"OUR BEST PLOTTER," ANTHONY MUNDAY: A NEW STUDY OF JOHN A KENT AND JOHN A CUMBER

A Thesis

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by

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To

My Uncle Ike

This walke I made, to see this wundrous man,
Now hauing seene him, I am satisfyed.
I know not what this play of his will prooue,
But his intent to deale with shaddowes only,
I meane to alter, weele haue the substaunces.

--John a Kent and John a Cumber, III.

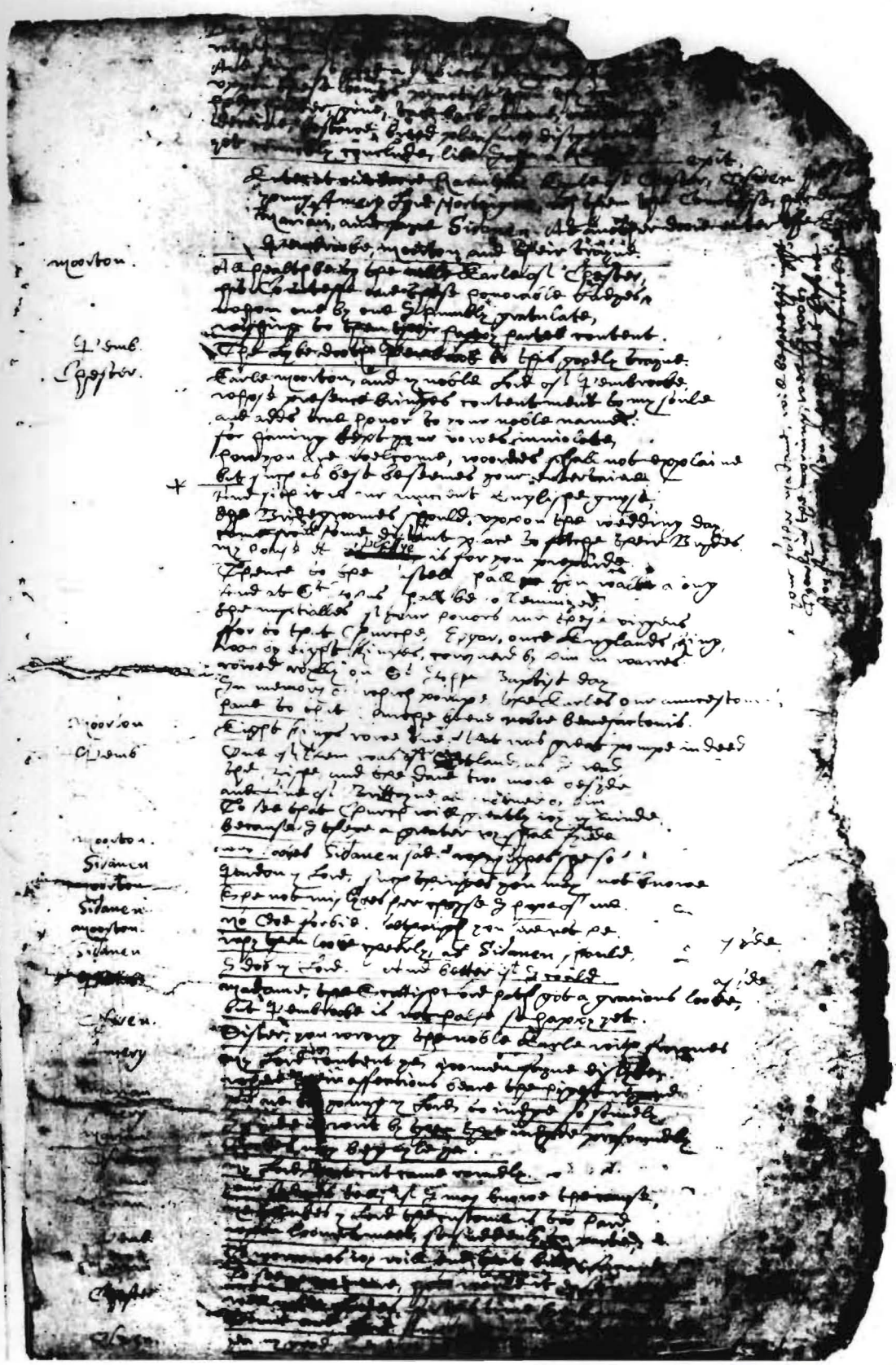

PLATE I

Facsimile from Munday's John a Kent and John a Cumber.

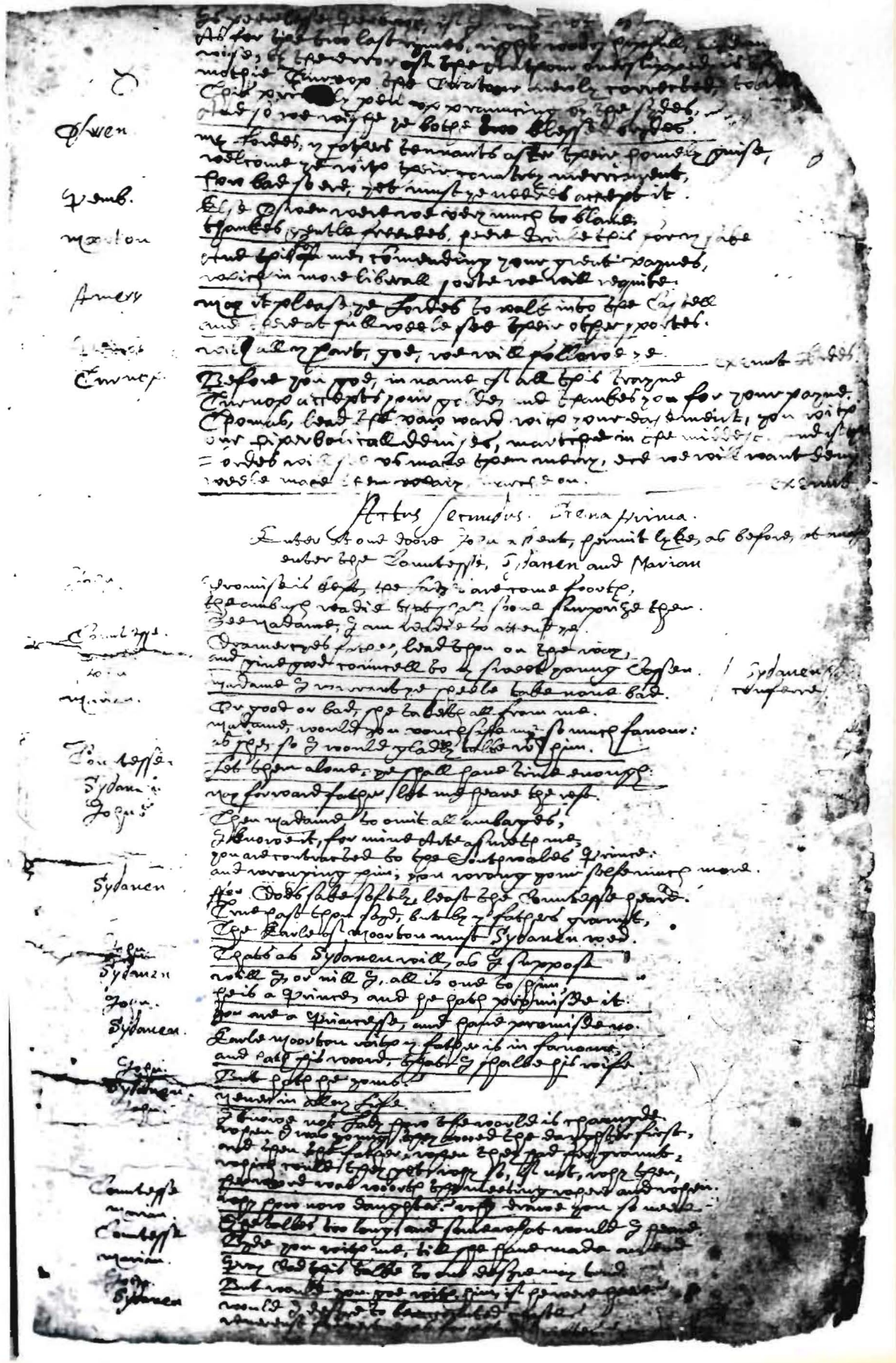

PLATE II

PREFACE

The challenge of working upon a subject which has gone unnoticed by scholars for a large number of years has made the writing of this thesis a very stimulating experience. Until now, there has not been available any complete account of the life and works of Anthony Munday, author of an unique manuscript which is extant in a single copy. My own investigations of this author began, gradually, to lead me into a realistic concept of Munday, a man who has probably contributed more to the background of English literature in all of its aspects than he has been given credit for doing, heretofore. The Farmer facsimile of his play, John a Kent and John a Cumber, is the document which I have used, in lieu of having access to the original which is in the Huntington Library, Pasadena, California. This document has yielded up a number of exciting discoveries relative to the conditions of the London stage in the time of Anthony Munday.

My genuine appreciation is due Dr. Charles E. Walton, who proposed this topic to me for my research problem, and who has shared my interests in the findings. I am also indebted to Dr. June J. Morgan, who gave her careful attention to my manuscript.

I have included in the appendices a brief discussion of a discrepancy which I have discovered in the Malone Society transliteration of the Munday manuscript, and a convenient cataloguing of the plays written or attributed to Anthony Munday.

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August 6, 1959

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CHAPTER I

ANTHONY MUNDAY'S DIVERSE ROLES IN ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE, 1579-1633

> In an hundred such vulgar writers many things are commendable, diuerse things notable, somethings excellent.
> --Gabriel Harvey, Pierces Superogation (1593)

Anthony Munday maintains a somewhat shadowy yet definite impression upon Elizabethan scholars. It is obvious to one who makes an investigation of Munday's life that this man must be given recognition for his parts played in the numerous trends which took place in the development of Elizabethan literature, for it is very clear that he experimented in practically all of the literary motifs of his time. Upon occasion, he was severely ridiculed by many of his well-known contemporaries; however, undaunted, he appears calmly to have pursued his own way. On the other hand, unlike so many of his more famous contemporaries, he shrugged off numerous opportunities for fame. Lacking the advantages of a forceful, personal drive, Munday never attained to any level of literary recognition.

It is through his variety of activities that Munday becomes his own best biographer. One discovers that he was, at one time or another, a stage actor, a printer's apprentice, a traveler, a poet, a spy, a government agent, a

journalist, a pamphleteer, a playwright, a pageant writer, an historian, a translator, a draper, and a citizen at large in Elizabethan London.

Records concerning Munday's early background are strikingly incomplete. His father, Christopher Munday, was a freeman of the Drapers' Company, and, despite the fact that the Munday name was a common one in London parish records of the time, one finds no account of the marriage of Anthony's parents. It is, however, known that Christopher Munday died before 1576, and that his wife was still living in 1581.[1] There are no actual records of Anthony's birth, but his epitaph, included in the 1663 edition of Stow's Survey of London, states that he died on August 10, 1633, at the age of eighty.[2] Scholars think there is little reason to doubt that he was born in London in 1553.[3]

Facts concerning Munday's first twenty years are completely lacking. The assumption that he was given a good education is based primarily upon the fact that he had a tolerable facility as a translator and indulged in the conventional Elizabethan practice of referring to the classics

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[1] M. St. Clare Byrne, "Anthony Munday and His Books," The Library, I, Fourth Series (June, 1920-March, 1921), p. 226.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Loc. cit.

with frequency. His three manuscripts which survive,[4] are sufficient evidence to show that he wrote with a good, easy-flowing hand.[5] In addition, there is evidence which also points out that Munday, as a youth, was an older pupil of one Claudius Hollyband, who taught French and Italian. Presumably, he was Munday's tutor in one or both languages between 1576 and 1578, before Munday undertook his journey to Rome in the latter year. At the same time, Hollyband prefixed a commendatory note to Munday's Mirror of Mutability (1579), in which he speaks of him as his "scholler."[6] Furthermore, the Stationers' Register carries the following entry under the heading, "Inrollments of Apprentices":

> . . . primo die Octobris 1576, John Aldee/Anthony Mondaie sonne of Christofer Mondaye late of London Draper Deceased hath put himself app[re]ntice to John Aldee stationer for Eighte yeres begynnynge at Bartholomewtyde laste paste.[7]

Munday's enrollment for the apprentice term of eight years came about when he was at the age of twenty-three, at a time when most young men were finishing their apprenticeships.[8]

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[4]Munday's extant manuscripts are John a Kent and John a Cumber (1590?); The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon (1598); and The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon (1598).

[5]Byrne, op. cit., p. 226.

[6]Ibid., pp. 226-27.

[7]Ibid., p. 227. Quoted from Stationers' Register, 1576.

[8]Loc. cit.

Possibly, Anthony had tried drapery, under his father's tutelage, and had forsaken the profession at his father's death; or, perhaps, he had given up the precarious existence of an actor for the comparative security of a trade when parental subsidies had come to an end.[9] At any rate, it is interesting to note that his ready pen soon involved him in providing copy for the stationers' trade rather than in the business of selling their publications.[10] The Defence of Pouertie against the Desire of worldlie riches Dialogue wise collected by Anthonie Mundaye was registered on November 18, 1577, entered to John Charlwood.[11] This pamphlet, marking Munday's literary debut, is typical of his work throughout his career. Although capable of originality, he seemed to have a strong preference for plagarism.

Around the end of the year, 1578, Munday's record begins to take on more interest, but the facts which concern his movement at this time vary widely with present accounts of his life. Acheson, for example, says that it was ". . . while still in his alledged apprenticeship. . . ."[12] Hosking

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[9] Loc. cit.

[10] G. L. Hosking, The Life and Times of Edward Alleyn, p. 96.

[11] Byrne, op. cit., p. 228.

[12] Arthur Acheson, Shakespeare, Chapman, and Sir Thomas More, p. 113.

writes that ". . . his master going out of business, he did not complete his term."[13] Byrne claims that ". . . he cancelled his indentures with Allde. . . ."[14] Fleay asserts, on the other hand, that Munday did not deceive his master, and claims that Allde gave him a certificate in 1582, declaring that he had fulfilled his obligations as an apprentice. Fleay further claims that Munday and Allde had relations in publishing matters after the former's return from the continent.[15] One discovers, also, a theory that Munday may have visited Rome at this time in what seems to have been the secret capacity of a Protestant spy, ". . . commissioned by two enterprising publishers. . .," to spy upon the English Jesuit College, there.[16] In any case, according to his own accounts, Munday set forth on a journey to see foreign countries and to learn new languages.[17] Whether he visited Europe in search of adventure or for more specific reasons, he soon found himself involved in the

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[13] Hosking, op. cit., p. 96.

[14] Byrne, op. cit., p. 228.

[15] F. G. Fleay, A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642, II, p. 108.

[16] A. W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature, I, p. 431.

[17] Munday mentions this journey in his English Roman Life.

business of spying on English Catholics abroad and gathering materials for pamphlets to be used against them on his return to England.[18] There is little doubt, therefore, that Munday and his companion, Thomas Nowell, were spies in the pay of some member of the Queen's Council or some of the Council's secret agents.[19] After an apparently adventurous and devious trip through the northern section of France, the two arrived in Paris and reported to the English ambassador, who, in turn, advised them to return to England. Instead, Munday and Nowell apparently gained the confidences of certain self-exiled English Catholics and secured introductions to authorities of the English College in Rome. In all probability, these movements were a part of an underlying plot to spy upon the Catholics, there.[20]

Munday succeeded in gaining entry into the English Roman Catholic seminary in Rome in the guise of a convert, but actually as a spy to gather information for the government. From Munday's amusing accounts of this episode in his English-Romayne Lyfe (1582), Byrne decides that Munday showed no qualms about revealing his true character, even

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[18]The Cambridge History of English Literature, V, p. 348.

[19]Acheson, op. cit., p. 113.

[20]Ibid., p. 114.

to evincing a naive appreciation of his own duplicity.[21] The work also reveals glimpses of a ". . . not unattractive rascal," recounting the daily routine of the students in the seminary, and telling of the penances pressed upon the erring scholars who neglected to make their beds "hansomlie" in the morning, or otherwise neglecting their rigorous obligations.[22] Although ostensibly an account of his life among English Catholic refugees in France and Italy, the English-Romayne Lyfe was anti-Catholic in tone and excited, perhaps, the most contemporary comment of all of Munday's writings.[23] Nevertheless, there still remains a question regarding Munday's original purpose in making his trip to the continent. Later developments deriving from this journey strengthen the implication that his prolonged sojourn as the Pope's scholar at the English college was not undertaken by him for purely personal reasons.[24] To all intents, Munday became a spy and actually appeared to have held a natural inclination for the part which he played. However, one finds no concrete evidence to show what use he made of his information obtained as

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[21] Byrne, op. cit., p. 228.

[22] Loc. cit.

[23] A Library of the World's Best Literature, XLIII, p. 397.

[24] Acheson, op. cit., p. 113.

a spy, once he had returned to England in 1579.[25] Perhaps, one must admit that there is no proof that he was sent abroad as a government spy, nor anything to refute his own statement that he had ". . . a desire to see straunge Countreies, as also affection to learne the languages."[26] Undoubtedly an ironic note is injected into the episode, however. Nowell was converted to Catholicism and remained in Rome when Munday returned to England.[27]

One next discovers Munday as one of three hired witnesses to testify against the Jesuit priest, Edmund Campion, a man who was distrusted by the Court as a papist, betrayed by George Elyot, captured, and humiliated, and finally accused in a forged plot against him.[28] Munday had little to say against Campion, one discovers, but he pretended to have observed the meetings of other conspirators in Rome.[29] However, the testimony of the false witnesses was so weak,[30]

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[25] Byrne, op. cit., p. 229.

[26] Ibid., p. 230. Quoted in Byrne from English-Roman Life.

[27] Loc. cit.

[28] Dictionary of National Biography, XIII, p. 1188.

[29] Byrne, op. cit., p. 230.

