

## Shakespeare and *The Ffatall Maryage*

by Charles E. Walton\*

*The Ffatall Maryage or A Second Lucreatya* was published in typescript by the Malone Society in 1958.<sup>1</sup> It is an anonymous play. The Malone editors detect in the manuscript the presence of a single hand, which they have been unable to identify.<sup>2</sup> They think the work a transcript, however, and strongly favor the hand of a scribe in its preparation.<sup>3</sup> They are convinced that it is not a playhouse document and have discovered no evidence of its having been licensed for performance.<sup>4</sup> As for its date, they suggest that the name of the hero, Galeas, may indicate a connection with the lost play, *Galiaso*, which Henslowe records as the property of the Admiral's Men in 1594.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, they have found two allusions to contemporary matters which they think point, first, to a date of 1600 and, secondly, to a date somewhere in the 1620's.<sup>6</sup> They caution: "All that one can say with safety is that the play belongs to the early seventeenth century and that a conjectural date in the sixteen-twenties would find no evidence to contradict it."<sup>7</sup> They then remind one that *Galiaso* may be the source of *The Ffatall Maryage* and rest their case.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, internal evidence clearly shows that this drama is related to some of Shakespeare's early plays, evidence which, if properly construed, may throw additional light upon the problems of date and authorship.

The simple plot consists of three narratives of clandestine love: (1) the affair of Galeas and Lucreatya, justifying the subtitle, *A Second Lucreatya*; (2) the romance of Prince Lodowick and Isabella; and (3) the loves of Jaspero and Laura. Each episode concerns problems deriving from parental objections to marriage out of class. Briefly, the Duke of Plazenza has a son, Prince Lodowick, and a daughter, Laura. Contrary to the Duke's wishes, Lodowick loves Isabella, a woodsman's daughter, and Laura loves Jaspero, a youth not of her station, whose father is the Duke's marshall. Both fathers (the marshall is another Polonius) refuse to sanction these matches. The Galeas-Lucreatya plot is similar to the other two except that, here, a mother objects to her son's choice of mate. These narratives are developed independently through the actions of the three pairs of lovers, each flaunting parental authority in defiance of the strict marital code. In the cases of Lodowick and his sister, events verge upon the tragic when the Duke sentences them to death for refusing to accept his counsel. In the Galeas-Lucreatya plot, however, the lovers destroy themselves when they can no longer continue their relationship without parental blessings. It is their tragedy that shocks the elders and unifies the play that ends ridiculously with

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1. *The Fatal Marriage*, Malone Society Reprints, ed. by Brigid Younghughes and Harold Jenkins.  
 2. *Ibid.*, p. vi.  
 3. *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.  
 4. *Ibid.*, p. x.  
 5. *Ibid.*, pp. x-xi.  
 6. *Loc. cit.*  
 7. *Loc. cit.*  
 8. *Loc. cit.*

the suggestion of implausible obsequies and a "nuptiall Iublie" in which, as it were, the funeral baked meats will furnish forth the marriage tables.

This resumé of the plot of *The FFatall Maryage* probably does not do justice to the piece, but it clearly shows that the play echoes the familiar story of *Romeo and Juliet*, not merely in one elopement, but in three, one of which ends tragically. Dealing with the relationship between father and son (or daughter) in situations emphasizing the supremacy of the head of the household, the play also echoes the problems affecting King Henry and Prince Hal; Capulet's determination that Juliet wed County Paris; the wretched treatment of Lear by Goneril and Regan; and Ophelia's consciousness of station and rank in the love she bears Lord Hamlet. Of course, this theme is common to Tudor-Stuart drama and would have little significance here, were it not for the fact that the author of *The FFatall Maryage*, whoever he may have been, was well acquainted with *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *1 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *King Lear*, and on very familiar terms with *Hamlet*, as a study of the parallels between the anonymous play and these dramas tends to reveal.

