

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THOMAS RANDOLPH (1605-1635): CHRISTIAN HUMANIST,

ACADEMIC AND LONDON THEATER PLAYWRIGHT

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

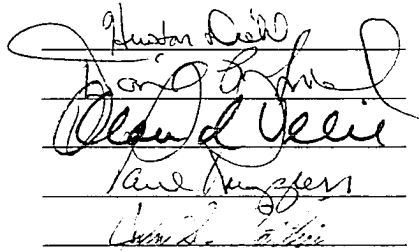
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APPROVED BY

The block contains five handwritten signatures, each written over a horizontal line. From top to bottom, the signatures are: 1. A signature that appears to read 'Austin Allen'. 2. A signature that appears to read 'David J. [unclear]'. 3. A signature that appears to read 'Donald Velie'. 4. A signature that appears to read 'Paul [unclear]'. 5. A signature that appears to read 'John L. [unclear]'. The signatures are written in dark ink and are somewhat stylized.

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

DEDICATION

This dissertation is fondly and appreciatively dedicated to Dr. Huston Diehl, without whom it would not have come into being, to Drs. David P. French and Paul Ruggiers, whose encouragement and faith helped more than they can know, and to the other members of my committee, Drs. Alan Velie and Jack Catlin, for their help. I must acknowledge also the patience and forbearance of my husband, Herb, during the many long periods of stress and despair during which this piece was aborning.

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THOMAS RANDOLPH: A CHRONOLOGY

- 1605 June 15. Birth at Newnham, near Daventry, in Northamptonshire, in the house of his maternal grandfather, Thomas Smith. Most authorities follow Aubrey, Wood, and the Visitation of 1682 in this, but a few give June 15 as his baptismal, not his birth, date.
- 1607 Birth of his brother, William.
- 1608 Birth of John Milton.
- 1611 Birth of brother Robert, who was to edit Randolph's poems and two hitherto unpublished plays (Amyntas and The Muses' Looking Glass, 1638).
- c. 1613 Death of mother, Elizabeth, a short time after birth of daughter.
- 1614-15 Randolph wrote History of Savior's Incarnation in English verse.
- 1616 The Randolph family moved into house in Little Houghton provided by Lord Zouch for his steward, William Randolph, and his family, probably this year.
- c. 1618 Father married Dorothy Lane West, widow and mother of Richard West, born c. 1614.

- c. 1618 Randolph is admitted as a King's Scholar to the College of St. Peter, better known as Westminster School.
- 1619 Randolph's half-brother, John, born.
- 1621 Randolph's half-brother, Richard, born. Richard was to become the father of William (1661-1711), later Colonel William Randolph of Turkey Island, Virginia, the founder of the Randolphs of Virginia.
- 1621 December 28, death of William Lawrence, servant of a prebendary at Westminster, whose epitaph Randolph wrote in English.
- 1622 James Duport, Randolph's friend and classmate at Westminster, elected Westminster Scholar at Trinity College. Probably entered 1623.
- 1623 Death of Mr. Parsons, Westminster Abbey organist, whose epitaph Randolph wrote.
- c. 1623 The Fary Knight, or Oberon the Second probably written by Randolph for performance by the boys at Westminster.
- 1623 Randolph's half-brother Henry born. He preceded William in emigrating to Virginia in about 1642.
- 1623 Randolph secured highest rating of all the Westminster boys competing for scholarships at Trinity College, Cambridge, or Christ Church, Oxford. Randolph given title "Captain of the Election" when he was chosen to attend Trinity College as a Westminster Scholar.
- 1623 Randolph left Westminster, where his schoolmates had included William Hemminges, John Donne the younger, William

Duport, and William Cartwright.

His play, The Drinking Academy, was probably written this year for performance by the students at Westminster. He may have been asked to return to Westminster to direct it.

- 1624 April 9. Randolph entered Trinity College at 18.
July 8. Randolph matriculated at Trinity.
- 1624 December. King James kept court at Trinity College for the purpose of arranging for the marriage of Charles, Prince of Wales, to Henrietta Maria of France.
- 1625 Birth of Randolph's sister Anne.
March. Death of King James. Charles proclaimed King at Cambridge University festivities.
John Milton entered Christ's College, Cambridge.
June 13. Probably Randolph's first official literary contribution: a poem included among verses by other members of the Cambridge academic community celebrating the marriage of King Charles to Princess Henrietta Maria.
August 1 to December 30. The plague at Cambridge was severe enough to cause the cancellation of all university sermons and exercises.
- 1626 The death of Randolph's infant sister Anne.
Midsummer Eve. Randolph's poem on the bookfish (see Thomas Fuller's History of Cambridge University).
Randolph's contribution of a poem to the Cambridge collection memorializing Francis Bacon.

- c. 1626 All Saint's Day. Probably Randolph's first dramatic production at Cambridge: a "private shew," Aristippus, or The Jovial Philosopher.
- 1626-28 Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery, the first translation of a play by Aristophanes into English.
- 1627 Birth of Randolph's brother George, who was killed in Civil War.
September to October. Randolph's Salting.
Probably November 1. The Conceited Pedlar, a monologue written and probably delivered by Randolph himself as a college show.
An Epitaph upon his honour'd friend Mr. WARRE, a relative of Randolph's half-brother, Richard West.
- 1627-28 January. Randolph became B.A.
- before
1628 Second edition of Owen Feltham's Resolves published. Probably the occasion for Randolph's commendatory poem on it.
c. April 8. "Epithalamium on the wedding of Anne Harvey and Dabridge Court Warde," from which Denham borrowed.
- c. 1628 "An Eglogue occasion'd by two Doctors disputing upon predestination."
- 1628-29 Randolph stricken with smallpox.
- 1628 Randolph adopted Son of Ben by now. "A gratulatory to M^r Ben Johnson for his adopting of him to be his son" written after Jonson stricken with palsy this same year.
- 1628 John Milton's salting (Prolusion VI and poem, Ab a Vacation Exercise).

- 1629 Ben Jonson's The New Inne damned by theater goers. Jonson in Ode to Himself vowed he would write no more plays. Randolph translated ode into Latin but answered it in English stanza by stanza.
- August 11. Letter recommending Randolph for fellowship by Leonard Mawe.
- 1629-30 Possibly late in 1629 and certainly in 1630, during seven months of which Cambridge was closed because of the plague, Randolph writing plays for the company of the King's Revels at the Salisbury Court Theater.
- July 25. Marriage of George Goring, friend of Randolph, who had been at Trinity.
- Randolph's poem on George Goring's wedding.
- 1629 September 22. Randolph elected a minor Fellow, Trinity College.
- before
1630 "To M^r J.S. [James Shirley] on his Grateful Servant" by Randolph.
- 1629 Publication of Randolph's Latin poems prefixed to Huntington Plumptre's Epigrammata.
- 1630 "Upon his dead friend's picture," poem by Randolph to George Hutton, son of Sir Robert Hutton of Oakington, near Cambridge, who died while he was a student at King's College. He was a cousin of Sir Christopher Hattan, Randolph's patron.
- 1630 Randolph's poem on his own picture.
- 1630 March 26 and April 8. Aristippus and The Pedlar entered by

two different printers in Stationer's Register. The Pedlar mistakenly attributed to Davenport in April entry.

April 17. The theaters closed in London because of plague.

May 29. Prince Charles born at St. James. (Charles III)

"Apology to Aunt Lane . . ." (poem)

Randolph may have written topical Cambridge poems "Upon the Vice-Chancellor pulling down the signs" and "On the Banishment of Cambridge Lasses."

November. Plague abated.

November 12. Theaters reopened in London.

November 20. Commons resumed at Trinity.

1630 Thursday, November 25. The Muses' Looking Glass, or The Entertainment licensed. According to Bentley, this seems to have been acted outside of London, the summer of '30.

November 26. Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry licensed for the Children of the Revels. It is possible that this play was written by Randolph for a Cambridge audience, "but it is well to remember that pastoral drama was in vogue at private theatres and at Court in the '30's and even earlier," Bentley, V, 969-70. Moore Smith: possibly written for Children of Revels. It has an even greater success than The Muses' Looking Glass.

November 30. Randolph's The Entertainment, later published as The Muses' Looking Glass, licensed for performance by the Children of the Revels at Salisbury Court. From the character of the play, Moore Smith assumes it had previously been

- performed at Cambridge, Thomas Randolph, 18.
- November 30. Randolph's Praeludium, performed at the re-opening of the Salisbury Court theater after the plague, probably in November 1630. Possibly written to introduce The Muses' Looking Glass, which seems to have been honored by being chosen to reopen the theater. (Evidence in Histrionastix, in which is a description of the play chosen to reopen this new theater. This was the only new theater at the time and the description fits this play, Bentley, V, 989-90).
- c. 1630 Prologue, Epilogue and Praeludium of The Careless Shepherdess probably written by Randolph. The play was acted before the King and Queen at Salisbury Court Theater. It is possible that Randolph wrote the play, too, Bentley, V, 973-4, 966.
- 1630 Randolph published as one book Aristippus, or the Jovial Philosopher with The Conceited Pedlar. (Q1, Q2, Q3, and possibly Dublin Q4.)
- 1630-31 Randolph apparently returned to his fellowship at Trinity disillusioned with his London stage experience. Perhaps he wrote "An Eglogue to Mr. Johnson" at this time. Thorn-Drury dates this after The Jealous Lovers in 1632, but that was because he believed, as did earlier critics before new evidence was discovered, that Randolph's London stage experience occurred in 1632, p. 206.
- 1631 January 1. Death of Hobson at 80. Two poems by Randolph

- on his death printed in Thomas Randolph, p. 20; Thorn-Drury, p. 213.
- c. 1631 Two pastoral poems written by Randolph of a "different character" from the "Pastoral Dialogues, a Pastoral Ode and Songs," all written to be set to music. Several of these and two more set to music by George Jeffreys, in the service of Sir Christopher Hatton of Kirby, Thomas Randolph, 19. These two different pastorals were on the revival of the Cotswald Games by John Dover, printed in 1636, but written earlier, naturally, Thorn-Drury, p. 207, and "Eglogue occasioned by two doctors disputing upon Predestination," Thomas Randolph, 21-22, which I believe dates back to 1628.
- prob.
1631 Duel in which Randolph lost the little finger of his left hand, Thomas Randolph. Loss commemorated in two Randolph poems and John Hemminge's Elegy.
- 1631 After May 6, poem "On Sr Robert Cotton," who died May 6, 1631, Thorn-Drury, 95. This elegy was also printed among the poems of Francis Beaumont, 1655.
- 1631 New edition of Aristippus and Conceited Pedlar, (Q5), Bentley, VII, 81.
- 1631 Randolph graduated M.A.
- 1631-32 January 12. Lord Goring entertained Queen with unknown masque, "perhaps by Davenport," Bentley, VII, 81. Perhaps Randolph may have had a hand in it since his father had been Goring's steward before performing the same duties for Lord Zouch.

- 1632 March 19. Hausted's Rival Friends played before King and his Court at Trinity, Bentley, VII, 81. "Called down by boys, hooted, etc."
- 1632 March 20. Thomas Randolph's The Jealous Lovers played before King and Court at Trinity to acclaim, Bentley, VII, 82. Climax of Randolph's Cambridge career. (March 22 according to Thomas Randolph, p. 24)
- 1632 July. Randolph Praevaricator at Commencement at which John Milton was graduated M.A.
- c. 1630-32 Probably when Randolph wrote "A Pastorall Courtship" and "Upon Love fondly refused," both of which had also been attributed to Rochester, but are definitely Randolph's, Thorn-Drury, 206, 208; Thomas Randolph, p. 32. Probably wrote during this period "On six Maids bathing in the River," which Thorn-Drury believes probably inspired several other poems by other poets, p. 209.
- 1632 Hausted rushed Rival Friends, with several commendatory poems, into print to protect his reputation.
- 1632 In the latter part of year, Randolph was convinced that he had to publish his The Jealous Lovers in answer to the implied attack in Hausted's Rival Friends, Thomas Randolph, pp. 25-26; Bentley, VII, 85.
- c. 1632-33 Randolph probably left Cambridge although he seems to have been there for part of the academic year. Aubrey said Randolph retired to father's house after he left Cambridge, where he engaged in delightful studies--much as Milton did

around the same time.

- 1632 November 16. The death of the great Protestant hero, Gustave Adolphus, on which Randolph wrote a poem.
- 1631-33 Other poems Randolph wrote which "seem to reflect the acquaintance he now made with the darker side of life in London," such as "To Time," which "recalls Baudelaire, and is artistically as perfect as anything he ever wrote, Thomas Randolph, 27.
- c. 1632-33 "A Parley to his empty purse," called by Thorn-Drury probably Randolph's most popular poem. Robert Heath and Vaughan wrote on it, p. 207. His poem on Cambridge Duns may have been written about now, too.
- 1633 "An Elegie upon the Lady Venetia Digby," who died May 1.
- after
1633 "On the Fall of the Mitre Tavern." Probably Randolph was still at Cambridge or may have returned there. This was written after February 13 because of a reference in the poem to a fire on London Bridge which occurred then, Thorn-Drury, p. 213.
- 1633-34 Randolph wrote his much-praised "Ode to Master Anthony Stafford," Thomas Randolph, 29-30; Parry, p. 360.
- 1633-34 Moore Smith calls this the beginning of the "Last phase of poor Tom's life." He probably spent time at his father's house after he left Cambridge. Then apparently Randolph became tutor to the son of Captain William Stafford of Blatherwyck, who was now married to Lady Dorothy Shirley, Thomas Randolph, p. 301.

- 1634 Randolph's Jealous Lovers, (Q2), Bentley, VII, 95.
Aristippus and Conceited Pedlar, (Q6).
- 1634 January. Last poem of Randolph's which can be dated with
any certainty. It was "On the marriage of Richard Love,
Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Grace
Goodman," Thomas Randolph, p. 31.
- A short time after the writing of the poem on the wedding,
Randolph wrote a "Panegyricke" on the Virgin Mary for
Anthony Stafford for his book, The Femall Glory. The poem
was printed anonymously, but, according to Moore Smith,
definitely Randolph's.
- 1635 March . Death of Thomas Randolph, Thomas Randolph, 31ff.
- 1638 March 30. Cornelianum Delium, by Randolph entered
Stationers' Register. It may or may not be Randolph's,
Bentley, VII, 110; V, 962-64. (Published 1638, Bentley,
VII, 114.)
- 1638 The Poems of Thomas Randolph published by brother, Robert,
Bentley, VII, 114.
- 1640 Third edition of Jealous Lovers, Bentley, VII, 123.
- 1640 Second edition of Poems, corrected and amended.
- 1642 April 5. Poems with Muses Looking Glass and Amyntas en-
tered in Stationers' Register although it had been pub-
lished in 1638 and 1640.

THOMAS RANDOLPH (1605-1635): CHRISTIAN HUMANIST,
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CHAPTER I

RANDOLPH THE PLAYWRIGHT: AN OVERVIEW

Sparsely anthologized today and barely known to graduate students of English and even to many of their professors, Thomas Randolph (1605-1635) was an admired playwright and one of the most popular poets of his time. Gentlemen at Court and at Cambridge University, as well as his fellow poets, admired him so much that many expected him to succeed to the poet-laureateship upon the death of the aging, incapacitated Ben Jonson. But Randolph's own death at the age of twenty-nine, two years before Jonson's, precluded this recognition:

Immortal BEN is dead; and as that ball
On Ida toss'd, so is his Crowne by all
The Infantry of sit. Vaine Priests! That chaire
Is only fit for his true Sonne and Herie.
Reach here the Lawrell: Randolph, tis thy praise:
Thy naked Soull shall well become the Bayes.
See, Daphne courts thy Ghost: and spite of fate,
Thy Poems shall be poet Laureat.

G. W. Joan¹

Gerald Eades Bentley, whose The Jacobean and Caroline Stage is the most complete and dependable source book of its kind, attests

to Randolph's "very great" contemporary reputation, basing his judgment on the frequent inclusion of Randolph's poems and anecdotes about him in seventeenth-century commonplace books, those bound blank books into which students and gentlemen copied favorite and useful excerpts from classical and modern authors. Randolph is mentioned "several times" as Jonson's rival or heir.² Randolph's own writings make it clear, however, that he regarded himself as Jonson's heir and a loyal, grateful "son," never a rival. Thus, in Randolph's "An Eglogue to Mr. Johnson," Tityrus, Jonson's persona, tells the shepherd representing Randolph:

. . . I meant to thee,
Of all the sons I have, by legacie
To have bequeath'd my pipe, thee, thee of all,
I meant it should her second Master call.

In spite of his contemporary reputation, however, the few recent twentieth-century anthology editors who include Randolph in their collections of seventeenth-century writing seldom use more than one or two of his poems. Many recent literary historians completely ignore him. Even the widely respected, encyclopedic Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature dismisses him briefly as an academic poet and dramatist. Some of this neglect may be because his collected poems and his plays are all out-of-print except for a two-volume 1968 reprint of the worst possible edition of his plays and poems by W. Carew Hazlitt.³

Yet Thomas Randolph was not merely a popular poet. Upon careful reading his poetry and drama still show great originality and sparkle. The King's Revels Company at the Salisbury Court Theater produced at least two of his plays in their London playhouse, proof of more than academic appeal. Furthermore, scholars have discovered evidence

that, as a matter of fact, he was hired as company playwright by these players in 1629 or 1630, and most drama historians are now of the opinion that the company chose his masterpiece, The Muses' Looking Glass, to open the new Salisbury Court Theater in 1630, a signal honor for an "academic" playwright.

Another Randolph play, Amyntas, was the second play acted by the newly-formed company. A pastoral in the neo-classical Italian Renaissance tradition, Amyntas, ranks, along with John Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess and Ben Jonson's unfinished Sad Shepherd, among the three best adaptations of this genre into English, according to Walter W. Greg, among others. Greg declared that he "hoped" "to do somewhat tardy justice to the considerable and rather remarkably sustained qualities of Randolph's play," which he called "one of the most interesting and important of the experiments which English writers made in the pastoral drama." Amyntas possesses, he said, "dramatic qualities to which few of its kind can pretend." Pervading and "transforming the whole is the genial humour and sparkling wit of its brilliant and short lived author." According to Greg, Randolph came nearer to reconciling a kind of pastoral with the temper of the English stage" than anyone else ever had.⁴ These two and some of his other plays will be examined in more detail below. They clearly deserve to be better known than they are.

Thomas Randolph, a Master of Arts and a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a scholar who spent most of his short adult life, from 1624 to 1633 or 1634, except for the year or so in London, at the university. A theater company playwright was certainly an unusual profession for a respected Cambridge don. That this activity added only

luster to his reputation is obvious from the fact that the company gave a performance of Amyntas at Whitehall before the King and Queen, probably in 1631. His enhanced reputation as a playwright is also shown by the action of the Master of Randolph's college, Trinity, who commissioned Randolph to write an original play for the elaborate presentation thought suitable for such an occasion by the students and administrators of the college to honor Charles I's formal visit with his court to the university in 1632. This play was Randolph's experiment in writing a Plautine comedy, The Jealous Lovers. Its success was thought to have caused the suicide of the Master of another Cambridge college, who had likewise encouraged one of his scholars to write a play for the same occasion. Academic drama, especially for royal entertainment, was taken very seriously at the time. More of this anon.

Randolph's great originality as a playwright and scholar was further enhanced by still another of his plays, Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery, which is the first translation into English of a play by Aristophanes. Randolph probably wrote this witty imitation of Plutus to be acted by the students of Trinity College while he was still an undergraduate, probably between 1626 and 1628. He anglicized the play by translating it, but, in keeping with the theory of translation of his time, he aimed at being true to the spirit as well as the text itself, of the original work. He therefore made the work relevant to the audience of his time by setting the action in England and adding many characters and situations that could be only British. Unfortunately the resulting play survived only in the 1651 published version once removed from his. It contains several passages of varying lengths interpolated

by "F. J.", the second English adapter of Plutus. In this play Randolph had satirized the Puritans, as he often did. Apparently keeping the same title, the unidentified "F. J.", with some additions to Randolph's play and perhaps some deletions, made it serve as political propaganda by mocking the Cromwellian forces then ruling England. Modern critics C. L. Day and Phyllis Toback have performed an admirable service in using textual criticism to separate F. J.'s topical emendations from what does indeed seem to be the original witty play by Randolph.⁵ In my introduction to Randolph's Salting in Chapter III, I point out enough similarities in style and timely references between the Salting and Hey for Honesty to prove that the matrix of at least these passages is by Randolph. The contemporary references here also narrow the date of composition of Randolph's play still more to between October 1627 and the winter of 1627-28.

In addition to being an influential poet, dramatist, and translator, Thomas Randolph was an excellent scholar whose reputation qualified him for the honor of being appointed a Fellow of his college. This coveted election seems to have been prompted by the glowing recommendation of Leonard Mawe, then about to retire as Master of Trinity College although he was still to retain the bishoprics of both Bath and Wells. Bishop Mawe's letter to Lord Holland, Chancellor of Cambridge University, requested Randolph's appointment as Fellow because "Scarce an age doth bring forth a better [scholar] or the like." Mawe characterized Randolph as "one of those extraordinary parts of witt and learning . . . approved by the whole Vniversity." If Lord Holland would appoint Randolph to the next Fellowship to become vacant, Holland would, Mawe

wrote, "cherish a toward witt, add a light to a flourishing Colledge, and doe an acceptable act to the whole Vniversity" by "the gayning of an ornament to the Colledge."⁶ Certainly Randolph's burgeoning reputation as poet and innovative playwright, as well as his distinction in disputing, were the bases of Mawe's and the whole university's approval. The training in eloquence so prized at Cambridge at the time likewise had a reciprocal influence in sharpening his talents as a writer.

Because Randolph spent most of his adult life at Cambridge, most of his plays and poetry were written for academic audiences. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Randolph depicting in many of these works the university life which so influenced not only his own artistic development but also that of John Milton of Christ's College, who was one year behind Randolph at Cambridge; of Thomas Fuller, another contemporary; and of George Herbert, somewhat older than these three, but still at the university in his official capacity of University Orator when the others were students. Herbert, a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, also lectured on rhetoric. Many of the Cavalier poets also attended Cambridge at this time. There they learned their art and began their association with their audience: their peers and fellow students.

Randolph's earliest "shews," more relaxed forms of occasional drama than the more structured "regular" comedies and tragedies, were written to entertain and perhaps impress his fellow students.

Aristippus, or The Jovial Philosopher, a short original play, and The Conceited Pedlar, a monologue he probably delivered before the members of his college, are filled with satiric references to life at the

university at that time. They are, therefore, valuable sources for details of daily undergraduate life at early seventeenth century Cambridge University common enough to provoke student laughter caused by the recognition of the familiar.

Allusions to Cambridge student life also appear in the Latin speech he delivered as Praevaricator at the Commencement in 1632, when Milton was awarded his M.A. The most outstanding Master of Arts of the previous year, usually chosen at the time of his own commencement to be Praevaricator at the next one, was to provide badly needed humor after at least two days filled with Acts: the declamations required of all degree candidates by royal edict. The Praevaricator's wit served the same function as the broad, often raw, humor so startling to us in the otherwise serious and religious English medieval miracle plays, like the rascally "parents" and their stolen sheep-infant intended to parallel the Holy Family and the Nativity in the Second Shepherds' Play, for instance. The Praevaricator was to "sum up" the speeches commencement candidates had slaved over by delivering extemporaneously mock declamations--in Latin, like the required ones--frequently annihilating and ridiculing the laboriously constructed arguments of the Commencers. These Praevarications, like many of the earlier mock church services and plays later moved outside the church, often invited criticism for being scandalously indecent. Frequently discontinued for long periods of time after the delivery of a particularly salacious one, only a few Praevarications, probably the ones most admired, have survived. Randolph's speech, first printed in William Carew Hazlitt's 1875 edition of Randolph's works, was one of these.

An incomplete manuscript of Randolph's "Salting," a mock initiation of freshmen into the academic community, is in the same tradition as the Praevarication. The Salting remained unknown until Fredson Bowers published an article about it in 1942. My critical edition of it appears below. I shall also discuss in conjunction with this a rhetorical academic exercise by John Milton which he so cherished that he kept it, with other selected undergraduate writings, for many long years to include among his collected works. Milton's critics have wondered about the occasion for which he wrote his sixth prolusion, theorizing that it was some sort of praevorication. Because of many similarities between it and Randolph's Salting, the only example of such an initiation which has come down to us, I believe that Milton's sixth prolusion was delivered as a Salting in his college the year after Randolph revived the custom at Trinity.

Today little is known about such undergraduate customs; only a few allusions to Saltings, and those vague and incomplete, survive even in the great libraries at Cambridge University and in the British Museum. Because Randolph's seems to be the only example, incomplete as it is, of a Salting, it is important not only for the contemporary details in it about students of the time, and as an example itself of undergraduate ritual, but for whatever light it can shed on John Milton's undergraduate writing and popularity. See the Appendix below for an analysis of Milton's Salting.

I shall devote a portion of this critical examination of Randolph's drama to university life of the time because his shows and plays become far more meaningful when put in context because our

knowledge of student life of the time is still fragmentary at best. Many misleading stereotypes about this subject still survive today. For instance, some of our most respected sources about the two English universities, like the works of E. K. Chambers, valuable as they are to dramatic history, and those of scholars who built on his conclusions, still persist in referring to a great falling off in the quality of, and the number of students enrolled in, these universities during the early seventeenth century. The Reformation, which ultimately was responsible for transferring the control of the schools and universities to the English crown from the international institution of the Roman Catholic Church, is often blamed for "ruining" the universities because the learned church scholars were no longer attending them. The universities are also believed to have lost their function to train Churchmen, according to some fairly recent literary historians.

Only recently has modern scholarship begun to reexamine all available primary sources ab ovo on all aspects of our cultural past, instead of relying on earlier scholars, who often settled for tradition, their authorities on the past, and insufficient evidence. Previous historians, to be sure, lacked access to such material, then buried in libraries and private collections, which is still continuing to become available.

Douglas Bush blamed the "myth" of the destruction of the rich culture of the early sixteenth century by Henry VIII on Chambers, who relied on an essay by J. S. Phillimore which Chambers termed "vital" to all Thomas More scholars. The thesis of this essay was the so-called paralysis of the humanist movement in England for over a hundred years

that was brought on by the death of Sir Thomas More.⁷ Chambers then accused Henry of "stopping" for a generation after the execution of Surrey the "music" of the poets who thronged to Henry's court. He also blamed Henry for a "similar set-back" in prose and an even more remarkable falling off in scholarship. Of the four great international scholars and the two great English patrons of learning at the time, Chambers wrote, "Henry cold-shouldered Erasmus out of England, imprisoned Vives, decapitated More and Fisher, and frightened Wolsey to death." The consequence, according to Chambers, was that "In England, all learning felt the blow, and shrank. It was not till the days of Bentley that classical scholarship recovered in England the position it held in the days of Erasmus, before Henry axed it."⁸

Most of us today are, of course, appalled by Henry's decision to execute More and Fisher, among others, and by his treatment of other outstanding humanists. But fortunately for England, classical scholarship did survive Henry's precipitate treatment of these outstanding scholars of the time. Bush also set the record straight about the teaching of Greek in the English universities in the sixteenth century: Erasmus' teaching at Cambridge in 1511-1514 "may have given a great impetus to the English Reformation, but in the matter of Greek scholarship it was a sad disillusionment." The study of Greek did not really begin at Cambridge until 1518, when Richard Croke was brought by Henry from an illustrious professorship at Leipzig.⁹ In his seventeenth-century history of the university, Thomas Fuller provides evidence for this view, calling "Richard Crook" the first to bring the study of Greek to Cambridge.¹⁰ Croke initiated "an unbroken succession of eminent scholars

throughout the long blank period that Mr. Chambers deplores," Bush stated, scholars who brought international fame to classical studies at Cambridge.¹¹ These early classical scholars included Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith, both appointed as Regius Professors by Henry; Roger Ascham and William Cecil.

During this period of transition, scholasticism, that intricate system of the seven liberal arts ingeniously organized into an integrated unit as still another proof of a coherent, logical universe, prevailed, as it had in the middle ages. Randolph and Milton refer to this method many times in their works. Nevertheless, some modern studies of the kind of scholasticism which formed the early seventeenth century English university curriculum label it moribund and unwieldy. According to these, Oxford and Cambridge, then stagnant and uninspiring, became great some decades later with the introduction of science and mathematics into the curriculum after the watershed scientific discoveries of Harvey and Newton. At about this time Richard Bentley supposedly reformed classical scholarship.

All three men, Harvey, Newton, and Bentley, were actually products of the scholasticism taught in Cambridge in the early to middle seventeenth century. Their divergent achievements and the assumptions on which they were based grew out of this admirable system, as did Randolph's. The reality was that scholasticism survived for centuries, from the middle ages on, only because it did not lock the universities into any rigid curriculum since it was able to accommodate to the needs of the times and the advancement of whatever kind of scholarship the church, the king, or the university corporations thought the times demanded.

The broad aim of education under the Tudors was training in virtue and good letters; as Bush said, "the special aim was preparing young men for public life." Ironically, the by-product of these self-serving Tudor humanists was a glorious golden age of expanded horizons in learning, literature, and eventually of the kingdom itself under Elizabeth. Was Machiavelli right after all? In serving themselves the Tudors established "what was to remain the ruling motive of English classical study" for generations. "Classical scholars, pure and simple, have always been rare accidents in England. For scholarship means discovery, humanism means discipline." This is the reason that More "did not seek to rival Scaliger, nor did Erasmus envy the reputation of Bude." They sought to make "the rational wisdom of antiquity supplement the teaching of Christ." The main impulse of Tudor, and of the best Continental humanism "was not that life should be given up to classical learning, but that classical learning should be an aid to the active Christian life." This is why Erasmus wrote to Bude, "You have preferred to be understood by the learned, I, if I can, by the many; your aim is to conquer, mine to teach or persuade."¹² William Camden, Ben Jonson, Thomas Randolph, and John Milton obviously all continued in their art and in their overt instruction this same tradition of Christian humanism in a chain which remained unbroken from the early sixteenth century to the onset of the Civil War. This tradition may also explain why Milton chose to subordinate letters to action in his own life, to becoming Latin Secretary and serving the State if not the Crown.

The humanism of the reformation did not oppose theology and religion, but it strove to reassert human, "which meant also divine,"

values against "barren logic or a philosophy of nature which neglected the truly human and divine."¹³ Both Randolph and his friend James Duport found these human and divine values in virtually the same curriculum that Milton felt unduly emphasized Aristotelian logic and rhetoric before the student had any interest in them. Both Randolph and Duport also believed so strongly in these humanist values that their writing, and undoubtedly their teaching, was permeated with affirmations of the philosophy they were taught. Randolph expresses this in some of his most effective lines in his "An Eglogue to Mr. Iohnson." Through the persona of Damon he is telling Tityrus, Jonson, of the contentment he felt when he was at Cambridge, "by Cham's fair streams" when he could

. . . repeat
 Those deep and learned layes, on every part
 Grounded on judgment, subtilty, and Art,
 That the great Tutour* to the greatest King°. *Aristotle °Alexander
 The shepheard of Stagira° us'd to sing: 136 °Aristotle's birth-
 The shepheard of Stagira, that unfolds place in Macedonia
 All natures closet, shows what e're it holds;
 The matter, form, sense, motion, place, and measure 139
 Of every thing contain'd in her vast treasure.
 How Elements doe change; What is the cause
 Of Generation; what the Rule and Laws
 The Orbs doe move by; Censures every starre,
 Why this is fixt, and that irregular:
 Knows all the Heavens, as if he has been there. 145
 And help't each Angell turn about her spheare.
 The thirsty pilgrim travelling by land,
 When the feirce Dog-starre doth the day command,
 Half choak't with dust, parch't with the soultry heat;
 Tir'd with his journey, and o'recome with sweat, 150
 Finding a gentle spring, at her cool brink
 Doth not with more delight sit down and drink,
 Then I record his songs: we see a cloud,
 And fearing to be wet, doe run and shroud
 Vnder a bush; when he° would sit and tell °Aristotle
 The cause that made her mystic wombe to swell;
 Why it sometimes in drops of rain doth flow,
 Sometimes dissoives her self in flakes of snow:
 Nor gaz'd he at a Comet, but would frame
 A reason why it wore a beard of flame. 160
 Ah Tytirus, I would with all my heart,

Even with the best of my carv'd mazers° part,	°carv'd mazers were
To hear him as he us'd divinely shew,	sometimes prizes in
What 'tis that paints the divers-colour's bow:	classical contests
Whence Thunders are discharg'd, whence the	among pastoral shep-
winds stray,	herds. They were
What foot through heaven hath worn the milky	carved wooden wine
way! ¹⁴	bowls.

Note the humanistic attitude towards nature in ll. 145-46 and 163-66.

And isn't there a greatness in l. 166?

The aims of Henry VIII in reforming the universities and other schools were further encouraged by his heirs, "humanist princes, [who] . . . accepted unconditionally the doctrine that learning advances individual virtue and social morality."¹⁵ Despite the great social, religious, and educational transitions brought about from the last years of Henry's reign to the Civil War, this period saw the "elevation of the arts course to the position of one prized for its own contributions to the virtuous education of the individual to civility among men, and to domestic tranquillity," rather than for its usefulness to higher studies, all too often its earlier end.¹⁶

The universities of England in the early seventeenth century provided climates in which to breed scholars whose tutors encouraged them to stretch the limits of scholasticism by learning, in addition to the traditional curriculum of the seven liberal arts, mathematics, astronomy, map reading, French, and Italian on their own or with private tutors. Sons of the aristocracy and the gentry were encouraged by the Crown to attend the universities for education which would be helpful when they assumed their social responsibilities as enlightened squires, lords, ambassadors, or other public servants. Obviously few of this privileged group would have attended any university before the Reformation, when usually only those interested in entering Holy Orders or

those already in the Church would have been in attendance. At the universities of the early 17th century, many of the aristocrats, the gentry, and those upwardly mobile learned as well as the social graces music, dancing, riding, and fencing, more traditional matter of the revised regular course of study.¹⁷

Similarly, when Henry VIII decided that the time was ripe for the study of classical languages, he instituted Regius Professorships in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek at both universities. The study of these languages was easily integrated into the curriculum. His purpose was to enable students to read scripture in the original languages, a distinctly Protestant idea, but the integration of these languages into the curriculum fortuitously gave impetus to scholars at both universities to translate the recently discovered classics as well. The knowledge of three languages made it easier, too, for university students to learn modern languages by themselves, as Milton did Italian, or from their tutors. Randolph seems to have been familiar with the works of Rabelais, Cervantes, and Italian pastoral writers, but whether he read these in the original languages is not known. Some of his pastoral poems, especially his pastoral drama, Amyntas, seem to indicate a familiarity with Italian prototypes.

While Terence alone of the classical dramatists "never lost a hold upon the mediaeval world"¹⁸ and continued to be translated and acted in the grammar schools at least until the Protectorate, the improved skill in languages during the renaissance led to the rediscovery of Plautus and translations by the scholars themselves of the great Greek dramatists and philosophers such as Aristophanes, Sophocles,

Aristotle, and Plato. The proliferation of new and mixed kinds of literature in Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline England was the happy result. The works of Shakespeare, Sidney, Spenser, and Milton were some of the notable fruits of the grafting of the newly-found literature upon the native stock. Jonson's and Randolph's felicitous translations, imitations, and adaptations of Horace and other classical satirists and of Greek and Latin dramatists owe much to this educational revolution. Randolph's imaginative pastoral poems, his odes, Amyntas, and his Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery could not have communicated the feeling and traditions of the classics to English audiences effectively enough to have influenced later literature during and after his time had it not been for the reformation of the English university curriculum.

The result of this broadening of the scope of the universities was the discarding of the works of the narrower medieval Schoolmen, like Duns Scotus, from the course of study, which now stressed classical Latin writers, improved Greek studies, and added Hebrew, Arabic and other polyglot languages to the curriculum. A monument to this broadened curriculum in languages was the unmatched achievement of the King James translation of the Bible. When its time came, there were enough language scholars in both universities to undertake this mind-boggling assignment. Another consequence was the unparalleled burgeoning of poetry and drama, among other arts, which flourished as they had never done before or since in both English universities, but most especially at Cambridge. Perhaps never were there so many students writing first-rate poetry at one university as those at Cambridge during the twenty-year period ending with the onset of the disastrous Civil War. Yeats himself might

have styled Cambridge a "singing school" when such poets as Milton, Randolph, Marvell, Herbert, Herrick, and Vaughan began practicing their craft there.

It seems impossible to me that anyone could disagree with Douglas Bush's conclusion that "if the final test of an educational method is the quality of the minds and characters it produces, then this scholastic and humanistic programme, whatever its shortcomings, can hold its own with any before or since. . . . If accounts of classical teaching sometimes suggest aesthetic and humane deficiencies, the literature of the age amply proves that the classics were an abiding joy, stay, and stimulus to educated readers and writers."¹⁹ Characterizing the earlier seventeenth century as the Golden Age of both learning and literature, as well as of most other arts and sciences from music to law, Bush added that from one point of view, this period seems a "springtime of ploughing and sowing, from another . . . the autumnal harvest of the Renaissance and Reformation."²⁰

The great number of Westminster School alumni to become poets was apparently first noticed by Margaret Crum in her provocative introduction to the poems of Henry King.²¹ These Westminster graduates included, in order of birthdate, William Alabaster, Ben Jonson, Richard Corbet, Giles Fletcher the Younger, Henry King, George Herbert, William Strode, Thomas Randolph, William Cartwright, Abraham Cowley, and John Dryden.²² She theorized that the impressive length of this list may be related to the Westminster requirement that boys in the top form sometimes turn Latin and Greek verse into English verse.²³ Many of these Westminsters were later to continue at Trinity College, Cambridge, a

number as prestigious Westminster Scholars, who were sent to only two university colleges--Trinity College, Cambridge or Christ Church College, Oxford. Randolph, who won one of the coveted scholarships to Westminster against all the other promising, ambitious young boys of the kingdom, was so brilliant that he came in first, "Captain of the Election" in his words, the year he took the examinations to qualify for an exhibition at the university. Other poets beside him who went on to Trinity from Westminster include Alabaster, Fletcher, Herbert, Cowley, and Dryden. They were to be joined there by Sir John Suckling, who according to John Aubrey had also been at Westminster, by Andrew Marvell²⁴ and John Cleveland.²⁵

In addition to the probable influence of the combined training from Westminster and Trinity in developing extraordinary poetic skill, the milieu created by the interaction of these young wits upon one another, in which they themselves constituted the only audience that mattered, undoubtedly served a catalytic function. For example, among Randolph's many other illustrious schoolfellows at Westminster was William Hemminge, who was to write a dedicatory poem for the first edition of Randolph's poems as well as the "Elegy on Randolph's Finger," a mock tribute to a finger amputated in a duel. Hemminge, son of the actor and co-editor of the first folio of Shakespeare's plays, later became a playwright. Randolph's good friend James Duport, who was to write dedicatory poems to Randolph, as well as a Latin poem memorializing him upon his death, became a Westminster Scholar one year before Randolph and was the Praevaricator at Randolph's M.A. commencement one year before Randolph served in the office. Duport was to become an

illustrious Cambridge professor of Greek who published poems in Latin and Greek, as well as in English. Richard Busby, the future Head Master of Westminster;²⁶ John Dunne, son of the poet and Dean; and William Cartwright²⁷ were other Westminster students in Randolph's time.

It was Elizabeth who continued Henry's work by refounding Westminster School after he had combined two existing Abbey schools which had been church-sponsored. Elizabeth continued Henry's patronage of learning, not only through her personal studies, but by visiting both institutions early in her reign and by advancing university men in the service of Church and State. Her attitude may be seen in a speech made at Cambridge in 1564, when she told the students that "there will be no director, no fitter course, either to make your fortunes, or to procure the favour of your prince, than, as you have begun, to ply your studies diligently."²⁸

Roger Ascham, her tutor, would have been proud of her and of the fine Latin oration she delivered to the students during her visit. One wonders if he used the system of double translation that he described in The Schoolmaster to continue her Latin training. Ascham seems to have been the first to write of this method of assigning students to translate from Latin into English and then back again, sometimes also changing from prose to verse to prose, or vice versa, finally comparing the second translation with the original, discussing the reasons the author would not have used certain words and constructions.

Ascham, like Randolph, began his rise as a scholar by being elected a fellow of his own college in Cambridge. He believed that through the study of scripture and of the best of Greek and Latin writers

as models, scholars could command that eloquence necessary to persuade others to virtue. He felt that scholars possessing this storehouse of practical and theoretical wisdom, if they were also "kept up in God's fear and governed by his grace," might "most easily be brought well to serve God and their country."²⁹ Ascham was also a firm believer in the enactment of plays by students as a potent educational instrument towards the same ends.³⁰ Thomas Randolph's plays, especially his Muses' Looking Glass, are certainly an effective argument for this kind of education.

