

A STUDY OF SAMUEL ROWLEY AND HIS COMIC STYLE
IN WHEN YOU SEE ME, YOU KNOW ME
AND OTHER WORKS

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To my darling wife, Shirley
and our wonderful daughter, Shana

PREFACE

The intent of this thesis is to gather all of the known facts pertaining to the life of Samuel Rowley, to examine his only extant work, When You See Me, You Know Me, and to assess his contributions in several other dramas. Moreover, this investigation concerns particularly Rowley's handling of the comic scenes and the stylistic devices by which his hand may be recognized. Furthermore, armed with these characteristics of Rowley's comic style, the present author considers the extent of Rowley's collaboration in the clowning portions of the plays in question. Finally, the author suggests that Rowley contributed more widely and earlier than has been thought. As the principle source for examining Rowley's work, the author has used the Malone Society Reprint of When You See Me, You Know Me.

Very sincerely, the author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Charles E. Walton and Dr. Green D. Wyrick for their assistance and encouragement during the writing of this study.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. SAMUEL ROWLEY, THE MAN	1
II. ROWLEY'S MAJOR WORK: <u>WHEN YOU SEE ME</u> ,	
<u>YOU KNOW ME</u>	17
III. ROWLEY'S COLLABORATIONS AND ADDITIONS	39
IV. ROWLEY, THE COMIC DRAMATIST	61
BIBLIOGRAPHY	65

CHAPTER I

SAMUEL ROWLEY, THE MAN

Among the truly great men of the Elizabethan era, associating with and contributing, in some cases, to their work, were multitudes of writers of lesser repute over whom the ages of history have drawn soft, silent curtains. One such writer, described by Bentley as one not really distinguished, but who did not entirely lack a reputation was Samuel Rowley.¹ Of both Thomas Heywood and Rowley, Schelling observes that they were serious contenders for fame with Shakespeare because of the ". . . homely truth of their representations of the life about them."² Rowley was one of approximately twenty-four different writers who contributed dramatic works to Henslowe, who, in turn, produced these works in his own acting company.³ It is conceivable, however, that none of the many authors who wrote for Henslowe was capable of writing plays in sufficient quantities to supply all of Henslowe's needs. As early as June 3, 1597 in Henslowe's Diary, Samuel Rowley is noted as having acted in

¹Gerald E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, I, 151.

²Pelix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama 1558-1642, I, 307.

³William V. Moody and Robert Lovett, A History of English Literature, p. 105, and Schelling, op. cit., p. 379.

Frederick and Basilea, and is referred to simply as Mr. Sam.⁴ The part that he played in Frederick and Basilea was that of Heraclius, and the company which produced the play was the Admiral's Men.⁵ Other parts which Sam (Rowley) performed in the Admiral's company include an unidentified role in Fortune's Tennis in 1597-98, and the role of an ambassador in The Battle of Alcazar in 1600-01.⁶ Furthermore, in a play called 1 Tamar Cam, he appeared as Ascalon in one portion of the work and as Crymm in a procession at another juncture of the play.⁷ Even though Rowley began his acting career with the Admiral's Men in assignments to these rather humble parts, by 1602, he had risen to a position of a shareholder in the company.⁸ During his lifetime, these London acting companies held an interesting and sometimes enviable position. For example, to facilitate control over the drama, a nobleman presumably with literary interests sponsored a group of actors; thus, the troupe become known by its patron's name.⁹ Of the many companies so formed, two of

⁴R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (eds.), Henslowe's Diary, p. 328.

⁵Edwin Nungezer, A Dictionary of Actors, pp. 305-306.

⁶Foakes, op. cit., p. 331.

⁷Ibid., p. 332.

⁸Alwin Thaler, Shakespeare to Sheridan, p. 71.

⁹Evelyn M. Albright, Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640, p. 7, and Hardin Craig (ed.), A History of English Literature, p. 223.

the foremost were the Lord Admiral's and the Lord Chamberlain's; Rowley wrote for the former, and Shakespeare for the latter.¹⁰

As the popularity of theatrical performances increased, the influence of the companies over the dramatic texts also developed. Of the many dramatic forms prevalent in that period, one in particular that gained popularity with writers and audiences at the opening of the seventeenth century was the historical chronicle play. However, even though the dramatist based his narrative upon historical records, he took much freedom with these facts, particularly if a play could be made more appealing by this method. In the play, When You See Me, You Know Me (1605), Samuel Rowley utilizes both the records of Holinshed and Foxe, and in the accounts used, he, like others, takes liberty with the chronology.¹¹ For example, he presents Cardinal Wolsey as a contemporary of Queen Catherine Parr, Henry's sixth wife, completely disregarding the historical fact that Wolsey died in 1530, some sixteen years before Catherine's accusation of heresy.¹² Perhaps, some of Rowley's deviations from historical fact also may be a result of his effort to conform to the prevailing philosophies of the incumbent king.

¹⁰Hardin Craig (ed.), A History of English Literature, p. 223.

¹¹Samuel Rowley, When You See Me, You Know Me, p. x.

¹²Raphael Holinshed, Holinshed's Chronicles, III, 755.

Although the records of acting companies contain many references to Rowley, until certain non-dramatic papers were discovered, much of his life was a mystery.¹³ His earliest date in dramatic records identifies him as an actor on June 3, 1597; later, he is mentioned in the employ of Henslowe on August 3, 1597.¹⁴ His first employment with Henslowe, perhaps, included some acting chores in small parts, but his major responsibility during his first months of association with Henslowe was to the reading of various plays and the making of recommendations to Henslowe about the quality of the work, as well as witnessing and processing loans and payments for the work done.¹⁵ Henslowe and John Heele, who acted as a clown, also entered into an agreement that Rowley witnessed on August 3, 1597.¹⁶ Moreover, one notes that on March 8, 1598, Rowley attested to a loan for Robert Shaw, and later, on June 30, 1598, he witnessed the agreement of a loan from Henslowe to Dekker.¹⁷

During the interval, 1598 to 1602, he is receiving and making payments for Henslowe. For example, on February

¹³J. A. Somerset, "New Facts Concerning Samuel Rowley," RES, XVII (August, 1966), 293.

¹⁴Foakes, op. cit., p. 328.

¹⁵Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, 161.

¹⁶Foakes, op. cit., p. 239.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 87, 194.

10, 1598, Henslowe notes that a sum was lent to Thomas Dowton and "samwell Redly," whom Foakes thinks is Samuel Rowley.¹⁸ In some instances in the Diary, the term, lent, apparently refers to payment; for example, a sum was "Lent vnto samwell Rowley the 16 of febreary 1598 to lend in pte of payment vnto harye chettell vpon his boocke of polefemos."¹⁹ Moreover, Henslowe delivered money to Rowley on December 12, 1598, for the purchase of various items to make costumes for a play.²⁰ Several entries of a similar nature appear in the Diary:

Lent vnto Samewell Rowley & Thomas downton the 15 of July 1599 to bye A Boocke of thomas dickers Called the gentle Craft the som of²¹

Lent vnto Samwell Rowley the 22 of desember 1600 to geue vnto Thomas deckers for alterynge of fayton for the corte²²

Lent vnto Samwell Rowley the 30 of July 1601 to paye vnto John daye & w^m hawghton in fulle paymente of A Boocke called the third pt of thome strowde the some of²³

Lent at the apoyntment of Samewell Rowlye vnto John daye the 4 of maye 1602 in earneste of A play called bristo tragedi as maye apere the some of²⁴

¹⁸Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 105.

²⁰Ibid., p. 102.

²¹Ibid., p. 122.

²²Ibid., p. 137.

²³Ibid., p. 178.

²⁴Ibid., p. 200.

As Rowley's familiarity with the theatrical profession increased and Henslowe's confidence in Rowley grew, Rowley was given more authority over the manuscripts used by the acting companies associated with Henslowe.²⁵ By 1601, he was under contract to the Admiral's Men, who were transferred to Prince Henry in 1603, and, upon Prince Henry's death, to Palsgrave in 1613.²⁶ Although Rowley continued as an author with the dramatic companies, there is no evidence that he was engaged in acting after 1613.²⁷ While he was thus employed, his name was linked with such performers as Charles Massey, one of the substantial players with the Admiral's Men, Prince Henry's Company, and Palsgrave's Company.²⁸ Hotson states that perhaps Samuel Rowley was the same "Sam Rowley" mentioned in the Mercurius Pragmaticus as having performed with Hugh Peters at the Curtaine Playhouse.²⁹

Tracing Rowley's career with the Admiral's Men reveals that he was among the members of the group named when the Admiral's Men ceased their playing at the Rose

²⁵Ibid., pp. 294-295.

²⁶Frederick G. Fleay, A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, II, 403.

²⁷Bentley, op. cit., II, 555.

²⁸Ibid., II, 507.

²⁹Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage, p. 15.

Theatre, July 28, 1597, and when the company was again playing at the Rose from October 11, 1597, to March 8, 1598.³⁰ Subsequently, Rowley signed an agreement between Henslowe and the Admiral's Men as a full shareholder of the company, an agreement that also acknowledged a debt of three hundred pounds and contained Rowley's promise to pay the debt in full.³¹ Again, in February 7, 1602, Rowley signed with the Admiral's Men as a shareholder.³² That the Admiral's Men had an opportunity to play at court seventeen times during its existence emphasizes its importance as a major company.³³

At the time when the Admiral's Men passed into the control of Prince Henry in 1603, Rowley was among those whose names appear on the patent.³⁴ Confirming the appreciation that King James held for acting companies, Prince Henry's Men, including Rowley, not only were asked to participate in the public entry of James into London, but were also granted livery for the coronation procession of March 15, 1604.³⁵ As the historical records of Prince

³⁰John T. Murray, English Dramatic Companies 1558-1742, pp. 123-126.

