

239. *fadge*, succeed, thrive, "come off".

250. *comasse*, meaning both to embrace and get within one's grasp.

251. *mediocritie*, used in the double sense of (1) moderation, temperance, and (2) "a quasi-technical term, with reference to the Aristotelian theory of 'the mean'" (NED.).

314. *smell*. The NED. defines, "to detect, discern, or discover by natural shrewdness, sagacity, or instinct; to suspect, to have an inkling of, to divine". Cf. l. 434.


334. *stock-Fish*, dried codfish, etc. Used by Shakespeare (*Henry IV*, II.iv. 275) as a contemptuous epithet for a thin person.

340. *and so foorth*. This is probably a cue for improvisation. Other cases occur probably at lines 534 and 1575 ("and so forth". "Some more of this").
381. s.d. *Aluaro* does not enter. This is evident from l. 407. He enters at line 623.

382. *Good morrow, M. Strangers.* Cf. note to line 215. The 1830 editor has a mistaken note, p. 17, suggesting that Pisaro is here "probably addressing the ‘other merchants’, as he knows Delion and Vandal”. He is, of course, addressing the foreigners.

413-4. Printed as prose in all editions, but really verse.

420. This “good news” idea occurs frequently. Cf. lines 657, 1266, 2305-6, etc.

459. *pitch ore the Pearch*, die. The NED. quotes from Hakluyt’s *Voyages*, “Some druggre that should make men pitch over the perch”.

472. *in sadness*, really, seriously.

528. *shooles*. For “shoal” used for a flock of birds, see quotations in NED.

534. *and so forth*. See note to line 340.


582. *patch*, fool or clown.

583. *and I had him of the burse*. The primary sense of “of” was “away, away from”.

591. *besette*, surround (with hostile intent), assail.

601. *Tis Midsomer-Moone with him*. Olivia in *Twelfth Night*, III.iv. 61, says to Malvolio, “Why this is verie Midsommer madness”. The NED. gives a quotation from the *Marprel. Epit.* (1589), “Whether it be midsommer Moone with him or no”.

610. *His heart was not confederat with his tongue*. A note on the fly-leaf of B directs attention to *Richard II*, V.iii. 53. “My heart is not confederate with my hand”.

631. *within the lurch of*, in the power of.

632. *Catterpillar brood of Spaine*. “Catterpillers” as a term for rogues and vagabonds is used by Rowlands in *Martin Mark-
NOTES

All, 1610: “The congregation of catterpillers gathered together”; it also occurs in the titles to two anonymous seventeenth-century pamphlets. See Chandler, F. W., Lit. of Roguery, 1907, I, 115.

658. The Exchange Bell rings. “On the south or Cornhill front [of the Exchange] was a bell-tower. . . . The bell, in Gresham’s time, was rung at twelve at noon and at six in the evening.” Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, III, 182-3.

669. cogge, employ fraud or deceit; cheat.

670. If Ned is omitted the line would read, “Nay prethee Walgraeue lets bethinke our selues”. This would be a good blank verse line. With Ned in it the line will not scan. Perhaps Haughton wrote Ned and then, seeing that a two-syllable word was needed, inserted Walgrave instead. The printer copied both.

700. that’s flat. The expression occurs in Wily Beguiled, l. 433.

735. guyse, custom, habit, fashion.

736. slauring. The word probably has here its ordinary meaning, as the sense “kissing” is rare.

746. depeteta = de (the) petite; becues = ? fra = frele?

769. stomachs, pride.


805. you sullen Elfe, you Callet. Elfe is here used as a term of reproach not exactly paralleled by any use recorded in the NED. Callet as a term of abuse is equivalent to “strumpet”, perhaps sometimes “scold”.

812. Will poll you, I and pill you. . . . To “poll and pill (lit. to make bare of hair and skin too); . . . strip bare . . .” (NED., s.v. Pill, v1., 9). Stubbos, Anatomy of Abuses (New Shakspere Soc., 1882, Part II, p. 46) says: “The monie which they have vnjustlie got with the polling and pilling of the poore, shall rise vp in judgment against them. . . .”

853-4. *sometimes the blind*, etc. Two proverbs are combined. Skeat, *Early English Proverbs*, p. 87, quotes "as a blind man stert an hare" from Chaucer's *House of Fame* (681) and the Scotch proverb, "By chance a cripple may catch a hare". *The Blind Eats Many A Fly* was the title of a lost play by Thomas Heywood, 1602.