Another Cambridge playwright, William Gager, the most important Senecan dramatist of the very end of the sixteenth century,³¹ also defended the academic drama. In a letter to the Puritan, John Rainolds of Queen's College, an antagonist of even the classical and neo-classical plays enacted in the universities, Gager wrote:

We doe it [act plays in the university] to recreate owre-selves, owre house, and the better parte of the Universitye, with some learned Poeme or other; to practyse owre owne style eyther in prose or verse; to be well acquantyed with Seneca or Plautus . . . to try their [sic] voyces and confirme their memoryes, to frame their speeche; to conforme them to convenient action; to try what mettell is in everye one, and of what disposition they are.³²

Thomas Heywood, another Cambridge playwright, who was to go on, like Randolph, to write for the London stage, defended drama as an educational experience even more eloquently:

Do not the Universities, the fountaines and wellsprings of all good arts, learning, and documents, admit the like in their colledges? . . . In my time of residence in Cambridge, I have seen tragedyes, comedyes, historyes, pastorals, and shewes, publickly acted, in which the graduates of good place and reputation have been specially parted. This it held necessary for the emboldening of their junior schollers to arme them with audacity against they come to bee employed in any publicke exercise, as in the reading of the

dialecticke, rhetoricke, ethicke, mathematicke, the physicke, or metaphysicke lectures. It teacheth audacity to the bashfull grammarian, being newly admitted into the private colledge, and after matriculated and entred as a member of the University, and makes him a bold sophister, to argue pro et contra to compose his syllogismes, cathegoricke, or hypotheticke (simple or compound), to reason and frame a sufficient argument to prove his questions, or to defend any axioma, and to distinguish of any dilemma, and be able to moderate in any argumentation whatsoever.³³

Still another function of drama at the university which Heywood did not mention was to provide entertainment for its royal sponsors, their court, and their very important guests, often foreign notables. The golden period of academic drama began with the visits Elizabeth paid to both the universities early in her reign: to Cambridge in August 1564 and to Oxford two years later. The Queen was such a devotee of the theater, perhaps because of Ascham's influence, that she was personally responsible for keeping the London theaters open, maintaining that the players needed the experience so they might provide suitable entertainment for her revels at Christmas. During her early visits to the universities, the scholars entertained her with speeches, declamations, and debates, which were considered as diverting as the many lavishly produced plays they presented for her amusement later in the evenings.

The variety in subject and style of the plays enacted in her honor is truly impressive. For her first visit to Oxford, for instance, the students presented a play by Plautus, a tragedy on Dido in Vergilian hexameters, a Latin version of the Ajax of Sophocles, a neo-Latin prose comedy, an adaptation of The Knight's Tale, a tragedy in the Senecan manner on an Ovidian theme--all of these presumably in Latin--and an English verse play on Hezekiah. Here is, to quote Boas' felicitous

evaluation, "a microcosm of the motley literary elements which, combined with features of more popular origin, went to the shaping of the Elizabethan drama." Within the next two decades, Marlowe, Peele, Greene, and Nashe were to enter into academic societies such as these in which such varied stage productions formed part of the ritual of social and intellectual life. From these societies "they were to carry away lessons destined to exercise a momentous influence on the future of the London theater."³⁴ Samuel Daniel, Gosson, Lyly, Lodge, Thomas Heywood, Shirley, and Randolph were also to come to London with experience in this kind of exciting academic theater.

I believe that this early training of seeing, acting in, and, sometimes, writing plays or shows, like the lively burlesques of the classics or of university life, or imitations of classical plays of all types, accounts for the great number of playwrights, many of them gentlemen from the universities, responsible for the impressive number of plays produced in the London theaters from Elizabeth's time to the interregnum. Some wrote no more than one or two plays, while others, those trying to eke a livelihood out of the theater at a time when livings were not sufficiently available to support all university theology graduates, as the Parnassus plays point out, may have had a hand in as many as over two hundred.³⁵

The royal visit to Oxford by Charles I in 1636 sadly marks the close of this glorious era in education, as well as the close of these elaborate university displays which began with another royal visit in 1564. The loss of an appreciative royal audience for the multitude of activities such as student oratory, including declamations and disputa-

tions, and elaborately produced classical or original plays along classical lines, all calculated to produce eloquence in the causes of Christian humanism and the English monarchy, brought to a tragic halt the symbiotic relationship between the Crown and the universities. Christian humanism, the fruit of this cooperation of less than a century, in combination with the renaissance in learning, which arrived late from the Continent, produced a period of artistic ferment comparable to only one other period in the history of mankind: Athens in the fifth century before Christ. Much of the music literally and figuratively truly ceased in the English universities during the Civil War. Under Cromwell, most of the masters and fellows were removed and replaced by those of the correct religious and political persuasions, whether or not they were as well qualified as scholars and educators as the previous incumbents. With the closing of the theaters, academic drama, too, virtually ceased and began its halting journey towards annihilation.

Besides the favorable climate created by the English universities of the early seventeenth century for an unprecedented flowering of first-class poetry and drama, there is also an obvious influence of the rhetoric studied and the disputation practiced during that time on the literature from Elizabethan times through the 1630's. If the knowledge gained through this reformed curriculum was to create virtuous and moral statesmen, aristocrats, and gentry to serve the state or church and act as enlightened patrons of their former classmates, one can understand the emphasis also placed on the training in eloquence, which was to help sow these ideas throughout the kingdom like Shelley's West Wind. The emphasis in the curriculum on rhetoric, which was expected to be applied

masterfully in the required oratorical exercises by the students, also led to the production of poetry and plays in which the argument, like a short declamation, is the guiding principle. Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress" and Donne's "The Flea" and "The Canonization" are obvious examples of poetic form given to logical and rhetorical argument.

Poets to whom disputation was second nature often created dialogues by answering one poet's argument with another, like the various responses to Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love." Another example is Andrew Marvell's "The Mower Against Gardens" as an answer to Thomas Randolph's "Upon Love fondly refus'd for conscience sake." While Marvell argues on the side of "morality," there is no moral indignation in his tone. Both poets seem more interested in creating rhetorically effective arguments to charm and entertain their gentlemen readers, rather than to move lovers or their "moral" opponents to action. These poems are examples of the sort of play, ludus, which More and Erasmus felt important to entice scholars into learning. Here cleverness and technique are all, for there was then no distinction in status between light and serious verse as there has been at least since the earnest Victorians.

This attitude also seems a by-product of a system in which university students were expected to debate and to prepare and deliver declamations either for or against any proposed topic. They developed a bifocal way of looking at life which provided an approach to drama as well, often leading to fine dialogue, bristling with dramatic conflict, the stuff of effective playwrighting.

In his seminal The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and

the Development of Elizabethan Drama, Joel B. Altman goes into many ramifications of the impact of this type of rhetorical education upon the minds of these university students, some of whom were to become our earliest dramatists. Conditioned as they were to be able to argue on either side of any question regardless of their personal convictions, these young men would be capable of "a great complexity of vision" with which they were each capable of becoming not only devil's advocates but also microcosmic deities. Altman also poses the problem of what happens to the audience "when academic exercises," like the debats which constitute so much of early English secular drama, "become public entertainments." Does the audience, he asks, "join the world of the play, or must the world of the play reflect that of the audience?"³⁶

Altman deals with the presence of this kind of didacticism, which "incessantly haunts our enjoyment and understanding of Elizabethan drama." From his examination of the dramatic structure of the period as a product of rhetorical theory, he concludes that plays in this tradition were essentially questions rather than statements and therefore function on a far higher moral plane than we ever suspected. "True to the highest humanistic ideal, the fruits of this play of mind were intended to be realized in [their] action." The audience, bringing to the theater this habit of intellectual and emotional exploration, was able to "move toward some fuller apprehension of truth" than we can discern "only through the total action of drama," a problem in interpretation the modern reader or viewer of many of Marlowe's plays, ambiguous as they seem, often has. Drama and poetry, like rhetoric in the university curriculum of the Reformation, were to delight and persuade through their eloquence upon the examination of each central situation in them so that

the audience could really experience the play³⁷ or poem, and like Wordsworth, recollect it in tranquillity, contemplate it, and, perhaps now using Milton's right reason, be moved to act ethically in similar situations as a result of this vicarious experience. Randolph used this same training in being able to defend either side of any resolution not only in his poetry but his plays, especially in The Muses' Looking Glass. The main section of this complexity structured play consists of a series of debates between two, or occasionally three, allegorical characters representing the two vices which are the opposing extremes of each of the Aristotelian virtues. Colax, the flatterer, who panders to all vices, after his own debate with Dyscolus, the irate one, the other extreme of the virtue Courtesy, adds a dramatic third voice at times throughout the debates between the other extremes of the remaining eleven virtues. Dyscolus provides variety and much humor. Randolph's complex structure also includes a running disputation between Roscius, an actor, and two Puritans on the moral value of the stage, especially comedy. This discussion, the frame of the play, provides its theme. Still another part of this comedy is made up of a combination of declamation and disputation by personifications of theatrical genres: comedy, tragedy, mime, and satire, or satyr as Randolph chose to spell it. In addition, this play has two masques: one of the virtues; the other, the vices. By the final curtain the audience has truly experienced comedy as an ethical corrective and an abomination although Randolph's dice are definitely loaded. It would be difficult for the audience to be less convinced at its conclusion than the reformed, previously hide-bound stage Puritans of the great moral value of comedy.

Lingua is an earlier example of a seeming morality play, an allegorical academic comedy based on the same principle of disputation, but Randolph's play outshines this and other works of the same ilk in wit, polish, and daring and is at least as closely allied to the Jonsonian humor play as to the moralities.

I find convincing J. B. Leishman's theory that Marvell and the other gentleman "manuscript poets" of the seventeenth century, such as Donne, Waller, Randolph, Cranshaw, Carew, and Lovelace, wrote as though "habitually aware of the existence only of cultivated contemporaries like themselves, who shared their own disinterested interest in wit and poetry and the act of making something out of nothing, or almost nothing."³⁸ The poetry of these "brilliant amateurs," he wrote, resulted from a partnership between the poet and his particular social and cultural tradition. Never in England has there been another time when poetry, even its practice, was so much a part of the education and accomplishments of a gentleman.

We shall see that this was true not only of Randolph's poetry but of his drama as well and of the drama of the universities, too, which helped to produce an unprecedented number of academic playwrights. Some of these, like Udall, Marlowe, Lyly, Greene, Nashe, Peele, and Randolph, later found their way to the London theater. While many gentlemen after the Restoration wrote with ease, they were of a different mold. Having returned from their uncomfortable exile with the Court, they lacked the stable background, the courtly and scholarly tradition, the controlling awareness of an ideal. The earlier "little academes and demi-paradises had been dissolved."³⁹

Thomas Randolph's great reputation among his discriminating contemporaries for originality and wit can be understood by studying his dramatic experimentation in farce, monologue, pastoral, romantic comedy, Aristophanic comedy, and, boldest experiment of all, an anti-Puritan defense of comedy as a moral resource. In it he used a frame, two masques, and a series of debates to prove his point. Much of his poetic experimentation in the Latin and English songs which enliven his drama, in various traditional pastoral and semi-pastoral forms, odes, epithalamia, and in untraditional original works are also important as fine examples of poetry and drama, as well as models, in some cases, for contemporary and later poets and dramatists.

Randolph's writings are also important for what we can learn about life at Cambridge University of the early seventeenth century because we are only beginning to realize the uniqueness of the curriculum in creating scholarly gentleman songsters and of their great contributions to the history and to the shape of the literature to follow.

A critical examination of Randolph's drama will show how he exemplifies the aims of the Renaissance and of Christian humanism sought by the makers of the reformation of the older scholasticism. Through the eloquence his training also provided, he surely furthered these humanistic ideals in whatever duties he was assigned as a fellow, including the writing of plays, as well as in many of his poems and plays. As Algernon Swinburne wrote of him in a sonnet sequence on the "Old Dramatists":

Prince Randolph, nighest his^o throne of all men, °Jonson's
 highest in spirit and heart who hailed him then
 King, nor might other spread so blithe a sail.⁴⁰

CHAPTER II

GHOSTS OF CHRIST-TIDES PAST-- OF REVELS, SHOWS, AND PLAYS

As we shall see, the show in Randolph's time was a slippery term, as it still is in ours. Defining this word becomes more complicated than even its quicksilver nature indicates because of the many definite subspecies of drama and exhibition implicit in it. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then, the term "show" possessed wide-ranging meanings as well as more specific ones. The OED, for instance, has about twenty meanings for it, including "a spectacle, elaborately prepared or arranged in order to entertain a number of spectators; a pageant, masque, procession, or similar display on a large scale." It can also be applied "colloquially or jocularly to any kind of public display; e.g., an exhibition of pictures, a dramatic performance in a theater, a fashionable ceremony or gathering, a speech-making, . . ." And these are only from definitions 13 and 15, respectively, which came closest to the meaning we are searching for: what the word meant to Thomas Randolph and his audience.

Nevertheless, the distinction between plays and shows at Cambridge during this period seems very real in that they appear as

separate items on contemporary lists of genres making up the entertainment at the universities. Thomas Heywood in his Apology for Actors, for instance, speaks of himself as having seen in his time of residence at Cambridge--about 1590--"Tragedyes, Comedyes, pastorals and shewes publicly acted."¹ G. C. Moore Smith, the foremost twentieth-century authority on Randolph and on the academic drama at Cambridge University, found the distinction made as early as 1545, when the statutes of St. John's College prescribed that one fellow of the college who had not already had the responsibility "should produce at least six dialogues or shows before Twelfth Day."² This statute also seems to establish a link at Cambridge between shows and an office like that of the traditional Lord of Misrule or Christmas Lord.

We can conclude from examining Moore Smith's census of Cambridge plays, that most of the shows that appear in contemporary records seem to have been given during the season of the Christmas Lords so that we may connect shows, as differentiated from plays, with the performances the Lords were responsible for producing to help celebrate the Christmas season. As for the plays, some of those produced during this season were part of the revels; some, as we shall see, were required by royal edict; others were produced as entertainment for visiting royalty and court guests. Because of their informality, however, it surely would have been considered indecorous to present any other shows before royalty with the exception of the elaborate masques often specifically produced for that purpose by some of the Inns of Court.

The revels, perhaps because they stretched on for so long, were by no means continuous. The span was apparently so great because of the

growing restlessness to be found in almost any student body looking forward to a month of vacation, and the additional problem then faced by the administrators of trying to avoid the almost inevitable mischief the students who could not go home for the holidays would resort to if no other outlet for high spirits were offered. Michaelmas Term ended December 15, followed by Christmas vacation and the Lenten term beginning on the Ides of January, the 13th. It was customary for the Lord to present a show or play in January or when he left office in early February. Assuming that many students and fellows went home for the vacation, this date would still allow enough time to get organized and to rehearse for this last festivity after the beginning of the Lenten term.

A rather close look at a contemporary account of revels held at Oxford about ten years before Randolph's first show would perhaps be helpful in explaining the difference between shows and plays, as well as the roles of both in university Christmas revels. It will also help to give us an idea of the wide scope of the revels, in addition to the student involvement in and expectations of them. In other words, it will give us an idea of the milieu for which Randolph's shows and plays were written. The many disguisings or personations which were part of the revels, most involving mock royal ceremonies, such as coronations, investitures of officers and nobles of the court, masques brought to the mock rulers, and the Prince's resignation, illustrate how seriously and elaborately these rites were treated. They also help us to understand the tradition and institutions connected with Randolph's mock orations: the salting and the praevarication.

I believe that these ceremonials act additionally as ludi,

games and therefore student play used to inculcate ideas of what sovereignty is like from the ruler's, the particular noble's, and the ordinary subject's point of view. Under the Christian humanism of the Reformation, as we have seen, drama was first made part of the universities' curricula to give the students experience in the eloquence, behavior under various circumstances, and skill in public speaking that would be useful when the fully-educated students took their projected roles in service to the sovereign and the state. Similarly, these exercises in ruling and being close to the briefly-delegated power would help to rehearse these students for any positions of power or influence they might later attain as well as for being good subjects. They would also learn protocol from these exercises for whatever might be expected of them in the situations of authority that might be theirs upon the completion of their formal education.

Griffin Higgs' account of the Christmas revels beginning October 31, 1607 at St. John's College, Oxford,³ sheds light on the difference between shows and plays when Higgs writes of a show, Saturnalia, being "perfourmed in y^e maner of an Interlude."⁴ He refers, too, to two later shows, Somnium Fundators and Times Complaint, as interludes. In his bitter discussion of the cold reception of Times Complaint by "the whole Vniversity" (except, of course, for the students of St. John's), he helps to distinguish the show from more regular dramatic forms, saying that the members of his college had only "proposed to our selves a shew, but the toune expected a perfect and absolute play, so that all things mett to make us unhappy that night."⁵

The Prologue of still another show in these revels, The Seuen

Days of the Weeke, explains still further the possible genesis of some shows when he declares:

Wee had aduentur'd on an enterlude,
But then of actors we did lacke a manye;
Therefore we clipt our play in to a showe,
Yet bigg enough to speeke more then wee knowe.⁶

Plays might be "clipt" to shows, then, if they were not classically regular or if any of their elements for producing plays, such as a specific number of actors in this case, were lacking.

Personal satire is a very important element in many university shows and seems to have been the reason the show had been completely banned for a few years at Trinity College, Cambridge until Randolph was allowed to revive it with Aristippus. Surprisingly, it, too, contains much personal satire, as we shall see, although Randolph's use in it was benign and far from biting. All four of Randolph's shows have a good deal of personal satire, but, after all, all but the Praevarication were private shows, which makes a big difference. While some plays also contained this type of satire, it was less common to them and does not appear in Randolph's plays except to satirize Puritans in general and their actions in The Muses' Looking Glass and Hey for Honesty, much as Jonson did.

Nashe's references to plays or shows of the 1580's ridiculing his archfoe, Gabriel Harvey, and his brothers are notorious examples of personal satire. This type of personal satire appears in another Cambridge comic drama, Club Law. According to Thomas Fuller in his history of Cambridge University, the townspeople were satirized in this play by students acting in the actual clothes of their victims. While Club Law had the required number of acts and players for it to be a

play, because its purpose was to amuse the gownspeople by embarrassing the townspeople, perhaps it should be classed as a show. This tradition of satirizing living people who might even be in the audience was not, however, limited to university practice. We are all aware of the stir and bad feelings aroused when Jonson, Decker, and Marston supposedly portrayed each other in their respective plays in 1600 to 1602. The renaissance itself may have supplied the license for such abuse, for the practice went back through the Latin playwrights all the way to the parabasis of Aristophanes.

The account of the St. John's Christmas Prince shows that this type of personal abuse was a tradition at Oxford as well as Cambridge. One reason the first public show of the revels Higgs describes, Times Complaint, was not well received by the university was that "it was thought that particular men were ayimed at, and disciphnered by the drunken-men, and Justice Bryar, [characters in the show] though it was fully knowne to our selves, that the author had no such purpose."⁷

The Johnian account also recounts a discussion of whether to leave the scaffolds up for the English tragedy, which was almost ready. The arguments against giving the play at this time were the closeness to Lent, the language of the play (English), but especially that it was thought that "some pticulers were aimed att in the Chorus, which must needes bee distatesfull," a "suspicon" which would hinder its performance more than the other objections. Determining to go on with the play, they made a "faithfull pmise" that "if any word were thought psonall, it should bee presently put out."⁸

Despite much indignation by the Johnians when some of their

audience wrongly resented innocently-meant lines by taking them personally, they themselves scanned gift shows very carefully. For instance, we find that the prince, after having been "solemnly invited by the Canons of Christ Church" to what seems to have been a show, Yuletide, was offended by "many thinges . . . either ill meant by them, or ill taken by vs, but wee had very good reason to thinke the former, both for that the whole towne thoughte so, and the whole play was a medley of Christmas sportes, by w^{ch} occasion Christmas Lords were much jested at, and our Prince was soe placed that many thinges were acted vpon him." His feelings and those of others from St. John's who had attended with him were finally smoothed only after the Christ Church Vice-Chancellor sent for them to convince them that "no such thing was mente."⁹

Another difference between shows and plays is that most shows depended more on improvisation than plays did, or, at any rate, that not as much time was invested in writing or staging them. Being occasional, they were ephemeral. Because of their less demanding preparation, not as much was expected of them as of "perfect and absolute" plays. We find further evidence of the brevity of preparation of shows in a rather famous one of some years earlier, The Pilgrimage to Parnassus, 1588/9, which is very similar to Randolph's shows in humor, satire, and breezy, colloquial style. The Prologue declares at the beginning of this that the show was the result of "three daies studie." It does not matter if this statement means that it took that long to write it or to learn and rehearse the parts or both. The show would still require considerably less preparation than a play, especially if it were being presented as lavishly as was thought appropriate for royal entertainment, like

Randolph's Jealous Lovers. Sumptuous costumes, sometimes even borrowed from the royal wardrobe, were used in many of these plays. In contrast, The Pilgrimage concludes by "humbly" designating "itself an 'extemporall show.'"¹⁰ According to Moore Smith, the actual difference between the two "perhaps lay in this--that a 'show' represented the mediaeval tradition of a disguising and a play followed the form more or less of ancient tragedy or comedy."¹¹ He pointed out that whether a work was to be performed in Latin, Greek, or English was not a factor in separating plays from shows.

Plays, which first were limited in the universities to those in Greek and Latin, were to give students practice and fluency in those languages. Plays were given occasionally in English, however, even in the early sixteenth century, while at least one show was apparently acted in Latin after Queen Mary's accession.¹² I think that shows could be in Latin, English, or a combination of the two,¹³ but that proper plays until the very end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth centuries were expected to be given in Latin and Greek in the universities. While we consider Ralph Roister Doister and Gammer Gurton's Needle, both of which were academic dramas, the earliest English comedies, I doubt that they were intended to be comedies when they were written for performance at Westminster School about 1553 and Christ's College, Cambridge a short time before 1575,¹⁴ respectively. I believe that it was quite a bit later that critics saw that these works really did satisfy all the requirements of comedy. Because these comedies were probably considered shows at the time, as were the other comic academic dramas written in the vernacular, the refusal of Dr. Still, Vice-Chancellor at

Cambridge in 1592, to provide Queen Elizabeth with a Christmas play in English becomes understandable. His answer to the Queen's supplication for such a play because the plague had rendered impossible a performance by her own company of actors has puzzled most historians of English drama. I think, though, that the key word here is play, and that while there had been earlier performances in English at Cambridge, they had been private shows, usually for the entertainment of the college, and not considered suitable for acting before the monarch. Dr. Still suggested, therefore, that any play for her should be in Latin as "more be-
seeming the students," there being, moreover, no English plays at hand.¹⁵

Another key word here would be comedy in that shows were traditionally to amuse members of the college or the academic community. Not being classical, they were not expected to instruct, as the more traditional plays were. Because tragedies are serious, it does not seem a breach of decorum for at least one tragedy to have been performed in English before Elizabeth at Oxford. This was Richard Edwardes' Palamon and Arcyte, given in 1566 at Christ Church,¹⁶ while at least three similar works, Gascoigne's Jocasta, Gismonde of Salerne, and T. Hughes' Misfortunes of Arthur,¹⁷ had each been given by an Inn of the Court. These could have been deemed more suitable to present to royalty than shows in that tragedy is not only serious but is traditionally about those noble in birth as well as character. It is also easier for the insensitive and ignorant to see the moral viewpoint in tragedy as opposed to comedy, in which the depiction of the foibles of mankind is often mistaken for advocacy. There would, therefore, be less of an opportunity for opponents of drama to criticize the presentation of English

tragedies before royalty than English comedies. Tragedy also offers opportunity for gorgeous spectacle through costuming and staging. Nevertheless the ambivalence toward using the vernacular for university dramatic entertainment continued for another half century at least when doubts were raised, for instance, about presenting shows and plays in English in the 1607/8 St. John's account of the revels. The students had second thoughts about whether to give "an English Tragedy almost ready" because it was in English, "a language vnfitt for the vniversitie, especially to end so much late sporte wth all." They also felt that because of their "ill lucke" with an earlier English show, that they should carefully consider whether "to have any thing done again in that straine."¹⁸

I agree with Moore Smith that plays, especially in classics-oriented Cambridge of the renaissance, were expected to follow the recently discovered "rules" of ancient comedy and tragedy, while shows were not. This may be seen in Bentley's discussion of Dabridgcourt Belchier's Hans Beer-Pot, His Invisible Comedy of See Me and See Me Not, 1617, which he classifies as an interlude, defining this genre as "an irregular sort of entertainment evidently intended for a specialized audience." This definition applies to the academic show as well, I think. Bentley seems to imply as much when he sums up this work as "the more or less amusing dialogues" of nine characters in three acts, adding that it would not be difficult to imagine its performance as a show.¹⁹ I believe, too, that Adolphus Ward's definition of interludes applies equally to most of the more literary academic shows of this time, including Randolph's, except that although Ward's definition of interlude does fit Randolph's Pedlar, this work is actually closer to a clown's

jig because it is a monologue. Ward concludes that the interlude was a "distinct literary species . . . confined to short comic pieces containing an element of action that entitles them to be called dramatic."²⁰

The account of the 1607 St. John's revels also referred to some shows as being like interludes although I am not equating shows with interludes. The author of Hans Beer-Pot is aware of the freer form of shows and interludes when he says in his dedication that the work is neither comedy nor tragedy "as wanting first the iust number of Speakers; Secundarily, those parts or acts it should haue, which should bee at the least fiue."²¹ This fundamental difference between plays and shows definitely applies to Randolph's comedies and shows. The shows are far freer in form and strive primarily to amuse, while his comedies, unique as each is, retain the dual classical aim stated by Spenser, Cicero, and earlier critics, of instruction as well as delight. They also have the "required" five acts and unity of time and action.

Because a disguising is similar to the masque and seems to require the use of masks whether or not dancing is an integral part of it,²² I cannot agree with Moore Smith that any academic shows except masques themselves and personations, like the coronation of the Prince and the initiations of the knights of his Court, resemble medieval disguisings. I do agree with him, however, that the show "probably relied for its success largely on its topical allusions and satire"²³ though some of these elements were to be found in all of Randolph's shows, as well as his Muses' Looking Glass and Hey for Honesty.

Academic shows, as we have seen, were often informal, sometimes to the point of seeming, if not actually being, improvisational in whole

or in part. Private shows, those limited to providing entertainment for members of the individual colleges, were often given inexpensively in the college Halls with few, if any, costumes and without the usual expense of erecting a stage or scaffolds. Randolph's dramatic shows, The Conceited Pedlar and Aristippus, could have been performed in this fashion although his Aristippus was substantial enough as entertainment to deserve a stage and simple props suggesting its tavern setting.

We know all too little today about the revels and mock orations endorsed by university officials of the time because of the scarcity of accounts and examples of these which have come down to us. The sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century attitude of the unimportance to gentlemen of publishing their poetry and drama is one reason we are sure we do not have all the plays and shows of even far more important playwrights than Randolph, like Christopher Marlowe, John Webster, and Thomas Heywood, for instance. More significantly, a playwright could get more money by selling his plays to a theatrical company than by publishing them. In addition, because of the occasional nature of academic shows, very few of what we are sure were great numbers of them are known today. These may have been published because of their cleverness and great popularity, like the Parnassus shows, Lingua, and Randolph's two dramatic shows. Even chancier for survival, some, like Randolph's Salting, have been identified only fairly recently in commonplace books of admirers or in manuscript collections of individuals or in various archives. The ephemeral nature of shows also limited it in number of performances. These circumstances help to explain the dearth of manuscripts or printed texts of shows in proportion to the great number of these that contem-

porary bursorial accounts indicate were produced.

Shows can be subdivided into two categories. The first, like the coronation of St. John's Christmas Prince, the procession leaving the Prince's resignation to bury all his honors and other pageants, and simple, almost spontaneous masques, more like the medieval than renaissance ones, are wholly or mostly mimetic and really closer to mummings, disguisings, and personations than to what we think of as drama. Masques are always shows but may belong in either group, depending upon the simplicity or the elaboration of their texts.

The main differences between this group and the other are the lack of conflict and the virtual absence of literary elements in the former. The literary components, when they are present in this group, consist primarily of oratory, as in the coronation, the various declarations, and the retirement speeches of the Princes during their reign and the prologues to the more medieval types of masques. Many of the mock rituals related to the revels were often very elaborate in form, staging, and costuming, like the ceremonies connected with revels royalty.

The other type should be called dramatic because it involves characterization in varying degrees, some of which inevitably leads to conflict--and so to action. It is, therefore, also mimetic although it is more dependent than the first type on language itself, like word-play of various kinds and verbal communication. This more literary type would include such shows as the Parnassus shows, the Seven Daies in the Weeke, Randolph's Pedlar and Aristippus. It would also include the texts themselves, what Jonson called the soul, of the more elaborate

gorgeous masques that were products of the full renaissance and were usually presented to royalty or rich aristocracy.

This more literary type of show can be further divided into monologues, in which the speaker assumes a persona, and those types more recognizable as drama, in which there is interaction among the characters of the show. This action brings about movement, which is akin to plot development, and leads eventually to conflict, which is necessary for full-fledged drama. The monologues, such as the parts that have survived of Randolph's and Milton's saltings, Randolph's praevarication, his Pedlar, many of the orations made by the Christmas Prince and by the Prince of Purpoole of Gray's Inn at their respective coronations, the Christmas Prince's announcement of his retirement from his office, and the six orations by the Greyen Prince's Councillors and his reply are static in comparison and more like disguisings, or in some cases like clowns' jigs than the other type of shows.

The relationship between many of the above monologues and another kind of show, the disputation, seems quite obvious. It, too, is related to the beginnings of English drama, to the medieval debat, and, as I have pointed out in the previous chapter, to the bifocal way of many poets' and essayists' looking at most philosophical, social, and religious questions. Examples include Milton's complementary "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," several of Randolph's eclogues, and many prose works of the time. Randolph's use of disputing between opposing vices in the Muses' Looking Glass is still another example of this skill, which may have come from the students' being required to be able to take either side of any question, regardless of their own personal opinions,

and dispute effectively for it.

Even after the reformation, the disputation still retained its preeminence as the backbone of the revised scholasticism. While competitive examinations were used to determine which bright youths might be given opportunities to become movers and shakers through winning exhibitions to Westminster School and king's scholarships to either of the universities, as Randolph did, examinations had not yet come into use in the universities to determine students' academic standing. Instead, these important exercises in Latin eloquence and persuasion upon which all academic progress in the university was based not only influenced the writing and, through interaction with similarly-trained scholars, stimulated the ideas of the future wits and poets of the time, but often determined his future in proportion to his skill in disputing.

Launcelot Andrewes, for instance, launched his illustrious career by beating a colleague to a Pembroke fellowship through trial by "scholastic exercise."²⁴ The university authorities considered disputations on the subject matter of the curriculum, like Aristotle's natural science, rhetoric, and ethics, for instance, to be better than examinations because, like the other shows we are discussing, they gave poise and maturity to youth; they required active participation by the student in the learning process; and they provided "superb entertainment."²⁵ For this last reason the disputation was always part of official academic entertainment of visiting royalty. The royal visits consisted primarily of days of listening to official town and gown orations upon arrivals and departures, a sermon or two a day, and many formal disputations in various disciplines, as well as evenings of attendance at plays.

Naturally, the masters of the various houses saw to it that the best of their students got opportunities to shine in oratory and drama. Elizabeth, as we have seen, impressed upon the students during her visits that the best way they could advance their fortunes would be to apply themselves diligently to their studies. Upon one visit to Cambridge in 1563/4 she was so delighted with Thomas Preston's performance as one of four disputants in the Philosophy Act that she favored him, a handsome man, "by looks, words, deeds," and called him "Her Scholler." Because of "his good disputing" and his "excellent acting in the Tragedy of Dido," she gave him a pension of 20 a year.²⁶

The most celebrated incident connected with such a royal entertainment occurred in 1614 when James I visited Cambridge. A series of disputations had been arranged in his honor in divinity, law, physic (medicine), and philosophy. First he became offended by the divinity act on the subject of the excommunication of kings. The king was shocked when John Richardson, the responder, "vigorously pressed the practice of Saint Ambrose" in excommunicating the emperor Theodosius. When James objected in some passion to St. Ambrose's most insolent deed, Dr. Richardson cut off the debate, pointing out at the same time that the disputation was not settled. In other words, that there could be no free discussion in the king's presence of this subject. The king said no more, but he was affronted.²⁷

Next came the philosophy act, in which James, whose Latin was excellent, unfairly overruled the moderator and became involved enough to take part in the exercise himself. The act was a disputation between Matthew Wren, uncle of Sir Christopher Wren, and another Preston, John,

of Emanuel College on "Whether dogs can make syllogisms." Preston argued in the affirmative. The king came to his defense, insisting that his hounds at Newmarket had exercised understanding by baying for the pack when they needed help in routing a hare. This act also ended in a draw because of the king's participation--but on a far pleasanter note. Fortunately, Wren, suddenly finding himself on the wrong side of the king, was a fast-thinking diplomat. He merely protested "that his Majesties Dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted not by Common Law, but by Prerogative."

The whole affair ended gracefully when the Moderator, referring to the earlier disputations of the day in law and physic, during which the king's interest had flagged, and in divinity, discussed above, pointed out that "whereas in the morning the Reverend and Grave Divines could not make Syllogisms, the Lawyers could not, nor the Physitians, now every Dog could, especially his Majesties."²⁸ All the participants in this last act except, ironically, Preston were materially rewarded when the delighted Lancelot Andrewes, the Bishop of Ely, sent those participants from his house, Pembroke College, including the Moderator, twenty angels in gold.²⁹

Thomas Randolph, too, certainly owed much of his success, and very likely his fellowship, to his skill in disputation. His proficiency is attested to by his step-brother, Richard West, in a dedicatory poem:

He was as able to dispute as rime.
 * * * * *
 When he in Cambridge Schooles did moderate,
 (Truth never found a subtler Advocate)
 He had as many Auditours, as those
 Who preach, . . .
 * * * * *

To heare him they [Learned Divines] would penetrate each other,
 Embrace a Throng, and love a noysome smother.
 Though Plodding Pates much time and oyle had spent
 In beating out an obscure Argument;
 He could untie, not break, the subtlest knot
 Their puzzling Art could weave.

* * * * *

His Oppositions were as Text; some le'd
 With wonder, thought he had not urg'd but read.³⁰

Several of Randolph's poems, as I have pointed out earlier, are effective arguments of the sort Marvell and Donne have written. Marvell even answered some of Randolph's poems, disputing gracefully and unheatedly Randolph's premises in poetry of his own. Rhetorical strategy, as we shall see, is one of the many academic practices satirized in Aristippus. Randolph's skill in satire and in disputing was certainly important in his being proposed as Praevaricator at the 1632 Commencement. It took experience, ability, and quick thinking to be able to summarize and mock disputations being presented as the final Act to qualify each Commencer for his degree.

All four of Randolph's shows differ greatly. We know that the two he published together in 1630 were shows, not plays, because he himself called them that. The title page of Aristippvs, or the Ioviall Philosopher states that it was "Presented in a priuate Shew"; the other, bound and published with it, is The Pedlar, As / It was presented / in a strange show."³¹ The first is a short comic work with several characters, while The Pedlar is a satiric prose monologue, interspersed with verse, some of which was probably sung. Randolph himself probably delivered this monologue to the members of his college, Trinity, through the persona of an itinerant peddler. A third work, his Salting, was preserved in a seventeenth-century commonplace book apparently kept

jointly by several Cambridge students. It is a mock initiation which actually served to induct some freshmen and sophomores into Randolph's college.³² As the first two lines of the text indicate, Randolph was reinstating this old custom, which had been discontinued:

No Salting here these many yeares was seene
Salt hath wth vs long out of season bene.

Randolph's fourth show, first printed in 1875, is the Praevarication discussed above.

While these four shows seem unrelated except by author, they are all quite short, humorous, and mimetic. Aristippus, with its interacting characters, is obviously mimetic. The others are less patently so, but Randolph, who personally delivered two of these, and quite probably the third as the peddler, spoke through a persona in each. He was the academic Father to those he was initiating in his Salting. Dressed in cap and gown, he performed such as our stand-up comedians do as the Praevaricator.

The more literary type of show may be traced back to native forms in use before the renaissance although characteristics of more contemporary drama, like the vernacular prodigal-son works, are also sometimes discernible. This form, which seems to have gradually disappeared shortly after Randolph's time, may be distinguished from what Randolph called its sister, comedy, by its occasional nature and its relationship with the holiday revels, as well as its unconventional form. It includes the medieval as well as the later masque, the latter of which was one of the glories of the renaissance: an artistic blending of drama, dance, and music, both native and classical in origin, presented spectacularly with gorgeous costumes, scenery, and special

effects for the Court and the aristocracy. It also includes a third type of masque perhaps the most literary of them all, of the type Shakespeare used in The Tempest and Randolph used for two opposed masques--one of the vices and one of the virtues in The Muses' Looking Glass.

The typical renaissance masque consisted of rehearsed and impromptu elements, like many other shows. It opened with the "entry," consisting of the prologue, an explanation of the identity of the costumed masquers, the march of the personating masquers from their "sieges" or seats of state, and their first dance. These elements were carefully arranged and rehearsed; so also was the return to the "sieges" or "going out," which might sometimes include the preceding dance. The "main" or principle dance, too, was commonly rehearsed, and so was set, but between the "main" and the "going out," two, extemporal parts were usually interpolated: the "dance with the ladies" and the "revels," which last consisted of galliards, corantos, and lavoltas. It was chiefly through elaboration of the "entry" and the "main" that the masques evolved³³ until it peaked artistically with the innovations of Jonson.

The Shakespearean masque, the type Randolph and others used also, consisted of the "entry," the return or "going out," and usually the "main." Unlike the other two types, it did not include audience participation, and so it lacked their spontaneous elements. It served, rather, as show within a play, the way the dumb shows did, by helping audience understanding of the action or theme through the presentation of an important idea symbolically. It was mimetic and was enriched

with music, formal poetry, dance, elaborate and usually symbolic costumes, and any possible special effects to add to the spectacle.

The more dramatic university show and the masque are similar in that they existed in England at the time in their mediaeval form and the adaptations of it to the renaissance and the reformation, or in any stage in between. The masques described in the account of the Oxford revels seem to me to be of the earlier type, and there seems to be no valid reason for believing that similar masques and revelling were not part of the revels for which Randolph wrote shows and plays. The two of his dramatic plays which have come down to us have songs and jigs or dances in them, and it seemed to be the custom to follow many of these with impromptu dancing, according to the accounts we have of other revels. Randolph's audience would most likely have been in a festive mood following the shows. It does seem likely that they would express this in dance.

Personating through costume and dance the characters of the device seems to be the main aim of these university masques and most of those in an account of the revels at Gray's Inn, the Gesta Grayorum, as well. With the absence of women in the audience, or a great scarcity of them, at any rate, the Johnnians could not have had a dance with the ladies, but from the descriptions of their masques, the equivalent of this dance may well have consisted primarily of extemporaneous revels as described above--galliards, corantos, and lavoltas--in which members of the audience who wished could join spontaneously after their performance by the masquers. All these masques had a prologue, which intro-

duced the device and the characters depicting it, and emphasized the dance as the medium, both characteristics of the genre. Some of the Inns of the Court customarily presented masques more elaborate than these. The Masque of Proteus, the text of which appears in the Gesta Grayorum, is an example of the later, full-blown masque, product of the Renaissance. Academic revels could then run the gamut of varieties of masques. This one was elaborate and polished enough to entertain a queen: Elizabeth at Shovetide 1594/5.³⁴

A brief history of this completely structured and barely known subject, university drama, would begin with "mummery and impersonation in their more primitive forms" in the latter fourteenth century, when statutes provided for the unusual celebrations of the ceremony of the boy bishop on the feasts of the Holy Innocents and on St. Nicholas's Day. Paralleling this development, the middle to late fourteenth century also marked the real beginning of secular drama in England as a whole. Wyclif's was the first notice taken, around 1378, of morality plays; Guild plays are first referred to in 1350; and Corpus Christi plays specifically in 1378.³⁵ A "show," which seems to have been the first English masque, was given by 130 citizens for young Prince Richard, later Richard II, on the Sunday before Candlemas of 1377, according to Stow.³⁶ Other royal masques followed, and by 1526 we find the English king keeping "a solemn Christmasse at Greenwich with revelles, maskes, disguisings and bankets,"³⁷ a description which could also apply to accounts of the revels at the Inns of the Courts.

Before the reformation, it will be remembered, the sons of the aristocracy and gentry were sent to the Inns for the completion of their

education. The primary purpose of the universities, then governed by the Catholic church, was to provide qualified clergy. The Crown would therefore be closer socially and economically to the Inns, which were expected to train likely candidates to serve the state, than to the universities. Small wonder, then, that the first revels developed similarly at Court and at the Inns. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find the enactment of a ruling of the society at Lincoln Inn to encourage the "excellent study of dancing for recreation and delight, commonly called Revels." It apparently described in writing for the first time a practice that had been growing for a number of years. It provided for four revels a year: at the Feasts of "All-hallowen," St. Erkenwald, the "Purification of our Lady, and on Midsummer-day." They were similar to the university revels in that a director was to be elected annually by the Society of each Inn to supervise the pastimes, jousts, and masques, "which sports were long before that time used." He was to be called "Master of the Revells."³⁸

After the reformation, the two middle revels cited above were naturally discontinued for religious reasons, and, by the time of Elizabeth in 1566, we find mention of only the two principal feasts of that "ancient and solemn Revels, . . . All-hallowntide and Candlemass." February 2, Candlemass, apparently celebrated both the Feast of the Purification of our Lady and the presentation of Christ in the temple before the reformation. After the reformation only the second aspect of the holiday was observed. These dancing commemorations of what had become the two main feasts at the Inns were not merely permitted but "thought very necessary" and "much conducing to the making of gentlemen

more fit for their books at other times,"³⁹ a typical renaissance example of seeking the Aristotelian golden mean. Because these remaining revels occurred on the first and, usually, last days of the later traditional Christmas revels, it is tempting to trace the academic Christmas revels to the early masquing ones of the Inns of the Courts.

These revels were apparently continued through the early seventeenth century. Consequently, a good number of the early literary masque writers, except always the great Ben Jonson, were Inns of the Court men, like Beaumont, Middleton, Campion, Marston, Sackville, Gascoigne, and Daniel, some of whom then took to devising pageants as well as writing for the London stage. The Inns of the Court, with their long history of "masking," seem to have produced the authors of most of the civic pageants although a few university men, like Lyly and Thomas Heywood, probably got into this area because of their close connection with the Court.⁴⁰ Masques and pageants seem to require the same sort of imagination from writers because both possess a strong allegorical element, and spectacle is of paramount importance to the impact of both genres. Randolph wrote at least two masques of the latter type that Shakespeare and other renaissance dramatists used in some of their plays --for audience observation of the dramatic and allegorical spectacle rather than for their later participation as well.

