THE WORKS OF JOHN WEBSTER

EDITED BY

David Gunby, David Carnegie

and MacDonald P. Jackson

VOLUME FOUR

SIR THOMAS WYATT
WESTWARD HO
NORTHWARD HO
THE FAIR MAID OF THE INN

This is the fourth and final volume of the Cambridge edition of the complete works of John Webster. Volume one contains *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi*, Volume two *The Devil's Law-Case*, *A Cure for a Cuckold*, and *Appius and Virginia*, and Volume three *Anything for a Quiet Life*, the Lord Mayor's pageant *Monuments of Honour*, and Webster's Induction and additions to John Marston's *The Malcontent*, as well as his non-dramatic work, chief amongst it *A Monumental Column*, his elegy on the death of Prince Henry. This final volume contains four plays Webster wrote in collaboration, one—*Sir Thomas Wyatt*, a historical tragedy based around Lady Jane Grey—as part of a team of five led by Thomas Dekker, two—*Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho*, city comedies that prompted Chapman, Jonson, and Marston's *Eastward Ho*—with Thomas Dekker alone, and one—*The Fair Maid of the Inn*, an Italianate tragicomedy of which Webster wrote the largest share—with John Fletcher, Philip Massinger and John Ford. With the inclusion of these four plays, this Cambridge edition becomes the first complete works of John Webster. The edition preserves the original spelling of the plays, poetry, and prose, and incorporates the most recent editorial scholarship, including valuable information on Webster's share in the collaborative plays, and new critical methods and textual theory. In particular, the edition integrates theatrical aspects of the plays with their bibliographical and literary features in a way not previously attempted in a scholarly edition of a Jacobean dramatist. The edition also provides a brief biography, illustrations, and a critical, textual, and, for the drama, theatrical history of each work. This comprehensive edition will be of interest to scholars and students of drama and English literature, and to theatre practitioners and historians.

THE WORKS OF
JOHN WEBSTER

VOLUME FOUR

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An Old-Spelling Critical Edition

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THE FAIR MAID OF THE INN

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General preface to Volume four

In the General preface to Volume three we announced it as 'the third and final volume of the Cambridge edition of *The Works of John Webster*'. Why, therefore, are we presenting you with an unheralded Volume four?

From the outset, planning the edition in the 1970s, we determined to 'break new ground by seeking consciously to combine literary and theatrical concerns with those strictly bibliographical' (*Webster*, I, xi). This was unusual, radical even, at the time, especially for an old-spelling edition. In determining the scope of the edition, however, we (also from the outset) excluded from the proposed edition the three plays co-written with Dekker, *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, *Westward Ho*, and *Northward Ho*, and also *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (co-written with Fletcher, Massinger and Ford). For the Cambridge University Press was (and is) the publisher of Fredson Bowers' monumental editions of *The Dramatic Works Thomas Dekker* (1953–61) and *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon* (1966–96). And it seemed to us then, and to CUP, unreasonable to duplicate the rigorous work of the leading editor of the New Bibliography.

By the time we published Volume three of *The Works of John Webster* in 2007, we were having serious second thoughts. Addressing the original reason for our self-denying ordinance, we found the context had changed fundamentally. Combining textual, literary, and theatrical approaches was no longer radical, but increasingly the norm. Yet the Bowers editions of Dekker and Beaumont and Fletcher, for all their virtues, do not include commentary, and the separately published commentaries on Dekker by Cyrus Hoy, wide-ranging in noting parallels elsewhere in Dekker, offer only limited help with untangling knotted syntax, and almost none on theatrical difficulties. Hence our determination to make the case to CUP for a fourth volume including *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, *Westward Ho*, *Northward Ho*, and *The Fair Maid of the Inn*.

Our thinking about a possible Volume four, in order to turn this edition into a *Complete Works* of John Webster in substance if not in name, was supported by almost unanimous critical approval for our editing approach in each of the first three volumes. Notably, Martin Wiggins's review of Volume three in the *TLS* praised 'the CUP editors [for their]

strong sense of the interpenetration of literary, theatrical and textual issues, and [giving] the works a careful, nuanced attention to verbal and visual detail'. What he regretted was the omission of the Dekker and Fletcher/Massinger/Ford collaborations. 'Is this three-volume edition Webster's monument?', he asked: 'though finished, it is not complete'.[1]

We are pleased to have this opportunity to acknowledge the generosity of the Syndics at Cambridge University Press in accepting our proposal for this fourth, completing, volume, and for the advocacy and support of Sarah Stanton, publishing director in humanities over many years.

Volume three featured works by Webster heterogeneous in genre and produced over almost his entire writing career. Volume four covers an equally wide time-span—1602 to 1624—but without heterogeneity; the edition concludes as it began, with works for the stage, the genre for which Webster is chiefly remembered.

Editing these plays has produced a variety of challenges and pleasures. Despite *Sir Thomas Wyatt* surviving only in mangled form from its lost two-part original, our editing has provided for the first time a stage-worthy text that proves surprisingly vigorous and affecting in performance. *Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho*, so often critically upstaged by the better-known *Eastward Ho*, deserve closer scholarly and theatrical attention as lively, generous, and highly theatrical City Comedies that would amply repay production by professional companies. *The Fair Maid of the Inn* proves that it belongs in the Webster canon more than the Fletcher canon (and not only because Webster wrote the largest share).[2]

The editing has proceeded along the lines of all the earlier volumes, with each editor taking primary responsibility for one aspect of the editing process, but all three jointly as well as severally responsible for the outcomes. The only parts of the volume for which editors take individual responsibility are those credited to them: the various Critical, Theatrical, and Textual introductions. And even here there has been considerable consultation, with editors reading and commenting on each other's work.

The aim of the editors has been to work by consensus, and this has been achieved throughout, even to the priority within notes accorded various options where some uncertainty remains as to meaning. Again, as in previous volumes, there is no separation of textual, literary and theatrical notes, since the rationale for the edition, as discussed above,

is the interdependence of these three aspects of play texts. The lists of collation and lineation, however, are provided separately.

To save space, abbreviation has again been widely employed, both for works by Webster and for other works referred to more than twice (see pp. xxi–xxix). Where, in the Commentary, reference is made to another editor (e.g., Lucas) or source without further detail, such reference is to the appropriate passage in their volumes.

The editorial team for Volume four remains, happily, as for volumes two and three.

1. Martin Wiggins, 'Lord Mayor's Showman', *Times Literary Supplement* (4 April 2008), pp. 26–7.
2. It is a source of regret that this volume will be published without our having had the opportunity to see the edition of *The Fair Maid of the Inn* edited by Martin Wiggins and Eleanor Lowe for *The Collected Works of John Ford*, vol. III (Oxford, 2017).

General textual preface

MacDonald P. Jackson

This volume contains plays edited by Fredson Bowers for the Cambridge *Dekker* and, in the case of *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, the Cambridge *Beaumont and Fletcher*. We have not attempted to redo his collations of copies of the foundation texts, though when lettering is doubtful we have consulted several copies of the quartos of *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, *Westward Ho*, and *Northward Ho*, and have also checked *The Fair Maid of the Inn* in copies of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio (1647) at the Folger Shakespeare Library and in the Sir George Grey Collection of the Auckland Central City Library. We have also made use of the Farmer facsimiles of the quartos and of digital copies of quartos and Folio in *Early English Books Online*.[1] But even after multiple originals have been compared, poor inking or battered type can make it impossible to be sure whether a particular letter within a word is correct or is an error that has resulted from foul case, so that the word requires emendation and collation: 'c' and 'e', in particular, may be indistinguishable. Punctuation marks may be so faint as to be indistinguishable from accidental specks.

On more than eighty occasions in the Folio text of *The Fair Maid of the Inn* and frequently in the quartos of the other plays in this volume a speech ends with a comma, semi-colon, or colon. To avoid cluttering the textual collation, we have emended this anomalous punctuation silently when replacing it with a full-stop, but have collated instances where we prefer a dash, question mark, or exclamation mark. Also notable in the Folio text of *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (as in *Valentinian*) is the frequent use of a long dash before stage directions. Like Bowers, we have silently omitted these. In all plays the lengths of other dashes have been regularized. The three instances in which a very long dash intervenes between the dialogue and a stage direction in *Westward Ho*, all in gatherings H–I, have been both regularized and collated, as relevant to our own choice of punctuation (V.ii.6, V.iii.71, V.iv.222).

We have also extended our policy, announced in the first volume, of silently raising to upper case the first letter of a word following a collated change from lighter punctuation to a full stop, question mark, or exclamation mark, and of lowering to lower case the first letter of a word following a collated change from a full stop, question mark, or excla-

mation mark to lighter punctuation. The silent alteration of case is now made even when there has been no emendation to the punctuation.

Our emphasis on the plays as scripts for performance has resulted in more emendation of the foundation texts' punctuation and more supplementation of their stage directions than is customary in old-spelling editions, our aim having been to give actors guidance towards the meaningful delivery of speeches and readers a clear picture of essential stage action.

As in previous volumes, the spellings of character's designations in stage directions and speech prefixes have been silently standardized, only the correction of errors, anomalies, or ambiguities having been collated. Our standard forms of names are usually those that appear most frequently in the foundation text or that are most favoured within scenes assigned to Webster.

In Volume one, when passages printed as verse in the foundation text were set in our edition as prose, the foot-of-page collation recorded the change without indicating the original line endings. In Volumes two and three, where many more emendations of lineation were needed, these were collated under a separate heading following the text, and the line endings of foundation-text verse that we had set as prose were recorded. In the present volume, this new policy has been continued for *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, where the distinction between verse and prose is often hard to draw, so that details of the 1607 Quarto's arrangement seem worth showing. For *Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho* our alterations to the foundation texts' lineation are so few that we have reverted to Volume one's practice of recording them within the general collation. Neither play has any emendations of verse to prose. In editing *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, in contrast, we have so often emended the lineation that it has, as for *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, been collated separately, but, since the foundation text's (F1's) misrepresentations of prose as verse are obvious and sometimes cover large blocks (as at IV.ii.1–168), we have returned to Volume one's stated policy: changes from verse to prose are recorded but the rejected line-endings are not.

In our collations of lineation changes, the letters 'a', 'b', and 'c' denote the first, second, and third sections of a verse line shared between two or three speakers or clearly segmented by punctuation.

1. John S. Farmer, ed., Tudor Facsimile Texts series (London and Edinburgh, 1914; repr. New York, 1970): *Northward Hoe* (Vol. 119), *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Vol. 122), *Westward Hoe* (Vol. 123).

Acknowledgements

As with Volumes one, two, and three of this edition, our debt to previous editors is great, especially to F. L. Lucas's edition of *The Complete Works of John Webster* (London, 1927), and for this volume to Fredson Bowers's edition of *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, Cyrus Hoy's *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries* to that edition, and Bowers's *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*.

Thanks for research grants, leave, fellowships, and equivalent support are due to the University of Auckland, Victoria University of Wellington, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., and the Huntington Library, San Marino, California (Meyer Fellowship).

We are again grateful to the librarians and staff of all the libraries where we have consulted texts, theatre archives, and other material, and for permission to reproduce title-pages and illustrations.

To our copy editor, Janet Hughes, we owe our thanks; and many colleagues and friends have aided our work on this final volume of the edition, among whom mention should be made of John Baker, Peter Blayney (for generously making available his map of the St Paul's Cathedral precinct), Christopher Brooks, Gisella Carr, Charles Edelman, Elisabeth Dutton, Andrew Gurr, Cynthia Herrup, David Hoeniger, Nicole Jackson, Hester Lees-Jeffries, Lori Leigh, Jeremy Lopez, Peter Mackay, Jean-Christophe Mayer, Liam McIlvanney, Geoff Miles, Perry Mills and Edward's Boys, Glyn Parry, Arthur Pomeroy, Peter Roberts, Elizabeth Schafer, Marco Sonzogni, and Heidi Thomson. Thanks are also due to David Lawrence and the student cast and crew of both *Sir Thomas Wyatt* and *Northward Ho*, and to James Davenport and his scenography students for *Northward Ho*, at Victoria University of Wellington; also to Ralph Allen Cohen and actors from the Blackfriars Theater of the American Shakespeare Center and to Paul Menzer and his postgraduate students at Mary Baldwin University for their theatrical explorations of scenes from *The Fair Maid of the Inn*; and to scholars at the Folger Shakespeare Library for an inspired reading to trace the diamonds in *Westward Ho*. To our families and friends, as always, our heartfelt gratitude.