In *The FFatall Maryage*, there are plot similarities and verbal parallels to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. For example, in describing Jaspero (in love with his daughter, Laura), the Duke makes the following statement:

. . . A man[,] I make noe question[,]  
 You oft haue dream't of, noble and valiant . . . .  
*Is not young Iaspero[,] the martiall[?]s sonnet[,]*  
*The very fflower in Court[?]*  
 (206-216)<sup>9</sup>

Here, *valiant* and *the very fflower in Court* are echoed in the scene in which Juliet's mother and Nurse extol the qualities of County Paris. Lady Capulet remarks, "The valiant Paris seeks you for his love. / Verona's summer hath not such a flower."<sup>10</sup> And the Nurse adds, "Nay he's a flower; in faith, a very flower." (I.iii.75 ff) In addition, in both plays, there is the use of night in what appear to be similar settings for the scenes involving the lovers' secret meetings. In *The FFatall Maryage*, Jaspero, under the cover of darkness, enters Laura's garden:

Darkenes assist mee[,] thou art ffoe to goodnes[;]  
 Recompence that by being ffrend to loue[,]  
 Elce as the sable darknes shades the night[,]  
 Let the earth hence forth curse thee[,]  
 Thus farr by thy helpe[,]  
 Having attain'd vnto the garden wall  
 That fronts the princes[s'] windowe[,] where shee wayting  
 Staies the approach w<sup>th</sup> the expectac[i]on of a longing soule,  
 Still shadow mee[,] O thou auspicious night[,]  
 And I[?]le preferr thy darkenes for day light[,]  
 (522-530)

9. Whenever possible, the present author has indicated verse alignment within the text of the play. His capitalization is shown in italics. Punctuation thought to be necessary is inserted in brackets throughout.

10. All quotations from Shakespeare are from *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. Hardin Craig.

Similarly, Romeo visits Juliet's garden under the cover of darkness. It is Juliet who asks,

How camest thou hither, tell me, and wherefore?  
The orchard walls are high and hard to climb,  
And the place death, considering who thou art,  
If any of my kinsmen find thee here.  
(II.ii.62-65)

Romeo replies, "I have night's cloak to hide me from their sight." (II.ii.75) Here, the parallels include garden walls, two lovers, the concealment of night, and an imminent danger of discovery. Furthermore, when Laura tells Jaspero, "Deere loue[,] ascend as nere me as thou canst / That wee may speake in private" (560-561), he admits,

Had I winges[,]  
I'de borrow art from app'hension  
To perch mee on that casement, but If'le clime  
As hie as power can beare meef[.]  
(562-565)

In Shakespeare, Romeo explains to Juliet:

With love's light wings did I o'erperch these walls;  
For stony limits cannot hold love out,  
And what love can do, that dares love attempt . . . .  
(II.ii.66-68)

It is probably as unnecessary to call attention to the similar phrasing in these two passages (*love's wings*, *perch*, and *o'erperch*) as it is to point out the suggestion of the presence of a raised acting level in each of the settings. As the two scenes unfold, other parallels occur. First, when the Martiall surprises the lovers, the sound of his approach prompts Jaspero to exclaim, "T'was a busting[,] I heare the tread of some / Suspitious ffoote nere to the princes[s'] lodging[.]" (667-668) Similarly, Juliet remarks, upon hearing the Nurse, "I hear some noise within: dear love, adieu!" (II.ii.136) In addition, there is a similar use of the word *conduit* in both plays. In *The FFatall Maryage*, Galeas says, ". . . all the Conduits of my life are dry[.]" (814) Lord Capulet, observing Juliet's tearful state, comments, "How now! a conduit girl?" (III.v.130) In both plays, an individual is banished: Jaspero in *The FFatall Maryage* and Romeo in Shakespeare's tragedy. Finally, in the concluding scene of *The FFatall Maryage*, Lucreatya, who is dying, utters these words:

Wee die  
To consecrate a tombe to constancy[,]  
And If[,] that Lucrece[,] w<sup>th</sup> my latest breath  
Vtter this *Maxime, true loue outlastes death*[.]  
(2200-2203)

It is a maxim which, of course, would serve both plays.