After the reformation, when Henry VIII had effected necessary changes in the curriculum to enable the universities to take on their new functions of serving the state and the newly-established Anglican religion governed by the Crown, the province of the universities was to parallel that of the Inns. The boy bishops, in the meantime, began to

share power, at least in Merton College, Oxford, from the late fifteenth century with still another manifestation of the same sort of mock folk ritual variously known as the Christmas Prince, the Lord of Misrule, the Abbot of Unreason, or Rex Fabarum. A 1541 royal proclamation finally put an end to the office of boy bishop,⁴¹ apparently because it seemed a remnant of the old religion. Ten years later, according to Holingshead, it was already customary to have someone in the Court, that year George Ferrers, "appointed to make sport in the Court, called commonlie lord of misrule." Ferrers was to be the "maister" of Edward VI's pastimes.⁴²

The growing encouragement of student productions of classical plays as a method of educational training,⁴³ led to the replacement of the boy bishop in most colleges with the Christmas Prince or Lord of Misrule, who was to serve the same function as the Court ruler of the revels. The first Christmas Lord at either English university of whom there is any record was appointed Rex Fabarum, King of the Bean, at Merton College, Oxford in 1485. That his appointment was one in a long tradition was indicated by the added phrase, "per antiquam consuetudinem." The title was to go to the senior fellow at the college who had not borne the office. His appointment gave him a "mock authority over his juniors" during the holiday season.⁴⁴ He and other Lords of Misrule often or generally reigned in England for longer than three winter months, "namely from Allhallow Even," October 31, until Candlemas, February 2.⁴⁵

Most of the colleges of both universities provided for such observances from about the middle of the sixteenth century. At Oxford the Rex Fabarum was usually a senior fellow. According to Woods, he had the power of "punishing all misdemeanors done in the time of Christmas,

either by imposing exercises on the [his?] juniors, or putting into the stocks at the end of the [Commons] Hall, any of the servants, with other punishments that were sometimes very ridiculous." He would "always sit in great state" during speeches at "times of Judgment."⁴⁶

At Oxford, the production of the tragedies and comedies required by statute as a result of the renaissance rediscovery of the classics and the renewed interest in languages was added to the duties of the traditional Christmas Lord. He, according to F. S. Boas, still retained some of his pre-Renaissance privileges as a burlesque ruler. These duties were apparently split at Cambridge, where, especially at Trinity, Randolph's college, the academic drama persisted in greater numbers and to a later date than at any other college in either university. At Cambridge, then, the Christmas Lord, if the college appointed one, was responsible for providing holiday entertainment by producing shows and plays during the period of his reign. Another fellow at each of the various Cambridge colleges was responsible, however, for the plays required by statute for more serious educational ends.⁴⁷

While the producer of the holiday revels in some colleges might not be the fellow who was responsible for the required plays, most colleges presented many of these plays during the reign of the Christmas Lord for convenience and economy. The "scaffolding" and the stage usually remained up and at the ready in the university halls during this holiday period, thereby reducing considerably the cost of each production after the first. Because the colleges were spared the expense of erecting and dismantling these structures for subsequent plays or shows during the revels that required them, the President and officers of St.

John's College, Oxford even delayed beginning the new term for a week in 1608 "in expectation" of a comedy. Because the hall was still "pestered with the stage and scaffolds,"⁴⁸ which undoubtedly would have interfered with serving meals to the full college, the term was prorogued until after the comedy was presented. The "houses" for entrances and exits were constructed according to the "decoration simultanee" system so that all the houses needed during the play were on stage throughout its duration.⁴⁹

Scaffolding was often used, too, to provide seating for invited guests if the performance was public, i.e., if guests from the other colleges or the community were invited. A private show or play was just for the members of the college corporation. Randolph's shows and plays were of both kinds and included a public play to honor the visit of Charles I and his Court. When royalty was to attend, a throne was generally erected for the monarch, and scaffolding was used to provide seating for the members of the Court and visiting royalty or other guests of the Court, like foreign ambassadors. Fortunately for the universities, the monarch usually paid for these expenses. The state visits were always announced and were not held during the university Christmas revels. The Inns of the Court, however, perhaps because they were more affluent, often produced elaborate masques from Elizabeth's through Charles I's reign to be brought by the Inn Prince to entertain his monarch. The royal Master of the Revels would present additional entertainment at Court as well.

At Randolph's college, Trinity, the lord of festivities was called Imperator. His office was apparently considered so important to

tradition that it was established the year of the founding of this college, 1546.⁵⁰ While records at both universities for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are fragmentary, there are bursar accounts showing payment for the expenses of one show at Trinity in 1551/2, but by Christmas 1553, the expenses for seven shows and a comedy were paid, an apparent increase in the observation of the festive season. Records indicate far fewer shows and plays than were given during the same season at Trinity at the following colleges: Queens', which provided reimbursement for a "spectaculum"; King's, for a "ludicrorum"; Christ's for a "shoe and a play"; Jesus, for the "dialogge and shewe"; and St. John's, for the "shewe in the gallery."⁵¹

Because it was a custom for the Christmas Lords and the Emperor to present their most acclaimed shows at other colleges as well as their own, the colleges not mentioned above could still have participated in the revels even though they may have been too small or poor to produce similar shows. On the other hand, their Masters may have been unsympathetic, for religious, esthetic, or other reasons, to presenting plays or shows in the college, as John Caius, the second founder of Gonville and Caius College, seems to have been.⁵²

It is difficult to make positive statements about how widespread the observance of these festivities was because of the inadequacy of the college records. Many productions for which there is reliable evidence, like Randolph's shows and plays, for instance, do not appear at all in the Bursarial Accounts of the college. These accounts of the various colleges were used by Boas and Moore Smith as primary sources. Even when there are listings, however, some are by year only, not by month or

season, thereby making it impossible to link these productions to the time of the revels. There are further inconsistencies in the records as well, in that productions might be listed by the author's or producer's name, by title, or even by genre alone.

The principal reason for the omission of many of the revel expenses from the Bursorial Accounts may simply have been that most of these were not paid by the Bursar if two contemporary accounts⁵³ have any significance. The report of the 1607 revels at St. John's, Oxford, for instance, includes a list of expenditures through early January, the names of those solicited for contributions, as well as the donors' names with the amount of their contributions. The man who was later to become Archbishop, "M^r William Lawde," we learn, gave ten shillings at this time, as did other juniors of the faculty, while the President of the house and "M^r Thomas May," apparently the Vice-President, each gave a pound.⁵⁴ Like the revels at St. John's, the Gesta Grayorum at Gray's Inn, 1594, were financed by those connected with the house. Copies of letters, "Privy Seals," asking associates of the house in and out of residence for contributions towards the revels were included in the contemporary account. No less a member of the society than "the Right Honourable Sir William Cecill, K^t. Lord Treasurer of England," himself sent the Prince ten pounds "and a Purse of fine rich Needlework."⁵⁵ Members of the Inner Temple, who were also to be invited to attend, were approached for money, too.⁵⁶ Elizabeth, as was customary, sent the "gentlemen for their sports and shewes this Shrovetide at Court" 100 marks,⁵⁷ probably to cover their expense for presenting a masque to her. It is important to see here the significance these revels assume because

of the appreciable encouragement of them by those in power. These celebrations were not considered merely harmless fun and games.

I have been unable to find a specific reference to a Christmas Lord by any name in either of the English universities after 1609. On December 21 of that year, William Ames, fellow of Christ's Church at Cambridge, preached a sermon at the university Church of St. Mary's in which he inveighed against the liberties taken during the holiday season, especially in those colleges which still had lords of misrule.⁵⁸ This seems conclusive evidence of the continuation of the traditional Christmas revels in some Cambridge colleges at least until that time, and, since the practice undoubtedly persisted in an indefinite number of colleges, it seems unlikely that the observation would have been stopped suddenly by the next year, for instance, at all of them, especially since there was no official edict to effect this and the revels at Court continued for more than twenty years. It seems likely, judging from the past, that there were intermittent revivals of the office of Lord of Misrule in the universities after that time in that there are later examples of such practices outside the Court of the universities to remind enterprising students of this custom. Blatherwick, which neighbored Randolph's home, had such a lord in 1637 at least and Richard Evelyn, father of the diarist, appointed a lord to preside over his shrievalty of Surrey and Sussex in 1634.⁵⁹

For many of the years previous to 1609, during which we may be quite certain from other evidence that this custom was observed in the universities, however, we also lack absolute proof of such elections or appointments. With or without the Lord, the revels of the season seem

to have occurred at least intermittently at the colleges as long as there was a Court to celebrate similarly. At Court, the Master of the Revels, whose duties had been expanded to include licensing plays for the commercial stage, was still responsible for providing their Majesties, as we have seen, with masques and comedies during the Christmas season.

Any Lord elected by the colleges or Inns combined the functions of the real Master of the Revels at Court, including his authority as temporary sovereign, even in the presence of the monarch he sought to amuse. The universities were truly microcosms of the country at large. Higgs' account of the decision of the undergraduates of his house to revive the tradition of the Christmas Prince demonstrates the English belief in the importance to civil order of almost any rightful monarch and some sort of hierarchy, whatever their faults. The account tells of the decision of several students to revive the office after a lapse of thirty years because they could not agree on how to "beginne their Christmas." In "feare of tumultes" which could lead to the dreadful possibility of their losing "Christmas sportes for the whole year following," they decided to elect a Christmas Lord, or "Prince of the Revells." He would have "authorytie both to appoynt and moderate all such games and pastimes as should ensue, and to punishe all offenders w^{ch} should . . . hinder or interrupte the free and quiet passage of any auntient and allowed sporte."⁶⁰

When the Puritans came to power the revels naturally came to a halt because of the objections of the new rulers to plays and similar pastimes and to celebrations of Christmas on religious grounds. Even

without these prohibitions, however, the revels had certainly lost all relevance because of the annihilation of the monarchy. Its absence left nothing for the students to both burlesque and celebrate simultaneously.

The first show of the St. John's revels appropriately consisted of the inauguration of the Prince and the installation of his newly-appointed officers on December 21, St. Thomas' night. We today would not call it dramatic, for it was more of a personation on the order of Randolph's Salting and Praevarication in that it was highly occasional. The new Prince and his recently appointed officers were "solemnly proclaimed by a Sergeant at armes, & an Herauld, y^e trompetts soundinge beetwixt euery title."⁶¹ The mock proclamation, headed by the arms, symbols, and mottoes of the Prince, was hung in the Hall after it had been read. The names, arms, honors, and titles of his officers and deputies were then read, as well as a proclamation of his statutes. Necessary as this coronation was to begin the revels, the members of the college did not think this inaugural show "worthy" of a stage or scaffolds, so that all they had to do for staging, after outfitting the Court and drawing up and copying appropriately the proclamations, was to push the tables together after dinner in the Hall to form a kind of stage. Here we see how informal and impromptu some aspects of the shows were. The students also set up a kind of make-shift canopy over the "Altare of Fortune," no doubt thought appropriate for the Prince of Alba Fortunata, the first of his many titles.⁶² From this time on to the end of his reign, the Prince and his government ostensibly had full authority in the college. His chair of state with a newly-made cloth of state over it, like a canopy I would guess, was set up in his privy chamber. In

his public appearances he would likewise be provided with "a state."

Similarly, Henry Helmes, a Norfolk gentleman, was elected to preside over the Christmas revels at Gray's Inn as the Prince of Purpoole⁶³ as late as 1594-5, only thirty years before Randolph's college days. This Prince's "honorable Inthronization"⁶⁴ was like that of St. John's Prince in many particulars except that the Gray's Inn court was far larger, and it and the actual ceremony were far more elaborate than the one at Oxford. After Helmes was crowned, "His Highness" called for the Master of the Revels and "willed him to pass the time in Dancing" in keeping with the old traditions of revelling at the Inns. Thirty couples, apparently solely constituted of males, then "danced the Old Measures, and their Galliards, and other kind [sic] of Dances, revelling until it was very late."⁶⁵

Another difference between the two coronations was that the St. John's Prince shared his ceremony with the officers of his court who were installed the same evening. The Prince of Purpoole honored his "Nobility" of the realm another night with a mock initiation. Because the Prince sought to exalt his favorites with induction into "a most honourable Order of Knighthood of the Helmet," this rite differed considerably from those other shows of initiation to be discussed in the next chapter in more detail, the Saltings. The latter were far more democratic in that apparently all those matriculating in their Cambridge colleges, including the sizars who worked in the college for their keep, were introduced on these occasions into the academic community. The Gray's Inn ceremony, on the other hand, was extremely formal, beginning with the Prince, in all his new splendor, reading the extremely legal-

istic "Articles of the Orders" from "the Book." The legal style was, of course, appropriate for one of the Inns because these were primarily to train those interested in reading law. These articles burlesque what must be rules of similar honorary orders of the day. Many of these items are full of the innuendos to be expected from frolicking young men mocking their elders, their own society, and sometimes their social betters, so that, for instance, none of these knights shall "have any more than one Mistress" for whom he may wear three colors. "But if he will have two Mistresses, then must he wear six Colours; and so forward after the rate of three Colours to a Mistress." Every knight must also "perform all requisite, and Manly Service, be it Night-service or otherwise . . . to all Ladies and Gentlewomen, beautiful by Nature, or by Art." These knights must also frequent theaters "for Experience" and ordinaries "for Conference."⁶⁶

The succeeding programs to celebrate the season were both ambitious and ingenious in different ways. The St. John's revels included about seven shows, one of which the President of the house, Lord Clifford, asked to be repeated for a private showing in his lodge to important friends in and beyond Oxford. This revels was extremely varied in scope, including as it did a Vigilante, which itself included several shows of different types: mummings, a masque, and a wassail; and the impromptu dancing around town and campus of several gentlemen on Egg Saturday who wished to get some mileage from the dances they had rehearsed for a masque of Penelope's wooers that they had had to abort for lack of holiday time. The revels also included three plays: Philomathes, a Latin comedy; Philomela, a Latin tragedy; and Periander,

the play traditionally presented by the Christmas Prince at or towards the end of his reign. The first two, in Latin, were quite certainly those required by royal edict. Periander, which used classical material and probably fulfilled the classical renaissance requirements for tragedy although it was in English, may have counted as a third.

It was quite a surprise to me to find masques included in the university, as opposed to the Inns of the Court, revels. These rather impromptu and fairly informal masques are of a type that probably would never have been recorded in print except, as it has been here, as part of a more significant festival. Unlike the gorgeous extravaganzas prepared for presentation at Court or at one of the great houses of the aristocracy during the renaissance, these were remnants of native medieval guizings in the fourteenth century tradition. They seem to have been fine outlets and enjoyable, familiar pastimes which had the added advantages of helping to deplete the huge reservoirs of ingenuity and excess physical energy of campus-bound students during a holiday and delighting participants and audiences alike.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the earlier type of masque was a part of the revels at other colleges of both Cambridge and Oxford besides St. John's during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries--as long as the masque was popular throughout England. They were probably so prevalent that no notice was taken of them ordinarily, especially since they were probably often quite extempore.

The revels at both St. John's and Gray's Inn, according to both documents, were similar in that activities were sometimes governed by the presence or absence of a stage and scaffolds, so that lacking these for a

few days before Shrovetide, the Gray's Inn members were unable to present any shows during that period, and so restricted themselves to revelling with the Prince and members of his Court.⁶⁷

The main difference between the two revels was that the members of St. John's College, and doubtless of all the colleges of both universities, had no equivalent in their revels to the extremely elaborate Masque of Proteus presented by the Prince and his court to that greater Prince, Elizabeth I, at her court, obviously to her immense delight. This masque was written by Francis Davison with one, or, less possibly, two hymns by Thomas Campion.⁶⁸

Another difference is that Francis Bacon himself is supposed to have written the speeches of advice by six of the Prince's Councillors. Each Councillor urges a different approach to governing the kingdom. Each declamation is serious in tone and eloquently presents the advantages of his viewpoint. One advises the Prince to rule by conquest, for instance; another, by using his study of philosophy; and still another, by concentrating on rearing buildings and foundations. These six declamations and the Prince's reply comprise a show in themselves.⁶⁹ This show is an obvious exception to the norm in that its humanistic aim was not only to delight with its conception and the eloquence with which it was expressed but to instruct. The Prince answered by choosing the best of each philosophy. This eclectic approach seems Bacon's advice to these students, some of whom would probably be advanced to royal advisers themselves. How many scholars of any time had ever had the advantage of having a writer of the caliber of Bacon contribute a private show written just for them?

Other Grayan shows in this account were more like games or personations, like the spurious formal letters meant to be read during the revels which tell of skirmishes leading to the naval defeat of huge forces of French Amazons,⁷⁰ no less, and accounts of various riots and insurrections in the realm.⁷¹ With supreme confidence in his subordinates, the Prince left orders for his courtiers and domestic forces to attend to these problems as he set sail with his Ambassador to help his brother sovereign the King of Russia rid his land of "his Enemies, the Negarian tartars"; these were, according to the Prince, even more dreadful than the Barbarian tartars.⁷² The Prince and his Ambassador returned on Candlemas day,⁷³ traditionally the last day of his reign. Piecing together bits of evidence, I suspect that the Prince became ill or, because of some personal emergency, had to leave for at least a month. Upon his return, according to a message he sent Elizabeth, he was weary from the long journey and weakened from sea sickness, his excuse in asking for a postponement of the day he was supposed to bring a masque to her, perhaps because he was still recovering.

The revels at Gray's Inn and St. John's differ also in the manner each ruler took leave of his exalted office. It seems to have been left to the ingenuity of each Prince and his Court to decide, unless, of course, stern necessity left no possible choice, which events to make gala and which to ignore completely. St. John's Prince seems to have been planning for a glorious exit. Because he had nothing prepared for the occasion, according to Higgs' account, he deferred his resignation. He decided to mark the date by a watching night, a Vigilate, another traditional medieval custom usually observed on the eve of a holiday,

"procured by the Prince and his council and granted by officers of the college."⁷⁴ The need for obtaining permission from college officials represents some limitations of the Prince's considerable power. It seems the only occasion during which the Prince took advantage of his authority to institute a mock ceremony subverting the usual college routine. One of the attractions to students of having a Prince of Revels or boy bishop was the overturning of the status quo--the world turned upside-down, figuratively, or run to some extent at least by those far from the source of power.

Although the Christmas Revels were supposed to have extended over the twelve days or only until Candlemas, both these accounts indicate that their revels extended through Shrovetide, when plays and shows were also traditionally given. This lengthening of the revels may have become the norm by Randolph's time. Both Princes and their Courts, neither of whom had terminated his rule on Candlemas, observed Shrove Tuesday, February 9, in suitable fashion.⁷⁵ The Johnian Prince's long-awaited resignation was performed this night "with great state and solemnity in manner and form."⁷⁶ Many strangers were invited to this public show, Ira Seu Tvmvlvs Fortunae, and many others came to see this much discussed spectacle because it had become the main topic of conversation at the university and the only thing to see that night.

This show got a good round of applause. It was followed by another show, a procession leaving the performance, a personation formed to escort the one-time Prince from the hall to his room. The Prince, now a civilian, "in his Schollers gowne and hood was preceded by eight Squires with lightes" and the four members of the chorus, marching two

by two. In the midst of four of the squires were four scholars "bearing on their shoulders a tombe or sepulcher adorned with scutchions and little flagges, wherein all the Princes honours had been buried"--a mock burial procession. The adorned sepulcher was similar to those of university students or officials, which were covered with palls on which were fastened scutchions and verses written by the mourners. The Prince, as chief mourner, followed the coffin alone. After him came the rest of his council and companies, also in black gowns and hoods "like mourners, two by two." Still keeping within the spirit of the earlier dramatic show in which he resigned, they were on their way to the temple of Minerva, who was one of the four members of the chorus in the show, and so was also in the procession of this second show. They were going to the temple "to consecrate and erecte the sepulcher."⁷⁷ The bystanders, according to Higgs, much enjoyed the mumming of this additional show.

On Saturday, February 13, the former Christmas Lord appeared once more in public as a member of his college at the English play. This, judging from the last line quoted below from the epilogue, was the play traditionally given by the Christmas Lord at the end of his reign, usually in January or early February. This Prince not only played the title role of Periander but pronounced the epilogue, perhaps an indication that he may also have written the tragedy. In the epilogue, as will be seen, he apologized for giving the play during Lent and explained that it, unlike the earlier productions given in his honor or as part of the revels, was his offering to the audience:

. . . our great promises
 Wee would make vpp
 But our small timbred actors, narrowe roome,
 Necessity of thrifte make all short come
 Of our first apprehensions; wee must keepe
 Our auntient customes thoughe wee after creepe.
 But wee forgett times limetts, Howe tis Lente--
 Old store this weeke may lawfully be spent
 Our former shewes were giu'n to our cal'd Lorde.^o °The Christmas
 This, and att his request, for you was storde.⁷⁸ Prince

As was too often the case, there was a riot outside caused by a crowd of four to five hundred who were unable to get into the chapel, where the performance was held. This sort of "tumult" was all too frequent at performances which promised to be exciting. Windows were so often damaged that they were sometimes removed before the performance or protected by netting or careful watchers⁷⁹ to forestall such damage. The crowd outside the chapel where this play, Periander, was being performed "made such an hideous noice, and raised such a tumult wth breaking of windows . . . throwinge of stones into the hall and such like ryott" that the officers of the college rushed forth at the beginning of the play "with about a dozen whiflers [those who cleared the way for a procession, hence probably those who kept order in a crowd] well armed and swords drawne." The officers of the college "gave some faire words and some fowle as they saw occasion," and the whiflers, who noted some of the ringleaders and were helped to find them, "committed them to the Porters lodge," where they were forced to stay till the play's end. They were then "brought forth and punished, and so sente home."⁸⁰

Tumults also arose during the Gray's Inn revels, where a grand night was planned for Innocents' Day. So high were the expectations for the planned festivities that many "Lords, Ladies, and worshipful Personages" came to see the show as did the ambassador of "our Friend, the

Inner Temple, . . . as sent from Frederick Templarius, their Emperor, who was then busied in his Wars against the Turk." The ambassador and a great number of his gentlemen were escorted with much trumpeting and pomp into the presence of the Prince and invited to join him in the festivities. Because of the many important "Personages" entitled by rank to be seated on stage, no room was left for the actors. Since these important guests could not be displaced, the ambassador from the Inner Temple and his train left in a huff, "discontented and displeased," and the "Sports" were cancelled completely because of the confusion and disorder. "Dancing and Revelling with the Gentlewomen" was substituted.⁸¹ Honored guests, even "worshipful Personages," apparently took these festivities as seriously as the students did.

Celebrating the end of the Prince of Purpoole's reign became more complicated than the Christmas Prince's resignation. The Prince of Purpoole, as we have seen, returned from his "glorious Conquests" in Russia on Candlemas. By this time, unfortunately, the term, as usual, had already begun. The "Readers and Ancients of the House" were disappointed that "very good Inventions" they had planned to be performed at his return and "two grand Nights"--elaborate banquets, a show or play, and dancing to which honored guests were invited--intended at his "Triumphal Return" could not take place. Because of the "Scaffolds being taken away, and forbidden to be built up again," there could be no more pomp in the Prince's honor at the Inn. Instead his return was announced at dinner in the hall to a mere fanfare.⁸²

His reign had a happier and more exciting conclusion than most, however, in that, as mentioned earlier, the Prince sent official word to

Elizabeth of his "very honourable" return from Russia and his hope to present his respects to the Queen at Shrovetide. At Elizabeth's cordial invitation, he was invited to Court,⁸³ where he presented the Masque of Proteus to Elizabeth on Shrovetide.⁸⁴ So pleased was the Queen that the party was invited back the next day so that she could entertain them. After the Prince had distinguished himself at Barriers that night, Elizabeth awarded him with a jewel set with 17 diamonds and rubies, worth a hundred marks.⁸⁵ This was certainly a triumphant conclusion to the Prince's reign. Anything after it would have been an anticlimax.

Although Trinity College, Cambridge, records, as indicated earlier, show no reimbursement for the expenses of producing any of Randolph's dramatic works, we know that two of these are shows from the 1630 printed title page indicating this. It has also been possible to date approximately the production of these: that of The Conceited Pedlar was fixed by the inscription to the British Museum Manuscript, Add. 27046, "All Sts: 627. Tho: Randolphs Pedlar," All Saints Day being November 1 here.⁸⁶ Gerald Eades Bentley speculates that Aristippus might have been given at the same time the year before.³⁷ If these dates are valid, these Randolph shows would have opened the Trinity festive season of the revels for two consecutive years. It seems possible that these productions would each have been followed by spirited dancing in which all would join in and that several other shows, probably two plays at least, and perhaps a few informal masques would have been given at intervals at least through Candlemas 1627 and 1628. And because Randolph was allowed to revive two customary kinds of shows at Trinity after they had been forbidden for some years, the show itself and the salting, it

is a temptation to think of Randolph's possibly reviving, if they too had been similarly proscribed, the title and honor of Emperor at the Trinity revels of 1631, after he became senior fellow in March of that year.

Although there is no mention of any kind of Christmas Lord at either university after December 1609, Moore Smith records several performances of plays and shows taking place at Cambridge in December at Christmas and in February around Candlemas or the week before Shrovetide after this date. The customary Christmas sports, as we have seen in the account of the Johnian revels above, could have been continued with or without a reigning monarch in charge. There was, as we would expect, a hiatus in dramatic productions at Cambridge of twenty years, marking the Civil War and the interregnum between March 12, 1641/2 and the very next chronological entry on Moore Smith's list of Cambridge plays for February or March, 1661/2. All the Moore Smith later entries for which a college is given are for Randolph's college, Trinity, from February 2, 1638/9 to 1745-47, when there was also one production at Pembroke. There was never more than one entry per year after 1639/40 and there were many multi-year gaps afterwards,⁸⁸ an apparent indication of the discontinuation of the Christmas revels after the difficult years of the rebellion and interregnum.

I should think that the older, less literary types of show, like the initiations and coronations, as well as the simpler type of masques disappeared before the Civil War. The Praevarication probably continued for a while and was spasmodically revived, for some are occasionally mentioned in the records. At Oxford the Praevaricator was

usually called Terrae Filius, "filius" probably because he was an undergraduate, according to Sir John Evelyn's account of the Commencement at which he was awarded a degree.

Conclusions

Shows differed from plays primarily in that most shows were associated with the Christmas revels at the universities or Inns of the Court, whether or not some sort of Christmas Prince or Lord still ruled over the revels. Shows were, therefore, occasional and were usually performed at irregular intervals during the period from All Hallows Eve to Candlemas although the revels were earlier theoretically to be concentrated during the twelve days of Christmas. At St. John's, Cambridge the statutes of 1545 provide "(cap. xxvi) that the other comedies and tragedies to be acted between Twelfth Day and Lent" be given by the lecturers and examiners in turn, not by the Lord. The statutes of Queens' of 1546 provide for the production of two comedies and tragedies between December 20 and Ash Wednesday, while those of 1546 of Trinity, which traditionally outdid the other colleges dramatically, require the presentation of five plays during the twelve days of Christmas.⁸⁹ Any shows put on as part of the revels would be additional to these. From the extant accounts of the revels, one must conclude that circumstances altered the observance dates or that more leeway was given to the revels by the early seventeenth century in some colleges. There seems to be no reason to presume, however, that the plays required by statute had ceased to be given until quite close to the beginning of the Civil War.

Some shows were also performed at Shrovetide, but although a contemporary Oxford account of the 1607 revels at St. John's College

indicated that the revels continued that year through Shrovetide, this was considered highly unusual. The most festive occasions during the revels, often celebrated by shows of one sort or another, include All Hallow's Eve or Day, Christmas Eve or Day, St. Stephen's Eve, Innocent's Day, New Year's Eve or Day, Twelfth Night, and Candlemas, according to the various accounts.

Unlike shows, plays were expected to follow certain "laws" based on their author's or some authority's interpretation of Aristotle's Poetics concerning the unities, the parts, and the ordering of the plot, which were related to the almost invariable five-act structure. Sometimes, too, the number of actors appearing on the stage at one time, as well as other classically established matters of decorum, was considered in differentiating plays from shows.

These shows were really a continuation through the renaissance of the medieval unclassical sub-genres of debats, disguisings, mummings, jigs, and interludes. Some of these evolved into specialized traditional subgenres like saltings, praevarications, and coronations and resignations of Christmas Lords. Pageantry and music associated with the festive Christmas Day and Eve meals and with any New Year's rites and simple masques would tend to classify these as shows, while other show genres tumbled in their functional free-form varieties from the pens of students or fellows onto real or improvised stages in the university colleges.

Their length, like most of their other properties, varied although some were quite brief and virtually all of them were quite a bit shorter than the classical play genres of comedy or tragedy. It was

possible, therefore, to give two shows in one day, which did occur in the St. John's revels. In such an instance, they would be given in the individual college Hall after all vestiges of the previous meal had been disposed of: the first show after dinner, which was served at midday; the second, after supper, served about six o'clock. If only one show were to be given on any day, it usually began at seven or eight in the evening. After-supper shows were illuminated by links (torches) or candles.

As we have seen, some private shows of an informal and uncomplicated nature were given without going to the expense or bother of erecting a stage and scaffolds. Randolph's Pedlar could have been performed in this fashion, and these shows would probably be given with minimal costuming, if any at all.

The shows involving spectacle, like the coronations of the Christmas Prince and his equivalent at Gray's Inn in 1594/5,⁹⁰ were lavishly produced. With so much spent on costuming, the students and other members of the college corporation would want a stage and effective lighting to show off their royalty. Honored guests would probably attend, necessitating scaffolds for at least some of the spectators.

We have seen, too, that, unlike plays, which were produced in the universities for a variety of humanistic reasons besides the classical ones of instruction and delight, the more literary, mimetic shows were designed primarily to entertain. They were often burlesques of college life or concerns. The personations and mummings of royalty and the Court, however, may have been humanistic in providing experience in, and observation of, ruling and the trappings of royalty to those who

would be among the future servants of the state.

In general, shows were often impromptu or they might, at any rate, contain a disclaimer to that effect in the prologue or epilogue. The wassail during the vigilate, for instance, could hardly have been thought of on the spur of the moment--most of it was in rhymed verse, for one thing, while some of it was in Latin and part of the song was scored for several voices as well as bells.⁹¹

Because of the spur-of-the-moment tradition, real or simulated, and the occasional nature of the shows, they were usually private performances solely for the amusement of members of the individual college corporation. If the show, as part of the Christmas revels, was widely acclaimed, The Christmas Lord might bring it to various other colleges,⁹² or, as we have seen in the case of The 7 Daies in the Week, the administrators of the university might request a special performance. On the other hand, the show marking the end of the reign of the St. John's Christmas Prince, Ira Seu Tvmvlvs, was undoubtedly a public one because of the great interest in it in the community.

It seems to have been a tradition for writers of academic shows and plays to have revised them after they were performed, apparently so that they would be ready for the next appropriate occasion. Randolph's Muses' Looking Glass, originally performed as The Entertainment probably first at Trinity before it was given on the London stage, was revised at least once after it was licensed and probably performed professionally. What was probably still a later alteration enabled it to serve as a defense of the stage by answering Histrion-mastix two or three years later. Similarly even between the time of the original production of The 7

Daies on January 10 and its command performance for the Vice-Chancellor of the University and other important guest, "there was somewhat added."⁹³

Personal satire is also an important element in many shows although it did appear in some plays. In many private shows, like Randolph's, there was no doubt of the identity of the objects of the barbs, but Randolph's satire was not made to sting. His is more like the satire of the Parnassus shows than like the abuse of Nashe.

For the most part, these lively shows still contained some native English medieval characteristics of debates, moralities, interludes, and masques sometimes mixed with products of their own time, like types derived from Plautine comedy and Aristophanic burlesques of contemporary figures. These traits had the effect of combining the new comedy with the old "into a novel dramatic species of which Cambridge seems to have had the monopoly."⁹⁴ This extinct variety includes such shows as Pedantius and other spoofs of Gabriel Harvey, the Parnassus shows, and, far from least, Thomas Randolph's Aristippus and The Conceited Pedlar.

Randolph's prologue to Aristippus tells us quite a bit about shows, for it really serves as a justification of the genre just as his Muses' Looking Glass is a defense of comedy. The performance of Aristippus marked the reinstatement of the show in Trinity, if not in all of Cambridge, after it had been interdicted for several years because of such abuses as personal satire and many lapses from good taste. Praevarications were similarly often discontinued for periods of years after the delivery of a particularly offensive one or one believed to attack the reputation or character of someone in authority.

Randolph began his "Praeludium" for the show with the statement,

"Shewes hauing beene long intermitted, and forbidden by Authority for their abuses, could not be rayseed but by coniuring."⁹⁵ Randolph undoubtedly meant this as an explanation to his reader because his audience would be aware of this and this line was not given to any character. His "armed Prologue arm'd with arts," is given the task of reviving this genre. He "will raise/ From black Abyesse and suttie Hell, that mirth/ Which fits this learned round." Standing within this magic circle to conjure the "long-dead Show" back to life, Prologue commands Show once more to appear "As glorious as thy sister Comedie" after she purges "out those ill-digested dregs of wit,/ That vse to blot a spotlesse fame." He suggests that "no one particular man" be "traduc'd,/ Whom priuate hate hath spurr'd thee to reuile." Instead, she is to, "like a noble Eagle," seize vice "As the flies bold and open spare the persons." He takes the side of non-biting satire in asking for "Sweet smiling lips, and such as hide no fangs,/ No venomous biting teeth, or forked tongues."⁹⁶ Show agrees.

CHAPTER III

THOMAS RANDOLPH'S SALTING (1627)

Thomas Randolph's Salting is an incomplete manuscript of the early seventeenth century poet's speech initiating lower classmen into the academic community of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is the only extant example of a salting, except for a proclusion by John Milton, the purpose of which has long puzzled Milton Scholars.¹ Randolph's Salting is important because it gives a glimpse of undergraduate entertainment at Cambridge and some knowledge of a long-forgotten university custom. This unpublished manuscript gives insight into the purpose of, and tradition behind, Milton's sixth proclusion and so serves also to illuminate an unknown phase of Milton's undergraduate life.

The Salting's inclusion in the Randolph canon adds little luster to his reputation; however, it and Randolph's dramatic monologue of the year before, The Conceited Pedlar, both college shows² which he probably performed himself, help to explain his reputation as a university wit.³ A show in the classics-oriented Cambridge of the time was simply a dramatic production closer to the medieval tradition of disguising than to traditional comedy or tragedy.⁴

Fredson Bowers was the first to write of Randolph's Salting, a "hitherto unknown college 'show' by Thomas Randolph."⁵ This manuscript was known earlier to G. Thorn-Drury, editor of the most recent (1929) edition of Randolph's poems. In 1928 he wrote of finding it in one of his unpublished notebooks on seventeenth century poetry. The first of his three notebooks on Randolph notes the sale of the manuscript book in which the Salting appears⁶ to Maggs Brothers by Southeby and Company for 82. The description in his notes is taken directly from the catalogue probably because, as he wrote in the notebook, he was denied permission by Maggs Brothers to examine the Salting. Perhaps because he lacked this access and consequently could not validate the manuscript as Randolph's, he did not mention its existence in either his introduction or his notes to The Poems of Thomas Randolph.

Description and Provenance

The provenance of this Salting begins, then, with item 500, p. 86 of Southeby's February 15, 1928 Catalogue of Books, Letters, Documents, Illustrated Manuscripts, catalogue 13:

- 500 COMMONPLACE Book, manuscript on paper, 154 leaves, written in several seventeenth century hands, mostly of the first half of the century, beginning with transcripts from Spenser's
 * * "Complaints," old calf xviith century. On folio 65 verso begins A LONG POEM BY THOMAS RANDOLPH, APPARENTLY HITHERTO UNKNOWN, Randolph's undergraduate verses having been lost.⁷ The poem, which is headed "Thomas Randolfs Salting," extends to 314 [sic] lines, but appears to be incomplete. It begins:
 * 'No salting here these many yeares was seene
 Salt hath with us long out of season bene'
 and satirizes by name a number of Randolph's contemporaries at Trinity under the figure of dishes at a feast. Most of the names have been identified as students at Cambridge in the period 1624-27; Randolph himself matriculated in 1624, took his B.A. degree in 1628, and early acquired fame as a wit and poet.

The use of the word 'Salting' may be illustrated from the Oxford English Dictionary, 'The salting of fresh men which hath beene antiently and is yet at Oxford used at their first cominge.'--Twyne, 1644.

Maggs apparently owned the commonplace book from 1928 through at least May 1950, when it still appeared in the Maggs catalogue. Professor James Osborn may have purchased it then, but complete provenance records do not exist for many items, like this one, going back to the early years of his collection. There seems to be no record of the date of his purchasing the manuscript, nor of the price. Its call number in the Osborn Collection of the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University, b65, seems to commemorate Randolph's Salting since this poem begins on folio 65 verso.

The small octavo commonplace book in which it was found includes transcripts of some minor Spenser poems, other brief verses, and many notes and abstracts of books in several hands. It was apparently kept by college students. This 10 x 16 cm. leatherbound book contains 264 pages. As the Osborn Collection description notes, "Much material seems to have been taken from printed texts." The book was apparently kept by the students until at least 1650 since the notes include "Observat. out of Taylors exersises [sic] of holy living,"⁸ and Jeremy Taylor's book was first published in 1650.⁹

"Thom' Randolfs Salting" was probably copied by one of the student-owners of the notebook from either the original Randolph manuscript or a copy made by still another admirer. Because many of the authors represented in the volume, such as Thomas Fuller, Taylor, Sir John Suckling (upon his warlike preparation for the Scotch War), and Randolph, were associated with Cambridge, it probably was kept by

students of this university. The Salting is a fair copy, quite legible for such closely-written lines of tiny script.

The manuscript is no holograph because the handwriting of the Salting does not resemble the sole authenticated examples of Randolph's hand. The few alterations in the manuscript could have been made by a copyist as well as the author.¹⁰

The Nature of Saltings

A salting is an initiation of freshmen or sophomores into their college by a senior chosen to be Father to these, his younger sons. The fullest description of such an initiation appears in J. H. Marsden's extracts from the diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who attended Cambridge some years before Randolph. According to Marsden's summary, all the undergraduates of the college holding the initiation were assembled in its Hall for the salting.¹¹ Certain senior sophisters, Marsden wrote, were selected as "Fathers." Judging from the texts by Randolph and Milton, one would have to conclude that these seniors were usually chosen before the event, not at the time of initiation, as Marsden seemed to imply, for neither of our examples of the Father's address could have been extemporaneous, one being in rhymed couplets and the other in quite formal Latin, except for a short poem in English. Both texts would almost certainly have been augmented, however, by the comic responses of the initiates and by the Father's reaction to these, both of which would necessarily be spontaneous.

Each Father, according to Marsden, enacted with his Sons a kind of burlesque of the public exercises and subscriptions to the various oaths required for admission to the university. Perhaps these exercises

were called saltings because those who "did ill" were compelled to drink a "certain quantity of salted beer." At the salting at Pembroke College in August 1620, for instance, one of the Fathers and two or three of the Sons did "excellently well," according to D'Ewes' diary. Another entry about Pembroke saltings in this diary indicated that a "great deal of beer, as at all such meetings, was drunk."¹²

Similar ceremonies were observed at Oxford as well. At Merton College, Oxford, in Anthony a Wood's time, somewhat later than Randolph's, the freshmen were stripped of their gown and bands, the flat collars or shoulder bands worn with the required academic robes, and made to look as "scoundrelly" as possible. They were "set upon the high table" and required to deliver a humorous speech. Those who pleased their audience by "some 'pretty apothegm, or jest, or eloquent nonsense,' were rewarded with a cup of caudle," wine or ale heated and mixed with eggs, bread, sugar, and spices. If the upperclassmen ruled their performance indifferent, they were given two drinks, one of caudle and the other of salted beer. And if they were "downright dull," they were given only salted beer to drink "with some tucks, skin abrasions made by the thumb nail from the chin to the upper lip, to boot."¹³ After this, the senior cook administered an oath upon an old shoe to each initiate, and when the freshman had reverently kissed the shoe, he was entitled to take his place in the community of his seniors.¹⁴ Many college tutors' accounts of the early seventeenth century contain salting fees; D'Ewes, for one, paid three shillings and fourpence for his initiation.¹⁵ According to a 1570 manuscript, "My lord Edward Zousch" paid for "hys Matricula tion ij . . . his saltyng iiij."¹⁶

Randolph's play, Aristippus, written for a Trinity College audience, contains a similar burlesque initiation of the newly-arrived freshman, Simplicius, in a pseudo-Latin travesty of what must have been the Cambridge matriculation ceremony. When he enrolls in Aristippus' hedonistic college, conducted in a tavern, by signing the required book, he is, to his ever-increasing delight, repeatedly asked to "kiss the book," a demand, he is pleased to discover, which forces him to take still another swig from a wine cup. Aristippus was probably given a few months to a year before Randolph's Salting.¹⁷ Initiations at Cambridge may have been similar to the Oxford saltings.

Salting had apparently been discontinued for several years at Trinity College, and perhaps in the other Cambridge colleges as well, before Randolph was entrusted with reviving the custom, perhaps as a result of the popularity and unbarbed, good-natured satire of his witty Aristippus. As Randolph pointed out in the play's prologue, the "Shew"¹⁸ too had been banned at Trinity:

THE PRAELVDIUM

Shewes hauing been long intermitted, and
forbidden by Authority for their abuses, could
not berayseed [sic] but by coniuring.

Enter Prologue in a Circle.