³¹Foakes, op. cit., p. 136.

³²Ashley H. Thorndike, Shakespeares Theater, p. 290.

³³Frederick G. Fleay, A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare, p. 327.

³⁴Thorndike, op. cit., pp. 311-312.

³⁵Bentley, op. cit., I, 136; and Chambers, op. cit., II, 186.

Henry's Company reveal, Rowley was included in the new patent of April 30, 1606, and also in the one for 1610.³⁶

Upon the death of Prince Henry in 1612, the company was transferred to the Elector Palatine, who was preparing to marry Princess Elizabeth, and, thus, the company became known as Palsgrave's Players.³⁷ The date given for this transfer is January 11, 1612-13, and, shortly before this date, James I, on January 4, 1612-13, granted permission for this company, of which Rowley was a member, to perform at the Fortune and in ". . . any Citie, Universitie, Towne, or Borough whatsoever wthin our Realmes and dominions."³⁸ Since Fleay gives the dates of Prince Henry's Company as 1603 to 1613, it is possible that the above-noted permission may have been given by James I to Prince Henry's Company.³⁹ Illustrative of the active career that Rowley must have had with Prince Henry's Men is the additional fact that the Prince's Company played at court on forty occasions from 1603 to 1613.⁴⁰

Even though Palsgrave's Men, on the other hand, did not perform at court, their work was of a very high quality,

³⁶Bentley, op. cit., I, 136.

³⁷Loc. cit.

³⁸William C. Hazlitt (ed.), The English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes, pp. 44-45.

³⁹Fleay, History, op. cit., p. 327.

⁴⁰Loc. cit.

apparent in the fact that many nobles and ambassadors attended the house in which this group acted.⁴¹ Continuing his membership with the company, Rowley also engaged in some acting, but his major contribution was that of a dramatist writing plays for the company to perform at the Fortune.⁴² In 1624, Palsgrave's Men became known as the Fortune Company, a name they retained until 1631, when their sponsorship went to Prince Charles, who continued as a patron until 1642; but Rowley's contributions are generally agreed, by most scholars, to have ended in 1624, thus making his career as a writer for important London acting companies at least some twenty-three years in length.⁴³

Although only one play definitely known to have been written by him remains, a number of plays attributed to him have been lost.⁴⁴ Of these early works, two plays, Judas and Joshua, obviously based upon a scriptural source, may have been written in 1601 and 1602, with the help of William Bird (Birde), an author frequently mentioned in association with Rowley.⁴⁵ A third scripturally-based play, Sampson,

⁴¹Bentley, op. cit., I, 136.

⁴²Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Playwrights, p. 194.

⁴³Fleay, Chronicle, op. cit., II, 403.

⁴⁴Chambers, op. cit., III, 472.

⁴⁵Adolphus W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Ann, II, 546.

was written by Rowley in collaboration with Edward Juby.⁴⁶ Although another work, Hymen's Holiday, or Cupids Vagaries, has been attributed to a dramatist named Rowley, there is some doubt, however, as to whether it was written by Samuel or William Rowley, a contemporary of some repute.⁴⁷ Since When You See Me, You Know Me is Rowley's only extant play of which there is no question concerning authorship, it is the only available complete text from which to study this author's style.⁴⁸ Although the date of composition for When You See Me is to be discussed later in greater detail, it is sufficient, here, to state that the play was written about 1604.⁴⁹

For a period of years, apparently Rowley was not active in the theatre. From the time of the patent of 1613, the last such document to contain Rowley's name, until 1623, when he apparently came out of retirement to write three more plays, no dramatic records refer to his acting or writing.⁵⁰ Significantly, in a list of the members of

⁴⁶Foakes, op. cit., p. 204.

⁴⁷Leslie Stephen and Sydney Lee (eds.), Dictionary of National Biography, XVII, 362.

⁴⁸H. Dougdale Sykes, The Authorship of 'The Taming of a Shrew,' 'The Famous Victories of Henry V,' and the Additions to Marlowe's 'Faustus,' p. 33.

⁴⁹Loc. cit.

⁵⁰Bentley, op. cit., II, 555.

Palsgrave's Men in October 31, 1618, he is not named.⁵¹ When this literary silence is broken, however, he writes quite hastily, producing three plays in less than a year. On July 27, 1623, in the records of Sir Henry Herbert, one notes that Rowley had written "For the Palsgrave's Players, a Tragedy of Richard the Third, or the English Prophet, with the Reformation . . ."⁵² There is some speculation that this play may have been a revision of an earlier lost work, Richard Crookback, by Ben Jonson; however, Herbert made this entry as though it were simply another play by Rowley.⁵³ Of the two remaining plays, ". . . a new Comedy, called Hardshifte for Husbands or Bilboes the best blade, Written by Samuel Rowley," was prepared for the Palsgrave's players and recorded by Herbert on "1623, October 29."⁵⁴ A final play that is regarded as Rowley's was recorded on April 6, 1624: "For the Fortune; a new Comedy, called A Match or no Match: Written by Mr. Rowley."⁵⁵ After 1624, no further plays are attributed with any degree of certainty to Rowley. One piece of questionable authorship, however, sometimes

⁵¹Ibid., I, 139.

⁵²Joseph Q. Adams, The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert Master of the Revels, 1623-1673, p. 24.

⁵³Stephen, op. cit., p. 362.

⁵⁴Adams, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 27.

thought to have been at least partly written by him is The Noble Soldier; nevertheless, because its probable date of composition is 1634, it seems more reasonable to assume that it was the work of Thomas Dekker, especially in the light of the discovery of the last will and testament of Rowley, probated on "4 December 1624."⁵⁶ In the opinion of some scholars, either Rowley revised Dekker's work, or Dekker amended the original work of Rowley. If either theory is correct, it is more likely the latter.⁵⁷ Sykes, after a consideration of the results of the metrical tests used on The Noble Soldier and When You See Me, declares that there is not a sufficient similarity between the two styles to indicate that the same hand was responsible for both works.⁵⁸

With the discovery of Rowley's will, however, many of the gaps, which were either unfilled or filled primarily with speculation, have been bridged, within reason. By comparing the signature found on a fragment of the original will with Rowley's signatures in Henslowe's Diary, scholars have verified the authenticity of the will beyond doubt, thus providing a new source of material with which to study Rowley more closely.⁵⁹ The will was dated ". . . the

⁵⁶Stephen, op. cit., p. 363; and Somerset, op. cit., p. 293.

⁵⁷Stephen, op. cit., p. 363.

⁵⁸Sykes, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

⁵⁹Somerset, op. cit., p. 293.

Three/and Twentith daie of Iuly Anno Dni 1624, . . ." about three-and-one-half months following the licensing of the last of his plays.⁶⁰ This date fits conveniently between the date of his last play and the date recorded in the ". . . parish register of St. Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel, on 20 October 1624, . . ." at the time when Rowley was buried, as he requested in his will, inside the church at Whitechapel.⁶¹ Unfortunately, no information in the will, or elsewhere, sheds any light upon his birth or early life.

In his will, Rowley alludes to several members of his immediate family, allusions that give substance to certain other notes found in the parish register of the church at Whitechapel. According to his will, once all debts were paid and funeral expenses acquitted, Rowley desired that his wife, Alice, be given the lease, "for terme of her naturall life," on certain properties which he held in Plough Alley.⁶² A reference made to a "Samewell Rowley," who was married to one "Alice Coley" on April 7, 1594, at St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, was recorded in the parish register of that church.⁶³ Considering the reference in the will to his wife

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 296.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 294, 296.

⁶²Ibid., p. 294.

⁶³Walter W. Greg, Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, p. 134; and Bentley, op. cit., II, 555.

Alice, this record of a marriage takes on a new importance to the private life of Rowley. Other dates in the White-chapel parish register must certainly refer to Rowley. Of these are two entries which concern a daughter, Mary Rowley, who was baptized on "5 March 1601/2," and buried on "24 July 1603."⁶⁴ Apparently, Rowley had another daughter, Marye, who on May 24, 1607, was baptized, and on July 28, 1607, was buried.⁶⁵ Obviously, no record of the birth of a daughter, Jane, was made in the parish register, indicating that she may have been born prior to the time of the family's move to that parish; however, she is mentioned in the will, for Rowley states, ". . . I will giue and bequeath vnto Iane Adams my daughter the wife of Richard Adams my Fower Copiehold Messuages" ⁶⁶ The absence of a record of Jane's birth and baptism is offset by the fact that ". . . on 20 May 1616 the marriage of 'Rich: Adams et Iane Rowley' was recorded . . ." in the parish register.⁶⁷ These dates in the parish register at Whitechapel are scattered throughout the years from 1601 to 1624, indicating that,

⁶⁴Somerset, op. cit., p. 296.