We acknowledge also the patience and support of Robert Cross of Image Services at Victoria University of Wellington, of Jason Darwin of

meBooks for facilitating the typesetting by Continuum Content Solutions in New Delhi, and of Cambridge University Press, particularly Sarah Stanton and latterly Emily Hockley.

In completing this edition we again acknowledge the major contribution of the late Tony Hammond, our co-editor for Volume one, and the late Don McKenzie, who supported the edition from its inception.

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List of abbreviations

Earlier volumes of this edition are cited as *Webster*, I, II, and III respectively. Unless otherwise noted, all citations of classical works are from Loeb Classical Library editions, and all biblical quotations from the Geneva Bible. Shakespeare references use abbreviated titles without authorship citation (see under Shakespeare below). Works prior to the eighteenth century are published in London unless it is specified otherwise.

I. WORKS BY WEBSTER

a. ABBREVIATIONS

See The Webster canon: a revised chronological listing (*Webster*, III, xl–xli) for full titles, chronological listing, and publication details. Webster is referred to in the Commentary as W. 'Stage direction' is abbreviated as SD and 'Speech prefix' as SP.

AddM	W's Additions to *The Malcontent*
AQL	*Anything for a Quiet Life*
AV	*Appius and Virginia*
CC	*A Cure for a Cuckold*
Char.	*New Characters*
DLC	*The Devil's Law-Case*
DM	*The Duchess of Malfi*
FMI	*The Fair Maid of the Inn*
IndM	Induction to *The Malcontent*
KWW	*Keep the Widow Waking*
MonC	*A Monumental Column*
MonH	*Monuments of Honour*
NHo	*Northward Ho*
Ode	*Ode*
Prog.	*Progeny of . . . Prince James*
STW	*Sir Thomas Wyatt*
ToAM	*To . . . Anthony Munday*
ToHC	*To . . . Henry Cockeram*

ToTH *To . . . Thomas Heywood*
WD *The White Devil*
WHo *Westward Ho*

b. PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF WEBSTER, DEKKER, AND FLETCHER

Editions are cited by editor and, where necessary, by date.

Bowers	*The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1953–61). (Where confusion might arise, this edition is abbreviated as Bowers, *Dekker*, and where reference is to the 1964 reprint with corrections, this is identified as Bowers, *Dekker* 1964). Non-dramatic works of Dekker are cited from early printed editions.
Bowers	*The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 vols. (Cambridge, 1966–96) (Where confusion might arise, this edition is abbreviated as Bowers, *Beaumont and Fletcher*.)
Colman	*The Dramatick Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. George Colman, 10 vols. (London, 1778)
Dyce	*The Works of Beaumont & Fletcher*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 11 vols. (London, 1843–46)
Dyce 1	*The Works of John Webster*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 4 vols. (London, 1830)
Dyce 2	*The Works of John Webster*, ed. Alexander Dyce (London, 1857)
Hazlitt	*The Dramatic Works of John Webster*, ed. William Hazlitt, 4 vols. (London, 1857)
Langbaine	*The Works of Mr. Francis Beaumont, and Mr. John Fletcher*, Intro. Gerard Langbaine, 7 vols. (London, 1711)
Lucas	*The Complete Works of John Webster*, ed. F. L. Lucas, 4 vols. (London, 1927)
Martin 1930	E. M. F. Martin, 'A Critical Edition of *The Famous Historie of Sir Thomas Wyat*', University of London unpublished thesis (1930)

Seward	*The Works of Mr. F. Beaumont and Mr. J. Fletcher*, ed. Lewis Theobald, Thomas Seward, and Sidrach Sympson, 10 vols. (London, 1750)
Weber	*The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Henry Weber, 14 vols. (Edinburgh, 1812)

2. FREQUENTLY-QUOTED AUTHORS

When reference is made to several plays or other works by one author, the author's name in this list will be followed by the edition(s) cited. Thus, e.g., a note in the Commentary to Jonson, *Sejanus*, may be amplified by reference in this list to *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* gen. eds. David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 2012).

Castiglione	Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier of Counte Baldessar Castilio Diuided into Foure Bookes*, trans. Thomas Hoby (1603). Signature references are to Book Three.
Chapman	*The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies*, gen. ed. Allan Holaday (Urbana, Ill., 1970). For *Eastward Ho* see Jonson.
Drayton, *Works*	*Michael Drayton, Works*, ed. J. William Hebel et al., corrected ed., 5 vols. (Oxford, 1961)
Fletcher	*The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 vols. (Cambridge 1966–96)
Florio	John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611)
Foxe, *Actes*	John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1596)
Grafton, *Chronicle*	Richard Grafton, *A Chronicle at Large* (1569)
Greene, *Works*	Robert Greene, *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 15 vols. (London, 1881–83)
Harrison, 'Description'	William Harrison, 'Description of England', in Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587)

Henslowe, *Diary*	*Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (Cambridge, 1961)
Heywood	As in Volumes II and III, individual plays and other works by Heywood are cited from the first published edition, with act and scene numbers of the plays followed by signature references. This is a departure from the practice in Vol. I of citing from Shepherd's 1874 *Works*.
Holinshed, *Chronicles*	Raphael Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles* (1587)
Jonson	Ben Jonson, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, gen. eds. David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 2012). *Eastward Ho* is cited without authors (Chapman, Jonson and Marston), from this edition. Previous Webster volumes have cited the Herford and Simpson *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925–52).
Kyd	*The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Oxford, 1901)
Lyly	*The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. W. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1902)
Marlowe	*The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1981)
Marston	*The Poems of John Marston*, ed. Arnold Davenport, (Liverpool, 1961)
	Antonio's Revenge, ed. Reaveley Gair, Revels Plays, (Manchester and Baltimore, 1968)
	The Malcontent, ed. G. K. Hunter, Revels Plays, (London, 1975)
Massinger	*The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, ed. Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1976)
Middleton	*Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, gen. eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007)
Nashe	*The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 4 vols. (London, 1910)
Overbury *Characters* (1615)	*New and Choise Characters* (1615)

Peele	*The Dramatic Works of George Peele*, ed. C. T. Prouty et al., 3 vols. (New Haven Conn., 1952–70)
Scot, *Disc. Witchcraft*	Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584)
Shakespeare	William Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston, 1974). Play titles, without Shakespeare's name, are abbreviated as in *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare*, ed. Marvin Spevack, 9 vols. (Hildesheim, 1968–80).
Stow, *Annales*	John Stow, *The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England . . . Continued . . . unto . . .* 1614, by E. Howes (1615)
Stow, *Survey*	John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908)
Topsell, *Beastes*	Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-footed Beastes* (1607)
Topsell, *Serpents*	Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Serpents* (1608)
Tourneur	*The Works of Cyril Tourneur*, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (London, 1929; repr. New York, 1963)

3. FREQUENTLY-QUOTED CRITICAL WORKS

Works are normally cited throughout by author (and, where necessary, by date or abbreviated title).

Abbott	E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearean Grammar* (London, 1873)
Arber	Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of the Stationers of London,* 1554–1640, 5 vols. (London, 1875–94)
Bentley	Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline* Stage, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1941–68)
Bradbrook	M. C. Bradbrook, *John Webster: Citizen and Dramatist* (London, 1980)

Carnegie, 'Hothouse'	David Carnegie, '"A Hothouse in Gunpowder Alley": Maps, Texts, and Links' (2017), *The Map of Early Modern London*, at <http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/HOTH3.htm>
Chambers	E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923)
Champion	Larry S. Champion, 'Westward–Northward: Structural Development in Dekker's *Ho* Plays', *Comparative Drama* XVI, 3, 1982, pp. 251–66
Cunnington, *16th C*	C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century*, rev. ed. (London, 1970)
Cunnington, *17th C*	C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*, 3rd ed. (London, 1972)
DEEP	*Database of Early English Playbooks*. Online database at URL: http://deep.sas.upenn.edu (version current May 2017)
Dessen and Thomson	Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642* (Cambridge, 1999)
Edwards	Philip Edwards, 'The Danger not the Death: The Art of John Fletcher', in John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris (eds.), *Jacobean Theatre* (London, 1960), pp. 159–78
EBBA	*English Broadside Ballad Archive*. Online database at URL: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu (version current May 2017)
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*. Online database at URL: http://eebo.chadwyck.com (version current May 2017)
Forker	Charles R. Forker, *Skull Beneath the Skin: The Achievement of John Webster* (Carbondale, Ill., 1986)
Gair	Reaveley Gair, *The Children of Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553–1608* (Cambridge, 1982)
Gasper	Julia Gasper, *The Dragon and the Dove: The Plays of Thomas Dekker* (Oxford, 1990)
Gibbons	Brian Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy* (London, 1968)

Greg	W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols. (London, 1962)
Gurr, *Stage*	Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage,* 1574–1642, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1992)
Gurr, *Companies*	Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford, 1996)
Harben	Henry A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918)
Henke	James T. Henke, *Renaissance Dramatic Bawdy (Exclusive of Shakespeare)*, 2 vols. (Salzburg, 1975)
Hensman	Bertha Hensman, *The Shares of Fletcher, Field and Massinger in Twelve Plays in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, 2 vols. (Salzburg, 1974)
Herrick	Marvin T. Herrick, *Tragicomedy* (Urbana Ill., 1962)
Hoy	Cyrus Hoy, *Introductions, Notes and Commentaries to Texts in 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker'*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1980). References to Hoy's notes on other plays in the Dekker canon are by act, scene, and line number.
Hunt	Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008)
Ichikawa, *Entrances*	Mariko Ichikawa, *Shakespearean Entrances* (Cambridge, 2002)
Ichikawa, *Stage Space*	Mariko Ichikawa, *The Shakespearean Stage Space* (Cambridge, 2013)
Jackson 2001	MacD. P. Jackson, 'Late Webster and His Collaborators: How Many Playwrights Wrote *A Cure for a Cuckold*?', *PBSA* XCV (2001), pp. 295–313
Lake 1975	David J. Lake, *The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays* (Cambridge, 1975)
Lake 1981	David J. Lake, 'Webster's Additions to *The Malcontent*: Linguistic Evidence', *Notes and Queries*, CCXXVI (1981), pp. 153–8
Leech	Clifford Leech, 'Three Times *Ho* and a Brace of Widows: Some Plays for the Private Theatre', in David Galloway (ed.), *The Elizabethan Theatre III* (London, 1973)

Linthicum	M. Channing Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1936)
LION	*Literature Online*. Online database at URL: http://lion.chadwyck.com (version current May 2017)
MacIntyre	Jean MacIntyre, *Costumes and Scripts in the Elizabethan Theatres* (Edmonton, 1992)
Maguire	Laurie E Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The 'Bad' Quartos and their Contexts* (Cambridge, 1996)
Manifold	J. S. Manifold, *Music in English Drama from Shakespeare to Purcell* (London, 1956)
Martin 1933	Mary Forster Martin, '*If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobodie* and *The Famous Historie of Sir Thomas Wyat*', *Library*, 4th Series, XIII (1933), pp. 272–81
Martin 1958	Mary Forster Martin, 'Stow's "Annals" and "The Famous Historie of Sir Thomas Wyat"', *MLR*, LIII, 1 (1958), pp. 75–7
Mason	J. Monck Mason, *Comments on the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (1798)
Maxwell	Baldwin Maxwell, 'The Source of the Principal Plot of *The Fair Maid of the Inn*', *Modern Language Notes* LIX, 2, pp. 124–7.
MoEML	*The Map of Early Modern London*. Online database at URL: http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca (version current May 2017)
MSR	Malone Society Reprints (Oxford)
Nares, *Glossary*	Robert Nares, *A Glossary*, ed. James O. Halliwell and Thomas Wright (London, 1872)
Nicoll	Allardyce Nicoll, 'The Dramatic Portrait of George Chapman', *PQ* XLI (1962), pp. 215–28
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*
OCD	M. Cary et al., eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949)
OCL	David M. Walker, *The Oxford Companion to Law* (Oxford, 1980)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*. Online database at URL: www.oed.com (version current May 2017)