[30] From a record in State Trials, I, p. 1050, from the Phoenix Britannicus: ". . . the prosecution was as unfairly conducted and supported by as slender evidence, as any perhaps which can be found in our books." Quoted in Hallam, The Constitutional History of England, I, p. 152.

and the responses of Campion to these charges so admirable that it was thought by all that the jury would return a verdict of acquittal. Nevertheless, Campion and all the other prisoners were pronounced guilty.[31] When the excitement of this conspiracy waned, Munday attempted to earn a living as an actor and playwright.[32] Evidence shows that he was a complete failure in his acting which he patterned after the manner of Tarlton and Kemp.[33]

He next began to use information which he brought back from Rome in attacks anew upon the Jesuits.[34] He exposed, in five tracts, the ". . . horrible and unnatural treasons . . ." of the Catholics; he narrated the circumstances of Campion's capture along with other activities of the priest.[35]

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[31] Dictionary of National Biography, XIII, p. 1189.

[32] W. J. Courthope, A History of English Poetry, p. 209.

[33] The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature, p. 287. Richard Tarlton, the most famous of stage clowns, enriched many plays with his dancing and fun-making. He ridiculed the strict regulations against the theaters and wrote books of jests. The term, Tarltonizing, used to describe a certain mode of dancing, is a permanent memento of the impression he made on Elizabethan theatre-goers. Will Kemp was also a clown and dancer on London stages. In March, 1602, Kemp wagered that he could dance from London to Norwich, and he did, although he was somewhat delayed at times by merry-making crowds and snowfalls.

[34] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, p. 444.

[35] The Dictionary of National Biography, XIII, p. 1188.

An anonymous author in A True Report of . . . M. Campion (1581) answered his thrusts by saying that Munday, on his return to England

> . . . did play extempore, those gentlemen and others which were present, can best giue witnes of his dexterity, who being wery of his folly, hissed him from his stage. Then being thereby discouraged, he set forth a balet against playes, but yet (o constant youth) he now beginnes againe to ruffle upon the stage.[36]

For such reasons do scholars allege that Munday wrote, after his stage failures, A Ballad against Plays.[37] There is further corroborative evidence in an entry from the Stationers' Register, November 10, 1580,[38] in behalf of Edward White.[39] The ballad is described as "A Ringinge Retraite Couragiously sounded, wherein Plaies and Players are fytlie Confounded."[40] While the entry in the Stationers' Register does not name Munday, it is further possible to assume that he also wrote the Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies, issued in the same year, and, in addition, that he took part in a

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[36]Chambers, op. cit., III, p. 444.

[37]The Cambridge History of English Literature, IV (1949), p. 323.

[38]Chambers, op. cit., III, p. 444.

[39]Ibid., IV, p. 208. Chambers' reference is to Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, 1554-1640.

[40]Loc. cit.

situation claiming much public attention at this time.[41] London Puritans were not particularly involved in the current problem with the academic drama of the universities, but they were deeply concerned with the rapid growth of professional acting as a recognizable occupation as well as with the increasing numbers of playhouses with little or no ethical control in conjunction with the trend of theatrical activity as a permanent fixture in the community life.[42] Although bold in their attacks, the Puritans proposed no measures of reform, having been advised by the city magistrates to proceed slowly and to begin by curtailing all Sunday playing.[43] In this period, then, all writings against the stage are of an heterogenous character. Munday joined forces with these critics of the stage at this time. Two general treatises, written by ministers and attacking by wholesale methods all social evils, were Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes, or Enterludes (1577) by John Northbrooke; and Anatomie of Abuses (1583) by Phillip Stubbes. In turn, a second course of criticism of the drama came from the

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[41] Loc. cit. "Collier, S. R., ii, 125, prints a ballad, probably forged, 'which has come down to us in MS.', and suggests that it may be the one in question."

[42] Ibid., I, p. 253.

[43] The Cambridge History of English Literature, VI (1949), pp. 390-91.

so-called "converted" playwrights who were in possession of a first-hand knowledge of the profession which they chose to attack. Stephen Gosson, for example, wrote his The Schoole of Abuse in 1579 and his Playes Confuted in Five Actions in 1582. Munday, himself, contributed a composite publication to the attack, entitled A Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theaters (1580). In total, these five contributions were linked with other minor onslaughts of the period to form the principal indictments of the stage under the Puritan influence.[44] Such efforts, for example, as Gosson's expansion of his Schoole of Abuse as "Containing a pleasaunt inuective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters and such like Caterpillars of a Commonwelth. . .," were vigorous and, doubtless, sincere attacks upon social abuses rather than specific religious pamphlets.[45] In turn, Gosson was answered in several successive works, one direct response being Thomas Lodge's Defence of Poetry Music and Stage Plays (c. 1579), which, incidentally, was privately printed and later suppressed by authority.[46] Munday's Third Blast, therefore, may be seen to conform with Puritan views of the

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[44]Chambers, op. cit., III, pp. 353-54.

[45]Ibid., IV, p. 203. Chambers quotes from Summary and Extracts of Stephen Gosson's The School of Abuse. Cf., also, Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 150.

[46]Ibid., p. 151.

stage, and it is noteworthy to observe that Munday suggested some practical remedies for the situation. He proposed an abolition of Sunday performances and patronage by noblemen.[47] Gosson retaliated in Plays Confuted in which his objections to the theater assumed deeper hues, and he denounced all plays on moral and religious grounds, granting nothing to the credit of art, poetry, or good manners. Lodge, at this point, ceased to answer Gosson, but the latter continued with his stage attacks at every opportunity.[48] In Plays Confuted, for example, Gosson asserted that no playwright had written against plays

> . . . but one, who hath changed his coppy, and turned himself like ye dog to his vomite, to plays againe, and being falsly accused my self to do ye like, it is needfull for me to write againe.[49]

The renegade playwright referred to was Munday, who had been hired deliberately by the opponents of the stage. If this is true, the Puritan party employed questionable tactics themselves in taking out a year's lease on a "scapegrace actor's pen" and parading his false conversion as a triumph for their cause of morality.[50] Munday, apparently, seeing an

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[47] Ibid., p. 150.

[48] Ibid., p. 151.

[49] Chambers, op. cit., IV, p. 218.

[50] The Cambridge History of English Literature, IV, p. 391.

opportunity for prospering, ". . . gave up his piety and returned to the theatre."[51] The important thing to observe at this point is that Munday, as the author of the Third Blast, is on record as having worked as an actor prior to 1580.

It is known that soon after his return to England from the continent, Munday, under the patronage of the Earl of Oxford, among his other many enterprises, formed a new company of boy actors. He worked as manager and poet to this group until 1584, at which time he received his Court appointment as Queen's Messenger. The title pages of most of Munday's publications between 1577 and 1584 recognize him as a servant to the Earl of Oxford, and from the latter date until 1592, as the Queen's Messenger. It is true his work with the Court eventually put a stop to his actual theatrical management of Oxford's Men, but he continued to work with them in the capacity of their chief poet until the group disappeared from theatrical records in late 1588 or early 1589.[52]

From 1581, the date of Campion's trial, until 1592, then, Munday combined the rather convenient occupations of

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[51]F. G. Fleay, A Chronicle History of the London Stage, p. 52.

[52]Acheson, op. cit., p. 114.

literary hack and government agent. After gaining much attention as an informer against the Jesuits, he was later employed to help ferret out suspected cases of recusancy.[53] It was as a result of this work that he became, possibly by 1584 and certainly by 1588, a Messenger of the Chambers.[54] His new position as a pursivant empowered him to serve warrants and place suspects under arrest.[55] He also increased his income by pocketing his half-share of the twenty-pound fine for non-attendance at Church.[56] At the same time, he became a useful agent to the notorious Richard Topcliffe, who mentioned Munday in a letter to the Queen's sergeant as the man to whom the arrest of a certain Ralph Marshall had been entrusted. Further demonstrating Munday's double-dealing tactics is the fact that he dedicated the second part of his translation of Gerileon of England (1592) to the same Ralph Marshall in the same year. The dedication makes clear that Munday knew Marshall and Marshall's wife, and had even been a guest in their home. Certainly such an inference is not to Munday's credit.[57]

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[53] Byrne, op. cit., p. 231.

[54] Chambers, op. cit., III, p. 444.

[55] Byrne, op. cit., p. 231.

[56] Hosking, op. cit., p. 96.

[57] Byrne, op. cit., p. 231.

"Martin Marprelate," and the defenders of the established Church. Marprelate combined violent and personal invectives against the Anglican dignitaries with a homey style and pungent wit. The ecclesiastical authorities, deciding to counteract Marprelate in his own style, secretly hired writers of "ready wit"--John Lyly, Thomas Nashe, and Robert Greene--to answer the many pamphlets.[58] Munday was selected as a pursivant to execute the Archbishop of Canterbury's warrants against "Martin Marprelate" in 1588,[59] and he was probably also a writer on the side of the bishops.[60] Eventually, Marprelate was exposed as the Welsh Puritan, John Penry, who escaped temporarily to Scotland, was later apprehended in London, and charged with inciting rebellion and hanged on May 31, 1593.[61]

From this year on, one finds that Munday's career is impossible to follow with any kind of chronological order. With his usual Jack-in-the-box tendency, Munday appears out

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[58] The History of English Literature, Hardin Craig, ed., pp. 213; 255.

[59] Chambers, op. cit., III, p. 444.

[60] Byrne, op. cit., p. 232.

[61] The History of English Literature, Hardin Craig, ed., pp. 213; 255.

of the ranks, when least expected, to contribute materials to every known current literary trend. One must agree that the description given Munday, ". . . everything by starts and nothing long. . .," is most apt.[62] While with the government as an agent and pursivant, for example, he was also known to have written ballads and lyrics, to have translated romances from the Italian and French, to have devised Lord Mayor's pageants, and to have written or collaborated in the writing of numerous plays for the Admiral's Men.[63]

Almost incidentally, in such a busy life, Munday established a family. The facts about his family life are sparse, but from pamphlets and other sources one learns that in 1582 he was taking up residence with his mother in Barbican. While his marriage is not recorded, it probably took place in that same year, for his eldest daughter was born in 1584 and christened on June 28, at St. Giles, Cripplegate, as ". . . Elizabeth Mundaye, daughter of Anthonye Munday, gent."[64] The same Church registry carries, within the next five years of entries, records of the christenings of Rose, Pricilla, Richard, and Anne, and in addition, the

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[62]Schelling, op. cit., p. 375.

[63]Hosking, op. cit., p. 97.

[64]Byrne, op. cit., p. 231.

facts of the death of Rose at the age of three months. Between 1582 and 1585, Munday left Barbican to move to a residence in Cripplegate, where, apparently, he spent the remainder of his long life.[65] Only a few facts are known about his son, Richard. Otherwise, ". . . Munday's posterity sinks into oblivion as completely as his ancestry."[66] Munday himself, however, with his personal assortment of qualified talents, drew a moderate amount of attention as the ". . . popular playwright. . . often also a purveyor of romances, ballads, and ethical guides."[67] He was, as it were, recruited from apprenticeship with a printer to what might be called the literary crafts.[68]

It is well-known that the ballad was printed by the thousands in the Elizabethan era.[69] Munday's ballad offerings were so energetic that by 1592 he considered himself to have a sort of monopoly in the art. Gratifyingly, his ballad writings gave him contacts with the folklore of England and had definite influences upon his subsequent

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[65] Loc. cit.

[66] Loc. cit.

[67] Alfred Harbage, Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions, p. 72.

[68] Ibid., p. 101.

[69] The Cambridge History of English Literature (1949), IV, p. 387.

dramatic work.[70] In spite of the large numbers of ballads printed, these sheets have long since perished, and, as is the case of popular songs of today, the names of the writers are seldom known. If remembered at all, these ballads are known by their titles alone.[71] Those which are directly identified as Munday's are few. Fleay lists the following: a ballad of "The Encouragement of an English Soldier to his mates," registered on March 8, 1580, for J. Charlewood; Munday's ballad against plays, considered his first Blast of Retreat, registered November 10, 1580, E. White; and a ballad of "Untruss" (with no explanatory information).[72]

One other Elizabethan literary device which rose to lofty excellence was the lyric, impartially written by all, from lords and courtiers down to the veriest literary hacks, including Anthony Munday.[73] Even compared with Shakespearean standards for the lyric, those of far lesser men occasionally reached distinctive marks. Munday, reeling out volumes of ordinary verse, and still more ordinary prose, once or twice

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[70] Ibid., V, p. 349.

[71] Ibid., IV, p. 387.

[72] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle. . ., II, p. 110; 112.

[73] Felix Schelling, A Book of Elizabethan Lyrics, p. xxxvi.

reached a level to preserve his name from oblivion.[74] One of his contemporaries, William Webbe, a Cambridge graduate and private tutor in the house of an Essex squire, thought Munday's work ". . . very rare poetry." To Munday's disadvantage, critics consider Webbe's judgment too uncertain to be much relied upon.[75] However, a chronological record of Munday's lyricism provides one with a variant picture. A Georgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1577) is the least attractive of all Elizabethan poetical miscellanies, made up ". . . in sundry forms by divers worthy workmen of late days, and now joined together and builded up." Munday, nevertheless, commended the miscellany with a selection, beginning, "See, gallants, see this gallery of delights. . . ."[76] In 1578, he entered verses in News from the North by F. Thynne, a work printed by Munday's master, Allde.[77] His Mirror of Mutabilitie (1579) contains blank verse and rhyme in stanzaic forms,[78] including an acrostic, Edward de Vere, in honor of

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[74] Ibid., p. xxiv.

[75] The Cambridge History of English Literature (1949), III, pp. 301-02.

[76] The Renaissance in England, pp. 219-20.

[77] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle, II, p. 109.

[78] Dictionary of National Biography, XIII, p. 1188.

his patron, Lord Oxford.[79] A considerably bulky specimen, extant, and providing a fairly reliable idea of Munday's talent is The Paine of Pleasure (1580), consisting of moral lessons on the over-indulgence in sports and other pleasures.[80]

Webbe, in his Discourse of English Poetrie (1586), in judging Munday's non-extant collection of poems, The Sweete Sobbes and Amorous Complaints of Shepards and Nymphes (1583), lauded it as ". . . a worke well worthy to be viewed, and to be esteemed as very rare Poetrie."[81] Munday published an inferior collection, called A Banquet of Dainty Conceits (1588), and, apparently, traded on the strength of this title, conveying the popular idea of an anthology by various authors.[82] Fleay records a bare notation, "Verses to Hakluyt's Voyages" (1589), and attributes it to Munday.[83] In Bodenham's Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses (1600), Munday also addresses a sonnet to the author as his ". . . loouing and approued good friend M. John Bodenham."[84]

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[79]Tottel's Miscellany, II, p. 277.

[80]M. St. C. Byrne, "'The Shepherd Tony'--a Recapitulation," Modern Language Review, XV (1920), p. 366.

[81]Loc. cit.

[82]Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Lyrics, p. xxv.

[83]F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle. . ., II, p. 112.

[84]M. St. C. Byrne, "'The Shepherd Tony'--a Recapitulation," Modern Language Review, XV (1920), p. 366.

With the matter of Munday's being identified with "Shepherd Tony," a signer of seven poems in England's Helicon (1600), scholars disagree. Byrne claims Munday is the only poet who has ever been directly considered for such identify, and asserts that no rival has been suggested, even by critics who most vehemently oppose the designation.[85] The contemporary praise of Webbe, and Munday's friendship with Bodenham, for whom England's Helicon was compiled, make Munday's inclusion in the anthology almost a certainty, however.[86] It is the lyric, "Beauty sat bathing by a spring . . . ," which has touched off the controversy of Munday's authorship.[87] In an appendix to a monograph entitled The

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[85] Ibid., p. 364.

[86] Ibid., p. 366.

[87] To Colin Clout

Beauty sat bathing by a spring
Where fairest shades did hide her;
The winds blew calm, the birds did sing,
The cool streams ran beside her.
My wanton thoughts enticed mine eye
To see what was forbidden,
But better memory said fie!
So vain desire was chidden.
Hey nonny, nonny, etc.

Into a slumber then I fell
When fond imagination
Seemed to see, but could not tell
Her features or her fashion.
But even as babes in dreams do smile
And sometime fall a-weeping,
So I awaked, as wise this while
As when I fell a-sleeping.
Hey nonny, nonny, etc.

Palmerin of Romances, Henry Thomas expressed his belief that it seemed incredible that this exquisite lyric could have been written by a man of Munday's talents. He thought Munday simply borrowed a popular poem of the day.[88] Other poems attributed to "Shepherd Tony" are weakened by the metre of a jog-trot, an uncertain movement that denies scanning, and verge on the doggerel. Still, Byrne shows there are some delightful passages, off-setting these faults with occasional flashes of true lyric felicity.[89] At the same time, Munday's case is strengthened by the fact that his poem, "Beauty sat bathing. . ." appears in his own translation of Primaleon of Greece (1619) and not in the original text of that work, identifying Munday, once again, with the "Shepherd Tony."[90] Schelling also points out that Bullen found it difficult to believe Munday capable of anything so good as the best "Shepherd Tony" poems, and especially the "Dirge for Robin Hood."[91] The discovery of

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[88]M. St. C. Byrne, "'The Shepherd Tony'--a Recapitulation," Modern Language Review, XV (1920), p. 370.

[89]Ibid., p. 365.

[90]Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Lyrics, p. 258.

[91]Loc. cit.; Byrne in her article says that the best example of Munday's poetry, however, is to be found in the exquisitely simple dirge in his play, The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon: (See footnote on following page.)

an excellent song on the same redoubtable woodsman in an unquestioned masque by Munday has brought about a complete recantation.[92] Byrne claims that, although there may be information some day to show that Munday was not "Shepherd Tony," everything now available stands in favor of the fact.[93]

At the same time, Munday also made full-length translations of the popular narratives of outmoded chivalry found in French, Spanish, and Italian romances.[94] The romance was an obvious continuation of a literary type which had received its English inception through the works of Malory; and

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Robin Hood's Dirge

Weep, weep, ye woodmen, wail,
Your hands with sorrow wring;
Your master Robin Hood lies dead,
Therefore sigh as you sing.

Here lies his primer and his beads,
His bent bow and his arrows keen,
His good sword and his holy cross:
Now cast on flowers fresh and green.

And, as they fall, shed tears and say
Well-a, well-a, well-a, well-a-day:
Thus cast ye flowers fresh, and sing,
And on to Wakefield take your way.

[92]Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Lyrics, p. 257.

[93]M. St. C. Byrne, "'The Shepherd Tony'--a Recapitulation," Modern Language Review, XV (1920), p. 373.

