ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

A Critical Edition of Ferdinando Parkhurst's Ignoramus, The Academical-Lawyer

Volume XXX

Edited by
E.F.J. Tucker

Routledge Revivals

A Critical Edition of Ferdinando Parkhurst's

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

A Critical Edition of Ferdinando Parkhurst's Ignoramus, The Academical-Lawyer

Edited by
E.F.J. Tucker

The Renaissance Imagination
Volume 30

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

First published in 1987 by Garland Publishing, Inc.

This edition first published in 2018 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Publisher's Note
The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent.

Disclaimer
The publisher has made every effort to trace copyright holders and welcomes correspondence from those they have been unable to contact.
A Library of Congress record exists under ISBN:

ISBN 13: 978-0-367-19204-4 (hbk)
ISBN 13: 978-0-429-20102-8 (ebk)

The Renaissance Imagination
Important Literary and Theatrical Texts
from the Late Middle Ages
through the Seventeenth Century

Stephen Orgel
Editor

Volumes in the Series

1. *Arte of Rhetorique* by Thomas Wilson
   edited by Thomas J. Derrick
2. *An Enterlude Called Lusty Iuuentus*
   by R. Wever
   An old-spelling critical edition
   edited by Helen Scarborough Thomas
3. *The True Tragicomedy Formerly Acted at Court.* A Play by Francis Osborne Transcribed from the Manuscript in the British Library by John Pitcher and Lois Potter
   edited, with an introduction, by Lois Potter
4. The Comedies of John Crowne
   A critical edition
   edited, with Prolegomena, by B. J. McMullin
5. The *Pearl* Poems: An Omnibus Edition.
   Vol. 1: *Pearl* and *Cleanness*
   edited by William Vantuono
6. The *Pearl* Poems: An Omnibus Edition. Vol. 2: *Patience* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*
   edited by William Vantuono
7. *The Swisser* by Arthur Wilson
   edited by Linda V. Itzoe
8. *Greene's Tu Quoque Or, The Cittie Gallant* by J. Cooke
   A critical edition
   edited by Alan J. Berman
9. A Critical Edition of *I Sir John Oldcastle*
   edited, with an introduction, by Jonathan Rittenhouse
10. The Tudor Interludes: *Nice Wanton* and *Impatient Poverty*
    edited by Leonard Tennenhouse
11. Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday
    A critical edition
    edited by David M. Bergeron
12. *The Fancies, Chast and Noble* by J. Ford
    A critical edition
    edited by Dominick J. Hart
13. Buckingham: Public and Private Man. The Prose, Poems and Commonplace Book of George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham (1628–1687)
    edited by Christine Phipps
14. *The Pastyme of People* and *A New Boke of Purgatory* by J. Rastell, with a facsimile of *The Pastyme*
    A critical edition
    edited by Albert J. Geritz

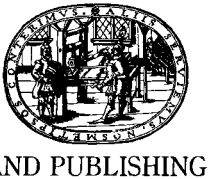
15. *The Passions of the Mind in General*
by Thomas Wright
A critical edition
edited by William Webster Newbold
16. *Thomas Heywood's Pageants*
A critical edition
edited by David M. Bergeron
17. *The Obstinate Lady* by Aston Cokayne
edited by Catherine M. Shaw
18. A Critical Old Spelling of the Works of Edward Sharpham
edited by Christopher G. Petter
19. *Sicily and Naples, Or, the Fatall Union.*
A Tragœdy by S. Harding
edited by Joan Warthling Roberts
20. The *Aeneid* of Thomas Phaer and Thomas Twyne
A critical edition introducing Renaissance metrical typography
edited by Steven Lally
21. A Critical Edition of Abraham Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street*
edited by Darlene Johnson Gravett
22. A Critical Edition of Abraham Cowley's *Davideis*
edited by Gayle Shadduck
23. An Old-Spelling Critical Edition of William Davenant's *The Platonic Lovers*
edited by Wendell W. Broom, Jr.
24. A Critical Edition of John Fletcher's *The Humorous Lieutenant*
edited by Philip Oxley
25. A Critical Edition of John Fletcher's Comedy *Monsieur Thomas or Father's Own Son*
edited by Nanette Cleri Clinch
26. The Prose of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke
edited by Mark Caldwell
27. A Critical Edition of *The Play of the Wether* by John Heywood
edited by Vicki Knudsen Robinson
28. A Critical Edition of *The Isle of Ladies*
edited by Vincent Daly
29. A Contextual Study and Modern-Spelling Edition of *Mucedorus*
edited by Arvin H. Jupin
30. A Critical Edition of Ferdinando Parkhurst's *Ignoramus, The Academical-Lawyer*
edited by E.F.J. Tucker
31. A Critical Edition of Alexander Ross's 1647 *Mystagogus Poeticus, or The Muses Interpreter*
edited by John R. Glenn
32. A Critical Edition of Thomas Salter's *The Mirrhor of Modestie*
edited by Janis Butler Holm
33. An Old-Spelling Critical Edition of James Shirley's *The Example*
edited by William F. Jones
34. Stuart Academic Drama: Three University Plays
edited by David L. Russell
35. A Critical Edition of George Whetstone's 1582 *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*
edited by Diana Shklanka
36. An Edition of Robert Wilson's *Three Ladies of London* and *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*
edited by H.S.D. Mithal
37. The School of Cyrus: William Barker's 1567 Translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedeia* (*The Education of Cyrus*)
edited by James Tatum

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

A Critical Edition of Ferdinando Parkhurst's IGNORAMUS, THE ACADEMICAL-LAWYER

edited by
E.F.J. Tucker

The Renaissance Imagination
Volume 30



GARLAND PUBLISHING, INC.
NEW YORK & LONDON
1987

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Parkhurst, Ferdinando.
A critical edition of Ferdinando Parkhurst's Ignoramus, the academical-lawyer.

(The Renaissance imagination; v. 30)
E.F.J. Tucker's thesis (Ph.D.)—Harvard University, 1970.
Bibliography: p.
I. Tucker, Edward F.J., 1933– . II. Ruggle, George, 1575–1622. Ignoramus. English. III. Title. IV. Title: Ignoramus, the academical-lawyer. V. Series.
PR3615.P74I36 1987 822'.4 87-3392
ISBN 0-8240-8409-8

Printed on acid-free, 250-year-life paper
Manufactured in the United States of America

Ferdinando Parkhurst's

Ignoramus, the Academical-Lawyer: A Critical Edition.

A thesis presented

by

Edward Frederick John Tucker

to

The Department of English

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

English

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

April 1, 1970

PREFACE

During the Restoration, three authors thought highly enough of George Ruggle's famous Ignoramus that they devoted their time and talents in translating the difficult Latin play into English. These three translations were made successively by Ferdinando Parkhurst (c.1660), Robert Codrington (1662), and Edward Ravenscroft (1678). None of these men is particularly well known today, and if it was their hope that Ruggle's play would by their efforts reach a wider audience, their success in this venture was only ephemeral. Only a few specialists in Restoration drama are familiar with Ignoramus today, and this knowledge usually derives from a reading of Edward Ravenscroft's The English Lawyer which went through three editions (1678, 1736, and 1737) and which is actually an adaptation of the translation made by Codrington. This present work, although it takes into account the work of Codrington and Ravenscroft, provides not only an edition of the three versions of Ignoramus made by Ferdinando Parkhurst but also a complete literary and textual examination of Parkhurst's adaptation of the Latin play for the English stage, and the thoroughness of the transformation, especially in the third or stage version of the comedy, makes this work not merely the best of the translations but worthy of a wider dissemination among those who enjoy reading Restoration drama.

One reason for the obscurity of this particular work stems from the fact that it has only been available in manuscript form. When I

first accepted the assignment of editing this play, I did so on the basis that the work would involve many interesting editorial problems. I had just completed a seminar with Professor G. Blakemore Evans, and the enjoyment which I had derived from this course was a considerable inducement in taking on a critical edition for my dissertation. I had no idea that the play in itself would have any literary merit, and it was a delightful discovery that I was dealing with a good play. I make no claims that Parkhurst is another Wycherley or Congreve, but I believe that the reader will agree that his version of Ignoramus is worthy to be ranked quite highly among those works of secondary importance in Restoration stage literature. A second but fragmentary work, which I have entitled the Chowse fragment and which I have included in this edition as Appendix C, also reveals a great deal of literary promise especially in the creation of the Country Knight, Sir Generous Clumperton.