Be not deceiu'd, I haue no bended knees,
 No supple tongue, nor speeches steeped in Oyle,
 No candied flattery, nor honied word,
 I come an armed Prologue arm'd with arts,
 Who by my sacred charmes and mystique skill,
 By virtue of this all-commanding Wand
 Stolne from the sleepy Mercury, will raise
 From black Abyesse and suttie Hell, that mirth
 Which fits this learned round.^o Thou long-dead Show °the circle
 Breake from thy Marble prison, sleepe no more
 In myrie darknesse, henceforth I forbid thee
 To bath in Lethe's muddy waues, ascend
 As bright as morning from her Tithons bed,
 And red with kisses that haue stayn'd thy cheekes,
 Grow fresh againe . . .¹⁹

Later Prologue explains her reason for raising Show in what seems Randolph's own account of the trie function, capabilities, and former excesses of shows. This reason applies to those other shows, saltings, as well:

Prolog. Tis thy release I seeke, I come to file
 Those heauy shackles from thy wearied limbes,
 And giue thee leaue to walke the Stage againe
 As free as Virtue: Burne that withered Bayes,
 And with fresh Laurell crowne thy sacred Temples,
 Cast of thy maske of darkenesse, and appeare
 As glorious as thy sister Comedie.
 But first with teares wash off that guilty sinne,
 Purge out those ill-digested dregs of wit,
 That vse their inke to blot a spotlesse fame,
 Let's haue no one particular man traduc'd,
 Whom priuate hate hath spurr'd thee to reuile:
 But like a noble Eagle ceaze on vice,
 As she flies bold and open! spare the persons:
 Let us haue simple mirth and innocent laughter;
 Sweet smiling lips, and such as hide no fangs,
 No venemous biting teeth, or forked tongues,
 Then shall thy freedome be restore'd [sic] again,
 And full applause be wages of thy paine.²⁰

Show agrees to Prologue's conditions as Randolph undoubtedly did when he reintroduced her and, later, the salting.²¹

Similarly Randolph himself says in the first two lines of his Salting that this practice had been forbidden too:

No salting here these many yeares was seene
 Salt hath wth vs long out of season bene.

This second line contains several characteristics of the traditional salting in that it contains the first of many puns throughout the initiation on salt and seasoning. It is a reference to the "salt Islands," the Isle of Rhè and the nearby isles of Loix and Oleron.²² One of the reasons for the British attack on Rhè in the war with France was its salt marshes, "in high repute all over Europe" as a "valuable source of revenue to the English exchequer."²³

Randolph then asks why the English have so much more salt "This yeare than other?" (ll. 3-4. I have numbered the lines consecutively.) His answer (ll. 5-8), that the British Navy has taken the Salt Islands, contains important evidence for dating the initiation:

o^r Fleet hath late either frō France or Spaine 5
 (as y^e nevves goes) ye salt Islands tane.
 wth w^{ch} o^r Navy w^{ch} at Sea doth ride
 Meanes for to poudre all y^e world beside.

The confusion over whether the British fleet had taken the Salt Islands from France or Spain arose from conflicting rumors in England at that time. As early as the autumn of 1627, when this salting was delivered, England had been hearing rumors that Spain was assembling a force to relieve Rhè. That Randolph twice refers to the English fleet as still at sea is further dating evidence, placing the date of composition sometime between the sailing of the fleet from Stokes Bay in June 1627 to before its return that November.²⁴

The time of the academic year for saltings may be narrowed further by considering Brian Twyne's statement in his 1644 history of Oxford University, partially quoted above from the Southeby catalogue: "The salting of freshmen which hath been antiently and is yet at Oxford vsed from their first comminge, was perhaps borrowed or continued from this custome at Athens,"²⁵ because that city was then considered to have provided a prototype for the English universities. The phrase, "their first comminge," as well as D'Ewes' reference to a 1620 salting in August, indicates that saltings were usually held shortly before the beginning of the term. Bowers' dating Randolph's Salting between September to October 1627 is further corroboration that these initiations were held early in the academic year at Cambridge, a consideration more im-

portant to the Milton salting than Randolph's.

At Cambridge a period extending from about ten days to two weeks before October 10, the beginning of Michaelmas term, to the first week or so of the new term must have been devoted to the students' getting settled in their rooms and getting acquainted with one another or being reunited with old friends. The evenings' entertainment probably included saltings at the various colleges. Students, faculty, and other members of the corporation of each college would be expected to attend the initiation of their own college, but other members of the university community probably came as well, just as they attended private showings of the college plays which were open only to members of the college performing the play and invited guests. Anthony a Wood's diary refers to a similar period at Oxford, where "took place the 'fresh nights' when freshmen were 'initiated' to the accompaniment of 'buffooning' speeches."²⁶

It is difficult to establish inclusive dates when saltings were prevalent because no other accounts seem to have survived. Neither the Trinity College Library at Cambridge²⁷ nor the large copyright University Library now contain any accounts of saltings.²⁸ As Dr. E. S. Leedham-Green, Assistant to the Keeper of the University Archives of the Cambridge University Library, wrote, "Contemporary accounts of life in Cambridge in the early seventeenth century are not thick on the ground."²⁹ There seem to be no references to saltings earlier than the late sixteenth century nor after about the middle of the seventeenth century. Lord Shaftesbury, incidentally, claimed that in about 1640 he caused "that ill custom of tucking freshmen to be left off"³⁰ at Oxford.

The topical and the particular are characteristically used in humor and wit in general, and so in comedy and saltings. As we have seen, Randolph begins with timely references to the Rhè expedition, the fate of which must have been a main topic of conversation at Cambridge then because its leader was Buckingham, the Chancellor of the University.³¹ Milton's sixth prolusion, on the other hand, begins with the circumstances leading to his acceptance of what seems an uncongenial role to him as leader of "foolery and the invention of new jests."³²

Randolph next expresses the traditional discomfort of the young bachelor in his paternity, an obvious source of raucous undergraduate humor. Milton capitalizes upon his similar embarrassment at much greater length than Randolph does, even to the extent of pretending to go through a grotesque mock labor and birth during his speech.

More than one Father seems to have been assigned for each Trinity College salting. Because "Fathers are but scarce," Randolph reports, there are only two for all the initiates. Key, probably Thomas Kay, who "unlocks ye Cupboard of his braine / To seek for crums of wit, but all in vaine" (ll. 9-14), was the other. Milton, however, seems to have been the sole Father of "a goodly number of Sons."

The Fathers' speeches were sprinkled throughout not only with puns and quibbles on salt and other seasonings, but on their Sons' legal and newly-christened names as well. The important question, "what shall I call by boies?" (Randolph, l. 15) was exploited rhetorically by Randolph and Milton, who both first list fanciful classifications providing likely groups of humorous names, which they may then reject for pseudo-logical reasons. Randolph, for example, does not want to "half

hang my sons by giving them ill names" and does not wish to refer to them as metals, parts of the body, or books. Instead he will name them for dishes at an imaginary feast. Thomas Kay, who matriculated sizar from Trinity College Easter 1624, when Randolph did, and would now be a senior, too,³³ named his sons after rhetorical figures.

Randolph's Salting apparently followed Kay's, probably on the same evening, because Randolph refers to Kay and his speech three times, the first, quoted above, explaining the scarcity of Fathers. Later Randolph refers to "My brother Keys rhetoricall Sons, whom he / calls Tropes & figures" (ll. 261-62). This reference helps to explain an earlier one in the Salting in which Randolph says of one of his sons, Gamble, that he should have been "Sonn to thy brother Key, / But his [Sons] Rhetoricall are; thy words unsmooth, / His sweetness in his tongue: thine in thy tooth" (ll. 186-88), like many other sweets hungry freshmen.

The initiation probably took place some time after the Trinity Commons had been cleared of the evening meal, for what Professor Bowers called "an initiation banquet for the Freshmen"³⁴ seems imaginary as Randolph sketches it:

Well then, suppose y^r invisible Table spread
Trenchers & napkins laid wth Salt & bread (ll. 29-30).

Notice here still another reference to salt.

John Milton may have attended the Trinity salting the year earlier, for he says, in what may have been a reference to it, that he will not name his sons after various dishes "to furnish a banquet for you." This disclaimer is ironic, however, for it follows a long, lyrical passage in which he describes the "empyricall feast" he has arranged for his

sons. The description contains many puns on the names of Milton's sons so that after he has taken full advantage of this opportunity, he may then scornfully discard the idea because it would be "too like the savagery of Tantalus and Lycaon." He will not name them after parts of the body, nor after various kinds of meat either. Instead he will call them after Aristotle's Predicaments.

The body of Randolph's Salting consists of an introduction of each Son, usually by name, with Randolph's rationalization for the new name with which he will christen him. These sections, like the other divisions of the two saltings, are jammed with conceits and puns of all kinds. Milton, too, introduces his sons, but because of the more complex structure of this work and the fact that it was in Latin and, like Randolph's, incomplete, it is more difficult to identify many of his sons although we can be reasonably sure of the identity of some of them among the freshmen and sophomores of his college.

Before Randolph begins to name his Sons, he excuses his "eldest Sons, gentlemen of Fame," the fellow commoners. These sons of the aristocracy and landed gentry ate in the Commons with the fellows of their college apart from the other students because of their rank and the higher fees required of them. Because Randolph addresses them directly, foretelling their glorious futures, it seems likely that they remained in the audience to share the fun but were off limits for further jests.³⁵

They, "my good Sons & heires," the "worst" of whom may be served boiled "one day at Councill Table," the Privy Council, are "like Tantoll's [Tantalus'] apples dangling by / Made not to please o^r palate, but o^r eie" (ll. 51-54). They are, says Randolph, referring to the

splendor of their unscholarly clothes and pocketbooks, like a gilded pasteboard salad, like "a dainty woodcocks wing" or a "peacocks tail spread on a curious pie" (ll. 56-58):

He were a ghest unworthy of his meate
Who thinks such pretty things were made to eate. (ll. 59-60)

Randolph dismisses them as unfit to be dishes in his feast. They, his eldest Sons, "as tis fit / Shall have my lands," which were, of course, also imaginary; "ye next shall have my witt" (ll. 63-64).

Turning now to his other sons, who will bear the brunt of his wit, Randolph urges them to hurry, for "Tis a running bankett," a snack taken on the run,³⁶ and it soon will leave. Finally Randolph gets to the business at hand, referring by name to several of his sons, eleven of whom Fredson Bowers identified as having matriculated in 1626 or 1627 at Trinity College. I have traced others, leaving only two unknowns.

The banquet Randolph is serving is unbalanced nutritionally and otherwise, but nutrition is unimportant to an imaginary feast. It consists primarily of meat courses. The "worst" of the fellow commoners may be served boiled, but only at the Council table, not to feed their fellow classmates. They are to adorn the banquet table, to satisfy the students' eyes because of their exalted rank and elegant appearance. The elegant clothing, extreme hairstyles, and sometimes even swords affected by many wealthy students were the subject of frequent edicts for decorum at Cambridge and in sharp contrast with the traditional thread-bare student gown Randolph apostrophizes in other works.

Randolph's "school fellows," who prepared for admission to Cambridge at Westminster School, as he did, are to be the chief, though

unspecified, dishes at the feast. Other lowerclassmen are to be a stewed chicken; a sirloin of beef basted by the sweat of his face, his hair like roasted Rosemary; a mutton shoulder; a tithe pig; a calves head; a swan; and a goose. One student, who is absent from the festivities, is to contribute a leg or arm later. Another is to be sauce for various meats. This rich meal is to have only one vegetable: Jerusalem artichokes. The beverage is to be small beer, a student chosen for his size.

Not all of Randolph's sons are to be served at the feast, however. One, Evans, is to supply music for it with his "Orphean kitt." Another, Priest, was to have said grace, but Randolph substituted for him in his absence. Instead, Priest, again because of his name, is to be a tithe pig, which, of course, would not be served at a lay dinner anyway.

Salting in absentia was apparently a possibility because both Priest and Heggenbotham, who is to entertain as an orator "Whose noble ragged Eloquence could spice / My brother Keys rhetoricall Sons, whom he / calls Tropes & figures," (ll. 260-62) were not present. Randolph styled him orator because of the similarity of his name to Heggin. In the section devoted to "John Heggin bottom," Randolph alludes often to Heggin, an eloquent character in Fletcher's play, Beggars Bush, and to the play, apparently the first to use beggar's slang and cant extensively. Randolph uses cant here, too.

Because of the many references to college life and the quibbles on what would otherwise be esoteric material to many of us today, we must conclude that the initiates would not only understand these allu-

sions but find humor in them. Their presence in this salting, then, enables us to make certain assumptions about customs and education at Trinity in 1627. The long section on Rodes, ll. 193-230, for instance, tells of the custom of tolling bells at Cambridge on the deaths of students, although in this case, happily, the information was apparently false. One is also reminded of the frequent punctuation of everyday life by the various university, college, and chapel bells, near and far, sounding out in their own time the hours, times for chapel and classes, and holidays with their own voices: Sell, Hatley, Hearn Ingrey, St. Bottolph's, St. Bennet's, and the round church, the church of the Holy Sepulcher, one of only four round churches then remaining in England. One of the oldest buildings at Cambridge, it probably dated back to the early twelfth century. The many quibbles in this piece on logical terms and on the Hebrew language, grammar, and linguistics presuppose a knowledge of these subjects by Randolph's audience, including the freshmen, some sophomores, and the guests of honor. Many of the Hebrew terms, like pecod and niphal, are so specialized that much effort is needed today to discover their meanings.

The rather long section on Heggenbotham, mentioned above, is another case in point. It is virtually meaningless unless one realizes that it is completely dependent on Fletcher's play. Unless one recognizes this fact and is familiar with the play, many of the allusions are lost, and as a consequence, so is the humor. One can still admire the style and boldness of phrase here, but one should be aware of the relationship between the passage and its source to appreciate Randolph's achievement.

Another contribution to our knowledge of the times comes from the Heggenbotham section, showing as it does Randolph's presumption that his audience is familiar enough with Fletcher's play to find his tribute to Heggenbotham witty. This assumption in 1627 also hints at a fairly recent performance of the play at or near Cambridge although Bentley³⁷ indicates that the play was first printed in 1647 and that there were no known performances of this play between 1622 and 1630.

One also learns from the monologue that Trinity students preferred mutton over all other commons foods (ll. 167-68) and that the college served small beer (ll. 129-30). Then, as now, most students were, however, perennially hungry, wrote complaining letters home about the food served in the college dining hall (ll. 302-14), and supplemented their meals with junk food like stale pies, the beef in which pie corner cooks have boasted to have boiled one term and roasted another, another case of town exploitation of gown.

Because of the non-classical genre of saltings, shows by definition not following any classical rules, it is not surprising to find a variety of styles and modes used in this patchwork of oratory in which the Father used the unifying framework of naming his Sons after dishes while he shows his wit and his talent for entertaining by frequent digressions and by as many timely allusions to the immediate past and present as he can cram into this conglomeration. The reference to the war with France, to various subjects of the curriculum, and to having the bells toll falsely for Rodes are examples of this.

Randolph, in the section on Priest, satirizes the casual religious practices of some nobles and their chaplains. The lord swills "y^r

guts wth drink and wine," but he gives none to the poor and lets his tenants "pine." The chaplain's praying is satirized, too. He lifts his eyes to heaven while his mouth waters "on his Patron's pies." The grace is one "o^r Grandsire" used, "then when 'twas out of fashion to pray." Randolph also expressed this idea in his Hey for Honesty: "for household chaplains are now out of date like old Almanacks."³⁸ Randolph as he delivers the grace for the feast in the salting gives lip service only:

Pray for y^r king, if but to flatter,
but for y^r church, 'tis no great matt'r (ll. 90-91).

Randolph fits his style to burlesque his subject in the Heggenbotham section. He uses inflated language in hailing the "orator" in formal style and, contrastingly, low language, cant, to equate the low life in Beggars' Bush, with college life. Randolph addresses Heggenbotham, for instance, as "king of Crutches, . . . Hedge Tully, Y^u Demosthenes of lice" (ll. 257-59).

His style is similarly determined by his subject in the section on "Ashton a great Student" (ll. 107-126). Here Randolph uses inflated language, too, as well as clichés:

Ashton, who thinks in learning to excell
By's pilgrimage to Aristotles well. [sic]
& to ascend arts cloud transcending towns
by serious looks, & melancholly hovres (ll. 108-10).

He also burlesques the pastoral in his free-wheeling, word-associating passage on "innocent" lovesick Baines, who is to be a shoulder of mutton. Randolph is then able to link mutton, and its lewd connotations, with the traditionally pastoral sheep.

There are many similarities in style and language between this

Salting and Hey for Honesty, the latter of which Randolph probably wrote for presentation at Cambridge between 1626 and 1628. The similar references in each, particularly the ones to the Rhè expedition, the outcome of which was still in doubt in the Salting of 1627 and was already known in Hey for Honesty, seem to pinpoint some period after the Salting in 1627 or in 1628 as the date of composition of Hey for Honesty. The similarities between the two Randolph works also provide additional evidence of Randolph's having written the lines containing them rather than the 1651 adaptor, F. J., of the earliest edition of this first translation of an Aristophanes' play into English.

Milton's prologue shares most of the above characteristics. It, too, features an imaginary banquet and an uncomfortable Father naming his sons by using a loose scheme of organization which he feels free to abandon when he sees other opportunities for outrageous puns and quibbles. The salting monologue is not only to initiate lower classmen into their individual Cambridge colleges but to entertain the whole college and be a showcase for the wit of the specially chosen monologist. There are timely allusions to the circumstances of the saltings and to recent events on and off campus: Milton refers to the Rhè expedition, too, as well as to what seems a recent student riot in a nearby town. Both saltings use a mixture of styles, and Milton uses two languages as well as both prose and poetry. Both saltings are incomplete, perhaps because some of each speech was extempore and because the sons' responses could not be included because they were spontaneous, too.

CHAPTER IV

ARISTIPPUS, OR THE IOUIALL PHILOSOPHER, "A PRIUATE SHEW" AND AN INGENIOUS, MERRY ONE

Thomas Randolph's earliest dramatic production at Cambridge, Aristippus, is one of his most appealing. It and his The Conceited Pedlar, another show, with which it was printed and bound, were popular enough to go through at least ten editions between the first one in 1630 and 1668.¹ Despite the fact that they both contain innumerable contemporary references, most of them to Cambridge, because both shows were written for an academic audience, Aristippus, the cleverer and more substantial of the two, loses little of its charm for even twentieth-century readers. Surprisingly little of the wit depends on his readers' complete understanding of the technical terms which abound in it. A modern audience may not understand each precise point being satirized, but most of the wit and good-natured humor still shines through. Consequently, while most modern critics do not even agree on the object or objects Randolph was burlesquing, or even on the meaning of the main conflict of the show, they are still impressed by the fun and achievement of this show.

For example, according to the 1950 Dictionary of National

Biography entry for Randolph,² it is "a witty satire in dramatic form on university education, and a rollicking defense of tippling." W. C. Hazlitt, the editor of the last, the 1875, edition of Randolph's works, called it a masterpiece of wit and pleasantry although he "presumed" that neither it nor The Conceited Pedlar was "intended . . . for presentation [on the stage]."³ John Jay Parry, one of the two twentieth-century editors of Randolph's poems, considered Aristippus the best of his early work because, "unhampered by any conventions or preconceived ideas of form," not a play at all, "he has given us a very realistic picture of the life he knew, greatly exaggerated, of course, for the sake of humor."⁴

Contrastingly, Joe Lee Davis concludes that Aristippus was written in imitation of Aristophanes' The Clouds.⁵ Although Davis also enumerates several Aristophanic characteristics he found in this show,⁶ he nevertheless concludes that Aristippus "falls short as an Aristophanic imitation" because of the "grounding of its farce and fantasy in a real conflict of ideas."⁷ Discussing the central conflict in the show, which is between Aristippus, "an incarnation of the spirit of sack," and the Wild-man, who is both the "apostle of the malt heresie of beer" and "the University Ramist," Davis points out that Randolph, as a "true Aristotelian," would, of course, be against Ramist logic. During Randolph's student days at Cambridge, this logic was "well established," Davis points out, as "one of the bulwarks of Puritan theology." In the very year, 1626, that we believe Aristippus was performed, as a matter of fact, Anthony Wotton, an alumnus of Cambridge who was already a "leading Puritan divine," published his translation of Ramus'

Dialecticae.⁸ This event may have even incited Randolph to make Ramus a main object of this burlesque, for, surely, there was discussion at both universities about this new Ramus translation.

A loyal Anglican, Royalist, and Son of Ben, Randolph was anti-Puritan, as we have seen, and would also write satirically against the brothers in some of his poems, in Hey for Honesty, and in The Muses' Looking Glass. Because of these strong convictions, "all of Randolph's sympathies" were for Armenianism, and so Davis finds the focus of Aristippus on the conflict between Aristoteleian and Ramist logic: between "Aristippus and his wine of truth against Wild-man and his Dutch heresy of English beer." Davis criticizes Randolph, however, for not developing "the real issue" by his making these allusions incidental to the work. He concludes, therefore, that Aristippus, which "might have had considerable value as a satiric commentary on the Cambridge climate of opinion, fails to rise above the level of a clever college farce" about the respective merits of wine and beer.⁹

The Reverend Ronald Bayne is far more enthusiastic than Davis about Aristippus in the Cambridge History of English Literature.¹⁰ He praises Randolph's "command of racy English, his high spirits," and his never-lagging "exuberant wit." He astutely compares Randolph's achievement in this show to Browning's in Aristophanes' Apology in that Browning's use of his great knowledge of the drama is as unpedantic as Randolph's transference of Aristoteleian metaphysic into English farce although both poets were "crammed with learning." The "marvelous agility" of some of Randolph's riming in the show is another similarity Bayne finds between the poetry of Browning and of Randolph. Bayne also

admires Randolph's use of "classical and scholastical learning" to supply matter for a "cataract of ingenious puns and word plays."¹¹

In his excellent book on both English universities during their transitional stage from the onset of the Reformation to the beginning of the Civil War, 1558-1642, Mark H. Curtis found Aristippus' target to be quite different from that put forth by the earlier critics although there is unanimity, of course, on the conflict's centering on the respective merits of Aristippus' wine, the Wild-man's heretical beer, and the proponents of each. There is no ambiguity in the show on this point. The crux of critical opinion then obviously focuses on two points: Randolph's intention as shown in his text and the varying possible interpretations of his allegory in this show.

Curtis sees the point of Aristippus as the contrast (again) between the ale of the Wild-man and the sack of Aristippus. Here the emphasis changes, however, for he interprets sack as the lighter, more interesting studies of Aristippus, whom the new scholars follow because he is a hedonist, a guide who encourages them to study only what gives them delight for its own sake.¹² This change, Curtis maintains, came about as a result of the newer humanistic curriculum, which was reformed by Henry VIII to help train gentlemen and the aristocracy for their future duties as leaders, servants of the Crown, and enlightened patrons of the arts.

Gilbert Harvey, a scholar of the time, as well as the notorious adversary of Thomas Nashe, commented on the gradual bending of the curriculum towards this end during the middle of Elizabeth's reign. He noted that scholars at Cambridge were becoming, perhaps as a result of

this change, "'active rather than contemplative philosophers;' followers of Aristippus, the utilitarian among Socrates's disciples, rather than of the more idealistic Diogenes." Proof of this change, Harvey reported, was the number of students then reading such primarily useful works as Philbert's Philosopher of the Court, Castiglione's Courtier, Bengalasso's Civil Instructions to his Nephew, Guicciardini's La historia d'Italia, Plutarch in French, and Giovanni della Casa's Galateo of manners and behaviors in familiar conversation in the English translation of 1576.¹³

These young gentlemen and aristocrats brought to the universities their worldliness, their practicality, and their interest in their counties, London, and the "great world of affairs." They also came with the "insatiable intellectual appetites that helped to develop the cult of the virtuoso" as Walter E. Houghton, Jr. defined virtuoso: "fundamentally a man for whom learning is the means to dispose of wealth and leisure in the happiest fashion--and with the comforting assurance that he may also be serving the desiderants of philosophy, history, or art."¹⁴ These gentlemen virtuosi of the early seventeenth century were "seeking learning as much for pleasure and delight . . . as for its utility," using Henry Peacham's Compleat Gentleman (1622), as their chief manual to this end.¹⁵

Keeping this development in mind, Curtis interprets Randolph's show as a satire on the prevalence of virtuosity, as well as the "new" drinking habits of Randolph's fellow students, practices brought to the university, according to Curtis, by these worldly gentlemen.

In view of the contradictions discernible in the criticisms

cited above, how are we to come to a valid interpretation of this show? Again, the central questions we have to answer if we are to come to a satisfactory understanding of this work seem to be what Randolph's aim in writing the show was and how we are to arrive at a satisfactory interpretation of its allegory: the wine and ale, as well as the characters they represent, Aristippus and Wild-man.

One approach is through genre, for Randolph was surely very conscious of the genre he was using. Proof may be found in the very opening of the show, its "Praelvdivm," in which he memorialized his revival of the "long-dead Show."¹⁶ At the very beginning of this work, Randolph has the personified Show promise to avoid all the excesses others had taken with her. "Let us have," says Prologue, "simple mirth and innocent laughter."¹⁷ The aim is to amuse: "Your laughters all I beg."¹⁸ While she may, "like a noble Eagle ceaze on vice," she will "spare the persons." Her "sweet smiling lips" will "hide no fangs, / No venemous biting teeth, or forked tongues."¹⁹

Davis would then seem unfair in criticizing Randolph for "not developing the real issue" in the show and for failing "to rise above the level of a clever college farce" in it, thereby losing the opportunity of making Aristippus more important to the history of ideas than it is because it would have had "considerable value as a satiric commentary on the Cambridge climate of opinion." This show was meant to be "a clever college farce," not a document in the history of education or of ideas. It was probably the opening salvo of the Trinity students' Christmas-tide, and the more allusions to undergraduate life at the college, the happier its academic audience would be with it, provided

it did not point up any specific abuses or abusers. Puritans in general were fair game at that time in the colleges not leaning in that direction, as were the many human frailties of the undergraduates, which have changed hardly at all with the centuries. The latter would, as a matter of fact, be an excellent source of the humor of recognition.

I cannot accept Curtis's interpretation, either, of the allegory that sack represents the "lighter" studies introduced into the university curriculum by the humanists. He maintains that Randolph is portraying the majority of the students of his time who chose the sack, the newer studies, for purely hedonistic reasons, thereby neglecting the traditional scholastic curriculum, the beer. While some fellow commoners at the universities, sons of the landed gentry and of aristocrats, did not become scholars, depending, for instance, on translations into English of the classics and books their tutors thought would be helpful to them when they were to take on the responsibilities that went with their exalted stations, they were a distinct minority among the students attending the universities. And even they, if they wished, might become scholars and rhetoricians. They might, on the other hand, skip the required declamations and debates; they might also not stay the full time necessary to become bachelors; but no degree would be forthcoming either.²⁰ Many first sons in this category seem to have gone this route as an alternative to reading a year or so at the Inns of the Court, the traditional "finishing" schools heretofore, but the scholarly way always remained an option for those gentlemen with the disposition for study. George Herbert, for example, chose learning. Indeed, he was outstanding enough in that area to become a fellow in

his college, where his duties included serving as university orator and lecturing in rhetoric. On the other hand, his older brother, Lord Herbert, the first son, apparently did not thrive at the university. Perhaps it was sibling rivalry that prompted the latter to denounce the universities as "wrangling schools" because of their great dependence on disputing. They were unfit, in his opinion, for educating the sons of the gentry and aristocracy. The majority of the students attended the universities, however, for the education, which was based on scholasticism brought up-to-date by having been revamped to include the philosophy and refound knowledge of the renaissance and the reformation. Enrollment in the lighter studies Curtis writes about was usually by those who took them to supplement their traditional studies, as Milton did with fencing and apparently Italian.

Davis is right in seeing Aristophanic characteristics in Aristippus, and there are some elements it shares with The Clouds. In both a philosopher and his teachings are satirized in an academic setting. But Randolph did not limit himself to one source, obviously, so Aristippus could not possibly fall short as an imitation of what he did not attempt to make it.

And while on the surface this show seems to be "a rollicking defense of tippling," as it is characterized in the article on Randolph in the Dictionary of National Biography, that cannot be its function. Student tippling was certainly not a new development in seventeenth-century Cambridge. Student drinking to excess has probably been one of the rites of passage at universities since at least the wandering scholars of the middle ages. Worldly gentlemen and aristocrats did not

have to introduce drinking to the other students of the time. The enjoyment of sack is a large part of the show, but it is not underlined. Many of the characters in the show extol the virtues of sack, but inebriation is its own reward. No value judgments are to be made from reading or seeing this farce. The characters are flat and, except for the character of the Prologue in the *Praelvdivm*, none acts as the persona of the author.

Parry's praise of Aristippus' free form and lack of classical dramatic conventions is valid--it is "not a play at all." But his calling what is depicted in the show "a very realistic picture of the life he [Randolph] knew," then undermines the value of his opinion, which is made still more questionable because of his own qualification of this realism as "greatly exaggerated, of course, for the sake of humor." How realistic can a burlesque be? A burlesque would, to be sure, have to be based on some "realistic" or actual details and examples to be accepted as having some relationship to real life or being "truer" to life than actuality, but the exaggeration not only brings laughs, it takes from reality. And if Hazlitt really thought Aristippus a "masterpiece of wit and pleasantry" possessing other positive traits, why did he then presume that it was not intended "for presentation" on the stage?²¹ He gives no reason, but it seems obvious to me that it was just the sort of thing students in a holiday mood would enjoy tremendously.

Bayne's comparison of Randolph's technique in Aristippus to Browning's in much of his work seems insightful to me. I, too, share Bayne's admiration for Randolph's originality in using classical and

scholastic learning as the basis for a "cataract of ingenious puns and word plays." He was able to achieve this effect because of the latitude in construction the genre allowed.

Actually Aristippus consists of two half-plots, or two overlapping plots, which almost break asunder but which serve extremely well as the framework for this eclectic blending of what I shall show are medieval and renaissance kinds, traditional to commercial, academic, and folk drama. It relies for most of its effect on the delight of its audience as they recognize, not only themselves and their foibles, but also the unexpected ingredients which Randolph has boldly combined into a miraculously compatible entertainment.

It is a mixed form, cramming within its thirty pages an incredible number of generic and chronological influences. Its inclusionism makes it a unique example of multo in parvo, epitomizing much in little almost as completely as Rabelais did in the far longer Gargantua and Pantagruel. Randolph, too, as Rosalie L. Colie said of Rabelais, "exposes and confirms human systems."²² Randolph also both mimics and affirms humanistic and scholastic education, fitting into his slick, fast-moving narratives kyrielles--lists or catalogues--as well as a virtual epitome of the university curriculum and other echoes of medievalism, like the basic plot of the mummers' play, for instance, which becomes the second plot of the show. Randolph's eclecticism is further illustrated by his including within this short work a mock classroom lecture delivered by Aristippus in a tavern; mock enrollment and initiation ceremonies, like saltings, of a callow freshman, Simplicius, who speaks appropriately in tongues: a non-language combining English and

scholastic Latin absurdly and humorously; echoes of classical Greek drama and literary criticism, of Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, and of the continental humanistic prodigal-son plays. There are four drinking songs in this show: the first a carpe diem one sung by Aristippus' scholars on their first entrance; then a comic pseudo-classical one, purportedly by Ennius. It is immediately followed by another song extolling sack, supposedly translated from Virgil, which is truly classical in feeling. The show ends appropriately with a fourth original one, meant to be contemporary, sung as a sort of exodus by the scholars, who take on something of the role of a Greek comic chorus.

One character, Medico de Campo, is taken straight from Thomas Nashe, the mummers' play, and contemporary Cambridge. Another, Wildman, combines a medieval folk character with an actual student in attendance at Cambridge at the time of the performance. Written in verse and prose, Aristippus also includes a classical comic agon, a death, and a rebirth. As one can see, this is truly a remarkably original, lively work.

The plot itself, as stated above, is really double, and it is introduced by a classically Greek prologue which still manages to invoke echoes of Dr. Faustus. My synopsis shall be more detailed than it would have been if the show were not virtually unknown and out-of-print. I also believe that the flavor of the original comes through better in such a summary.

In the praeludium, the Prologue as conjurer (which then had a secondary meaning of scholar) releases the personified Show from the torments of Hell to appear as glorious as her sister, Comedy. The show

proper opens with a wide-eyed student, aptly named Simplicius,²³ desperately searching for Aristippus, with whom he wishes to study philosophy. Simplicius, who has just arrived at Cambridge from his prep school in rural Giggleswick, has just learned that Aristippus is not at the university, but that "he lies at the Dolphin," a local tavern. This is why the show itself opens in front of the Dolphin. Simplicius, confused by being brought a pint of sack in response to his request for Aristippus, concludes in a characteristic speech that "Aristippus is duplex, Nominalis & Realis; or else the Philosopher liues like Diogones in dolio," in a tub or barrel (P.4).

Two scholars now enter singing a drinking song in which they propose to "carouse in Bacchus fontaines," thereby setting the mood for this high-spirited show. They then hail "braue Aristippus," pronounce a "Fox of [sic] Aristotle and Plato, and a [sic] company of dry Raskalls" (P.5). Simplicius, concluding that these singers are Aristippus' scholars, asks them the question on Duns Scotus' writing that had perplexed him enough to seek a tutor, Aristippus, for help in understanding the text. The two scholars mock him in their own mixture of scholastic Latin and English as they urge him to quench his sorrows in drink. They promise to lead him to Aristippus, for "one Epitome of his in quarto is worth a volume of these Dunces," schoolmen like Scotus.

Puns like Duns and dunce and in quarto for both liquid refreshment and book size fly pell-mell in Latin and English throughout the show. Answering the eager Simplicius' practical questions concerning Aristippus' philosophy, his hours, and his lecture fee, they continue to play the confusing game of using the name of Aristippus and

sack interchangeably. Not so surprisingly, the Oxford English Dictionary does give as a now obsolete secondary meaning of Aristippus that it was a cant name for canary wine. Its first recorded usage is 1627, when Middleton referred to "Rich Aristippus, sparkling sherry." Our show probably antedates this by a year, but was Aristippus Middleton's source or did both writers simply reflect a usage which has long since faded?

The scholars continue using the double-meaning of this name, assuring Simplicius that Aristippus "powres forth his instructions, and fills you out of measure" night and day. He will make the eyes of Simplicius' "vnderstanding see double," and will teach him to speak "fluently." He is so merry that "There can be no Feast, but hee is sent for." They add that he, a "diligent Lecturer," deserves "eight pence a Pinte tuition" (P. 6).

At this point Wild-man enters dramatically with a suitably distraught monologue attacking Aristippus. The first Scholar explains to Simplicius that this ranter is "The Vniuersitie Ramist, a Mault Heretique, alias the Wilde man that is growne mad to see the daily resort to Aristippus" (Pp. 6-7). The three exit as they sing the praises of "Canarie."

The Wild-man, in the manner of countless villains, delivers a rousing soliloquy, in which he swears revenge against Aristippus for "infecting" the university with his doctrine of "sack and red noses." This alien, subversive philosopher and his followers, he rages, have "made" the Wild-man "horne-mad already" (Pp. 7-8).

The curious audience is certainly anxious by now for Aristippus

to make his first entrance. In he comes with his two scholars as Wild-man is beating an innocent passerby, "a fellow crying Winepots" because his is "the Mandrakes voyce that vndoes me . . . This is the Deuill of his [Aristippus'] that goes vp and downe like a roaring Sheepes-head, to gather his Pewter Librarie," (P. 8) the winepots. The stage is now set for the first agon between the two adversaries. Aristippus is moderate, reasonable, and soft-spoken, while Wild-man spews invective melodramatically--and comically. Wild-man apoplectically addresses the philosopher as "Saint Dunstan," "Don Canario," a "Spanish Gusman," a "cursed Fryer Bacon," a "hellish Merlin," whose "good father in law" is Dr. Faustus. Wild-man will have his revenge because Aristippus, "thou dismall and disastrous coniuier" has "set a spell for any mans comming into my house now." The philosopher has "bewitched my threshold, disturbed my house," and the Wild-man will have him "hang'd in Gibbets for murthering my Beere." He'll have him "tryed by a Iurie of Tapsters, and hang'd in Anon anon Sir" (P. 8).

The Wild-man feverishly reiterates his demand for revenge against this traitor, but for whom "we had taken Cales [Cadiz], and might afterwards haue conquered Lisbon, and Ciuill," Seville. Wild-man is determined to "runne to the Councell" to denounce him as a traitor because Aristippus, the incarnation of sack, must be of the same Spanish origin as the wine and is, therefore, a foreign agent. Aristippus' answer is a cool, dignified request to his scholars to "Kicke him out of the presence, his company will metamorphis vs to balderdash" (P. 9). Wild-man leaves as the obedient first scholar literally kicks him out.

Aristippus then turns his attention to his prospective pupil,

Simplicius, who declares his desire to study Aristippus' philosophy because "these Schoolemen haue so pusled [puzzled] me, & my Dictionaries, that I despaire of vnderstanding them" either "in summe gradu," to the highest degree, or "remisso," in the lowest or most negligent manner. Because he "lay sicke of an Haecceitas," a this-ness, a particularly vague complaint, "a fortnight, and could not sleepe a winke for't," he beseeches Aristippus to agree to tutor him. The philosopher agrees, explaining, however, that Simplicius must be matriculated and have his "name recorded in Albo Academie," the white page of the academic register, before he can be admitted to Aristippus' lectures.

There follows a particularly pun-filled initiation, which seems a burlesque of the Cambridge oath of matriculation, in which Simplicius is instructed to take the oath by laying his hand on "the booke," a glass of wine. The various oaths are frequently punctuated, much to Simplicius' delight, with orders to "Kisse the booke," to drink. He swears to "defend the honour of Aristippus, to the disgrace of Brewers, Alewiues, and Tapsters." Then, undoubtedly getting closer to the actual Cambridge matriculation oath, he must "sweare to obserue the customes and ordinances instituted and ordained by an Act of Parliament in the raigne of King Sigebert for the establishing of good gouernement in the antient foundations of Miter Colledge" (P. 10). According to Thomas Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge, Sigebert, once King of the East Angles, was the reputed founder of Cambridge.²⁴ There was no Miter College, however; the Miter, a contemporary tavern in Cambridge, like the Dolphin, was as much a college as the Dolphin was now being shown to be. Later in the show, in his lecture on logic,

Aristippus continues in this same vein, asserting that "quarta figura, or gallons must not be neglected, your drinking is in Syllogismes, where a pottle is the maior terminus, and a pinte the minor, a quart the medium, beginning of healths are the premisses, and pledging the conclusion . . . , Topicks or common places are the Tauernes, and Hamon, Wolfe, and Farlowes," the proprietors in Randolph's time of the Dolphin, the Rose, and the Miter, respectively, "are the three best Tutors in the Vniversities" (P. 15). Cooper's later history of Cambridge documents the fact that the Rose was sometimes called Wolfe's College.²⁵

Only after Aristippus is assured that Simplicius has been enrolled "in Albo," when he has been "fully admitted . . . into the societie" as a "member of the body Academicke," does the philosopher begin his lecture. Randolph, a gifted classical scholar who probably was familiar with the hedonistic philosophy of the historic Aristippus, follows the popular stereotype of the Cyrenian philosopher. The real Aristippus did believe, for instance, that pleasure was the only absolute good, but since the wages of excess are far from pleasurable, he, like Aristotle, was for moderation. Maintaining that pleasure and good were identical, he concluded that they were obtainable from self-control, not sensuality.²⁶

Randolph chose to make Aristippus what Joe Lee Davis calls the "most Falstaffian character in English comedy since Falstaff,"²⁷ probably because this interpretation was far more effective dramatically than anything closer historically to his actual philosophy. Randolph had authority for the interpretation he used in this show in the extremely reputable dictionary which was still in use at Cambridge at the

time, Thomas Cooper's Thesavrus Lingvae Romanae & Britanniae . . . , 1578. Notice the tone in the following excerpt from Cooper's biographical entry on him:

Aristippus--Disciple to Socrates, put the chiefe goodness in voluptie or pleasure; wherefore Diogenes calleth him the royall dogge, because he alway [sic] followed them that were riche, and taught for money His seat by other disciples of Socrates, and noble philosophers, was utterly exterminate.²⁸

That Aristippus taught for money was considered scandalous in classical Greece and renaissance England. Nevertheless, Aristippus makes a point here of formally enrolling Simplicius before he may attend lectures. The practice at Cambridge, judging from Fletcher's account of Cambridge in Milton's time and McKerrow's in Nashe's, was quite otherwise. Students sometimes enrolled quite a while after they had begun to go to class.

Aristippus begins his seven-page lecture with a witty attack on beer, which he manipulates into a defense of sack. The "many errors that haue crept into the science, to distract the curious Reader" are caused, he holds, by small beer and sober sleeps, "whereas were the laudable custome of Sack drinking better studied, we should haue fewer Gownes and more Schollers." Echoing Simplicius' earlier account of the inception of his studies at Giggleswick, Aristippus describes the "whole Vniuersitie" as being "full of your honest Fellowes that breaking loose from a Yorkeshire Belfrey, haue walked to Cambridge with Satchels on their shoulders." After they have studied hard for "fowre or fiue yeares," he continues, they "returne home more fooles then they came" because of their "drinking Colledge taplash" (P. 11). Taplash consists of "The 'lashings' or washings of glasses; dregs or refuse of liquor;

very weak or stale beer."²⁹ (Small wonder that the plague and other disease could spread so quickly throughout a community.) College tap-lash, he insists, "will let them haue no more learning . . . nor a drop of wit more then the Buttler," who served the drinks in the college commons, "sets on their heads," meaning apparently that he believes that little penetrated their braines. He maintains that beer "drownes the soules in their bodies" and that ale "hath frothed their braines" (Pp. 11-12). Hence he finds that thousands of errors are "the friends of Beere, that nurse of Barbarisme, and foe to Philosophie" (P. 12).