[94]A History of English Literature, p. 153.

Munday's subsequent translations of continental works merely served to continue a trend which had long since become jaded.[95] The medieval romance, in its decadent old age, was, nonetheless, cherished by antiquaries, but seldom reprinted, less frequently read, and used only for traditional seasonal celebrations such as Christmas, or in connection with weddings as occasion pieces.[96] Munday's particular translations were viewed with much disfavor by the cultured classes, because of the preposterous plots and crudeness and inaccuracy of his rendering of them into English.[97] Apparently, however, not all of his passages were so much incorrectly handled as they were badly expressed. Others, he translated erroneously, but with good expression; and many were simply meaningless jumbles of words by the time he had finished with the translation.[98] In his edition of Palmerin of England (1807), Robert Southey first proposed the supposition that the translations of these romances were the work of a kind of factory process of which Munday was

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[95] C. F. Tucker Brooke, The Tudor Drama, p. 232.

[96] The Cambridge History of English Literature, III, p. 341.

[97] Ibid., p. 359.

[98] Gerald R. Hayes, "Anthony Munday's Romances of Chivalry," The Library, VI (June, 1925), p. 74.

little more than an organizer and supervisor.[99] The presence of such erratic passages already alluded to, therefore, makes a decision of translatorship difficult, but, pending further information, Hayes prefers to take Munday's record at face value and to credit him with all faults included with the virtues.[100]

A second argument among scholars who have investigated Munday concerns the pseudonym, Lazarus Pyott. The crux of the argument resides in the fact that Munday once stated that he had translated all four books of Amadis de Gaul, but records indicate that the second book was published in 1595 under the authorship of one Lazarus Pyott.[101] Book I was published c. 1590, and III and IV in 1618 under Munday's name. Some very obvious evidence points to two identities: (1) in the dedication of Book II, the author claims to be a beginner, while Munday was an old hand at this business by 1595/96; (2) Pyott's work shows the conscientious translation of a beginner, while Munday's is the ". . . careless slapdash kind [one] should expect of a practiced scribbler--

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[99] Loc. cit.

[100] Ibid., p. 75.

[101] The dates of the translations vary in the source materials. Those quoted are from Hayes.

with a hazy knowledge of French, as it appears."[102] Munday is further discredited by Thomas's opinion that he stole the second book when the true author was ". . . no doubt dead and buried."[103] Byrne contends that Pyott was merely a pseudonym for Munday, and also that Pyott's only other work, The Orator, was Munday's, as well. Her detailed examination concludes with the following points: (1) no internal evidence in either of the works discredits Munday's style; (2) there is more reason to believe the book to be Munday's than that of an unknown writer; (3) five cases of apparent anonymity on Munday's part appear within the years 1595 to 1599, each book with some highly suspicious element; (4) no other book of Pyott's, nor mention of him, can be traced in contemporary literature; (5) there are discrepancies in statements which Lazarus Pyott makes about himself.[104] Rather anticlimactically, then, one finds Ward claiming that it is to the translations of the romances that Munday owes the chief part of his reputation.[105] Hayes tabulates the

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[102] Henry Thomas, "English Translations of Portuguese Books before 1640," The Library, VII, Fourth Series (June, 1926), p. 25.

[103] Loc. cit.

[104] M. St. C. Byrne, "Anthony Munday and His Books," The Library, I, Fourth Series (June, 1920-21), pp. 241-42.

[105] A. W. Ward, The History of Dramatic Literature, p. 431.

dates of the first editions of Munday's translations of romances and their present locations as follows:

1583	Gerileon of England, I	No copy now known.
1580 to 1587	Palmerin of England, I	No copy now known.
	Palmerin of England, II	No copy now known.
c. 1st January, 1588/9	Palmerin d'Oliva, I	A copy in B.M.
9th March, 1588/9	Palmerin d'Oliva, II	No copy now known.
23rd April, 1589	Palladine	A copy in B.M.
5th February, 1589/90	Palmendos	A copy in B.M.
c. 1590	Amadis of Gaul, I	An imperfect copy in B.M.
1592	Gerileon of England, II	A copy in B.M.
[1595	Amadis of Gaul, II	A copy in B.M.]
1595	Primaleon, I	An imperfect copy in B.M.
1596	Primaleon, II	A copy in a private library.
c. 1597	Primaleon, III	No copy now known.
1602	Palmerin of England, III	A copy in B.M.
1618 (latter part of year)[106]	Amadis of Gaul, III & IV	A copy in B.M.

Fleay further lists these following translations to Munday's credit: Galien of France (1579), dedicated to the Earl of Oxford; The Defense of Contraries, Paradoxes, etc. (1593), containing the declamation of the Jew who would have his pound of flesh; Silvain's Orator (1596), listed as by Lazarus Pyott, and an enlarged edition of Paradoxes; The Book of

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[106] Gerald R. Hayes, "Anthony Munday's Romances of Chivalry," The Library, VI, Fourth Series (June, 1925), p. 75.

Physic (1599); The (fasting) Maiden of Confolens (1603) with verses by Dekker; Assinati's Dumb Divine Speaker (1605).[107]

One next finds Munday making an attempt in another literary area as an imitator of the University Wits with the publication of his novel, Zelauto (1580).[108] In spite of the fact that Zelauto is of importance in the history of the antecedents of the English novel, one must admit that Munday simply instituted a popular trend among writers who followed the success of Lyly's Euphues.[109] Seemingly incapable of originality, Munday, like the others, painfully imitated Lyly's style and even worked the name, Euphues, into his own title page.[110] Fleay describes Munday's novel as Zelauto, the Fountain of Fame, &c., "an Entertainment to Euphues his late arrival into England," and, therefore, dates it after the spring of 1580, when the second volume of Lyly's work had been published. Zelauto was dedicated to the Earl of Oxford by "A. M., his servant, Honos alit Artes."[111] The

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[107] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle. . ., II, pp. 112-13.

[108] Edward Wagenknecht, Cavalcade of the English Novel, p. 15.

[109] M. St. C. Byrne, "Anthony Munday and His Books," The Library, I, Fourth Series (June, 1920-21), p. 252.

[110] The Cambridge History of English Literature, III, p. 349.

[111] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle. . ., II, p. 110.

plot concerns the story of a young Venetian who visits Spain, England, and Persia, moralizing upon all that he observes.[112] Scholars indicate that there is evidence of a strong personal flavor in the novel. For example, Zelauto's account of his meeting with banditti near Naples is reminiscent of Munday's own encounter with a group of disbanded soldiers near Boulogne, when he was enroute to Rome.[113] This single novel of Munday's has been observed to be, in nature, not a little unlike his own character, Stabino, in the novel whose ". . . concytes began to come so nimbly together that he now rolled in his Rhetoricke, lyke a Flea in a blanquet."[114] Again, the imitator may have been imitated, however. The theft of the usurer's daughter in Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice yields several parallels to the plot of Zelauto.[115]

Munday also tried his hand at writing the popular public pageant. Throughout the Elizabethan age and up to the closing of the theaters in 1642, pageantry held sway as the most important, honorable, and magnificent of the arts;

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[112] J. J. Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People, II, p. 524. Jusserand states that there is a copy of the 1580 edition of Zelauto in the Bodelian.

[113] M. St. C. Byrne, "Anthony Munday and His Books," The Library, I, Fourth Series (June, 1920-21), p. 253.

[114] Rollins, op. cit., p. 101.

[115] E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, p. 373.

but, eventually, it was doomed to extinction. Before its demise, however, the intellectual power of Elizabethan drama came to its rescue and infused into it a literary element of great value. Leading dramatists were then pressed into urgent service, and their contributions to pageantry created a very interesting appendix to the drama.[116]

The Lord Mayor of London's pageants were held yearly between 1580 and 1639 as remnants of the old custom.[117] Dialogues, speeches, and spectacles offered opportunities for lauding of the Lord Mayor and his occupational associates by means of some theme, bearing upon the history of the company or upon the industry to which each pageant was related.[118] In addition, the displays dealt in patriotic and moral allegories, as well as in spectacular illustrations of the glory of the city of London.[119] More than thirty of these city spectacles remain in print today, among them several works of Munday.[120] Known to have been in service to the city from about 1592, Munday probably began to write these pageants

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[116] The Cambridge History of English Literature (1949), VI, pp. 329-29.

[117] Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, II, p. 128.

[118] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, I, p. 138.

[119] A. W. Ward, History of English Dramatic Literature, I, p. 147.

[120] Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, II, p. 128.

at about this same time, but his extant works in this medium date from 1605 to 1616.[121] The absence of Elizabethan prints of pageants from 1590 to 1605 does not imply that they fell out of popular favor, for several are known to have been given production. Neither can it be inferred from the ridicule of Munday by Jonson and Marston between these years ("pageant-poet to the city of Milan," "peeking pageanteer") that Munday regularly dominated the productions.[122] In any case, as far as is known, the first "book" of five pageants credited to Munday[123] was the Merchant-Taylor's Triumphs of Reunited Britannia, written in honor of Sir Leonard Holliday ". . . to solemnize his entrance as Lorde Mayor of the Citty of London, on Tuesday the 29. of October. 1605."[124] Not included in the list of five is Campbell, or the Ironmongers' Fair Field, celebrating Thomas Campbell in 1609, the only known copy of which has lost its title-page, and which pageant is often attributed to Munday.[125] Another such credit is given him, not respecting the pageant, but for his device

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[121] The Cambridge History of English Literature (1933), V, p. 357.

[122] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, I, p. 137.

[123] Loc. cit.

[124] Ibid., III, p. 448.

[125] Ibid., I, p. 137.

and description of an entertainment called London's Love to Prince Henry, a royal reception for the Prince held on May 31, 1610, displaying a fleet, a water fight, and fireworks.[126]

Munday's remaining pageants obviously are clearly connected with the mayors for whom they were written, with subsequent dates hereafter listed: Chruso-Thriambos, The Triumphes of Golde, ". . . for Sir Iames Pemberton and the . . . Goldsmithes," on October 29, 1611; Himatia-Poleos, The Triumphs of olde Draperie, or the rich Cloathing of England, for Sir Thomas Hayes and the "Companie of Drapers," on October 29, 1614; Metropolis Coronata, The Triumphes of Ancient Drapery: or Rich Cloathing of England, in a Second Yeeres performance, for Sir Iohn Iolles and ". . . his worthy Brethern of the truely Honourable Society of Drapers," on October 30, 1615; Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing: Or, Honour of Fishmongers, for Iohn Leman and the ". . . right Worshipfull Company of Fishmongers," on October 29, 1616.[127]

Munday's chief competitors in pageant-writing were Dekker and Middleton. In the pageant, The Triumphs of Truth, October 29, 1613, Middleton was thought to have been sneering at his rival city-poet, Munday,[128] when, in his

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[126] Ibid., IV, p. 72.

[127] Ibid., III, p. 449.

[128] Ibid., I, p. 137.

title-page he claimed his show was ". . . Directed, Written, and redeem'd into Forme, from the Ignorance of some former times, and their Common Writer. . . ."[129] Munday, nevertheless, produced these pageants for the next three years; and, as "citizen and draper," he probably supplied the apparel.[130]

An extract from the ledger book of the Fishmongers' Company shows that Munday was not adverse to picking up an extra shilling here and there. In the account of the pageant Chrysanaleia, for example, written for this group, one finds the claim that Munday, the poet, was gratified for ". . . books of the late shews and speeches. . . for spoyling the silk cotes which the halberdiers did weare, losing their badges, and other things mentioned in a bill exhibited by him. . . ." Apparently, he knew how to present a bill with a margin for cutting down.[131] Unquestionably, his pageants were as dull as other's similar productions, but when a failure paid him £45, his others must have been an excellent source of income.[132]

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[129] Ibid., III, p. 443.

[130] Thomas Middleton, The Works, p. 233.

[131] M. St. C. Byrne, "Anthony Munday and His Books," The Library, I, Fourth Series (June, 1920-21), pp. 253-54.

[132] Ibid., p. 234.

One finds reference made, also, to preliminary ". . . devices of Munday and Churchyard at Norwich,"[133] dated as August 16-22, 1578.[134] In Churchyard's Challenge (1593), one finds Churchyard himself claiming the invention of the whole device, all pastimes, and plays before her Majesty at Norwich.[135] Yet Chambers classifies this entertainment as anonymous, and, therefore, the authorship of the entire work or parts is unknown or conjectural, leaving room for further consideration of Munday's hand in this event.[136]

Munday's prose selections, which constitute another category of his literary work, are scattered throughout his long career. On the basis of the presumption that leaflets which were sold in Elizabethan England for twopence and threepence were not considered treasures for posterity, one may assume that many such publications of Munday and others may have been effaced from all records. However, several remaining works are exemplary of Munday's type of contribution to this phase of composition. Already mentioned above as his first publication in any category was his Defence of

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[133] Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, II, p. 403.

[134] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV, pp. 62-63.

[135] Ibid., p. 63.

[136] Ibid., p. 1.

Pouertie, a collection of aphoristic maxims gathered from other writers.[137] In his View of Sundry Examples (1580), intended for the perusal of ". . . all faithful Christians,"[138] Munday took advantage of the well-publicized story of the murder of one George Sanders in 1573. He cites few facts from this particular case, but makes use of the circumstances of the murder and subsequent punishment as a departure for long passages of euphuistic writing.[139]

As has been suggested before, combining his official duties with a profitable side issue, Munday also published five tracts criticizing Catholics in general after the Campion trial. These documents were A Brief discourse of the taking of Edmund Campion, &c. (July, 1581); The Discovery of Edmund Campion, &c. (1582); A Brief Answer to two seditious pamphlets (March, 1582); A brief and true report of the execution of certain Traitors at Tyburn (May, 1582); The English Roman Life (June, 1582).[140] It is noteworthy that Munday's description of the execution of Campion was borrowed by Holinshed for his own account. Hallam records:

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[137] M. St. C. Byrne, "Anthony Munday and His Books," The Library, I, Fourth Series (June, 1920-21), p. 229.

[138] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle. . ., II, p. 110.

[139] Brooke, op. cit., pp. 357-58.

[140] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle. . ., II, pp. 110-11.

> The trials and deaths of Campion and his associates are told in the continuation of Hollingshed with such savageness and bigotry which, I am very sure, no scribe for the Inquisition could have surpassed.[141]

Munday's English Roman Life was a combination of abusive criticism and accusations against Catholics, mixed with entertaining accounts of people and places encountered while traveling.[142] A Watchword to England &c. (1584) and The godly exercise of Christian families (1586), with doubtless other pamphlets by Munday on religious subjects and "political catch-pennies" were bought and read by the common man of the period.[143] The Strangest Adventure that ever Happened (1601), containing ". . . the successe of the king of Portigall, Dom Sebastian, from the time of his voyage into Affrike unto the sixt of January the present 1601," is almost certainly the source background for the play, King Sebastiane of Portingalle (1601) by Chettle and Dekker.[144]

As one might suspect, Munday did not overlook the advantage to be gained in flattering the guilds or the citizens,

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[141] Henry Hallam, The Constitutional History of England, I, p. 153. The Holinshed work cited by Hallam is the 1808 edition.

[142] Jusserand, op. cit., II, p. 540.

[143] M. St. C. Byrne, "Anthony Munday and His Books," The Library, I, Fourth Series (June, 1920-22), p. 253.

[144] Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 431. Henslowe's Diary records payment ". . . vnto Thomas dekkers & harey chettell in earneste of a Booke called kinge sebastiane of portingalle," p. 136.

generally, in his dedicatory preface to his "outline of universal history," A Briefe Chronicle, of the Successe of Tomes, from the Creation of the World, to this instant (1611).[145] Further, he wrote An Epitaph on Sir J. Pemberton (1613).[146] John Stow published his Survay of London (1598),[147] and a second edition of the same work in 1603, but Munday availed himself of another opportunity and produced the third edition with continuations in 1618; and assisted by Humphrey Dyson, he prepared another edition in folio, in 1633,[148] but he died before its publication.

The listings of these prolific writings do not constitute Munday's principal contributions to Elizabethan letters. It is for his work as a playwright that he is most highly regarded by scholars of this period, although no glorifying reputation accompanies his work in this medium. Munday and his plays were of some specific consideration in

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[145] L. B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p. 324.

[146] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle. . ., II, p. 113.

[147] Stow's Survay of London contained, according to its title-page, ". . . the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne estate, and description of that Citie." Wright says that the Survay was far more than a chronicle of mayors and aldermen with inclusions about frosts, industries, citizens' actions, etc. It has been the basis for all later histories of London. Cf., Wright, op. cit., pp. 310-11.

[148] Ibid., p. 311.

his day and still are at the present time. Apparently, he recognized his own mediocrity, though, and accepted his station, for he is known to have said that God had chosen the despised of the world to confound those who think themselves most mighty.[149] After eighty years of active living, Anthony Munday died and was buried on August 10, 1613, in St. Stephens Church, Coleman Street, in London.[150]

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[149] M. St. C. Byrne, "Anthony Munday and His Books," The Library, I, Fourth Series (June, 1920-21), p. 254. Byrne has paraphrased Munday, here.

[150] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle, II, p. 109.

CHAPTER II

ANTHONY MUNDAY, ELIZABETHAN DRAMATIST, 1590-1602

> Indeed, that's right, you are in print
> already for the best plotter.
> --The Case Is Altered, I, ii

The question of authenticating authorship in Elizabethan drama is, indeed, problematical. Contemporary listings from the period are often contradictory; cross references show little, if any, agreement; title-pages are not infallible; publishers are not always well-informed or trustworthy. To this dilemma, one adds the variations in style of a given author, the dubious chronology of his works, the veracity of extant comments made by his contemporaries, the incomplete bibliographies of his writings, and the contradictory opinions of present critics of Elizabethan dramatic problems. Finally, one must admit that the two prevailing practices among Elizabethan dramatists--collaboration and revision--have done much to confuse this already complex problem of authenticity. At the same time, he must take into consideration other specific facets of Elizabethan drama peculiar to this era. In the first place, he must understand that actors were, in reality, the ones who determined the repertoire; and, since their livelihood depended upon their subsequent stage successes, they had an utilitarian respect for public taste. Perhaps, one may even

suggest that the literary excellence of the parts which they enacted was of little concern to them; however, one must realize that the business of catering to audience taste most obviously did merit their attention, upon occasion. The most popular stage themes included either elements of atrocity or pathos. Sophisticated dramas were, more than likely, also satiric, frequently at the expense of other contemporary dramas, and were plotted around ". . . stories of broken gallants, spendthrift knights, erring city wives, knaveries of cony-catchers, and hypocrisies of Puritans."[151] Playwrights, also, worked under this same shadow of public taste. Munday, himself, is included in a list of actor-playwrights who depended upon their dramatic productions for a source of income with which to supplement the slender resources which they gleaned from other types of publications or from the gratuities they received from the hands of noblemen whom they eulogized in countless dedications. If this concept be true, and one recognizes the elements of credulity in it, one assumes that many playwrights composed, without apparent embarrassment, whatever the actors and public desired. Dramas which lacked quality or artistic unity, of course, were quite justly consigned to oblivion.