Needless to say, I am deeply indebted to Professor Evans in giving me this opportunity, and it would be impossible to estimate the value of his continuing assistance throughout the project. He has been a source of comfort during the dark days when nothing seemed to be going right and a veritable mine of inspiration, at all times. The experience of completing this edition has been made even more richly exciting by the generous and kind support of Professor William Bond, the Director of Houghton Library. His timely advice and expert direction, particularly when I was preparing my plans for research in Great Britain, have been invaluable in steering me away

from the types of pitfalls that true bookmen would be quick to recognize. That both men have taken time from their busy schedules to spend long periods of time in reviewing my work makes me feel extremely honored, and I hope that I am forgiven in being so ready to avail myself of their indulgence. I have tried not to be too importunate.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to the many staff members of Houghton Library for their ever prompt and courteous assistance, and, of course, I must make special mention of Mr. Rodney G. Dennis, Curator of Manuscripts at Houghton for his expert help in the description of my manuscript and the identification of hands. Special thanks are also due to Miss Katharine Pantzer, Research Bibliographer and to Miss Carolyn E. Jakeman, Reference Librarian in charge of the Houghton Reading Room, both of whom gave me a ready and friendly ear to my questions at crucial points during the preparation of this edition. I am also grateful for the help which I have received at the Harvard Law School from Dr. Edith Henderson, Curator of the Treasure Room of the Law Library, and from Professor Samuel Thorne and Mr. Thomas Hervey for answering some of my queries concerning legal history.

I am also deeply indebted to the Department of English for the award of a Dexter Traveling scholarship for the summer of 1969. This grant made it possible for me to acquire much of the information on Parkhurst's life, without which the biographical section of the introduction would not have been worth doing.

Finally my deepest gratitude is due to my husbandless wife and fatherless daughter whose patience and forbearance during the writing of this work have been greater than any man has a right to expect. My wife Cathy has been the breadwinner, mother, wife, typist, proofreader, and a constant source of strength. If I have been successful in this endeavor, she merits a large part of the praise.

Randolph, Massachusetts.

April 1, 1970.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Table of Contents

I. Biography of Ferdinando Parkhurst vii

II. Literary Introduction xxiv

III. Textual Introduction lix

Ignoramus, *The Academical-Lawyer* (MS C) 1

Textual Notes: MS C 164

Critical Notes: MSS C and B 228

Appendix A: *Ignoramus* (MS A). 321

Appendix B: Trico's Side. 487

Appendix C: *Chowse* Fragment 526

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

I. A Biography of Ferdinando Parkhurst.

In a few old standard literary reference works such as Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, and The Cambridge History of English Literature, one might run across a short paragraph on Ferdinando Parkhurst. He merits a brief mention in the DNB.[1] His translation of George Ruggle's Ignoramus has attracted the cursory attention of a few dramatic historians like Leslie Hotson, Allardyce Nicoll, and William Van Lennep, but even here the emphasis has been placed upon the actors, John Rhodes, William Davenant, and the facts of the royal performance of Ignoramus in 1662. No notice has been taken of the work itself, and nothing has been uncovered about Parkhurst. The first two sections of this introduction, therefore, aim to fill these gaps and to place this comedy in the general context of seventeenth-century satire of the legal profession.

Sidney Lee conjectures that Ferdinando Parkhurst was related to John Parkhurst, a former master of Balliol College, Oxford, during the reign of James I.[2] This scholar, a contemporary of George Ruggle, had served as a Proctor at Magdalen in 1597 and was elected to the mastership at Balliol in 1616-17,[3] and he may have been one of the "certain divines" who composed the so-called Oxford Ballad in disapprobation of Ignoramus in 1615.[4] That one of his descendants should produce a version of this play for the English stage would

be an ironic twist of fate. Moreover, if Lee is correct in this surmise, it would indeed place Ferdinando Parkhurst in exalted company, for the family of John Parkhurst had a long and illustrious history, producing a number of famous men. Originally of Pirford in the county of Surrey, this family had formed two distinct branches during the reign of Henry VIII, one of which remained in Surrey, the other becoming established in Catesby, Northamptonshire. It was the Catesby branch that produced the earlier and more famous John Parkhurst who had been tutor to John Jewel, the renowned Bishop of Salisbury, and who himself was later consecrated Bishop of Norwich by Elizabeth in 1560.[5] This John Parkhurst was one of the writers of the Bishop's Bible published in 1568.[6]

The Surrey branch of the Parkhurst family has been identified with a number of communities in that county, including Wisley and Byfleet, Pirford, Guildford, and Epsom. Perhaps the most renowned of this branch was Sir Robert Parkhurst who became the Lord Mayor of London in 1634 and whose daughter married Richard Evelyn, the owner of Ebbisham Manor in Epsom and brother of the famous diarist. It was actually through Elizabeth Parkhurst Evelyn that the Surrey and Catesby branches reunited, for the manor of Ebbisham was willed eventually to a certain John Parkhurst of Catesby.[7] Another of Sir Robert's brothers was a well-known and prosperous bookseller in the City of London.[8] But among all the records of this large and influential family I have been unable to discover any trace of a link with Ferdinando Parkhurst.[9]

Yet, in spite of all the negative evidence, Lee may well be correct, for there is no question that Ferdinando Parkhurst was in some way connected with the Parkhursts of Surrey. The strongest proof of this relationship is found in an allegation for a marriage license issued by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster in 1671. The entry is dated August 24 and reads "Ferdinando Parkhurst, of Epsham, co. Surrey, Gent., Wid^{r}, about 50, & Elizabeth Powell, of same, Wid., ab^{t} 28, at St. Clement Danes or St. Dunstan's West."[10] The Parish Register for St. Dunstan's West, preserved in the Guildhall Library, confirms the above-mentioned record with the following entry for the year 1671: "fferdinando Parkhurst and Elizabeth Powell were Mar. August 24 by Licence."[11] From the evidence of these records, we know that Parkhurst was married twice, that both he and his wife were from the village of Epsom, and we can also approximate his date of birth for about the year 1621. The title of "gentleman" given to Parkhurst in the allegation record does not, of course, signify any specific degree or rank, and no mention of a Ferdinando Parkhurst occurs among the many records relating to the armigerous family of Parkhursts noted above. Thus, if he was descended from the Pirford family, as Lee suggests, he can only have been a distant cousin.[12]

This positive connection of Ferdinando Parkhurst with Epsom, moreover, proves to be an unproductive lead for the acquisition of further life records on our author. The parish records for St. Martin's in Epsom are unfortunately not extant before 1695. The Reverend Mr. F. Walter Crooks, the present vicar of the parish, has

been kind enough to make a diligent search of the records from 1695 to 1730, but he was unable to discover a record of Parkhurst's death. He must therefore have died during the period from 1674-1695, and since an exhaustive search of the probate records at Somerset House offers no further assistance, we must assume that he left no will.[13] But Mr. Crooks' research has not been entirely in vain, for among the numerous references to the Parkhurst name, he has uncovered sufficient evidence to establish a recurrence of the name Ferdinando Parkhurst in the village of Epsom.[14] On the 7th April 1700, Anna Maria, the daughter of Ferdinando Parkhurst, was baptised, and after that date the following children of Ferdinando Parkhurst were baptised: Margaret Hester (26th Oct., 1701), Fardinando Charles (4th July, 1704), Ferdinando Charles (20th Oct., 1731), and Patience (25th Sep., 1735). Quite obviously, the name Ferdinando was a tradition in the family and was handed down from generation to generation. We do know that our author was married twice, and it seems reasonable to assume that the Ferdinando Parkhurst mentioned in the period of 1700-04 was the son of the late author.

A careful search of other parish records was equally unproductive. I did locate a baptism record from the Parish Register of Kensington, dated July 8th, 1654, which may furnish the first name of Parkhurst's first wife. This entry reads, "July 8, Elissabeth d. of Fardinnando Parkish & Sarah Parkish at Brompton at Robert Sewels house."[15] A lone record from Somerset House reveals that Ferdinando's second wife died shortly after their marriage in 1671:

"Parkhurst fferdinando. Decimo octavo die mensio. Elizabeth Parkhurst of Richmond, Surrey, wife of Ferdinando dying intestate, case cleared before Comm. Courts of Surrey on 17 Nov. 1674 (worth £27-3-6^{d})."[16]

The first mention of Ferdinando Parkhurst as a public figure occurs much earlier with the printing of an almanac in the year 1648,[17] when the author was presumably about twenty-five years of age. I have been unable to locate any records which reveal the facts of his education, so that his earlier life must remain an obscure period. The almanac was followed by a second publication in 1653 which reveals that he was not an uneducated person and that he must have progressed beyond the normal grammar school level of education, although it is not unlikely that he was self-educated. This second work was a small book of passages translated from Paracelsus entitled Medicina Diastatica, or Sympatheticall Mumie.[18] The book in itself is of little interest except to those interested in exploring the last flourishes of a then already outmoded brand of science, but the preliminary matter provides some interesting suggestions about Parkhurst. The "Epistle Dedicatory" is addressed to the "Right Honorable Basill Earle of Denbigh, Viscount Feilding and Baron of Newnham," in which the author looks forward to "the assurance of your Lordships Protection."[19] Denbigh was an enigmatic figure in his own time, and it is curious that Parkhurst should look to him for assistance at this particular time. Originally from a strong royalist family, Denbigh had ingratiated himself with the

court of Charles I and had become known as a man of taste. He was frequently consulted by the king and his courtiers in the selection of art works. Yet he became an early and enthusiastic supporter of the parliamentary cause and because of his military knowledge and successes, he was ultimately appointed the commander of parliamentary forces in 1643 and finally a member of the Council of State for the Commonwealth. But, for some reason, Denbigh became disenchanted with the Puritan cause during the early 1650's and gradually transferred his allegiance to the royalist faction.[20] Because Denbigh was still a very powerful figure in the Commonwealth government, Parkhurst was doubtless hoping for some minor preferment, an expectation which, as we shall see, was later fulfilled.