Aristippus' long lecture, which both satirizes and supports the renaissance version of scholasticism, is frequently punctuated with enthusiastic responses from the faithful, his scholars now numbering three with Simplicius. For obvious dramatic reasons the monologue is broken up to hold the interest of the audience, give the lecturing actor time to catch his breath, add dialogue, and allow Simplicius, that tabula rasa, an opportunity to continue making an ass of himself.

The enthralled Simplicius, overcome by Aristippus' torrent of rhetoric, his lecture, declares that he is "rauished with this admirall Metaphysicall Lecture, if euer I drinke Beere againe, let me turne ciuill Lawyer, or be poudered vp in one of Luthers barreles" (Pp. 12-13). Gratefully he asks his stars, "whose influence doth gouerne this orbem sublunarem that I may liue with thee [Aristippus], and die like the Royall Duke of Clarence, who was sowed vp to immortality in a But of Malmesey." To him, Aristippus' instructions are "meere Orthodoxall"; his "Philosophie canonicall." He will once again "forsweare the pollution of Beere," as an "abominable heretique, Ile be his [Beer's]

perfect enemy till I make him and bottle Ale fly the Country" (P. 13).

Resuming his lecture, Aristippus declares that "Sacke is the life, soule, and spirits of a man," for it, not fire, is what Prometheus actually stole, "not from Ioves Kitchin, but his Wine Cellour," for mankind "to increase the natieue heat and radicall moysture, without which we are "but drousie dust, or dead clay." Sack is the "very Nepenth the Gods were drunke with," which gave Ganymede beauty, Hebe youth, and Jove his heaven and eternity. Aristotle and Plato did not drink Perry, distilled pear juice, or cider, and Alexander was able to conquer the world only through "the force & vallour of Sacke" (P. 13). Aristippus' litany praising this wine continues through his lecture, an epitome of his curriculum, multo in parvo in its quibbling, mercurial metamorphosis from a lecture on metaphysics to one successively relating the connection between sack and philosophy, geography, astronomy, military science, alchemy, history, geometry, music, medicine, rhetoric in general, and poetry and almanac making in particular. He thinks it appropriate to end his peroration with a poem by the "divine" Ennius, who speaks "far better . . . against your Ale and Barly broath" because he knew "too full well the virtue of Sack," but the waggish Aristippus explains ironically that he has translated Ennius' verses from Latin into English, "that they might be vnderstood" because "the audience are Schollers," (P. 17) who were required to be fluent in Latin, the language in which almost all college classes were conducted. He has the first scholar read his short translation, the thirteenth and fourteenth lines of which claim that:

A Bowle of wine is wondrous boone cheere
To make one blith, buxome, and deboneere. (P. 18)

This last line is ironically now one of Randolph's most important solely because some Milton scholars believe it was the inspiration for one of John Milton's most felicitous lines, line 24 of "L'Allegro."

Aristippus ends his speech by having the second scholar read still another translation of a tribute to sack in Latin poetry, this time from the "diuine Virgill" (Pp. 18-19). The appeal to authority was, of course, extremely important to both declamation and disputation, which were the cornerstone of humanistic scholasticism then governing university education, as I have shown earlier. Aristippus concludes: "Thus resting in the opinion of that admirable Poet [Virgil]; I make this draught of Sacke, this Lectures period. Dixi " (P. 19). Dixi, I have spoken, was the traditional closing of a declamation, which was at that time always delivered in Latin.

Simplicius is again completely overcome by the rhetoric of Aristippus. He "warrants" the philosopher "the best Dixi in Cambridge," who, in one of his lectures might confute all "the learned Barbarisme of the Schoolemen pro & con. Using a favorite Randolph allusion, he maintains that before the lecture, "Bankes his Horse" was "an Aristotle, in comparison of me." Now he can laugh "to think what a foolish Simplicius I was this morning, and how learnedly I shall sleepe to night" (P. 19).

The students then sing "the Catch against the Schoolemen" in praise of "our Tutor," Aristippus. Usually those referred to as Schoolmen were pre-Reformation scholars who gave scholasticism its name because their critical and interpretative works on the authorities were studied by those being trained for the clergy until the Renaissance

rediscovery of some of the classics themselves, when Greek and often other languages were added to the standard Latin of the curriculum. From this time on, students now being trained for service to the king, the country, and the church, were encouraged to read the classical writers' works in the original languages. Some of the names in this catch are of authors who were still being studied at this time in Cambridge. I believe Randolph is here using "schoolmen" to mean commentators or authorities on important texts, like the bible and Aristotle's various texts, including some then falsely attributed to him, as opposed to the authors of the texts themselves.

This song is one of Randolph's cleverest and is sometimes quoted. It begins:

Aristippus is better in every letter,
 Then Faber the Parisiensis,
 Then Scotus, Soncinus, then Thomas Aquinas,
 Then Gregorio Gaudauensis:
 Then Cardan and Ramus, then old Paludanus,
 Albertus, and Gabriella,
 Then Pico Mercatus, or Scaliger Natus,
 Then Niphus or Zaberella.
 Hortado, Trombetus, were fooles with Toletus,
 Zanardus, and Will de Hales (Pp. 20-21)

Here is Randolph at his most irresistible. The ingenious rhyme (both internal and end), the infectious rhythm, the humorous, jumbling catalogue of names, like Rabelais' kyrielles, both mimic and affirm. Randolph here, too, "exposes and confirms human systems"³¹ used in humanistic and scholastic education. The catch sounds like a mnemonic that students like Simplicius would memorize, except that this example is so dense with scholars' names interlaced with the absolute minimum of connective words that it would hardly be of help. This passage seems full of sense and learning. The humor comes from the contrast between

the impression of scholarship given by citing these authorities--if one authority is good, how much better are close to fifty?--and the sing-song, relentless rhythm made by the senseless accretion of name on Latinate name. This passage makes strange line-fellows, for there is no organizing principle beyond the insistent rhyme and rhythm underlying the order of the names cited.

The list includes, for instance, a god: Trismegistus (thrice greatest), who was the Egyptian Hermes, regarded as the fountain of mysticism and magic. Ammonius, the Alexandrian philosopher, founder of neo-Platonism, and teacher of Longinus, Origen, and Plotinus, is also among those listed later in the catch. The last-named made the list, too, five lines before his mentor. Apollinaris and Proclus, theologians, are others who also flourished before the fifth century. As would be expected, most of the scholars on the list were prominent in the middle ages as theologians, philosophers, and rhetoricians, and at least one of these, Trombetus, is a commentator on another listed commentator, John Duns Scotus. The latter and several other medieval scholars, as well as some of the later schoolmen listed, unsurprisingly are commentators of Aristotle, whose authority was still supreme in rhetoric, natural philosophy, poetics, and ethics in Cambridge in Randolph's time although there were, as we know, some neo-Platonists in residence, and the colleges with Puritan leanings had some adherents of Ramus in their midsts. What is surprising is finding several figures from the reformation and even later mentioned in these lines. Some of them, like Casper Hortado (1575-1647), the first Jesuit scholastic to deviate from Aquinas, and Michael Zanardus (1570-1642), a commentator on Aristotle,

even outlived Randolph, while others, like Girolama Cardan, Sir Henry Savile, Toletus, Comes, Holandus (whichever, Henry or Philemon Holland, Randolph had in mind here), Benedictus Pererius, and Scaliger (either the learned father, Julius Caesar, or his important son), were contemporaries, too, or quite close to it.

The 32-line song, never lagging, ends with more downgrading of the schoolmen and ale and corresponding praises for Aristippus and sack:

The nominall Schooles, and the Colledge of fooles,
 No longer is my delighta:
 Hang Briewood and Carter, in Crakenthorpes garter,
 Let Keckerman too bemoane vs,
 I'll be no more beaten, for greasie Iacke Seaton,
 Or conning of Sandersonus:
 The censure of Cato's [sic], shall neuer amate vs,
 Their frostie beards cannot nip vs:
 Your Ale is too muddy, good Sacke is our studie,
 Our tutor is Aristippus. (P. 21)

The last eight lines are often quoted, and Randolph thought enough of them to use them again in Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery. This duplication, incidentally, is cited as evidence for Randolph's having written the bulk of this translation of Aristophanes' Plutus by Cyrus L. Day.³²

On this happy note, the scholars' affirmation of their loyalty to their tutor and their sack, complication and conflict enter with the second plot, which is so skillfully blended with the original one that the ending provides a satisfactory conclusion to both.

The Wild-man, who has sworn revenge on Aristippus and could easily be kicked "out of the Presence" because he was outnumbered, returns with reinforcements: two brewers. Praising the "valour of Brewers," he instructs them to "knocke um soundly" and to let "the old Rogue" know "what Champions good Beere has." A free-for-all erupts,

ending in their beating Aristippus and his scholars out of the Dolphin. The brewers apparently disappear in the melee, too, for we next have another long soliloquy by the Wild-man, who looks on his victory as a vindication of beer, which his opponents now know is "too strong for them." Then, finding "the learned Library, the Philosophicall volumes . . . the bookes of the blacke Arts," which he hates worse than he does "Bellarmino the golden Legend," a Catholic legendary account of the lives of the saints, or "the Turkish Alcharon," he wonders "what vertue is in this peuterfaced Authour," sack, "that it should make eueryone fall in loue with it so deeply?" In this recognition scene he is converted to the virtues of sack upon his second swig, finding, like Simplicius, each subsequent taste "still better" than the last. By the third swallow he wonders if Aristippus has anymore authors in his learned library, the wine pots, and he actually hails his beaten enemy as "a most incomparable Author," adding, "O Bodly, Bodly," the growing Bodley Library of Oxford, "thou hast not such a booke in all they Librarie," for "one lyne" is "worth the whole Vatican," an obvious reference to the renowned papal library.

The Wild-man is now frantic with remorse, wishing "my braines had been broken out when I broched thy hogs-head: O curst Brewers, and most accursed am I to wrong so learned a Philosopher as Aristippus?" After wondering what penance could clear him of "this impardonable offence, he finally decides to "sucke vp all my Beere in Toasts, to appease him, and afterwards liue by my Wife and Hackneyes" (P. 22), perhaps identifying himself here with the Cambridge carrier, Hobson, who owned the Bull, a tavern in London which was the destination of the

carrier's trips from Cambridge.³³

As Wild-man mourns his sound trouncing of Aristippus, the quack doctor, Medico de Campo, enters just in time to be audience to these mad lamentations. The doctor, Wild-man declares, is "the welcomest man liuing, the onely man I could haue wished for." As Medico begins boasting of his miraculous cures, Wild-man begs him to "thinke on Aristippus," whom he has "almost killed" but now wants cured (P. 23). Medico agrees to help as Simplicius comes in for just this assistance. They send him to return with the broken-pated philosopher while Medico assures Wild-man of his credentials with one tall tale of hilarious cure after another.

After the three scholars carry their dead tutor in on his chair, the first scholar asks Medico to show any "art and skill" he may have now, for he "neuer had a more deseruing Patient." The doctor defends his art with still more impossible accounts of cures, only to have each one undercut in turn by one of the sceptical scholars (Pp. 27-28). Medico's fumbling examination of his patient reveals that "he is wonderfully hurt, his pia mater," a membrane covering the brain and spinal cord completely, "is cleane out of ioyne; of the 20. bones of the Cranium" only three are whole, "and two of his Sutures are cleane perished"; the hammers of his ear are lost; "not a Cartilago in his head" is worth three pence; and the functions of his nostril muscles, his molars, his "Pallet" and his "gurgvlio" are all lost. Despite this extensive damage, however, if he can only swallow, Medico announces, he can be saved. If the scholars will help Medico pry open their mentor's mouth, he can be cured. They give him a cup of sack (what else?), the

doctor chafes his temples and adds a powder to still another glass of sack, "and my life for his, he is as sound as the best of vs all."

Aristippus, fully conscious almost immediately, pronounces himself "as yong as the Morning, t'all life, and soule not a dram of body; I am newly come backe from Hell, and haue seene so many of my acquaintance there, that I wonder whose Art hath restored me to life againe." This is a cue for his scholars to praise the doctor as extravagantly as they had mocked him earlier (P. 28).

The philosopher offers him any reward "in the compasse of my Philosophy," but the doctor, who has gold and philosophy enough, for his "house is paued with Philosophers stones," pleads only for Aristippus to "forgiue the rage of this wildman, who is heartily sorry for his offence to you." Wild-man, whose elaborate salutations are the antithesis of his earlier ones of scorn and accusation, completes the reversal by begging Aristippus, this "very Sack of Sciences," the "Catholique Monarch of Wines, Archduke of Canary, Emperour of the sacred Sherry," to pardon him and his rudeness. In his turn, he "will forswear that Dutch heresie of English Beere, and the witchcraft of Middletons water." Making the supreme sacrifice, he will turn himself "into a Gowne," thereby becoming a scholar and disciple of Aristippus.

The happy ending includes a joyful exodos, led by Aristippus with a forgiven Wild-man, the "noble Signior Medico de Campo," and the scholars, all "very iouiall and merry," celebrating Aristippus' "second birth-day," as he puts it, by singing a drinking song as they join the audience in drinking a health to the company. Since no mention is ever made in the show of how Aristippus got to Cambridge centuries after his

lifetime, of course no one brings up the question of whether this is not his third birth-day, and besides, who is counting?

The above seems a simple enough plot: the contention, both verbal and physical, between Aristippus and Wild-man to establish the supremacy of either sack or beer, leads Wild-man to kill his rival. Then, sampling sack for the first time, he is an immediate convert to it. He repents his violence, asks the doctor to cure Aristippus, and consequently begs his resurrected victim to pardon him. The enemies are reconciled, and the exodos of the actors seems the beginning of a night of revelry for all.

The texture of connotation in this show is, however, far from uniform or logical. It is the product of haphazard accretion, as if Randolph is almost throwing whatever associations stream into his fertile mind at his target, the linear plot, which becomes more complex as an increasing number of the missiles adhere. This technique explains, I believe, the unique mix of kinds we find in this short show, as well as the fact that almost any reader can make sense of the show even without understanding all, or even most, of his allusions. Perhaps an examination of the characters in this show will best illustrate the nature of this accumulation.

Simplicius, a gull and a country clown who considers himself a scholar, is a flat character, a tabula rasa who seems fated to remain so permanently. I think we may view him, too, as being in the tradition of the academic prodigal-son plays of the early sixteenth century. Most of these Dutch or German plays by humanist schoolmasters, usually continental, were written in Latin for their students to perform for

much the same reasons as Ascham favored college student performances of Latin and Greek plays. The first of these Latin plays to be published was Acolastus (1529) by Gnaphaeus (William Fullonius), but Macropedius' Asotus (1537) was probably written about 1510.³⁴ Asotus was translated into English by John Palsgrave sometime before his death in 1554.³⁵ There were several other important plays of this type, including additional ones, Petriscus (1536) and Rebelles (1539) by Macropedius and Dyscoli, probably an imitation of the celebrated Rebelles by Cornelius Schonaeus (1540-1611), sometimes called the Christian Terence.³⁶

The influence of the early plays swept over the continent, where they were put on in the schools or inspired schoolmasters to write similar Latin plays for their students. They reached England, too. English adaptations of some of the plays, besides the Palsgrave's one, include Thomas Ingelond's Disobedient Child, c. 1540, and the anonymous Nice Wanton, published in 1560.³⁷ Gascoigne's Glass of Government, 1575, is also of the genre, as are, to a somewhat lesser extent, Shakespeare's Henry IV, Pt. I, Jonson's Bartholomew Fair and The Staple of News, and Thomas Middleton's A Trick to Catch the Old One and Michaelmas Term. I believe, too, as I shall explain later, that Dr. Faustus may be interpreted as belonging to this group.

From the incomplete records of the plays produced at Cambridge University that have survived, we learn that Acolastus was produced in 1560-61 at Trinity, while Asotus was performed in this same college five years later.³⁸ Copies of these plays, and others in this group, in which students are either corrupted by doting mothers (Rebelles) or

parasites and/or wicked servants (Asotus and Glass of Government), were doubtless around in Randolph's time. The prodigals generally leave school "to enjoy drink and venery."³⁹ Another play by Macropedius, Bassarus (1540), focusses on the folly of excessive eating and drinking. The chorus in this is of male and female fools (moriones).⁴⁰ These plays share elements with Aristippus in that Simplicius, a naive, would-be scholar like these, newly-arrived from the country, is corrupted by Aristippus and his scholars into riotous living in general and excessive drinking in particular--all in the name of scholarship. Aristippus' two scholars serve as the chorus, which expands to include Simplicius after his enrollment into the Dolphin school (still another pun--this one on the name of the tavern and of the fish who do indeed swim in schools). The chorus could be looked upon as an imitation of the chorus of fools in Bassarus or an ironic version of some of the more moralistic choruses in other prodigal-son plays, who added a distinct didactic tone to the plays, which were primarily Terentian in structure. An elaboration of both Gnaphaeus' Acolastus and Macropedius' Rebelles, Stymmelius' Studentes features a chorus which moralizes at the end of each act. Its chorus concludes its final ode with a rather sickening "Thus bright comedy corrects vice, exposes bad manners, and teaches right good manners, so that being instructed you may begin a better life."⁴¹

The reconciliation of the two former enemies at the end of Aristippus, with the entire company, including Wild-man in his student gown as a disciple of Aristippus, going off to a revel to celebrate the roguish philosopher's "second birth-day," is an ironic counterpoint to

the usual prodigal-son resolution, indicating as it does the victory of the rogues over the fools. That even Simplicius is aware of this is shown in his supplicat for audience "approbation" in the form of applause, when he declares that he, now a "iouiall and raskall" will "take a degree in drinking," an inversion of the usual repentance of traditional prodigals and of the kind of "better life" the continental prodigal-son playwrights hoped to bring about.

Many commentators and editors of Randolph's plays have noted that the idea of a school for the instruction of young men in the fashionable vices has been a favorite of Randolph's. The best consideration of this theme in his works is probably that of Cyrus L. Day in his excellent article on "Thomas Randolph and The Drinking Academy." In it he points out with much justification that "Aristippus could with equal fitness have been called The Drinking Academy," and that there are similar elements, as well, in the opening passages of The Jealous Lovers, in which a young prodigal "is learning, under the guidance of his tutor, how 'to spend and buy his pleasures.'" Day also quotes a passage from The Muses' Looking Glass, which expresses the same idea:

Banausus: . . . I will straightway build
A free school here in London; a free school
For the education of young gentlemen,
To study how to drink and take tobacco;
To swear to roar, to dice, to drab, to quarrel.⁴²

Day also points out character and verbal parallels in these plays, such as the "correspondance between Wordly, Knowlitttle, and Cavaliero Whiffe of The Drinking Academy and Simo, Asotus, and Ballio of The Jealous Lovers." He finds, too, that "the servant Simple, who in The Drinking Academy (I,i) is learning the 'gentile quality' of 'this tobacco,' is

clearly the prototype of the scholar Simplicius in Aristippus; while Cavaliero Whiffe, described in the list of characters as the 'master of the drinking Academy,' appears throughout the play as Knowlittles tutor, and thus corresponds both to Ballio of The Jealous Lovers and to the jovial philosopher Aristippus."⁴³ I agree with the parallels to Aristippus which Day makes, but while the relationship between the names of Simple and Simplicius is quite obvious, I believe Simplicius to combine characteristics of Simple with those of the scholars Knowlittles and Asotus, ass. He is certainly as well described by their names as by Simple's, and both are tagged in Randolph's lists of characters for each play as prodigal sons, the first of "Worldly an old doting user," usurer; the second of "Simo," ape, "an old doating father."⁴⁴ Randolph omitted the role of father in Aristippus, probably because he would get in the way of the focus of the much shorter show, which also satirizes scholasticism and the then-current curriculum at Cambridge.⁴⁵

The concept of Aristippus and the character of Simplicius come to us, then, from Randolph's earlier, more primitive prodigal-son companion plays, The Fary Knight, or Oberon the Second and The Drinking Academy, or The Cheaters' Holiday. Further complication lies in the question of Randolph's aim in this show, as well as the complex nature of his allusions in it. Scrutiny of the characters in Aristippus brings us to the way he uses his sources, which I believe to be a key to the problem. Let us now consider Wild-man. William Wildman, like several apparently related Wildmans who traditionally attended Cambridge University, was admitted sizar at Crist's June 1625 from the school at

Giggleswick!⁴⁶ Here then is an actual freshman perhaps even sitting in the audience at the opening of the Christmas revels at Trinity College around All Saints' Day of 1626, whose name has been used for a "heretic," a proprietor with Puritan leanings of a local ale house. Wildman's school and rural home, on the other hand, have been appropriated as the background of the ignorant, self-satisfied country clown, Simplicius, the newly-arrived freshman, who apostrophizes his comically-named home: "O Giggleswick, thou happy place of education!" where he had apparently learned nothing but to talk glibly in his own mixture of Latin and English about scholarly things that will always remain beyond him.

There is a distinct possibility, incidentally, that Wild-man the show character might have even been costumed in the actual clothes of William Wildman to underline the personal satire. It would have been equally appropriate, of course, for Simplicius to be so dressed except for the fact that he is a "scholar" and so would be gowned. This play would be in keeping with a Cambridge tradition described by Thomas Fuller, who was a year behind Randolph at the university, in his history of Cambridge University. He wrote of the university wits engaged in another chapter of the usual on-going town-gown struggle. They had written "a merry (but abusive) Comedy," Club Law, in 1597/8,⁴⁷ to which they had invited unawares the mayor, the other townspeople, and their wives. At the performance they were "rivetted in with Schollars on all sides" as they beheld "themselves in their own best cloathes (which the Schollars had borrowed) so livelily personated, their habits, gestures, language, lieger-jests, and expressions, that it was hard to

decide, which was the true Townsman, whether he that sat by," uncomfortable but unable to leave because of the overcrowding by the surrounding students, "or he who acted on the Stage."⁴⁸ As I have pointed out in Chapter II, above, Nashe, too, refers to the egregious personal satire of his archfoe, Gabriel Harvey, and Harvey's brothers in Cambridge plays and shows of the 1580's.

John J. Parry confessed in his article on the differences between a fairly-recently discovered manuscript version of Aristippus and the 1630 printed version that the "Wildman" had "never been quite comprehensible" to him until he read the list of dramatis personae in the manuscript. In this version, which Parry concluded was the earlier, acting one, which Randolph himself probably edited for publication about three years later, this character is described as "Buttler of Trinitie College in Cambridge, and one that keepes a Tipling house."⁴⁹ Parry concludes that the "Tipling house" was the Cambridge tavern, the "Wild-Man," mentioned in "an almost contemporary poem."⁵⁰ Randolph's Wildman is, however, not the tavern, identifiable by each member of Randolph's audience, but the proprietor of such an establishment.

William Wildman, as indicated by his admission as sizar, was an impoverished student who had to give some kind of service to his college for his keep. It is possible then that he might have been one of the students assigned to serving beer, the usual drink of the commons, a butler (Middle English, buteler, from Old French bouteillier, bottle bearer: "A manservant having charge of the wines and liquors."⁵¹ There is only one problem with this theory: Wildman was admitted to Christ's, and so should have worked at that college rather than at

Trinity, but nevertheless there is a distinct possibility that he might have been employed as butler at one or the other college.

Probably the best-known identification of Wild-man at the time was as the medieval folk character of continental and English literature, pageants, sword-dances, and art. It is indeed likely that the sign over the WildMan tavern at the time featured a traditional picture of the medieval character, which would be visualized instantly by most of the audience upon hearing this name.

The wildman has been variously described from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when so much important spade work was done in literary history and anthropology. J. G. Frazier's The Golden Bough and E. K. Chambers' The Mediaeval Stage were probably the first works in English, with some very early articles on folklore, to treat the character scientifically. According to Frazier this is the same character as the Whitsuntide Pfingstl of Bavaria, who is dressed in leaves and water-plants with a cap of peonies.⁵² He is "soused with water" and is then beheaded in a ceremony representing only part of the drama. In Saxony and Thuringia, the completed rite portrays a wildman dressed in leaves and moss, usually fastened on a lath or basket-work framework, who is hunted in a wood, caught, and executed. Then he is revived when a young man bleeds him.⁵³ This resurrection is compared to that of nature after a killing fall and winter. Violet Alford, the folk-lorist, defines the wildman as "the green man (an ambiguous fertility figure frequently represented in mediaeval sculpture and paintings, known in living appearance as 'Jack-in-the-Green,' or in Greece as 'MAY-MAN,' covered and encaged in leaves and flowers)."⁵⁴ She believes that the

English Jack-in-the-Green goes back even further in history than the Summer Lord and Lady of Midsummer Eve. Dancing under his heavy frame, "he is the Spring itself and has his counterpart all over Europe in the persons of Green George and the Wild Man from the Swiss forests," and "the chief May character of English sweeps."⁵⁵

In a book-length study of The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism, Timothy Husband sees this character as primitive, "innately irrational," "heretical," the "abstract concept of 'non civilization,'" the opposite and opponent of the knight, who represented the ideal of medieval chivalry. He concludes that "sublimated in the wildman were the preeminent phobias of medieval society--chaos, insanity, and ungodliness," heresy.⁵⁶ In the art of the early middle ages, he is usually shown as extremely hairy, but by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he and sometimes his wild woman are often portrayed wearing "leafy vines over their groins, intertwined branches about their waists, and even garlands of flowers around their heads. The universal attribute of the wild man is a large club, or occasionally an uprooted tree, which he holds in his hand, often with the end resting on his shoulder."⁵⁷ The green knight of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight⁵⁸ and Caliban in The Tempest are early examples of the wildman in English literature.

This background seems helpful to me in understanding why our Wild-man is a malt-heretic in a world in which the adoration of sack is the norm. Wild-man, who also represents the old-time pre-civilization when man was closer to nature, is still holding on to the drink from the native hops, resentful of the incursion of the more civilized, imported wine. In his first speech, a soliloquy, he characterizes himself as

been driven "horne-mad" by the infection of the students with "Aristippus his Arminianisme." He is determined to remain mad, asking, "Is this an age to be in a mans right wits, when the lawfull vse of the throat is so much neglected, and strong drinke lies sicke on his death bed" (Pp. 7-8)? Wild-man is aggressive, irrational, violent. I suspect that in addition to perhaps being costumed for the part in some clothing belonging to William Wildman, he was also recognized as the archetypal character by his large club, which he could use to humorous effect on the wine-pot sellers and upon his return to the Dolphin with the two brewers to oust Aristippus. His change of costume after his discovery scene into a scholar's gown would then be interpreted as complete proof of his conversion from strong drink, beer, to the more civilized sack. I should think, however, that he would still carry the identifying cudgel even as a gowned "scholar" since his brandishing of his club would provide continued horseplay and laughter from the juxtaposition of the two logically irreconcilable items of his costume: the club, or even better, a seemingly uprooted tree, and the academic dress ordained as decorous by royal statute.

The second half of our show's plot is really a reenactment of the traditional mummers' play, the Hero-Combat or St. George play, itself an offspring of the sword-dance and a relative of the morris dance. All of these share common characters, which vary from example to example as they were altered in each locality, like the folk ballads which were also transmitted orally for generations before they were transcribed by folk-lore scholars at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Many of the same grotesque characters

and elements of plot of the mummers' play also occur in the May-Game, soul-caking, St. George Riding, Plough Monday, and Wooing and the Pace-Eggers ceremonies.⁵⁹ Similar rites are recorded all over Europe. In England, the sword-dance was most prevalent in the North, but versions of the different rites were seen, not only in England, but in the other British Isles as well.

The name of danse des bouffons is sometimes applied to the sword-dance because the dancers in England are always accompanied by at least one grotesque personage. The most common of these are the "Tommy," the fool who wears the skin and tail of a fox or some other animal, and the "Bessy," a man who is dressed with women's clothing over his own.⁶⁰ The fool traditionally wears a calfskin costume with a fox tail in most English renaissance portrayals. While there is no "Bessy" in Aristippus, perhaps because the Puritans at the university would vehemently object to such dressing, Simplicius might very well have been dressed in calfskin under his gown to suit his role. In at least two recorded instances, in a Yorkshire and in a Durham sword dance, a Doctor also appears. His function is to revive a character who is inadvertently killed during the formations of the sword dance so that the dance may go on.⁶¹ I agree with Chambers' statement that the use of swords in the dance was not intended to be martial but to suggest "a mock or symbolic sacrifice."⁶² The sacrifice was to ensure fertility during the new year.

In time the English sword-dance was slowly transformed into the more elaborate mummers' play. Although the dance had been pushed into the background or had completely disappeared, both it and the

play had essentially the same characters, especially the grotesques, such as the clown or fool, the Bessy, and the wildman. From this time on, both sets of performances continued. Though the newer plays vary from each other as they evolved in different localities, they possess a common, central incident: the death and revival, generally by the Doctor, of one or more of the characters. This action symbolizes the resurrection of the year after its seeming death in winter.⁶³

The mummers' play, referred to by more modern scholars as the Hero-Combat, although the combatants are always far from heroic, or the "men's dramatic ceremony,"⁶⁴ usually consists of a prologue, challenges and counter-challenges, a lament, a cure boast by the doctor, and a quête.⁶⁵ Aristippus contains all of these.

Because of the processional nature of the mummers' play, which, like early Greek drama, apparently originated to bring luck (probably originally to ensure fertility) to the localities in which it was presented, it had no theater building to house it. The fact that its stage had to "be created anew with every performance" set this play apart from the other seasonal performances, like the festival processions of the May and the hobby-horse. While all are processions, it is "only in the three forms of the men's dramatic ceremony," one of which is the mummer's play, "that there is the clear separation between the audience and the actors" although the action is made accessible to the spectators by the drawing of a circle. This circle, which traditionally has magical powers, defines the stage. It may be drawn by the performers who all enter at once and walk in a circle while they sing; by the actors who may "range around the circumference of the circle"; by the "Presenter,"

who may "walk around, declaiming a prologue that calls for 'room,' thereby setting the boundaries of the action as he walks"; or by the "Bessy" who comes in with a broom and clears a circle "by sweeping the spectators back,"⁶⁶ symbolically sweeping in the new year.

I believe that Randolph chose to begin his "Praeludium" of the play with Show's being conjured from Hell and revived by Prologue not only because he was reviving the Show with this work but because it would bring to the audience connotations of Marlowe's Dr. Faustus' conjuring Mephistophilis from hell from within his circumscribed circle (I,iii), as well as of the circle tradition itself, which is used to define the stage in the Hero-Combat version of the men's ceremonial. Randolph's prologue also foreshadows Aristippus' rebirth, an analogue of Show's, after his brief visit to hell at the end of the show, thereby helping to unify this show, which is comprised of so many disparate elements. Another level of meaning probably comes from the contemporary use of conjurer at that time to mean scholar, as Ben Jonson defined it in The Staple of the News: "a cunning-Man, a School-Master, that is a Coniurour, or a Poet, or that had any acquaintance with a Poet."⁶⁷ The Prologue, almost certainly played by the scholar Randolph in academic gown, is then a conjurer in both senses of the word.

After the introduction come the next sections of the Hero-Combat: the combat and the cure.⁶⁸ In Wild-man's soliloquy on his first entrance, mentioned earlier, we see the beginning of his combat with Aristippus in his boasts and his insults aimed at his antagonist, his flytings. Vowing revenge against the philosopher, whose "red-nosed Philosophie" has put beer, "strong drinke," on his death-bed, Wild-man

vows to "twist and twitch his bush-beard from his Tauerne face" for having been sent either from the "Britch Politique" or the Spanish General Spinola "to seduce the Kings lawfull Subiects from their allegiance to strong Beere" (P. 7). Shortly afterwards, we see the first agon, many flytings between the two, followed by the scholars' kicking Wild-man out of his own tavern, the Dolphin (P. 9).

The second agon occurs after the mock initiation and enrollment of Simplicius into the academic community and Aristippus' long, witty lecture, multo in parvo, symbolically incorporating virtually the entire university curriculum. Wild-man reenters the Dolphin with his two henchmen, the brewers. Intent on reclaiming his own tavern, he instructs them to "knock um [Aristippus] soundly, the old Rogue . . . soundly, soundly, let him know what Champions good Beere has" (P. 21). The brewers depart as they beat their opponents, again leaving Wild-man alone for his second soliloquy. Wild-man, as much the incarnation of strong beer as Aristippus is of sack, obviously pleased in having prevailed, boasts: "Now let them know that Beere is too strong for them, and let me be hang'd if euer I be milder to such Rascals, they shall find these but stale curtesies" (P. 22).

Ironically the reversal occurs now when, as Wild-man is relishing his victory, he decides to sample the wine pots of the pedlar he had beaten earlier for hawking them. Wondering what virtue could be "in this peuterfaced Authour" or whether "any Philtrum, any loue-Potion" in it might explain its hold on the populace, Wild-man becomes as enamored of the drink as Simplicius had been at his initiation. Wild-man, instead of repeatedly kissing the cup, "turne[s]

another leafe" and then seeks other "Authors like this."

Exposure to the library of sack leads Wild-man to the next part of the traditional ritual, the Lament. "Often connecting the Combat with the Cure" of the "Hero-Combat is a short lament for the fallen victim followed by the call for a doctor."⁶⁹ Wild-man's lament is somewhat more drawn out than usual for the ritual, taking up, as it does, the last half of the rather long soliloquy: "O Aristippus would my braines had been broken out when I broched thy hogs-head." He declares himself accursed and curses the brewers, too, for wronging "so learned a Philosopher." He seeks a penance "enough to cleere me from this impardonable offence," wishing that he had never undertaken "this selling of Beere." The reversal is complete in that, having begun his first soliloquy boasting of his name and nature, this one ends with regret for his state: now I am a wild-man, and my house a Bedlam: O Aristippus, Aristippus, Aristippus" (P. 22). Medico de Campo, the archetypal quack doctor, enters to break up "this extasie" of lamentation. Finally, Wild-man asks the Doctor to cure Aristippus just as Simplicius returns fortuitously to ask for help for his tutor and to upbraid Wild-man, who even apologizes to Simplicius and expresses his repentance. The Doctor sends the student to bring in the tutor "in his Chaire" as well as "Barbers prouision" (P. 24) to treat him.

Medico begins here what is probably the most humorous part of the traditional Hero-Combat--the Doctor's boast. Brady characterizes the Cure section of the play as "some of the most inventive folk comedy to be found anywhere in the men's ceremonial." He also refers to "a formality of structure" which begins to emerge here. It consists

of the doctor's boast "in which he tells of his travels and his powers, a haggle over the fees, the administration of the cure, and the resurrection."⁷⁰ The Doctor is a farcical figure who is usually perceived as a quack. In some versions of the Hero-Combat, he even refers to himself as the "best quack doctor in the town."⁷¹ The boast, usually in rhyme, seems kin to some old Anglo-Saxon chants, as well as the rhythmic, rapid-fire, hypnotic spiels for selling snake oil or other panaceas of the medicine men of our American past. The boasts in these folk plays are far-ranging, rhetorical masterpieces usually varying only in details of their epic catalogues. Brady finds this magical boast a remnant of "the once-serious conjurer, exorciser, magical life restorer."⁷² Here are excerpts from sample boasts:

I can cure all diseases;
 I can cure the hitch, the palsy and the gout,
 Raging pain both inside and out,
 If the devil's a man, I'll fetch him out.⁷³

And:

So I'm a doctor that can cure all aches, pains, cramps and sprains,
 And take away all wrinkles, hiccough, headache, backache,
 bellyache, toothache and migrains.
 I'll . . . soon remove the pain of love and cure the
 love-sick maid,
 The young, the old, the hot, the cold, the living and the
 dead.⁷⁴

And in prose:

. . . Ladies and gentlemen, all this large wolf's tooth has been growing in this man's head ninety-nine years before his great grandmother was born: if it hadn't have been taken out to-day, he would have died yesterday. I've a little bottle by my side called Eeligumpane, one spot on the roof of this man's tongue, another on his tooth, will quickly bring him to life again. Rise up, bold fellow, and fight again.⁷⁵

And:

Full fifth ginnes is my fee,
 And money to have down,

But sunes tis for is majesty,
 I will do it for ten pound.
 I have a little bottle in the wrestbond of my britches that
 goes by the name of halycompane,
 Shall make this goodly champion rice [sic] and fight a gain.
 Are [Here or Ah], Jack! take a little of my drip drop, pout
 it up in the tip top, rise, Jack, slash and fight
 again.
 Behold this motal [sic] now reviving be;
 Tis by my sceel and strength the ficik, see,
 Which make this goodly night revive
 And bring is aged father now alive.
 Awacke thou lustros [illustrious] knight also,
 And I will take thee by the hand and try if thou canst go.⁷⁶

Compare these with a small part of Randolph's Medico's boast:

I am able by the vertue of one Salve, to heal all the wounds
 and breaches in Bohemia. . . . I cur'd the state of Venice of
 a Dropsie, the Low Countries of a Lethargie . . . By one
 Dramme on a knives point, I restored Mansfield to his full
 strength and forces, when he had no men left, but was
 onely skin and bones. . . .
 And doe you seeme to misdoubt my skill, and speake
 of my Art with ifs and ands? Doe you take mee for a Monteback,
 and hath mine own tongue beene so silent in my praise, that
 you have not heard of my skill? (Pp. 26-27)

Some of the Doctors of these plays also tell of specific cures,
 such as this one from the Greatham Sword Dance Play:

Look here, when I was late in Asia, I gave two spoonfuls to
 the great Megull, my grandmother,
 Which caused her to have two boys and three girls.
 She was then the age of ninety-nine, and she swore if she
 lived nine hundred years longer, she would never be
 without two spoonsfuls [sic] of this excellent cordial
 of mine for a safe deliverance on a cold and frosty
 morning.⁷⁷

This one is from the same play as the third quote above:

I came to two little whipper snappers thrashing canary seeds:
 one gave a hard cut, the tother gen a driving cut, cut a sid
 through a wall nine foot wide killed a little jed dog tother
 side. I went of the morroe about nine days after, picks up
 this little jied dog, romes my arm down his throat, turned
 him inside outwards, sent him down Buckle Street barking
 ninety miles long and I followed after him.⁷⁸

Randolph's Medico de Campo's tall tales of miraculous cures are of this type. He had cured Prester John, for instance, by fetching his head from China "after it had been a fortnight buried," setting up the basis for a boast far more outrageous than that of the Doctor last quoted above and the "little jed dog." Medico merely set his head on his shoulders again, "and made him lively as euer" (P. 23). Medico de Campo comes through as an absent-minded fop, who acts as if everyone should remember all of his miraculous cures even if he does not because they are a good part of his everyday life. Therefore when Wild-man, concerned about the ability of the Doctor to cure Aristippus, asks if the Doctor can truly cure him, Medico answers indignantly, "Him? why neighbor doe you not remember the thumbe?" After much reiteration of "the Thumbe, the Thumbe," the Doctor finally explains, telling of having passed two fighting gentlemen, one of whom had just lost a thumb in the fracas. The Doctor thereupon picked it up and put it in his pocket. Upon meeting this same gentleman two months later, he "set on his thumbe again." Characteristically he tells of having accomplished "Cures beyond Seas that will not be beleueed in England," a boast the audience would certainly be delighted with, given the reputation of travellers' tales in this age of exploration. Among these cures was that of the "great Turke," whose "eyes are of my making." He was as successful in his treatment of Shirley in "the Grand Sophies Court in Persia" after he had sustained two bullet wounds in each thigh. He mended "so quickly, that he was able at night to lye with his Wife the Sophies neece, and beget a whole Church of Christians" (Pp. 24-25).

But a "farre greater wonder then any of these," the best tale

of them all, took place when he and a friend came "into the Country of Cannibals." Missing his friend, he finally found "a company feeding on him." They "had eaten halfe of him," which made the Doctor "very pensive of his misfortune, or rather mine." Remembering, finally, a powder he had with him, he put some of it into their wine. They "presently disgorg'd their stomachs," and fell asleep. He than "gathered vp the miserable morsels" of his friend, put them together, and "restored him to be a perfect man againe; and if he were still alieue, he were able to witnesse it himself, and doe you think I cannot cure a ten-groats damage, or a crackt crowne."

When one of the scholars expressed fear that the philosopher's head "is so wondrously bruised, 'tis almost past cure," the Doctore waxed even more indignant, asking, "why what if he had neuer an head? am not I able to make him one? or if it were beaten to atomes, I could set it together, as perfectly as in the wombe." Convinced of his re-creating abilities at last, one of the scholars begs, "Good Signior make no such delaye, cure him, and haue one wonder more to fill your Legend" (P. 27).

The resurrection itself in most extant examples of the mummies' play, Brady points out, "is invariably the most perfunctory part of the cure section of the play," contrary to our expectations. After the medicine is administered, "the victim simply revives." He sometimes complains of a backache or claims to have seen wonders.⁷⁹ See the examples quoted above among the Doctors' boasts in which two drops of "Eelgumpane" or a little of the physician's "drip drop" of "halycompane" poured "in the tip top" was enough to revive Jack so he could "slash and fight again."

Brady's observation holds true for Aristippus, too. After a comical examination of his patient, during which the Doctor uses many Latin and technical medical terms of a type also found in many of the mummers' plays, the fate of Aristippus depends finally only on whether the philosopher is able to swallow. He can, and so he drinks two glasses of sack, in one of which a powder is dissolved, while the Doctor chafes his temples. He is cured and feels "yong as the Morning." He is "newly come backe from Hell," and has seen many of his acquaintances there. Aristippus' experience of hell is quite different from the pains Show describes in the *Præludium*, but Randolph, by using sack itself, the cause of the conflict which killed Aristippus, as the cure, still manages to join the two plots together very effectively.