Oxford DNB	*The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online database at URL: www.oxforddnb.com (version current May 2017)
Partridge	Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (New York, 1960)
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association*
PBSA	*Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*
Ranald	Margaret Loftus Ranald, *John Webster* (Boston, Mass., 1989)
REED, *Inns of Court*	Alan H. Nelson and John R. Elliot Jr., eds., *Inns of Court*, Records of Early English Drama, 3 vols. (Cambridge and Rochester, NY, 2010)
Rubinstein	Frankie Rubinstein, *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sexual Puns and Their Significance* (London, 1984)
Salmon	J. M. H. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975).
SB	*Studies in Bibliography*
Schwartz	Sanford Maurice Schwartz, *The Comedies of Thomas Dekker* (PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1968. Repr. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975)
Shaw	Philip Shaw, '*Sir Thomas Wyat* and the Scenario of *Lady Jane*', *MLQ* XIII (1952), pp. 227–38
Staines	John D. Staines, *The Tragic Histories of Mary Queen of Scots,* 1560–1690 (Farnham and Burlington,Vt., 2009)
STC	Alfred Pollard, G. R. Redgrave et al, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed . . .* 1475–1640, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London, 1976–91)
Stern	Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009)
Stoll	Elmer Edgar Stoll, *John Webster: the Periods of his Work as Determined by his Relations to the Drama of his Day* (Cambridge, Mass., 1905)
Strutt, *Sport*	Joseph Strutt, *The Sport and Pastimes of the People of England* (London, 1876)
Sugden	Edward H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester, 1925)

Tilley	Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950)
Tudor England	John A. Wagner and Susan Walters Schmid, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Tudor England*, 3 vols. (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2012)
Wiggins	Martin Wiggins in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, IV: 1598–1602 (Oxford, 2014), and V: 1603–1608 (Oxford, 2015). References are to entry numbers.
Wing	Donald G. Wing et al., *A Short title Catalogue of Books Printed . . . 1641–1700*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (New York, 1972–98).
Wyles	David Wyles, *Shakespeare's Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse* (Cambridge, 1987)

SIR THOMAS WYATT

Date

There is no difficulty over the dating of the original two-part play behind *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat*, published in 1607, since on 15 October 1602 Philip Henslowe records in his *Diary* payment of one shilling 'vnto harey chettel Thomas deckers thomas hewode & m^r^ smythe and m^r^ webster in earneste of A playe called Ladey Jane'. This shilling was a tiny amount, but symbolically and legally significant as 'earnest money', proof of the contract. Six days later, on the 21st, Henslowe makes the five playwrights 'fulle payment' of five pounds ten shillings. This payment in full seems almost certain to be for what we now call *1 Lady Jane*, the first part of this lost two-part play. Henslowe was a canny and ruthless businessman, so it seems likely that Part one was complete and delivered before he made payment on 21 October. It is also possible that the entire play was written in less than a week, subsequent to the payment of the earnest money.

Henslowe's next payment for a play was on 27 October, five shillings to Dekker alone, 'in earneste of the 2 pte of Lady Jane'. This is the first mention of a second part. Part two may have been equally speedily written, but Henslowe records only this earnest money; there is no entry for a payment in full. Nevertheless, on 2 November Henslowe lends 'Thomas hewode & John webster three pounds 'in earneste of A play called cryssmas comes but once ayeare', with later payments to a team which also included Chettle and Dekker. It therefore seems likely that a completed script of 'the 2 pte of Lady Jane' had already been delivered. (A payment for a costume on 6 November may have been for *2 Lady Jane*; see pp. 26.)

But if determining the date of composition of the two-part 'Ladey Jane' is simple, that of determining the date of composition (if that word might loosely be used here) of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is not. A clear *terminus ad quem* is its publication in 1607, but the only clue to when, in the intervening six years or so, the abridgement might have been made is, Phillip Shaw contends, the absence in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* of marked anti-Catholic sentiment.[1] For while Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, is vindictive and vengeful, Shaw sees Queen Mary as por-

trayed sympathetically, and particularly so in scene iii, where, as he puts it, 'the unhistorical depiction of Queen Mary dressed like a nun, reading the Roman Catholic prayer book and praising it without any hint of self-righteousness, is . . . more sympathetic than was required by the minimum standards of patriotism and censorship'.[2] Noting a similar absence of hostility towards Catholicism in the sympathetic treatment of Mary's husband [Philip of Spain] in *1 If You Know Not Me*, (registered in July 1605) and bitterness towards Mary in the Prologue of *The Whore of Babylon* (1607), Shaw suggests that the play as we have it must antedate the Gunpowder Plot of 5 November 1605, which led to an upsurge of anti-Catholic feeling in England.

1. Shaw, p. 228.
2. Shaw, p. 228. But see p. 17 for evidence that as early as the end of scene iii Mary's behaviour casts significant doubt on her genuineness.

Critical introduction

David Gunby

It is hardly surprising that the play that has come down to us as *Sir Thomas Wyatt* should have received scant attention, and virtually no praise, since in critical terms everything is against it. For not only has it been until now available only in a corrupt text, a probable memorial reconstruction and abridgement of a two-part *Lady Jane* (see pp. 34–7), but the latter appears to have been composed in haste by the team comprising, in *1 Lady Jane* at least, Dekker, Heywood, Webster, Chettle, and Wentworth Smith. The play is significant, of course, as the second of Webster's playwriting career, and the earliest to survive; but against that is the fact that the state of the text makes it difficult to determine with certainty which parts are Websterian. Editors and critics have speculated as to his presence, particularly in scenes i, ii, and xvii, but little more.

Yet *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is of interest, not least for the challenges it poses. The greatest is apparent in the gap between what the title-page of the 1607 quarto promises and what the play-text provides. *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat. With the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the coming in of King Philip*: so runs the full title. Yet we see nothing of Mary's coronation or of Philip of Spain's arrival in England to take possession. The general assumption is that these events were dramatized in the much longer two-part *Lady Jane* and retained on the title page of *Sir Thomas Wyat* as a sales pitch reflecting its earlier theatrical life. Hence one of the most interesting challenges, that of determining, so far as possible, the structure and content of the two *Lady Jane* plays, or a subsequent ur-*Sir Thomas Wyatt* (see p. 37), from which *Sir Thomas Wyatt* was derived.

Another challenge is to determine whether, as several critics have claimed, *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is a covert comment on events or individuals contemporary or near- contemporary. Thus Muriel Bradbrook suggests Lady Jane Grey may be a portrait of the young Elizabeth,[1] while Judith Spikes argues that she is meant to represent King James's cousin, the tragic Lady Arbella Stuart.[2] Rejecting these claims, Julia Gasper claims rather that Wyatt's attempted putsch closely parallels that by the Earl of Essex in 1601, and reads *Sir Thomas Wyatt* as a sympathetic comment on

Essex's ill-fated attempt to force the aged Queen Elizabeth to submit to his will.[3] Finally, Irving Ribner sees the play not in terms of individual equivalences, but rather as a comment on the burning question of the day, namely who should succeed the childless Elizabeth, asserting the principle of direct lineal descent, and thereby the priority of the claims of the descendants of Jane's sister, Lady Katherine Grey, over those of James VI of Scotland.[4]

Sir Thomas Wyatt belongs to a genre popular during the 1590s and early 1600s, the biographical history.[5] Akin to plays like Samuel Rowley's *Thomas of Woodstock* and *When You See Me, You Know Me* (on the fall of Cardinal Wolsey), Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* (on the early hardships of Elizabeth I), Munday and Drayton's *Sir John Oldcastle* and the anonymous *Thomas, Lord Cromwell,* it celebrates a heroic Englishman attempting to maintain true succession (by opposing the accession of Lady Jane Grey) and protect the English monarchy and kingdom (by opposing Queen Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain).

But this is the play as we have it, radically abridged, and not *1* and *2 Lady Jane*, as written by Dekker, Webster et al. For one thing is clear; that in abridging *Lady Jane* those involved significantly altered the balance within the play, replacing what was presumably a trio of central figures—Wyatt, Lady Jane Grey and Queen Mary—with that of Wyatt alone. Whether this was because the actor who played Wyatt was central to the memorial reconstructions, or because it was wished to shift the original emphasis, cannot be determined. What is clear, however, is that a reorientation of *Lady Jane* has taken place. Any discussion of what the authors of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* had in mind thematically must, therefore, take into account what we can determine about the structure and content of the original two-part *Lady Jane*.

The title-page of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* gives us some indication of the scope of *Lady Jane*, which must have included Queen Mary's coronation and the threat posed by Philip's arrival in England to marry Mary and so exert influence over English affairs. And the fact that Henslowe refers to the two-part original as *Lady Jane* suggests that the unfortunate nine-day Queen was also central to the play. How much more than this, however, can be determined, or even speculated upon? Only one scholar, Philip Shaw, has attempted the task of reconstructing the original from which *Sir Thomas Wyatt* derives; his putative *Lady Jane*, arrived at from a close analysis of what remains of the original, considered in relationship to

the sources from which the remains are derived, carries considerable conviction.[6]

The principal plot of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* depicts two rebellions involving Wyatt. The first, opposing Jane's assumption of the throne, is dealt with in scenes i–x, and the second, opposing Mary's Spanish marriage, in the remainder of the play.[7] Within each half, Shaw finds clearly coherent blocks of narrative, linked by material less coherent and integrated, and at times in flat contradiction of what surrounds it. His argument, thus, is that in the coherent narrative blocks we have something close to *Lady Jane* originals, while in the problematic linking scenes we have severely abridged (and at times garbled) versions of the originals, employed to bridge gaps in the abridged story.

As Shaw notes, the first two scenes in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* clearly go together. The plot to put Jane on the throne is set in motion, and Wyatt is the only member of the Council opposed to this. The second narrative block comprises scenes iv to viii, and covers the attempts by Northumberland to secure the throne for Jane militarily, and the defection of the council, under Wyatt's influence, to the cause of Mary. Within these two blocks, Shaw comments, 'the historical narrative runs clearly and coherently, and there is no indication that each scene does not retell, with certain rhetorical abbreviations, the plot of a corresponding scene in the full length version'.[8] Thus, he concludes, these scenes may 'be taken to constitute a scene-by-scene abridgement of Scenes 1 and 2 and five other scenes of *Jane*'.[9]

With scene iii, however, there are major problems, including what Shaw labels 'striking inconsistencies of plot' and a 'peculiar garbling of historical circumstances'.[10] There is, first, the a-historical particularizing of the initial messenger to Mary, Sir Henry Bedingfield. That he is told that he will hereafter be held 'in honour and due regard' (iii.23) prepares us, as Shaw observes, 'for a reappearance that does not materialize in the play'.[11] Second, and even more marked, there is Wyatt's assertion, 'Ile to the Dukes at Cambridge, and discharge them all' (iii.43), which is in flat contradiction of what actually happens. For in scene iv both Northumberland and Suffolk are still in London, the former about to leave to apprehend Mary, while in scene vi Wyatt appears before the council, in London, arguing for Mary's rights to the throne, and in scene viiii, set in Cambridge, he greets Northumberland (who has reached Cambridge only in scene vii) on behalf of the Council, not Mary. Shaw also notes a third oddity about scene iii, which is that it ends with Mary's 'streight'

departure to Framlingham without there occurring the meeting with the men of Suffolk, who pledged their support conditional on her swearing to maintain the religious status quo. Without this occurring, however, the following exchange between Arundel and Queen Mary in scene xi makes no sense:

> *Arundell.* Your sacred Highnesse will no doubt be mindefull
> Of the late Oath you tooke at Framingham.
> *Mary.* O my Lord of Arundell, wee remember that,
> But shall a Subject force his Prince to sweare
> Contrarie to her conscience and the Law? (xi.22–6)

Shaw's conclusion, which carries conviction, is that these omissions and contradictions, related as they are to the historical accounts of the short reign of Lady Jane Grey, 'can be explained as vestiges of scenes which appeared in the full-length version but which otherwise were dropped in the process of abridgement'.[12] And as Shaw points out, these vestiges bring 'Mary and Jane into prominence, as antagonist and protagonist respectively, as would be expected in a play entitled *1 Lady Jane*'.[13]

What might those scenes in *Lady Jane* have comprised? Considering the source material in Stow and Holinshed available to Dekker and his team, Shaw speculates that, as in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, the original scene iii depicted Mary being informed by Bedingfield that her brother is dead, and by Wyatt that Jane has been proclaimed queen, but additionally that she is advised by Wyatt to lay her claim before the Council, and to move to safety in Norfolk. The next scene would then take place in London, focussing on Jane's convincing the Council to let her father stay with her, leaving Northumberland in sole command of the force setting out to capture Mary; while the next scene again, switching back to Mary, would have her at Framlingham, with Bedingfield and Wyatt, and including her meeting with the men of Suffolk.