Even more intriguing is an address to the translator, "On his worthy Friend Mr. Parkhurst and his Translation of this Mumiall Treatise," by none other than William Lilly, the seventeenth-century answer to Edgar Cayce. Lilly was then in the heyday of his fame, having predicted everything of any significance. Lilly's preface to Parkhurst's work does not, however, give us any clue as to the exact nature of his friendship with the author. It is not entirely impossible that Parkhurst had been one of Lilly's students, but since Lilly's own autobiography does not give a full list of his pupils and disciples, the connection between the two astrologers must remain conjectural.[21] The mere association of Parkhurst with Samuel Butler's Sidrophel is sufficient to identify our author with the fields of astrology and alchemy and to indicate that Parkhurst was dissipating

his talents in pursuing such worthless knowledge.

After the publication of Medicina Diastatica, we hear no more of Parkhurst until April 16th, 1656, when he was appointed by the Council of State to the minor post of Registrar for the Commissioners for Discoveries.[22] In this position he was granted the services of an assistant, Richard Hatter, and was to keep and maintain the accounts and records for the commissioners themselves, a group of men which included the following names: Ralph Hall, Elliston of Gray's Inn, Mr. Griffith, Edward Carey, Mr. Wilsby, and a Major Bridges.[23] Later we learn of an order given to "Embree and Kinnersley to inspect Worcester House, learn how the rooms are disposed of, appoint one for that Committee [for Jamaica] and report; Also to assign to Mr. Parkhurst, Registrar to the Commissioners for Discoveries, and his assistant, convenient lodgings in Worcester House."[24] This order was later fulfilled on July 31, 1656, when Parkhurst and his assistant moved into Worcester House,[25] a building described by Sidney J. Madge as "the scene of extraordinary activity on the part of government officials during the stirring days of the Commonwealth."[26]

In seventeenth-century social history, we read of two types of "discovery," the first of witches and the second of concealed lands, neither occupation much more respectable than the other. Despite his already demonstrated interest in the occult sciences, Parkhurst was not another Matthew Hopkins but rather headed up an army of spies and government agents involved in the Commonwealth land-grabbing campaign.[27] During the previous decade, the government

had enacted several acts and ordinances for the wholesale confiscation of lands, much of the revenue from which was designed either to increase the Commonwealth treasury or to reward the soldiers and the supporters of the new regime. Madge reports that the confiscated properties "included not only the royal lands privately owned by the late monarch, but the forfeited estates of royalist peers, delinquent gentry, officials of the Church, and rebels of Ireland and Scotland."[28]

Unfortunately the identities of the discoverers, for obvious reasons, are difficult to trace, and the Commonwealth Book of Discoveries, which would have been kept in Parkhurst's hand, has been lost. Many of the names of these spies have, however, been brought to light by examining the records of Parliamentary Surveys in the Augmentation Office and of the Land Revenue Series.[29] Ralph Hall, among the above-listed commissioners, may have been responsible for the coordination of the Office of Discoveries and the Surveyor-General's Office, for he had earlier replaced Colonel William Webb in that office as "Register, surveyor-general and keeper of all original surveys of premises."[30] Of the remaining commissioners, only Major Bridges appears to have been directly involved in the transference of lands during the Commonwealth period.[31]

Generally speaking the occupation of being a spy was not extremely remunerative, and even Parkhurst himself had reason to complain having been granted no settled allowance for his appointment. He was eventually, after waiting two years, granted the sum of a hundred pounds,[32] but this is a mere pittance compared to the

profits reaped from the work of the discoverers, nor can we find anywhere among the extensive records of the Committee for Compounding that Parkhurst benefited personally from his position.[33]

Perhaps it was primarily for this reason that we find Parkhurst joining the Royalist cause in 1660 when great efforts were made to restore at least some of the confiscated lands to their original and rightful owners. In October of that year, a Treasurer's warrant was delivered to the Attorney General and to the Solicitor General enlisting their full cooperation in assisting Ferdinando Parkhurst in the strict prosecution to be made in the Court of Exchequer for the recovery of certain properties.[34] A great deal of litigation marked the years immediately following the restoration of Charles II, and certainly Parkhurst must have been involved in much of this activity, although we can discover nowhere that he earned any personal recognition for these efforts.

Parkhurst was also quite busy during this period as a writer. The first fruits of his studies was his third publication, a book of Masoretic criticism entitled Masorah, seu Critica divina, or A synoptical directorie on the sacred scriptures, the first of a three-part analysis of the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Bible.[35] The book is dedicated to the "Serenissimo atque Desideratissime, Principi, Carolo II D. G. Britanniarum, Franciae et Hiberniae Regi Semper Augusto, Fidei Defensori." The theology of this work is decidedly "bookish" and somewhat old-fashioned, but the work reveals

a high degree of learning and considerable skill in the ancient languages of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, although in his address to the "Benevolum Lectorem," Parkhurst describes himself as " a professed Christian, (though without call to the holy function of Theology [italics mine])." A man of many talents, he appears not to have been a churchman, and he is not mentioned in Hardy's Ecclesiastical Dignitaries. No record exists to show that he ever completed this project, for the other two parts of the treatise were never published.

Also during this period, Parkhurst was working on his version of George Ruggle's Ignoramus, which according to the title page was performed twice: first at the Cockpit in Drury Lane (date unspecified) and second at Whitehall before the King and Queen on Saturday November 1st, 1662. Later in the decade, he turned to the writing of an entirely different type of work, the scientific treatise of Meteorographia (1667).[36] In the course of this work, he describes the unusual experience of having seen a "Lunar Rainbow to appeare in the South east on Friday the 4th of September 1663" at Kingston-on-Thames (pp. 54-55). This reference and the later one which occurs in the record of his second wife's death at Richmond[37] indicate that Parkhurst remained in the London-Surrey area during this entire period, but after the year 1674, we have no more knowledge of his life or work.

NOTES

[1]Sidney Lee, ed., Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford, 1921-22), XV, 310.

[2]Ibid.

[3]T. D. Hardy, Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries, (Oxford, 1854), III, 541.

[4]George Ruggle, Ignoramus, ed. John Sidney Hawkins, (London, 1787), pp. cvii-cxiv.

[5]Anonymous, Some Particulars Relating to the History of Epsom, (London, 1825), p. 155.

[6]S. A. Allibone, Dictionary of Authors, (London, 1898), II, 1507.

[7]History of Epsom, ibid.

[8]DNB, XV, 311.

[9]On a visit to the Surrey County Archives at Kingston-on-Thames, I had the opportunity to search through the court records of the manors of Ebbisham and Horton, but to no avail. Evelyn's Diary makes one or two brief references to a Mr. Parkhurst, but it is not clear which of the many Parkhursts is intended.

[10]Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Dean and

Chapter of Westminster, 1558 to 1699; Also for Those Issued by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury 1660-1679, Vol. XXIII (Publications of the Harleian Society), (London, 1886), p. 194.

[11] St. Dunstan's Parish Register: Marriages 1656-1739 (Guildhall Library, MS 10347).

[12] A thorough search of the records of the College of Arms has been made by Dr. Conrad Swan, the York Herald of Arms. Dr. Swan also went to most of the same references which I have independently consulted, together with a number of other important sources, such as Manning and Bray's Surrey, the Visitation Books going back to 1623, The Surrey Musters 1544-1684, and Baker's Northamptonshire.

[13] Parkhurst's name is recorded with several different spellings, such as Packhurst, Parchurst, Parckhurst, Parkehurst, and Parkish, but he is not to be confused with Ferdinando Penkhurst of Buxted, Sussex, who died in 1708 and whose will is recorded in Somerset House.

[14] Letter from the Reverend Mr. F. Walter Crooks, Vicar of St. Martin's Parish, Epsom, Surrey, dated 8th December, 1969.

[15] Parish Register of Kensington 1539-1675, Vol. XVI, Publications of the Harleian Society, London, 1890.

[16] Commissary Court of Surrey: Pro & Administrations, 1674-1679, f. 20[v]. Mrs Parkhurst had died in June, 1674.

[17]STC 2016, only two copies of this work are extant, one at the University of Chicago, the second at the University of Edinburgh. I have read this work on microfilm, but it adds nothing new about the author.

[18]Only two copies of this work are extant, one at Glascow University, the other which I have consulted in the British Museum (1036a.18).

[19]DNB, VI, 1151-53.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Lilly makes no mention of Parkhurst in his autobiography; cf. William Lilly, Lilly's Life and Times, London, 1882.

[22]Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, IX (1655-56), 278.

[23]Ibid.