Aristippus is grateful for his life and offers in return "any thing that lyeth in the compasse of my Philosophy." This discussion is the counterpart in this show of the quibbling over the Doctor's fee, which is a part of the cure section. Medico de Campo feels that he possesses gold and philosophy enough. All he asks of Aristippus is that, in return for his life, the philosopher forgive his assailant. Wild-man, in turn, begs Aristippus' pardon, declaring at the same time his intention of forswearing beer and becoming a gowned follower of Aristippus.

The "remains of the primitive celebration analogous to the komos of the Phallic Song" of Greek comedy, Brady found in the Hero-Combat was usually postponed from the cure to the next section, the quête, the collection. "Three actions generally occur in the quête of the Hero-Combat: a procession of characters, an entertainment and a collection."⁸⁰

The first two of these end Randolph's show, too. The exodos of Aristippus is a singing procession of the whole company, which includes the two scholars; Wild-man in his gown, probably with his club over his shoulder still; Simplicius in his academic gown with, perhaps, his clown's calfskin and foxtail still evident; and the Doctor, usually in top hat in the folk play and perhaps so here also. He might even have been played by the actual prototype of Medico de Campo, who was the barber-surgeon at Trinity College, or by a student who was, perhaps dressed in his clothes and/or made up to look like him. The combatting "heroes" are reconciled, and the singing procession of the grotesques, "iouiiall and merry" as they leave singing a drinking song "to drinke a health to the company" and to celebrate Aristippus' "second birthday," would certainly provide further entertainment for the audience. As for the third part of this section, the quête itself, this does not actually occur, but one might interpret the short epilogue delivered by Simplicius, the last of those in the exodos, as a Supplicat for audience approval as a kind of collection: of applause rather than of money. This conclusion neatly provides a satisfactory conclusion of both plots.

I should now like to go briefly into the idea of the Hero-Combat to explain the possible relationship between St. George, the patron saint of England and the usual hero of this traditional show, and Aristippus, our "hero" in this show. Brady, writing about the various forms of the men's ceremony, not just the Hero-Combat, relates these to Greek drama as well as to folk fertility ceremonies of other, non-British, cultures. In his discussion of St. George as Hero-Daimon, Brady explains the transformation of the mythic figures of these

ceremonies from the human figure with divine attributes to "simply the human figure of the dead ancestor, often a king who is responsible for, and representative of, the permanent life of the group." He feels that the Greek ritual of the festival of Oschophoria contains the same principal factors--the agon or contest, the pathos, a defeat or death, and the triumphant reappearance or rebirth--as the Hero-Combat.

Brady also goes into the reason that St. George, often corrupted in these shows through folk transmission to King George, Prince George, and similar identities which become even more difficult to explain, should play the role of Hero-Daimon in the English Hero-Combat play. Beyond the consideration that George was a warrior saint, "the pattern of his apocryphal legend coincides with the myth of the dying and reviving god."⁸¹ The festivities of St. George's Day and the St. George Ridings, and his appearances in English civil pageants are usually reminders of his combat with the dragon and his rescue of Sabra, the daughter of the King of Egypt. Indeed, references to this St. George story are usual in the Hero-Combat.

The story of his death and resurrection is not found, however, in this better-known myth but in that of his martyrdom at Cappodocia. In this legend George of Cappodocia opposes King Datianus for his persecution of the Christians of Persia. George blasphemes against all pagan deities in answer to the King's command that he sacrifice to Apollo. He is, naturally, tortured, and while he is imprisoned, God tells him that he will suffer for seven years and then be killed three times. "At his fourth death, he will enter paradise.

"At his first death, George is cut into ten pieces," but after

the Angel Michael collects these, God touches them with His hand to revitalize him. This fragmentation and revitalization puts him "directly in the tradition of Osiris, Dionysius, Orpheus, and Tammuz, all dying and reviving vegetation gods." The connection with the fertility spirit is further borne out by his final death by decapitation. This seems to explain "why a Christian figure like St. George was so easily assimilated into the structure of the Hero-Combat" and why the popularity of the Hero-Combat is so wide-spread and durable.⁶² Moreover, the miracle of his revitalization seems to have provided an analogue on which to hook the comic quack doctor's boasts and cures.

Randolph would, of course, have long been familiar with the Dionysian myth from Ovid, who was studied by every English schoolboy, and from other sources. While Aristippus does bear a resemblance to Falstaff, as Davis and others have pointed out, he, the spirit and very incarnation of sack, has always seemed to me to be far closer to Dionysius, the only classical god to have died and have been resurrected, thereby symbolizing the seeming death of the vine each year by pruning, ironically the most important assurance of the springtime revival of the vineyard. The similarity of this myth to the Hero-Combat may have been the inspiration for Randolph to use the basic outline of this ceremony in his show. Certainly the audience would be delighted and moved to laughter to recognize the incongruity of a mock version of the folk play in this show burlesquing aspects of their humanistic education.

The references to Dr. Faustus in the show, from Prologue's entrance "in a Circle" on page one, mentioned above, to the association

of Aristippus to Mephistophilis in the mind of Wild-man, anyway, cannot help but keep the resemblance between the two in the consciousness of the audience:

Tis not your Mephostopholis, nor any other spirits of Rubie or Carbuncle, that you can raise, nor your good father in law Doctor Faustus, that coniures so many of vs in to your Wiues Circle, [thereby hinting that Aristippus is married to Faustus' daughter?] that with all their Magique, he shall secure you from my rage, you haue set a Spell for anymans comming into my house [tavern, the Dolphin] now (P. 8).

The main connection between Faustus and Aristippus seems to be in the concept of Dr. Faustus as a Prodigal-Son play. Faustus is to Simplicius as Mephistophilis is to Aristippus. Both Faustus and Simplicius seek these tutors for knowledge. Both settle for voluptuousness, Faustus for 24 years and Simplicius indefinitely, as it would seem. Aristippus was considered the philosopher of voluptuousness in the seventeenth century. Both Faustus and Simplicius are enraptured to hear their tutors, who are no more than mere con men, dispute, for both scholars seem to be seeking further knowledge although they are duped into settling for much less by their tutors. Faustus does not see how cheap the conjuring tricks he delights in are, just as Simplicius cannot see what a gull he is. While Marlowe does not seem to have been otherwise conscious of the Hero-Combat, I find it quite interesting that Faustus uses the old false head trick of the continental spring fertility ceremonies to escape his enemies outside Innsbruck (IV,iii) although he boasts that he cannot be killed until his promised 24 years are up, that if he were killed, his spirit would return immediately, another miraculous cure.

Earlier critics agree that Randolph's Doctor was Dick Litchfield

after Fleay's translation of his name, Medico de Campo as Leech-Field or Lichfield. This conjecture was confirmed by Parry when his study of the manuscript version of Aristippus revealed that the doctor was characterized in the list of dramatis personae found only in this version as a "vaine glorious Quacksalue personating Dick Litchfield a Barber Surgeon in Cambridge."⁸³ Surprisingly I have found no mention anywhere of the connection between this character and Thomas Nashe, an earlier show and comedy writer who, like Randolph, began his playwrighting career at Cambridge. Nevertheless, Nashe had opened his convoluted, bombastic attack on his arch-enemy, Have with You to Saffron-Walden, 1596, with a long, good-humored dedicatory letter to Litchfield: "Don Richardo Barbarossa de Caesario."⁸⁴ The work itself and the dedication are filled with clever, outrageous, rapid-fire puns and language distortion of a type which I believe had an influence on Randolph although I believe the latter was able to control the type of excess practiced by Nashe to the extent that the form of the whole in Randolph's works keeps the excesses of the grotesque within some bounds. Randolph's work is more classic, more Aristophanic and less baroque than Nashe's in which there is more of a Rabelaisian influence than in Randolph's although I believe Rabelais was a minor influence on Randolph. Nashe refers to Litchfield often throughout the epistle in playful, inflated language. He is identified quite early as "Dick Litchfield, the Barber of Trinity College, a rare ingenuous odde merry Greeke."⁸⁵

Nashe continues that he had dedicated Have with You to Litchfield so that Nashe's works may have their "more than common safe-conduct into the world." He wishes Litchfield to protect him from his

critics by "brauely mount[ing] these on thy barbed steed, alias thy triumphant barbers Chaire, and girding thy keene Palermo [scimitar], and setting thy sharpe-pointed . . . launce in his rest, be with them at a haieres bredth that backbite and detract me."⁸⁶

The dedication to Have with You to Saffron-Walden was answered the next year, 1597, in a pamphlet, The Trimming of Thomas Nashe. On the title-page, its author is referred to as "the high-tituled patron Don Richardo de Medico campo although the address to the reader is signed "Richard Litchfield." This name is also used several times within the work. McKerrow points out that although this pamphlet has almost always been spoken of as an answer to Have with You, it is not. It consists, however, primarily of "violent and unsavoury abuse of Nashe,"⁸⁷ which was probably the reason that it was assumed to be part of the ongoing literary feud between Nashe and Gabriel Harvey, the butt of Have with You, and so to have been written by Harvey. Nevertheless, although it "attacks Nashe with great violence," it "nowhere attempts to defend or justify" Harvey, who is only referred to once, and then casually. McKerrow concludes, too, that the style of this pamphlet is so markedly different from Harvey's that he could not possibly ascribe it to him.

The author of the pamphlet begins by scolding Nashe for dedicating Have with You to him without his permission and "humorously discourses on 'the ancient and valorous power of Barbers.'" In his conclusion, the author asks to be excused if the "trimming" is not quite satisfactory, "for 'he is the first man that ever I cut on this fashion.'"⁸⁸ McKerrow concludes that though it is "perhaps hardly

likely," there seems "no positive reason" to doubt that the pamphlet had been written by Richard Lichfield, "perhaps with the help of some University man or other."⁸⁹ Because Wilson added nothing further on this point when he reedited McKerrow's edition of Nashe's works and I have come across nothing else on this subject, I accept Lichfield as the author of this pamphlet.

It seems to me that Randolph used at least the persona, if not the original, of Lichfield as he comes through to the reader in these two rather ephemeral works as his model for the Medico de Campo of Aristippus. The arch tone, the inflated language, and hyperbole used by this character in this show are very similar to those used by Nashe and Lichfield himself in the earlier works. The problem of chronology then comes up, however, as Lichfield, according to Nashe, had been a barber at Trinity College for sixteen years in 1596:⁹⁰

. . . I know of no such nimble fellow at his weapon in all England as thy selfe, who (as I heare) standst in election at this instant to bee chiefe Crowner or clipper of crownes in Cambridge, . . . and it is pittie but thou shouldst haue it, for thou hast long seru'd as a Clarke in the crowne office . . . this sixteene year.⁹¹

Aristippus was probably presented in October 1626 or thereabouts. Lichfield would then have been about 66 years old, assuming he had completed his apprenticeship before he came to Trinity in 1580, perhaps at the age of twenty, which seems a likely age to me.

Lichfield is identified as Medico de Campo in the dramatis personae of the manuscript version of Aristippus, which Parry logically concluded was the original version of the show as it was first presented at Trinity. It seems obvious that Randolph chose the name of his quack Doctor from the title page of The Trimming of Thomas Nashe,

on which the author identified himself as "Don Richardo de Medico campo."⁹² As I began to notice other influences of Nashe, treated below, I first concluded that although critics had accepted Lichfield as the Barbor-Surgeon at Trinity during Randolph's time, that Randolph might have borrowed the character himself from Nashe because I could find no other references to him at the college at that time. And how likely was it that thirty years after Nashe's time Lichfield would still be at Trinity? I luckily found a footnote in another volume of Nashe's works that Richard Lichfield's will was proved in 1630,⁹³ making it likely that Lichfield was still there and probably saw the original Aristippus or even played himself in it.

It also seems possible that Randolph and most of the Trinity men would be extremely knowledgeable about both Have with You and The Trimming, copies of which were probably available at the college, and that Lichfield probably had a copy of his pamphlet in his shop. Undoubtedly his reputation as a wit had probably increased locally after its publication. Knowledge of this background would certainly have spiced up the performance and have added an additional dimension to the entrance of Medico de Campo, whether he was played by his prototype or a student mimicker.

Randolph also seems indebted to Nashe for other ideas and characterizations in Aristippus. For instance, he seems to have taken some hints for the character of Aristippus from the even more Falstafian Bacchus in Symmers Last Will and Testament. He and his companions, like Aristippus and his scholars, enter and exit singing a drinking song, which also punctuates the middle of their scene in this work,⁹⁴ which

Nashe emphatically stated was a show, not a play. Bacchus uses the same sort of language and meretricious logic as Aristippus does in a passage similar to Bacchus' in nonstop verbosity, pseudo-scholarly tricks of using many Latin tags and quotations from established authority, as well as references to the importance of wine to scholars, soldiers, and Alexander the Great:

Bacchus. . . . What sets an edge on a knife? the grindstone alone? no, the moyst element powr'd vpō it, which grinds out all gaps, sets a poynt vpon it, & scowres it as bright as the firmament. So I tell thee, giue a soldier wine before he goes to battaile, it grinds out all gaps, it makes him forget all scarres & wounds, & fight in the thickest of his enemies, as though he were but at foyles amongst his fellows. Give a schollar wine, going to his books, or being about to inuent, it sets a poynt on his wit, it glazeth it, it scowres it, it giues him acumen. Plato, saith, vinum esse fomitem quēdam, . . . Aristotle saith, Nulla est magna scientia absque mixtura dementiae. And what makes a man more madde in the head then wine? . . . he that will doe well must drink well. . . . Ho, butler, a fresh pot.

* * * * *

. . . Alexander was a braue man, and yet an arrant drunkard.
(III, 264-65)

Compare this with excerpts from Aristippus' long lecture after Simplicius' salting which are quoted earlier in this chapter. The most important difference between Randolph's and Nashe's characters is that Nashe's Bacchus is also the god of beer and ale.

Randolph seems also to have taken some ideas for the character of Wild-man from Nashe's diatribe against Gabriel Harvey, who, with his brother, Richard, was involved in an earlier Ramus-Aristotle controversy of at least twenty years beginning in 1573. It was of a French apologist for Gabriel Harvey, "Mounsieur Fregusuis, or Mounsieur Fregeuile Gautius,"⁹⁵ that Nashe wrote, "[he] was such a peruerse Ramisticall heretike."⁹⁶

This last phrase might well have been the kernel around which Randolph created his "Vniuersitie Ramist, a Mault Heretique, alias the Wild-man" (PP. 6-7). Like Randolph, Nashe was a champion of the established Aristotle. Nashe even took on Gabriel Harvey's brother Richard because he wrote a pamphlet in favor of Ramistic logic.⁹⁷ The youngest brother John was, like Gabriel, an almanac maker at times, and perhaps Randolph took his stance against almanac makers, a frequent target of his, as shown in Aristippus and several other works, from Nashe too.

Joe Lee Davis is correct in pointing out the strong influence of Aristophanes on Aristippus and some of his other dramas. This would hardly be surprising for the first translator into English of any of Aristophanes' plays. Randolph may have already started his translation of Aristophanes' Plutus, his Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery, by the time he set out to revive Show in this work. Like Plutus, the god of riches, who is called Wealth in Randolph's transmutation of Plutus into a viable English comedy, Aristippus himself represents the fantastic idea, the premise of any Aristophanic comedy, in our show.

Even though Aristippus is a mere show, it still possesses the characteristics of "typical Old Comedy, as represented by most of the surviving plays of Aristophanes," according to Davis.⁹⁸ It has a linear plot which is developed episodically; conflict is oversimplified and has no ensuing complication; two antagonists or groups of antagonists are introduced; "the impending trouble between them is prepared for; they clash; the victory of one or their mutual reconciliation follows; the consequences thereof are revealed."⁹⁹ Davis also lists the presence almost always of fantastic allegory as another characteristic of Old

Comedy. Aristippus has all these requirements. As shown above, there is much allegory in it, too, with Aristippus representing civilization, sack, and other worldly pleasures, including conformity in philosophical and religious belief. Wild-man, on the other hand, represents the native, primitive, untamed id. He insists that beer is the only true drink; Ramus and puritanism, the only possible beliefs.

This allegory is not fantastic although, as pointed out above, some of the costuming may have been, depending on how literally Wild-man and the fool Simplicius are presented. They could be shown as the grotesques of the sword-dance or the Hero-Combat--traditionally. Aristippus could very well have vine-leaves in his hair and/or be wearing a scholar's gown, but one different from those required because of its color, cut, luxurious fabric, or lavish adornment, a practice then rather widespread in Cambridge. He could also be wearing long hair, a beard, a large ruff, rosettes on his shoes, or a dagger or sword. These practices were forbidden by royal edict and university statute, but the frequency of these pronouncements seems to hint at their futility.

But while the allegory is not really fantastic, it is easy enough to lose sight of the fact that Aristippus himself is. No critic, surprisingly enough, has commented on how fantastic his presence is, nor asked what he is doing in this play. In Plutus and Hey for Honesty, because the god of wealth has more power than a mere mortal returned to this world from the next, the allegory is fantastic. So it is in The Frogs when Bacchus goes to Hades to bring back to earth a tragic playwright after the death of Euripides. In it, The Clouds, and The Birds, among other comedies of Aristophanes, fantastic allegory

is also heightened with the gorgeously costumed choruses of the frogs, the clouds, and the birds, respectively.

In Aristippus, the chorus consists of a minimum of three scholars. There might be others as well, but these have the only speaking parts. They would be merely burlesques of the students in the audience.

No one wonders, however, how or why Aristippus returned to earth. He is a fait accompli on his first entrance. One reason for this is probably that this is a show, not a full play. If Aristophanes had written a comedy on the same subject, it might open much as The Frogs does. Bacchus or another god would be shown going down to Hades to bring back Aristippus, perhaps because of the failure of the other tutors at Cambridge to satisfy the educational needs of its students. In other words, much exposition is omitted here. If our show had been a play, it might have started with Aristippus' being brought back to life, like Show, for whatever reason and might continue with the ensuing complications, just as an Old Comedy sequel to The Frogs would show what would happen to Greek drama in the fourth century before Christ after Aeschylus returns to earth with Bacchus.

I agree then with Davis that Aristippus is in the Aristophanic tradition in that it also possesses the other qualities he requires: personal satire, physical incongruity (including violence), grotesque exaggeration, and caricature, if not bawdry. It also features "wide-glancing satire, both topical and universal," and "the basic conflict" is of ideas.¹⁰⁰ I disagree, however, that Aristippus is "based on The Clouds, as Davis states unequivocally.¹⁰¹ In The Clouds we find

personal satire of Socrates and his school at a time when Socrates was alive and flourishing. There is sophistry in both the play and the show, but the main conflict in Aristippus is not really between two kinds of discipline or teaching, as it is in The Clouds. The Wild-man never gets a fair shake. He never has a chance, as shown by the fact that he is converted by merely tasting the sack. We know all along that he is never in the running. He's there to add as much humor as Randolph can squeeze out of him.

Another lack of Aristippus as Aristophanic comedy, and a serious one, too, is that there really is no parabasis in it in which a character turns to the audience and addresses it as the spokesman for the author. Dicaeus in The Clouds, Davis points out, has the role; it is he who presents Aristophanes' "own humanistic conception of discipline as opposed to the Sophists' discipline expounded by Adicus."¹⁰²

Although the title character is a tutor and Aristippus takes place in then-contemporary Cambridge, unlike The Clouds, this show is not a criticism of contemporary education. Education is the butt of much of the satire, and superficially Aristippus seems to be offering sack-drinking, false logic, singing, and absence from or sleeping in class as an alternative to attendance at a current college, Trinity, with a farcically presented, traditional scholastic curriculum. In practice, however, this is not so. No one is fooled for a moment. Randolph is not for either of these.

Aristippus is a show reviving the revels at Trinity College. It is obviously opening the revels as well. It is not trying to instruct as well as amuse because it is not a play. Besides, the students

are tired of instruction, anyway, and tired of classes and tutors. They are in a holiday mood and anticipating a long vacation, probably with some "luxury" and sack-drinking. Their seeing Aristippus and laughing at its burlesque and satire will provide an outlet which will help them finish the semester and anticipate a time of "No more teachers, no more books." Nevertheless, most of them are probably as pleased with their education as Randolph obviously was. They do not want change. The change brought to education by humanism and the renaissance had come and it was good.

In this show, Randolph is at his pragmatic best. He'll use whatever works, making a rich, colorful patchwork of borrowings from academic humorous drama and satire, folk drama, classical philosophy, Marlowe, Nashe, and Aristophanes. The pattern of the show, however, bears Randolph's hall-mark of wit, good-humor, song, and high spirits --and somehow it all coheres brilliantly. Surely it is just what Medico de Campo himself would prescribe to miraculously revive the flagging spirits of the Trinity students at year's end.

CHAPTER V

RANDOLPH'S THE MUSES' LOOKING GLASS

AND HIS OTHER COMEDIES

Thomas Randolph's reputation is founded primarily on his plays and his poetry, rather than his shows. Critics disagree, however, on which of his talents, drama in general or poetry, was the greater. For instance, according to George Saintsbury, Randolph wrote some first-rate poems, but if his dramas, all of which are "interesting," are "not quite so relatively good as his poems," they still "show a strong intellect and great literary facility."¹ Charles Dibdin, on the other hand, felt that "for the specimen we have of him," the drama was "his true style of writing" although he himself thought enough of Randolph to rank him as "perhaps the best poet between Spenser and Dryden."² Since three of his plays are in verse, and the fourth, Hey for Honesty, is partially so, some of them may actually be classified as poetry. There seems little point then in weighing the respective merits of each. He excelled often in both.

Like Aristippus, Randolph's four plays³ are of mixed kinds although the prevailing genre of each differs from that of its fellows. It seems obvious, then, that Randolph was particularly conscious of

genre and wished to try his hand at adapting each new one he used to his time and audience. Randolph's first full-length play was probably his free translation of Aristophanes' Plutus, Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery. It was the first translation of an Aristophanes play written for the English stage, another example of Randolph's trailblazing. All the recent Randolph scholars, including the reliable Moore Smith and Gerald Eades Bentley, accept the play as having been written primarily by him although the earliest copy of it to survive was first printed in 1651 with references to, and satire of, the Interregnum, years after Randolph's death in 1635.

Printed with the original Greek title, the play is described in its subtitle as "A Pleasant Comedie, Entitled Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery. Translated out of Aristophanes his Plutus, By Tho: Randolph. Augmented and Published by F. J. . . . 1651." G. C. Moore Smith wrote in 1925, when he established "The Canon of Randolph's Dramatic Works,"⁴ that "in spite of insertions by F. J. on almost every page, there can be no doubt that the substratum is Randolph's work. Moore Smith gives convincing internal evidence by comparing this play with other writings of Randolph, quoting from the induction to prove it was first intended to be a show at Cambridge:

We meant it but a show; if it more be
Your kind acceptance Christens it Comedy.

He also gives proof from the work that it could not have been written before March 1626/7. Moore Smith added in 1927 that there is every proof that the play was "in the main" Randolph's and that it had been written for a Cambridge audience.

The comedy is more than twice as long as Plutus and has six and a half new scenes.⁵ Randolph renamed about half of the Aristophanic characters and added "about a dozen" new characters. The scene is London, in the best Jonsonian tradition, with many topical allusions to London places, customs, and people of Randolph's time, such as the Gunpowder plot, the Siege of Brede, Thomas Shelton's shorthand, and "Richlieu," all of which were timely between 1621-26. Bentley concluded that the original play was probably written very shortly after 1626, perhaps 1626-28. The play has, Bentley says, "an academic tone" similar to that in Aristippus and The Conceited Pedlar, Randolph's previous productions. The only evidence against its being intended by Randolph for a Cambridge audience is the dearth of the usual Cambridge allusions, which Bentley thinks may have been cut out at the time it was revised, keeping only his numerous references to London.⁶

The earliest thorough discussion of the problem of authorship of this play is by Cyrus L. Day. In it he points out similarities between this play and Randolph's others, including the "slapdash style and general hilarity," also shown in Aristippus and The Muses' Looking Glass. Day's analysis distinguishes between the free translation of the original and the frequent "much freer" passages with no counterparts at all in the Greek. It is, Day concludes, in the "entirely modern additions" that all the later allusions are slipped in. "Often lengthy passages are inserted bodily," and it is "invariably" these interpolations, seventy or more Civil War and Commonwealth allusions, which contain the later references. These references, he found, date the unknown F. J.'s or F. L.'s alterations as having been made between

1648 and the date of publication, 1651.⁷

What Randolph did to update the original version of this play, his free translation of an Aristophanic comedy, was to keep the basic structure and incidents of the Greek original, brilliantly transforming it by such devices as turning the original Greek chorus into a group of rustics, and giving Penia (Poverty) a number of English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish supporters, each of whom speaks his own dialect, thereby adding to the comic impact. He also included a fight to amuse the spectators, added many songs to the original one, including turning what had been a dialogue into a duet. He kept Aristophanes' characters but brought in "all sorts of topical matter, even a burlesque of a disputation." An element of what is usually called Jonsonian satire was added by turning Aristophanes' Honest Man into Ananias Goggle, a Puritan, and Aristophanes' Priest of Zeus into the Pope, "Jupiter's Vicar."⁸

In earlier chapters I have pointed out similarities in allusions and phrasing found in this work, Randolph's Salting, and his Aristippus. I agree, therefore, with the 1626-28 dating of it by Moore Smith and Bentley. I believe that Randolph probably wrote it, or a shorter version of it, for the revels as a show, which would explain the quote above from the induction. It seems likely to me that he then revised it into a longer play when he became a company playwright in London. I agree with Bentley that Randolph's academic career was interrupted, "possibly late in 1629 and certainly in 1630," seven months of which the university was closed because of the plague, when he was writing plays for the company of the King's Revels at the

Salisbury Court theater in London. It seems likely that he was the regular playwright, not an occasional contributor, to the company, and may have even been under contract to this theater, as Brome was five years later. If Randolph was indeed the regular playwright, "he probably had to provide more material to the King's Revels company than the three pieces we can now identify": The Muses' Looking Glass, Amyntas, and a Praeludium Bentley believes he wrote to reopen the theater after the seven-month plague-closing. It seems likely, too, that "some of his academic shows and plays were revised for use at Salisbury Court."⁹ I suggest that Hey for Honesty would fit the bill, and that F. J. might have had access to a script possibly used there or at Cambridge.

I suspect, too, that The Muses' Looking Glass had its earliest incarnation as a Cambridge show, possibly even a play, during Randolph's residence at the university because it is based on an Aristotlean subject, the Nicomachean Ethics. Evidence exists that Randolph probably revised it even after it had been presented at the Salisbury Court Theater, for which it had been licensed as The Entertainment. Because of the baroque structure of this play, which included two masques, as well as a frame-play which provided a running commentary on much of the play itself, any one of the several components of this play could have been the core of the original show. One possibility, which I think quite likely, is that it consisted of the play minus the frame and the masques. The frame may have been added in its last stage of development, and the masques, at the time the play was presented before the majesties at Whitehall. I believe this play to be his most original

one: his masterpiece, constructed of many genres and traditions. For this reason I have chosen to discuss it at length later in this chapter.

Both The Muses' Looking Glass and Amyntas were licensed for performance by the King's Revels at the Salisbury Court Theater in London on November 25 and 26, 1630, respectively, according to Herbert's office-book. There is evidence that The Muses' Looking Glass was chosen as the opening play for the new theater two weeks later, when the plague-closing was rescinded. Amyntas was possibly the next play presented. It, too, may have been written originally for presentation at Cambridge, but while the Italian pastoral may seem somewhat academic for a London company, pastoral drama was "in vogue at the private theatres and at court in the thirties and possibly even earlier."¹⁰

Amyntas has been widely praised as one of the three best pastoral plays in English, and as one of the two best plays by Randolph, the other being The Muses' Looking Glass. Walter W. Greg, an authority on the English pastoral, has rated Thomas Randolph's Aymntas among "The Three Masterpieces" of English pastoral drama, just under John Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess and Ben Jonson's Sad Shepherd "had it reached completion." He extolled the Amyntas for being, like Fletcher's play, a "conscious attempt at so altering the accepted type of the Arcadian pastoral as to fit it for representation on the popular stage." Randolph's version differs from Fletcher's, however, because his plot "closely" resembled Guarini's Pastor Fido, 1590, and even retained "much of the scenic arrangement of the Italian theatre. But in the complexity of action and multiplicity of incident, in the comedy of certain scenes and the substratum of pure farce in others, he introduced elements of

the popular drama of a nature powerfully to affect the essence of his production." Part of Randolph's achievement was his "treating the venerable proprieties of the pastoral according to the traditions of English melodrama."¹¹

Its plot, according to Greg, is a mingling of comedy and of tragi-comedy in the catastrophe. There is also an antiplot of pure farce which "owes nothing to Guarini" but comes from English popular drama and "is grafted somewhat boldly on to the conventional stock." The main character of this antiplot is Dorylas, "one of the most inimitable and successful of the descendants of Lyly's pages; while the characters of Mopsus and Jocasta . . . belong essentially to English romantic farce." Greg found this portion of Amyntas "genuinely humorous," as indeed most of Randolph's shows and plays were. Greg also praised both the "sparkling" verse and the "racy and pointed" dialogue, the quality of which is sometimes "brilliant."¹²

Even apart from these native elements, however, there are ways in which the Amyntas differs from the stricter tradition of the Italian pastoral. For instance Randolph added to the number of main characters, using six instead of four, dividing these still further into two complementary groups. He also introduced "a certain genially humorous conception of the whole," quite apart from, and beyond, comedy and farce, which had never been so marked before, "and which has indeed been painfully absent from the pastoral since Tasso." The resulting comic business, "constantly elbowing the serious action," saves the serious main plot from "the danger of becoming stilted and pretentious," a fault "as justly charged against pastoral literature as

that of artificiality."¹³

Greg concludes that Randolph's Amyntas, "by renouncing the high ideality of its predecessors, makes up for it by human sanity of feeling and expression, by good humour and by wit. It is, moreover, genuinely diverting." For these reasons he feels that the play "has generally met with a far from deserved neglect, owing in part no doubt to the singular failure on the part of most critics to apprehend correctly the nature and conditions of pastoral poetry."¹⁴

Marvin T. Herrick adds burlesque to the native elements Greg found in Amyntas. Commenting on one scene in which the title character, Amyntas, a mad shepherd, becomes involved with some clowns and asks one, Mopsus, for his interpretation of the oracle, Herrick writes that this scene, "which continues in extravagant fashion, is a burlesque of the conventional pastoral. If burlesque is a sign of decadence, then the Amyntas surely marks the passing of the form in England."¹⁵ Here again, just as Randolph both affirmed and burlesqued the Cambridge scholasticism of the early seventeenth century in Aristippus, he both affirmed, by his choice of the genre, and subverted the pastoral by burlesquing it in Amyntas.

Herrick believes that the pastoral of Daniel, John Fletcher, Phineas Fletcher, Randolph and Ben Jonson contained borrowings, not only from their Italian models, but from either the pastoral romance or the native rustic comedy of England; that "they were indebted to Spenser, Sidney, and Lyly as well as to Tasso and Guarini." Describing the Amyntas as this "mingling of tragicomedy, romantic comedy, comedy of humors, farce, and burlesque," he found it the most

entertaining of any of the English pastoral plays, as well as "the last English pastoral tragicomedy of any importance."¹⁶

The Jealous Lovers, Randolph's experiment in Plautine comedy, mingles the same native elements Herrick found in the Amyntas with the type characters and preposterous plot of his classical model. This contrived, artificial scenario contains the characteristic devices of mistaken identity, children who know not that they know not who they are, a long-lost father, as well as the intrigue and disguise typical of Plautus. To all of these components, Randolph adds near-incest and enough sub-plots to allow for no less than three, really three and a half, sets of jealous lovers. In this play, Randolph finally arrives at his most successful treatment of his own mixture of the plots of the prodigal-son and the school for acquiring gentlemanly vices, with which he had dabbled in many of his earlier dramas, like The Drinking Academy, Aristippus, and, to a lesser degree, The Fary Knight and parts of The Muses' Looking Glass. He combines these elements wittily in Aristippus, but his most fully realized comic treatment of the prodigal son--whom he sometimes called Asotus, sometimes Simple, Simplicius, or Spendall--and his miserly doting father is in the Jealous Lovers. The style of this play also seems more mature, decorous, classic and less breathless, slapdash, and patently clever, perhaps because it was written to entertain Charles, Henrietta, and their court during their visit to Cambridge in March 1632.

The Jealous Lovers is the only play that Randolph himself prepared for publication. His reason for doing so was far different from what we believe his motivation was--need--when he published his two

successful shows, Aristippus and The Conceited Pedlar, in London in 1630. Because the circumstances surrounding the production of the Jealous Lovers were so dramatic and had such far-reaching consequences, we know more about this play than any of his others.

During the Lent Term of 1631/2, the King and Queen paid a long-awaited formal visit to the university. In anticipation, Thomas Randolph had been asked by the Master of Trinity, Dr. Thomas Comber, to write a comedy for the students of Trinity to enact in honor of the royal visit. Randolph, who had returned not too long ago from his employment as company playwright for the Salisbury Court Theater in London, obliged with the Jealous Lovers. Unfortunately Peter Hausted, M.A. of Queens' College, had received a similar request from his Master, which he answered with his comedy, apparently only his second, The Rivall Friends. A contention over the precedence of the plays seems to have disrupted the university, involving as it did not only the Masters but the students of both colleges. Dr. Butts, the Vice-Chancellor of the university, finally intervened in favor of the Hausted play, which was presented by the students of Queens' College before their majesties on March 19. It was apparently as poorly received as the Jealous Lovers was enthusiastically acclaimed a few days later by the King, the members of the court, and the students. So seriously was the function of academic drama as royal entertainment taken in this university that this turn of events seems to have led to the suicide by hanging of Dr. Butts on Easter morning twelve days later.¹⁷ The poor reception of Dr. Butts' choice and a reproof by Lord Holland, the Chancellor, who is said to have told him that

"the King and himself had more confidence in his discretion than they found cause, in that he found such a comedy fitting &c,"¹⁸ are believed to have led to the suicide. Hausted, feeling the need to defend his play, rushed it into print with a sensational title-page, which described his play as having been "Cryed downe by Boyes, Faction, Envie, / and confident Ignorance, approved by the / judicious, and now exposed to the pub- / lique censure by / The Authour . . ."¹⁹ It was this printing of the Jealous Lovers later the same year with a dedication to Dr. Comber, who had ironically succeeded to the position of Vice Chancellor upon Dr. Butts' death. Randolph had revised his play in preparation and had written an address to the "Reader," in which he modestly apologized for making "so many dedications": six by him to patrons and friends and nine by various friends to him. These friends included Edward Hide (later Lord Clarendon) and "Fr. Meares."

I agree with J. Q. Adams that Hausted's play, "a bitter attack on simoniacal practices in the church," was "stupid, involved, and inexcusably long."²⁰ When Randolph revised his play for publication, he apparently could not resist referring to Hausted. He commented on the reception of The Rivall Friends again in his Oratio Praevaricatoria the same year at the Commencement at which John Milton became Master of Arts.²¹ Hausted got his revenge three years later when he was asked by their common patron, Sir Christopher Hatton, to supply the epitaph for the short-lived Randolph. The praises were appropriately effusive but the style was pedestrian and unpolished. Randolph deserved better. Another ironic development of the battle of the comedies was that Hausted and his play got more modern publicity

than the victor: Adams' article summarized at length and discussed Hausted's play in 1912 although Adams concluded that it "hardly deserves the honor of reprinting."²² Nevertheless this play was actually re-edited by Laurens J. Mills for publication in 1951.²³ The Jealous Lovers, on the other hand, was last reprinted in that most horrible edition of 1875 by W. Carew Hazlitt.

Other modern critics disagree on the merits of Randolph's comedy, perhaps because readers today have little patience with the artificiality and lack of realism of the genre. Ronald Bayne, usually an admirer, termed it "Randolph's only failure" despite his fine writing.²⁴ Greg termed it "clever, but preposterous in more ways than one,"²⁵ while Saintsbury preferred The Muses' Looking Glass and Amyntas to it because in them Randolph's "academic schemes and names do not hide his vivid and fertile imagination." He described the Jealous Lovers as a play with classical nomenclature, which seems "at first . . . to aim at the Terentian model," but then "drifts off into something like the Jonsonian humour-comedy, of which it gives some good studies, but hardly a complete example."²⁶ Dibdin was more positive if not glowing. Commenting on the fact that it "is said to be the best of RANDOLPH's work," he concludes that although the "writing is certainly not so masterly as that of the Muses' Looking Glass, . . . taking it as a regular comedy there can be no doubt but the critics are right. He was the darling wit of the university, the students delighted in performing this play themselves, and almost every man of eminent genius wrote something in praise of it."²⁷ I believe that if the play were given the proper stylized performance, it would make a

charming enjoyable evening's entertainment even today. The plot is no more preposterous than many operas, operettas, and revivals of restoration or other renaissance plays which do please modern audiences, and the ingenuity of the highly structured plot together with the usual Randolphean wit, good humor, and fine writing would surely win over an audience even today.

As for the pièce de résistance of the Randolph dramatic canon, The Muses' Looking Glass, I have even fewer reservations about its appeal on the boards today than I expressed above about the Jealous Lovers. I believe that, unique as it is in subject, non-plot, structure and something close to characterization, it has the same universality of appeal as that even older allegorical classic, Everyman, which is also stripped of all the unessentials in drama and in life. Everyman, divested of the minutiae of everyday living and the ordinary problems with which most of us tend to become preoccupied, cannot be reduced to a stick-figure. Because he is depicted on the stage by a real three-dimensional actor facing the most fundamental recognition of his condition, his mortality, we, the audience, can no longer postpone our own examination of the most basic quandaries of our own lives as we identify with him. To paraphrase a greater renaissance poet than Randolph, this actor's bell "tolls" for us, too.

At first reading, The Muses' Looking Glass seems to be a morality play, like Everyman, because the cast of the main action is allegorical, each one moved solely by the one overwhelming emotion or abstract quality that skews his life in the same fashion as the actions of a Jonsonian humor character are predetermined. The inspiration for the

main portion of this Randolph play was Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, certainly an unlikely candidate for dramatization. Nevertheless, this play was in the same eclectic tradition as the curriculum then current at both English universities and in much of the literature, including the drama. As we have seen, this tradition involved fusing the elements of the new discoveries of the renaissance on whatever was still workable of the old patterns to fulfill the needs of the English reformation. Because Randolph's audience would be sympathetic to such an approach, his play succeeded brilliantly. It remains humorous today, however, because of the universality of his ignorant characters, who clash so revealingly and inevitably.

Virtually the entire play consists of a series of debates between opposing sets of allegorical characters representing Aristotle's extremes for each of the virtues, which may be variously totalled but were usually counted as twelve in the renaissance, as they were here and in The Fairy Queen, for example. Although the dramatization of such didactic material seems unpromising to us, in an era when skill in disputation was so admired and sought after that the future of its possessor might depend on it and when a match between two expert opponents was sometimes royal entertainment, an old hand like Randolph could make the dialogue sparkle. His step-brother, Richard West, attested to his debating skill in a dedicatory poem prefixed to the posthumous first edition of Randolph's poetry, 1638:

Though plodding pates much time and oil had spent
In beating out an obscure argument,
He could untie, not break, the subtlest knot
Their puzzling art could weave; nay he had got
The trick on't so, as if that he had been
Within each brain, and the nice folding seen.

There is much more to this effect in this and other poems prefixed to this collection. West also joins this skill of Randolph's with the achievement of this play:

He was as able to dispute as rhyme.
 And all (two gifts ne'er join'd before) outwent
 As well in syllogism as compliment.
 Who looks within his clearer glass will say
 At once he writ an epic tract, and play.

Because of the veneration of Aristotle as authority in the curriculum in all the colleges of Cambridge except for those with puritan leanings, his ideas are often encountered in unusual contexts, as shown in this play and non-didactic poems by Randolph and others.²⁸ This series of debates, usually between opposites personifying Aristotle's ethical extremes, or vices, of the virtuous golden mean comprises most of the action of this play. A masque of virtues presided over by Lady Mediocrity, the golden mean, supplements these debates and provides another view, the positive, from which to see the related virtues. Even the puritan John Milton, an advocate of Ramus, used the same basic conflict between temperance, represented by the Lady, and overindulgence, hedonism, in Comus that is shown in a far more baroque manner in The Muses' Looking Glass.

Randolph's play also contains a masque of vices to balance structurally that of the virtues. Unfortunately the original copy from which all the later editions of this play ultimately descend, in the 1638 posthumous edition of his poetry, lacks most of what we expect after we hear the masque announced. The text of it consists only of one song and dance, "a simple Dance, brought in to shew / The native fowlness and deformities / Of our dear sinne . . . ," to be performed

by the seven deadly sins in a disorderly fashion in tunes of discord, "highest Trebles, or the lowest Base."²⁹ What are not included are the names of the sins, nor their descriptions, nor information and descriptive speeches which should be parallel to those by "the golden Mediocritie" (V.i and ii). Her long appeals to the audience to espouse her virtuous daughters take up about five pages of text. Nevertheless the words of the song the virtues dance to are omitted. In other words, each masque lacks the equivalent of what its opposite consists of.