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[151] M. C. Bradbook, The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy, p. 434.

And it is further true that many productions in this period were unpolished and poorly staged, eliciting applause solely through spectacular stage effects in catering to popular taste.[152] One may safely conclude, then, that playwrighting by Munday's time was often thought of as a common trade. Henslowe's Diary, for example, is replete with entries which emphasize that a play was ordered by "type," or custom-built, as it were, for available theatrical talent. Undoubtedly, speed in composition was a pressing agent in many cases, and one observes that plays were often delivered within a limited amount of time, or not at all.[153] A play which did not attract crowds was quickly discarded and a new one demanded in its stead, often on short notice.[154] These same accounts indicate that Munday, too, was often pressed into quick action for the Admiral's Men. For example, Henslowe's Diary contains an entry, backed by the word of Drayton and witnessed by Thomas Dowton, to show that ten shillings were

> . . . lent vnto antony monday for the 9 of auguste 1598 in earneste of a comodey for the cort called [here, an elipse of what must have been the title] the some of . . .

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[152] Brooke, op. cit., p. 301.

[153] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, p. 341.

[154] E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, p. 209.

x^{s} m^{r} drayton hath geuen his worde for [yt] the boocke
to be done wth in one fortnight wittness
Thomas dowton[155]

Furthermore, one must take into consideration the fact that "time demands" often made collaboration a matter of necessity. Nevertheless, the selection of a collaborating team was not left to the discretion of the writers themselves, but was delegated, rather, to the intermediary who originally had commissioned the work. For a so-called pressing job, then, one may discover up to five authors working on a single drama. At the same time, it must be noted that payment for such a writing job was made by "lump sum method," and numerous collaborators would often mean a many-sided monetary split. Naturally, under such a system, one can clearly understand that playwrights would desire few, if any, collaborators. In an interesting study of 128 plays produced by the Admiral's Men between 1597 and 1603 (almost the precise period of Munday's service to the company), W. J. Lawrence has discovered that three were the work of five collaborators; fourteen, of four; fifteen, of three; thirty-eight, of two; and, no fewer than fifty-eight (almost fifty per cent of the total count), of single authors. From this information, one may conclude that individual authorship was coveted by actors and writers, alike, and that only circumstantial

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[155]Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), p. 93.

pressures kept the collaboration process in high vogue.[157] This "group method" of composition had its inception in the early 1560's and persisted throughout the Elizabethan-Jacobean period.[158]

One must also recall that the custom of giving sequential performances of a play, so prevalent today, was rarely the case in the Elizabethan period. On the contrary, it was not usual to accord a play more than two consecutive performances. Indeed, a new work was apparently staged each week throughout a season, and if it should subsequently have gained a worthwhile reputation, it may have been revived from time to time, during the following season.[159] For example, in a three-year period, the Admiral's Men brought out fifty-five new works, or, at this rate, one every two weeks, on the average. One assumes, therefore, that presentations of new plays were not necessarily to be made at regular intervals, since it is evident from contemporary accounts that two new plays were never offered by a company within the same week.[160] Munday, as one of the playwrights

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[157] Lawrence, op. cit., p. 350.

[158] E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, p. 209.

[159] Bradbook, op. cit., p. 74.

[160] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, p. 146.

who wrote regularly for the Admiral's Men at the Rose and Fortune, was a part of a keen system of competition with the Lord Chamberlain's Men of the Theatre and Globe.[161] These two companies were beyond all other rival companies in matters of wealth, talent, and popularity. They were foremost competitors for the mixed audiences of courtiers, citizens, and foreign visitors. It is interesting to note that actors and playwrights in the Lord Chamberlain's company had financial advantages over those in the Admiral's group in the way of salaries and opportunities for shareholdings. In the latter company, Henslowe was sole financier. In this particular position, he pressured his men for services, accorded them no voice in the subject for production, sped work by collaboration, and shuffled his half-dozen permanent writers, including Munday, into jobs of editing, revising, and expanding of old plays.[162] As a consequence, when the Admiral's Men opened their first season in June, 1594, one observes them with a stock of new and revised plays, and, in addition, a considerable backlog of old ones upon which to draw.[163] Without a doubt, plays written by Munday as early as 1579, and those written by Munday and Chapman in

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[161] Hosking, op. cit., p. 62.

[162] Bradbook, op. cit., p. 74.

[163] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, p. 146.

collaboration as early as c. 1581/82 and as late as 1586/87 (possibly as late as 1589), were a part of the stock of the Admiral's Men, along with other plays and stage properties obtained through the 1589 purchase by Edward and John Alleyn of Browne and Jones's share in Oxford's company.[164] One may find detailed records of the sums advanced for this renovation and repertoire in numerous entries in Henslowe's Diary, and Feuillerat has shown that these entries, at the same time, throw light on the business of making old plays appear like new, by means of revision. For example, he shows that Henslowe uses three terms, mending, adding, and altering, with a conscious regularity. Henslowe's term, mending, implied minor changes, such as alterations of passages or adaptations to meet specific events (e. g., a performance at Court). Such chores, Henslowe notes, were given modest sums in payment, around ten shillings, to be exact.[165] In the case of making additions, or addings, the reviser apparently modified a play without disturbing its subject matter, perhaps to mask its age, or in various ways to make it timely and appealing. The greater the reviser's powers of invention, one notes, the greater was his payment for his

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[164] Acheson, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

[165] Albert Feuillerat, The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays, p. 8.

services.[166] The altering of a play, on the other hand, often resulted in changes that amounted to a complete rewriting, sometimes to the loss of the original thought by a revolutionary transformation of the text. Such a profound and meticulous project was rewarded by a fee that was almost as large in amount as that usually paid for an original plot.[167] One concludes, therefore, that plays were considered (at least by Henslowe) as stage properties and not as personal items, and, as such, may often have been subject to countless revisions, irrespective of original authorship.

Francis Meres in 1598 published an important collection, containing more than one-hundred-and-fifty names of authors of the period.[168] In this work, Palladis Tamia, Meres cites Munday as ". . . our best plotter," indicating that Munday, therefore, must have been a chief scenario writer among many employed by the Admiral's Men.[169] It is further significant to note that as many as five writers, as has been previously shown, may have worked from a divided synopsis or plot, these divisions corresponding to the

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[166] Ibid., p. 9.

[167] Ibid., p. 17.

[168] Cf., G. B. Harrison, The Elizabethan Journals, II, p. 305.

[169] Lawrence, op. cit., p. 351.

customary five acts of a typical Elizabethan drama, which synopsis or plot may frequently have been drawn up, originally, by Munday.[170] Such multiple collaborations, more often than not, resulted in the numerous blemishes, however conventionalized, that appear in many Elizabethan dramas, notably detected in a superabundance of melodrama, a lack of striking situation, a loose structure, a wandering from the core of thought, an awkward time connection, or a loss of true characterization.[171] One must conceive of Munday, then, as one author in a group of over twenty who worked, at one time or another, for the Admiral's Men, subject to this kind of literary discipline.[172] In addition to him, one finds such dramatists as Chettle, Heywood, Rankin, Porter, Massey, Day, and Wilson in this company. Others who wrote intermittently for the group were Marlowe, Chapman, Jonson, Dekker, Peele, Lodge, and Hathway.[173] Authors, such as these latter men, would appear not to have been obligated to specific companies at all times, for they may be observed frequently to have distributed their talents elsewhere.

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[170] Ibid., p. 352.

[171] Ibid., p. 353.

[172] T. M. Parrott and R. H. Ball, A Short View of Elizabethan Drama, p. 95.

[173] Hosking, op. cit., p. 62.

Thomas Dekker's list of collaborators, for example, includes every important dramatist of the period, excepting Shakespeare and Chapman.[174] Of Dekker's forty-four titles, of which seventeen are extant, only five are known to be entirely from his own pen.[175] Of Chettle, one learns that this dramatist considered it a personal prerogative to edit heavily, striking out, rewording, and changing the tone of any piece upon which he labored.[176]

One finds Anthony Munday as a dramatist, then, involved in a welter of collaboration with some of these authors as a member of the Admiral's Men and working under such confusing and often anonymous conditions. A tabulation of his extant and lost works (as given by Chambers), reveals his known collaborators and records the number of times he entered into a combined authorship during his career as a playwright:

Drayton	9
Wilson	6
Hathway	5
Chettle, Dekker	4 each

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[174] M. L. Hunt, Thomas Dekker, A Study, p. 82.

[175] Bradbook, op. cit., p. 121.

[176] E. M. Albright, Dramatic Publication in England 1580-1640, p. 371.

Smith)
Middleton) 1 each[177]
Webster)

This investigation of Munday as an Elizabethan dramatist will include a discussion of all his plays with the exception of John a Kent and John a Cumber, which will be delegated to the concluding chapter of this study for fuller analysis, for reasons of dating and other problems necessitating a more leisured treatment.

Excluding John a Kent and John a Cumber, then, one discovers that Munday's first drama, Mother Redcap (non-extant) was written in collaboration with Drayton, between December, 1597, and January, 1598, as three entries from Henslowe's Diary verify:

> . . . layd owt the 22 of desemb$_3$ 1597 for a boocke called mother Read cape to antony monday & drayton . . . iij[li]

> . . . layd owt the 28 of desemb$_3$ 1597 for the boocke called mother Read cape to antoney mondays. . . v[s]

> pd vnto antony monday & drayton for the laste payment of the Boocke of mother Readcape the 5 of Jenewary 1597 the some of. . . xxix[s] [178]

Munday's next two dramatic compositions are the so-called "Robin Hood" plots, which critics have concluded to be the

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[177] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, pp. 446-48.

[178] Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), pp. 82-83. It is obvious that Henslowe has made an error in entry of date concerning this drama.

bases for the fully developed Robert Earl of Huntingdon plays, to be discussed more completely, also, in a later portion of this present study. The Diary entry, however, for these two plots contains the following pertinent information:

> . . . layd owt vnto antony monday the 15 of febreary 1598 for a playe boocke called the firste parte of Robyne hoode. . . v[li]

> Lent vnto antony mondaye the 28 of febreary 1598 in pte of paymente of the second pte of Roben Hoode[vs] [179]

Munday, along with Chettle, Dekker, and Webster, collaborated next upon The Funeral of Richard Coeur-de-Lion in June, 1598. Greg thinks that this drama was probably connected with the two aforementioned "Robin Hood" plays and was intended as a second part of a possible trilogy.[180] Later, Munday and Hathway collaborated upon Valentine and Orson (July 1, 1598), which Schelling thinks follows the plot of the typical well-established historical drama of the period.[181] Chambers records a note of doubt about this play, however, and calls attention to the fact that an anonymous play of the same name was twice recorded in the Stationers' Register, first, in May, 1595, and, later, in March, 1600, and points out that it was ascribed upon both occasions to the Queen's Men,

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[179] Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[180] Ibid., II (commentary), p. 194.

[181] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 379.

instead of to the Admiral's men for which Munday has been shown to have written.[182] Munday's next work is known only as a ". . . comodye for the corte," a play which presumably was not finished, unless it can be identified with the Munday-Drayton-Wilson- and either Chettle or Dekker production which succeeds it, known as Chance Medley.[183] Hunt, who prefers Dekker to Chettle in this drama, suggests that it may have been a comedy of errors, or, possibly, a tragedy.[184] Greg contends that nothing is really known about this play, which criticism is most true, and explains that the title, furthermore, is a legal phrase referring to ". . . a casualty, not purely accidental," and is a term sometimes erroneously used in the sense of ". . . random action or fortuitous medley and confusion."[185]

Munday's two plays which follow, bearing the name of Sir John Oldcastle, will be given a full consideration in a later section of this study. His Owen Tudor, a play concerning one of the lesser personages of the Court, was written in collaboration with Drayton, Hathway, and Wilson,

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[182] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, p. 333.

[183] Ibid., p. 448.

[184] Hunt, op. cit., p. 49.

[185] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 252.

and which was written in June, 1600.[187] Munday's hand is also to be found in the first part of two plays which bear the title of Cardinal Wolsey, in collaboration with Chettle, Drayton, and Smith.[188] Evidently, however, Chettle was the most deeply involved in these so-called cardinal plays, attempting to produce a script from June until October, 1601. Henslowe, finally, felt it necessary to call in collaborators to assist him, among them Munday, all of whom proceeded to dress up these plays, perhaps, one might assume, because of the nature of the subject--the fall and disgrace which concluded the career of Wolsey.[189]

Jepthah, containing the expanded title, Judg of Jsrael, recorded in May, 1602, is one of the most elusive of Munday's works, but it has been attributed to him and Thomas Dekker.[190] Furthermore, there is an amusing entry in Henslowe's Diary to indicate that this play was given a reading by members of the group, assisted somewhat by the cheer of wine at Henslowe's own expense:

> . . . Layd owt for the companye when they Read the playe of Jeffa for wine at the tavern. . . iis [191]

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[186] Loc. cit.

[187] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, p. 448.

[188] Loc. cit.

[189] Feuillerat, op. cit., p. 26.

[190] Philip Henslowe, Diary, II (commentary), p. 222.

[191] Ibid., I (text), p. 166.

There is much speculation about an additional play, called Widow's Charm, for which Henslowe records payment made in 1602 on July 9, August 26, September 2 and 11, to "antony the poyet."[192] According to Fleay, this identification ". . . means . . . poet to the City Corporation, for whom Munday wrote nearly all the pageants from this time to 1616."[193] Greg, on the other hand, considers the theory inconceivable that Munday or Waderson, who possessed the Christian name of Anthony, should consistently be called by such a title in relation to one play.[194] The problem remains unsettled. Caesar's Fall, or The Two Shapes, consists of the story of the life of Caesar and was evidently accorded the usual period treatment of this popular theme.[195] It is further known that Henslowe also lent money to Munday, Drayton, Webster, and ". . . the Rest," in earnest of a book called ". . . sessars ffalle."[196] Chambers suggests the names of Dekker and Middleton to explain "the Rest."[197] Finally, the last entry on Munday's lost list is The Set at

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[192] Ibid., I (text), pp. 169-70.

[193] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle . . ., II, p. 117.

[194] Philip Henslowe, Diary, II (commentary), p. 223.

[195] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, II, p. 28.

[196] Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), p. 166.

[197] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, p. 448.

Tennis, which was, from the evidence presented, a short play of Munday's own, intended to piece out Dekker's original Fortune's Tennis as an opening performance for the Fortune in 1600. However, Chambers is prone to attribute this information to conjectural thinking.[198] Nevertheless, one must note that the play was one in several in a series which used a game to mask satirical or allegorical intentions.[199]

It is, now, necessary to investigate Munday's unquestioned activities in Elizabethan drama as manifest in the extant manuscripts which have been determined as his alone or his in collaboration. Munday's most prolific years as a playwright, traceable chiefly in Henslowe, as has been shown, were those during which he wrote for the Admiral's Men from 1590? until 1602.[200] However, there is additional recent evidence available to indicate that he possessed dramatic interests at various other times, as well. During these productive years, nevertheless, Munday and his contemporaries kept the theatres of London supplied with entertainments designed "to catch the ears" of the groundlings and, in so doing, dramatized almost all available sources as themes.[201]

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[198] Loc. cit.

[199] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 445.

[200] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, p. 444.

[201] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. xxxiv.

Obviously, the adverse criticism offered the stage in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign did not deter the interest of Londoners in the traditional pleasures found in "shews."[202] Because Munday made drama a profession, one may assume that he fared well and enjoyed his work in the "palmy days" of Elizabethan drama. Although the fact is not directly traceable to its source, one concludes that the reference to Munday's "ruffling" on the stage is sufficient basis for the belief that he had been a player before 1582, possibly with Oxford's Men, since he was also known to have been a servant to that Lord as early as 1580.[203] Furthermore, one clearly sees that Munday's work as a poet and manager for Oxford's Men, heretofore alluded to, additionally points to an early stage career for the man. If, as conjecturally stated, Munday were employed by Oxford, he may well have been involved in the following affairs, also, which are gleaned from various sources from Chambers. A "disorder" at the Theater in April, 1580, made traveling into the provinces for actors an attractive idea, and Oxford's Men were given permission to go on the road with several plays which they had already produced before the Queen. Because of the outbreak of

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[202] Ibid., p. xxxix.

[203] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, p. 330.

pestilence and an order which forbade " . . . open shewes" within five miles of Cambridge, these players were met at the city gates, given twenty shillings, and turned away unheard and unseen. From 1580 until 1603, Oxford's Men can be traced through the provinces. At Norwich, for example, they received payment in 1580/81, and at Bristol in September, 1580/81, " . . . nine boys and a man" were accounted for. It would appear to be relatively clear that these nine boys and a man could have been the boys of Oxford's Chapel, traveling independently as a single unit. Hereafter, the Earl's troupe is referred to, openly, as either "men" or "boyes" until 1584, at which time Oxford, perhaps, ceased to support boy actors and turned his attention to the employment of adult players only.[204] The record of Munday's work with Oxford's boys is clearly dated as 1580-84, and it provides one with abundant evidence for Munday's activities with this boy-actor group during these years.

Upon his appointment as Queen's Messenger, Munday undoubtedly had less time for his dramatic pursuits, but he was still apparently connected with Oxford's group as a poet until this company disappeared from the public view in 1588/89.[205] Concurrently, Edward and John Alleyn purchased,

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[204] Ibid., II, pp. 100-01.