[24]CSP, Dom., X (1656-57), 47.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Sidney J. Madge, The Domesday of Crown Lands, (London, 1938), p. 192.

[27]Originally the term "concealed lands" referred to property which had been confiscated from the Roman Church and which had been appropriated by persons unlawfully by concealing the facts of tenure, or the lack of it, from the Crown. This practice dates back to the

dissolution of the monasteries in the time of Henry VIII. The first commissions for discoveries were established by royal proclamation for the express purpose of recovering these lands for the Crown. These commissions had been established before 1572, and they had become increasingly unpopular during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The following account is taken from John Strype's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, which describes the unrest created by the prying activities of the discoverers: "This year [1572] a command from the queen went forth, for the withdrawing her commissions for concealments, from all to whom she had granted them, which gave a great quieting to her subjects, who were excessively plagued with these commissioners. When monasteries were dissolved, and the lands thereof, and afterwards colleges, chantries, and fraternities, were all given to the crown, some demeans here and there pertaining thereunto were still privily retained and possessed by certain private persons, or corporations, or churches. This caused the queen, when she understood it, to grant commissions to some persons to search after these concealments, and to retrieve them to the crown; but it was a world to consider what oppressions of the people and the poor this occasioned by some griping men that were concerned therein"(II, 209). A second proclamation to the same effect was issued in 1579 (II, 602), and a new commission was set up in 1582 to examine the possibility of concealments in the diocese of Lincoln (III, 112). For developments during the Commonwealth, see the following note.

[28]Madge, op. cit., p. 67. Other good sources include (1) Joan Thirsk, "The Sale of Royalist Land during the Interregnum," Economic History Review, 2nd Series, V, No. 2 (1952), 188-207, and (2) H. E. Chesney, "The Transference of Episcopal Lands in England, 1640-1660," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Series 4, XV (1932), 181-210

[29]Madge, op. cit., pp. 340-42. Note that Parkhurst's name is not included in the long list of discoverers provided by Madge, nor are those of the Commissioners themselves. The reason for this is that the Commissioners took no personal part in the actual work of discovery but acted rather in the capacity of coordinators and supervisors. Sometimes, as in the case of delinquent lands, the facts of a concealment were disclosed by the creditors themselves, who, as Chesney explains, "held the whip-hand whenever an estate was sequestred, since the creditor was the most likely person to know the extent of the delinquent's estate: and, unless the delinquent came to terms with his creditors, his concealments were bound to be discovered" (op. cit., 189).

[30]Madge, op. cit., p. 113.

[31]Bridges was an attorney who had acted on behalf of the officers of Cromwell's forces in the procurement of lands. Ibid., p. 224.

[32]CSP, Dom., XII (1658-59), p. 102.

[33]One early entry for the year 1651 records that a Mr. Packhurst of London bought the inheritance of tenements in Torbrian Manor, sequestred from Thomas Savage (Calendar for the Committee on Compounding, I, 498). Parkhurst, who at this time was about twenty-eight, had not yet acquired a position with the Commonwealth government, so that it is much more likely that the entry here refers to another Parkhurst. While in the Public Records Office, I encountered one reference to a law-suit involving a Parkhurst of Abbotskerswell in Devonshire, but this record did not involve a Thomas Savage. This clue may, however, be worth checking, since Abbotskerswell is only a few miles away from the village of Torbrian.

[34]Calendar of Treasury Books, I (1660-1667), 72. This note mentions "particulars in a schedule annexed," but like every other record which may be of value in evaluating Parkhurst's career, this document is missing. Cf. Early Entry Book, VI, 145

[35]A copy of this work is in the possession of Houghton Library.

[36]This work is extant only in manuscript and is in the possession of Houghton Library. I will deal with this manuscript in the textual introduction. See pp.

[37]See footnote 15 above.

II. Literary Introduction.

A. Backgrounds.

Although now veiled in an undeserved obscurity, George Ruggle's Ignoramus (1615) was one of the more splendid achievements of its own day and, without question, one of the most famous dramatic works of the early seventeenth century, especially at the court of James I and among the intelligentsia. The mere fact that it was so greatly admired by James himself, who is not particularly remembered for his literary tastes, should not be taken as an indication of its worth. In its vivacious and racy Latin, its witty and delightful macaronics, and its cavalier treatment of pedantry and ignorance, all of which remind one of Skelton, Ignoramus is a work of considerable literary merit. Indeed, it is usually considered, by those qualified to make the judgment, to be the outstanding dramatic work produced at the British universities during the Renaissance.[1]

The continuing popularity of Ruggle's comedy, as reflected by several performances, twelve editions, and three translations,[2] is not, however, entirely due to its literary merit; for, quite apart from its brilliant satire on the legal profession and its penetrating thrusts at both the Puritans and the Jesuits, it was a social event of some magnitude which evoked a widespread response. Engendered from the seeds of controversy,[3] Ignoramus continued to breed contention and bitter words. Despite admonishments to the contrary,[4] Ruggle had universalized a local dispute and had delivered a telling

blow against the legal profession as a whole. That James himself had responded so enthusiastically to the play served to exaggerate its significance, so that in helping to crystallize opinion against the common law, Ignoramus came to be interpreted as an attack on the Inns of Court and upon such authorities as Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. It was during this time, of course, that the antagonism between Coke and the King, who wished to place a greater emphasis upon Roman and ecclesiastical law, had reached its peak,[5] so that the Chief Justice was quite justifiably upset by the success of Ruggle's play. A contemporary letter records Coke's reaction to Ignoramus as follows:

> "On Saturday last the king went again to Cambridge, to see the play Ignoramus, which hath so nettled the lawyers, that they are almost out of all patience; and the lord chief justice, both openly at the King's Bench, and divers other places, hath galled and glanced at scholars with much bitterness; and there be divers inns of court men have made rhymes and ballads against them; which they have answered sharply enough: and to say truth, it was a scandal rather taken than given: for what profession is there wherein some particular persons may not be justly taxed without imputation to the whole? But it is the old saying, conscius ipse sibi; and they are too partial to think themselves so

sacro-sancti that they may not be touched."[6]

A great many of the "ballads and rhymes" mentioned in this letter have been located and reproduced by John Sidney Hawkins, the 18th-century editor of Ruggle's Ignoramus,[7] and even further examples of writings in condemnation of Ruggle's work have been traced and recorded by J. L. Van Gundy in his examination of the play.[8] Not all of these pieces are the product of the Inns of Court, and several of the poems, such as the so-called "Oxford Ballad," were doubtless inspired by the rivalry which existed between the two universities during the early seventeenth century. The scholars at Oxford had produced nothing of any real significance, and the later royal performance of Barton Holiday's Technogamia, or The Marriage of the Arts (1621) is a dreadfully dull piece of work compared to the famous Cambridge play.[9] The Oxonians were understandably envious of the brilliant acclaim accorded to Ignoramus.

But perhaps the most conclusive evidence we have of the continuing influence of Ruggle's satire is a polemical work entitled The Case and Argument Against Sir Ignoramus of Cambridge which, though written in 1617 by Robert Callis, then a student at Gray's Inn and afterwards a Sergeant at Law, was not actually published until 1648, long after the deaths of all of the principals in the original dispute.[10] Even after this time we find the name "Ignoramus" being constantly used in works dealing with legal abuses,[11] and the revival of interest in the play during the Restoration was certainly

inspired by the return of the Stuart monarchy under Charles II. Thus we see that Ignoramus lived and died in the spirit of controversy, it being left to the genius of later authors to recreate him in such characters as Arbuthnot's Hocus and Dickens' Mr. Sampson Brass of Bevis Marks.[12]

B. Parkhurst's Ignoramus: Dramatic History.

The title page of Parkhurst's Ignoramus informs us that his comedy was performed twice, first at the Cockpit in Drury Lane on an unspecified occasion and second at Whitehall before the King and Queen on November 1, 1662. The second leaf of the Ignoramus MS provides a full list of the actors and actresses for each part and a prologue to the King delivered by Mr. Alexander Read.[13] All of the players listed, with a few exceptions, are known to have been members of the Duke's Men, at that time under the management of Sir William Davenant. Many of the names actually rank among the more illustrious of Restoration stage history. Cave Underhill, William Smyth, and Samuel Sandford, for example, were to enjoy long and distinguished careers in the Augustan theatre. Smyth usually took lead roles and was later to become one of the co-managers of the United Company in 1682. Sandford was especially remembered for his villainous roles, and Underhill, one of the great comic actors, was still employed in major parts at the turn of the century, such as Sir Willful Witwoud in Congreve's Way of the World (1700).[14]

While we have no record of a previous performance of Parkhurst's

Ignoramus at the Cockpit, the curious fact of John Rhodes' involvement in the Whitehall production suggests strongly that the first staging of the play must have occurred before the formation of the Duke's Men under Davenant in November 1660.[15] The proof of Rhodes' connection in the later engagement is furnished by a warrant sent from the Lord Chamberlain to pay "unto John Rhodes the summe of Twenty pounds for acting of the play called Ignoramus or the Accademicall Lawyer at Court before his Majestie the first of November 1662."[16] This document has raised more confusion than certainty, however, for it is not at all clear how Rhodes would be involved in a performance by the Duke's Men at so late a date.