In *The FFatall Maryage* there are two parallels to *The Taming of the Shrew*. The first occurs in Prince Lodowick's eulogy of Isabella:

. . . neuer did nimph soe bewtify a grou[e,]  
Venus in her full pride when Paris first  
Beheld her in the Idean Mount look[']d not soe louely  
. . . I should haue tooke thee for the queene of maides[,]  
Diana[,] bright Diana[.]  
(1590-1598)

In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Petruchio speaks to Katharina in similar terms:

Did ever Dian so become a grove,  
 As Kate this chamber with her princely gait?  
 O, be thou Dian, and let her be Kate;  
 And then let Kate be chaste and Dian sportfull!  
 (II.i.260-263)

When the prince completes his eulogy, Isabella remarks, "O[,] you flatter[,] sir," (1599) and then proceeds to describe him in equally flattering terms, alluding to the story of Venus and Adonis, at the conclusion of which he asks, "How came yee by all this reading[,] gentle loue[?]" (1608) Similarly, Katharina asks Petruchio, "Where did you study all this goodly speech?" (II.i.264)

A second instance of parallels between these two plays concerns Kate's pleading with Grumio for food (IV.iii.1-29), in the course of which conversation are mentioned such foodstuffs as a "neat's foot," "mustard and beef," and a "fat tripe finely broil'd." In *The FFatall Maryage*, the Clowne attaches himself to the company of Prince Lodowick and Isabella, who have fled the court to escape execution. When Isabella, weary from travel (as was Katharina), announces that she is hungry, the Clowne volunteers to steal food. Upon returning from his foray, he explains:

. . . here's a savory crust for my selfe / and a peece of beefe, as  
 good as ere catch'd cold / and was stuff'd w<sup>th</sup> parcele, but what  
 an asse / was I to forget mustard and vineger[.] I must back /  
 againe . . . looke ye[,] sir[,] here's a peece of / beefe, I durst  
 vndertake, an't were a neates tounge / t'would say come eat  
 mee . . . .

(1739 ff)

Here, the ingredients mentioned in the Katharina-Grumio episode are present, except for tripe; and the Clowne, perhaps, compensates by adding vinegar. There is little need to argue the individual merits of a *neates tounge* or *foot*.

The relationship between *The FFatall Maryage* and *1 Henry IV* should be clear by now, inasmuch as both plays utilize the father-son situation. The first parallel occurs when the Duke speaks of his son, Prince Lodowick:

But this is o<sup>r</sup> least care, the greater lies  
 Vpon o<sup>r</sup> haire brain'd sonne[.] Call in the prince[.]  
 If euer ffather were vnfortunate  
 In his hop'd issue [, 'tis Plazenzae's duke[.]  
 (283-286)

This passage recalls King Henry's bitter comparison of Prince Hal with Hotspur:

Whilst I, looking on the praise of him,  
 See riot and dishonour stain the brow  
 Of my young Harry. O that it could be proved  
 That some night-tripping fairy had exchanged  
 In cradle-clothes our children where they lay,  
 And called mine Percy, his Plantagenet!  
 (I.i.78-83)

Next, in *The FFatall Maryage*, when the Martiall is asked if he comprehends the gibberish uttered by Jaspero (disguised as an Indian), he replies, "My lord[,] I vnderstand his action better then his / speech[.]"

(1180) In *1 Henry IV*, one recalls Mortimer's linguistic dilemma in attempting to understand his Welsh bride:

I understand thy looks . . . .  
I understand thy kisses and thou mine,  
And that's a feeling disputation . . . .  
(III.i.201-203)

Finally, in *The FFatall Maryage*, a character designated as *Neighbor 4* observes: "Wee haue pepper'd some of 'em[:] here's 2 of 'em / in *Erebus* by this time that owe these billes and gownes[.]" (1431-1433) And Falstaff says, "I have peppered two of them; two I am sure I have paid, two rogues in buckram suits." (II.iv.211-213) Shakespeare also uses this term in *Romeo and Juliet* in Mercutio's comment upon the wound he has received: "I am peppered, I warrant, for this world." (III.i.101-102) There is further similar phrasing in the speeches of the Martiall and Falstaff: Martiall: "Wee[']le tickle you[.]" (628); Falstaff: "I'll tickle ye for a young prince, i'faith." (I.iv.489)

There is the likelihood of a poetic paraphrase of a speech in *Henry V* when, in *The FFatall Maryage*, Galeas, unwilling to meet the young woman whom his mother has chosen to be his wife, replies:

Wil[']t please you[,] madam[,] to commend my service  
To that bright lady and w<sup>th</sup>all to excuse  
My absence for a while[?] I protest[,]  
Souldiers are not extemporall Courtiers[.]  
I'de n(o)t come as a man vnfurnish[']d  
Either of phrase or gesture[.]  
(2104-2109)