[205] Acheson, op. cit., p. 115.

for a sum of £ 35 10s. od., Oxford's ". . . playing apparels, play-books, instruments and other commodities."[206] One learns that, two years later, some of the old Oxford properties were taken by Alleyn to Henslowe. Included in these materials was Munday's individually written work, John a Kent and John a Cumber.[207] However, two other plays, Fidele and Fortunio and The Weakest Goeth to the Wall, pertain to Munday's early dramatic writings between 1579-89. In addition, one finds attributed to this same ten-year period The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell and Sir Thomas More, considered by Acheson to be, beyond a doubt, the collaborated work of Munday and George Chapman.[208] Acheson, furthermore, dates these five plays in the following order: John a Kent. . . (1579); The Weakest . . . (c. 1580/81); Fidele and Fortunio (1581/82); Cromwell (1582/83); and More (1586/87).[209]

Inasmuch as a detailed study of John a Kent and John a Cumber comprises the major portion of this present study, the author will reserve a space elsewhere for a full explication of this drama. However, it seems necessary at this point to include a concise study of three separate groups of

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[206] J. P. Collier, Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 4.

[207] Acheson, op. cit., p. 115.

[208] Ibid., p. 116.

[209] Ibid., p. 117.

so-called Munday plays: (1) those in which Munday's hand is strongly possible, but unproved; (2) those of his authentic extant plays, in addition to John a Kent . . .--dramas which he wrote individually or in collaboration; and (3) those of the lost plays, generally conceded to be his, or to be his joint efforts with contemporary dramatists.

Munday's Fidele and Fortunio, The Two Italian Gentlemen (1584), bears a secondary title, "The pleasaunt and fine conceited Comoedie of two Italian Gentlemen, with the merie devises of Captaine Crack-stone."[210] Generally thought to be the work of Munday, this play was acted at Court by an unidentified company, and, in fact, may have been written for Court performance alone.[211] Still, the play was well known in its day and, even yet, makes fair reading with its plot built around the ". . . artificial complication of love-plots, clever trifling with arts of incantation, stock figures of the braggart and pedant."[212] Such a plot, obviously known to be a free adaptation of the Italian Il Fedele (1575) by Luigi Pasqualigo,[213] shows that Munday helped

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[210] Fidele and Fortunio, The Two Italian Gentlemen, W. W. Greg, ed., p. xiii.

[211] W. J. Lawrence, Speeding Up Shakespeare, p. 66.

[212] Brooke, op. cit., p. 169.

[213] Loc. cit.

prescribe the Italian novella as a probable source of the composition of English dramas.[214] In its style, the play demonstrates metrically archaic characteristics.[215] Acheson claims that the hand of Chapman is also apparent in the drama,[216] but Chambers states that Munday alone is its author.[217] Fleay, as well, credits Munday with sole authorship.[218] Byrne contends that the matter was settled with the 1919 discovery of the Mostyn copy of Two Italian Gentlemen, which theory would dispose of Chapman's authorship and prove Collier and Hazlitt unfaithful to the facts in citing the author of the play as A. M. instead of M. A. Such a transposition of letters to represent Munday's initials could certainly have been possible,[219] and Byrne's case is further strengthened when one learns that in the dedicatory section to the play, the initials, M. R., are a transposition beyond doubt of those of Roger Mostyn. The manuscripts, furthermore, of both the Two Italian Gentlemen and John a Kent

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[214]Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Stage, I, p. 210.

[215]Acheson, op. cit., p. 62.

[216]Ibid., p. 228.

[217]E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, p. 448.

[218]F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle . . ., II, p. 113.

[219]M. St. C. Byrne, "'The Shepherd Tony'--A Recapitulation," Modern Language Review, XV (1920), p. 370.

and John a Cumber are to be found in Lord Mostyn's collection.[220] Other points favoring Munday's authorship are his fondness for the six-line stanza, and the resemblance of the mock-Latin of Crackstone in the play under question to similar passages given to Turnop in Munday's John a Kent and John a Cumber.[221] A coincidence of much additional value is to be found in the fact that three other works by Munday were also published by Thomas Hacket in or around the 1585 date of Two Italian Gentlemen, also a Hacket publication.[222]

The Weakest Goeth to the Wall is a play with a romantic plot that is founded upon an Italian original and dramatized as a pseudo-history with a romantic French atmosphere.[223] The play opens with a dumb show about the loss and recapture of the infant Duke of Boulogne in an altercation between France and Spain. There is an element of comedy in the defense of the excellence of English ale by an English tailor. The title-page of this play in the 1600 edition explains

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[220] Ibid., p. 372.

[221] Ibid., p. 370.

[222] Ibid., p. 371. It was almost habitual for Munday to publish several works with the same publisher. Byrne cites several groupings as examples. The selections of concern, here, published by Hacket, are A Watchword to England (1584); Anthony Munday his godly exercise for Christian Familie (1586); Banquet of Dainty Conceits (1584).

[223] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 378.

that the play was printed ". . . As it hath bene sundry times plaide by the right honourable Earle of Oxenford, Lord great Chamberlaine of England his seruants."[224] Since there is no record to show that Oxford's Men ever played in any London theater, one may assume, perhaps, that they acted in inn yards. The stage directions, for example, do not indicate entrances through stage doors, but from stage corners. Other details of stage setting indicate, as well, an early type of drama which might easily have been performed in the open.[225] Although it is probable that the play was revised for publication, it was evidently first staged by Oxford's Men while they were still young, for the cast members are called "pigmies" in the text.

It is for such reasons that Acheson dates the play shortly after John a Kent and John a Cumber, around 1580/81, and considers it Munday's work.[226] On the basis of internal evidence and historical details, Fleay credits Munday with full authorship, but dates the play c. 1584.[227] Chambers lists The Weakest Goeth to the Wall as anonymous, however,[228]

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[224] The Weakest Goeth to the Wall, W. W. Greg, ed., p. ix. The head-title is quoted from the Bodelian copy.

[225] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, p. 33.

[226] Acheson, op. cit., p. 119.

[227] F. G. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle . . ., II, p. 114.

[228] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV, p. 387.

and the facts concerning its authorship are still a subject for discussion by scholars, principally because of the evidence of Dekker's supposed hand in the 1600 publication.[229]

Munday, among others, is thought to have had a part in the composition of one of the very popular biographical plays of the period, The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell, acted in 1592.[230] In the plot development, Cromwell is pictured, not as the tyrannical executer of King Henry's orders, but as a thrifty, pious, and staunch ideal of London Protestant citizens.[231] As in other chronicle dramas, Cromwell is developed for the hero's sake, neither for historical veracity nor artistic theme.[232] Its source has been found to be almost entirely in Foxe's Book of Martyrs, considered by some critics to be a "mass of fable."[233] In the title of the earliest extant edition of Cromwell (1613), the words, ". . . written by W. S.," are included, and the drama was

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[229]Hunt, op. cit., p. 42. Three copies of The Weakest exist. One is in the British Museum; another, in the Bodelian; a third, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. All lack the blank leaf as the beginning, but are otherwise perfect.

[230]Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 286.

[231]Loc. cit.

[232]Felix Schelling, The English Chronicle Play, p. 210.

[233]Ibid., p. 216.

subsequently reprinted in the third folio of Shakespeare.[234] On this basis, scholars have made random assumptions to attribute Cromwell to Shakespeare or even to various other playwrights. While there is no certainty that Munday had a hand in the composition of the play, he is still considered to be one of the possible authors. Chambers conservatively mentions several opinions, but eventually classifies the play as anonymous.[235]

Undoubtedly there is much knowledge to be gained from the extant manuscripts of Elizabethan-Jacobean plays, but various decisions, growing out of studies of the Harleian MS. 7368, Sir Thomas More, leave one an open choice in following his own critic. Wilson has discerned in it, for example, the hands of Munday and Dekker, possibly even of Shakespeare, and admits that the manuscript has not yielded up all its secrets.[236] Nicoll gives credit to Munday for the original manuscript, but cites reasons to think that he was copying someone else's work.[237] Four other hands have also been traced in this document--those of Chettle, Dekker,

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[234] Ibid., p. 215.

[235] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV, p. 8.

[236] F. P. Wilson, "Ralph Crane Scrivener to the King's Players," The Library, VII, Fourth Series (1926), p. 194.

[237] Shakespeare Survey, IX, p. 72.

Heywood, and, perhaps, Shakespeare.[238] Acheson considers the play a manuscript in Munday's hand, but points out additions or revisions by a number of later hands, including Shakespeare's. He further adds Chapman to the list of collaborators by the nature of evidence of Chapman's hand in lines spoken by the protagonist and in speeches of Shrewsbury and Surrey.[239] Lawrence, after comparing the manuscript of More with Munday's original John a Kent and John a Cumber and his printed play, Fedele and Fortunio, contends that Munday's part in the More copy was simply that of transcriber, and a mechanical one, at that.[240]

The dating of the composition of More has become another problem among scholars. Albright cites dates, for example, ranging from 1586 to 1599 or even 1604, varying with the opinions of other scholars on the subject.[241] Chambers lists the play as anonymous and dates it c. 1596.[242] He cites Greg as the one who detected seven distinct hands in the manuscript, including Munday's as the transcriber of the

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[238] Loc. cit.

[239] Acheson, op. cit., pp. 255-56.

[240] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, p. 388.

[241] Albright, op. cit., p. 131.

[242] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV, p. 32.

original text. These five contributors to the changes in the text included a playhouse corrector, Dekker, Shakespeare, and two unidentified hands. The sixth was Munday, and the seventh person adding to the script was Edmund Tilney, Master of Revels, acting as censor.[243] Apparently, Tilney was perturbed by two features in the original script--the dispute between Lombard aliens and Londoners, ending in the May Day riots, and the fact that Sir Thomas More was pointed out in the plot as a restorer of the peace. He gave specific instructions, therefore, for the omission of "dangerous" passages.[244] In spite of this rigid check on a political situation, the play is evidence of a great liberality when the late Sir Thomas More was fully represented upon the stage.[245]

Both The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon and its sequel, The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, are dated as 1598, and were first entered into the Stationers' Register, December 1, 1600.[246] Munday is given full credit for the first part of the Earl's story, ". . . afterward

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[243] Loc. cit.

[244] Ibid., I, p. 321.

[245] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 287.

[246] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, pp. 446-47. Copies of these two plays were unavailable for reading.

called Robin Hood of merrie Sherwodde;" but, in the second part, he is conceded to have written in collaboration with Chettle. This situation is an exception to what seems to have been the usual practice, according to Henslowe's records, of assigning plays in two parts to the same author.[247] As has already been shown, the initial part of the sequel was purchased from Munday for £ 5 on ". . . the 15 of febreary 1598. . . ."[248] The play was licensed by the Master of Revels on March 28, 1598, and undoubtedly was played soon thereafter.[249] In November of the same year, permission was given for a performance at Court, and, probably, certain adjustments were considered to be necessary before this presentation was possible. Dialogue which was satisfactory to public stages was not always suitable for the Queen's ears. Too, a compliment to Her Majesty was indispensable.[250] Chettle was given the project of modifying the play, for the Diary records that he was paid ten shillings on November 18, 1598, and ten shillings more on the twenty-fifth of the same month, for "mendinge" of the play for the Court.[251]

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[247] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, pp. 350-51. Cf., Dekker's The Honest Whore, Parts I & II, for example.

[248] Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), p. 83.

[249] Ibid., p. 85.

[250] Feuillerat, op. cit., p. 8.

[251] Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), p. 99.

Feuillerat assumes that the undertaking was not a difficult task, inasmuch as only two weeks were required for the reworking.[252] The main text of these Robin Hood plays is represented as having been written by the poet, Skelton, who, as the plot develops, rehearses with other court nobles for a performance before Henry VIII. The plot structure is complex and confused, combining a romantic thread with historical accounts of Prince John's tyranny.[253] Realistic Robin Hood scenes are few, and the popular woodsman is characterized as an earl.[254] Passages which portray Friar Tuck and Little John are intermingled with passages of critical discussions of the noble actors.[255] King John's unlawful pursuit of Lord Fitzwalter's daughter, Matilda, is part of the main complication of the plot.[256] Ward contends that these Robin Hood plays of Munday do not bear out the author's known reputation for being "the best plotter" of the age, asserting that ". . . nothing could be looser than the construction of

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[252]Feuillerat, op. cit., p. 8.

[253]Brooke, op. cit., p. 273.

[254]C. Turner, "Anthony Munday, An Elizabethan Man of Letters," University of California Publications in English, II (1928), p. 117.

[255]Brooke, op. cit., p. 273.

[256]Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 280.

these pieces."[257] Brooke, at the same time, charges to Chettle the presence of a striking difference between the first and second parts. He shows that the laws of unity are violated; Robin Hood dies at the end of the first one-fourth of the drama; and Matilda's woes and the distress of England under John comprise the remainder of the plot.[258] It has also been observed that Sherwood Forest is never reproduced in the convincing atmosphere that is a part of its ballad background, and Schelling believes that the elements of history and intrigue within the plot are without inspiration.[259] Scholars have apparently concluded that Munday's part in this dramatic work, therefore, is a naive and simple transition from the epic form of the English ballad to the romantic type of play.[260] Still, not all comment on these Robin Hood dramas is derogatory. Brooke claims that certain passages are not unworthy of having influenced the nearly contemporaneous As You Like It.[261] Steinberg marks the plays, furthermore, as a transition from folk plays to more

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[257]A. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature, I, p. 432.

[258]Brooke, op. cit., p. 274.

[259]Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 154.

[260]Courthope, op. cit., pp. 209-10.

[261]Brooke, op. cit., p. 274.

professional and sophisticated drama,[262] and Courthope considers The Death the best of Munday's dramatic works.[263]

When the stage group that had once centered around Alleyn was dissolved, two new companies were subsequently formed to become the Chamberlain's and the Admiral's Men. Great rivalry developed eventually between these two companies, resulting often in lawsuits and sometimes in stage productions which competed for public favor. The Chamberlain's Men scored a success with two plays called Henry IV, and the Admiral's Men answered with two plays on the life of Sir John Oldcastle,[264] the enchanting roguery of Falstaff in Henry IV stagings having created a demand for similar dramatic representations. The successful imitation came about in the Oldcastle scripts by Munday, Drayton, Wilson, and Hathway.[265] Record of payment to these dramatists is noted in Henslowe:

> . . . this 16 of october 99
> Receved by me Thomas downton of phillip Henchlow
> to pay mr monday mr drayton & mr wilson & hath-
> way for the first pte of the lyfe of Sr John

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[262] Cassell's Encyclopedia of World Literature, II, p. 1274.

[263] Courthope, op. cit., p. 210.

[264] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, p. 6.

[265] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 278.

> Ouldcasstell & in earnest of the Second pte for the vse of the compayny ten pound J say recved 10[11] [266]

In Harrison's "journal" of Elizabethan matters, one finds this entry under the date, November 1, 1599:

> This day at the Rose my Lord of Nottingham's men have a new play called The first part of the life of Sir John Oldcastle the good Lord Cobham, wherein is shown how Oldcastle was pursued and falsely accused to King Harry the Fifth by the malice of the Bishop of Rochester, and how he escaped from these dangers; also the lewdness of the parson of Wrotham, one Sir John, that kept a lusty wench called Doll as his quean for whom he would rob passengers. . . .[267]

In his edited copy of Sir John Oldcastle, Greg contends that Part I was delivered by October 16 and staged by November 8, 1599.[268] He concludes that the second part was probably completed by December 26, 1599, but, in all actuality, was not acted before March 12, 1600.[269] He assumes that Part I was published within one year, but believes the players must have prevented publication of Part II. No editions of the second part are known to exist, and one can merely assume that the two sections were joined to form a single drama.[270]

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[266] Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), p. 113.

[267] G. B. Harrison, The Elizabethan Journals, III, p. 48. Cf., fn., pp. 335-36.

[268] The Life of Sir John Oldcastle, W. W. Greg, ed., p. vi. The British Museum and the Bodleian library possess copies of the first edition. The edition in the former lacks a title-page.

[269] Loc. cit.

[270] Loc. cit.

To complete an investigation of Munday as a dramatist in the Elizabethan period, one must explain his part in the so-called "war of the theaters," and cite instances of his possible influence upon Shakespeare. Almost all of the acting companies of the period were concerned with the "war," a battle of wits between various factions of playwrights from 1598 to 1602.[271] Combatants personally attacked one another through rival productions and dialogue therein. Details of the quarrel are most apparent in the activities of Ben Jonson, who was in a constant state of agitation throughout his dramatic career--first, with fellow playwrights, Munday and Marston; later, with the players; next, with the audiences; and, finally, with fellow laborers who shared the patronage of the Court.[272] Jonson's anger was based upon more than a simple jealousy. He and Munday were rival playwrights when, as the younger, Jonson was establishing his reputation. Jonson's rare artistry, attained through a torturous desire for classical perfection, was offended by the less polished work of Munday and, also, by Munday's reputation, which, according to Meres, was that of "the best plotter" of the age.[273] As a consequence, Jonson's most

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[271]Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 476.

[272]Courthope, op. cit., p. 267.

[273]W. J. Lawrence, Speeding Up Shakespeare, p. 104.

adequate thrust, among many, against Munday occurred in The Case Is Altered (1597?),[274] in which he lampooned Munday as one Antonio Balladino, a name which he had cleverly culled from his knowledge that Munday had written ballads and had earlier translated Palladino.[275] The dialogue (I, ii), involving Antonio Balladino, strikes at Munday openly: ". . . let me haue a good ground, no matter for the pen, the plot shall carry it." Balladino's companion, Onion, then reflects Jonson's bitterness in his reply: "Indeed, that's right, you are in print already for the best plotter."[276] Having thus introduced Balladino as if he were to assume an important role in the play, Jonson then purposely drops him from the entire plot. Apparently, Jonson had sufficiently satisfied his wrath and saw fit to dispense with the matter, careless of the injury to his art.[277]

It must also be noted that scholars think it likely that Shakespeare made use of fragments from Munday's dramas in the composition of some of his own plays between 1585 and 1615.[278] In producing an admittedly superior play,

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[274]Turner, op. cit., p. 123.

[275]Ben Jonson, The Works, III, pp. 106-08.

[276]Ibid., p. 108.

[277]Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama, p. 152.

[278]Esther C. Dunn, The Literature of Shakespeare's England, p. 229.