Before the establishment of the theatre monopoly by Killigrew and Davenant in 1660, John Rhodes had been directing operations at the Cockpit. The record shows that Rhodes was an unsatisfactory manager, for he was always in the center of disputes.[17] Perhaps the most damaging was his running feud with Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, who was trying to reestablish his authority over the theatre at this time. After sending several warrants to Rhodes, all of which fell upon deaf ears, Herbert administered a warning to the players themselves, stipulating that they reduce their rates, submit their plays for censorship, and recognize the authority of his office.[18] Quite obviously the actors would have been extremely embarrassed by this type of reprimand, and this action may have been an additional spur in their looking for new leadership. Eventually, in November 1660, "Rhodes' Company, of which Betterton was the

leading actor, entered into articles with Sir William Davenant and began to act under the knight's direction in the Salisbury Court, newly fitted up by William Beeston."[19] Earlier, in October, Betterton and Kynaston had already joined the rival group forming under Sir Thomas Killigrew.[20] Thus we find that Rhodes was severed from the Duke's Men, unless (and this cannot be proven) he was retained by Davenant in some lesser capacity. For this reason, his part in the Court production of Parkhurst's Ignoramus is difficult to explain.

Bernard H. Wagner was the first critic to suggest that Rhodes had retained possession of the Ignoramus MS and that he was given a special concession for the Whitehall performance in 1662, but this view has not been generally accepted.[21] Eleanore Boswell believes that the twenty pounds paid to Rhodes was not a personal reward but a payment to the entire Company, in which case the recipient would be persona grata representing the players at Court.[22] She cites the example of Elizabeth Barry who also received payments on behalf of her fellow-actors. Leslie Hotson concurs in this view, stating that "Rhodes must have been Davenant's deputy in the matter."[23] Now one can readily see why Elizabeth Barry might be thought of as persona grata, and the Company was undoubtedly wise in putting their best leg forward by sending their stellar attraction to Court, but it is difficult to conceive of John Rhodes in this light. The payment he received need not, of course, be interpreted as a "personal reward," and surely if Rhodes had retained special rights to the play, he

would be the logical person to represent the players at Court on this occasion. Furthermore, we know that Killigrew had secured the rights to the older plays (such as those by Shakespeare, for example), and we also know that Davenant's repetory consisted exclusively of new plays written especially for his company. No record exists to show that Davenant had secured rights to new plays written before 1660, except of course those which he had written himself. It was doubtless a play in the Rhodes repetory,[24] and unlike the older works awarded to Killigrew,[25] the Ignoramus MS would naturally have remained in the hands of its original owner, namely Rhodes. It was shortly after the royal performance of Parkhurst's play, incidentally, that John Rhodes received a special license (dated 2nd January, 1664) to take a touring company, possibly the Duchess of Portsmouth's Servants, into the provinces.[26] If Rhodes had retained possession of the rights to this play, there may have been further performances of Parkhurst's comedy subsequent to 1662.[27]

C. Sources for Ignoramus.

The immediate source for Ruggle's Ignoramus was Giambattista Della Porta's La Trappolaria (1596), a typical comedy in the Plautine-Ariosto vein.[28] Louise Clubb has recently demonstrated the importance of this Italian dramatist as a primary influence in university drama during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.[29] Walter Hawkesworth's Leander (c.1599), although taken from Sforza d'Oddi's Erofilomachia, borrows from Porta's Fantesca, and his

Labyrinthus (1600) is a close verse translation of Porta's Cintia. Similarly Samuel Brooke's Adelphe is a reworking of Porta's La Sorella, and Albumazar by Thomas Tomkis, performed the night after Ignoramus in 1615, is derived from Porta's L'astrologo.[30]

Unlike many of these other University plays, however, Ruggle's Ignoramus is not a slavish translation but actually a skillful adaptation of the Italian play.[31] While it is true that many of the characters in the Italian source have counterparts in the Cambridge play,[32] Ruggle has achieved a remarkable transformation of character in virtually every one of these roles. Antonius (Arsenio), Rosabella (Filesia), and Theodorus (Callifrone) are much more serious characters, and Ruggle even went to the point of adding a scene to emphasize the temporary madness which Theodorus suffers upon learning of the deceptions practiced upon him by Antonius and Rosabella.[33] The character of Ignoramus, of course, is completely original, having little in common with the character of Dragoleone, the rival suitor and a sea captain in La Trappolaria. Pyropus, although still a tailor as in the original, becomes a Puritan, and a number of new characters have been added by Ruggle, including Musaeus, Cola, Surda, Vince, and Nell. The two servants Bannacar and Richardus are also new roles, and the parts of Dulman and Pecus have been drastically revised. Those scenes in Ignoramus involving law satire, the sow-gelding threat, the exorcism, and several of the bawdy episodes (like those between Vince and Nell, and between Cola, Cupes, and Polla) have all been added. For these many reasons, we must accept

Ruggle's adaptation of Porta's comedy as thorough and completely original.

The ultimate source for this type of comedy, with its wily servants, parasites, identical twins, lost and miraculously found heroines, is to be traced in the Roman drama of Plautus and Terence. Both La Trappolaria and Ignoramus, in the development of their common plot, are essentially based upon the Pseudolus of Plautus, a play in which the rival suitor's representative (Harpax) is duped by the titular character, enabling the young man (Callidorus) to win the hand of his sweetheart (Phoenicium)[34] from the pimp (Ballio) in spite of the opposition of an uncompromising father (Simo). The use of identical twins stems from a number of plays such as the Menaechmi and the Captivi of Plautus, and the motif of the amazing discovery of the heroine's identity was conventional in Roman drama as in the Andria and Phormio of Terence. Roman character types are clearly recognizable in Ruggle's Ignoramus: Antonius (adulescens), Theodorus (senex), Trico (servus), Rosabella (virgo), Dorothea (matrona), Cupes (parasitus), Torcol (leno), Pyropus (mercator), and Ignoramus (advocatus).[35] Even the non-Roman types had been explored in Italian drama, so that we could multiply parallels for the added characters like Cola (frate or negromante) and Surda (balia). But while we should not undervalue the finding of such parallels in Roman and Italian plays, we need to recognize that the best of British drama surpasses these sources in creating new and "typically" English characters which transcend foreign influences.

Far more interesting than the similarities between Porta's comedy and Ignoramus are the particularly English features which actually dominate in the revisions introduced by Ruggle, and these are to be found mainly in the characterization of the lawyer Ignoramus.

As suggested above, certain features of the lawyer's character definitely stem from the Latin advocatus figure, but we must not forget that the lawyers of Roman comedy appear quite infrequently, usually in such minor roles as Cratinus, Crito, and Hegio, Demipho's three legal advisors in the Phormio of Terence. Such advocati as one finds elsewhere in such plays as the Menaechmi and Poenulus are not fully developed characters as lawyers, and it was left to the Italians to produce deeper studies of this type, such as Cleandro in Ariosto's I Suppositi or Giansimone in Grazzini's La Sibilla.[36] Cleander, of course, is more widely known from Gascoigne's The Supposes (1566), and this lawyer may be taken as typical of the Italian convention, for he prides himself on his knowledge, wealth, and verse-writing ability. Priding himself for his supposed youthful appearance, Cleander is more the senex amans, pedant, and the type of individual easily gulled.[37]

D. The Lawyer as Vice Figure.

Most of these conventions are carried over into the characterization of Ignoramus, but despite these rather obvious parallels, the most interesting feature of Ruggle's creation is the manner in which the lawyer is transformed into a typically English vice figure. No

longer simply advocatus, the English lawyer becomes an advocatus diaboli. Ignoramus' first name of Ambidexter is a sufficient clue to indicate this fact by aligning him with the most famous of Vice characters in Preston's Cambyses. His very first entrance is symptomatic of the type of character he will prove to be, and his opening speeches, punctuated with expressions like "phy, phy," "ho, ho," and "hi, ho," remind one of the typical first appearances of the Vice figures in the old interludes. We must also imagine him with a beet-red face as he prances ridiculously around the stage with his "O chaud, chaud, chaud: precor Deum non meltavi meum pingue" [O hot, hot, hot, I pray God I have not melted my grease], and his "Meltor, Dulman, meltor. Rubba me cum Towalio, rubba," lines which are intended to cast our thoughts back to old Herod and Titivulus.[38]

The lawyer-devil motif was not originated by Ruggle, however, for there was already a considerable body of literature in which this association was becoming almost conventional. In the anonymous Woodstock, which I have suggested as a source for the name of Ignoramus,[39] the devilish Tresilian identifies himself as an Ambidexter by using the "bifrons" image:[40]

> "But yet until mine office be put on
> By kingly Richard, I'll conceal myself;
> Framing such subtle laws that Janus-like
> May with a double face salute them both."