Randolph was usually scrupulous about such details, and the fact that the two masques were intended to balance each other is further indicated by their placement after the beginning of the framing incident and before the series of debates between the opposing views, I.iv, and after the debates but before the concluding scene of the frame, V.i and ii, respectively. There is the strong possibility that the only text that has come down to us is flawed, as we know the text for Hey for Honesty is, and that a more complete version may yet turn up. The fact that Henry Lawes set to music not only the "rude dance" of the vices but two songs known to be Randolph's which appear with it in an anonymous manuscript may be an indication that both of these masques were performed, and so a more complete text for them may have existed. We know at least one song is missing, from the masque of virtues. According to Bentley, the remaining two Randolph songs in the manuscript may possibly be from it.³⁰ I think there is a strong possibility that one of these, "Music, thou queen of souls," may be the song to which the virtues dance in V.ii in that Randolph had the

vices dance to discord, music's opposite, in their masque. The words of this song, printed as "A Song" in the 1638 edition of Randolph's poetry and in Lawes's Ayres & Dialogues,³¹ are restrained and lofty, and the poem beautiful and classic enough to fit its celebrants:

Music, thou queen of souls, get up and string
 Thy pow'rful lute, and some sad requiem sing,
 Till rocks requite thy echo with a groan,
 And the dull cliffs [sic] repeat the duller tone.
 Then on a sudden with a nimble hand
 Run gently o'er the chords, and so command
 The pine to dance, the oak his roots forego,
 The holm and aged elm to foot it too;
 Myrtles shall caper, lofty cedars run,
 And call the courtly palm to make up one;
 Then, in the midst of all their jolly train,
 Strike a sad note, and fix 'em trees again.

The third Randolph song in this manuscript, "Coy Cœlia," printed as "A Pastoral Ode" in his collected poems and entitled "A Madrigal" in Addit. MS 11,811, is about unrequited love, so, beautiful as it is, it does not seem a likely candidate for either masques to me although Bentley thought it might belong somewhere in the masque of virtues.

I do believe, however, that the next poem in Randolph's collected poetry, "The Song of Discord," printed as it is after "A Song," which is quoted above, and seeming to be a companion poem, may have been written for the missing part of the masque of vices although it does not appear with the other two songs in the unpublished manuscript:

Let Linus' and Amphion's lute
 With Orpheus' cittern now be mute.
 The harshest voice the sweetest note:
 The raven has the choicest throat,
 A set of frogs a quire for me,
 The mandrake shall the chaunter be,
 Where neither voice nor tunes agree;
 This is discord's harmony.
 Thus had Orpheus learn'd to play,
 The following trees had run away!³²

It seems quite obvious that these are complementary poems like Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," these of sounds as Milton's are of moods. This may be seen in the references to lutes in both Randolph poems and to the sensitivity of trees, as nature, to music in both. The movement in the first poem of the trees from rooted trees to dancers under the spell of the lute to trees fixed in nature again by a sad note is paralleled in the second by the trees, which would have run away from Orpheus had he been unskilled, remaining fixed in "discord's harmony." All these details point to the relationship between the two poems. Other traditional imagery, like the rocks, cliffs, raven, and mandrake, reinforce their closeness, making "The Song of Discord" a logical candidate for another song in the masque of vices.

The complicated structure of this play also includes a lesson in literary theory on genre, which is not unusual for Randolph as we have seen, for instance in his *Præludium* to *Aristippus* in the last chapter. It is taught in the form of still another debate, this time among personifications of the four genres of drama: comedy, tragedy, mime, and "satyr," who dispute for priority. This contention was probably written after the London performance of 1630 and may never have been performed during Randolph's lifetime. A defense of the stage, particularly comedy, on grounds of morality, it was probably added to answer Prynne's attack on the stage in late 1632.³³

The main actors of the frame consist of Roscius, the actor-manager and two puritans, "Bird a Featherman, and M^{rs} Flowrdew wife to a Haberdasher of small wares; the one having brought feathers to the Play-house, the other Pins and Looking-glasses; two of the

sanctified fraternity of Black-friers."³⁴ Randolph, whose satire is never biting although it is almost always effective, is focusing here on the gap between puritan principles and practice. Elbert N. S. Thompson is among those who commend this satire in the play as the best in the controversy between the puritans and the stage brought on by Prynne's Histrion-Mastix. As Ben Jonson had the puppet in Bartholomew Fair point out, to the embarrassment of Rabbi Busy, many inhabitants of Puritan Blackfriars subsisted on the manufacture and sale of ornamental feathers, the wearing of which, they believed, could put their very souls in danger,³⁵ as would attendance at the theater. What makes Randolph's play unique are the unusual structure, the extraordinary concept of the main part of the play (Acts II through IV), and the fine writing.

Act I itself is baroque in structure, it consists of a defense of the theater by Roscius, who is going to prove his case with the entertainment he devises to convince these enemies of the stage of its moral potential. The play opens with an amusing conversation between the puritan tradespeople decrying the sinfulness of playhouses, referred to by Bird as "shops of Satan." Flowerdew agrees with him that "iniquity aboundeth, though pure zeale/ Teach, preach, huffe, puffe and snuffe at it" (I.i.11-13).³⁶ Continuing what is apparently an imitation of rhyming religious puritan rhetoric, Bird marvels how "th' bad around, surround, yea & confound us." Playhouses increase in numbers, he suggests, because "they are all grown so obscene of late/ That one begets another" (I.i.20-23). He protests indignantly that they are so sinful that in a tragedy, "They make no more of killing one another,/ Then

you sell pinnes." Yet they are not punished because the "Law growes partiall,/ And findes it but Chance medly: And their Comedies/ Will abuse you, or me, or any body" (I.i.28-35).

Nor surprisingly, Flowerdew reports that her vicar is so against playhouses he calls them "the Colledges of Transgression/ Wherein the seven deadly sinnes are studied" (I.i.56-57). This condemnation reminds her then of a "zealous prayer" that a "Brother" recited which punned amusingly on the names of contemporary London theaters:

That the Globe
Wherein (quoth he) reigns a whole world of vice,
Had been consum'd! The Phoenix burnt to Ashes.
The Fortune whipt for a blind whore: Blackfriars
He wonders how it scapd demolishing
I'th'time of reformation: lastly he wish'd
The Bull might crosse the Thames to the Bear-garden,
And there be soundly baited! (I.i.68075)

By this time the puritans have agitated themselves to such a point that Flowerdew confesses that their trade with these impudent players "something pricks my Conscience." This is apprently soon lulled when Bird concludes that "'Tis fit that we which are sincere Professors/ Should gain by Infidels" (I.i.77, 80-81).

When they find out from Roscius, the actor-manager of the playhouse, that their goods will actually be used in a play, the pair set about converting him, asking whether he will "use so fond a calling," which is so "impious, . . . irreligious, . . . unwarrantable only to gain by vice" and to "live by sinne" (I.ii.84-95)? Roscius can take no more. Beginning an impassioned defense of the stage, he announces that "My spleene is up: And live not you by sinne?/ Take

away vanity and you both may break." He asks Flowerdew to think about how useful her and Bird's "lawfull" trades really are, pointing out her responsibility for the ends her pins, for example, serve. They are used "But to joynt gew-gawes, and to knit together/ Gorgets, strips, neck-cloths, laces, ribbands, ruffs,/ And many other such like toyes as these,/ To make the Baby Pride a pretty Puppet?" [sic] (I.ii.96-102)

Turning his attention then to Bird, "sweet Featherman, whose ware though light/ Oreweighs your Conscience," Roscius asks whether Bird's trade is "But to plume folly, to give Pride her wings,/ To deck vain-glory? spoiling the Peacocks tayle/ T'adorne an Idiots Coxcombe!" (I.ii.103-07) Waxing eloquent, Roscius inveighs against the hypercritical puritans, who "abuse our Scene,/ and say we live by vice." He then continues his telling defense, admitting that those in the theater do live by vice, but only as physicians live by disease: "to cure them!" Those in the theater do this when:

On the stage
 We set an Vserer to tell this age
 How ugly looks his soule: A prodigall
 Is taught by us how farre from liberall
 His folly bears him: Boldly I dare say
 There has been more by us in some one Play
 Laugh't into wit and vertue, then hath been
 By twenty tedious Lectures drawn from sinne
 And foppish humours; Hence the cause doth rise
 Men are not wonn by th'eaes so well as eyes. (I.ii.109-23)

The puritans are afraid at first to accept Roscius' challenge to see for themselves the truth of his argument by watching his show for fear that the sight may "unsanctify our eyes, and make 'em Carnall." They finally agree to observe in the spirit of fair play. They will "call up" all their zeal to "try the strength of this

temptation," certain that "Satin shall see we dare defie his Engines" (I.ii.124-30).

Then Roscius begins his entertainment to convince the puritans of his point with the help of "a deformed fellow" and two looking glasses. As the fellow and he both look into the mirrors, he illustrates dramatically the literal meaning of the title of the play and its predominant metaphor:

. . . Dost thou not see,
'Tis not the glasse but thy deformitie
That makes this ugly shape; if they be fayre
That view the Glasse such the reflections are.
This serves the body: The soule sees her face
In Comedy, and has no other Glasse. (I.iii.154-159)

Roscius, as spokesman for the author, then turns around to persuade the audience as well as the puritans of the important function of comedy as a mirror in which the soul may assess its moral health:

. . . yet me thinks if 'twere not for this Glasse,
Wherein the forme of man beholds his grace,
We could not find another way to see
How neere our shapes approach Divinitie.
Ladies, let they who will your glasse deride,
And say it is an Instrument of Pride:
I will commend you for it; there you see
If yee be fayre, how truly fayre yee bee:
.
A heavenly vision in your beauty lyes,
Which nature hath denied to your own eyes;
.
Then take your glasses, and your selves enjoy
The benefit of your selves; it is no toy,
Though ignorance at slight esteeme hath set her,
That will preserve us good or make us better. (I.iii.160-79)

In pithy couplets Roscius enlarges his scope by epitomizing the concept of both comedies and tragedies as "Muses' looking-glasses":

So Comedies, as Poets doe intend them;
Serve first to shew our faults and then to mend them;

Vpon our Stage two glasses oft there be,
 The Comick Mirrour and the Tragedie:
 The Comick glasse is full of merry strife,
 The low reflection of a Country life.
 Grave Tragedy void of such homely sports
 Is the sad glasse of Cities and of Courts.
 I'll shew you both, Thalia come and bring
 Thy Buskin'd sister, that of Bloud doth sing. (I.iii.196-205)

It seems appropriate that this dramatic theory be followed, as it is, by a contention for supremacy by personifications of "Comedy. Tragedy. Mime," and Tragedy. Nevertheless, because it seems so obvious that Randolph was so punctilious in balancing symmetrically the structure of this most original play, as I have shown above, with the first and last acts corresponding and the two masques diametrically opposite in meaning and placement in the comedy, upon further reflection I was forced to agree with Cyrus L. Day that this contention scene is to some extent "both inorganic and redundant, for it cuts in two" what should be a long speech by Roscius, "which should appropriately end the act, and it repeats Roscius' arguments in defense of drama."³⁷ It is not balanced by its opposite close to the beginning of Act V, either, as we would expect, for there is no opposing structure for it.

Because, as I have indicated earlier, both the masques are incomplete, I suspect that Randolph might have had in mind the insertion of a scene corresponding to the contention in this complex play. This 1638 edition of this play upon which all the later editions have been based, is then incomplete, or Randolph had not finished revising it at the time of his death in 1635. We know it was revised to answer Histrion-mastix because, although this play was licensed for performance in 1630 as The Entertainment, not only did Randolph change its name, but he either revised or rewrote the Epilogue, which uses the new

title twice. He inserted several allusions to events of 1631 and 1632, as well.³⁸

In the contention, Tragedy claims priority for her "robe of state, Buskins, and Crown of Gold" (l. 208), but she is quite effectively put down by Comedy:

Your Crown of Gold
Is but the wreath of wealth; 'Tis mine of Lawrell
Is vertues Diamdn: This grew greene and flourish'd,
When nature pittying poore mortalitie,
Hid thine within the bowells of the earth:
Men looking up to heaven found this thats mine.
Digging to find out hell they li't [sic] on thine. (I.iv.210-16)

This scene shows how delightfully Randolph could instruct. He manages to be humorous and ingeniously appealing as he mixes literary theory, dramatic history, mythology, erudition concerning the Greek theater, and sibling rivalry. His learning is never used pedantically. What a fine teacher he is. Small wonder that he was elected to a fellowship in his college.

Comedy and Tragedy take part in an amusing set-to as each throws up the humble beginnings of the other. Comedy continues to taunt Tragedy, asking who her first benefactors were "but the reeling Preists of Bacchus;/ For which a Goat gave you reward and name?" The sisters then argue the merits of their subjects, with Tragedy boasting of her high connections since she stalks "in Princes Courts, great Kings, and Emperours/ From their close cabinets, and Councell Tables." Comedy insists, on her part, that "Inferious persons, and the lighter vanities,/ (Of which this age I feare is grown too fruitfull,)" provide her "subjects various enough" to yield "Plentifull laughter" (I.iv.253-59)

Tragedy scoffs at laughter as a "fit object" of poetry. She makes a strong case, instead, for her effectiveness as a crime deterrent by depicting graphically on the stage the catastrophe which always follows vice. She prevents each one who might be tempted from emulating any tragic hero as she evokes horror, which "frights the guilty"

From his deare sinnes: he that sees Oedipus
Incestuous, shall behold him blind withall.
Who views Orestes as a Parracide,
Shall see him lash'd with Furies too; Th'Ambitious
Shall feare Prometheus Vultur; Daring Gluttony
Stand frighted at the sight of Tantalus;
And every Family great in sinnes as Blood
Shake at the memory of Pelops houles.
Who will relye on Fortunes giddy smile
That hath seens Priam acted on the stage! (I.iv.260-75)

Comedy's defense of her effectiveness in preventing foolish behavior is no less eloquent:

You move with fear, I work as much with shame,
A thing more powerfull in a generous brest.
Who sees an eating Parasite abus'd;
A covetous Bawd laugh'd at; an ignorant Gull
Cheated; a glorious Souldier knockt, and baffle'd; [sic]
A crafty servant whipt; a niggard Churle
Hoarding up dicing-monies for his sonne;
A spruce fantastique Courtier, a mad roarer,
A jealous Tradesman, an over-weaning Lady,
Or corrupt Lawyer rightly personated,
But (if he had a blush), will blush and shame
As well to act those follies as to owne them (I.iv.276-87)

Satyre and Mime then take up the challenge as each presses her advantage in reforming behavior through scorn or ridicule. Satyre here describes herself;

As one whose whip of steele can with a lash
Imprint the Characters of shame so deepe,
Even in the brazen forehead of proud sinne,
That not eternity shall weare it out.
When I put frown'd in my Lucilius brow,
. . . a cold trembling
Freez'd the chill soule; while every guilty brest

Stood fearfull of dissection, as afraid
 To be anatomiz'd by that skilfull hand,
 And have each artery, nerve, and veine of sinne
 By it laid open to the publique skorne.
 I have untruss'd the proudest, greatest tyrants
 Have quak'd below my powerfull whip, halfe dead
 With expectation of the smarting jerke,
 Whose wound no salve can cure: each blow doth leave
 A lasting scar, that with a poison eates
 Into the marrow of their fames and lives;
 Th' eternall ulcer to their memories! (I, iv.302-18)

Mime's reply is that

When men through sinnes were grown unlike the Gods,
 Apes grew to be like men: therefore I think
 My Apish imitation, Brother Beadle,
 Does as good service to reforme bad manners
 As your proud whip, with all his ferkes, and jerkes (I.iv.
 322-26)

As an example of her method, Mime describes how the Spartans
 supposedly discouraged their children from drunkenness by bringing in
 a reeling helot "overcharg'd with wine":

. . . His eyes shot out with staring,
 A faire in his nose, a burning redness
 Blazing in either cheek, his haire upright,
 His tongue and senses faltring, and his stomach
 Oreburden'd ready to discharge her load
 In each mans face he met. This made'em see
 And hate that sinne of swine, and not of men (I.iv.329-36).

These quotations illustrate how Randolph could infuse abstrac-
 tions like genres with life and eloquence. He could take academic lore
 from the Poetics and other classical subjects that schoolboys used to
 learn by rote and make it shine anew with his apt descriptive phrases,
 his vivid specific detail, and his great creative imagination which he
 used to clothe their bare bones and involve them in relationships and
 interaction with what otherwise would be other skeletal personifica-
 tions of dramatic kinds. This skill was so great that the early critic

Gildon "says, the source of all humours that are in nature, may be found in it [The Muses' Looking Glass]; and Mr. Dodsley, that it has been always esteemed an excellent common-place book for dramatic authors, to instruct them in the art of drawing characters."³⁹

The genres in this contention are reconciled, as they must be, when Tragedy suggests that they make their peace, "And friendly live together; if one wombe/ Could hold us both, [sic] why should we think this roome/ Too narrow to containe us? (I.iv.354-57) They will instead have a year to prepare before they contend again, this time before Apollo himself, who will decide the winner. In the meantime, they will observe a truce and "joyne whips together" that "vice may bleed" (I.iv.372-73).

It seems to me that line 255 above contains still another indication of a faulty basic text. The word "both" in "if one wombe could hold us both," seems to be a remnant from an earlier version of this scene when apparently only Comedy and Tragedy contended. Perhaps, as Cyrus L. Day maintained, Randolph decided to adopt Prynne's dramatic classification, used prominently three times in Histrion-mastix, in answering Prynne's charges that "all popular and common Stage-Playes, whether Comickall, Tragicall, Satyricall, Mimicall, or mixt of either . . . are such sinfull, hurtfull, and pernicious Recreations, as are altogether unseemly, and unlawful unto Christians."⁴⁰ The classification is from a text that was widely in use at the time, Thomas Godwyn's Romanae historiae anthologia, which went through many editions. Randolph was surely familiar with it, but he may have used this classification merely because his addressing the moral importance of the

same forms of plays that Prynne called "sinfull, hurtfull, and pernicious," as well as unseemly and unlawful for Christians, would have to be taken as a direct answer to Prynne's sweeping condemnation of all four dramatic genres.

Now reconciled, the sisters continue their justification by giving Mime responsibility for a masque which Roscius explains is "a rude Dance/ Presented by the seven deadly sinnes" (I.iv.380-81). The masque, discussed earlier, is indicated in the text by only one short song, titled Song and Dance, which seems to indicate a text lacking the copy of virtually all of this particular show. There is, however, a distinct possibility that Randolph had not yet worked out the details of the masque, as he had its opposite, the masque of virtues when the text of this previously unpublished play was recovered for inclusion in the 1638 collection of his poetry which his brother Robert edited.

This first act, so intricate in structure, finally ends with the exit of the seven deadly sins and of the puritans as they comment on the dangers non-puritans face from the dancing sins, "these filthy harbingers of hell!/ These Procters of Belzebub, Lucifers Hinch-boyes!" (I.iv.398-99) Roscius is now able to continue the speech he had begun before the contention of the dramatic genres. This speech is unusual in that it starts out the way an epilogue often does, apologizing for the weakness of the act and begging the audience for mercy if they wish the play to continue. It is, Roscius apologizes, too impotent to "stand a triall, nor dares hope/ The benefit of his Cleargy." If "rigour/ Sit Judge," Act I must be condemned "To Vulcan or the Sponge." He asks pardon for bringing the audience

No plot at all, but a meere Olla Podrida,
A medly of ill-plac'd, and worse pen'd humours (I.iv.405-12).⁴¹

A well-trained scholar and teacher, Randolph then prepares his audience for the innovative body of the play to follow, even documenting his source:

His [the] author's desire was in single Scenes to shew
How Comedy presents each single vice
Ridiculous, whose number as their Character
He borrowes from the man to whom he owes
All the poore skill he has, great Aristotle. (I.iv.413-17)

This is exactly what Randolph does in Acts II through IV, ending this structure, as he began, with a mirror-image of Act I in Act V. This last act, beginning with the masque of virtues, is followed by the ironic conversion to comedy as moral instruction by the puritans, the would-be converters of Roscius to their beliefs in Act I: a near circular construct.

The quote from Roscius above is followed by another ten lines asking the audience again for mercy and pardon if it still wishes to see what follows. Randolph tended to be far from arrogant, but the tone of this speech to the audience is much too apologetic. The only possibilities that might explain this atypical attitude are either that this speech was written for an occasion like a command performance at Whitehall of the play as Randolph had amended it to answer Prynne, whose criticism the royal couple interpreted as having been directed against the queen, or that the speech was adapted from the epilogue of the original show, The Entertainment, which might have consisted of only the first act. I tend to opt for the former explanation. If, as we see, Randolph had not finished revising to his satisfaction the play originally presented by the company in 1630 at the Salisbury

Court Theater as an answer to Prynne and a defense of the drama, he might well have been this apologetic about a play flawed as this seems to be, despite its many virtues (no pun originally intended).

There seems no doubt that Randolph is saying in lines 413-17 quoted above that he is about to portray the vices as Aristotle had characterized and numbered them. Despite the clarity of this statement, W. Carew Hazlitt, the last editor of Randolph's works, completely overlooked this declaration, maintaining in the headnote to this play that it "was a sort of translation or adaptation by Randolph from a prose--and prosy--original."⁴² Hazlitt came to this conclusion about Randolph's source, not only the play itself but from a commendatory poem by Sir Aston Cokain "To my friend Mr Thomas Randolph, on his Play called the Entertainment printed by the name of the Muses' Looking-Glass." The lines Hazlitt used appear to be:

In the pure Thespian spring thou hast refin'd
Those harsh, rude rules thy author hath design'd;
And made those precepts, which he did rehearse
In heavy prose, to run in nimble verse.⁴³

It is precisely because of such assumptions that writers have commented on this Hazlitt edition as perhaps the worst of any "scholarly" editions. Another example of his carelessness appears in the same headnote when Hazlitt mentioned that this play "was republished in 1706 . . . with a preface by Jeremy Collier." Why Hazlitt would conclude that Collier, an enemy of the stage like Prynne, would write a preface to this play which defends the drama, is difficult to fathom. Later in the play Hazlitt also refers to interpretations of some lines in the play in "Collier's" edition. If he had done only minor

spadework, Hazlitt would have discovered that that particular edition was printed as The Muses Looking-Glass; (OR, The Stage Re-View'd): A Comedy. Written by the Incomparable Mr. Thomas Randolph, And now Revis'd, and Corrected from the many Errors of former Editions. With a Prefatory Epistle to Mr. Collier (London, no name of printer, 1706). In addition, many of Hazlitt's notes are in error, and many of his emendations are shockingly irresponsible. Frequently Hazlitt would change the entire meaning of a line, as he did in this play, to give just one instance, by omitting a not in the dialogue between Roscius and the deformed fellow. In the original and later editions the line read: "We want not you to play Mephostopholis" (I.iii.137). What is so bad is that even the DNB entry for Randolph has been polluted by Hazlitt's unfortunate misinformation and irresponsible "scholarship." To paraphrase Bird, in this edition mistakes "abound, surround, yea & confound us" (I.i.20).

Randolph does indeed follow his master, Aristotle, in his choice of the twelve virtues, each of whose extremes contend in the heart of this play, Acts II through IV. He keeps fairly close to the order Aristotle used, too, apparently only changing it for dramatic effect, a practice we have seen in other Randolph plays as well. It is for dramatic reasons that Randolph begins Act II with the extremes of Aristotle's eighth virtue, Courtesy or Comitas. The extremes are Colax, "that to seems over Courteous falls into a servile flattery, the other (as fooles fall into the contraries which they shunne) is Dyscolus, who hating to bee a slavish Parasite growes into peevishness and impertinent distast" (II.i.3-9). Randolph had this most amusing

pair lead off the confrontations of the extremes of each virtue because he realized that he could inject variety and much more humor into what seems to be a fairly dry scheme to follow for three full acts by having Colax remain a third party in each succeeding scene. His rationalization, if not his reason, as Roscius explains to the watchful and curious puritans, is that "Any vice/ Yeelds work for Flattery" (II.ii.10-11). Dyscolus, Colax's opposite, leaves the stage as all the others do when they have served their dramatic purpose. He will be the first of all of them to look into the normative glass offstage, the Muses' looking glass, which will reveal his moral self.

In the next scene, II.ii, Randolph leads off with Fortitude, Aristotle's first moral virtue in his Nicomachean Ethics. Its opposing extremes are Aphobius, who "out of an impious confidence fears nothing," and Delius, "that from an Atheisticall distrust, shakes at the motion of a reed" (II.ii.3-6). They are both shamelessly encouraged by Colax in their self-revelations. Randolph follows Aristotle's order in the next four scenes with the extremes of Temperance, Liberality, Magnificence, and Magnanimity. These are Acolastus, "a voluptuous Epicure," and Anaisthetus, "a meere Anchorite that delights in nothing"; our old friends, Asotus, "a profuse Prodigall, that will sell earth to buy Hell," and Aneleutherus, "an illiberall Niggardly Vsurer, that will sell heaven to purchase Earth" for his son Asotus; Banausus, a spendthrift, and Microprepes, a tightwad; and Caunus, "a fellow so highly conceited of his own parts, that he thinks no honour above him," whose prototype according to some critics was Inigo Jones, and Micropsychus, "a base and low spirited fellow, that undervaluing his own qualities, dares

not aspire to those dignities that otherwise his merits are capable of."

Randolph wisely changes Aristotle's order for the remainder of the virtues for dramatic effect and variety. He begins Act IV, for instance, with Aristotle's sixth moral virtue, proper ambition, which he changes as well. It becomes proper pride in apparell because no pride is now "so much practiced as that of Apparell." Its extremes are Philotimia, "an overcurious Lady too neat in her attire," and her husband, Luparius, "a nasty sordid sloven." Randolph chose to take them out of Aristotle's original order and to deal with them here, it seems clear, so that they, as well as Colax, may remain to interact with the extremes of the next virtue, Modesty. These extremes are Anaiskyntia, "or Impudence, a bawd," and Kataplectus, "an overbashful scholar." In this joint scene Philotimia flirts with the young scholar, with whom she leaves, followed closely by her husband, Luparius, who is determined not to be cuckolded. The other two extremes exit also, leaving Colax, as is usual, to egg on the next extremes.

The virtue of Justice provides another opportunity for Randolph to vary the customary three-way conflict. The extremes of Justice are represented in this play by Justice Nimis, who is overzealous in enforcing the law, and Justice Nihil, who does not enforce it at all. They interact with their clerks, Plus and Minus, respectively. Another indication of a flawed text occurs in this scene (IV.iii). Although Minus is the name of the second clerk in the stage directions, this name never appears in the scene itself. Those speeches that logically

would be his are all given to Parum, whose name is not given earlier in the stage directions or in Roscius' introduction at the beginning of the scene. This name, which seems a more logical one than Minus, may be translated as "a little." Since Minus is less than Nihil, nothing, it hardly applies to the quality of justice, for less than justice would be injustice, not minus or negative justice. Minus was probably Randolph's first choice, as it might well be ours, because it is the correlative of Plus. Once he started to write the scene, however, he probably realized the logical problem the name would bring and so changed it. The inconsistency of names here is still another indication that either Randolph never had time to revise this play completely or our text is not his latest version.

Randolph was able to vary his treatment of the extremes in still another fashion when he came to the last, his twelfth, virtue, Urbanity. Instead of having them interact with each other and Colax, Randolph allowed each of Urbanity's extremes a scene to himself in which he reacts to Colax's flattery. The original rationale for this may have been that the extremes--Agroicus, a "rustique clownish fellow," and Bomolocus, "a fellow conceited of his own wit," which is "nothing but the base dreggs of scandall, and a lumpe of most vile and loathsome scurrility"--would probably never meet and it would be difficult to write a dramatically satisfactory conversation between them. A more practical dramatic consideration, however, is that these are among the most genuinely funny of all the extremes, comic as they all are. While we would expect Agroicus to be inarticulate and Bomolocus to be verbose, Agroicus talks comically at great length. He talks earthily

in a modified dialect.

On the other hand, Bomolocus, whose wit is supposedly so dangerous that Agroicus dares not stay to hear, and Bird fears for his soul because of the "scurrility" and "blasphemies" he expects to hear, is masterfully handled. Randolph plays a practical joke on his audience here. Bomolocus and his foul mouth are discussed at such length by Bird, Roscius, Flowerdew, and Colax that the audience expects who knows what and must surely wonder how far Bomolocus will be allowed to go in those days when plays could be censored if what might be construed as an oath were uttered onstage. The scene becomes more and more comic as the others continue to discuss him, thereby disappointing the expectations of the audience and limiting his speeches, which are only allowed to punctuate those of the others, to six "Oh---oh---oh's," and "Oh--oh--oh--oh--," and his frustrated exit line, a great "Oh--oh--oh--oh--oh--oh--oh--oh--."

Roscus, in still another statement of dramatic theory and decorum, explains:

Thus Sir you see how we have put a gagge
In the licentious mouth of base scurrility,
He shall not Ibis-like purge upward here,
To infect the place with pestilentiall breath;
Wee'le keepe him tongue-tide;

He promises too that

Our language shall flow chaste, nothing found here
That can give just offence to a strict eare (IV.v).

The personified extremes of the other Aristotlian virtues in these three acts are those of Meekness, whose extremes are Orgylus, the irate and quarrelsome, and Aorgus, a self-effacing milktoast; and

Truth, whose lying extremes are Alazon, a braggart, and Eiron, who is overly self-effacing.⁴⁵

While Aristotle was the source of these characters, as Randolph himself acknowledged, the attraction for this kind of allegorical play at this time came not only from the older morality-play tradition but rather directly from the rhetorical theory and teaching of the time, from parts of Book IV of Aristotle's Ethics, and from the rediscovery in the last decade of the sixteenth century of Theophrastus' Characters, according to Benjamin Boyce.⁴⁶

Moore Smith had also noticed a "curious" revival of morality-type plays, in which the characters were abstract conceptions, at Cambridge in the early decades of the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ These began in 1602 with Thomas Tomkis's Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the five Senses for Superiority, and include his Locus, Corpus, Motus, etc.; his Albumazar, 1614/15; and Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe and Pathomachia, which he may have written. Later plays of this type include Stoicus Vapulans, 1618, and Sophomorus, 1620/21.⁴⁸

Aristotle was actually the originator of the type of writing "his favorite pupil," Theophrastus, developed. Aristotle's "pictures of the Magnificent Man and the Great-minded Man," as well as his sentence of "suggestive concrete detail about the Rich Man of Vulgar Profusion" were the seeds for the technique of Theophrastus' Characters. Thus Aristotle's description of the Rich Man cited above could "easily be passed off" as a fragment of a lost character by Theophrastus, so alike are they.⁴⁹

The relationship between rhetoric and the disputation, according

to Aristotle, was that the speaker must know the natures of men "in respect to moral virtue or character" concerning affections, age, and fortune.⁵⁰ The speaker must also, in order to be able to persuade effectively, know the "moral character peculiar to each form of government."⁵¹ Aristotle believed that a good way to master these subjects was to compose, following his example, descriptions of representative men. Although both his Ethics and his Rhetoric contained a few particularized character sketches, the characterizations were of more importance in the Rhetoric because they were not only to clarify the subject matter to the student but to be pedagogical examples themselves, to be copied for their method by the student or oratory.⁵²

In the Athens of Aristotle, rhetoric was a "respectable and necessary part of civic government." The logic of Aristotle's including his rhetoric a discussion on the differences between virtuous conduct and the vicious extremes which Randolph dramatized in The Muses' Looking Glass, would have been understandable to Aristotle's readers according to Boyce. It would also seem advisable to them that an orator should study the moral and social types making up his audience, just as advertising agencies do marketing and readership research before they begin an advertising campaign today.

In Ciceronian Rome, on the other hand, after the displacement of assembly government, "rhetoric bore a less honorable name" than it had in Greece, and the character began to dwindle in the newly-combined rhetoric and poetry manuals to a "poor two-line description." It was also in the process of being transformed, "through a perverse admiration of decorum, into a mechanically organized portrait." The

"dwindling of logic and knowledge in favor of style" brought a confusion between rhetoric and poetic "even to some extent in Cicero's day."

Still later, in Quintilian's Rome of the first century, because oratory usually served personal ends then, the function of rhetoric was "merely to give effectiveness to a speaker, regardless of the worth of his ideas."

Aristotle's descriptions of the nature of old and young men, of rich and poor, boastful and mean, which he had composed for the instructions of orators, "now becomes ornaments of style, figurae sententiarum," to make oratory or poetry more entertaining, more ravishing. Following the Roman example, the Character through the middle ages and the renaissance was no longer considered part of the psychological training of the orator and thus a technique of the inventio, the investigation of material of his speech; it was not included with other considerations of style.⁵³ Quintilian was still used extensively in seventeenth-century Cambridge, but Aristotle's Rhetoric was also available at that time. It seems unlikely that a scholar like Randolph, whose veneration of Aristotle appears in his other works as well as this play, would be unacquainted with Aristotle's Rhetoric. This may then have been another of Randolph's models for some of the extremes.

With the rediscovery of Theophrastus' Characters in 1592,⁵⁴ early seventeenth-century writers could divert the Greek form into the twin Jacobean channels of the Character per se and the "humor" character in drama. There seems little doubt that the catalyst for both of these British innovations was the publication that year of Isaac Casaubon's volume containing 23 of Theophrastus' Characters in

both the original Greek and Casaubon's Latin translation. This work was apparently popular enough for Casaubon to follow it with a second edition in 1599 to which five new Characters had been added. These publications might very well have given Ben Jonson impetus to compose "a set of near-characters for the printed edition of Every Man Out of his Humor."⁵⁵ This play was first acted in 1599. In 1608 Joseph Hall "led off" the long procession of Character-books with his Characters of Vertues and Vices,⁵⁶ but the "real vogue" of the genre came only after the Overbury collection was first printed in 1614.⁵⁷

The type-characters which had been used in the old morality plays, the farces, and the masques came to English drama through the Latin comedies of Terence and Plautus, which "served well the school-master of England in the sixteenth century,"⁵⁸ as well as our seventeenth. Boyce points out the possibility that the prose sketches of Theophrastus might have influenced the drawing of the type-characters of Menander, Theophrastus' younger contemporary who was possibly also his student. Menander, in turn, similarly affected the work of Plautus and Terence, and so "the taste of Elizabethan audiences and readers,"⁵⁹ as well as the technique of Elizabethan and subsequent English playwrights.

Jonson's Every Man Out of His Humor, first staged in 1599, seven years after the publication of Casaubon's first Latin translation of Theophrastus, was the first play in which he defined his humor characters. In the prologue he has one character explain that the author is applying the humors, which he has just defined, by metaphor to men's general dispositions:

As when some one particular quality
 Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw
 All his affects, his spirits, and his powers,
 In their confluitions, all to run one way.
 This may be truly said to be humor.⁶⁰

Jonson also prefixes the printed play with what seem to be short Characters of each role, such as:

Sordido. A wretched hob-nailed chuff, whose recreation is reading almanacks; and felicity, foul weather. One that never pray'd but for a lean dearth, and ever wept in a fat harvest.⁶¹

Jonson does not here define the moral characterization, or humor, which determines the character's behavior, as Theophrastus does, but the humor is usually implicit in the character's name. Fungoso, for instance, is a sponge.

The method Theophrastus introduced for writing characters, parts of which were still included in some of the traditional rhetoric assignments of the early seventeenth century, was "first to name the moral quality or habit and then briefly to define it." After this came the main development, "the list of actions and speeches that are typical of a victim of the quality under consideration." This picture is "built up entirely of details of what the man does or says, usually in apparently random order, as seen or heard by an impersonal observer" so that there is no explicit statement of the character's thoughts or of what Theophrastus thought of the character.⁶²

Boyce found the most interesting connections with the Character in the drama,⁶³ giving many examples from Jonson of "type-satire, carried out by a summary of the habits that signify character," such as those cited above and in The Magnetic Lady.⁶⁴ He also gives other examples from James Shirley, Richard Brome, and Thomas Nabbes.

While the speeches of the characters in Randolph's The Muses' Looking Glass could not be called Characters primarily because they are in the first person, "it is hard to believe that the vogue of the Character was not one source of Randolph's courage in planning such a play."⁶⁵

The names of some of Randolph's extremes in this play are the same as some used by Theophrastus, probably because both he and Randolph based their works directly on Aristotle. Randolph's characters in the main scenes of the play are all from Aristotle, whereas Theophrastus invented some of his own, like the Garrulous Man, Adoleschia; The Man without Moral Feeling, Aponoia; and the Talkative Man, Lalia.⁶⁶

While Jonson had written many comedies with what have come to be called humor characters, Everyman Out of His Humor was the first in which there was little plot beyond what ensued from the interaction among the various characters. Some critics believe that Randolph was influenced by this play in his writing The Muses' Looking Glass. Beyond the fact that there are two levels of action, in which the characters of the larger frame comment on the actual play itself, as Roscius and the puritans do in Randolph's play, and beyond Randolph's subordinating any plot to the lively exchanges which come about through the interaction of the humor characters in Jonson, like the diametrically "tipped" characters in this play, there is little similarity. Lord Buckingham, the eighteenth-century playwright, is thought to have modelled his The Rehearsal on Randolph's play, but again the primary similarity is in this device.

Now that we have shown the relationship between Theophrastus' Characters and this play, it might be helpful to look at this play in



both is, and
no, the audience, man.

terms of a morality play. I believe that the main difference between the two is that the older English moralities were religious in intent, and Randolph's aim was ethical. In addition, the traditional morality plays usually dealt with some aspect of the struggle between the virtues and the vices, or the good and bad angels, to win the soul of man, the mind of man, or man himself as he makes his way over the rugged terrain of life in hopes of achieving salvation.⁶⁷

In The Muses' Looking Glass the intent and method are intellectual. It is a product of the renaissance in that there is inherent in this play a belief in the persuasive power of comedy. In this play, the medium, comedy, is both the message and an example of how it works. This play is also a product of the renaissance in that the whole concept of the virtues and the vices is classical in it, right out of Aristotle, as we have seen, worlds removed from the more primitive, albeit powerful, medieval concept of man's being at the mercy of the elements and the temptation of the vices and other forces of evil in this vale of tears.

In the older morality plays, it is also only through an almost superhuman effort that man, the hero, can triumph--and only in the next world by being strong, wise, and believing enough to reject the easy, easeful, attractive temptations of evil to ensure his redemption.

In Randolph's play the conflict is between the various vices for our laughter. Our laughter, often of recognition, frees us of any illusions we might have of the desirability of cultivating any of the vices. Comedy both is, and holds up for us to see, a normative mirror in which we, the audience, mankind, see how ridiculous both

extremes of each virtue are and how much more sensible it is to strive for the golden mean represented by Lady Mediocrity and her daughter-virtues. Again, classically, the virtues operate in harmony and beauty; the vices, in discord, disorder, and contention. Man will be saved from error and foolishness in this world, and so, no doubt, from damnation in the next by his faith in his ability to use Right Reason to make his decisions, an idea of the reformation and its stress of Christian humanism.

The virtues, then, are allegorical figures: ideals, non-particularized, while the vices in this most original play are classical Aristotlean, Theophrastian, and Jonsonian type characters. They represent man ruled primarily by an overruling emotion, man become rash and humorous because of an imbalance of one of the four humors, a scientific, not religious, concept--a man out of his humor. In Randolph's play these characters are each escorted to see themselves as they are in a curative mirror, comedy. Once they see how grotesque they have become because of the specific ruling passion, they, being reasonable men, cannot but choose to opt for temperance and the other virtues. Similarly the audience is invited at the end to look in this mirror so that each member may change after seeing the distortion caused by his vice. And the puritans also have no real choice but to be persuaded of the morality of comedy and the sin against nature by zeal. They are saved from going to hell the narrow way.

These considerations of sources and genre are useless in conveying some idea of the humor Randolph was able to squeeze from the reactions of the juxtaposed characters of his classical schemes

to one another. There is first-rate humor in each of these scenes in Acts II through IV, especially, so that one could really choose at random. Since copies of this play are not easily available I shall quote a little more than I would otherwise to give some idea of how successfully these three-cornered confrontations work. In this one, we see the extremes of Fortitude as they discuss astrology with Colax:

Aphobius. Let fooles gaze
At bearded starres, it is all one to mee
As if they had been shav'd--thus, thus would I
Out-beard a Meteour, for I might as well
Name it a prodigy when my candle blazes.

Deilus. Is there a Comet say you? Nay I saw it,
It reach'd from Pauls to Charing, and portends
Some certain imminent danger to th'inhabitants
Twixt those two places; I'll goe get a lodging
Out of its Influence.

Colax. Will that serve?--I feare
It threatens generall ruine to the Kingdome.

Deil. I'll to some other Country.

Colax. There's danger too to cross the Seas.

Deil. Is there no way, good Colax,
To crosse the Sea by Land? O the scituation!
The horrible scituation of an Island.

Below they converse on that uncomic subject, death:

Colax. You sir are farre above such frivolous thoughts.
You fear not death.

Apho. Not I.

Col. Not sudden death.

Apho. No more than sudden sleepes: Sir I dare dye.

Deil. I dare not; Death to me is terrible;
I will not dye.

Apho. How can you Sir prevent it?

Deil. Why I will kill my selfe.

Col. A valiant course;
 And the right way to prevent death indeed.
 Your spirit is true Roman!--But yours greater
 That fear not death, nor yet the manner of it,
 Should Heaven fall.

We pick up the conversation at little later here:

Col. . . . should the earth yawn like a sepulcher,
 And with an open throat swallow you quick?

Apho. T'would save me the expences of a grave.

Deil. I'had [sic] rather trouble my Exequutors by the half.

Apho. Canons to me are pot:guns. [sic]

Deil. Potguns to me
 Are Canons: the report will strike me dead.

Apho. A rapier's but a bodkin.

Deil. And a bodkin
 Is a most dangerous weapon, since I read
 Of Iulius Casars death, I durst not venture
 Into a Tailors shop for fear of Bodkins.

Apho. O that the valiant Gyants would again
 Rebell against the Gods, and besiege Heaven,
 So I might be their leader.

Finally Aphobius, tells Delius that there really are no
 dangers, that Scylla, Charybdis, Medea's bull and dragon are but
 fables or tales, that

Sea monsters, serpents, all Poeticall figments.
 Nay Hell it selfe, and Acheron meere inventions.
 Or were they true, as they are false, should I be
 So timorous as to fear these Bugbeare Harpyes?