869-70. *bate an Ace of his wish*. "To bate an Ace of" is explained by the NED. (*s.v. Ace*) as "To abate a jot or tittle, to make the slightest abatement".

880. *Freeze*, a kind of coarse woolen cloth with a nap on one side.

883. *Duke Humfrie*. "The phrase of dining with Duke Humphrey, which is still current, originated in the following manner: Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, though really buried at St. Alban's, was supposed to have a monument in old St. Paul's, from which one part of the church was termed *Duke Humphrey's Walk*. In this, as the church was then a place of the most public resort, they who had no means of procuring a dinner, frequently loitered about, probably in hopes of meeting with an invitation, but under pretence of looking at the monuments." *Nares' Glossary*, ed. Halliwell and Wright, London, 1859, I, 262.

884. *Cammleres*. *Ital.* camerale, belonging to the chamber, or camerière, valet, groom (?). Possibly a mistake for *cavaliers*. See spellings and quotations in NED.

887. *So-lame-men* . . . etc. The 1830 editor notes "Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris", but I cannot locate the quotation.

896-8. Anthony contrives by his use of ink-horn terms to let Frisco know he is a pedant. And Frisco does, for he remarks, "They say, a word to the wise", etc.

910. *Nella slurde Curtizana*. *Slurde* may be a mistake for *lurda* (*for lorda*), foul, impure, lewd.

933-5. Several efforts were made towards the close of the sixteenth century to unite certain East India trading companies and form a monopoly, but I cannot find any such attempt before 1598. See Blok, P.J., *Hist. of the People of the Netherlands*, Eng. tr., vol. III (1900), pp. 289 ff.
NOTES

944. clog'd, encumbered. A clog is a clumsy piece of wood (sometimes tied to the leg of an animal to impede its motion).

958. a Mouse in cheese. The expression is found in the phrase "to speak like a mouse in cheese", i.e., with a muffled voice; but such a sense hardly applies here.

983-4. For you I bred them, etc. Gripe, the usurer in Wily Beguiled, says under somewhat similar circumstances: "My daughters mine to command, have I not brought her vp to this? She shall haue him: Ie rule the roste for that..." (Malone Soc. Rpt., ll. 373-6).

989. braue. Here = handsome or finely dressed; in line 1239 it means excellent.

997. posde, placed in a difficulty with a question or problem; nonplussed.

1002. muses. The meaning of this line is clear, but the use of muse is unusual.

1025. epurce, et pour ce.

1039. on a merry pin, in a merry humor or frame of mind.

1131. meet, be even with.

1142. a Woman is like a Weather-cocke. Field's comedy with a form of this proverbial phrase as a title belongs to the year 1611.

1176. galliarde, "valiant", lively, gay.

1202. Bucklersburie, a street noted in Haughton's time for its grocers and apothecaries. Cf. also l. 2083.

1206. the Rose in Barken. The Rose Tavern in Barking was destroyed in 1649 by an explosion of gunpowder two doors away. The accident is described by Strype (quoted in Wheatley and Cunningham, I, 31).

1209. budget, head, mind.

1232-3. out of all scotch and notch, excessively. (Cent. and NED.)

1247-8. A Woman right, still longing, and with child, For everything they hear, or light upon. With child = "Eager, longing, yearning (to do a thing)". (NED. s.v. child, 17c.) Cf. the quotation from Udall, "The man had of long tyme been with chylde to haue a sight of Iesus". These two lines in modern
English would be: A very woman, always longing and yearning for everything she hears of or lights upon.

1249. mad, "Carried away by enthusiasm or desire; ... infatuated". Cf. l. 1361.

1272. quit, requite.

1273. I may lead Apes in Hell, and die a Mayde. For this fanciful notion, cf. London Prodigal (Sig. I, 2):

"'Tis an old proverb, and you know it well,
That women dying maids lead apes in hell.'

1275. huddles, ordinarily means "A miserly old person; a hunks" (NED).

1275. a heape of merrie Lasses. This use of "heap" is as old as Beowulf.

1287. Nights candles burne obscure. Cf. Rom. and Jul., III.v. 9, "Night's candles are burnt out".

1296. Bow-bell rings. The bell of the church of St. Mary Le Bow (commonly called "Bow Church") on the south side of Cheapside, in Cordwainers' Ward. Stow (p. 96) says, "In the year 1409 it was ordained by a Common Council that the Bow Bell should be nightly rung at nine of the clock". Cf. l. 1338.