Here, one is reminded of Henry's courting of Katharine in the closing scenes of *Henry V*:

Fair Katherine, and most fair,  
Will you vouchsafe to teach a soldier terms  
Such as will enter at a lady's ear  
And plead his love-suit to her gentle heart?  
(V.ii.98-101)

And later,

. . . I know no ways to mince it in love, but directly to say 'I love you:' then, if you urge me farther than to say 'do you in faith?' I wear out my suit . . . I speak to thee plain soldier.  
(V.ii.130-132;153)

In *The FFatall Maryage*, passages concerned with the wronged, self-righteous father strangely echo certain themes in *King Lear*. For example, the Martiall vows:

I'de forswear ffood and shelter[,] keepe noe more  
Then what nature lent me[-] that[']s my nakedness . . . .  
(159-160)

In *King Lear*, Edgar, disguised as Tom of Bedlam, remarks, "And with presented nakedness out-face / The winds and persecutions of the sky." (II.iii.11-12) Lear, himself, in arguing with Regan, explains:

Allow not nature more than nature needs,  
Man's life's as cheap as beast's: thou art a lady;  
If only to go warm were gorgeous,  
Why, nature needs not what thou gorgeous wear'st,  
Which scarcely keeps thee warm.  
(II.iv.269-273)

Indeed, Lear reiterates this thought in his "unaccommodated man" speech and then attempts to disrobe.

In addition, in *The FFatall Maryage*, the Duke, speaking to his daughter, states: "Thow plearest vs to be thus plaine," (220), which is the reversal of Lear's remark to Cordelia: "Better thou / Hadst not been born than not to have pleased me better," (I.i.237-238), especially in line with Kent's comment in the same scene, "To plainness honour's bound . . ." (I.i.150) Furthermore, when the Duke loses patience with Laura because of her love for Jaspero, he exclaims: "Beare her hence[,] / Her sight fills vs w<sup>th</sup> much impatience." (672) Similarly, when Lear misunderstands Cordelia's plainness, he shouts, "Hence, and avoid my sight! / So be my grave my peace, as here I give / Her father's heart from her!" (I.i.127-129) Again, in *The FFatall Maryage*, the Duke, tricked into thinking his daughter disloyal, says, "Hauē I not a daughter / In whose faire reformation I haue now / Stor'd all my hopes, faire *Laura* . . ." (1952-1954) In *King Lear*, Kent is told by Lear (in reference to Cordelia), "I loved her most, and thought to set my rest / On her kind nursery." (I.i.126-127) Later, rebuffed by Goneril and as mistaken in Regan as he had been in Cordelia, Lear says, ". . . yet have I left a daughter, / Who, I am sure, is kind and comfortable . . ." (I.iv.327-328) It is also significant that both plays employ the same figure of speech in passages of similar plot development. In *The FFatall Maryage*, the Duke, having ordered the execution of his son and daughter, comments: "I am noe lord vnless a tyrant / That feeds vpon the entralles of his owne . . ." (2298-2299) In *King Lear*, the old King says, "Is it the fashion, that discarded fathers, / Should have thus little mercy on their flesh? / Judicious punishment! 'twas this flesh begot / Those pelican daughters!" (III.iv.74-77) Finally, there occurs the following parallel:

*The FFatall Maryage*

Let Maiesty be madd and power  
incens'd[,] Authority be mou'd and  
soveraignty / Euen to the worst that  
death or torture can / Mauer all  
these that can o<sup>r</sup> liues wi<sup>th</sup>stand[,]  
/ Make mine thy heart, thine is my  
constant hand[.] (1967-1972)

*King Lear*

Be Kent unmannerly / When Lear  
is mad . . . Thinkst thou that duty  
shall have dread to speak, / When  
power to flattery bows? To plainness  
honour's bound. / When majesty  
stoops to folly. (I.i.48-51)

There is, of course, the use of disguise in both plays: *e.g.*, Jaspero assumes the disguise of an Indian and is called a "Virginia stranger;" and Edgar becomes Tom of Bedlam. Furthermore, their reasons for disguising are much the same.