Shakespeare made use of the same devices, combined the same diverse elements, and borrowed from the same sources as did his fellow Elizabethan playwrights.[279] Scholars have discovered evidence of Munday's original plotting or of isolated details from his plots in many of Shakespeare's well known plays. Around the time that Shakespeare's company fell heir to copies of Fedele and Fortunio and Thomas Lord Cromwell, they also obtained three other plays dealing with the same subjects as The Comedy of Errors, Timon of Athens, and Macbeth. The original plots of the latter two were already conceived by Munday and Chapman for Oxford's Men, and Shakespeare may have revised them for the dramas which bear his name.[280] Passages of doggerel verse in The Comedy of Errors, for example, have been criticized as being unlike anything directly recognizable as Shakespeare's work; and, as a result, scholars have suggested that these portions may point directly to Munday as a source.[281] Chambers does not attribute any such direct credit to Munday for parts of Timon of Athens, however; but he does not, on the other hand, discredit the theory that the drama does contain hands other

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[279] Loc. cit.

[280] Acheson, op. cit., p. 92.

[281] Ibid., p. 208. Cf., The Comedy of Errors, III, i.

than Shakespeare's, leaving the problem open to further investigation.[282] In the case of Macbeth, one discovers more specific evidence with respect to Shakespeare's possible borrowing from a Munday source. Years prior to the Shakespeare version of the tale, the actor, Kemp, made a reference to a drama on the subject of Macbeth. Kemp mentioned meeting a "penny poet" who had written a ballad ". . . of Mac-doel, or Mac-dobeth, or Mac-somewhat."[283] Also, in the Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, one discovers the following lines of dialogue:

> . . . muffle the eye of day,
> Ye gloomy clouds (and darker than my deeds
> That darker be than pitchy sable night)
> Muster together on these high topped trees,
> That not a spark of light thorough their sprays
> May hinder what I mean to execute . . . .

Obviously, such lines invite a comparison with at least two passages in Shakespeare's Macbeth and possibly indicate that Shakespeare was familiar with Munday's Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon:

> Come thick night,
> And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
> That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
> Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
> To cry 'hold, hold!' (I, v)

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[282] E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, p. 482.

Come seeling night,
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day.
(III, ii) [284]

Shakespeare's use of such substrata clearly or conjecturally attributed to Munday further suggests that he was, at least, familiar with Munday's earlier work and had seen fit to adapt portions of it upon two occasions. While one is relatively certain that these passages were probably not entirely original with Munday in the first place, he must, nevertheless, realize that Munday's work antedates Shakespeare's. Furthermore, the bond theme in The Merchant of Venice is only a variant of Munday's own account of "an extorting usurer" in Zelauto.[285] It has already been suggested, as well, that the Robin Hood tales may have had an influence upon Shakespeare's As You Like It.[286] In addition, some scholars think that Munday's History of Felix and Philomena, non-extant, may have served Shakespeare as a possible source

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[284] J. A. S. McPeek, "Macbeth and Munday Again," Modern Language Notes, XL (June, 1931), pp. 391-92. McPeek cites Turner in noting other comparable lines: from Downfall: "Making the green sea red with Pagan blood." From Death: "The multitudinous seas incarnadine/ Making the green one red (II, ii)." Inasmuch as these two dramas were unavailable for reading, this method of cross reference would seem valid, here.

[285] Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, I, p. 452.

[286] Bradbook, op. cit., p. 120.

for The Two Gentlemen of Verona.[287] There is additional cause to think that Shakespeare's Henry VIII and Pericles show patterns of development in plot, action, and vocabulary, probably through revision, from original work of Munday and Chapman in Cromwell and in More.[288] Also, the many doggerel lines in the humorous passages of The Taming of the Shrew are indicative of the early fourteener form of composition used by Munday in the late seventies or early eighties.[289] Furthermore, Shakespeare's All's Well That Ends Well contains evidence to indicate that it may have been based upon an earlier play owned by the Oxford company and written by Munday and Chapman in collaboration. Certain passages in the Shakespeare play are clearly unlike his usual pattern of composition but very similar in style to Munday's characterization of Dutchman in The Weakest Goeth to the Wall.[290] While these examples are not definitive, one can propose from such evidence that Shakespeare probably had evaluated Munday's dramas and had considered them worthy of his own adaptations.

Munday, then, as a dramatist whose career antedates the great decade of such figures as Shakespeare, Jonson,

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[287]Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, II, p. 205.

[288]Acheson, op. cit., p. 250.

[289]Ibid., p. 208.

[290]Ibid., pp. 240-41.

Beaumont and Fletcher, and others, has been shown to have filled a post of no little prominence with the Admiral's Men, primarily, one assumes, as an inventive "plotter." Yet, this detailed study of his theatrical ventures also strongly emphasizes his reputation as a dramatist in his own right, and reveals his hand in collaboration with such equally prominent early playwrights as Chapman and Dekker, and has further helped to place Munday in the middle of the engaging, if foolish, so-called War of the Theaters, involving Ben Jonson as a strong protagonist whose respect for Munday was evident in his satiric lampooning of the latter. The additional evidence of the possible influence of Munday upon such figures as Shakespeare in matters of plot and source, and possibly even in dialogue, heightens the position which this man assumes in the age and stresses the necessity of a close appraisal of him as a dramatist of some renown. His extant manuscript play, John a Kent and John a Cumber, serves to provide one with adequate material from which to conduct such a study and evaluation of the man's dramatic work.

CHAPTER III

MUNDAY'S MANUSCRIPT PLAY, JOHN A KENT AND JOHN A CUMBER: A REINVESTIGATION

> Who blurres fayer paper with foule bastard rimes
> Shall liue full many an age in latter times;
> Who makes a ballet for an ale-house doore
> Shall liue in future times for euer more.
> Then Antony, thy muse shall liue so long
> As drafty ballets to [the paile] are song.
>
> --Returne from Parnassas, Part II (1601)

I. A. Shapiro's article in Shakespeare Survey (1955) reopens the problem of the dating of Anthony Munday's holograph of John a Kent and John a Cumber and focuses critical attention, once more, upon this unusual dramatic document.[291] Shapiro's convincing interpretation of the date, which closes the manuscript as "Decembris, 1590," at once makes it very important that scholars reconsider this drama, which for many years has been a contentious subject. As Shapiro has so succinctly pointed out, the new dating of John a Kent, which beyond a doubt is correct, necessitates a further probing into the dating of Sir Thomas More, which he further attributes to Munday, in general. It also affords the scholar an

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[292] Ibid., p. 104.

opportunity to reconsider the play in the light of the "fashions set by others" in this new time span (in conjunction with such dramas as Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, the so-named John of Bordeaux, thought to be a second part to Friar Bacon, and Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, for all of which dates are still uncertain). Finally, it may significantly enable the critic to dispel ". . . worse ignorance of other Shakespeare's immediate predecessors and contemporaries in the theatre."[292] The most definitive study accorded this manuscript in present times has been that by W. W. Greg, whose main interests lay not wholly within the scope of the dating problem. Subsequent studies by scholars like Muriel St. Clare Byrne in the Malone Society transcription of the text of the manuscript (1923), and Celeste Turner, to name only a few, have added much to the present collection of data concerning this document. The present day scholar, therefore, who accepts the new challenge inherent in the re-dating of this play, must turn to these previous investigations for initial guidance to obtain a clear view of the problem as it currently exists.

A physical description of the manuscript of John a Kent and John a Cumber is vital to an original understanding of the problem which this document presents. The manuscript was

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[292] Ibid., p. 104.

bound in a contemporary vellum wrapper made up of portions from two medieval manuscripts[293] for the purpose of protecting the copy is use in the playhouse and in storage with other plays in the repertoire.[294] One of these two pieces of vellum has been identified as a page from Compilatio Prima of Canon Law, written by Bernard of Pavia.[295] The significance of this binding is readily clear when one discovers that portions of the same leaf were used to form the protective covering of the Sir Thomas More manuscript, indicating, at once, that the two play "books" must have belonged to the same company and at the same time.[296] Furthermore, scholars have proved that comparable degrees of decay in the two manuscripts show that they had been stored side by side for a long period of time.[297] On the concluding page of the John a Kent document, below Munday's own signature, one may

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[293] W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses, I, p. 222. Cf., the John S. Farmer reproduction of the Munday holograph in the Tudor Facsimile Texts (1912), which the present author has made use of in this investigation; the original manuscript of John a Kent is in the Huntington Library.

[294] Ibid., p. 193.

[295] Anthony Munday, John a Kent and John a Cumber, Muriel St. Clare Byrne, ed., The Malone Society edition, p. vi. This edition of the play and not the earlier Collier text has been used in the present study.

[296] W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents . . ., I, p. 223

[297] Ibid., p. 224.

detect a different hand in the inscribing of the aforementioned problematical date, which, at a cursory glance, may easily be interpreted as "Decembris, 1596," as many scholars believed until Shapiro recently emphasized the fallacy in such a reading. The two major facts, then, concerning the problem--(1) Munday's play and the Sir Thomas More document show evidence of having been owned by the same company, and (2) the Shapiro re-dating of Munday's drama--tend to nullify much of the scholarly work which has been contributed to the subject to the present time. For example, Greg had concluded, earlier, that if one would accept the date, 1593, for the composition of Sir Thomas More, one could hardly justify any dating of John a Kent that would place it later than 1590.[298] Shapiro's discovery, however, would not necessarily fix the date of John a Kent as 1590, but would indicate, as he most intelligently explains, that the play was either purchased on this date (his explanation for the different hand involved in the date) or, more importantly, that it was written prior to 1590.[299] While Greg's interpretation of the date is obviously incorrect when considered in the light of the Shapiro study, it is apparent that Greg was, at this early period in the history of this special

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[298] Loc. cit.

[299] Shapiro, op. cit., pp. 102-03.

problem (1931), conscious of an unsettled matter with respect to this document. Upon his next assumption that the date of composition for Sir Thomas More was 1593, Greg pointed out that the play must, at that time, have belonged to Strange's Men, who had been taken in by the Admiral's Men and were touring under the direction of Edward Alleyn. Consequently, he reasoned that John a Kent must have belonged to these same players. When Alleyn later reorganized the Admiral's Men as an independent company in the summer of 1594, this group was using a drama, among others in their repertory from December, 1594, to July, 1597, called The Wise Man of West Chester, which Greg and others have shown to be, quite possibly, an alternate title for John a Kent.[300] The Wise Man of West Chester was the most successful play in a listing of fifty-five new plays given by the Admiral's Men from the summer of 1594 until the summer of 1597. It is to be suspected that some of these plays were acted beyond the time period herein specified, but one notes that there were 518 performances of these fifty-five plays during these years, as shown in Henslowe's Diary.[301] This same source records thirty-two stagings of The Wise Man of West Chester

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[300] W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents . . . , I, p. 223.

[301] Ibid., p. 193.

from December 2, 1594, until November 5, 1597.[302] Furthermore, it is known that the book of The Wise Man of West Chester eventually became the personal property of Edward Alleyn.[303] Henslowe recorded the sale of the play to his company as follows:

> pd at the apoyntment of the 19 of septemb$_{r}$ 1601 for the playe of the wysman of weschester vnto my sonne E Alleyn the some of . . . xxx^{s} [304]

An additional notation concerning a stage property described as "Kentes wooden leage [leg]" has been understood to reveal a connection with Munday's John a Kent, although apparently the wooden leg had no pertinence to The Wise Man of West Chester. While the leg inference may never be satisfactorily explained, it is significant that one finds an allusion to a stage property of a man's leg in the unusual document known as "Alleyn's Part in Robert Greene's Orlando Furioso," printed in J. P. Collier's Memoirs of Edward Alleyn and also in an appendix to Greene's Orlando Furioso.[305] Following the remark, "Ile tear him pecemeale in dispight of these. . . ," the actor enters, according to the stage direction, carrying

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[302] Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), pp. 20-54.

[303] W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents . . . . , I, p. 223.

[304] Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), p. 148.

[305] Cf., J. P. Collier, Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, Appendix III, p. 201. Also, Robert Greene, The Works, I, Appendix to Orlando Furioso, p. 268.

a "mans legg." Furthermore, in both the 1604 and 1616 editions of Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, one observes a stage "trick" in the business of pulling a man by the leg until the member comes off ("He pulls off his leg").[306] The fact that Munday's John a Kent is related to Greene's Friar Bacon and to his possible John of Bordeaux, as well as to Marlowe's Doctor Faustus in matters of date and popular theme, shows a possible strong connection between this unusual stage property and the complete problem confronting the scholar who makes an investigation of this document. Without according much importance to the stage property, however, Greg originally proposed three alternatives as solutions to the problem: (1) these two plays, John a Kent and The Wise Man of West Chester, may have been rival dramas, written for different companies. The record shows that The Wise Man was a highly popular play, and, consequently, the John a Kent play may have been written for the Lord Chamberlain's Men as a counter move. There are, however, two considerations which tend to weaken Greg's theory, here. His suggestion, first, would make Sir Thomas More fall into a period that is later than seems possible; and, secondly, it would overlook the fact that Munday wrote for the Admiral's Men and never, insofar as

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306W. W. Greg, Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, scene ix of 1604 edition; IV, v, 1616 edition, pp. 260-61. (Stage direction, "pull him by the legge, and pull it away.")

one can determine, for the Lord Chamberlain's; (2) the proposal that considers John a Kent as a revision of The Wise Man involves the very same problem concerning Sir Thomas More. Furthermore, John a Kent disappears from the repertoire, and The Wise Man is listed until 1597; (3) on the other hand, The Wise Man may have been a revision of John a Kent, written first for Strange's Men and later adapted for the Admiral's Men. Whether the revision was the work of Munday or not, Greg does not say. However, he shows that by the implication of known facts, both John a Kent and Sir Thomas More remained in the hands of Alleyn when the Strange-Admiral partnership was dissolved in 1594.[307] Muriel St. Clare Byrne, editor of the Malone Society text of John a Kent, mentions a further possibility of a connection between John a Kent (The Wise Man?) and a play entitled Randal Earl of Chester.[308] Records indicate that the latter play was purchased by the Admiral's Men, as verified by Henslowe:

> Lent vnto Edward Jube the 9 of novmb$_r$ 1602 to paye vnto m^r mydelton in fulle paymente of his playe called Randowelle earlle of chester the some of . . . xxxx^s [309]

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[307] W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents . . ., I, pp. 223-24.

[308] Anthony Munday, John a Kent and John a Cumber, p. x.

[309] Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), p. 171.

Byrne believes it possible that The Wise Man was a revision of John a Kent, and that Randal, in turn, was a revision of The Wise Man. One must admit that there is a link between The Wise Man and John a Kent, as exemplified by internal evidence within the dialogue of the latter:

> Powesse. . . . then I would haue stayd,
> and not haue come so neere to Chesters Courte.
>
> S. Griffin. Bir Lady Sir, and we are much the neere.
> We two belyke, by your complotting wit,
> shall front the Earle of Chester in his Courte,
> And spight of Chesters strong inhabitants,
> Thorow west chester, meekely in our handes,
> lead my Sidanen and your Marian. . . . [310]

The references to "Chesters Courte" and "west chester" are self-apparent.

A second approach to the problem of locating John a Kent in its proper time-span within the period involves a recognition of those popular tragedies and comedies founded upon folklore which dealt with the supernatural theme. The extreme popularity of such dramas directly suggests an early date for the composition of John a Kent.[311] During the last decade or so of Queen Elizabeth's reign, dramas exemplified what may be termed an over-ingenious use of disguise and mystery.[312] Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, written for the use

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[310] Anthony Munday, John a Kent and John a Cumber, p. 3.

[311] Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 321.

[312] Ibid., II, p. 409.

of the Admiral's Men in 1587/88, is an outstanding example of this type, and more than likely may be the forerunner of the popular supernatural motif in Elizabethan drama.[313] Robert Greene, at the same time, perhaps with an appreciable but lesser talent, attempted to match Marlowe's necromancy with a harmless kind of white magic in his Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay (1589). In a necromantic contest, Greene's Friar Bacon overpowers a rival magician, Vandermast, and transports him to his native Germany on the back of a simulacrum of Hercules.[314] Another such play, extant in an imperfect manuscript, is known to possess the characteristics of a sequel to Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay; however, as W. L. Renwick has pointed out, the character of Friar Bungay does not appear in the play. Consequently, as editor of the Malone Society edition of the piece, Renwick has arbitrarily entitled it, John of Bordeaux.[315] The one scrap of evidence which contributes to the dating of this manuscript consists of the presence of the name of John Holland in several places within the text. Significantly, Holland was a member of Lord

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[313] Ibid., I, p. 387.

[314] Loc. cit.

[315] John of Bordeaux, or The Second Part of Friar Bacon, R. L. Renwick, ed., pp. viii-ix. See, also, the editor's cogent arguments for Greene's authorship of this manuscript, loc. cit.

Strange's Men and, perhaps, of Pembroke's in or around 1590-93. Scholars, by reason of this information in addition to a record of the production of Greene's plays, have assigned John of Bordeaux with its popular supernatural theme to the years, 1590-94, in almost all cases emphasizing an earlier over a later dating. Although the authorship of this play has not been conclusively determined, Henwick argues strongly for Greene.[316]

The importance of the two "Friar Bacon" plays to a consideration of the John a Kent problem becomes clear when one realizes that Munday has made a somewhat clear-cut imitation of Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay in a plot that concerns the story of two rival magicians (Brooke alludes to it as a "diamond-cut-diamond" theme) who proceed to exercize their respective talents to promote or to retard an ensuing complicated love affair.[317] It is impossible to specify the acting company that produced John a Kent, nor can one record any definite performance date for this play. One can merely point out that, around 1590, Munday was employed as one of the permanent dramatists writing for the Rose.[318] All of these plays involving the use of the

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[316] Loc. cit.

[317] Brooke, op. cit., p. 272.