1316. she shall lye with you, Trust me she could not come in fitter time. Pisaro seems to forget that this would interfere with his plot concerning the foreigners.

1381. waer sidy. where are you.

1396. Noddy, fool, simpleton.

1406-7. chatt, idle talk; floutes, mocking speech or action; gulles, tricks, deceptions, false reports.

1425. cranke, bold, forward (aggressively). (NED.)

1431. Bastinado, a stick or cudgel; a blow with one.

1440. Leadenhall Street runs from Cornhill to Aldgate.

1442. the four Spoutes. At the junction of Cornhill and Leadenhall Streets a water-standard, with four spouts, was erected in 1582 for water brought from the Thames by an artificial forcer. It was "an object of such mark that distances throughout England were measured from it as the heart of the City". See Wheatley and Cunningham, I, 457-8.
NOTES

1455. alle, Fr. aller, go.

1483. Fanchurch-streete, runs from Gracechurch Street to Aldgate. This is approximately where Peter Houghton lived. Cf. Intro., p. 9.

1494. natural. Perhaps a play upon the meanings "native" and "fool".

1507. Frisco has not heard all of Pisaro's plot and does not know that the foreigners were to come pretending to be the English lovers. Consequently he says Master Vandal when he should have said Master Heigham.

1531. bangling, petty, frivolous contention. Altered in Q3 to brangling (noisy and turbulent disputing).

1534. hold, bet, wager.

1536. out his Compasse & his Card, has lost his bearings. "The Mariners Card... is none other thing but a description... of the places that be in the Sea or in the land next adjoyning to the Sea, as Points, Capes, Bayes." (T. Blundeville, Exercises, 1594, quoted NED.)

1548. Woodcocks, fools, because the woodcock was supposed to have no brains.

1555. Blacke-pudding, "A kind of sausage made of blood and suet, sometimes with the addition of flour or meal". Cf. Fulwel's Like Will to Like, "Who comes yonder puffing as whot as a black pudding". (NED.)

1556. I am a Red Herring. Cf. note to l. 334, but the sense here seems somewhat peculiar.

1562. andere, It. andare, go.

1565. M. Pharoo, Alvaro.

1575. Some more of this. See note to line 340.

1597-8. London-stone. "On the south side of this high streete [Canning Street], neare vnto the channell is pitched vpright a great stone called London stone, fixed in the ground verie deepe, fastned with bars of iron, and otherwise so strongly set, that if Cartes do run against it through negligence, the wheeles be broken, and the stone it selfe vnshaken. The cause why this stone was there set, the time when, or other memorie hereof, is none..." Stow, ed. Kingsford, I, 224.
1604-5. *the May-pole* on Ivie-bridge *going to* Westminster. “Ivie bridge [Strand] in the high street, which had a way under it leading down to the Thames, . . . is now taken down, but the lane remaineth as afore or better, and parteth the liberty of the Duchy and the City of Westminster on that South side.” (Stow, quoted Wheatley and Cunningham, II, 270-1.) The May-pole in the Strand stood on the sight of the present church of St. Mary-le-Strand. (*ib.* II, 517.) Cf. ll. 1609-10.

1615. *Blew Bore in the Spittle.* A ““Cookes house called the blew Boore” is mentioned by Stow as in “Queene Hithe Warde” (*Survey*, ed. Kingsford, II, 2).

1647. *ic weit neit waer . . . , I know not where.*


1682. *starve.* In England “starve” is still used in the sense of “to kill with cold; benumb”.


1740. *skellum.* (Dutch *schelm*) a scoundrel.

1769. *spurne, kick.* Cf. *Com. of Er.*, II.i. 83, “That like a football you do spurn me thus?”


1851. *Theres a sound Card at Maw.* Maw, “An old game at cards. It was played with a piquet pack of thirty-six cards, and any number of persons from two to six formed the party”.

*(Halliwell, quoted NED.)*

1859. *we flie to you.* For staging, see discussion at the head of these notes.

1880. *You take Tenn in the hundred more then Law.* The legal rate of interest at this time was ten per cent. Cf. ll. 2322-3.

1896. *the Crosse in Cheape.* “Cheapside Cross (one of the twelve crosses . . . erected by Edward I. to Eleanor, his queen) stood in the middle of the street, facing Wood Street End.” (Wheatley and Cunningham, I, 372.)
1970. Vandalle does not enter with the rest. He is in the basket.