The first instance of parallels between *The FFatall Maryage* and *Hamlet* involves similar phrasing. As the anonymous play opens, Prince Lodowick remarks:

To doe that[,] sir[,]  
Were to study words and neglect the matter[,]  
To pursue the shadowe[,] and neglect the substance . . . .  
(9-11)

In Shakespeare, Polonius, convinced that Hamlet is mad, puts him to a test in the following manner:

Pol. What do you read, my lord?  
 Ham. Words, words, words.  
 Pol. What is the matter, my lord?  
 Ham. Between who?  
 Pol. I mean the matter that you read, my lord . . . .  
 (II.ii.192-197)

As the scene in *Hamlet* progresses, Guildenstern remarks, "Which dreams indeed are ambition, for the very substance of the ambitious is merely the shadow of a dream." (II.ii.263-265)

A second parallel between the two works occurs when, in *The FFatall Marryage*, Isabella, justifying her love for Prince Lodowick, tells her father and the Duke:

I neuer thought of him but honourable  
 Nor hee of mee but chast[,] but since yo<sup>r</sup> highnes  
 Hath divorc'd vs w<sup>th</sup> soe strict a charge[,]  
 I[']le study to obserue it[.]  
 (395-398)

As she implies in this passage, her father has forbidden future meetings with the Prince. In *Hamlet*, Ophelia speaks to her father in a similar manner: "My lord, he hath importuned me with love / In honourable fashion." (I.iii.110-111) Thereafter, in both plays, the fathers demand that their daughters refuse all tokens of love sent by the young men. In *The FFatall Maryage*, the Duke instructs the Clowne:

Sirra[,] you[,] if the prince yo<sup>r</sup> m<sup>r</sup> send you to the / lodge at any  
 time w<sup>th</sup> letters[,] tokens[,] or gifts[,] / bring them to me and  
 I[']le reward thee for't / elce punish thee severely[.]  
 (403-406)

Similarly, Polonius instructs Ophelia:

From this time,  
 Be somewhat scanter of your maiden presence;  
 Set your entreatments at a higher rate  
 Than a command to parley . . . . This is for all:  
 I would not, in plain terms, from this time forth,  
 Have you so slander any moment leisure,  
 As to give words or talk with the Lord Hamlet.  
 Look to't, I charge you: come your ways.  
 (I.iii.120-125)

Later, frightened by Hamlet's visit, Ophelia confesses to her father: ". . . as you did command, / I did repel his letters and denied / His access to me." (II.i.107-109) In fact, she has given one of Hamlet's intimate letters to pompous old Polonius, who explains to the King and Queen: "I have a daughter—have while she is mine— / Who, in her duty and obedience, mark, / Hath given me this . . . ." (II.ii.106-108) And Ophelia, herself, attempts to return some of Hamlet's letters and tokens of affection in the get-thee-to-a-nunnery scene (III.i.90-103).

In addition, there are frequent verbal parallels of a minor nature that occur between the two plays:

*The FFatall Maryage*

1. Scurvy him whom ffrost and ffire could neuer yet anaxe . . . . (908)
2. For being beasts, they are not capable / of reason, such as is infus[']d in Man. (1673-1674)  
If that in beasts / That have nor sence nor reason, this be punishable / What is[']t in humaine Creatures . . . . (1727-1729)
3. The Center is noe more to be remou'd / then is my ffaith once giuen . . . . (854-855)
4. Where I was bold[,] I can assure yee I was / my own Caruer[.] (1253-1254)
5. It[']le boord 'em presently. (1631)

*Hamlet*

1. Since frost itself as actively doth burn / And reason pandars will. (III.iv.98-99)
2. O God! a beast, that wants discourse of reason / Would have mourn'd longer . . . . (I.ii.150-151)
3. I will find / Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed / Within the Centre. (II.ii.156-158)
4. He may not, as unvalued persons do, / Carve for himself. (II.ii.170)
5. I'll board him presently. (II.ii.170)

A final, yet significant, example of parallel phrasing between the two plays occurs in passages of similar plot development, clearly indicating that the author of *The FFatall Maryage* was well acquainted with the theme of *Hamlet*. In the anonymous play, Galeas, in love with Lucreatya, has incurred his mother's wrath. To prevent this match, his mother has arranged for him to marry Urbin's niece. To thwart her, Galeas explains (unconvincingly) that he has, of late, experienced moments of insanity and refers to the presence of a *mother* (the *hysterica passio* that plagued Lear). Unfortunately, his mother has no ear for such word-play and does not detect her son's punning. Consequently, Galeas elects to commit suicide, reminding those about him, once again, that he is mad, but his warning is unheeded. Later, he enters, bearing most of the herbs which Ophelia also takes into the court. It is his description of these herbs which contains the striking verbal parallels to Ophelia's mad speech:

Hee that can tell me why I strawe these fflowers[,] / what this branch rosemary shewes or what rue / is prologue too, why this neglected time[,] / I haue made choice of time[,] / to spred w<sup>th</sup> these[,] / w<sup>ch</sup> of you can but resolute mee this[,] / knowes more then I my selfe, It[']le make it plaine[:] / my mother[,] not soe naturall as noble[,] graspes at an ayre I not desire to breath in / nor wish to kisse[:] my lips be blister'd when they [press] / w<sup>th</sup> hers I loue not[:] It[']le not abiure the ma[tt]er / though, therefore I spred the ground w<sup>th</sup> this / sweet tapistry, but the sad end of this enforced match / is coffin'd here already[.] Deare Lucrecia[,] / if I haue plotted this thy tragedy[,] / oh may one ffatall hearse containe vs both[,] / and these sweet garden dwellers furnish out / our ffunerall Coffins[.]  
(1991-2007)

These curious words, however, have little effect upon Galeas's mother, who asks him the meaning of "this preparation." He warns her and the others not to touch the "selvadge" of the "ffayrie circle" (which he has constructed out of the herbs) for fear of instant blasting. This statement arouses interest. Even his mother is now impressed by his actions; however, she reminds him, officiously, that these herbs suggest an ominous event, and he replies:



Not soe[,] not soe[,] / Here[']s rosemary[,] though bridegroomes  
of o<sup>r</sup> pace / for hornes doe title it, and beare these branches /  
as embles of their ffortunes[,] Mother[,] know / I be not that  
way guilty[,] noe[,] / I[']le ruffle it like an incorporate May  
gamist[,] / Then[,] here[']s rue, to witnes I should rue / this  
houre, this minute should o<sup>r</sup> m<sup>rs</sup> come and take vs vnprovided,  
then here[']s, time[,] / the hearbe of hearbes[,] by this I moral-  
lize / the prize I make of time not to neglect it / against this  
great solemnity, last of all / here[']s grace, w<sup>th</sup> should haue  
bene the first / for mother I'de not haue our mariage / like  
an oyster feast vnprologu'd, w<sup>th</sup>out grace[:] / If I haue said,  
or if these be p<sup>r</sup>dictions ominous[,] / mother[,] I craue yo<sup>r</sup>  
pardon[.]

(2039-2055)

Galeas, then, sends for Lucreatya, who joins him in suicide. This obvious paraphrase of Ophelia's herb speech precludes analysis. However, the important point is the clear manner in which Galeas employs these herbs as symbols of his imminent death by suicide. It is a disturbing episode, especially in the light of its parallels to Ophelia's mad utterances, for it may imply that Shakespeare was working in an established symbol in the representation of suicide. If this be true, and the evidence in *The FFatall Maryage* tends to corroborate it, the gravediggers' comments upon the nature of Ophelia's death may be a great deal more accurate than Gertrude's.

There is little information relating to this anonymous play, other than a notice of the performance of a play entitled *The Tragedy of Lucretia* in the records of St. John's College, Oxford, for 1604:

Terminus Natiuitatis Domini 1604

Shroue munday

The tragaedy of Lucretia publickly acted  
xj<sup>th</sup> of ffebruary w<sup>th</sup> good commendacon  
And dvuerse strangers interteyned in re-  
spect thereof.

Impositum pro tragaedia lucretiae 3 17s 8d<sup>11</sup>

It is impossible, of course, to determine if this play were *The FFatall Maryage* or *A Second Lucreatya*, although a date of 1604 would be acceptable in lieu of the numerous parallels to Shakespeare's plays cited in this investigation. At least, it is clearly evident that the author of *The FFatall Maryage* was well acquainted with Shakespeare's early work.

11. "The Academic Drama in Oxford, Extracts from the Records of Four Colleges," *Collections V, The Malone Society*, 83.

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