⁶⁵Loc. cit.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 294, 296.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 296.

from the event of moving to Whitechapel, Rowley must have lived there continuously until his death.⁶⁸

Several other individuals were also mentioned in the will clearly indicating their relationship to Rowley. Most significant of those mentioned is William Rowley, thought to be a brother of Samuel.⁶⁹ That he was a brother is indicated by the statement, ". . . giue and bequeath vnto my Brother William Rowley All my Bookes"70 Another brother, Thomas, about whom little is known except that he may have acted as an extra in 1 Tamar Cam, was given an amount of ". . . fortie shilling of lawfull mony"71

Upon the death of Jane, Rowley stipulated that a portion of her inheritance be given to each of her children, Samuel, Richard, and one daughter.⁷² Unto a nephew, Richard Rowley, he left a gift of five pounds, ". . . to be paide vnto him within six monthes after his decease."⁷³ After giving a sum of "Fortie" shillings to the poor of the parish to be used to buy food for them, the remainder of his substance Rowley left in its entirety to his wife for any

⁶⁸Loc. cit.

⁶⁹Stephen, op. cit., p. 362.

⁷⁰Somerset, op. cit., p. 294.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 294, 296.

⁷²Ibid., p. 294.

⁷³Ibid., p. 295.

and all expenses that might be incurred. His wife, Alice, and his son-in-law, Richard Adams, were named as his "sole and only Executors."⁷⁴

In view of the amounts of money and property which Rowley had accumulated during his life, evidenced by the bequests of his will, his work for the Admiral's-Prince Henry's-Palgrave's Companies proved to be quite successful. Perhaps, his prosperity indicated that the indignities endured for debts by members of acting companies may not have been due alone to the fact of low wages, but possibly to the inability to manage that income with a wary eye to the needs of the future rather than to the desires of the present.⁷⁵

Working as an actor and a playwright, Rowley advanced in the profession from a rather minor position to one of a full shareholder in the Admiral's Company. That the gain received from his profession secured the future of his family demonstrates that he was not only a skilled dramatist but also an able businessman. Because this combination within one individual of such artistic talent is rather unusual, one regrets that only one of Rowley's complete works is extant.

⁷⁴Loc. cit.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 297.

CHAPTER II

ROWLEY'S MAJOR WORK:

WHEN YOU SEE ME, YOU KNOW ME

As one considers the varied career of Samuel Rowley, he recognizes a versatile writer, one whose work deserves a closer scrutiny for an understanding of its true dramatic contribution. His only extant play, When You See Me, You Know Me, with the sub-title, or the Famous Chronicle History of King Henry the Eighth, with the Birth and Virtuous Life of Edward, Prince of Wales, holds much interest and curiosity for the student of Elizabethan drama, because of its relationship to the period during which it was written.⁷⁶

During the years of 1600 to March 1603, nowhere in Henslowe's Diary is there any mention of When You See Me. This fact coupled with Rowley's known close association with Henslowe during these same years emphasizes that the play was almost certainly not written prior to 1603.⁷⁷ Although the date of printing for When You See Me can be traced with some certainty, an exact date of composition is a matter for conjecture. Because plays were not written primarily for printing but for performance by acting companies, a date of

⁷⁶J. C. Ghosh (ed.), Annals of English Literature 1475-1925, p. 42.

⁷⁷Rowley, op. cit., pp. ix-x.

printing might vary considerably from a date of composition.⁷⁸ Since the earliest date of printing recorded for When You See Me is February 12, 1605, one concludes that the play was probably written shortly before this time, either in late 1603 or early 1604.⁷⁹

In May of 1603, the Admiral's Company, with which Rowley was associated as an actor-playwright, was transferred to Prince Henry's Men, after which time it was known as Palsgrave's Men.⁸⁰ Because When You See Me was performed by Prince Henry's Company, it had to be performed after 1603, or probably a year later, for it seems to be more reasonable to think that James would have sanctioned the licensing of a play about Henry VIII, than would have Elizabeth.⁸¹ If this assumption is correct, the performance of When You See Me would have been held in the reopened Fortune theatre after Easter of 1604.⁸² If it were performed first in 1604, as is assumed, the actors might have objected to having had it printed as early as 1605.⁸³

⁷⁸A. W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Ann, II, 547.

⁷⁹Albert Feuillerat, The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays, p. 29.

⁸⁰Fleay, Chronicle, op. cit., p. 375.

⁸¹Feuillerat, op. cit., p. 29; and Rowley, op. cit., p. x.

⁸²Rowley, op. cit., p. x.

⁸³Ibid., p. viii.

Apparently, they did represent a powerful force concerning the disposition of plays in their repertory. After deciding to accept a play, they might revise the dialogue, alter the scenes, and rework other parts which seemed necessary to them.⁸⁴ After a play had run through a series of performances and was no longer considered to be new, or especially valuable, the author or company holding the rights to the play might then authorize someone to print and sell copies of the work.⁸⁵

The first printing of When You See Me in 1605 was undertaken for Nathanel Butter

. . . if he gett good allowance for the enterlude of King Henry the 8th before he begyn to print it. And then procure the wardens handes to yt for the entrance of yt He is to haue the same for his copy.⁸⁶

The printer for the first edition was Humphrey Lowes, although probably not the entire work came from his presses.⁸⁷ Subsequent printings were undertaken in 1613, by Thomas Purfoot; in 1621, also by Purfoot; and in 1632, by Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet.⁸⁸ It is known, also,

⁸⁴Feuillerat, op. cit., p. 29.

⁸⁵Albright, op. cit., p. 204.

⁸⁶Edward Arber (ed.), A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A. D., III, 283.

⁸⁷Walter W. Greg, A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, I, 336.

⁸⁸Rowley, op. cit., p. v.

that on portions of the copies, the printers would write their initials, thus leaving a mark with which to identify the work of different printers.⁸⁹ For example, in the 1613 copy, Purfoot's work was identifiable because of the presence of his initials on A2.⁹⁰

Often when one wanted to print a play quickly, a common practice was to assign different parts of it to different printers. Why Butter was in a hurry in this case is not certain, but that he would account for the different types of printing that occur in various parts of the play. Apparently, the play was also separated into sections to expedite its printing. These divisions are "A-C (11. 1-906), D-F (11. 907-1792), G (11. 1793-2095), H-I (11. 2096-2701), I and K-L (11. 2702-3096)."⁹¹ Moreover, a difference in the running titles is found in these various sections, with section A-F being When you see me, you know me, with a few instances of the variant spelling "knowe," and with the last phrase, you shall know me, used occasionally. In section G, the form is changed in that When you see me is now printed above one page with you know me printed on the opposite page. The phrase in H and I returns to the form used

⁸⁹Greg, op. cit., I, 336.

⁹⁰Loc. cit.

⁹¹Rowley, op. cit., p. vi.

originally in section A, while one notes the following difference in that of K and L: When you see me, you know mee.⁹²

A further evidence of the hand of several printers is apparent in the variant spellings of characters' names in different portions of the play. Of these, Cardinal Wolsey has the most diverse spellings of any, with the following variants: Woolsie, Woolsey, Wool., Wools., Wolsie, Wol., Wolsey, and Wolsye. The spellings which use the double "oo" are found most often in sections A-C and K-L, while the use of the single "o" appears in E-F and H-L, with the E-F form always Wol.⁹³ For example, in A, 11. 187 and 190, "Wool. Lord Boneuet the French high admirall . . . , Wool. It shall my Liege," the double letter is observed, and in C, the double letter is also shown, "Wool. I will, and doubt not" (1. 613) In E, however, a single letter is used, "Wol. How now Patch . . ." (1. 1453) and also in I, "Gard. Tis Cardinall Wolsey my Lord." (1. 2582) The tendencies cited show the differences to be found in the sections that may have been handled by different printers.

Similarly, Sir William Cumption's name also undergoes many spellings, such as the following: Cumpton, Cumpt., Cum., Compton, and Compt, with the spelling, Crumpt.,

⁹²Loc. cit.

⁹³Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

evidently being a misspelling.⁹⁴ The use of "u" in this name in any section except in A-C occurs only in the apparent misspelling. As one notes in section B, "How now Sir William Cumpton, where is the king," (l. 549), and in section D, "Goe Lords attend them, Brandon and Compton stay," (l. 917) the work of different composers is strongly indicated. Also, in reference to Will, the King's clown, one notes the spelling of Summers in parts K-L, but in the other portions of the play Will is usually referred to as Sommers.⁹⁵ Although these examples of variant spellings do not include every instance of miscellaneous differences, they represent major orthographic changes. In not every case can a variance in spelling be attributed to a different compositor, yet when a general impression is established with the result apparently coming from a deliberate design, one must be aware of what the evidence indicates. Thus, these spellings indicate that different composers worked on various sections of the original copy.⁹⁶

By printing the first editions, Butter had secured the rights to When You See Me, which he maintained until on May 21, 1639, when he transferred them to Miles Fleshner, or

⁹⁴Ibid., p. vii.

⁹⁵Loc. cit.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. vi.

Fletcher.⁹⁷ During the time of Rowley, there was no copy-right as it is known today. There was, however, a right recognized when an individual or company with ownership of a copy entered it in the London Stationers' Company register with the authorization of the warden.⁹⁸ That Butter entered When You See Me in the Stationers' Register and, thereby, obtained the rights to print copies of the play for his own use illustrates the methods followed to obtain printing rights to a play.⁹⁹ Of the copies available, only the 1605 copy is substantive; hence, it was from this addition that the Malone Society Reprint was made.¹⁰⁰ Only two copies of the 1605 printing exist; in the Boston Public Library is the Barton Collection copy, with some words and running titles missing; and in the Bodleian Library, Herber's copy is numbered Malone 829, although it does not belong to the Malone Collection itself.¹⁰¹

When the present text was compiled, editors compared both copies and found the only differences being those attributable to printing difficulties in 11. 258 and 2591.