Tresilian's actions are marked by the kind of confident braggadocio which typifies the portrayal of the common Vice character, and a confession of wickedness together with an outline of his nefarious plans had become a standard device for these roles. Ignoramus also makes a confession of his dishonorable intentions toward Rosabella, preening himself at the cleverness with which he schemes to outwit the money-hungry Torcol: "Vale, Rosabella mea, iam usque ad mox. Hoc osculum mihi facit bonum apud cor. Possum volare super tria clocheria nunc. Sed ego ero satis callidus pro Torcol; nam cum venio in Angliam, maritabo mihi divitem uxorem; & tum tenebo hanc in commendam tantum pro transi-tempus."[41] The reference to flying over church steeples or clock-towers in this passage is just one of scores of allusions in the play to witchcraft and devil lore which link Ignoramus with the Devil.

University drama produced other notable lawyer-devils in the characters of the Recorder in The Return From Parnassus (c.1600), who is styled as "one of the devill's fellow-commoners . . . one that is so dear to Lucifer"(IV,ii), and of the lawyer Niphill in the anonymous Club Law (c. 1598).[42] Popular English dramatists had also delighted in associating lawyers with the devil. Shakespeare, for example, does this with the character of Angelo in Measure for Measure by putting the incriminating words into the lawyer's own mouth: "Let's write 'good angel' on the devil's horn"(II,iv,16). The unfortunate Clerk of Chatham in Shakespeare's II Henry VI is executed because

Cade's men take his legal notebook written in court-hand as certain proof of his being a conjurer.[43]

A favorite variation upon this theme is the "law-distracted" madman who is thought to be possessed with evil spirits. The best example of this type of character is Tangle in Middleton's The Phoenix (1607), "an old crafty client, who, by the puzzle of suits and shifting of courts, has more tricks and starting-holes than the dizzy pates of fifteen attorneys; one that has been muzzled in law like a bear, and led by the ring of his spectacles from office to office" (I,iii,153-57). At the end of the play, the diagnosis is made that he is possessed by an evil spirit ("'Tis the foul fiend, my lord, has got within him" [V,i,285]), and Quieto undertakes to exorcise him, which he accomplishes by means of incantations: "Thou shalt give up the devil, and pray;/ Forsake his works, they're foul and black,/ And keep thee bare in purse and back", etc. (V,i,322-24). Jonson was also well acquainted with this motif and used it several times.[44] Voltore is accused of being possessed with evil spirits in the famous trial scene of Volpone (1606), and later he feigns to be afflicted by devils and undergoes a mock exorcism.[45] The sad figure of Trouble-All in Bartholomew Fair (1614) is a good case of an individual who has been driven out of his wits by the law.[46]

Quite often the devilish lawyer is made to speak in the outlandish jargon of his profession. Lurdo in John Day's Law Trickes

(1608) makes his vicious confession to the audience in this manner:

> "Non tenet in bocardo I demurre,
> Do but send out your Iterum summoneas,
> Or capias utlegatum to attach
> And bring him viva voce tongue to tongue
> And vi et armis Ile revenge this wrong."[47]

Tangle in Middleton's The Phoenix, which is certainly a source for the character of Ignoramus, uses dozens of law terms, and Falso in the same play engages Tangle in a mock-battle of law-terminology at one point in the comedy.[48] In the exorcism scene mentioned above, Tangle vomits up law terms as the devils depart from his body.

In Ruggle's Ignoramus, we find all of these motifs and more. The lawyer cannot speak five words without using a law term, and his speech is so filled with barbarisms that he is eventually taken for a witch or a conjurer. Even during the exorcism scene, he cannot refrain from using his legal phraseology, and every time he does, the term is mistaken for the name of one of his familiars. This notion, of course, is a parody on the old tradition that the devil speaks an unknown tongue.[49] Quite obviously, Ignoramus is intended to be a Vice character, and Ruggle's portrayal of the comical lawyer draws upon many different sources.

E. Harsnet's A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures as a Source for Ignoramus.

At one point in the Latin work, the crafty servant Trico mentions a book entitled Fustis Daemonum, a late sixteenth-century treatise on witchcraft written by the French Jesuit, Hieronymus Mengus.[50] Hawkins provides a note on this work and suggests it as a primary source for many of the obscure details of demonology used in Ignoramus. Whether or not Ruggle knew this work cannot be ascertained, and while he undoubtedly knew of it, a more likely source for his knowledge of witchcraft would have been Samuel Harsnet's A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures (1603), a book which satirizes the opinions of Mengus.[51] In this work we find numerous parallels with Ruggle's comedy. While a full treatment of these borrowings from Harsnet is impossible within the compass of a brief introduction, a brief summary of the more obvious parallels may be appropriate here (each page reference to Harsnet will be accompanied by a line reference to Parkhurst's Ignoramus):

> "[Hee] told her, that now they would make triall what was in her. And thereupon she being perfectly well, and telling Ma: Dibdale, and the rest as much, yet they would needes have her sit downe in a chayre, which she did. Then they began to binde her with towells, whereat she greatly mervailed . . . ."
> (p. 39). [cf. IV,xi,1-6(C)]

> "The Exorcist askes Maho, Saras devil, what company he had with him, and the devil makes no bones, but

tels him in flat termes, all the devils in hell"
(p. 48). [cf. IV,x,32(C)]

"Captain Philpot, Trayford's devill was a Centurion
. . . and had an hundred under his charge"(p. 47).
[cf. IV,v,46-48(C)]

"girne, mow, and mop like an Ape"(p. 136).
[cf. IV,x,139(B)]

Other borrowings from Harsnet include the use of a holy potion and an allusion to exorcism by fire (p. 40 and cf. IV,xi,83-90[C]), the belief that devils often scorn to reveal their names (p. 47 and cf. Ignoramus' continual cry of "What's that to you?"), facial expressions interpreted as evidence of possession (p. 54 and cf. IV,x,50 [C]), the idea that casting out devils may raise one's reputation (p. 54 and cf. IV,vi,4-7[C]), the notion that devils hide in articles of clothing (p. 79ff. and cf. IV,xi,62-64[C]), the doctrine of incubi (p. 137ff. and cf. IV,x,51-54[C]), and even the use of the name of Mendoza (p. 6 and cf. III,i,41[C]). But perhaps the clearest case of indebtedness to Harsnet may be seen in the passage of dialogue (cited below) which exemplifies the old superstition that devils could lodge themselves in the bodies of the afflicted:

Pri[est]: I commaund thee to thy place appointed,
thou damned fiend.

Wo[man]: Oh, hee is in my great toe.

Pri: Goe to the place appointed thou damned fiend.

Wo: Oh, he is in my toe next to my little toe.

(p. 60 and cf. IV,xi,65-71[A])

This episode is taken right over in Ruggle's play, giving the fierce termagent Polla an admirable opportunity of tramping upon Ignoramus' corns. In Parkhurst, this portion of the scene appears only in his first close translation of Ruggle and is not used in the final stage version of the comedy.

Many playwrights before Ruggle had used exorcisms, and we have already mentioned instances of lawyers being exorcised in Middleton's The Phoenix and Jonson's Volpone, both of which Ruggle certainly knew. Jonson also uses a mock exorcism in a later play, The Divel is an Asse (1616), in which Fitz-dottrell speaks in several languages and is judged to be possessed.[52] In Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, an exorcism rite is employed in the punishment of Malvolio.[53] In John Jeffere's The Buggbears (1565), based upon Grazzini's La Spiritata (1561) and which, incidentally, has a main romantic plot quite similar to Ruggle's Ignoramus, the sly servant Trappola engages in mock exorcisms in order to help Formosus win the hand of his mistress Rosimunda.[54]

In Parkhurst's version of Ignoramus, he retains most of the material from the Latin play and expands upon the exorcism scene by adding incantations and a few details of his own. Part of his plan

in the adaptation must have been to emphasize the diabolical traits of the lawyer's character while cutting down on much of the anti-Jesuit satire of the original.[55] Parkhurst also retains many of the anti-legal thrusts of Ruggle's comedy concerning such things as the forging of documents,[56] the lawyer's reluctance to accept the cases of poor clients pleading in forma pauperis,[57] the use of law propositions and formulaic law jargon, the barbaric treatment of language, and the amusing references to legal writing.