[318] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, p. 166.

supernatural, then, formed a series of what are obviously romantic dramas in their most determining characteristics.[319] It is increasingly clear, therefore, that Munday's John a Kent, in its imperfect form and with its bewildering mistaken identities and discrepancies in plotting, falls categorically into the pattern of the dramas being staged in the early 1590's. And one must also remember that these types of plays were extremely popular in this time span, for, as was mentioned above, The Wise Man of West Chester was presented upon thirty-two occasions. In addition, one discovers in Henslowe's Diary that Doctor Faustus was produced an equal number of times. Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, according to the same source, received nine productions.[320]

The John S. Farmer facsimile of the Munday holograph play, used in the preparation of this study, was published in 1912 in the Tudor Facsimile Texts series. The unique value of this manuscript lies in the fact that it is one of two surviving documents from the Elizabethan dramatic period which bear an indication of the prompter's hand in preparation for the stage.[321] There is no question about the

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[319]Felix Schelling, The Elizabethan Drama, I, p. 385.

[320]Philip Henslowe, Diary, I (text), pp. 13-54.

[321]The other manuscript is the much-discussed Sir Thomas More, which Shapiro also clearly shows to be in Munday's hand; Cf. W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, p. 387.

handwriting in this manuscript, for Shapiro's investigation proves conclusively that it is the hand of Anthony Munday. However, this fact should not be interpreted to mean that the play was written by Munday alone, although there are no signs of collaboration in the manuscript, nor have any, so far, been detected. To be sure, one recognizes a different hand in the marginalia, which may be attributed, as will be clear later, to the hand of a prompter; and, of course, there remains a third hand, manifest in the "Decembris, 1590" entry on the concluding page of the document, thought by Shapiro to be the hand which recorded a sale of the play.[322] The manuscript consists of thirteen sheets, recto and verso, and it is clear that two, or possibly three, inks were used in the text. Also obvious is the fact that the first act was written with a pen that was much heavier than the one used in the remainder of the document.[323] As in the case of the other manuscripts held to be playhouse "books," Munday's John a Kent is folio in size. It has been suggested that the size of such documents may be attributed to a logical conformity, since the prompter could look upon enough script at one time to be aware of imminent actions and not

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[322]Anthony Munday, John a Kent and John a Cumber, Muriel St. Clare Byrne, ed., p. vii.

[323]Shapiro, op. cit., pp. 101-02.

be inconvenienced by the frequent necessity of turning a page. It is also thought that the script of such manuscripts was always small and close-lined for this same reason. For example, some such manuscript pages carry as many as eighty or more lines of script. In the Munday document the line count ranges from 63 to 73 in 12 sheets, recto and verso (to the exclusion of 13 r. and v, which are fragmentary).[324] Although the size of the paper used in these manuscripts may vary somewhat, the deviation from an average measurement of 12 x 7 3/4 inches is of little importance. Foolscap, folded and trimmed of some deckle, was used in the writing of the texts of the plays, separately folded and in units of four pages.[325] By the slightest of degrees, the leaves of the John a Kent document are the tallest among extant manuscripts from this period, measuring 12 3/4 inches. The page width of all such "books" ranges from 7 1/4 to slightly over 8½ inches.[326] Pages in the John a Kent facsimile which appear to be the most extended measure 8 1/16 inches.[327]

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[324]For a detailed physical description of the manuscript, cf., the Malone Society edition of John a Kent, p. vi.

[325]W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents . . . . , I, p. 204.

[326]Ibid., p. 205.

[327]Byrne in the Malone Society edition cites the measurements of John a Kent ". . . in their present condition" as 12⅛ x 8 inches, p. vi.

It was apparently a common practice among Elizabethan playwrights or scribes to fold an already folded leaf again, dividing each page into four columns of about two inches in width. The text of the manuscript was then margined at the first fold, leaving the left column open for speech allocation. A verse text usually fills the two center columns, leaving a right margin free for stage directions. A prose text is generally seen to continue into the outside right margin. While common, this folding procedure was not invariable and was later superseded by the practice of ruling a left margin.[328] An investigation of the John a Kent manuscript intensifies the belief that the open left-hand section was clearly the domain of the prompter and that the author-scribe encroached upon this space as rarely as possible, and then only for the recording of speakers' names and the occasional addition to, or correction of, the text. Munday utilized the right margin to mark exits or to make incidental stage directions,[328] but in F. 2. r., he added four lines of dialogue "up" the right margin.

Munday regularly divided the script into acts but not scenes beyond his "Scena Prima" description which follows

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[328] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, p. 385.

each of the five designated acts.[329] He also Latinized his act-scene division heads and was especially careful in drawing the lines which divide the speeches throughout the text of the document.[330] These so-called "speech rules" are a permanent feature of the Elizabethan dramatic manuscript, but they do vary greatly in the length of the rule, regardless of the length of the dialogue line. Munday's lines are of considerable length in John a Kent, while in some documents one may observe the lines becoming mere ticks. It was customary to transcribe the manuscripts of this period in the hand known as the English secretary script as far as the text of the play was concerned, distinguishing it from the stage directions by the use of the Italian script for the latter information.[331] Munday's hand is exceptionally clear throughout the manuscript, his text being especially free of any dramatic or elocutionary punctuation which

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[329] Munday does not clearly designate III in his manuscript, failing to center it as he does in the case of the other four acts. It seems clear, then, that III begins on l. 4, 6 v., on the basis of the insertion of tertius in what appears to be a hand different from that used throughout the document in the text of the play. It appears upon the entrance of four characters.

[330] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, p. 388.

[331] W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents . . . , I, p. 207.

occasionally makes difficult the task of transliteration of other similar manuscripts from this period.[332]

J. W. Ashton, whose numerous studies of the document have established him as an eminent authority on the deletions and emendations in the play, has shown that the John a Kent text contains distinct evidence of revision, in what he calls, specifically, the ". . . excision of certain themes."[333] He points out that, as a fair copy prepared by Munday for playhouse use, the text exhibits few corrections of any particular importance except those natural changes which tend to discover the author's method of composition during the writing of a script. He notes other minor changes, as well, which he believes were necessary to the anticipation of later actions, deletions which speed up the movement of the play, shortened speeches, and the elimination of unnecessary speaking parts. Cancellations of words and expressions within lines he notes as evidence of the fact that Munday may have been copying rapidly from a preliminary draft, such action giving rise to errors which he had to correct; and he suggests that Munday revised chance errors as he rewrote. Ashton concludes that additions within the

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[332] J. W. Ashton, "Revision in Munday's 'John a Kent and John a Cumber'," Modern Language Notes, XLVIII (December, 1933), pp. 531-37.

[333] Loc. cit.

manuscript are, for the most part, quite simple ones that serve principally to impart a greater vitality to the dialogue. He finds, however, the tracing of the character, Sir Evan Griffin, throughout the text to be of greater significance to an understanding of the problems of the manuscript. It is most clear to one that Griffin has no apparent useful function in the entire play, as the play now stands. His name is struck from the stage directions at line 470 (F. 4. v.) and, again, from line 1295 (F. 10. v.).[334] In the latter case, however, Griffin is accorded a speech (ll. 1326-28; F. 10. v.) in an apparent careless neglect on Munday's part, forgetting, perhaps, the fact that he had already eliminated the rôle of Griffin from his play up to this point. The character does have some little significance in the first scene, but, thereafter, he is accorded only five speeches, the longest consisting of eight lines in all (ll. 747-54 inclusively; F. 6. v.). Although present in the scene involving the important abduction of the ladies, he has no more to say than

> Griffin. Listen my Lordes, me thinkes I heare the chyme,
> which John did promise, ere you should presume:
> to venture for recouerie of the Ladyes.[335]

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[334]The lineal designation is to the Malone Society edition; the Folio to the Farmer Facsimile.

[335]Anthony Munday, John a Kent and John a Cumber, Muriel St. Clare Byrne, ed., p. 35.

Again (l. 1147), he enters with others, but is permitted no speech. Munday's obvious trimming of a complete rôle gives rise, of course, to numerous conjectures as to his intentions. With the assumption, for example, that John a Kent is a prompt copy intended for use (and used) in the playhouse, one may conclude that Munday was paring a rôle in favor of another, negating the characterization in lieu of an actor shortage, perhaps, or even planning, eventually, to eliminate the part before completing the play for initial performance. There are, in addition, other signs to indicate that the manuscript may have been an unpolished and, therefore, a working prompt copy. For example, Kent conducts himself as a free agent, yet he occasionally refers to Denvyll as his master; and a puzzling introduction is accorded Kent, Denvyll, and Evan (ll. 67-71; F. l. v.) as if their rôles were borrowed from an even more complicated drama than the one under present consideration; and, last, Kent's familiar, Shrimp, is suddenly entrusted with a speaking part, although, in this particular sequence, he has not even been brought upon the stage! Greg states that a thorough survey of the characteristics of the Elizabethan prompt copy, heretofore neglected, is ". . . the most urgent task at present awaiting the critical student of the early drama."[336] Such a study would show that Munday's prompt

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[336] W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents . . ., I, p. xxi.

copy is similar to one of a set of such items which were common to the playhouse of the time. It is believed, for example, that a dramatist, in completing work upon a play, proceeded to copy his rough draft, or foul papers, to obtain a fair copy for presentation to the Master of Revels. When the license was affixed to the document--usually on the last page of the manuscript--the play became the "book" or the authorized prompt copy approved for production. On the other hand, should the Office of the Revels object to any passages on grounds of political, profane, or personal reasons, the manuscript was returned unlicensed to its owner with instructions for its revision, indicating such points either in writing or by cancellations.[337] Once duly approved and licensed, however, the book was, at all times, kept readily available for inspection by the proper authorities in the event of any unforseen complaint during the course of its stage history. Furthermore, actors might make copies of their parts from this approved document, or make adjustments in previous drafts of their roles from the approved copy.[338] One may well understand, therefore, that the prompt book was a most closely guarded document during

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[337] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, p. 386.

[338] Loc. cit.

the stage history of a play, but it is, also, important to realize that transcriptions could be made from it.[339] One detects no trace of any kind of direct censorship in Munday's manuscript. The few passages that are over-scored for deletion apparently were omitted by the author on grounds of literary or dramatic rejection.[340] Judging from the usual manner of licensing a play, one may conclude that the official approval must have been affixed to the end of the document in question, or, in the case of the Munday holograph, to F. 13. v. Unfortunately, the concluding sheet to John a Kent is most fragmentary. Nevertheless, the inscription, "Decembris, 1590," might very well be the "stamp of approval" of the Office of the Revels.

Since it was necessary for a fair copy of a manuscript to be delivered to the Revels Office in stitched form with bindings, possibly made of parchment coverings, one may safely assume that the Munday manuscript in question, may well be called the "book" of the play, as it is so termed on its initial cover.[341] Greg is also inclined to believe that an author's foul papers were submitted along with the

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[339] Feuillerat, op. cit., p. 314.

[340] W. W. Greg, Dramatic Documents . . . , I, p. 240.

[341] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, pp. 385-86.

fair copy as a safeguard against any double-dealing in sales or merely as a check against the making of revisions in the copy to be licensed.[342] At the same time, there is little doubt that every playhouse company boasted at least one person noted for some degree of competency in penmanship. This individual was known as the "Playhouse Scrivener," and was identified, somewhat loosely, with the "book-keeper" or "book-holder."[343] Lawrence cites Higgins' Junius Nomenclature (1598) in which a "book-holder" is defined as

> . . . he that telleth the players their part when they are out and have forgotten. The prompter or Bookholder.[344]

The term, "Book-keeper," apparently referred to a much more responsible member of a company who was the librarian of the house and to whom was entrusted all manuscripts for safe-keeping. There is further reason to think that the "book-holder," or prompter, may also have held this same post at times, especially if he were considered a person of merit.[345]

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[342] W. W. Greg, "Prompt Copies, Private Transcripts, and the 'Playhouse Scrivener,'" The Library, VI, Fourth Series (September, 1925), p. 156. Greene, at one time, was accused of a double sale of a manuscript, and Heywood was denounced for indulging in a similar practice.

[343] Ibid., p. 149.

[344] W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, pp. 383-84.

[345] Loc. cit.

It was the scrivener's duty, then, to transcribe fair copies from foul papers of a play, particularly of a play which had been written in collaboration. Scholars have as yet discovered no prompt book, however, that was written in more than one hand in the text proper.[346] Inasmuch as Munday was the sole author and scrivener of the text of John a Kent, one may suggest this procedure of his having made a fair copy from his own fouled sheets.

A careful study of the marginalia in the John a Kent manuscript demonstrates unquestionably that the document has been used as a prompt copy. This is a most important observation, albeit obvious, for scholars have persisted in doubting that this particular play were ever enacted. It seems to require only the most fundamental logic to conclude that any manuscript which has been so marked by a prompt hand, as has Munday's John a Kent, must have been staged, if not in legitimate production, then assuredly in rehearsal performance. It is impossible to understand how such an open fact could have been overlooked; yet this has been the case. It is certainly true that there is no record of the performance of an Elizabethan drama bearing the title of John a Kent and John a Cumber, but, even so, this fact does not warrant one's concluding that Munday's play was

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[346] Ibid., p. 385.

never performed. The prompter's hand is altogether too strikingly evident in the document to be ignored. The very least assertion one may make about the problem is to state that the play has undoubtedly been put through rehearsal, if not actual performance in public. At the same time, the fact that there is no abundance of stage directions in the document certainly does not argue otherwise, as some critics would think, for in at least two instances one may readily point to circumstances which strongly imply that members of the dramatis personae were well enough acquainted with the movement of the piece as to preclude detailed directions on the part either of the author or the prompter.

It is no task to detect the work of the prompter in this particular manuscript. In the first place, his handwriting is different from Munday's in the text, and his ink is usually, though not always, heavier. (Those who have had access to the original manuscript further state that the prompter's ink is of a different color from that used by Munday. The Farmer facsimile, of course, does not reproduce this evidence.) Upon occasion, he also draws a line from his notation to a specific point in the verse text. In most cases, his entries appear in the left margin. His notes--often a mere word--while not always imperative in mood, nevertheless, by their brevity, tend to embody the spirit of a command, suggestive of an urgency with regard

to the action. In all, there are six of these entries to be discovered throughout the document. Munday's own stage directions and notations in the right margins may have been sufficiently explicit to make simple the prompter's task. Each of the six instances of the prompter's hand is obviously an example of a forewarning of some imminent, quick action or necessary sound effect, such as music, to come. A brief explanation of each of these entries will suffice to show the nature of the notations. In F. 6. v., one finds in the left margin the single word, Musique. Approximately in an opposite position in the right hand margin, one finds Munday's own stage direction which reads, "Musique whi[le] he opens the doore." Next, in F. 7. v., one discovers that the prompter has written the word, Musique, extending the tag-end of his letter e into the line of verse which reads, "Sound musique, while I shewe to Iohn a Kent . . . ." In F. 8. r., one notes that this same hand has inscribed, "Enter Shrimpe," into the left margin, and directly above this wording has drawn a bar-line. The character, Shrimp, according to Munday's own stage direction, was to have entered "skipping," some three lines later. There is a similar case, again, in F. 8. v., wherein one finds the notation, written into the left margin, "Enter Iohn a Kent," fully four lines before there occurs a second stage direction, this time in the right margin and in a hand which differs from both the

prompter's and Munday's, "En[ter] Iohn a K[ent] listning." The identity of this third hand has not been established. In F. 9. r., in the left margin, one finds the note, couched in the imperative mood, "Musique chime." And, finally, in F. 11. v., the single term, "Enter," is recorded in the left margin, immediately prior to the consummation of a quick action in the text.

The prompter of the John a Kent text also reveals his work in the manuscript through a set of symbols which he apparently devised to remind him of his specific duties during a performance. It is possible to assign these symbols and their uses to four possible categories, and since this method will lessen the difficulty of their interpretation and tend to dispel any confusion which might develop from the necessity of frequent cross-reference, the present author proposes to utilize this means of classification.

The symbols alluded to, as may be observed in the Munday holograph of John a Kent, are the following:

A. a figure which resembles an X partially enclosed by an arc:

B. a figure which resembles an Arabic number 8, the top of which has been left open:

C. a figure of a small (miniscule) x.

D. other marks.

It will now be useful to show to what purpose each of these prompter's marks have been employed within the margin of the manuscript of this play.

A. 

There are two instances of the use of this symbol in the left margins of the Munday document. The first instance occurs in F. 6. y., and the symbol, here, is as tall in size as four lines of verse script which it parallels, vertically. The lines in question are the following:

> He is so carefull of his coy conceites,
> to sute this sollemne day as it should be:
> that for your sakes, I knowe it shall excell,
> at least he labours all thinges may be well.

This is part of Gosselen's speech, which occurs some six lines before a subsequent stage direction marks the appearance of four "Antiques," who proceed to indulge in a masque-like interlude of a somewhat elaborate nature. The position of the symbol, here, in relation to the imminence of the masque to come indicates that the prompter relied upon it to remind him of a need to alert the "Antiques" for their immediate participation in the succeeding interlude.

The second and only other application of this symbol occurs in F. 7. r. Here, it is placed, once more, within

the left margin, and, in size, it encompasses only two lines of script. One sees clearly, once again, that this mark was used as a reminder or signal for an imminent and, in this case, complicated bit of stage action to come, for it obviously anticipates the entrance of the fourth member of the "Antiques"--a character who was, according to Munday's own stage direction two lines later, supposed to make his entrance ". . . out of a tree, if possible it may be." One assumes from the presence of the prompter's symbol that "it was possible" and that this fourth "Antique" did effect his stage entrance from within the confines of a tree. These two examples of the use of this specific prompt mark indicate that it served as a warning to the prompter to alert his company for an important and, perhaps, complicated stage business to come.

B. 