⁹⁷Fleay, Chronicle, op. cit., p. 355.

⁹⁸W. W. Greg, The Shakespeare First Folio, pp. 28-30.

⁹⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁰Rowley, op. cit., p. xii.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. v.

For example, in 1. 258: "I" is clear in the Barton copy; while in the Bodleian copy, it appears to be slipping out. The stage direction, "knocks," in the Bodleian copy is "knock" in the Barton copy, with "knocks" retained in the present text:

King. O thou art deceaed Ned, It is too certaine,
knocks. Hayday more knocking, knock yrons an
 his heeles, And beare him hence what ere he be
 distrube vs, who ist?

(11. 2590-2592)

Both corrections were made to give the apparent meaning to the lines.

Two deliberate corrections that were made are noted in 11. 791 and 2514, with 1. 791 of the Barton copy reading, "king. Wel 1," the Bodleian copy having "Ling. Well," and a combination of the two resulting in "king. Well," which appears in 1. 791 of the Malone Society text. The difference found in 1. 2514 is "secrit" (the Barton copy) and "secret" (the Bodleian copy), the latter remaining in the present copy:¹⁰² "I did fayre Queene, and much sad tidings bring, His grace in secret hath reueild to me What is intended to your Maiesty" (11. 2513-2515) These corrections illustrate that in the preparation of the Malone Reprint, the editors took much care to prepare an authentic text.

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. xii, xiv, xvi.

Because the original text contained no scene divisions, the Malone editors have placed such divisions in the seemingly appropriate places. Some scene changes are doubtful, however, if it is not clear whether an individual, primarily concerned, actually made an exit or not. For example, at l. 135, a new scene has been marked, for apparently Wolsey and Bonner leave the stage at l. 134, and Wolsey returns in l. 135 with the royal procession:

Bon. They are readie my Lord, and the Shrieue attends for them,

Wol. Dispatch him quickly, and haste after me;
We must attend the Kings high Maiestie.

Sc. ii Sound Trumpets, Enter King Harry the Eight, Queene Iane bigge with Child, the Cardinall, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, Dudlie, Grave, Compton, the Ladie Marie, The Countesse of Salisburie attending on the Queene.

King. Charles Brandon, Dudley, and my good Lord Gray,
Prepare your selues, and be in readinesse

Again, even though it may have been possible for the cobbler to have completed his journey on stage, a new scene was marked at l. 1195 because of the uncertainty involved as to his whereabouts:

Cob. I warrant you syr, and this be all, ide haue done it for halfe the mon: well, I must enquire for one Brandon, and tell him the great stag of Baydon is eth Counter, burlady I doubt they be both craftie knaues, and this is some watch-word betweene them: beth masse I doubt hee nere come well by his mony, hees so liberall, well ile forward.

Sc. vi Enter Brandon, and Compton.

Bron. Syr William, are you sure it was at Graces-Church
His Maiestie appointed we should meete Him?
We haue bin there and mist him, what thanke yee
syr?

Comp. Good faith I know not. His Highnesse is too
vnterous bold, my Lord: I know he will forsake
himselpe in this, Opposing still against a world
of oddes.

Bran. Good faith tis true: but soft here comes one,
How now good fellow, whether goest thou?

Cob. It lyes in my authoritie sir, To aske you that
question. For I am one of the kings watch,
I can tell ye.

Apparently, the cobbler exits at 1. 1194 and, then, re-enters,
because Brandon and Compton do not see him until 1. 1203.

In view of the fact that Rowley wrote entrance and
exit instructions into the speakers' lines, a failure to note
these subtle directions would result in ambiguities. For
example, Wolsey gives Bonner a command, "Delay him awhile,
and tell him we are busie" (1. 37) At this point,
Bonner exits. If this exit is not noticed, when a speech is
later assigned to Bon., one would assume it to be Bonner, but
from the context it is Bonnivet, a French ambassador who says,
"But tis is countries peace the king respects." (1. 53) (The
wording is indeed puzzling, here, until one realizes that is
should be his.) Later, in 1. 73, Bonner again enters the
scene, thus proving the necessity of having exited before that
line. This kind of stage direction is evident in a number of
places; however, in most instances, Rowley wrote rather com-
plete instructions concerning characters and what they were
to do.

Reflecting the age in which he wrote, Rowley was conscious of the emphasis placed upon elaborate costuming and pageantry for which the courts of the kings were famous.¹⁰³ On the title-page of the quarto of 1613 in When You See Me is a portrait of "bluff King Hal," with his splendid clothing, for which he was famous, shown in all its magnificence.¹⁰⁴ In the actual text of the play, specific references are made to the elaborate costumes of certain characters. For example, one notes, "Enter the Cardinall reading a letter, Bonner in his Boshops Roabes," (11. 1428-1429), alluding to ecclesiastical dress. Further, Creizenach observes that Rowley's costuming of Queen Jane was such as to make her actually appear great with child when she accompanies the King to the court;¹⁰⁵ "Sound Trumpets, Enter King Harry the Eighth, Queen Iane begge with Child" (11. 135-136)

History played a major part in the shaping of Rowley's work, although he took much liberty with its chronology.¹⁰⁶ For example, except for Cardinal Wolsey as a contemporary of Queen Catherine Parr, that portion of the play concerning

¹⁰³Montague Summers, The Restoration Theatre, p. 259.

¹⁰⁴Rowley, op. cit., p. xxiii.

¹⁰⁵Wilhelm M. Creizenach, The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, p. 404.

¹⁰⁶Rowley, op. cit., p. x.

her being accused of heresy very closely parallels the account given by Foxe.¹⁰⁷ The marriage of Lady Mary to the king of France and, following his death, to Charles Brandon actually occurred in 1514, not following the birth of Prince Edward in 1537, as Rowley has it.¹⁰⁸ Again, a close friend and attendant to the King, Sir William Compton, died in 1528, much before his appearance as noted in the play.¹⁰⁹ Only mentioning Henry's fourth wife and ignoring his fifth wife, Rowley introduces Catherine Parr as queen shortly after the time of the death of Jane Seymour, thus revealing another alteration of history in the play.¹¹⁰

As Rowley extracted situations from history, he also was able to utilize contemporary feelings. For example, in When You See Me, the trend toward nationalism and a definite anti-Papal feeling exist, thus reflecting the popular opinion of the age.¹¹¹ One notes this hostility towards Cardinal Wolsey and the allegiance to the Pope in Rome in Will, the King's fool:

¹⁰⁷G. A. Williamson (ed.), Foxe's Book of Martyrs, pp. 162-167.

¹⁰⁸Holinshed, op. cit., III, 603-611; 804-805.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., III, 736.

¹¹⁰Ibid., III, 805, 810, 819, 832.

¹¹¹Albright, op. cit., p. 96; and Rowley, op. cit., p. x.

Well, and when the Pope is at best, hee is but Saint Peters debutie, but the poore, present Christ, and therefore should be something better regarded.

(11. 1614-1616)

Would the King wood whip thee and all the Popes whelpes out of England once, for betweene yee, yee haue rackt and puld it so, we shal be all poore shortly, you haue had foure hundred threescore pound within this three yeare for smoakepence, you haue smoakte it yfaith: dost heare Harry, next time they gather them, let them take the chimnies, and leaue the coyne behind them, wee haue clay enough to make bricke, though we want siluer mines to make mony.

(11. 1619-1626)

Like Shakespeare, Rowley also made use of what he could of folk tales and tradition. Rowley's chronicle history, When You See Me, was written as an accumulation of short incidents containing bits of legendary references,¹¹² Henry's favorite expression, Mother of God, and such exclamations as Ha when upset or angry, were in keeping with tradition; thus, Rowley has utilized such expressions to portray the following reactions of the King:¹¹³

How now Queen Iane (Mother of God) my loue
Thou wilt neuer be able to sit halfe this time
(11. 148-149)

Without offense, saist thou, hauen take my soule
(1. 477)

The lady Seatou, Gods holy mother,
Her sonne has had our pardon twise alreadie
(11. 1579-1580)

¹¹²Creizenach, op. cit., p. 261.

¹¹³Williamson, op. cit., p. 134.

Ha, saist thou so, was it no otherwise.
(1. 2675)

Ha, ha, the foole tels you true (my gentle sister)
(1. 361)

Hold thee good fellowe, heres an ange11 for thee.
(1. 1182)

From these examples, one observes that Rowley's use of these exclamations so typical of Henry VIII extends throughout the entire play.

Rowley used another popular folk-theme as the foundation for scene v, in which King Henry, Compton, and Brandon disguise themselves, enter London at night, and inspect the watches guarding the city.¹¹⁴ While wandering about the city, the King encounters a criminal of the worst sort, Black Will, with whom he continues his stroll until Black Will, aggravated by the King's taunts, challenges the King to show his swordsmanship, creating a noisy disturbance and causing both to be detained in the Counter for further investigation.¹¹⁵ This incident reveals that Rowley was influenced by a desire of the populace to hear about their sovereign's being disguised in common clothing and associating with humble folk, even if those with whom a king would mingle were unaware of their brush with royalty.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴Victor O. Freeburg, Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama, p. 162.

¹¹⁵Loc. cit.