1987. vaine toyes, trifles.

2007. firkes, go off or fly out suddenly. Qy: used elsewhere in this sense with a non-reflexive object?

2026. Figure, a ridiculous person or matter(?), the appearance of some one in a ludicrous condition(?). (See NED. s.v., senses 5b and 7b).

2044-6. the signe of the Mouth without Bishops gate, etc. “A seventeenth-century trade token was issued from a house with the sign of the Mouth in Bishopsgate Street, and the Mouth appears in the rhyming list of taverns, which is to be found in Heywood’s “Rape of Lucrece” [Mermaid Ed., p. 365.]” Norman, P., London Signs & Inscriptions, Lond., 1893, p. 64.

2049. Mahomets Sepulchre. “It is said that Mahomet’s coffin, in the Hadgire of Medina, is suspended in mid-air without any support . . . the coffin is not suspended at all.” (Brewer, E. C., Dict. of Phrase & Fable, s.v.) It is alluded to in Nashe’s Unf. Trav. (Wks., ed. McKerrow, II, 249).

2090. Canning streete, originally Candlewright or Candlewick Street, later Canwick, Canning and, ultimately, Cannon Street. See Stow, ed. Kingsford, II, 313.

2173. spitted, roasted on a spit.


2176. Past, a doughy substance. Shakespeare has (Lear, II.iv. 124) “as the Cockney did to the Eeles, when she put ’em i’th’ Paste alive”.

2207. Ferret, “a half-tamed variety of the common polecat, kept for the purpose of driving rabbits from their burrows, destroying rats, etc”. (NED.)

2216. a Pad in Straw, a lurking or hidden danger. (NED.)

2247. Something seems to have dropped out after this line.


2284. Pin-fold, place for confining stray cattle, etc.
NOTES

2290. See note to line 2496.
2403. Exit Frisco. Added 1830 ed.
2442-3. Oyime che haucesse allhora appressata la mano al mio core, o suen curato ate, I che longo sei tu arrivato, o cieli, o terra. These two lines of obscure Italian are very difficult. The 1830 editor changed suen to suem, and arrivato to avinato, succeeding only in making matters worse. For an admirable emendation and explanation of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Ern. Monaci, of the Univ. of Rome, and to the courtesy of my friend, Dr. Vincenzo di Santo. Prof. Monaci writes: "Il passo oscuro . . . credo che sia dovuto alla imperizia del tipografo inglese nella lingua italiana, e sospetto che la lesione originaria sia stata suppergiù questa: 'Oimè, chi avesse allora appressato la mano al mio cuore [o suenturato a te (oh te sventurato)], i (in) che luogo sei tu arrivato! oh cieli! oh terra!'" The longo he explains is for longo, and the order of the letters is not an error of pronunciation but is due to a transposition of the two. The lines might be Englished: Alas! [Thou] who might have then drawn thy hand near my heart, Oh thou luckless one, into what place art thou come (arrived)! Oh Heavens! Oh Earth!

2454. cottens, prospers, succeeds.
2496. the marriage rites are done. In the Elizabethan Age a betrothal before witnesses and with the consent of the parent(s) or a trothplight sealed by the parties living together (or its equivalent) was as binding as an actual marriage ceremony and was often loosely referred to as a marriage. Cf. I. 2601 and Shakespeare, passim. On this whole subject, see Howard, G. E., A Hist. of Matrimonial Institutions, 3 v., Chicago, 1904, vol. I, Ch. viii and ix.

2512. Bride-well. Of this famous prison, see the description in Dekker, II Honest Whore (Wks., II, 167), too long to quote here.

2553. canvass. So Q1. The reading is not quite free from a suspicion of corruption, though the NED. gives as meanings of canvass (4d and 5) "To debate; to discuss" and "To bargain or deal with; to sound or try as to their expectations". The
last sense would especially suit the passage in the text. The word may, however, be an error for "conuerst" to which Q3 changes it.

2560. *familiar*, spirit, demon.

2562. *the Gout*. A characteristic ailment of the Elizabethan usurers. Why usurers should be especially subject to this disease is not clear unless it be because of high living and little exercise. Nicholas Breton in his *Crossing of Proverbs*, Part II, says:

"Q. How doth ease breed the Gout?
A. By lack of motion of the members."

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