From here to scene viii what we have in the extant play is perhaps, with some abbreviation, essentially what was in the original *Lady Jane*, covering the departure of Northumberland (scene iv), the attempted flight of the Lord Treasurer (scene v), the Council scene, ending in Wyatt's persuading them to support Mary (scene vi); and Northumberland in Cambridge, ending in the proclamation of Queen Mary and the departure of the Duke for London under arrest (scenes vii and viii). It should be noted, however, that in scene iv there is a substantial degree of

ambiguity and confusion, which may derive from clumsy abridgement or perhaps from a muddled memorial reconstruction. It concerns the roles of Suffolk and Arundel. At the outset Suffolk is clearly associated with Northumberland in ensuring that the army is ready to depart, and his 'we will set forward streight' (iv.4) suggests that he is leaving with Northumberland as does the latter's committal of Queen Jane into Arundel's care. Yet curiously, Suffolk says nothing more after line 4, and the terms in which Northumberland speaks subsequently (22–7) and particularly 'you have sworne your selves' (24) suggest that he is not just addressing Arundel but also Suffolk, who historically remained in London. Further confusion arises from the fact that Arundel's 'Commend us to the Queene and to your Sonne' (43) flatly contradicts what has just preceded it, which is his apology for not being able to accompany Northumberland.

This confusion aside, however, scenes iv to viii present a coherent narrative in broad agreement with the historical sources. With scenes ix and x, however, covering the arrest of the fugitive Suffolk, there are problems. Historically, he was arrested twice, the first time for his part in the plot to put his daughter on the throne. There is an oblique reference to this first arrest in scene v, when Arundel observes, apropos growing support for Mary, that 'the Duke is but newly arrested' (28). As Shaw points out, this cannot be a reference to Northumberland, who is shown at the head of his army in scenes vii and viii, but must refer to Suffolk's first arrest. Pardoned by Queen Mary, he then joined with Wyatt in armed opposition to the Queen's marriage, and it was as a fugitive after an abortive attempt to raise support in the Midlands that he was hidden by a retainer in a hollow tree, as depicted in scene ix. Even conflated with the second arrest, however, placed here in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, it is clearly out of sequence. For it is only in scene xi, following his failure to prevent Queen Mary's marriage to Philip, that Wyatt decides on the armed insurrection of which Suffolk was a part. Shaw finds a further confusion, in that in the same scene the Queen notes that 'The Duke of Suffolke | Is not yet apprehended' (38–9) and bids 'Some of you most deare to us in love, | Be carefull of that charge' (40–1), though in the previous scene the Sheriff arrests him as the 'late Duke of Suffolke, in her highnesse name' (ix. 37). There is, thus, weight to Shaw's contention that scenes ix and x properly belong between scenes xi and xii. That they may have been moved forward can be put down, speculatively, to

abridgement conflating Suffolk's two arrests, and to a wish to complete the Suffolk action at the same point in the play as Northumberland's.

Scene xi is of particular interest structurally. For one thing, it marks the return of Mary, who has not been seen since scene iii, but has, as Shaw puts it, 'out of sight in the tiring room . . . risen from recluse to sovereign', and is now 'safely set | In [her] inheritance' (2–3).[14] It also presents us with a new set of characters, including Norfolk, Pembroke and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and a fresh dramatic action in Mary's Spanish marriage and Wyatt's opposition to it. Shaw also notes that 'the old plot, the failure of efforts to crown Jane, is treated as "antecedent action"' and that scene xi 'has the static character of an opening scene',[15] even employing a standard expository device, the question:

> *Arundell.* What is your Highnesse pleasure about the Rebels?
> *Mary.* The Queene-like Rebel meane you not, Queene Jane?
> *Arundell.* Guilford and Jane, with great Northumberland,
> And hauty Suffolkes Duke.
> . . . . .
> *Wyatt.* The Lady Jane, most mightie Soveraigne,
> Alyde to you in blood
> (For shes the daughter of your Fathers sister,
> Mary the Queene of France, Charles Brandon's wife:
> Your Neece, your next of blood, except your sister)
> Deserves some pittie, so doth youthfull Guilford.
> *Winchester.* Such pittie as the law alowes to Traitors.
> *Norfolke.* They were misled by their ambitious Fathers. (35–8, 43–50).[16]

The second major action initiated, *Sir Thomas Wyatt* runs relatively smoothly to its conclusion, the narrative action coherent and faithful to the sources. Clearly, though, much must have been omitted from *2 Lady Jane*, and Shaw, bearing in mind the title page of *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, speculates that the excised material

> depicted Mary's dramatic appearance in the Guildhall to win support against Wyatt (who was already marching at the head of a band toward London to force her to repudiate her promise to marry Philip); Philip's landing at Southampton and his affectionate reception by the Queen; the official proclamation of the betrothal; and the gorgeous nuptial ceremony.[17]

As Shaw notes, such material would enable the dramatists to set up Mary as a foil for Wyatt, just as, in part one, Jane had been. It is a plausible scenario.

In abridging the two-part *Lady Jane* those involved radically altered its focus from Jane, Mary and Wyatt to Wyatt alone. Whether this was done with particular intent, or was merely incidental, is clearly incapable of answer; but the question is central to a consideration of whether the play, either as originally written or in the form in which we now have it, was intended as comment on specific individuals or events. And here the date of the abridged version becomes particularly significant in assessing the various claims in this regard. For the *Lady Jane* of 1602 would have played in very different political circumstances from *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, even if the first performance of the latter was as early as 1603–4 (see pp.25-6). When *Lady Jane* was first played, Queen Elizabeth was in the last months of her life, and the succession a major issue. Any play that argued at that time succession through the descendants of Jane Grey's sister, Katherine, or by Arbella Stuart, was dangerous. Any play that argued either when King James was securely established on the English throne was dangerous too, but irrelevant also.

But what of Julia Gasper's claim that *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is a comment on the attempted putsch by the Earl of Essex in February 1601, with Wyatt himself as Essex? Gasper's thesis is that Dekker was a militant Protestant, one of a number of dramatists of his generation, including Webster and Heywood, who took the view that the defence of Protestantism, nationally and internationally, was an absolute priority. Gasper finds Dekker's commitment to militant Protestantism 'stronger and more lasting than any other writer', and his *The Whore of Babylon* 'the definitive militant Protestant play'.[18] It is in this context that Gasper argues for the Essex/Wyatt parallelism.

A connection between Wyatt's rebellion and that of Essex had been mooted before, David M. Bevington commenting that 'Wyatt's noble rebellion against the threat of Spanish rule could scarcely avoid topical application in 1600–1602. The Essex faction openly accused Cecil, Cobham, Ralegh, and others of preparing for an actual landing on English shores of the Spanish Infanta'.[19] Gasper particularizes the case, however, first noting the parallels in personality between Wyatt and Essex. In the play, Wyatt is portrayed as 'a popular military commander, winning men's loyalty with his courage and eloquence. He is impetuous and slightly foolhardy, which certainly bears a resemblance to Essex'.[20] As Gasper herself notes, however, the dramatic portrait of Wyatt was accurate as a picture of the historical Wyatt. Equally, while the Wyatt of the play and Essex both passionately oppose a Spaniard occupying the

English throne, so too did the historical Wyatt. Likewise, in the play Wyatt denies he is traitor. So did Essex—but so also did the historical Wyatt.

'All this unanimity' Gasper concedes, 'as yet provides no evidence which could prove that the dramatists set out to write a play about the Essex rebellion, rather than about a rebellion which happened to resemble Essex's'.[21] What clinches the case for her is that 'the playwrights could not resist improving on the resemblances they found, in two or three crucial ways'.[22]

What are these ways? First, that in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* Wyatt is a member of the Privy Council, which Essex was, but the historical Wyatt was not. And Essex, in his outspokenness, had at times offended Queen Elizabeth at Privy Council meetings, just as Wyatt does Queen Mary. Second, whereas Essex, always popular in London, had reason to feel betrayed when the city failed to support his uprising, Wyatt was unknown there, yet when London fails to support him, he quite ahistorically chides the city with

> O London, London, thou perfidious Town,
> Why hast thou broke thy promise to thy friend?
> That for thy sake, and for the generall sake,
> Hath thrust my selfe into the mouth of danger? (xv.42–5).

Third, as with Essex, so with *Sir Thomas Wyatt* no major confrontation with royal forces takes place, only the rebuff by Pembroke at Ludgate and the skirmish in Fleet Street that ends in Wyatt's capture, whereas the historical Wyatt had earlier engaged the troops of the Earl of Pembroke in battle north of London.

But Gasper's carefully-crafted points of improvement in resemblances between Wyatt and Essex can be explained solely in dramatic terms. The ahistorical inclusion of Wyatt in King Edward's (and later Queen Mary's) Privy Council, for instance, is dramatically required in the opening scene, since it immediately establishes his character and his principles, and equally so in scene xi, where he shows courage and a principled consistency in opposing the Spanish marriage. It is hard, indeed, to imagine a neater or more effective device for presenting Wyatt's opposition.[23] And there is an equally good reason, dramaturgically, for not showing the battle between Wyatt's forces and Pembroke's, since there is more inherent interest in the clash outside Rochester, with its defeat for Norfolk and the defection of the Londoners (scenes xiii and xiv), and in the (historically correct) confrontation with Pembroke at Ludgate

(scene xv). The battle north of London simply isn't needed. It would add nothing, dramatically, and simply appear repetitious.

The other point made by Gasper, that Wyatt had no reason to consider London his friend, and hence no reason to lament its failure to rally to his cause, is also easily justified from within the play. For Wyatt had been buoyed by the defection of the Londoners under Bret to his side at Rochester, and hence might reasonably have felt that he would find a welcome in London.

Positing good alternative dramatic reasons in place of Gasper's carefully-crafted resemblances to the Essex plot does not, of course, disprove her case. But one further note of scepticism might be sounded, which is that there is no evidence at all that the two parts of *Lady Jane*, or *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, were censored. Yet Gasper herself notes that in 1605 Samuel Daniel was summoned before the Privy Council to defend himself against charges that his play *Philotas*, which concerns a rebellion against Alexander the Great, was a covert expression of sympathy for Essex, and that as late as 1608 George Chapman fell foul of the authorities over his *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron*, and was forced to excise the entire fourth act, in which originally appeared a scene in which Queen Elizabeth points out to Marechal Biron, visiting England, the head of the traitor Earl of Essex. Gasper is convinced that '*Sir Thomas Wyatt* is concerned both with Essex's uprising, and about the definition of treason in general. Its aim is indubitably to "extenuate an offence" because in contrast to the many cases of treason and treachery in the play, Wyatt is shown as innocent'.[24] Yet such was the sensitivity about the Essex rebellion that there would surely have been an official reaction to *Lady Jane* in 1602, or *Sir Thomas Wyatt* later, had the authorities perceived in either an inclination to 'extenuate an offence'. The absence of such action argues that no significant resemblance to the Essex plot was discerned.

Yet *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is nonetheless a play with religio-political implications. For while Northumberland and Suffolk are simply scheming traitors bent on achieving their own ends, Jane and Guildford are presented as manipulated innocents and hence, implicitly, as martyrs. Their innocence is emphasized at a number of points, but nowhere more clearly than during their trial, when both Norfolk and Arundel express compassion for the two young people:

> *Norfolke.* Now trust me Arundell, it doth grieve mee much,
> To sit in judgement of these harmelesse—
> *Arundell.* I helpt to attach the Father, but the sonne—

O through my blood, I feele compassion run.
My Lords, weele be humble suters to the Queen
To save these innocent creatures from their deathes.
Norfolke. Lets breake up Court, if Norfolke long should stay,
In teares and passion, I should melt away.
Winchester. Sit still,
What, will you take compassion upon such?
They are Heretickes. (XVII.96–106)

Jane's response, 'We are Christians, leave our conscience to our selves: | We stand not heere about Religious causes | But are accused of Capitall Treason' (107–9), underlines the point: they are to suffer as much for their beliefs as for their political offences.

In its original form the two-part *Lady Jane* was probably never better than journeyman work. In its abridged form, it is certainly not. But despite this, it is possible to perceive in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* the remains of a pair of plays in which the challenging task of creating a satisfying dramatic structure out of episodic chronicle material had been tackled with some success. While the play as we have it lacks the spectacular element once provided by 'the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the coming in of King Philip', there remains a touching pair of lovers, in Jane and Guildford, doomed by the machinations of their unscrupulous parents but in scene xvii arguing their innocence with quiet eloquence,[25] the neatly distinguished Northumberland and Suffolk, the one bold and assertive, the other cautious and timid, and a spirited and principled hero in Sir Thomas Wyatt, brought down not by a hunger for power, but by 'his misguided idealism'.[26] There seems little doubt that the two parts of *Lady Jane*, and subsequently *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ensured for Dekker and his team, including the tyro John Webster, a warm reception by audiences at the Red Bull.