¹¹⁶Creizenach, op. cit., p. 179.

Briefly, in summary, the plot is as follows: as the French ambassadors arrive to seek English aid in securing peace, Wolsey attempts to use the league thus made between King Henry and France to draw a step closer to the papal crown. Following Queen Jane's death at the birth of Prince Edward, Henry makes Catherine Parr his queen, thus causing Wolsey great concern because of the new queen's sympathy for Luther's cause. During the coronation of Catherine, Will and Patch go to Wolsey's wine cellar and there discover the wealth that Wolsey has obtained through treachery. These two clowns reveal their discovery to the King, who first ponders and then begins an investigation himself. When Catherine is eventually accused of heresy, Prince Edward is instrumental in helping clear her reputation of the accusations of treason. With Catherine's triumph, the bishops, who accuse her, are deposed and the stage is set for Wolsey's fall, finally brought about by the arrival of Henry's nephew, Emperor Charles V. To relieve the tension that follows Wolsey's denunciation, Will matches wits with the royal personage, and thus, resolves the situation into harmony, once again.

Having been associated with Henslowe and the Admiral's Men, Rowley probably was familiar with two earlier plays concerning Cardinal Wolsey: namely, Munday, Drayton, and Chettle's The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey and Chettle's

Cardinal Wolsey. Very possibly, Rowley may even have helped revise them for the stage.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Feuillerat suggests that Rowley may even have acted in them.¹¹⁸ Some common elements between these earlier plays and When You See Me consist of the episodes involving the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey, his downfall, and the character of Will Sommers, the King's jester being quite influential.¹¹⁹ This clown, Will, one of the outstanding features of Rowley's play, furnishes the wit and humor, as well as subtle wisdom, to sustain the play through a number of editions.¹²⁰

A close examination of the comic scenes in When You See Me reveals a number of definite characteristics of Rowley's comic style. Primarily, Rowley places his clown, Will, in a position of great importance, for Will has an uncanny ability for discovering what plots are afoot.¹²¹ In ll. 205-206, he states, "Marrie I rise early, and ride post to London, to know what newes was here at Court," showing that he desires to obtain information from the notorious

¹¹⁷Feuillerat, op. cit., pp. 28-29; and William Shakespeare, Henry VIII, p. 2.

¹¹⁸Feuillerat, op. cit., p. 29.

¹¹⁹Ibid., pp. 28-29.

¹²⁰Algernon C. Swinburne, A Study of Shakespeare, pp. 100-101.

¹²¹Sykes, op. cit., p. 16.

gossips in London. Another speech reveals that he learns about Wolsey's hidden wealth through an episode in the Cardinal's wine cellar:

I, I my Lord, ne're/set your wit to the fooles, Will Summers will be secret now, and say nothing, if I would be a blabbe of my tongue, I could tell the King how many barrells full of gold and silver . . . twentie great truncks with Crosses, Crosiers, Copes, Miters, Maces, golden Crucifixes . . .

(11. 2818-2824)

Will discloses the unusually great value of Wolsey's treasure and comments upon Wolsey's desire to become Pope, thus revealing Rowley's anti-Papal feelings. Typical of a court clown, Will can speak about what are otherwise considered to be forbidden subjects, because a jester was granted such privileges: "King. Well William your tongue is priuiledgde." (1. 1627) Thus, often Will makes witty observations with no fear of punishment. Rowley has so created the clown that Will is able to comment on any subject with which his associates are concerned. Will's vocabulary, as well as that of the other characters, is filled with many distinctive exclamations of intense feelings, as follows: sounes, as passes, I warrant, faith, and other similar phrases and words.

Furthermore, another device Rowley uses is the habit of alternating lines of verse and lines that appear to be prose. In When You See Me, there are approximately 2044 lines of verse and 982 lines of prose. Significantly, all but 282 lines of the prose are found in the scenes involving

Will Sommers. Even though Will's lines in print appear to be in prose, many are actually in verse, especially when he is matching wits with another character. For example, in prose format, one finds verse:

A halter and a rope, for him that would be pope, Against
all right and reason. (11. 1479-1480)

If you should dye, theres none would cry, though your
neck should breake. (11. 1474-1475)

In his formation of lines, Rowley often places an adjective ending in al following the noun that it modifies. This pattern of noun-adjective does not always occur at the end of a line, but usually it is so placed.¹²² For example:

That in our state and pompe pontificiall (1. 82)

In health great King and from his sacred lips:
I bring a blessing Appostolicall: (11. 832-833)

But we shall cross him sort I doubt it not:
And tread vpon his pompe imperiall (11. 1434-1435)

Deviating from his usual verse style, in several lines Rowley changes the ending of the line to a trochaic form:

Thou wofull man, that camst to comfort me:
How shall I ease they hearts calamitie? (11. 480-481)

To scorne the Pope, and Romes religion,
When Queene Anne Bullen wore the diadem. (11. 527-528)

¹²²Greg, Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, p. 133.

That he and his faire posteritie,
 Proclaimd defenders of the faith shall be
 (11. 607-608)

One observes the definite lack of stress on the final syllables. Although these devices with word arrangement might be found in the language of other writers, that they occur with relative frequency in Rowley's works indicates style.¹²³

In the text of When You See Me, the elaborate stage directions are significant. For example:

Enter the Cardinall with the Embassadors of Fraunce, in all state and Sc. i royaltie, the Purse and Mace before him.
 (11. 1-2)

Enter Will Sommers booted and spurred, blowing a horne.
 (11. 198-199)

Enter the Heralds first, then the Trumpets next the guard, then Mace-bearer and swords, then the Cardinall, then Branden, then the King, after him the Queene, Lady Mary, and Ladies attending.
 (11. 2914-2917)

Not only is there a complete listing of characters, here, but also instructions concerning objects to be carried and used.

In the creation of Will and Patch, Rowley presents the clowns as extravagant characters in passages of comic bufoonery.¹²⁴ For example, in the following speeches the clowns amuse the King and relieve his evil temper through the use of fright, surprise, and loud exclamations:

¹²³Loc. cit.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 23.

Will. So doe and feare nothing, for an thou wert the
diuell himselfe, hele coniure thee I warrant
thee, . . . so so now cossen looke to your
Coxecomb:

Page. Boe.

King. Mother of God whats that.

Page. Boe.

King. Out asse take that and tumble at my feete.
For thus Ile spurne thee vp an downe the house:

Pach. Helpe cossen helpe:

(11. 749-758)

Thus, one sees Rowley's use of noise and trickery as a comic device.

Within the comic subplot, Rowley employs intrigue, a device that involves a stream of mysterious incidents leading to a moment of enlightenment. He entangles Will in several adventures culminating in a declaration to the King concerning Wolsey. This stream of events continues to build until the King confronts Wolsey:

Wool. Remember my Liege, that I am Cardinall
And deputie vnto his holinesse.

King. Be the diuells Deputie, I care not I,
Ile not be baffeld by your trechery;
Y'are false abusers of religion

(11. 2994-2998)

. . . We heere discharge you of your offices:
You that are Caiphas, or great Cardinall,
Haste ye with speede vnto your Bishopricke,
There keepe you, till you heare further from vs:
Away and speake not.

(11. 3008-3014)

At the moment of truth, as Wolsey recognizes that he truly has been defeated, Rowley again reveals his anti-Papal

feelings by turning the King against the Cardinal. Thus, from having a clown suspicious of Wolsey, Rowley contrives to make the most important person, the King, also turn against the Cardinal. In this account of the downfall of Wolsey, one notes an example of the Elizabethan concept that instruction in evil was not to be taught, but only discovered, and that the tragic result of wickedness must be so terrible in its presentation that it would discourage anyone from participating in such behavior.¹²⁵

To summarize the distinguishing characteristics of Rowley's comic style as seen in When You See Me, one notes the following points:

1. The clown assumes a position of great importance as one who helps uncover and display truth.
2. The vocabulary consists of colloquial expressions such as sounes, as passes, I warrant, and faith.
3. In the construction of the lines, verse and seemingly prose passages alternate.
4. The verse lines often have a trochaic ending.
5. A pattern of noun-adjective, with an a ending on the adjective, is repeated.
6. Stage directions are usually full and complete.
7. A subplot of intrigue is skillfully interwoven into the main plot.

¹²⁵Craig, op. cit., p. 216.

Armed with these observations upon style, one turns next to the plays on which Rowley is thought to have collaborated in order to determine the extent of similar features to be found in them.

CHAPTER III

ROWLEY'S COLLABORATIONS AND ADDITIONS

In collaboration with a number of other writers, Samuel Rowley is known to have worked on various plays and to have helped with numerous revisions.¹²⁶ Significantly, in almost all of these instances, his work pertained to the creating of a comic or clown figure.¹²⁷ With the characteristics of Rowley's style evident in When You See Me as a basis for judgment, one next examines the collaborations in an attempt to determine the extent of Rowley's contributions.

The first play is The Famous Victories of Henry V (1588), containing the comic work of a dramatist of considerable skill.¹²⁸ Although Sykes infers that the work was Rowley's, Chambers believes that only the stylistic similarity upon which Sykes bases his argument is worthy of consideration.¹²⁹ Studying the character of Derick, a poor carrier, who sustains the comic theme throughout the play, one notes that, while this individual is on the stage, the

¹²⁶Chambers, op. cit., III, 472.

¹²⁷Sykes, op. cit., p. 23.