The second prompter's symbol to be observed in the marginalia of the John a Kent manuscript occurs in F. 4. r., in the left margin, two script-lines before the end of "Turnop's Oration," and is as tall as two lines of textual script. One assumes that it was meant to mark an eventual wholesale evacuation of the stage, an event which takes place some ten lines later, at the conclusion to Act I. Unfortunately, this symbol does not again appear within the

scope of the manuscript. While there is reason to think that it may have been intended for use again (F. 4. r.) at the very end of the same folio sheet on which it has already been shown to have marked an exit sequence, one must admit that the manuscript at this point is so badly frayed as to admit of no valid decision. Consequently, one may only suggest that this symbol may have been adopted by the prompter to remind him of an exit sequence of major proportions in contrast to his other previously discussed symbol which he used to mark forthcoming stage entrances. On this one figure, however, one must resort to mere conjecture.

c. ×

The third symbolic mark to be observed in the marginalia to the John a Kent manuscript resembles an uncapitalized letter x, or small cross. In all cases of its use, fourteen instances to be exact, the mark would appear to have been carefully placed in the left margin as close as possible to a specific line of dialogue. A tabulation of the separate uses of this symbol indicates with what frequency it has been used in the manuscript:

F. 5. v.	1
F. 10. v.	1
F. 11. r.	1
F. 11. v.	4
F. 12. r.	2
F. 12. v.	2
F. 13. r.	3

There is a pattern to be detected in this listing. In the first place, one discovers that most of the speeches so-tagged by this symbol turn out to be utterances of some intensity as far as the plot is concerned. For example, they may involve a discovery that three Court ladies have been abducted; or they may arise from a confusing case of mistaken identity; or they may be expressions of sheer fright, and so on. This tabulation further reveals that, as the play rapidly approaches its climax, the symbol is used with a greater frequency. John a Kent is an intricately plotted drama and probably would depend upon a speeding up of action and line delivery for its ultimate success. One may suggest, therefore, that this symbol may have been used to remind the prompter to become increasingly alert as the action begins to mount up to its crescendo-like effect.

A second investigation of the use of this symbol with particular attention to the characters whose speeches are so-designated by this mark reveals a second possible pattern which may contain a solution to the puzzle. For example, one learns that seven of Llewellen's speeches are spotted by this symbol. This discovery immediately suggests at least two possible interpretations: (1) Llewellen, the Prince of North Wales and father to a charming young lady, Sydanen, becomes distraught upon learning of his daughter's abduction and, thereafter, frequently expresses his worry

and concern over his daughter's welfare. One has little reason for doubting that these speeches were key-lines in the play and important to the movement of the plot. It is possible that they were marked by the prompter for this reason. (2) On the other hand, one must consider the likelihood that the actor who was to perform the rôle of Llewellen may have been a newly added member to the cast and, consequently, was not always certain of some of his lines; hence, the prompter could have made marginal notations by means of this symbol to designate the particular speeches which were troublesome to the actor. It is also just as reasonable to think that, since Llewellen was supposedly an older man, the rôle itself would call for the services of an older man in the acting company. Should this older member of the group have experienced a natural mnemonic lapse from time to time, the prompter would undoubtedly have taken precautions, by means of this symbol, to single out those passages of dialogue which were most difficult for the actor. Such a careful spot-checking would have preserved the accuracy of the text in an actual performance. It must also be noted that two speeches by the character, Moorton, and two by Denvyll are also pointed out in this manner, but it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that they, too, may have been difficult passages for mnemonic reasons and were subsequently marked by the prompter. While it may be impossible

to resolve the mystery surrounding the meaning of this symbol in the hands of the playhouse prompter, one may safely assert that it does seem to have a connection of some kind with the dialogue which it points to, at least in the John a Kent manuscript, and that it may also have some relationship to the rising action of the play.

D. Other Marks

It is to be noted, as well, that the manuscript of Munday's John a Kent contains other markings which probably have little or no connection with the prompter's hand, but which should be briefly discussed to complete the physical description of the document. For example, one may detect the use of a hand-drawn asterisk [*] in F. 2. r., which has undoubtedly been made by the author himself to mark a four line insertion which he subsequently entered in the right hand margin, vertically.

A second mark, F. 1. r., [⸗] is in all likelihood a pen scratch made by Munday, the scrivener, to encourage the flow of ink to his pen.

And, finally, one may note the following miscellaney of manuscript addenda: (a) [-] short bold ink lines; (b) ink blots; (c) smudges on the foolscap, ink or otherwise; (d) water blots; (e) wrinkles from folds in the paper; (f) paper cracks. In addition to these notations, one

should call attention, again, to the fact that the final page of the documents is in extremely fragmentary form.

It is necessary to speculate, next, upon the probable kind of staging which was accorded this manuscript play. In such an investigation, one should attempt to restrict his evidence to the document itself. As it has been shown earlier in this study, there are no records in existence to support an actual performance of Munday's John a Kent. Yet, one has shown that the manuscript is an obvious prompt copy, indicative of the fact that the play was either performed at least once in public or, at any rate, that it was most certainly given rehearsals. Unless new evidence be forthcoming, the problem may well remain in an unresolved state. However, there may be sufficient reason to suggest that scholars who have attempted to assign Munday's play to a specific London playhouse in performance may have been laboring in vain. To be brief, it is most clear that a castle figures prominently in John a Kent. Byrne has shown that the main scene of the action of this play was ". . . the very neighborhood of the Mostyn Hall."[347] Furthermore, she has pointed out that the plot is centered around the actions of a magician who was ". . . popularly supposed to be Owen

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[347] M. St. C. Byrne, "'The Shepherd Tony'--A Recapitulation," Modern Language Review, XV (1920), p. 373.

Glendower and a Llewylin Prince of Wales . . . ," and shows conclusively that the Mostyn family, through descent, was related to both of these figures.[348] One must now recall, at this point, that the J. S. Farmer facsimile of Munday's John a Kent and John a Cumber was made from the original manuscript which was, at the time of Farmer's publication, in the hands of the descendants of the Mostyn family who lent it him for the purpose of issuing the facsimile. This evidence, heretofore overlooked, would appear to have a great significance for the problem. Munday's peculiar stage direction, occurring in the manuscript (F. 7. r.), which states that the fourth "Antique" should enter ". . . out of a tree, if possible it may be," also comes to mind, here, for, in the light of the other evidence of a connection with the Mostyn family and the locale of Munday's play as Mostyn Hall, one is strongly inclined to think that Munday's John a Kent and John a Cumber may have been performed initially on the grounds of Mostyn Hall and not upon any London public or private playhouse stage. Such an explanation would make clear the lack of evidence concerning the whereabouts of the first production of this play in London. The additional fact that Munday had a well-established reputation as a pageant writer and author of the popular outdoor type of

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[348] Loc. cit.

dramatic spectacle argues even more strongly in behalf of this theory. The play contains little internal evidence to enable one to reconstruct the stage upon which it might have been performed. Indeed, if anything, such evidence as does exist points to a plastic kind of stage or the type of performance place which Mostyn Hall would have provided. It is important to suggest this theory for the benefit of scholars who are still puzzled over the initial performance of Munday's play, for it may very well hold the answer to their problems. The manuscript, however, does reveal a number of interesting points which are directly related to the principles of staging recognized in this period, and, to some extent, it suggests a fundamental stage. Inasmuch as some scholars believe that The Wise Man of West Chester was a revision of Munday's John a Kent and John a Cumber, it is probably necessary for one to include a discussion of staging evidence to be found within the document.

Perhaps, at the onset, one should consider the physical conditions of the stage which the internal evidence in Munday's play suggests. A careful investigation of the stage "groupings" which Munday has effected in his play reveals some rather pertinent information. First of all, one should consider these stage groupings by acts. Munday's first act makes use of two major groups: the first contains nine characters that are named specifically, in addition to

a "trayne." The second contains eight individuals. In Act II, one finds the first so-called grouping embodying six characters in addition to a "trayne," while a second group in this same act contains eleven members and a "consort." In Act III, the opening group contains sixteen individuals. This number, which is representative of the largest grouping within the play, is marshalled on two levels upon the stage--ten are given positions upon a "wall," with the remaining six exhibited upon the stage proper, below. The only other grouping of comparable size to be detected within the play occurs in Act IV in a sequence which discovers five members of the cast on the stage proper with nine others "on walles." It would seem to indicate, at a first glance, that the stage called for in Munday's play would have need of an elevated acting locality which, in size, would have dwarfed the traditional stage below. One is inclined to think that the type of stage called for here has yet to be discovered in use in the Elizabethan period. Could it have been that Munday's John a Kent was not initially performed upon a public or private stage, as was suggested earlier with respect to the Mostyn Hall theory? There are assuredly a good many dramas of the Elizabethan-Jacobean period which make frequent use of a stage fixture known as a wall, but one would like to suggest, further, that a study of Munday's internal evidence

within these unusually located scenes would tend to indicate that Munday had no intentions of simply parading his groups of characters upon these "walls" for the mere sake of spectacle. Indeed, were it not for Munday's stage directions, one should experience great difficulty in attempting to locate all characters with respect to their accurate stage positions, for it is obvious that these walls form no barrier to the easy exchange of conversation which these characters indulge in during such scenes. It is obvious that those who are located on the walls speak to those who remain "below," with no apparent obstacles (such as height or distance) to overcome. Once again, one must pause to reflect upon the nature of the physical appearance of these walls, for as Munday has utilized them in John a Kent, they bear little resemblance to stage walls and dramatic practices respecting them to be found in other plays in the period. It is increasingly impossible for one to envisage Munday's grouping as having been located upon any kind of elevated upper stage which would have been harmonious with the traditional stage features of an Elizabethan public or private playhouse in Munday's time. Rather, it is more feasible for one to think in terms of the façade of an estate or manor hall, possibly the alluded to Mostyn Hall, or, with some reluctance, to the innyard. No other explanation for Munday's acting locale is so satisfactory. To be

sure, one may catalogue other mass "groupings" that occur within John a Kent, but there is none which is comparable in size or so unusual in its acting localities as those which have just been cited. It is adequate, perhaps, for one to conclude that the play contains internal evidence of an unusual stage requirement which was not to be realized in any playhouse in the period. Inasmuch as it is incorrect to propose that any dramatist rarely takes into consideration the stage for which he writes, one must also conclude that the stage and stage setting which Munday undoubtedly had in mind while composing John a Kent either did not exist as a playhouse stage, or has not, to date, been discovered in the annals of Elizabethan drama, at least with respect to the size of the upper stage called for in this play.

On the other hand, the lower stage in John a Kent appears to be similar physically to those with which one is familiar in the period. It has already been shown that John a Kent prominently features the exterior of a castle. Indeed, there are countless references to such an edifice throughout the play, both in the dialogue and the stage directions. One notes with interest, then, the specific references to the doors of this castle as they are utilized in the entrances and exits in the course of the movement of the drama. Munday's play makes use of at least two doors, possibly the traditional two apertures so common to the

Elizabethan stage. His lower stage, as well, shows evidence of having been elevated to a position in height which would enable a character, the third Antique, to rise from the region beneath the stage during the performance of the anti-masque. This feature of the stage is, of course, a typical one, since every known playhouse in the Elizabethan-Jacobean period was equipped with a trap door in its outer stage to permit such mechanics. The stage business of the entrance of the third Antique by means of this device is of such common practice in the period as to warrant little attention in this study. A further matter, however, must be included in this discussion. Again, one must reconsider the physical characteristics of Munday's walls, for it is to be noted that certain characters in his play, at one time or another, are prompted to descend from this upper level to the stage below, or to reverse this action, which evidence supports the contention that a staircase must have been a feature of the acting space (concealed or otherwise) which Munday had in mind for his drama. Scholars have proposed that a typical Elizabethan playhouse, assuming that one may think in terms of an average, had such a feature which would connect the upper stage, or stage balcony, with the lower acting level. If this is an accurate assumption, one must conclude that Munday's stage also had this much in common with the traditional Elizabethan stage. <u>John a Kent</u>, therefore, in the

use of the lower stage level, poses no problems. It simply calls for a stage which was common to all playhouses in the period. As for the unusual requirements for its upper-stage level, however, Munday's drama suggests that the play was never intended for performance in a London playhouse.

The manuscript, as well, contains one other interesting problem relative to Elizabethan staging, which occurs in the performance of the anti-masque sequence, heretofore discussed. Munday's stage direction requiring the fourth Antique to make his entrance by means of a tree suggests one of two things. The "tree" upon the Elizabethan stage was not uncommon. Peele's Arraignment of Paris (1584), for example, called for an orchard to appear before the astonished eyes of the audience. One learns, of course, that such a stage illusion was carried off with the aid of cloth trees which, by means of an intricate system of strings, was caused to rise in the manner, perhaps, of a curtain. One admits that such a fragile "tree" as this could not have served Munday's fourth Antique who apparently had to descend from a tree to the stage level in effecting his entrance. At the same time, one must remember that Munday's stage direction included the phrase, ". . . if possible it may be." The peculiar wording, here, suggests that Munday "hoped" for the presence of an actual tree in performance. Certainly, resourceful Elizabethan stagecraft, manifest in many Court productions

throughout the period, could have devised a substantial tree for the use of the fourth Antique in this scene, but one is inclined to think that Munday would have been aware of this solution and, consequently, would not have resorted to his conditional phraseology, ". . . if possible it may be," in his stage directions had he intended to make use of it. Once again it seems very likely that Munday did not prepare his John a Kent for performance in an Elizabethan playhouse where it would have been necessary to construct a tree for this sequence. Rather, one proposes that this play contains an abundance of evidence to show that Munday wrote it with an actual outdoor setting in mind, possibly Mostyn Hall, for there is absolutely no evidence to show that John a Kent was ever performed in any London playhouse of the period. Shapiro's important redating of this manuscript as 1590 or even earlier tends, as well, to support this contention and may actually make Munday's John a Kent and John a Cumber the earliest of the plays known to have been written by the man. As Shapiro has pointed out, the ". . . new estimate of the period of Munday's playwriting may seem more important than the redating of Sir Thomas More."[348]

By way of conclusion, one feels compelled to defend Anthony Munday against a seemingly careless neglect by

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[348] Shapiro, op. cit., p. 104.

scholars who have probed into the multi-faceted literary genres of the Elizabethan period. There is no need for one to engender a false enthusiasm, aiming at unjustified claims for a man whose writings, in all truth, were more prolific than they were profound. One merely feels that it was Munday's fate to be surpassed in his day by other writers of far greater wit and polish and, as a result, to be overshadowed by the power of their talents. However, for one to overlook the value of Munday's contributions to be found in many isolated details of his variant writings is unforgivable. It is obvious that Munday's efforts were broad in scope, encompassing the period. Munday's mode of life, as well, brought him a full realization of the virtues and vices of his immediate world, and he was aggressive enough to put this knowledge to practical ends. If the caliber of his works did often border on mediocrity, one may assume that this state often represented the position of Munday's mind and manner. The fact that he is not so well known nor so much appreciated as Shakespeare or Jonson need only imply that Munday simply lacked the qualities of their respective artistry. It is true that Shakespeare gave Munday's work a more than cursory consideration. Jonson, too, flared up over what he felt to be Munday's encroachment upon an area more properly his own. The war of the theaters actually started over this very jealousy, later

to pass along to other victims and other factions. But, in the meantime, Munday scratched away, pen in hand, apparently with a level-headed disconcern for these petty matters, even though his name was brought into this villifying sport for many years to come. Meres' consideration of him as the "best plotter" was certainly not unjustified.

It is unfortunate that only five plays which Munday was known to have written, individually or in collaboration, remain extant, today. His John a Kent assuredly exemplifies his skill as a dramatic plotter, as does, in various degrees, his work in The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas More, and Sir John Oldcastle. And, one likes to think, the plays in Munday's "lost list" might well have strengthened this contention. There is little doubt that Munday was a busy and appreciated dramatist at work in a period of intense competition among theatrical companies.

Anthony Munday lived for thirty years after his final production for the English stage. During these years, he turned his attention to the writing of city pageants, detailed chronicles, and intimate histories of his times. In sincere appreciation for his work with the pageant, the City of London in 1623 granted him a comfortable yearly pension for life. In March, 1629, Munday was compelled by an illness to draw up his last will and testament, in which

he heartily thanked his God for the sound and secure condition of both his mind and soul. He, then, returned to his task of editing Stow's Survay of London. While this particular item was still in folio and incomplete, he died, and the publisher later inserted the following lines of an epitaph that had been erected in St. Stephens in Coleman Street:

TO THE MEMORY
OF THAT ANCIENT SERVANT TO THE CITY, WITH HIS PEN
IN DIVERS IMPLOYMENTS, ESPECIALLY THE SURVAY OF LONDON
MASTER ANTHONY MUNDAY
CITIZEN AND DRAPER
OF LONDON

Obiit Anno Aetatis suae 80. Domini 1633. Augusti 10.[349]

If scholars have not dealt justly with Munday thus far, one feels inclined to ask that they look to Munday himself who said, "Make not thy boast of to morrowe for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth."

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[349]Turner, op. cit., p. 173.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

A CHECK-LIST OF MUNDAY'S PLAYS, INDIVIDUAL & COLLABORATED

PLAY	DATE	HENSLOWE'S DIARY
Fidele & Fortunio	Harbage, 1594	
Sir Thomas More	Albright, 1586/89?	
John a Kent & John a Cumber	Shapiro, 1589/90?	
*Valentine & Orson	Harbage, 1595/98?	19 July 1598
*Richard Coeur de Lion	Harbage, 1598	13/26 June 1598
*Chance Medley	Chambers, 1598	19/24 August 1598
The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington	Harbage, 1598	
The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington	Harbage, 1598	
*Mother Redcap	Chambers, 1597/98?	22 December; 5 Jan. 1598
*Robin Hood I & II	Chambers, 1597/98?	15/20 Feb.; 8 Mar. 1598
*"A comodey for the corte"	Chambers, 1598	19 August 1598
Sir John Oldcastle	Chambers, 1599?	16 Oct.; 19/26 Dec. 1599
*Owen Tudor	Chambers, 1600	10/18 January 1600
*Fair Constance of Rome	Chambers, 1600	3/14 June 1600
*The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey	Chambers, 1600 Harbage, 1601	24 Aug.; 13 Nov. 1601

PLAY	DATE	HENSLOWE'S DIARY
*Jephthah	Chambers, 1602	5 May 1602
*Caesar's Fall	Chambers, 1602	22/29 May 1602
*The Set at Tennis	Chambers, 1602	2 December 1602

(*) indicates Munday's "lost plays."

APPENDIX B

The present author has found one instance of an incorrect reading of the manuscript in the Malone Society transliteration of Munday's John a Kent and John a Cumber. This mis-reading occurs in l. 1343 of the Byrne edition of the play and consists of the substitution of the word not for what most plainly reads nor in the manuscript: ". . . and such illusions neither please eye nor eare." The sense of the line, obviously, is not contained in the use of not. It may be suggested that the Malone Society textual error is the result of a typographical mistake and should not be attributed to a misinterpretation of the manuscript hand. It is interesting to note that this line also occurs in a four-line passage which, in the manuscript, has been marked by the author for deletion.

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