1. Bradbrook, p.100.
2. Judith D. Spikes, 'The Jacobean History Play and the Myth of the Elect Nation', *Renaissance Drama* NS VIII (1977), p. 131.
3. Ibid, pp. 46–56. Both Bradbrook (p. 100) and Spikes (p. 136) discuss, in passing, the possibility that *STW* is in some way connected with the Essex rebellion.
4. Irving Ribner, *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (London, 1965), p. 217.
5. And as an 'elect nation' play (see pp. 22–3).
6. As will be clear from the discussion of the Sources of *STW* (pp. 131–4), I am not always in agreement with Shaw about source material, and accordingly do not discuss it here.

7. The arrest in scene xii of Suffolk, for his participation in the plot to ensure Jane's accession to the throne, is messy intruded into the second half of the structure of *STW*, and needlessly prodigal in casting terms (see pp. 21).
8. Shaw, p. 229.
9. Shaw, p. 229.
10. Shaw, p. 230.
11. Shaw, p. 230.
12. Shaw, pp. 230–1.
13. Shaw, p. 231.
14. Shaw, p. 233.
15. Shaw, p. 235.
16. Shaw notes (p. 235, n. 19) a second example of this dramatic device where, at xi.35–50, we are given expository and clarificatory information about 'The Queene-like Rebels' and particularly about Jane and her ancestry.
17. Shaw, pp. 235–6.
18. Gasper, p. 9.
19. David M. Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics: a Critical Approach to Topical Meaning* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 292.
20. Gasper, p. 50.
21. Gasper, p. 53.
22. Gasper, p. 53.
23. Or, as Hoy notes (I, 315), as an ironic precursor of the way in which the defender of Mary becomes a rebel against her marriage.
24. Gasper, p. 56.
25. Jane's defence, particularly as she challenges the judges, has prefigurative echoes of Vittoria's more brazen defence in *The White Devil*.
26. Forker, p. 69.

Theatrical introduction

David Carnegie

THE PATTERN OF THE PLAY

THE SCRIPT

Sir Thomas Wyatt is surprisingly short, given that it is probably a conflation of two earlier full-length plays, *1 Lady Jane* and *2 Lady Jane* (see pp. 5 and 34–7, and Wiggins 1365, 1367, 1369, and 1369a). At 1,391 lines in our edition (1,464 in Bowers, and 1,412 in Wiggins 369a), it is much shorter than the usual length of plays at this time.[1] The Q1 text is frequently garbled, and could hardly have been acted without extensive editing or reference back to the longer original (see p. 34). And although Q1 is mainly printed as prose, our editorial reconstruction results in a play almost entirely in verse (including many rhyming couplets), apart from the prose of the Clown, and most of Captain Bret when he is with the Clown in scene xiv. Wiggins similarly gives it as 1,219 lines of verse, 193 of prose.

Despite the failure of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* to fulfil the title-page promise of '*the Coronation of Queen* Mary, and the coming in of King Philip' (5–7), the play presents the rhetoric and recent history of the political upheavals and rebellion following the death of King Edward VI, especially the attempt to place the Protestant Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and the Kentish anti-Spanish rebellion led by Wyatt against the Roman Catholic Queen Mary's intention to allow 'the coming in of King Philip'. Much of the language and syntax is of the nobility, whether backstairs conspiracy, high-flown political rhetoric, or stoic lamentation; but the often tawdry reality behind the high language is emphasized by juxtaposition with that of the equally self-serving and treacherous soldiery, who are the more attractive for their comic failure to perceive any need for self-exculpation. Perhaps the language that rings most true is that of the often moving tragic laments of Jane and her husband Guildford Dudley.

The theatrical structure of the play in short scenes creates a rhythm of constant change and urgency. Out of 17 scenes only five are over 100 lines, and none is as long as 200; six are under 50.

PRODUCTION

For a play representing episodes from relatively recent English history, and dealing with known royal and noble personages, costume is of paramount importance both for placing each character within the understood hierarchy of sumptuary laws, and for signalling significant moments in a character's rise or fall. Webster paid close attention to both literal and symbolic use of costume in his dramaturgy, as *The White Devil*, *The Duchess of Malfi*, and *The Devil's Law-case* in particular show (see *Webster*, I, 87–91, 412–13, and *Webster*, II, 37–42 for discussion of costume in relation to social rank, age, occupation, and revelation of character).

A case in point is scene iii, in which Henry VIII's daughter Lady Mary receives news that her brother Edward VI has died, and she is now 'the catholicke Queene' (iii.20). She has entered '*like a Nun*', proclaiming both visually and verbally that she has 'forsaken' the 'rich attire' of the Court, regarding all 'pride and honour' as 'drosse' (0.1–10). Her speech and manner, however, rapidly transform into royal hauteur by the end of the scene. Her next (and only other) appearance is no doubt in full royal robes, crown, and regalia equal to her grandiose wish for 'Zeale' to be 'deckt in golde . . . shining in her Jemmes of state' (xi.11–13). Towards the end of this scene the Spanish ambassador from the Low Countries, Count Egmond (Edmond in the play), appears representing King Philip II of Spain, probably in the full robes of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[2]

Lady Jane Grey (briefly Queen Jane) transforms herself visually in the opposite direction. In her first appearance (scene iii) she and Guildford will both be dressed as befits their noble blood, but their modest demeanour implies richness without flamboyance—Jane, or both of them, may even be in mourning black for Edward. In the middle of the play, in the Tower (scene xii) and on trial (scene xvii), we can only guess at costume, but it is very unlikely to be any more fashionable. And in the final scene, the emotional weight of Jane's preparation for death is strongly signalled as she discards her silken robes, decrying them as 'this worldes Pomp' (xviii.120). For these lines to be effective, symbolically and emotionally, the shift or petticoat in which Jane goes to the block must be simple and plain, a reverse trajectory of costume to that of Mary.

The English nobility, whichever side they support, may display their finery with subtle differences in fabric and trim marking the gradations in England: below the crown come the Dukes of Northumberland, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Next comes the Marquis of Winchester, his rank bolstered by his powerful appointment as Lord Treasurer. Then follow the three Earls, of Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke (with whom the European Count Egmond is equivalent in rank). More junior are the Lords Guildford and Ambrose, Northumberland's sons, but still of the nobility. And any of these on campaign will wear a sash and some form of armour, from a token gorget (which Northumberland might wear in Cambridge), to the helm and visor that Pembroke evidently wears, perhaps with partial or full plate armour, to guard the walls of London.

Ranking with the nobility is the Bishop of Winchester, who clearly has Queen Mary's authority to take the lead in Council, and with the Commission trying Jane and Guildford. Over his probably scarlet cassock he will wear the distinctively full white linen 'Bishoppes Rochet' (xviii.17), over that a black sleeveless chimere open at the front, a scarf or tippet, and on his head a black four-cornered cap (see Fig. 1b; also vii.10–11n).[3] Another individual who will stand out from the crowd of nobles is 'Norry' in his distinctive red and gold herald's tabard (see Fig. 1a, and Dramatis personae 28n).

1. (a) William Harvey, Norroy King of Arms 1550–1557 (engraving by ? Charles Hall, ? late 18th century); (b) Archbishop Matthew Parker (engraving by Remigius Hogenberg, 1573).

The knights in the play will be better dressed than the soldiers they command, who are likely to be principally or exclusively pike-men (see *Webster*, II, Figs. 7, 8, 11, and pp. 477–9). Similarly, professionals such as the Doctor, Preacher, and the 'Clarke of the Crowne' at the trial (xvii.10) will be more easily identifiable than, say, the servant or steward Ned Homes, or the waiting woman Mistress Ellin, although their station in life will still be clear within a general range of apparel.

The Clown may be an exception. Will Kemp was the company clown in Worcester's Men (who became Queen Anne's Men in 1604; see below, 'Original Productions'), and if the part as preserved in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* was written for him, it was most likely as a 'country clown', in which case attired simply as a foolish rustic. However, when the theatres reopened after the long closure following Queen Elizabeth's death, from March 1603 to April 1604, it is likely that Thomas Greene had taken Kemp's place as the company clown; he was certainly identified thereafter with the Red Bull, where 'they say Greene's a good clown'.[4] Greene seems to have played more of a jesting fool than a foolish peasant, although there is no evidence of his commonly dressing as the traditional 'licensed fool' in either motley or the idiot's long guarded side-coat (see Fig. 2a; also Wyles, pp. 182–6, and *Webster*, II, 480 and Fig. 9).[5]

2. (a) Thomas Greene, probable Clown in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (title-page woodcut from *Greene's Tu Quoque* by John Cooke, 1614); (b) William Rowley, probable intended Clown in *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (detail from title-page woodcut of *The World Tossed* at Tennis by Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, 1620).

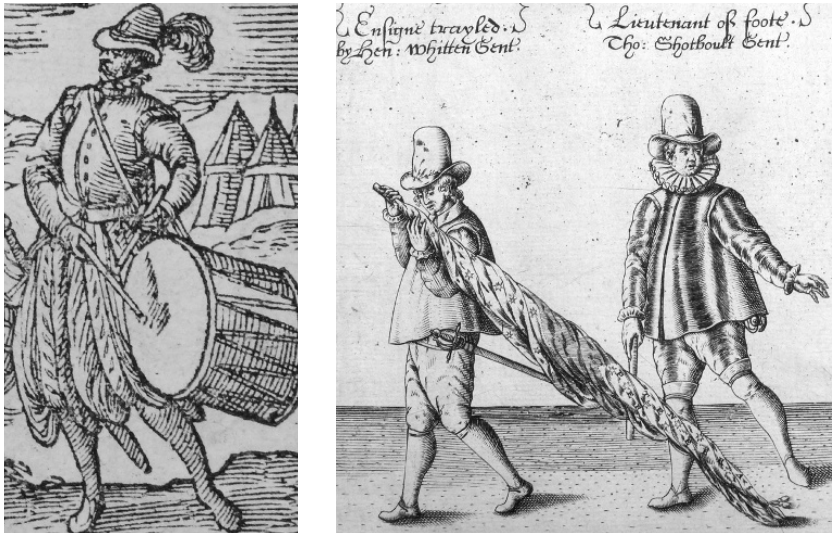
White hair (and beards) will signal age; e.g., 'old Tom Wiat' (xiii.63) may be literal.

Props play a similar role to costumes in terms of visual dramaturgy. Although the 'chaires of State' at ii.59 are rhetorical rather than real, there is probably an actual raised throne, with a canopy of the 'cloth of estate', on stage throughout scene xi for Queen Mary. Two chairs of state are also specified for the accused Guildford and Jane in the trial scene (xvii.9), but these will not be raised, or covered with a cloth of estate, but rather be seats of a dignity appropriate to the status ('state') of the accused. There may well, however, be an empty raised throne for the trial scene (xvii), such as that representing the absent Elizabeth at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (see Fig. 4 for both kinds of chair). And of course every trial scene requires a 'barre' (xvii.11; see 'Original Productions' below). Almost equally significant among the large props will be the '*Counsell Table*' (vi.0.2; and possibly in the trial scene) because it is not merely the focus of the assembled seated lords, but also symbolic of the authority of the monarch vested in the Councillors of State (hence the trepidation of the kneeling Lord Treasurer).