¹²⁸Quotation from The Famous Victories of Henry V are cited by scene and line from The Case for Shakespeare's Authorship of 'The Famous Victories,' 1961.

¹²⁹Chambers, op. cit., III, 472; and Sykes, op. cit., pp. 10, 16, 2.

action usually focuses around him. For example, in the following passage, Derick is actively engaged in the dialogue:

Derick. Shall I not have my man? Say No, if you dare!
How say you? Shall I not have my man?

John. No, marry, shall you not!

Derick. Shall I not, John?

John. No, Derick.

Derick. Why, then, take you that boxing his ear till
more come! Zounds, shall I not have him?
(iv, 129-135)

Moreover, in the short, rapid speeches of these two characters, it is clear that, although Derick dominates the conversation, subjecting the other character to his will, he does not seem to be as important as Will in When You See Me.

In a second scene, Derick and Cobbler's wife engage in a loud verbal struggle:

Derick. How now, ho! Basillus manus, for an old cod-piece! Master Captain, shall we away? Zounds! How now, John? What, a-crying? What make you and my dame there? To the wife. I marvel whose head you will throw the stools at now we are gone.

Wife. I'll tell you! Come, you cloghead! What do you with my pot-lid? Here you, will you have it rapped about your pate?

She beats him with her pot-lid.

Derick. Oh good dame!

Here he shakes her.

Derick. If I had my dagger here I would worry you all to pieces-that I would!

She beats him.

(x, 19-31)

The noise and scuffling indicated in this passage are similar in nature to the ridiculous kind of bufoonery that Rowley used in When You See Me in the scene in which Will and Patch frighten King Henry, thereby causing the monarch to forget his vile temper. Furthermore, as one observes Rowley's choice of language in the comic scenes of this play, he notes that certain expressions repeated excessively in When You See Me also occur frequently in the speeches of several of Rowley's characters in The Famous Victories.¹³⁰ For example, one finds:¹³¹

Derick. Am I a clown? Zounds, masters, do clowns go in silk apparel? I am sure all we gentlemen-clowns in Kent scant go so well. Zounds!
(ii, 36-38)

Faith, John, I'll tell thee what; thou shalt be my Lord Chief Justice, and thou shalt sit in the chair
(iv, 116)

. . . I warrant you she will do as much good as her husband and I too.
(i, 18)

In addition, Sykes points out that the term, as passeth, occurs on two occasions in the play:

Jockey. Faith, my lord, such news as passeth!
(i, 18)

Boy. . . . but for the space of half an hour there was such a bloody fray as passeth!
(ii, 105-106)

¹³⁰Sykes, op. cit., p. 4.

¹³¹The italics in the quotations are the present author's.

Although the expressions herein cited are relatively common to the period in which Rowley wrote, the frequency with which they occur, nevertheless, suggests a preference for such terms.

Contrary to Rowley's habit of alternating prose and verse as observed earlier in When You See Me, one notes that The Famous Victories is written entirely in prose. Furthermore, although its stage directions are probably adequate, they are not as full or as literary as those that occur in When You See Me.

In The Famous Victories, although the comic subplot involves Derick, it does not completely influence the major theme of the play as does the subplot in When You See Me. Instead, it serves only to alternate a serious theme with a series of ludicrous interludes and is not, therefore, an integral part of the total scheme of the play.

The authors of When You See Me and The Famous Victories also make use of historical sources. For example, in When You See Me, based upon events in the reign of Henry VIII, one witnesses the rise and fall of Wolsey, the accusation and acquittal of Queen Catherine, and the education of Prince Edward. In The Famous Victories, the action concerns events in the life of Henry V, containing, for example, an incident in which Henry is thought to have been a highwayman.¹³²

¹³²Cited in Seymour M. Pitcher, The Case for Shakespeare's Authorship of 'The Famous Victories,' p. 200.

There is depicted also the Battle of Agincourt in which the English defeat the French.¹³³ These historical incidents reveal a heavy reliance upon known facts, evidence, then, that suggests the possibility of Rowley's hand in the creation of *Derick*, although one hesitates to give Rowley credit for the composition of the entire play. The theme of the comic subplot and its select vocabulary echo comparable situations in When You See Me, but the corroborative evidence contained in the structure of the lines does not clearly enough point to Rowley to enable one to identify him as the author of these scenes.

In the anonymous The Taming of a Shrew (c. 1589), a second play having certain similarities to When You See Me, one encounters the comic Sander, who holds a position of importance and privilege similar to that enjoyed by Will in When You See Me.¹³⁴ For example, Sander, in his criticism of Ferando's courting technique, implies that, since he is more highly skilled than Ferando in the romantic arts, the latter should learn from Sander the correct approach to use in courtship. In the following lines, Sander's evaluation of himself as an individual of great wisdom is evident:

Who I, twere better for you by fiue marke
And you could tel how to doo it as well as I.¹³⁵

¹³³Holinshed, op. cit., III, 82.

¹³⁴Sykes, op. cit., p. 34.

¹³⁵Thomas Amyot (ed.), The Taming of a Shrew, p. 10.

Here, Sander (like Will) reveals that he is self confident and knows how to accomplish any task that he desires to undertake. Moreover, that his tongue is privileged is revealed in the manner in which he usually speaks to his master:

You spoke like an asse to her, Ile tel you what,
 And I had been there to haue woode hir, and had this
 Cloke on that you haue, chud haue had her before she
 Had gone a foot further, and you talke of Wood cocks
 with her, and I cannot tell you what.¹³⁶

Sander's freedom of expression is similar to that enjoyed by Will Sommers on many occasions. Moreover, both men are employed as voices of enlightenment:

San. Marrie hees gone to our house in the Countrie,
 To make all thinges in a readinesse against my
 new Mistresse comes thither, but heele come
 againe tomorrow.¹³⁷

Will. . . . I knew twoold be a monnie matter . . . I
 know not how rare it is, but I know how deer
 twill bee, for I perceiue twill cost thee twelue
 thowsand pounds, at least, besides the Cardynals
 cost in comming.

(11. 876; 887-890)

In these speeches, as elsewhere in the plays, the clowns provide one with an insight into the movement of the respective plots.

Furthermore, in The Taming of a Shrew, one finds many examples of expressions typical of Rowley's phrasing in When

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 12.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 15.

You See Me. Again, it is not merely the presence of similar words, but the frequency with which they appear that strikes one as being significant. In the following speeches, for example, one notes expressions that are also present in When You See Me: e.g., warrant, faith, sounes, and as passes:¹³⁸

San. I warrant you maister & you take my councell.

Feran. Faith I am euen now a going

San. Ifaith sir, my maisters going to this geere now
Souns, friend wel met . . .

Pol. I warrant you heele not be long awaie.

Feran. Sounes villaine art thou here yet?

San. . . . shy my Maister Has such a doo with hir
as it passeth and he's even Like a madman.¹³⁹

These speeches show that language similar to Rowley's phrasing in When You See Me is present in A Shrew, not only in Sander's speeches but also in those assigned to other characters, as well.

An examination of the style of A Shrew reveals that a major portion of this play is written in verse with only an occasional passage in prose. It is also probably significant that trochaic endings occur in A Shrew as well as in When You See Me. For example,

¹³⁸The italics in these quotations are the present author's.

¹³⁹These speeches are quoted respectively from the following pages of The Taming of a Shrew: 9, 10, 10, 14, 20, 25, 27.

And darkesome night oreshades the christall heauens
 And he hath drunke so much that he can go no furder.
 And therefore come let vs to church presently.

What dutie wiues doo owe vnto their husbands.¹⁴⁰

Obviously, the final syllable of each of these lines is unstressed; thus, the trochaic endings on the otherwise iambic lines suggest a style that closely resembles that employed by Rowley.

The comic subplot in A Shrew occupies a portion of the play that is performed before a drunkard who is deceived into believing that he is a lord. The anonymous playwright skillfully moves the action of the central theme and the subplot, keeping the relation between the two balanced throughout. In this secondary theme, bufoonery is also evident in several scenes. For example, one observes in the following sequence the ridiculous action:

Feran. Come hether you villaine Ile cut your nose,
 You Rogue: helpe me of with my bootes: wilt
 please You to lay the cloth? sounes the
 villaine hurts my foote? pull easely I say;
 yet againe.

He beates them all.

They couer the bord and fetch in the meate.

Sounes? burnt and skorcht who drest this
 meate?¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 1, 2, 21, 21.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 142.

Not only is bufoonery apparent in Ferando's speech, but also in the stage directions describing the nature of the rowdy action and noise. This type of action is also to be found in the comic scenes in When You See Me, as Black Will and King Henry battle in the dark streets of London. As one considers these examples, he notes the evident similarity in style between The Taming of a Shrew and When You See Me in the character of the comic, in the choice of vocabulary, in certain characteristics of the verse, and in the manipulation of the comic subplot. As a result, he concludes that Rowley's hand may have been involved in the creation of Sander.

A third play with which Rowley's name has been associated is Robert Greene's Orlando Furioso (c. 1591).¹⁴² In this work, the scenes in question are the comic prose sections primarily concerned with two clowns, Tom and Ralph.¹⁴³ It is obvious that the author of these scenes has used the clowns primarily to reflect the true character of Orlando. Thus, they provide a further insight into the central plot. Each time that Tom and Ralph appear, their purpose is to confirm Orlando's insanity. For example, when a clown enters as a fiddler, Orlando's unbalanced condition is made

¹⁴²References to Orlando Furioso are by line in the Malone Society Reprint of 1907.