F. The Influence of Ignoramus Upon Other 17th-Century Literary Works.

J. L. Van Gundy has devoted considerable space in his treatment of Ruggle's Ignoramus to a demonstration that Samuel Butler was acquainted with some form of this play and that he used a great deal of material from this source in the writing of Hudibras.[58] This critic does not deny that the main source for Hudibras was Cervantes' Don Quixote, but he explains that the case for an accurate ascription of certain details to the Spanish work is rendered more difficult by the fact that Don Quixote also serves as a source for Ignoramus. The great mock-romance of Cervantes had been translated into English in 1612 by Thomas Shelton, only three years before the first staging of Ignoramus at Cambridge in 1615. One or two passages in Ruggle's play are best explained as allusions to Don Quixote, it is true,[59] but the comic figures of Dulman and Pecus may just as well be thought of as the typical crude and ignorant companions of the traditional

Vice figure rather than as recreations of Sancho.[60] Actually Tresilian's clerk Nimble in Woodstock is a much better example of the Dulman type.[61] But, although the argument for Don Quixote as a source for Ignoramus is not very conclusive, Van Gundy's case for Ignoramus as an influence upon Hudibras is far too good to be dismissed, and it is surprising that this fact is not better known.[62]

Another possibility in assessing the relationship between Butler's Hudibras and Ignoramus is that Butler had witnessed the Drury Lane performance of Parkhurst's play in 1660. Certainly the Whitehall production of Ignoramus in 1662 would have been too late, for the first part of Hudibras was published shortly after in 1663, and Butler must have started writing his satire before the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. If the first performance of Parkhurst's Ignoramus had taken place in 1660 as I have suggested elsewhere, Butler, who was well acquainted with the Inns of Court and who was not very complimentary to the legal profession, may have seen it at that time and have decided to use some of the anti-law satire in filling out the character of Hudibras. Scores of verbal parallels exist between the two works, and there are several common scenes which employ similar devices, even to the staging of a mock exorcism. The other alternative, of course, is that Butler was using one of recently published editions of Ruggle's Ignoramus which had appeared in 1658 and 1659.

The law continued to come under attack during the Restoration and Augustan periods, and dramatists created many significant roles

to ridicule corrupt legal practices. How much influence on these works Parkhurst's Ignoramus had is difficult to determine, although the tradition of "ignoramus" lawyers was clearly kept alive. Widow Blackacre and her ridiculous son Jerry, not to mention the lawyers in Act III of Wycherley's The Plain Dealer (1676);[63] the lecherous Sir Geoffrey Jolt in John Leanerd's The Rambling Justice (1678); the old toothless and scheming Bartoline in John Crowne's The City Politiques (1683);[64] Bramble in Nahum Tate's Cuckold's Haven (1685);[65] Buckram in Congreve's Love for Love (1695);[66] and the characters of Sergeant-at-Law Wrangle and his attorney Mr. Affidavit in James Drake's The Sham Lawyer (1697), all of which reveal interesting parallels with the Ignoramus type, testify to the continuing attack mounted against the bastions of the common law by late seventeenth-century dramatists.

Tate's Cuckold's Haven is actually an adaptation of Jonson's The Divel is an Asse and of Eastward Hoe (Jonson, Chapman, and Marston), and the exorcism scene at the end of this play has been taken from the final scene of The Divel; but in the revision, it is Old Security, Alderman Touchstone, and the lawyer Bramble who are central to the scene rather than Fitz-dottrell. Although most of the detail for the mock exorcism derives from Jonson's play, some of the humor in Cuckold's Haven, especially the lawyer's part in the rites, may have been suggested by Parkhurst's Ignoramus.[67]

The clearest example of direct influence one finds in the

legal characters of the anonymous A Woman Turn'd Bully (1675): Attorney Docket and his two clerks Dashwel and Spruce. The main plot is quite similar to that of Ignoramus, except that the lawyer Docket is the guardian of the heroine (Lucia) rather than a character like Torcol. But Docket, like Torcol, is interested in making money out of the marriage of his ward. The threat to the happiness of the girl has been caused by the terms of her father's will, for she can only gain her inheritance of six thousand pounds if she marries with Docket's consent. If she marries without the lawyer's consent, he will receive the money, and his greed is the spur which sets off the involved trickeries which lead to his being forced to give the necessary consent.

Most of the satire directed against Ignoramus and his clerks is repeated in A Woman Turn'd Bully. Docket is described as "a pure downright Attorney, with as little mixture of Gentleman or Scholar as possible can be imagined (sig. $B2^{v}$), and his idea of a sound education may be seen in the plans he outlines for Lucia: "And for Education, you shall have enough Lucy. I scorn it should be said that any of my Bloud should want Education. Dashwel shall teach ye French, he understands Littleton perfectly well: And if you please, I'll have a Master come and teach ye to cast Account, and write Short-hand" ($C2^{r}$). Dashwel, Docket's clerk, is the real Ignoramus of the play, for "he is so full of his Law-terms, he can't speak without 'em" ($B1^{v}$), and he gives himself away very quickly in his

first appearance on stage when he replies, "To that, Sir, I answer Ignoramus: I can say little" ($B2^{r}$). Goodfeild makes fun of him by asking the question, "Pray, Sir, quota cloka?" taking a line directly from the Latin Ignoramus (I,iii, Hawkins, p.47), or the line as it appears in Parkhurst (I,ii,40[C]). Apart from the dozens of law terms used in this play, there are several interesting verbal echoes such as "quota cloka," including the name of Spruce,[68] and in such speeches as:

> Dash: "Yes, yes, Sir, vouz avez the Inkhorn, look ye, Sir, but---alas, I've forgot my Almanack" ($D4^{r}$);[69]

and

> Tru[penny]:"Look ye, Super Naculum" ($E3^{v}$).[70]

The latter line comes from a scene in which several characters are in the process of getting Docket to drink to excess in much the same manner as the similar scene between Cupes, Trico, and Dulman in Ignoramus (III,ii).

Apart from this one instance of a direct influence, it is difficult to make positive attributions of influence with a character like Ignoramus, simply because the lawyer-devil type has become so much of a convention during the seventeenth century. Although we find the same kinds of criticisms being used in non-dramatic literature, such as Donne's Satire II, the character books, and prose satire like Dr. Arbuthnot's delightful Law is a Bottomless Pit, the fact that the

lawyer-devil type was still quite common at the beginning of the eighteenth century testifies to the continuing currency of Ruggle's Ignoramus.

In the body of critical notes to this edition, I have added further observations on the numerous verbal and situational parallels which exist between Ignoramus and other literary works of the seventeenth century. These notes will serve as a supplement for many of the arguments, which for lack of space, are not fully developed in this introduction. But enough has been said here to indicate the importance of Ruggle's Ignoramus, at this point, as a seminal document in seventeenth-century satire of the legal profession. The translation and adaptation of this great satire by Codrington, Parkhurst, and Ravenscroft helped in making the Latin play available to a wider audience. Parkhurst's version of the comedy, in keeping the exorcism scene and in emphasizing the diabolical nature of the lawyer, is the adaptation which best preserves the flavor of the original satire. In Ravenscroft's version, Ignoramus becomes less of a Vice figure, and there is a greater emphasis upon the romantic plot at the expense of much of the fine burlesque comedy of the original. That the latter author omitted such characters as Cola and Musaeus and minimized the roles of Polla and Cupes only serves to dissipate the effectiveness of the humorous schemes concocted to trick the lawyer and his greedy client Torcol. A fuller evaluation of Parkhurst's play can be best accomplished by comparing the three separate MS versions of Ignoramus, and this analysis is provided as part of the textual

introduction which follows.

NOTES

[1] Louise G. Clubb, Giambattista Della Porta: Dramatist, (Princeton, 1965), p. 284ff. J. L. Van Gundy, Ignoramus, (Lancaster, Pa., 1906), passim, gives an exhaustive literary evaluation of Ruggle's play. In an anonymous article, "The Latin Plays Acted Before the University of Cambridge," The Retrospective Review, XII, Pt. 1(London, 1825), 1-42, one learned author menions the tragedy Roxana as a play which is second only to Ignoramus for literary excellence, (p. 18) and this view is based upon a close knowledge of most of the original drama written at Cambridge.

[2](a) Performances: Ignoramus was performed twice at Cambridge before James I, the first on March 8, 1615, the second on May 13, 1615. Parkhurst's version of the play was performed at least twice, first at the Cockpit in Drury Lane around 1660 and second at Whitehall on November 1, 1662. Ravenscroft's adaptation of Ignoramus entitled The English Lawyer was performed at the Royal Theatre in Drury Lane in 1678. Another representation of the Latin play may have taken place on May 2, 1616. For this see an account of a comedy staged for James I and the German embassy in Charles Nisard's Les Gladiateurs de la Republique des Lettres, (Paris, n.d.), II, 102ff. In this play, there is apparently an exchange between a Dr.

Ignoramus and Gaspar Schoppius, which may be a reference the "Prologus Posterior" to Ruggle's Ignoramus. (see J. L. Van Gundy, Ignoramus, pp. 69-70)

(b) Latin Editions:

(1) Ignoramus. Comoedia coram Regia Majestate Jacobi Regis Angliae, etc. Londini, Impensis J. S. 1630.

(2) Secunda editio auctior et emendatior, 1630.

(3) Editio tertia, locis sexcentis emendatior, cum eorum supplemento, quae causidicorum municipalium reventia, hactenus desiderabantur. Auctore M^ro Ruggle. Aulae clarensis A. M. Loudini ex offic. R. D. An. 1658.

(4) Editio quarta. 1659

(5) Editio quarta. Loudini ex offic. J. R. An. 1668.