Small props also often carry a symbolic importance. The '*Purse and the Mace*' (ii.39.1–.2) represent the royal power of England. A fuller ceremony for Queen Elizabeth in Heywood's *If You Know Not Me* (1605; G3^{r}) starts with '*A Sennet. Enter 4. Trumpetors, after them Sargeant Trumpetor with a Mace, after him Purse-bearer*', and then nobles with crown, sceptre, cap of maintenance, sword, collar, and other pageantry. Here the royal instruments signify both that Jane is indeed recognized as queen, and more subtly that the nobles are not presenting the Mace or the Great Seal (in the Purse) to her, but are themselves 'the voice of the whole Land' (40) who will reign in her name. Documents are important too; whether or not Edward VI's 'will' (i.4 and n) is actually on stage, its existence is weighty. Master Roose delivers '*Letters*' (viii.56.1) to Northumberland that, upon reading, he rightly interprets as a 'warrant' (64) for his arrest. A moment later Northumberland displays his 'commission' (82) to Arundel, one of its signatories who has now betrayed him; Guildford in the trial scene refers to it again (and at Wellington 2010 displayed it angrily to the court). In the final scene of the play paper again stands for authority, as Norfolk shows Wyatt the '*warrant*' (xviii.22 SD) for his execution. The '*token*' (xi.149 SD) that Mary gives to Count Egmond for conveyance to Philip of Spain, whatever it is—her portrait, a ring, a jewel—is most important as a material confirmation of her betrothal. The act of

giving it to Philip's proxy marks Mary's success in rejecting residual support for Jane, but also initiates Wyatt's rebellion against a Spanish Roman Catholic consort, which will end with the Headsman's axe in scene xviii. And in that scene Jane may well carry the 'prayer booke' (47) that Guildford enquires about, reinforcing the image of her as a supporter of true religion discussed above in terms of costume, and in stark contrast to Mary's '*Prayer Booke*' (iii.0.1) which is more like Richard of Gloucester's 'book of prayer in his hand— | True ornaments to know a holy man' (*R3* III.vii.98–9), and as quickly discarded. Later, the Christian symbolism around the betrayal of Suffolk by Ned Homes is made explicit by the Sheriff: 'So Judas kist his Maister' (ix.34). Ned Homes's '*bottell and Bag*' contained a last supper of 'meat, bread and wine' (8.1, 11), his kiss is the moment of betrayal, his reward is in coin, and in despair '*He strangles himselfe*' (x.19 SD), the '*Halter about his necke*' (x.5.1) implying the suicide by hanging of Judas. The most extreme prop is '*Jane's head*' (xviii.136.1), which prompts Guildford's grief and final acceptance of death.

Military props are also important, including pikes and swords for fighting or indicating surrender (such as perhaps Northumberland and his son at the end of scene viii, and certainly Wyatt, who complains at xvi.32 that his enemy unceremoniously 'pluckes my weapon from my hand'. The most significant, however, are the drums and flags that



3. (a) military drum (detail from Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*, 1586, p. 194); (b) military colour ('Ensign trailed', detail from Plate 5 of Thomas Lant's *Sequitur Celebritas & Pompa Funeris . . .* [the funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney], 1588).

accompany every contingent of soldiers that enters or leaves the stage (see Fig. 3). That Wyatt's troops have 'left my Drum and colours without guard' (xv.51) has already shown the audience that his rebellion in doomed. Of course drums, like the trumpets that accompany both soldiers and heralds, also contribute their specific musical language and energy to the orders, parleys, and battles.

ACTING

The acting demands of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* are principally for forceful portrayal of historical personages who are written in a relatively uncomplicated way. Their heroism or villainy, strength or weakness, honesty or duplicity, are more important as pieces on the political and emotional chessboard than as attributes of multi-dimensional human beings. To put it another way, these characters are all supporting actors to history, without the dilemmas and individual development expected of modern dramaturgy.

The most important is Wyatt, after whom this conflated version of the original two-part *Lady Jane* (part two possibly called *The Overthrow of Rebels*) is named.[6] He is, with Jane (and her husband Guildford), Mary (offstage towards the end, but with powerful representatives on stage), and the ever-compliant Arundel, one of the few characters present from first to last. The biggest challenge for the actor of Wyatt is to retain audience sympathy for a character who supports the unpopular Mary in the first half of the play, but then rises in rebellion against her. Politics provides the actor with the answer: within himself he must provide a touchstone for English Elect-Nation heroism. In the first half of the play he speaks truth to power, holding loyally to Henry VIII's final word on the succession, challenging self-serving nobles like Northumberland and Suffolk, offering himself as Mary's champion, speaking bluntly and honestly to all. 'Your Counsel, good Sir Thomas, is so pithy | That I am woon to like it' says Mary at iii.40–1. Wyatt's rhetoric and his emotional weeping must play their part in recalling the Council to its duty to the offspring of Henry VIII, the two 'Princely Maides' (vi.83), Mary and (even more important for the play's audience) Elizabeth. With Mary's triumphant scene at court (scene xi) comes the challenge for Wyatt to retain audience sympathy as the epitome of plain-speaking honest English heroism, even as he decides on rebellion.

Crucially for the actor of Wyatt, Mary shows her true colours in this scene: first she favours the Catholic Bishop of Winchester and repudi-

ates her 'late Oath' (xi.25) of no alteration in religion, then she refuses mercy to the helpless Jane and Guildford, and finally betroths herself formally to the King of Spain. If this is played by Mary so as to offend a right-thinking audience of the early seventeenth century, with the Spanish Armada and more recent Catholic plots against royalty still fresh in memory, Wyatt will appear staunch and consistent in his unwavering commitment to 'save this Countrie, and this Realme defend' (161).

Nevertheless, the trajectory for Wyatt in the second half of the play shifts. Dauntless and jesting with his soldiers in scene xiii, he becomes a doomed tragic hero, fighting for his ideal of England even when betrayal by his soldiers in the face of Pembroke on London's walls, and surrendering only when isolated and wounded. His emotional suffering in the Tower is brief, and he exits to execution with dignity.

Unlike the hypocritical Mary, Jane and Guildford are portrayed almost entirely in terms of their emotional distress. Where Wyatt is the active defender of political and military action, they suffer passively from the first. Unlike Wyatt or Mary, they are pawns to whoever happens to control them. They need to be able to move an audience with their woes, and the trial scene in particular offers them pauses and confused emotions that can be played to intensify audience sympathy. The sentiment of such simple matters as arguing which one should suffer death first provides both actors with rich emotional opportunities.

Of the nobles prominent in the first half, Northumberland forcefully drives the plot of putting Jane on the throne, neatly complemented by the easily-led Suffolk. Whereas Northumberland gains respect after his capture by his stoic acceptance of his inevitable punishment, Suffolk's weakness is turned to dramatic gold in his betrayal by the Judas-like Ned Homes, though his brief appearance in the Tower on his way to execution seems designed more to amplify Jane and Guildford's suffering than his own. The Janeite nobles who are pardoned, the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Arundel, have more complex acting opportunities, both being cautious enough to adjust to changing political winds. The Lord Treasurer must appear astute in reading the uncertainties and fears in the Council prior to Wyatt's decisive rhetoric; and Arundel's role as a self-serving trimmer throughout the play needs careful attention to pauses in speech, to where and how he directs his glances, to calculation of the odds, and to hints of willingness to change if necessary.

In the second half the Bishop of Winchester and Duke of Norfolk make the running. Winchester is simple in his motivations and action, a vi-

cious zealot without subtlety. Norfolk is a slightly more complicated role, seeming to take on some of the mantle of honourable Englishman from Wyatt. He is, with Pembroke, active in the fighting, but acknowledges his misgivings. In the trial (scene xvii) he joins with Winchester in demanding that Jane and Guildford be clear in how they plead, but the actor will have to decide if this is simply fulfilling his duty in the trial, or if he may be trying to spare the young couple unnecessary judicial torment. Certainly he responds to their emotional innocence by urging his fellow judges to 'breake up Court' (102), but sits in silence as Winchester sentences Jane and her husband to death. In the same way in the final scene he seems initially to be in charge, but perhaps dissociates himself by silence from Winchester's goading of Wyatt, Jane, and Guildford. Certainly Guildford responds fiercely to Winchester, but excludes Norfolk from his anger (xviii.81). And although Arundel survives to the end, carefully leaving the running to Winchester in this scene, Norfolk is given the final speech of the play. His brief epilogue (for such it is if the others exit with the Headsman at 182) is sympathetic to Jane and Guildford, expresses hope for their resurrection after death, and blames the ambition of their fathers for their end. He holds the stage as a spokesman for the audience.

Of the minor roles, Captain Bret and the Clown provide the comedy. In scene iv Bret is simply functional, leading the soldiers; by scene vii he has become the straight man for the Clown's quips, but when the two next appear together, Bret is a comedian in his own right as he woos his soldiers with wit and comic timing (sometimes with the Clown as his butt) to abandon Norfolk and join Wyatt's rebels:

> *Bret*. And whosoever cuts off [Wyatt's] head shall have for his labour—
> *Clown*. What shall I have? Ile doote.
> *Bret*. The pox, the plague, and all the deseases, the Spittle-houses and Hospitalles can throwe upon him.
> *Clown*. Ile not doo't, that's flat. (xiv.36–40)

They really are working as a comic team. But in the very next scene, the final scene in which either appears, Bret has returned to his serious role of representative leader of soldiers. That he has made himself so appealing to the audience will add to their sympathy for Wyatt as Bret betrays him. Perhaps this is meant to resonate with the pathos of the earlier betrayal of Suffolk, and the Clown's commentary on Homes; but the Clown employs the heartless cruelty of farce and commedia, largely divorced from humane feelings.

STAGE HISTORY

THE ORIGINAL PRODUCTIONS

The 1607 Q1 title-page declares that *Sir Thomas Wyatt* 'was plaied by the Queen's Majesties Servants', by then firmly resident at the Red Bull playhouse (see *Webster*, I, pp. 97, 100–1). They became Queen Anne's Company officially only in 1604, having been Worcester's Men until the death of Queen Elizabeth in March 1603. And the play (or more likely one or both of its predecessors, *1 Lady Jane* and *2 Lady Jane*) appears, on the evidence of *Henslowe's Diary*, to have been first performed in November or December 1602 (see p. 3), although whether at the Rose, Curtain, Boar's Head, or Red Bull is uncertain.[7]

The dates from first performance in late 1602 to the publication of Q1 in 1607 are important for several reasons. First, the long closure of the London theatres from March 1603 to April 1604 (for the illness and death of Elizabeth, followed by severe plague) sent many actors and companies on provincial tours, and this could have been the reason for the conflation of the two *Lady Jane* plays. Second, the re-constitution of the three main theatre companies as the King's, Prince's, and Queen Anne's after Elizabeth's death saw some changes in company membership, which any consideration of early productions must take into account. Third, the retirement and death of Worcester's famous clown Will Kemp (previously with the Lord Chamberlain's Men), and his replacement in 1603 or 1604 with Thomas Greene, may have had a bearing on the clown scenes in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*.[8] Finally, this was only the first of several plays that Webster and sometimes collaborators wrote for this company of actors. The lost *Christmas Comes But Once a Year*, written with Heywood, was first performed at much the same time as *1* and *2 Lady Jane*. Webster's *The White Devil* was performed at the Red Bull in 1612 (see *Webster*, I, 97–101), and *The Devil's Law-case* at the Cockpit (or Phoenix) in Drury Lane (perf. *c.* 1618; see also *Webster*, II, 45–6), both for Queen Anne's Men. And he also wrote a part for John Lowin (by then with the King's Men) enabling Lowin to play himself in the Induction to *The Malcontent* at the Globe (see *IndM*), and the role of Bosola in *The Duchess of Malfi* (see *Webster*, I, 423–6).

The actors for whom the *Lady Jane* plays were written in 1602 included Christopher Beeston, Thomas Heywood (actor as well as co-author), Kemp, Lowin, Robert Pallant, and Richard Perkins, all but Kemp and

Lowin still in the company for *The White Devil* and *The Devil's Law-case* (see *Webster*, II, 49–50). By 1612 Webster was praising 'the well-approved industry of my freind *Maister Perkins*' in the Epilogue to *The White Devil* (ll. 7–8; and see *Webster*, I, 98), whom he probably first met and worked with in 1602.