¹⁴³Sykes, op. cit., p. 24.

more obvious when he mistakes the fiddler for Shan Cuttelero, a weapon mender. Again, the clown reveals further information about Orlando:

Orl. Who is this, Shan Cuttelero? hartely welcome, Shan Cuttelero.

Fidler. No sir, you should haue said Shan the Fidideldero.

Orl. What, hast thou brought me my sword?

He takes away his fiddle.

Fidler. A sword? No no sir, thats my fiddle.

Orl. But dost thou think the temper to be good?
And will it hold, when thus and thus we Medor
do assaile?

He strikes and beates him with the fiddle.
(11. 1215-1224)

Here, the author uses a comic character to expose Orlando; thus, the clown functions in a role similar to that observed in When You See Me as Will sheds light upon the true purposes of Wolsey.

Although the language of the clowns in Orlando Furioso contains some of the same expressions to be found in When You See Me, these terms do not occur in Orlando Furioso with the same frequency as in the other play. In the following lines, however, one notes a vocabulary similar to Will's:¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴Italics in the following quotations are the present author's.

Tho. . . . and if ye call him mad-man, heel run after you, & tickle your ribs so with his flap of leather that he hath as it passeth. (11. 910-912)

Org. Faith Ile fetch you such an Angelica as you neuer saw before. (11. 1015-1016)

Cl. No I warrant you, but I thinke I had best go backe (11. 1030-1031)

Such expressions as as passeth, faith, and warrant, frequently used in When You See Me, are also evident in Orlando Furioso. Furthermore, in the passages that may reveal Rowley's hand, the text is prose, a medium which Rowley used extensively for Will's speeches in When You See Me. There is not, however, within the comic scenes any alternating of verse and prose. Nevertheless, with skill, the author of the comic prose scenes draws these episodes into the mainstream of the plot at just the right moment to give additional support to his established theme. Thus, when Orlando does not recognize, for some time, that a clown is disguised as Angelica, his insanity is emphasized, again. Since the comic subplot, then, is utilized in much the same way as it is in When You See Me, one concludes that, because of the evidence contained in this play, Rowley's work may be detected in the comic prose sections. Significantly, the major parallels between Rowley's play, When You See Me, and Orlando Furioso occur in the use of the clowns in the subplot and in the use of similar clownish vocabulary.

Another play that shows likenesses to When You See Me is Wily Beguiled.¹⁴⁵ Although the date of its entry into the Stationers' Register is November 12, 1606, Chambers thinks that it may have been composed as early as 1596.¹⁴⁶ The portions of this play in question are, again, the comic prose scenes.¹⁴⁷ In these episodes, the major characters are Will Cricket, the son of a poor tenant farmer; Gripe, a usurer; Churms, a lawyer; and Peter Ploddall, the son of a wealthy farmer. Because Will Cricket is a comic figure resembling Rowley's Will of When You See Me, one is especially interested in the development of this character. As Will Cricket moves through the play, he is used to provide further insight into the plot:

But Landlord: I can tell you newes yfaith,
There is one Sophos, a braue genman, heele wipe your
some Peters nose, of Mistresse Lelia, I can tell you
he loues her well.

(11. 389-392)

Faith Sir, hees almost mad: I thinke he cannot tell
you: And therefore I presuming Sir, that my wit is
something better than his, at this time (do you marke
Sir?) Out of the profound circumambulation of my
supernatural1 wit Sir (do you vnderstand?) Will tel
you the whole superfluity of the matter Sir:

(11. 2302-2308)

¹⁴⁵Quotations from Wily Beguiled are cited by line in the Malone Society Reprint of 1912.

¹⁴⁶Chambers, op. cit., IV, 53.

¹⁴⁷Sykes, op. cit., p. 26.

In both of these speeches, one notes that Will's contribution is that of informing his listener. This use of the comic character to enlighten others resembles Rowley's use of Will Sommers in When You See Me. Will Cricket not only enters into the central theme as an informant, but he also participates in a subplot concerning a romance with Pegge. The construction of a subplot involving several characters is a device that Rowley also favors in When You See Me.

Many of the favorite expressions of Rowley's comic figures, such as warrant, faith, sounes, and as passes, are also evident in the speeches of Will Cricket as well as in those of others:¹⁴⁸

Gripe. Well, that shall not serue his tourne, Ile
crosse him, I warrant ye. (11. 406-407)

Will. A bargain yfaith: ha my sweet onnie sops
how doost thou? (11. 1076-1077)

Sounds, foole in your face: foole? O
monstrous intitulation: (11. 1095-1096)

Nurfe. . . . and shee leades such a life for you it
passes, and yoole neither come to her
(11. 1434-1435)

Clarke. Ile warrant ye, fear it not. (11. 1681)

Because several of these terms are used repeatedly in Wily Beguiled, the language is quite similar to that used by

¹⁴⁸The italics in the quotations are those of the present author.

Rowley in When You See Me. In reviewing the styles of Wily Beguiled and When You See Me, one notes a similar use of the comic figure in both the central plot and subplot. In both plays, the language is remarkable for its repeated use of specific expressions. Upon the basis of this evidence, one concludes that the style and theme suggest that Rowley, or one with his characteristics, was involved in the composition of the comic prose scenes of Wily Beguiled.

Of the revisions assigned to Rowley, one of the most important was his work with William Bird on Marlowe's Doctor Faustus.¹⁴⁹ Henslowe records that, on November 22, 1602, William Bird and Samuel Rowley were paid for their ". . . adicyones in docter fostes"150 Considering the station that the comic occupies in Doctor Faustus, one realizes that it is not as important a role as that given to Will Sommers, yet the clowns, here, enlighten one concerning the dangers involved in conjuring devils. The evil that results from black magic is illustrated when the conjured devil turns the clowns into an ape and a dog in III. iii., thereby complementing the central theme of Faustus's conjuring and manipulating. One observes, also, that expressions which

¹⁴⁹Foakes, op. cit., p. 206. (Quotations from Doctor Faustus are cited by line from the B-text, the quarto of 1616 in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, 1950.)

¹⁵⁰Loc. cit.

Rowley used in When You See Me are present in these sections of the play. For example, the following expressions, faith, warrant, zounds (for sounes), and as passes, frequently appear in the text, as the following examples indicate:¹⁵¹

Faust. No faith, not much vpon a woodden leg.
(1. 1726)

Clow. Well sir,
I warrant you.
(11. 387-388)

Boy? O disgrace to my person: Zounds boy in
your face, you haue seene many boyes with beards
I am sure.
(11. 342-344)

Ben. Zounds Doctor, is this your villany?
(1. 1338)

The Emperour? where? O zounds my head.
(1. 1332)

Clow. . . . I haue gotten one of Doctor Faustus
coniuring bookes, and now we'le haue such
knaury, as't passes.
(11. 745-746)

Significantly, all of the exclamations occur in those sections of Doctor Faustus which Greg also attributes to Rowley.¹⁵²

Traits, such as the placement of an adjective ending in a1 after the noun that it modifies and the use of this construction at the end of a line, also argue strongly for

¹⁵¹The italics in the quotations are by the present author with the exception of Faustus in 1. 745.

¹⁵²Greg, Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, pp. 138-139.

an acceptance of Rowley's hand in the comic scenes of Doctor Faustus.¹⁵³ In the following examples, the adjective that modifies a noun follows the noun and also ends the line:

. . . So will we quell that haughty Schismaticque;
And by authority Apostolicall
(11. 953-954)

. . . We would behold that famous Conquerour,
Great Alexander, and his Paramour,
In their true shapes, and state Maiesticall
(11. 1264-1266)

Usually, the adjective following the noun occurs at the end of a line, but occasionally this noun-adjective pattern is to be noted elsewhere in a line.

Another of Rowley's devices also evident in Doctor Faustus is the construction of a trochaic ending on a line of verse:¹⁵⁴

Restore this Bruno to his liberty,
And beare him to the States of Germany.
(11. 928-929)

In quittance of their late conspiracie
Against our State, and Papall dignitie?
(11. 980-981)

Make haste againe, my good Lord cardinals,
And take our blessing Apostolicall.
(11. 1003-1004)

Thus, to end the line in such a manner creates a striking contrast to the iambic construction evident in the beginning of the line.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁵⁴Sykes, op. cit., p. 20.

Alternation of verse and prose is another device that Rowley apparently used extensively in When You See Me. In the known additions to Doctor Faustus, one finds many instances of such a style. For example:

Meph. You Princely Legions of infernall Rule,
How am I vexed by these villaines Charmes . . . ?
Onely for pleasure of these damned slaues.

Rob. By Lady sir, you haue had a shroud journey of it,
will it please you to take a shoulder of Mutton
to supper, and a Tester in your purse, and go
backe againe.

Dick. I, I pray you heartily sir; for wee cal'd you but
in ieast I promise you.

Meph. To purge the rashness of this cursed deed,
First, be thou turned to this vgly shape,
For Apish deeds transformed to an Ape.

Rob. O braue, an Ape? I pray sir, let me haue the
carrying of him about to shew some trickes.
(11. 1159-1172)

In these lines, verse and prose alternate with a change of speakers. Moreover, stage directions in Doctor Faustus are usually full and elaborate in the scenes contained in the additions, a significant observation when one notes that no such detailed directions occur in the earlier editions of this play.¹⁵⁵ On the basis of the evidence herein presented, one concludes that Rowley has contributed to the comic scenes in the revision of Doctor Faustus.