(6) Editio quinta a MSS. emendatior. Impensis G. S. (no date)

(7) Editio quinta. This ed. has two title pages, the first the same as (6) above and a second bearing the pressmark G. S. and dated 1707.

(8) A sixth edition with pressmark "Westmonasterii MDCCXXXI."

(9) A seventh edition with pressmark "Dublinii MDCCXXXVI."

(10) A further edition, in 1737, published at Westminster but with no edition number.

(11) An abbreviated edition published in London in 1763.

(12) Finally the definitive edition by John Sidney Hawkins in 1787.

There are also six MSS of Ignoramus: an incomplete MS at Clare Hall, Cambridge, Harleian 6869, Sloane 2531, Douce 43, Tanner 306, and Rawlinson 1361. (For complete details, see J. L. Van Gundy, Ignoramus, pp. 1-4)

(c) Translations: In addition to Parkhurst's translation, there were two other translations made during the Restoration: Robert Codrington, Ignoramus (1662) and Edward Ravenscroft, The English Lawyer (1678, 1736, and 1737). Additional information regarding these two works is supplied in the textual introduction.

(d) 18th-Century Performances of Ignoramus: Ruggle's play became somewhat of a tradition at the Westminster School. George Dyer's An English Prologue and Epilogue to the Latin Comedy of Ignoramus: With a Preface and Notes, Relative to Modern Times and Manners, London, 1797, mentions performances at Westminster in 1712, 1713, 1730, 1747, and 1794. Dyer's Prologue and Epilogue were written for the latter occasion.

[3]The immediate cause for the writing of Ignoramus stemmed from the most recent outbreak of ill-feeling in the long-standing town-gown dispute between the students of Cambridge University and officials of the Town of Cambridge. G. C. Moore-Smith gives a lengthy account of the various causes of this feud in the introduction to his edition of Club Law (pp. xii-xxxi), tracing the roots of the controversy back as far as 1268, when Henry III first gave certain

rights of precedence to the University over the local town officials. The continuation of the feud during the years from 1611-15 resulted from basically the same cause, that of the precedence of the vice-chancellor of the University over the lord mayor of Cambridge. One of the principals in the dispute was a common lawyer by the name of Francis Brackyn, Recorder of the town of Cambridge. This is the same individual satirized as the Recorder in the anonymous The Return From Parnassus (c.1600) and as Niphill in the anonymous Club Law (c.1598). The legal satire in Ignoramus is directed primarily at Brackyn.

[4]See the lines given to Musaeus in Ruggle (II,vii, pp. 104-05 in Hawkins): Paucorum igitur gratia, & totos ordines,/ Et multorum studia incessere (quod nemo non facit) stultum ego/ Et inhumanum semper esse censui. Possem, si opus,/ Infinitos celebrare ordinis hujus viros; ingenio,/ Pietate, doctrina praesentes, adeo vix et invenias pares;/ Qui jus patrium (quo nil sanctius, nihil aequius)/ Et explicarunt docte, & sincere dicunt: hos merito,/ Ut aequum est, suspicimus: nam & a nobis & pro nobis sunt.

[5]According to another account, James is reported to have shaken his fist in the Lord Chief Justice's face for daring to assert that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was a foreign one. See James Bass Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, (Cambridge, 1873-1911), II, 528.

[6]Cited from Hawkins, p. xlv. See also The Chamberlain Letters, ed. Elizabeth M. Thomson, (New York, 1956), pp. 132-33.

[7]George Ruggle, Ignoramus, ed. John Sidney Hawkins, (London, 1787), pp. cvii-cxviii and fn. c. on p. 259. (All further references to Ruggle will be made from this edition, hereafter cited as Hawkins.)

[8]J. L. Van Gundy, Ignoramus, published dissertation from University of Jena, (Lancaster, Pa., 1906), pp. 65-68. (Hereafter cited as Van Gundy.)

[9]Hawkins, pp. xxxvii-viii.

[10]A copy of this work is in the possession of the Harvard Law Library. Callis is referring to Ruggle in the title of this work and styles the scholar and his character Ignoramus as "kinsmen in ignorance."

[11]The following works, all of which contain the name "Ignoramus" in their titles, refer to various types of legal abuses: (1) [Sir John Vaughan,] Ignoramus Vindicated, in a Dialogue Between Prejudice and Indifference, London, 1681, concerns "the Duty, Power, and Proceeding of Juries," and the main purpose of the tract is to condemn "a sort of Folks call'd Ignoramus-men, that refuse some times to find Bills, though there be Positive Oaths before them." (2) an anonymous work entitled An Ignoramus Found Upon the Last Article (1661); (3) Edward Whitaker, The Ignoramus Justices, London, 1681, attacks a

series of decisions handed down by the Middlesex assizes which had applied the terms of the statute against Roman Catholic recusants to the cases of dissenting Protestants. (4) see also the Broadside Ballad (in the Houghton collection) "Ignoramus: An Excellent New Song. To the Tune of, Lay by your Pleading, Law Lies a bleeding," Printed for A. Banks, London, 1681. This work also attacks the courts as in the following lines:

Since Reformation
With Whig's in Fashion
There's neither Equity nor Justice in the Nation.
Against their Furies,
There no such Cure is,
As lately hath been wrought by Ignoramus-Juries.

[12]In Dickens' The Old Curiosity Shop, Brass is the weak-kneed pawn of Daniel Quilp. This lawyer is unscrupulous, greedy, cowardly, ignorant, full of law terms, and prone to errors of pronunciation as when he confuses the name of Buffon as Buffoon. An earlier Ignoramus might be Humphrey Hocus in Arbuthnot's The History of John Bull and the sequel to this work entitled Law is a Bottomless Pit.

[13]See the note on the Prologue title in my Critical Notes.

[14]For complete details on the actors' names, see the Critical Notes. A good article on Sandford is Robert H. Ross, Jr., "Samuel Sandford:

Villain from Necessity," PMLA, LXXVI (1961), 367-72.

[15]For the grant of monopoly to Sir William Davenant and Sir Thomas Killigrew, see Sir Henry Herbert, The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert: Master of the Revels 1623-1673, ed. J. Q. Adams, (New Haven, 1917), pp. 87-88.

[16]Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700, 4th ed., (Cambridge, 1952), p. 278.

[17]He was involved in the Rolleston v. Hussey and Kirk law suit (see Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage, (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 99) and was in a dispute with Humphrey Moseley, the dramatic publisher, regarding the ownership and rights to the performance of plays (Herbert, Dramatic Records, p. 90).

[18]Herbert, Dramatic Records, pp. 93-94.

[19]Hotson, Commonwealth and Restoration Stage, p. 177.

[20]Ibid., p. 204.

[21]Bernard M. Wagner, "John Rhodes and Ignoramus," RES, V(1929), 43-44.

[22]Eleanore Boswell, The Restoration Court Stage (1660-1702) with A Particular Account of the Production of Calisto, (Cambridge, 1932), p. 172.

[23]Hotson, op. cit., p. 214.

[24]Nicoll, op. cit., p. 302, footnote 3.

[25]Gunnar Sorelius, The Giant Race Before the Flood: Pre-Restoration Drama on the Stage and in the Criticism of the Restoration, (Uppsala, 1966), pp. 37-40.

[26]Hotson, op. cit., p. 216.

[27]Other performances of Ignoramus in the provinces would have necessitated the writing of other MSS. than those currently in the possession of Houghton Library. The contents of the Houghton Ignoramus MS, including the Chowse fragment, the early translations of Ruggle's play represented by MSS A and B, together with the fact that the Meteorographia MS also came into the Westminster Collection, indicate that Parkhurst must have kept these copies of his work among his private papers. See the textual introduction for the description of the MSS mentioned in this note.

[28]Van Gundy, pp. 23-60.

[29]Clubb, Giambattista Della Porta, passim.

[30]Ibid., p. 275ff.

[31]Ibid., p. 284ff.

[32]Van Gundy, p. 27.

[33]Hawkins, pp. 228-29.

[34]A persona muta in the Roman play, as were most virgo types.

[35]Richard Hosley, "The Formal Influence of Plautus and Terence," Elizabethan Theatre, ed. John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris, Stratford-upon-Avon Series, (New York, 1967), pp. 130-45, gives an excellent summary of Roman influences upon English Renaissance drama.

[36]R. W. Bond, "Introduction," Early Plays From the Italian, Oxford, 1911, furnishes many more examples.

[37]The Latin play Pedantius, performed at Cambridge in 1581, has been suggested as a source for the pedantic nature of Ignoramus' love-making and for the use of professional jargon in normal conversation. See Van Gundy, p. 61.

[38]Hawkins, p. 45.

[39]See Critical note on the title page for "Ignoramus."

[40]Woodstock, I,ii.

[41]Hawkins, pp. 62-63 "Farewell my Rosabella, for now until soon. This kiss makes me feel good at heart. I could fly over three clock-towers now. But I will be crafty enough for Torcol; for when I get to England, I will marry myself a rich wife and then I will keep this one in reserve for a pastime."