On 12 March 1603 Henslowe loaned money to three of the actors (Thomas Blackwood, John Lowin, and Richard Perkins) for them to ride with the company into the country to play, suggesting a likelihood of touring necessitated by the closure of the theatres in London (Henslowe, pp. 212–13; Chambers, II, 226). This in turn might have required a reduced and conflated version of *1 Lady Jane* and (the possibly as-yet-unperformed) *2 Lady Jane*, or of an already existing ur-*Wyatt*. This is speculation (see p. 37). But it is of particular significance for the role written for the Clown. We can assume that for *1 Lady Jane* at least the role was written for Will Kemp, the company clown in late 1602. Since the authors were paid in full by Henslowe for the first play on 21 October 1602, and were paid an advance for *2 Lady Jane* on 27 October (if *The Overthrow of Rebels* was *2 Lady Jane*, the payment on 6 November for a suit of satin, possibly for 'the coming in of King Philip' [Q1 title-page, 6–7], or for the full regalia of the Order of the Golden Fleece for Count Egmond in scene xi, suggests an imminent production), it seems likely that the full part for the Clown in both plays was available before they went on tour.[9]

The subsequent relationship between the *Lady Jane* plays and *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is uncertain, but the lines written for Will Kemp are more likely to have been subject to re-writing in 1603/1604 (or later) than those of any other cast member, since a company clown was at least as much performer as character. Although Thomas Greene was also a 'country clown' like Kemp and Tarlton (i.e., using the persona of a rustic; see Gurr, *Companies*, p. 321), and unlike Robert Armin, Kemp's replacement at the King's Men, he will have had his own style. Heywood's epitaph to him in the 1614 edition of *Greene's Tu Quoque* (as Cooke's *City Gallant* was renamed in honour of Greene's success as Bubble; see above) suggests a more genial persona, capable of propriety and 'grace': 'As for Maister *Greene* . . . there was not an Actor of his nature . . . more applaudent by the Audience, of greater grace at the Court, or of more general loue in the Citty' ($A2^r$). In passing, we should note that he may have become known as 'the lean fool' of the Red Bull.[10]

If Q1 retains elements of both Kemp's part in *1 Lady Jane* (and perhaps *2 Lady Jane*), and subsequent re-writing or new writing for Greene,

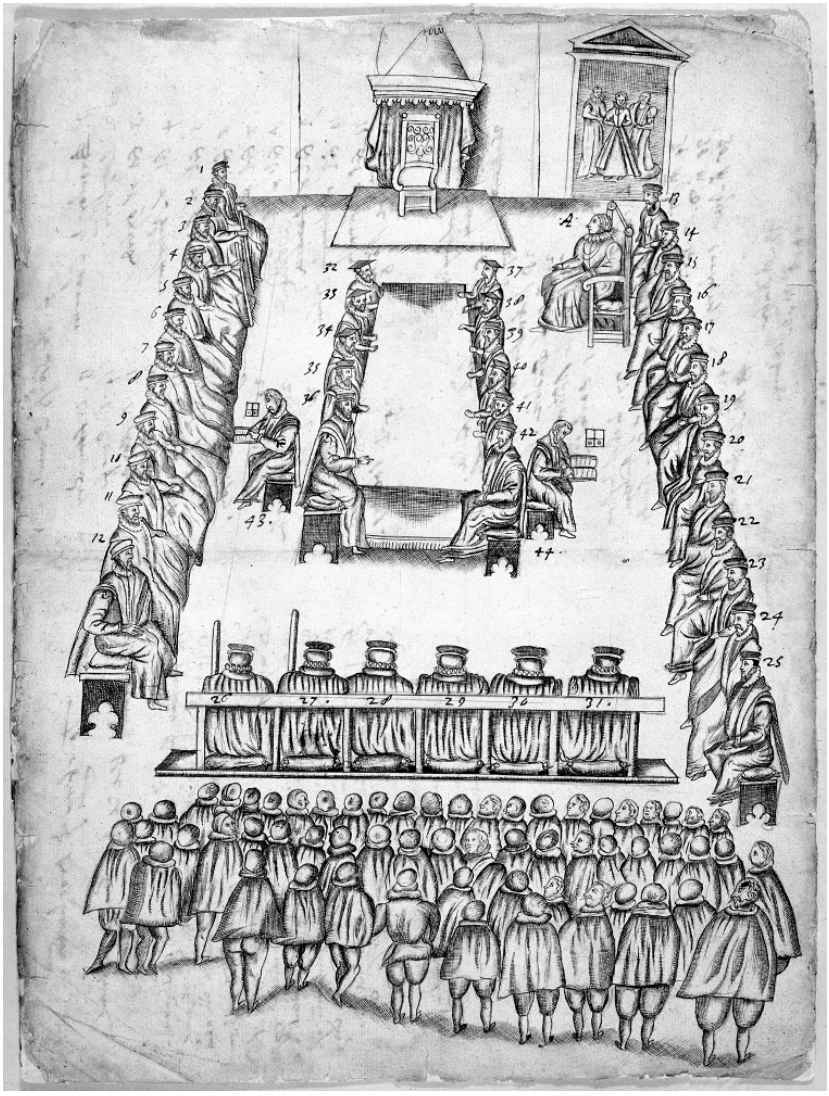
do we have any basis for distinguishing between them? Again, this is highly speculative; but one might here reiterate (see above on the acting of the Clown) that whereas scenes vii and x provide opportunities for the Clown to lead the comedy, or in x perform direct to the audience (although the Arlecchino-like hunger pains would suit a 'lean fool'), there is a marked difference in xiv later in the play, where he fully engages with Bret in a comic duologue, often unexpectedly playing the straight man rather than always being the centre of attention. This is too little to base a hypothesis on, but it can keep alive our sense of how both the play and the performance may have changed between 1602 and 1607.

The usual company resources of about ten principal players, six or so hired men, and a number of boys to play the female roles (see *Webster*, I, 98) would have been easily sufficient for playing *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. For the principal actors, doubling is assisted by having Northumberland and Suffolk executed and the Lord Treasurer vanish in the first half of the play, and Winchester, Norfolk, Pembroke, and others only appear in the second half (although it would be much easier if Suffolk's role finished at scene ix, rather than scene xii; see pp. 7–10 for discussion of possible textual corruption). The hired men will have had a busy time with a number of brief roles, and constant demand for Lords, Officers, Attendants, and Soldiers.

By the time the play was printed in 1607 the company was settled at the Red Bull playhouse (see *Webster*, I, 100), but any of the other playhouses could have fulfilled the physical requirements. Only one or two aspects of the staging present any uncertainties. The first is the question of how Homes '*strangles himselfe*' (x.19 SD). He has entered '*with a Halter about his necke*' (5.1), which will lead the audience to expect hanging. But after burying his gold (either using the Red Bull's trap, or more likely simply concealing the money with the edge of an upstage hanging), how does he proceed to commit suicide? One option, for those seeking realist action, is that he finds a way to employ stage machinery for the purpose—such as the 'poleyes [pulleys] & worckmanshipp for to hange absolome' for the Biblical death of Absalom in the putative *Tragedy of Absalom*.[11] However, Absalom's hair became entangled in a tree in the Biblical story, so that staging may have needed to be significantly different from a hanging. Since it is suicide, however, Homes with the noose around his neck (but presumably wearing a hidden harness to support his body) could climb up on a stool to tie the halter to part of

the playhouse structure, then kick the stool away. An alternative is the more theatricalist solution adopted at Wellington 2010 (see 'Subsequent Productions' below).

A second set of questions arises over how the trial of Jane and Guildford in scene xvii would have been staged. The general answer, discussed and illustrated at more length with regard to *The White Devil* at the Red Bull in *Webster*, I, 101–3, is that trials required an oppositional arrangement of judge or judges at one end (usually raised), the accused beyond the essential bar at the other end, and others sitting or standing on either side of a table or space between judge and accused. Webster complicated matters in *The Devil's Law-case* by introducing a second bar (see *Webster*, II, 50–1), but that seems unlikely here, since the two co-accused can stand side by side at a single bar. The main uncertainty is whether or to what extent the staging might have imitated the physical arrangements of such state trials as that of Mary Queen of Scots. A drawing of that trial (Fig. 4) displays several features that might have been followed in the playhouse. First, the empty throne or state on a raised dais shown at the top centre of the drawing was for Queen Elizabeth. She did not attend, but the chair's position signalled the presence of her royal authority as well as the absence of her person; a similar stage arrangement for Queen Mary's authority and absence would serve scene xvii well. Second, occupying the drawing's only other chair in the hall is the accused, Mary Queen of Scots (labelled 'A' in the drawing); this illustrates well the 'chaires of state' (xvii.10) placed for Jane and Guildford in the play. And the drawing emphasizes, as would the stage, how exceptional chairs were. All the nobles and judges are sitting on benches. Mary Queen of Scots is positioned in a curious spatial limbo: uneasily between the empty throne to which she aspired and the judicial bar, if there is one. The drawing does not show a bar, though one might be implied by the line of seated lawyers or judges with their backs to the viewer. In the play, however, Jane and Guildford are each explicitly required, only two lines after Winchester has instructed that they be placed severally in chairs of state, to 'hold up thy hand at the barre' (11). While the drawing does not resolve the question of stage arrangement, it very clearly illustrates the principal lines of judicial and dramatic tension to be staged.



4. The trial of Mary Queen of Scots, 1586 (drawing in *Papers and Correspondence Relating to Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1558–1626).

SUBSEQUENT PRODUCTIONS

We have found no record of further professional productions.

A student production at Victoria University of Wellington in 2010 created an open thrust stage resembling that of an early modern London playhouse, with three curtained openings at the back for entry and exit, and a raised gallery for Pembroke's appearance on the walls at Ludgate in scene xv. Direct address to the audience, who remained in light, was frequent, and part of a deliberately theatrical self-consciousness that informed the entire production. Theatricalist moments such as when the cast '*passe round the stage*' at ii.54.1 were made elaborately processional, in this case culminating in a formal stage tableau for Guildford and Jane for their final speeches of the scene. Homes strangled himself simply by tightening the noose around his neck, holding the free end of the rope as high and as long as he could, then dying. Soldiers, lords, and attendants, were drawn from a single chorus of actors (hired men, as it were), and played many different parts with no more than a change of hat, cloak, or weapon. Soldiers responded with stylized and synchronized enthusiasm to their leaders, and simply switched from blue sashes (for Jane's supporters) to red sashes (for Mary's army) to none at all (for Wyatt's rebels, who threw off their sashes when they joined him, retrieved them when they abandoned him, but retained their City of London flag the whole time). Equally non-realist were the alarums and excursions, when the soldiers ran on in single file from one side and off the other as if pursuing or being pursued, always to the accompaniment of loud off-stage or on-stage drumming and bugle blasts. For the executions, a dead march led into a slow drum roll that built towards a crescendo, with the characters on stage listening and looking off where the character had exited. When the drum abruptly stopped, everyone knew the axe had fallen.

In performance the play presents a rapid succession of court and trial scenes (in which who was sitting, standing, or kneeling was very powerful), vigorous comedy and soldiers' scenes (full of noise and movement), and emotional scenes of love, loss, and lament (with Jane and Guildford especially moving in the trial scene). Plot inconsistencies were hardly noticed in the urgent speed of the play from start to finish.

1. Although 2,500 lines is often regarded as a norm, a significant number of texts related to stage performance are shorter, often about 1,500 lines. See Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge, 2003), esp. Chap. 6, pp. 131–73, and Andrew Gurr, 'Maximal and Minimal Texts: Shakespeare v. the Globe',

Shakespeare Survey 52 (1999), pp. 68–87. But see also Michael J. Hirrel, 'Duration of Performances and Lengths of Plays: How Shall We Beguile the Lazy Time?', *Shakespeare Quarterly* LXI (2010), pp. 159–82.