¹⁵⁵Greg states that he feels that the 1604 text of Doctor Faustus as printed in his book is a reprint of a text entered in 1601 or is an edition made from the manuscript.
p. 30.

Both Henry VIII and When You See Me, were concerned with much of the same historical source material and many of the same characters.¹⁵⁶ However, Shakespeare's play includes several events not mentioned by Rowley, thus widening the scope of Henry VIII. For example, Rowley did not mention Henry's divorce from Katherine, Cardinal Wolsey's death, or the appointment of Cranmer as the Archbishop of Canterbury. Consequently, one encounters difficulty in assessing the relationship between these two plays, since both cover the same historical material. As a consequence, there may be an influence of one upon the other; or the similarities that occur could also have been an outgrowth of the use of common sources, such as Holinshed's Chronicles.

There is some conjecture, however, as to whether Shakespeare's or Rowley's play was written first. As has been already mentioned, the probable date for the composition of When You See Me was late 1603 or early 1604. If, as Ward is inclined to think, Henry VIII was not written until after 1605, Rowley's play may have been a source for Shakespeare's.¹⁵⁷ Very possibly, Henry VIII was written between 1605 and 1613, because a play, All Is True, about the life of Henry VIII was played at the Globe on "20 June

¹⁵⁶Ward, op. cit., II, 547.

¹⁵⁷Loc. cit.

1613," as a new play.¹⁵⁸ Fleay states that, although All Is True presumably was not in detail the same as the present Henry VIII, it was basically the same play under a different title.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, a reference occurring in the prologue of Henry VIII may be to Rowley's play:¹⁶⁰

. . . Only they
That come to hear a merry bawdy play,
A noise of targets, or to see a fellow
In a long motley coat guarded with yellow,
Will be deceived; for gentle hearers, know,
To rank our chosen truth with such a show
As fool and fight is, beside forfeiting
Our own brains and the opinion that we bring
To make that only true we now intend,
Will leave us never an understanding friend.

(11. 13-22)

The "noise of targets" could be an allusion to King Henry's clash with Black Will in When You See Me:¹⁶¹

King. Faith excellent: but prethe tell me, doest thou face the world with thy man-hood, that thus they feare thee, or art thou truely valiant?

Blacke. Sfoote, doest thou doubt of my man-hood? Nay then defend your selfe, ile giue you a tryall presently, betake yee to your tooles sir, ile teach ye to stand vpon Integatories.

King. I am for ye, theres neere a man the King keeps shal refuse ye: but tell mee, wilt thou keepe the Kings Acte for fighting.

¹⁵⁸Marjorie H. Nicolson, "Authorship of Henry the Eighth," PMLA, XXXVII (March, 1922), 484-485.

¹⁵⁹Fleay, op. cit., pp. 68, 250.

¹⁶⁰Shakespeare, Henry VIII, p. 2.

¹⁶¹Schelling, op. cit., p. 248.

Blacke. As ye please sir: yet because th'art his man,
ile obserue it, and neither thrust nor strike
beneath the knee.

King. I am pleasse, haue at you sir.

They fight.

1 Watch. Helpe neighbours, O take ye to your browne
Billes, call vp the Constable, heres a peece
of chance-meddle ready to be committed: set
on goodman Sprichall.

(11. 1136-1151)

Because the fool of King Henry's court was very gaudily dressed, the reference to a person with a "motley coat guarded with yellow," could very well have been intended as a parody of the characterization of Will Sommers.¹⁶² Furthermore, Rowley's loose regard for chronology may have evoked Shakespeare's use of the words, truth and true, in the prologue, thus, emphasizing Rowley's failure to maintain chronological facts.¹⁶³ However, Shakespeare himself did not always follow the historical order strictly.¹⁶⁴

In closing Henry VIII with an epilogue, Shakespeare cites those who came ". . . to hear the city/Abused extremely, and to cry 'That's witty!'" (11. 5-6), very probably again alluding to When You See Me.¹⁶⁵ His remarks,

¹⁶²Loc. cit.

¹⁶³Craig, op. cit., p. 270; and Robert A. Law, "The Double Authorship of 'Henry VIII,'" SP, LVI (July, 1959), 481.

¹⁶⁴Shakespeare, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 2.

here, may relate to Will Sommer's habit in When You See Me of going to London to learn the latest news from the gossips.¹⁶⁶

For example:

King. Why, where hast thou bin:

Wil. Marrie I rise early, and ride post to London, to know what newes was here at Court.

King. Was that your neerest way William?

Wil. O I, the verie foote pathe, but yet I rid the horseway to here it, I warrant there is nere a Cundhead keeper in London, but knowes what is done in all the Courts in Cristendome

Wolsie. And what is the best newes there William?

Wil. Good newes for you my Lord Cardinall, . . . the peopel crossing and blessing themselues to send them a new Pope, for the old is gon to purgatory.

(11. 204-219)

If Shakespeare is referring in his prologue and epilogue to Rowley's play, one concludes that not only was When You See Me written before Henry VIII, but also that the composition of Henry VIII followed that of When You See Me rather closely, because an audience could not be expected to understand an allusion to a play more than a year or two old. However, other than for the uncomplimentary barbs which Shakespeare may have been hurling at Rowley's play, Ward feels that there is no further basis for a comparison between Henry VIII and When You See Me.¹⁶⁷ As one considers

¹⁶⁶Schelling, op. cit., p. 248.

¹⁶⁷Ward, op. cit., II, 548-549.

this evidence, he finds that Rowley's contributions to the Elizabethan stage may have been greater than was previously suspected.

CHAPTER IV

ROWLEY, THE COMIC DRAMATIST

Throughout his varied career, Rowley made the theatre the center of his concern. Because of his interest in the drama, he was associated with Henslowe, in whose employ he rose from being an actor in minor parts in a few plays to become a shareholder in one of the more popular acting companies of the time, the Lord Admiral's Men. Moreover, as a playwright, his work spanned some twenty-three years and associated him with the actors of the Admiral's Men as they passed into the patronage of Prince Henry and, later, Palsgrave.

Unfortunately, of Rowley's work for the dramatic companies the only extant complete play accredited to him is an historical chronicle, When You See Me, You Know Me. This play is the only basis for one's assessing Rowley's style in an attempt to determine the extent of any direct influence upon other known works. From an examination of When You See Me, one learns that Rowley was especially adept at handling comic scenes of bufoonery. In summarizing his style, one offers the following statements that seem to distinguish his work in the comic realm: the importance of the clown in discovering truth; the frequent use of certain colloquial expressions; the alternation of verse and prose; the use of

trochaic endings; the use of a noun-adjective pattern at the end of a line; the composition of elaborate literary stage directions; and the adroit handling of an intrigue subplot.

In The Famous Victories, the character of Derick is a comic figure conceived of in the image of Will Sommers in When You See Me. Both the vocabulary and the treatment of the subplot in this play also indicate Rowley's hand, although the construction of the lines does not provide one with sufficient evidence to state conclusively that Rowley was the major contributing author to these comic scenes.

The second play under consideration, The Taming of a Shrew, contains many similarities to the style of When You See Me. For example, as a comic character, Sander is very much like Will Sommers, both in choice of language and in purposeful action in the play. Furthermore, the comic subplot, here, complements the central theme as it does in When You See Me. Significantly, the lines of verse contain trochaic endings, a trait of Rowley's observed in When You See Me. Consequently, one suggests that Rowley may have been a contributor to the comic style of this play, especially in the development of the character of Sander. Since the date of The Taming of a Shrew is approximately 1589, evidence of Rowley's hand in this drama would place his earliest assumed work some ten or twelve years before the date of his first play recorded by Henslowe.

In a third drama, Greene's Orlando Furioso, Rowley's hand may be evident in the comic prose scenes. The treatment of the clowns and their select vocabulary, here, are similar to that accorded the clowns in When You See Me, as is the comic subplot.

Wily Beguiled is another play in which one detects similarities in the comic subplot, repetitions of similar phrasings, and a familiar manipulation of the clown figure, all of which resemble Rowley's work in When You See Me, suggesting Rowley's hand in the composition of the comic prose sections.

Perhaps, one of the most noteworthy assignments in which Rowley was involved was that of making additions to Marlowe's Doctor Faustus. Henslowe records that he paid Rowley and Bird for additions to this play in 1602. Not only does this Diary evidence indicate the presence of Rowley's hand, but also the style of composition, the handling of comic scenes, the language of the characters, and the type of stage directions in the comic scenes strongly suggest the work of Rowley.

A final drama to be considered here is Shakespeare's Henry VIII. Although there is no implication that Rowley contributed directly to it, a possible influence of When You See Me has been examined. However, even though Shakespeare may have been aware of Rowley's When You See Me

when he was writing Henry VIII, the similarities between these two plays may be attributable to a common source in Holinshed.

As one considers the life and works of Samuel Rowley, he discovers an heretofore unknown man of ability in the Elizabethan theatrical profession, whose major contribution to the English theatre is the creation of comic scenes and clown types. That he was skilled in the contrivance of intrigue subplots is also manifest in When You See Me as well as in several of his identified collaborations. His handling of the clown-figure surpasses that of many of his contemporaries, and, as a result of this skill, he is much in demand for the writing of such scenes in collaboration throughout his career.

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