2. See *Webster*, I, 88 and Fig. 2, for discussion and illustration of the costuming of the ambassadors in *The White Devil*; and for an illustration of the robes and regalia of the Order of the Golden Fleece, see William Segar, *Honor Military, and Civill* (1602), image preceding Book 2, p. 79.
3. See Francis C. Eeles, *Notes on Episcopal Ornaments and Ceremonial*, Alcuin Club Tracts XXV (London, 1948), esp. pp. 13–15). See also the National Portrait Gallery oil painting after Holbein of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury when Stephen Gardiner was translated to Winchester in 1531, NPG 2094, at <www.npg.org.uk>.
4. Gurr, *Companies*, p. 321; see also Wyles, p. 66, citing John Cooke, *Greene's Tu Quoque* (1614), where the praise is uttered by a character Greene was playing himself, a typical clown technique.
5. The only known illustration of Kemp is the often-reproduced image of his morris dance from London to Norwich (see, e.g., R. A. Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage, 1580–1642* [London, 1985], p. 150, and for the facial features, Gurr, *Stage*, p. 89), but neither costume nor face suggests a clown role. The more standard rustic clown costume is better represented by Richard Tarlton (see Foakes, pp. 44–5), in a costume that is similar to that worn by William Rowley in Fig. 2b, including the large purse on his belt, rustic 'startups' on his feet, and a similarly obvious codpiece. The title-page woodcut to Cooke's *Greene's Tu Quoque* appears to show Greene dressed not as a generic clown, but as the character Bubble, aspiring to be the '*Cittie Gallant*' of the sub-title. Foakes notes, however, that 'the slashed doublet . . . and the paned round hose, were old-fashioned by 1614; these, giving a parti-coloured effect where the slashes or panes revealed a contrasting colour in the lining, like the girdle and purse at the waist and the hat with two feathers standing up like cuckold's horns, would suggest that when Bubble dressed as a gallant, he only succeeded in looking like a fool' (pp. 102–3). The codpiece is also a match to those worn by Tarlton and Rowley.
6. See pp. 37–7, also Wiggins 1367.
7. See Gurr, *Companies*, 317–36, esp. 318–23; Henslowe, pp. 214–19, entries for 21 Aug. (apparently a meeting to sign agreement to the company moving to Henslowe), 4 Sept., 15, 21, 27 Oct., and possibly 6 Nov. 1602. Entries also appear in these months for Webster and Heywood's lost play, *Christmas Comes But Once a Year.*
8. See Gurr, *Companies*, pp. 321–2; Gurr, *Stage*, pp. 49, 84–9.
9. Chambers takes the lost play *The Overthrow of Rebels* (Henslowe, p. 219) to be 'almost certainly' another name for *1 Lady Jane* (Chambers, II, 227 n. 2). Wiggins ignores this attribution, mentions Greg's identification of it as *2 Lady Jane* (which would fit well with the second half of *Sir Thomas Wyatt*), but regards the time between the first payment to the authors and the payment for a costume as too short to permit of their being the same play. He opts for it being more likely an entirely separate play (Wiggins 1367).
10. Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors and Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642* (New Haven, 1929; rpr. New York, 1971), pp. 162, 319.
11. Henslowe, p. 217, with the editors noting in the index uncertainty about whether Absalom is the name of a play or merely a character. See also Wiggins 1359.

Textual introduction

MacDonald P. Jackson

FIRST PUBLICATION

Sir Thomas Wyatt was first published in 1607 in a quarto printed by Edward Allde for Thomas Archer. It had not been entered in the Stationers' Register.[1] The collation is A–G^4. Many plays had issued from Allde's printing-house, and in 1607 *Sir Thomas Wyatt* was just one of six.[2] As Bowers observes, headline analysis identifies two skeleton formes.[3] One set (or partial set) of headlines recurs in the inner formes of A–C and the outer formes of E–G, another set (or partial set) in the outer formes of A–C, both formes of D, and the inner formes of E–G. Bowers was unable to detect signs that more than one compositor had set type and neither has our analysis of spellings, punctuation and its spacing, speech prefixes, and other typographical features revealed distinct compositorial patterns. However, coinciding with the temporary shift to single-skeleton printing in sheet D, there is a roughly five-millimetre decrease in the width of the type page, which continues till sheet G, when there is a further similar reduction. Apparently composing sticks were changed, set to 21-em, 20-em, and 19-em measures.

Use of a narrower measure may have been designed to make the text occupy more lines. On several pages space has been deliberately wasted. On D2^r, for example, in seven cases a line is so extravagantly spaced that a single final word that could easily have fitted into it has been accorded an otherwise blank line. A similar ploy is used, though to a lesser degree, on E2^r and E4^r. From C2^v onwards, more of the entry directions are generously spaced, with blank lines after as well as before them. Until that point, only the opening entry and one on B2^r are followed by a blank line and twelve entries are not preceded by a blank line either. From C2^v to the end, all but four of twenty-nine entry directions are preceded and followed by blank lines, and two of the exceptions occur as early as C3^r. The amount of white space becomes more conspicuous towards the end.

Not only was the width of pages reduced but also the depth, the thirty-six lines per page of A–C diminishing to thirty-four in D–F, except that F2^{r} has thirty-three; G1^{r} also has thirty-three, while the remaining three full pages on sheet G (namely G1^{v}–G2^{v}) have thirty-two. So in D–G, sixty-four lines that might have fitted onto pages of the initial depth created a need for two extra pages, and narrowing the original page-width and adopting extravagant spacing created at least one more page, and possibly two. Perhaps once it became clear that the text could not be accommodated on six sheets, it was thought desirable to spread it well beyond the initial page or two of sheet G. If this is so, the frequent setting of verse as prose is much less likely to have been a printing-house expedient to conserve space than to have been a defect of the printer's copy.

Some manipulations of text and space (as on D2^{r} and E2^{r}) may have been motivated by a need to 'justify the page'—to make a predetermined point in the dialogue correspond with a page ending.[4] This would suggest some casting-off of copy and either setting by formes or the division of typesetting between two compositors. When Bret is named in italic stage directions and speech prefixes within sheet E, his name sometimes begins with an italic capital, sometimes with a roman capital, in a pattern more suggestive of setting by formes than setting seriatim,[5] but Allde's total stock of italic capitals was so inadequate that confident interpretation of this kind of evidence is impossible. For some letters, such as 'E' and 'N', roman initial capitals heading words otherwise italicized outnumber italic capitals by about ten to one.

A few speeches begin with a lower case roman 'a' instead of 'A', and there are other signs that the capital was not always available, so that when a line within a speech begins with 'a' it may be unclear whether the compositor believed he was setting verse or prose. The layout of passages unaffected by this specific cause of confusion may also be ambiguous. Sometimes a speech looks like a medley of verse and prose. Bowers discusses the enigmatic xvii.69–78,[6] and our Commentary considers a characteristic ambiguity at x.6–9. In our Lineation notes, the word '*prose*' is an indication of the way the Quarto (Q1) text is set out, rather than a guess at the compositor's intention—in so far as such a distinction is feasible.

Some of the Quarto's faulty lineation—including the occasional splitting of one verse line into two—appears to have originated in the printing-house. But the compositor or compositors were obviously working from a seriously defective manuscript.

PRINTER'S COPY

Bowers had no doubt that Allde's text was based on 'a corrupt memorial reconstruction' of the play.[7] But theories that (a) renegade actors sometimes reconstructed from memory the texts of plays in which they had performed, or that (b) plays were pirated by members of theatre audiences who recorded by shorthand the dialogue as memorized and delivered on stage have become less fashionable as explanations of the characteristics of so-called 'bad quartos', and even the most execrable of them are apt to be labelled not 'bad' but 'different', valid witnesses to the diversity of early modern theatrical activity. However, one need only attempt to edit, or mount a production of, *Sir Thomas Wyatt* to become impatient with such relativism. The Quarto is marred by patches of dialogue that make little or no sense. Much of the verse, especially in certain scenes, is excessively irregular. Phrases are ineptly repeated. Some speeches are misattributed. The stage directions are defective, notably in the provision of entries. Obscurities surround the presence or absence of certain characters within episodes and scenes. There are gaps and inconsistencies in the plot. There is a marked discrepancy between the action presented and what is advertised on the title page. Reasons for the Quarto's several structural anomalies are explored in the Critical introduction.

Instances of the full range of Quarto defects are discussed in our Commentary. For some, failure of memory appears to us to have been the probable cause. This is not the view of the scholar who has most recently preceded us in examining the text. In her comprehensive, sceptical survey of early modern play-texts that have been pronounced 'bad', Laurie E. Maguire, after itemizing the imperfections of the Quarto of *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, concludes that the manuscript behind it was probably not a memorial reconstruction but that 'the possibility (a slight one) cannot be ruled out'.[8] It has long been recognized that the play is an abridgement of a lost two-part *Lady Jane* known from entries in Henslowe's *Diary* in October 1602. Clumsy cobbling together of two plays into one short political history focused on the figure of Sir Thomas might alone have resulted in a good deal of muddle. But it is doubtful that the redaction could have been carried out with direct reference to authoritative manuscripts of the originals or, in a state resembling that of the Quarto, have served to govern performance.

The Quarto script requires extensive emendation and supplementation in order to be playable. The lack of so many necessary entry directions alone would have rendered it unsuited to theatrical use. And the flounderings of a faulty memory are suggested when one instance of a repeated phrase disturbs the verse or seems inappropriate in the context: the impression given is that it has been recalled in the wrong context as well as in the right one.

For example, at the beginning of our scene iv (B1^{r}), immediately after an entry that includes Northumberland and Bret, the former asks 'wher's Captaine Bret?' and Bret replies 'Heere my Lord'. In xiv (E1^{v}) Norfolk enquires 'Where's Captaine Bret?' and Bret replies 'Heere my Lord'. But this second question and answer come not only after the two men have entered together but also after Norfolk has delivered a nine-line speech, which elicits Bret's agreement: 'Tis good, tis good, my Lord'. Since Bret has already made himself conspicuous, Norfolk's enquiry seems superfluous. Again, within the space of eighteen lines Queen Mary says 'Better a poore Queene, then the Subiects poore' and 'Better a poore Prince then the Nation poore' (C4^{r}). On the second occasion the line begins a rhymed couplet with which Mary typically ends a speech, but on the first occasion it follows a rhymed couplet that would otherwise typically end a speech. So it seems likely that the first of the two lines is a memorial anticipation of the first.

To cite one further example, on D3^{v} the Quarto prints this exchange:

> *Guil*: Intreate not Iane, though shee our bodies
> part,
> Our soules shall meete. Farwell my loue.
> I*ane*. My Dudley, my owne heart.

And on F3^{v}:

> *Guil*: Our doomes are knowne,
> Our liues haue plaide their parte,
> Farwell my Iane.
> I*ane*: My Dudley, mine owne heart.

In the second passage Guildford's first two lines (as the Quarto prints them) constitute the first pentameter of a rhymed couplet, which is completed by the shared pentameter that follows. But in the first passage, the rhymed couplet has somehow been garbled. Maguire proposed that 'Farwell my loue' has obtruded into D3^{v} through anticipation of 'Farwell my Iane', which is integrated into the couplet on F3^{v}.[9] This may be right, but

Guildford's 'Intreate not Iane' can be read as completing the six-syllable ending to the previous speech, which is printed as prose in the Quarto: 'they that owe you, sway me'. So we have preferred to restore the couplet by assuming transposition in the Quarto, so that Guildford continues, 'Our soules shall meete, though shee our bodies part. | Farwell my love', with the closing pentameter completed by Jane's 'My Dudley, mine owne heart' (xii.58–9). What seems clear is that no professional playwright is likely to have written two parting exchanges with such similar wording.

Some of the Quarto's repetitions may be held to serve a rhetorical function. When on A3^{r} 'Heere comes his Highnesse Doctor' is followed six Quarto lines later by 'Heere comes his Highnesse Preacher' the parallelism may well be authorial, as one piece of news follows hard upon another.[10] But others seem more like recyclings of phrases that stuck in somebody's memory. 'Counsell boord' occurs in the first and eighth lines of B2^{r}. In the first speech of scene vi, Arundel speaks of 'these troublous times' (B2^{r}) and of revolt 'From the deceast Kings will, and our degree' (B2^{v}), the last word being a mistake for 'decree', perhaps made through contamination by 'degree' at the end of the second line following. In the next speech the Treasurer also uses the phrase 'these troublous times' (B2^{v}), and a little later Arundel almost exactly repeats his earlier line with 'To the deceased late Kings will and our decree' (B3^{r}). On B4^{v} Northumberland commands 'Call me a Herald, and in the market place Proclaime | Queene Iane' and on C1^{r} Ambrose says 'Call me a Herald . . . | Euen in this market Towne proclaime Queen Mary'. In the space of eighteen lines Ambrose thrice addresses 'my thrice honoured Father', the cliché formula twice being preceded by 'O' (B4^{v}–C1^{r}). A little later Ambrose announces to Norfolk 'Heere comes your honoured friend the Earle of Arundell', Arundel enters and Norfolk exclaims, 'My honourd friend!' (C1^{v}). Within the space of ten lines Suffolk twice urges Homes, 'Goe on, goe on' (C2^{v}). The phrase 'that such a mightie Prince' (C4^{v}) recurs, with 'That' capitalized, on the following page (D1^{r}). On F1^{r} Winchester asks 'where's the Lieftenant of | the Tower?', the next Quarto lines are an entry direction '*Enter* L*ieftenant of the* | T*ower*', the Lieutenant immediately replies 'Heere my good Lord', and Winchester commands 'Fetch foorth the prisoners'. On F4^{r} Winchester again asks, 'Wheres the Lieftenant of the Tower?', the Lieutenant enters and says 'Heere my Lord', and Winchester commands 'Fetch foorth your other Prisoners'.

The Quarto title-page claims to present *Sir Thomas Wyatt* 'As it was plaied by the Queens Maiesties | Seruants', and Henslowe paid for the