Deilus is now so petrified with fear he appeals to Colax for
 help. Colax, as he does when each of the extremes has revealed him-
 self enough to serve his dramatic purpose, advised him to look into
 the off-stage glass of comedy, which will "render" him "free from
 enchantments."

Dei. How a Looking glasse?
 Dost think I can endure it? why there lies
 A man within't in ambush to entrap me.
 I did but lift my hand up, and he presently
 Catcht at it.

Col. 'Twas the shadow Sir of your selfe,
 Trust me a meere reflection.

He leaves, but Aphobus wants to know more about the glass.

Col. A trick to fright the Idiot
 Out of his wits, a glasse so full of dread
 Rendring unto the eye such horrid spectacles
 As would amaze even you. Sir I doe think
 Your optick nerves would shrink in the beholding;
 This if your eye endure, I will confesse you
 The Prince of Eagles.

Apho. Look to it eyes, if yee refuse this sight,
 My nayles shall damne you to eternall night. Exit.

Sensuality is powerfully, although humorously (in both senses)
 shown in the following self-revelation of Acolastus, the "voluptuous
 Epicure." Notice here how Randolph used the traditional description
 of Gluttony, as shown also in the following excerpts from The Fairy
Queen and Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island, but yet managed to par-
 ticularize him more:

And like a crane his neck was long and fine,
 With which he swallowed up excessive feast. (FQ I.21).

Here is Fletcher's:

His life was either a continued feast,
 Whose surfeits upon surfeits him oppressed,

 His crane-like neck was long, unlaced. (VII.80)

And here is Randolph's:

Acolast. O now for an eternity of eating!
 Foole was he that wish'd but a cranes short neck.
 Give me one, nature, long as is a Cable.
 Or sounding line, and all the way a palate
 To taste my meate the longer.

He goes on at much greater length, then asking almost obscenely for the ability to have all his senses feaste together. Nor will he cease here, finally getting to such impossibles as these:

Give me the seven Orbes
To charme my eares with their cœlestiall lutes,
To which the Angells that doe move those spheares
Shall sing some amorous ditty, nor yet here
Fixed my bounds; The sunne himselfe shall fire
The Phoenix nest to make me a perfume,
While I doe eate the Bird, and eternally
Quaffe of eternall Nectar. These single, are
But torments, but together, O together!
Each is a Paradice.

Conclusions

Perhaps the boldest experiment of Randolph's in this play was to sacrifice plot of any kind except the framing one, which also allows use of the puritans in Acts II through IV to carry on a running commentary of the action in each scene, much like a Greek chorus. This device may have been borrowed from Beaumont's The Knight of the Burning Pestle. Randolph gets much humor from the juxtaposition of the narrow, ignorant contemporary puritans with the classical virtues, vices, and dramatic genres.

The action in each of these scenes of the three central acts is what Randolph has fearlessly substituted for plot. He starts with the personified opposing extremes of the Aristotlean virtues (except for his changing of proper ambition for decorum in dress. The two opposing extremes usually confront each other, with more or less help from Colax, so that each is led to reveal his ruling passion or humor by being given his head. In other words, the extremes are introduced in each of these scenes by Roscius; only the presence of those in each

scene seems plotted. The interaction seems to occur spontaneously, given the ruling emotion of each. What Randolph has eliminated here is the traditional dramatic linear plot, intersected by complications, advancing inevitably to the climax and the dénouement. The effect is much like that of Pirandello's Six Characters in Search of an Author as far as seeming spontaneity is concerned although there is an underlying plot in Pirandello.

The frame is the stabilizing unit in Randolph's play in that the only recurring characters throughout the five acts are Roscius and the two puritans. They also provide some linear development in that Roscius is able to get them to see the error of their narrow ways so that they are the only characters in the play who change. Roscius' defense of the stage as the keeper of morals has succeeded. They illustrate the working of what they had considered an abomination. They have seen themselves in the muses' looking glass. The reformation of all the extremes is more or less implicit in the play, for at the end of each scene in Acts II through IV, Colax directs the individual extremes to look at himself in the offstage glass after Colax has exhausted the comic possibilities of each character. One is to feel then that they will have all changed to virtues too after they see how grotesquely eccentric they are. The movement in the central part of the play is then similar to that of a slow-moving pageant allowing for self-revelation.

While Thomas John Dibden praised Randolph and this play, he felt that having a constantly-changing cast weakens the impact of the play because the audience does not get emotionally involved with anyone.

I don't agree because I feel that most discriminating theater-goers tend to accept each work for what it obviously is, and Randolph gains flexibility, enormous humor, and novelty, as well as the ability to make a strong didactic point by using this unique structure. It is true we cannot identify with anyone in this play, but many Jacobean plays are morally ambivalent, and satire does not encourage the audience to identify with any of the characters as a general rule either.

Although the play, The Muses' Looking Glass, comes to us from a flawed original in that Randolph either did not have time to complete his revision or we do not have it if he did, it is still a brave experiment in a new form. Randolph had shown before that he could adapt several classical or renaissance genres to his times and audience. In this play, we see that he could invent a most baroque structure which could support a completely different kind of drama. It is a product of the full renaissance in its use of classical material from Aristotle, Theophrastus, mythology, history, and literary theory, mixed with medieval matter and method like the debat, the masque, the morality play, and the pageant, to serve the reformation by delighting and instructing its audiences painlessly in virtue. It also serves the Crown even more personally in the tradition of Christian humanism by defending the honor of the king and queen in this answer to Prynne. This play also is classical in technique through its use of a chorus and of allowing no more than three main characters on stage at a time.

Dibdin, commenting on Dodsley's praise of this play as "an excellent common place book to instruct dramatic authors in the art of drawing characters, added that "No author for the quantity he wrote

has been so pilfered as RANDOLPH." This, he says, is no wonder.

"Where should men find materials but at the fountain head? 'Tis universally allowed that there never was a writer more original."⁶⁸ It would be hard to prove such hyperbole, but there can be little doubt that Randolph has been underrated to the point that his works are out-of-print and unknown by many today who are specialists in his period. While he is not a major dramatist, reading his works adds to our knowledge of the period, exposes us to a witty, ingenious, fertile mind, and allows us to experience firsthand some of his bold experiments which are almost lost to literary history.

Photographs of the Original Manuscript

Thom Randolph's Salting

Thom Randolph's Salting.
 No salting here that many years may prove
 Salt will be long out of season here
 Where the this place now is. If you fear me now
 This year then other years I fear of you.
 A foot had been either for France or Spain
 (as you never got) ye salt of France here.
 We will be they be at the salt side
 Means for to powder all your world's affairs.
 Yet further and but further, we will do more
 Great men do us of our Father's Coast.
 He says now but a fish. We who now are home
 To fish. We who are not men's sons.
 Next his necks of Capboard of his brain
 To pick for crams of wit, but all in vain.
 But to my task: what shall I call my wit?
 The Delirium of my age, kept of my wit?
 Shall I like France, when every Frenchman leaves
 half being my son, by giving them all names.
 Will you be intellect? No, I know those names
 by your hand felt; A whole row of facts.
 Parts of ye body? Neither, most men call
 On Children's minds, for to lead to the end.
 What, books? Answer to press you, such as for
 too often to their good behavior bound.
 No, my dear child, for you now nearly to
 Each of my four shall be a liberal wife.
 Nor are they full great dressers, but they may be
 Some Tutors have grown fat, feeding on this.
 Creation, suggest of my little table spread
 Treasures of goodness laid with salt & bread.
 To a fish dinner at a Fishhouse long
 Take too, you have chosen we can afford.
 I have no ship at ye board. And to be
 Laughing, to. From the birth, more than for
 Not for my bird I write to my child to be
 with mending of his word, more than to be

(This page shown in original size)

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Tis all my cost, nor pay you for y^e feast 135
Therefore expect no ordinary treat.

Nor like shall keep his coach Cooke have boasted
T' have at our time been boild, another roasted.

If I shall with, yet let them be contented
Some with before best to be apprehended.

But though if children yet I shall now be known
yt ere I father with was not mine own.

What ere we bring, ye worst thereof is here
Takt in good part, for his but Colledge cheer.

Upon ye fellow Commoners.

And you my eldest sons, gentlemen of fame,
Whom we half for fellows, half for Common name.

You my good sons & heirs must not stay here
I have no ghosts worthy of such dainty cheer.

The worst of you will beboild, may be able
To be served by our day at Councils table.

You ere like Tantalus apples laughing by
Made not to please or palate, but all die.

For who upon ye table doth behold
A postword salad, quill all our whole gold,

A dainty woodcock wing, & all that by,
Or a parrotke held spread on a curious pie,

He were a ghost unworthy of his meals
Who ~~with~~ thinks such pretty things were made for state

Th' are, now for fight then test, made to from gay
Set only to be stowed & leave away.

Go then my eldest sons, you, or his fit
shall have my land, ye next shall have my wife.

Made last, made last & leave away

Y^e next is lot, & stowards by

Or hunger will not stay.

Leave then away

Make no delay

Y^e next is lot, & stowards by

Or hunger will not stay.

It is a running battle & from me away
My son Priest he never instructs me what to say;
He should be Chaplain & say grace too day,
But since he's absent all his little grace,
My self too day will act my Chaplain's place.
Pulling in my chair, to hear his heart mind tell,
Whilst my mouth waters on my Patron's will.
And whilst mine eye to heaven I raise, than praise,
To eat my meat, I have a more desire.
Eating yet grow, as Grasshopper old to say,
Then when I was out of fashion for to pray.

I grow When you eat & drink so fast,
You give not a bit to the poor.
To feed ye guts all drink & wine,
Let ye Calves & Swine to eat & drink.
Let with C. Stripes be fed all toils
You have ye Lordship of ye soils.
Pray for ye King, if but to please,
But for ye Church, be no great matter.
Heaven find o' Naby down again
Full of French wine, French, French.

My Chaplain Priest should have fulfilled my wish
For this, but in this feast, he makes a dish.
Nor is it strange for such an account to be,
Most Patrons on their Chaplains life to feed.

To his Schoolfellow

Clark, withoutons, Sweet & honest, you shall be
Chief Dish for how to grow of folly.
But you & I our papp & d. suck, our breast
Fed by all Nature of ye nurse's feast,
We had our Mother, Brothers & very one,
I never meant to make any of you any form.

Grant

This little Grant is ye first dish we bring
A Chicken lately fetched from a mother's wing.
Him a good Chicken we must now sacrifice,
All daily with breath straining for his life.

145

Ashlon a great student.
Ashlon, who thinks in learning to excel
By's pilgrimages to Aristotle's well,
C to offend arts doud transferring bowrs
By serious looks, c melancholly hours
Daignt for my sake y^e palate to admit
to meat yt is as solid as his wit.
A surloin of beef, a landow of mutton, y^e best,
no maker by but for-bid, hold y^e best.
Feed heartily, twill neer offend y^e man
he studies hard, he cannot fare so rarr.
Or if he new, to kitchen so oft he posted
yt ere by this time, he must needs be cooked.
this Ashlon is a beef, he doth appear
As proper an Oxe, as Milo himself can beare.
Cambridge new brought by one of greater fame,
Nor Oxford, though for thence he kept half his name.
London might city bulke y^e like new bred
st Leger Faice cannot show a finer head.
The sweat of his face y^e dripping shall be,
His haire, the by-morne's like washed Professary.

Bill a little boy.
My little Dea, who for his gravity
The Pignier Nestor might Deferre to be.
If yt at please you ghostly, wile filly call
him Colledge here, because he is so small.

Damies.
Damies y^e Delight of lazer y^e aw led
wile longing thoughts, to wish y^e marriage bed.
I offer this Beate, what dish will thou content?
But when I see y^e art so innocent.
Thou wouldest do well for mutton, be it so,
yt in this feast shall for y^e shoulder go.
And since occasion gives me how fit comes,
In praise of Tupper, that for good laze medicine
shew y^e words, rather c y^e Pastors game
y^e pride of the Italy c Arcadian plains.

The clothes of ye world, whole golden fleece
At Colchos brought Jason, to Lewis Greece.
They taught ye Samit & rural things to sing,
They made Lewis pipe equal Apollon string.
How Tyburn & Thynne learned their best
Amongst the first the god, when he dreamt of bait.
Paris was keeping sheep, his wound'd butt
When 3 goddesses made him Judge of beauty.
But they swam, had he not been a block,
H' had given ye golden apple to his flock;
His now white sheep, had they been judg'd by me,
In beauty far exceed'd ye other three.
Venus an ewe, Jove's Hamon was a ram
& Cupid ewe, in Psyche fold a lamb.
Why then do neighbours make so much noise
Those without whom, they could not live awhile?
Ours just them lop to lose, find them at full
They do nothing do for us, but graze & wall.
Let them not then & stare so with'd call
Like Tyrian sheep, in saw purple flower all.
Then Samit, if ye any sheep-bird see
Be ye ye same of him, as he of thee.
And tell them, if their courts begin to grow,
Or have to water all ye Colledge down.
And did we not spend them all this day,
Before ye sunn they had mow'd all away.
- Once be ye mutton, ye not ye best here
Ye in o' Colledge ye most dainty cheer.
A dish of Thynny men would suffe to eat
If larded with a Roman, excellent meat.

Priest.

Next a high priest, my chaplain both appear
Turn'd to a hith piggy, & murther o' cheer;
A very great priest, yet a fool; True then,
The greatest clarks are not ye wisest men.

Gamble

Gamble, o' Gamble, Gamble so we know,
My Christmas Gamble, Come out ye be shown.

Gambles begot of Hodman buff, y^e faire,
Upon his wife called shooming of y^e Mars. 143
ye shall in this my past a Calver head be
if better ye shall did not at Easter be.
Blush not, thy Calver head is a dish of grew,
longe served up in their owne platter face.
But now fauce fauce, my invention fauce,
steares I for y^e last so bitter braime.
Gambles; sweet Calver head, I protest to day
ye shouldst have bene fowle to thy brother key,
but his rhetorical aw, thy words vnsmooth,
his faucet in his tongue, thine in thy tooth.
If any then too curious tasted ghost
thine, then too kindly a Calver head for a past,
then tell him boldly, tis no matter whether
thy Calver head & his Cockscomb go together

Quod
m. Roder, since ye whofe shepherds fame is found
as loud as Botsolph hills, whose name abound
in every Belfrey, whom each fulton sings
whose shrill Encomiours every clapper sings.
See, Hathey, Hearn & Jager, y^e did to these
So y^t of all, ye shall King-baude be.
Never late did come, ill aduise vnderneath ye bringing
yt at New-market y^e most dead, n^o bringing
This lady never did, make or heart to new
ye never, but good becaus it was not true.
For ye n^o bringing, did not get thy death
ye did not but end like y^e worst out of breath.
Cui Roder diat, no worth, no worth my fowle
then let ye little melt, mis bringing, wasp.

Let all sing out a diabolicall song
Lament & weep, & let sing, doth
John Hall, I throw thy up away
In gale of this diabolicall day.
When this aduise to Bottom came
yt New-market had killed his fowle.

The alle of merr singing, for grief, gaud and
Merr was heard such a change before.
But, when this adent to Cambridge came
when all had ward this mouth fame.
Boloff & Benet began for to sweare
e ye round church was cleand out of square
Then all did cry he rung passing well
but, now is me, I cried he passing well.

And now rebid, to entertaine my ghost
with one dish more at this my homely feast,
Be ye a frow, a frow then ye shall be
for ye chappell knave, ye must as frow as she.
yet die not after ye lost formerly sing
therefore take heed how ye behest to sing.
Th' art like a Swan, all but for one place
there's ashamed of her feet, e ye of thy face.
Remember Lady, yt oft I saw her told
In singing merr, howe ye told not cold.

Manuell.

But in this feast no fauer yet can I be
Manuell, I manuell, ye ye fauer shall be
e if the like the well, for let my ghost
carry the on his shoud to every feast.
But when I do the Countesses behold
e thy crab paw, yt doth so lowe
I pray my quicke meat may be frow
because their fauer is vnderous frow.

Evans a Kitt-plaice

Evans, whose Diphon Kitt louchit by yt hand
could ever move ye stocke e stonde yt stand,
for when they heard thy kittle melodious sound
sach possib, in ye Court dancet Sallengier round.
But when ye early did dance by chance,
they skipping, leapt into a Morris danc.

That Kitt, sweet Kitt, sweet Deane of S. John
whose very strong my heart strong firs in fire
And but ye famous keep thy first Kitt Band 145
It had found by Tutor Banks, tis to be feared.
But learn thy Kitt, my child, now to please me
to make my heart up, ye a goose shall be;
if with my goose (my quill) I have a care
rising your hunger not learn carcass spare
For should we French come here as who do know
whether he may save ye Capitoll or no?

Heggin-bottom.

John Heggin Bottom, Oration Heggin offered
e once again at Beggars bush attend.
Advance ye King of Dutchess, come & appear
Braum Heggin Bottom, we expect thee here.
Hedge Tully, ye Demosthenes of New
Zealand noble rugged Eloquence could spice
thy brother best rhetorical song, whom he
calls, Pope & figure, of ye audience for
thy lively voice & words thy audible face
with all ye Dicks admire, shall be thy grace
whom ye report ye Ladies of Loure to draw
with thee to humble on a pair of shoes.
Thy wit is Heggin, all Heggin alone
Nothing but Heggin, Bottom it hath now.
But, he is absent now, he lately went
summond to appear at ye postest parliament
When he returns, please you yet dish to see
His leg or arme shall at ye justice be.
But if you take it, no great harme you do
Heggin shall thank you for, & Bottom too.
For so you give him a justice of peace's Case
Cut off a Beggars legs & heart pay ye better
Nelson an Hebridean all a my mouth
Nelson, whose gravity might become a chieftain
Dicer with a posty beard; Now enter in;

How gently now you walk, how softly you move
 as if you were afraid to move your head.
 For fears ye least Commotion of our hairs
 should make ye Peccacanth, yt are sleeping thin.
 Yet I must praise him, for whies his brains
 of Hebrew doth a whole Synagogue contain;
 His mouth's grown as quills away, but why I pray,
 with reading Hebrew, writt ye left hand way.
 Come learned, growne Hebrewian, Come & view
 these Gentiles yt must feed on thee, dear Jove.
 Be ye Jerusalem Artichokes, with booles
 that so will stick in damny Hebrews rooles.
 Jerusalem Artichokes are good to eat
 & Hebrew rooles, I they be curious meat,
 when th' are well dress'd. If low then then a life
 If they be, mine'd with Rabbi Rimeley knife:
 Butter'd with Beth & Alpha, salted with Jod
 Pepper'd & spic'd with Nephel & Priod.
 Toss him my quills with open throat, eat all,
 make itay after how a Gutterall.

Foster.

Foster, my son a Cornie Cap doth wear
 Fringed round about with dangling locks of hair
 that would my Foster, as ye world can see
 Except a Cornie was, like all things else.
 But this so little view at ye first sight
 will make him thus into his mother write.
 My commendations very remembered still
 These are to wit you know (dear Dame) of worth
 you sent me, you said, to learn ye Scholler trade
 but trust me, I think, you mean to send your lad.
 A piece of beefe twiste here, tis quickly gone
 By H or Dick eats twist as much at home;
 There is no milke, or maringe, & we must stay
 till noone, ye Cup-bord is sure to get all day.
 We have yet a little left of pease
 but I leave peccables in a trice.

APPENDIX A

THE SALTING TEXT

Thom Randolfs Salting

No salting here these many yeares was seene

Salt hath wth vs long out of season bene.

Whence then this plenty now? How have we more

This yeare than other? hence p^rceeds o^r store;

o^r Fleet hath late either frō France or Spaine

5

(as y^e nevves goes) y^e salt Islands tane.

Wth w^{ch} o^r Navy w^{ch} at Sea doth ride

Meanes for to powdre all y^eworld beside.

Yet Fathers are but scarce, we could, as moste

Great men do vses of o^r Forefathers boast.

10

W'have none but 2: first me who now am showne

To father children w^{ch} are not mine owne.

Next Key vnlocks ye Cupbord of his braine

To seek for crums of wit, but all in vaine.

But to my task? what shall I call my boies?

15

The Scripiors of my age, hopes of my ioies?

Shall I like some, whom every Goodman blames,

half hang my sons, by giving them ill names?
 will you be mettalls? No, some thence may gather,
 by your hard fate; A Tinker was y^r father. 20
 Partes of y^r body? Neithr, most men raile
 On Colledge members, frō th' head to th'taile.
 What, books? y^t were to press you, Such are found
 Too often to their good behaviour bound.
 No, my deer babes, Ile you more neatly dress, 25
 Each of my sons shall be a severall mess.
 Nor are they such gross cheares, but they may please.
 Some Tutors have growne fat, feeding on these.
 Well, then, suppose y^r invisible Table spread
 Trenchers & napkins laid wth salt & bread. 30
 To r first dishes at a Freshmans bord
 Fall too, you for y^r cheare we can afford.
 I haue no wife at y^e bovles end to sit
 Laughing, to shew hir teeth, more than hir wit,
 Nor simpring bride t invite my ghestes to eate, 35
 wth mincing of her wordes more than her meat. /P. 138/
 Tis all my cost, nor pay you for y^r feast
 Therefore expect no ordinary ieast.
 Nor like stale beefe pie corner Cooks have boasted
 T'haue at one Terme bene boild, another roasted. 40
 If I steale iestes, yet let them be comended
 Stolne iestes deserue best to be apprehended.
 But though I children get t'shall nere be knowne

y^t ere I faterd iest was not mine owne.

What ere we bring, y^e worst wherof is beere, 45

Tak't in good part, for tis but Colledge cheere.

Vpon y^e Fellow Coṃoneres

And you my eldest sons, gentlemen of Fame,

Whom we half frō fellowes, half frō Coṃons name.

You my good Sons & haieres must not stay here

I have no ghests worthy of such dainty cheere. 50

The worst of you well y^eboild, may be able

To be serVd Vp one day at Councill Table.

You are like Tantoll's apples dangling by

Made not to please o^r palate, but o^r eie.

For who vpon y^e Table doth behold 55

A pastbord sallad, guilt all ore wth gold.

A dainty woodcocks wing, & all plac't by,

Or a peacocks taile spread on a curiovs pie,

He were a ghest vnworthy of his meate

Who thinks svch pretty things were made to eate. 60

Th' are more for sight than tast, made to seem gay

Fit only to be stolne & tane away.

Go then my eldest Sons, you, as tis fit

Shall haue my lands, y^e rest shall haue my witt.

Make hast make hast & come away 65

Y^e meat is hot, o^r stomacks vp

o^r hunger will not stay.

Come then away

make no delay

If you make not hast

70

You all must fast. /P. 139/

Tis a running banket & soone will away

My son Priests name instructs me what to say;

H^e should be Chaplain & say grace too day,

But since he's absent wth his little grace,

75

My self too day will act my chaplains place:

Pulling in my chin, to heaven Ile reare mine eies,

whilst my mouth waters on my Patrons pies.

And whilst mine eies to heaven I reare, than praier,

To eate my meate, I have a worse desire.

80

Vsing y^t grace, o^r Gransire[s?] used to say,

Then when 'twas out of fashion for to pray.

Ye grace When you eate & drink be sure,

You giue not a bit vnto y^e poore,

To swill y^r guts wth drink & wine,

85

Let ye Calueskin tenants pine.

Let mistres & swaies be fed wth toile

You have y^r Lordship of y^r soile:

Pray for y^r king, if but to flatter,

but for y^r church, 'tis no great mattr.

90

Heaven send o^r Navy home againe

full of French wines, Amen, Amen.

My Chaplain Priest should have fulfilld my wish

In this, but in this feast, he makes a dish.

Nor is it strange for such an vncouth deed, 95
Most Patrons on their chaplains vse to feed.

To his school fellowes.

Clark, Whithorn, Sweed & Honest, you shall be
chiefe dishes here to grace o^r Jollity.
But you & I one papp did suck, one breast
fed vs wth Nectar of y^e Muses feast, 100
Ve had one Mother, brothers every one,
T'were Incest to make any of you my Sonn.

Graunt

This ljttle Graunt is y^e first dish we bring
A chicken lately snatch't from's mothers wing.
Him a stew'd chicken we must now suppose, 105
Wth dainty white broath straining frō his nose. /P. 140/

Ashton a great Student.

Ashton, who thinks in learning to excell
By's pilgrimage to Aristotles well,
& to ascend arts cloud transcending towrs
by serious looks, & melancholly hovres, 110
Daignes for my sake y^r palates to admit
To meat y^t is as solid as his witt.
A surloine of beefe, Landlord of meates, y^e best,
w^{ch} makes vs by Artes service, hold y^r feast.
Feed heartily t'will [sic] nere offend y^r man 115
he studies hard, he cannot fave be ran.
Or if he were, to kitchin so oft he posted

y^t ere by this time, he must needs be rosted.

This Ashton is o^r beefe, he doth appeare

As proper an Oxe, as Milo himselfe can beare. 120

Cambridge nere brought vp one of greatr fame,

Nor Oxford, though frō thence h'hath half his name.

London mongst citty bulls y^e like nere bred

S^t Lukes Faire cannot shew a fairer head.

The sweat of his face y^t dripping shall be, 125

His haire, Ile be sworne's like roasted Rosemary.

Bell a little boy.

My little Bell, who for his gravity

The Pigmies Nestor might deserve to be.

If y^t it please yon ghests, wee'le fitly call

him Colledge beere, because he is so small. 130

Baines.

Baines y^e delight of lasses y^t are led

wth longing thoughts, to wish y^e marriage bed;

I aske thee Banes, what dish will thee content?

But when I see y^u art so' innocent.

Thou wouldst do well for mutton, be it so, 135

y^u in this feast shalt for y^e shoulder go.

And since occasion giues mee here fit leave,

To praise of Tupps, these few poore lines receive.

Sheep ye worlds tithes & y^e Pastors gaines.

y^r pride of Thessaly & Arcadian plaines, /P. 141/ 140

The clothes of y^e world, whose golden fleece

At Colchos tempted Jason, to leaue Greece.
 They taught Y^e Swaines & rurall Nimphs to sing,
 They made Pans pipe equall Apolloes string.
 Here Tytirus & Thyrses learnd their laies 145
 Mongst the slept Hesiod, when he dreamt of baies.
 Paris was keeping sheep, his wonted duty
 When as 3 Goddesses made him Judge of beuty:
 But silly swaine, had he not bene a block,
 H' had given y^e golden apple to his flock; 150
 His now white sheep, had they bene iudg'd by me,
 In beuty farr excelld y^e other three.
 Venus an Ewe, Joue Hamon was a ram
 & Cupid eke in Psyches fold a lamb.
 Why then do neighbovr wolues so much revile 155
 Those wthout whom, they could not liue awhile?
 We suit them top to toe, feed them at full
 They nothing do for us, but greaze o^r woll.
 Let them not then o^r state so wretched call
 Like Tyrian sheep, w'haue purple fleeces all. 160
 Then Baines, if y^u any sheep-bihr see
 be y^u y^e bane of him, as he of thee.
 And tell them, if their Courtes begin to frowne,
 we have to batter all y^e Colledge downe.
 And did we not defend them all this day, 165
 before y^e Sunn they had melted all away.
 Once be y^u mutton, y^e w^{ch} y^u seest here

'Ts in o^r Colledge y^e most dainty cheere.

A dish y^t Trinity men would chuse to eate

If larded wth a Jonian, excellent meate.

170

Priest

Next o^r high priest, my chaplain doth appear

Turn'd to a tith pigg, t'increase o^r cheare;

A very great Priest, yet a foole; True then,

The greatest Clarkes are not y^e wisest men.

Gamble

Gamble, O Gamble, Gamble so well knowne,

175

My Christmas Gamble, Come out, & be showne: /P. 142/

Gamble begot of Hodman buff, y^e faire,

Vpon his wife calld shooing of y^e Mare.

y^u shalt in this my feast a calues head be

A better y^e Hall did not at Easter see.

180

Blush not, thy Calves head is a dish of grace,

being Serv'd vp in thine owne platter face.

But now sauce for it, my invention faines,

becaus I see y^u hast so little braines.

Gamble; Sweet Calues head, I protest too day

185

Y^u shouldst haue beene Sonn to thy brother Key,

But his Rhetoricall are, thy words vnsmooth,

His sweetnes in his tongue: thine in thy tooth.

If any then too curious tasted ghest

think thee too homely a Calves head for a feast,

190

Then tell him boldly, tis no matter whether

Thy Calves head & his Cocks-Comb go together.

Rodes

Rodes, since y^u whose steeple fame resounds
as loud as Botolph bells, whose name abounds
In every Belfrey, whom each sexton sings 195

Whose shrill Encomiones every clapper rings.

Sell, Hatley, Hearn & Jngrey yield to thee

So y^t of all, y^u shalt Ring-leader be.

Newes late did come, ill newes vnworth ye bringing

y^t at New-market y^u wert dead wth ringing 200

This heavy newes did make o^r heart to rue

Ill newes, but good becaus it was not true.

For y^u wth ringing didst not get thy death

y^u didst but ring till y^u wert out of breath.

& is Rodes dead, wo worth, wo worth my feares 205

then let y^e bells melt into wringing teares.

Let all ring out a dismall song

Lament & weep & toll ding, dong

John Hall, I throw thy Cap away

In griefe of this di'astrous day. 210

When this newes to Botson came

yt New-market had killd her fame, /P. 143/

The bells y^t were ringing for griefe, gave ore.

Never was heard such a change before.

But, when this newes to Cambridge came 215

When all had heard this vncouth fame,

Botolf & Bennet began for to sweare
 & y^e round church was cleane out of Square.
 Then all did cry he rung passing well
 but, woe is me, I cried his passing belle.

220

And now reviv'd, to entertaine my ghest
 wth one dish more at this my homely feast,
 Be y^u a Swan, a Swan then y^u shalt be.
 for y^e Chappell knowtes, y^u singst, as sweet as shee.
 Yet die not after y^u dost sweetly sing
 Therefore take heed how y^u ventur'st to ring.
 Th'art like a Swan, all but for one place
 Shee's asham'd of her feet, & y^u of thy face.
 Remember Rodes, y^t oft I have thee told
 In ringing much, beware y^u take not cold.

225

230

Manuell

But in this feast no sauce yet can I see
 Manuell, O Manuell, y^u y^e sauce shalt be
 & if they like thee well, Ile let my ghest
 Carry thee on his sleeve to every feast.
 But when I do thy Countenance behold
 & thy crabd face, y^t doth so lowre
 I pray my guests meat may be sweet
 because their sauce is wondrous soure.

235

Evans a kitt-plaier

Evans, whose Orphean kitt touch't by y^t hand
 Could even moue y^e stocks & stones y^t stand,

240

for when they heard thy kitts melodious sound
 Eache peble in y^e Court danc't Sellengers round.
 But when y^e railles did heare by chance,
 They skipping, leapt into a Morris dance. /P. 144/
 That kitt, sweet kitt, sweet Evans I desire, 245
 whose very string my heart string sets on fire.
 Had but y^e famous horse thy sweet kitt heard
 H' had scornd his Tutor Banks, tis to be feard.
 But learne thy kitt, my child, now to please me,
 To make my feast vp, y^u a goose shalt be; 250
 of w^{ch} my goose (my guests) I have a care
 wishing your hunger his leane Carcass spare
 For should y^e French come here, as who do know
 whether he may saue y^e Capitoll or no?
 Heggins bottom.
 John Heggins bottom, Orator Heggins ascend 255
 & once againe at beggars bush attend.
 Advance y^u king of Crutches, Come & appeare
 Brave Heggins bottom, we expect thee here.
 Hedge Tully, y^u Demosthenes of lice
 Whose noble ragged Eloquence could spice 260
 My brother Keys rhetoricall Sons, whom he
 calls Tropes & figures, let ye Audience see
 Thy legible-voice & heare thy audible face
 w^{ch} all y^e Dolls admire, shew vs thy grace
 Wherwth y^u vvest ye Queene of Loues to draw 265

wth thee to humble on a pad of straw.

Thy wittn's Heggín, all Heggín alone

Nothing but Heggín, bottom it hath none.

But, he is absent now, he lately went

Sumond to appeare at y^e potent parliam^t 270

When he returnes, please you y^t dish to see

His leg or arme shall at y^e service be

But if you eate it, no great harme you do

Heggín shall thank you fort, & Bottom too.

For so you giue him a Justice of peace's letter. 275

Cut off a beggars legs & heel pass y^e better.

Nelson an Hebritian wth a wry mouth

Nelson, whose gravity might become a chin

Deckt wth a frosty beard; Now enter in; /P. 145/

How gently now you walk, how softly you tread,

as if you were afraid to move your head 280

for feare y^e least comotion of one haire

Should wake y^e Predicam^{ts}, y^t are sleeping there.

Yet I must praise him, for wthin his braine,

of Hebrew doth a whole Synagogue contain;

His mouth's growne quite awry, but why I pray, 285

wth reading Hebrew, writt y^e left hand way,

Come learned graue Hebritian, Come & view

these Gentiles y^t must feed on thee, deare Jew:

Be y^u Jerusalē Artichokes, w^{ch} bootes

thee so well skilld in dainty Hebrew rootes. 290

Jerusalem Artichokes are good to eate
 & Hebrew rootes, O they be curious meate,
 When th'are well drest, I loue them then a life
 If they be minc'd wth Rabbi Kimchies knife:
 Butterd wth Beth & Aleph, Salted wth Jod 295
 Pepperd & spic'd wth Niphal & Pecod.
 Feed here my guests wth open throats,
 eate all:

Make every letter here a Gutturall.

Foster

Foster my Son a Corner Cap doth weare
 Fring'd round about wth dangling locks of haire 300
 This world my Foster, as y^e world can tell.
 Except o^r Cōmons here, likes all things well.
 But ther so little view at y^e first Sight
 W^{ch} made him thus vnto his mother write.
 My cōmendations being remembred first 305
 These are to let you know (deare dame) y^e worst.
 You sent me, you said, to learn y^e Schollers trade,
 but trust me, I think you meane to prive your lad.
 A piece of beefe t'wixt foure, t'is quickly gone
 By tee o^r Dick eates twice as much at home; 310
 Here is no milke, a mornings; we must stay
 till noone, y^e Cupbord is scarce ope all day.
 We never get a breakfast I profess.
 but straine predicables in a Mess. /P. 146/ 314

Textual Notes for SaltingLine Numbers

2 season) One of the many puns on salt and seasoning here and in Milton's Prologue VI.

5 late) la written over ei, which looks as if the copyist lost his place and skipped to the next word, either. Fredson Bowers postulated, however, that late might have been written over now, which, if true, might set the date of the copying of the MS as very close to the first of October, 1627. This date would indicate "only a short lapse" between the composition and its copying by a fellow student of Randolph's.

5-7 o^r Fleet . . .) The ill-fated naval expedition to Rhé in 1627 led by Buckingham, then still the Chancellor of Cambridge University.

11 none) The second n is written over either an e or a w.

13 Key) probably Thomas Kay, who matriculated sizar from Trinity College Easter 1624 and proceeded, as did Randolph, B.A. and M.A., 1627/8 and 1631. In Hey for Honesty, Randolph uses the same pun on Key: "And cannot Peters Keyes unlock the Cupboard?"

16 Scriptors) Possibly a copying error for scriptors: writers (OED): he would like his Sons to record his deeds or fame for posterity. There may also be a pun here on scrip: purse or money.

17 Goodman) An apparent reference to the Puritans and their descriptive names. Randolph, a son of Ben, follows Jonson in satirizing the Puritans in several of his works, especially in The Muses' Looking Glass.

23-24 press bound) Pun on printing press and pressure; good behaviour bound) a possible reference to the popular self-improvement books on the social graces with the pun on bound alluding to a book's being bound and a person's being impelled to behave.

25 dress) (1) address; (2) season (as in dress meats); (3) costume.

26 Severall mess) The personification of various meat dishes; the controlling metaphor is of his serving his Sons as dishes in a feast.

29 y^r) Bowers reads this as y^t (p. 276).

34-36) Cf. with the following from Aristippus:

. . . hence comes the Bride like simpering at a Iustice of Peace his Table, and the not eating methodically. When being laughed at, you shew your teeth, blush, and excuse it (London, 1630), p. 12.

39 pie corner) A place where food was prepared and sold during Bartholomew Fair. It was noted, as well, for the manufacture of broad-sheet literature; Phyllis Brooks Toback, Thomas Randolph's Hey For Honesty, Down with Knavery: A Critical Edition, Unpublished Dissertation, New York University, 1971, p. 254, n. 46.

43-44 children . . . iests) He is the Father of Sons whom he has not sired, but his jests, if not his Sons, are all of his making.

45 Ye worst whereof is beere) Worst may be used here because the beer might have been salted, this practice apparently lending its name to the ritual of salting.

52 Councill) with reference to Privy Council (?)

53 Tantoll's) Tantalus'.

60 Who) A short word following this is so thoroughly crossed out that it is illegible. Thinks has been traced over to make the first three letters more legible; to eate) The initial letters of both of these words are written over others which cannot be read. It seems obvious that, with four corrections in this line, the copyist was distracted from his task or was growing weary.

64 rest) the non-fellow commoners, who will bear the brunt of his wit. The lands, of course, were as non-existent as the salad.

65-71) Possibly these lines constitute a song. Randolph sprinkled many of his shows and plays with just such lighthearted airs.

72 running banket) a slight repast between meals.

73 Priests name) Reginald Priest, matriculated sizar Trinity, Michs, 1627.

74 H^e or H^{eu} or H^u) possibly corrected from Th^u, thou. Ambiguously written in the MS.

75 little grace) pun on the grace he was to say and his ungracious absence.

79 than praier) His eyes are raised to heaven, but his prayer is not addressed to heaven, perhaps only to his Lord.

82 Then when 'twas out of fashion for to pray) Cf. HFH: "for household-Chaplains are now out of date like old Almanacks," ll. 318-19.

83-92) cf. ll. 65-71 above. The grace is set off by indention on the left, a switch to a shorter line, mostly tetrameter, and more than usual spacing between lines 82 and 83.

86 Calueskin) fool or coward.

87 mistres & swaies) Swaies could possibly be read shaires or maies, maids. The sense seems to point to the swains, the tenants of the Lord, and their mistresses, their wives.

97 Clark, Whithorn, Sweed & Honest) William Clark and William Whithorn were two graduates, like Randolph, from Westminster School, hence his schoolfellows. "Sweed & Honest" apparently mean sweet and honest. Bowers identifies Clark as John Clark, matriculated sizar, Trinity, Easter, 1627. He may be the Clark addressed here, but Venn also lists a William Clark, "Scholar from Westminster, 1627," matriculated pensioner from Trinity, Easter, 1629. This matriculation date seems an error or there may have been some irregularity here, for he proceeded B.A., 1630/1, as he would have had he matriculated in 1627. Randolph and Whithorn were Westminster Scholars, too, sent by Westminster either to Trinity College, Cambridge (or to Christ's Church, Oxford). Randolph was elected Captain of the Exhibition the year he competed; John Jay Parry, ed., "Introduction," The Poems and Amyntas of Thomas Randolph (New Haven, 1917), p. 9. William Whithorn, Westminster Scholar, was admitted to Trinity in 1627, proceeded B.A. 1630/1, like Clark, and M.A. 1634.

Between 102 and 103 Graunt) William Grant, matriculated pensioner Trinity, Easter 1627.

Between 106 and 107 Ashton) Unidentified.

108 Aristotles well) Apparently a familiar landmark in Cambridge; elsewhere Randolph refers to its famed purity and good taste (HFH IV.i. 15-17).

117-26) Cf. this passage with the following about the chief dish served by Hecate, "Queen of Hell," which consists of "the larded soul of a plump Usurer, basted with the dripping of a greasie Alderman; the sauce being made with the braines of a great Conger-headed Lawyer, butter'd with the grease of a well-fed Committeeman, served up for saucers in the two ears of an Unconscionable Scrivener" (HFH, II.v.237-44).

120 Milo) A reference to the story of Milo, who, by lifting an ox at least once a day from the time of its birth, worked up to being able to carry a full-grown ox.

122 half his name) Oxe as in Oxford, l. 120.

127 Bell) Timothy Bell, matriculated pensioner, Trinity, Easter 1627.

128 Pigmies) Randolph used this term for boy actors in The Fary Knight or Oberon the Second, which he is believed to have written for the boys of Westminster School.

131 Baines) John Baynes, matriculated sizar Trinity, Lent 1626/7.

132 marriage bed) possibly connected with Baines through a pun on Baines/banns.

138 Tupps) rams; copulation, punning on mutton and the delight of the lasses.

151 now) possibly a copyist's error for snow.

152 y^e other three) Juno, Athena, and Venus, the contending goddesses.

161 sheep-bihr) sheep-buyer (?)

170 Jonian) of St. John's College; possibly Jovian, fitting for Jove.

172 tith pig) A pig due as payment to the Church as part of one tenth of the annual produce of a farmer.

175 Gamble) Peter Gamble, matriculated sizar, Trinity, Michaelmas, 1627.

177-78 begot of Hodman buff, ye faire, / Vpon his wife calld shooing of y^e Mare) This passage is based on a pun between Gamble's name and Christmas gambols, games traditionally played by children in celebrating Christmas. His parents are two of these games: Hodman buff and shooing of y^e Mare, Hodman, the father, is from hoodman, "The blind-folded player in the game of Hoodman-Blind," OED. Probably the blind-fold was anciently a hood used to blind the player because Shakespeare used the old name for blindman's Buff, Hoodman-Blind, sometimes spelled hodman, OED. Randolph then combined the old Hodman with the newer blindman's Buff to get Hodman buff. Another traditional game of the Christmas gambols, shoeing the wild mare, becomes Gamble's mother simply because the mare is female. These Christmas games continued to be played through Washington Irving's time (cf. his essay on Christmas Eve in the Sketch Book).

179 calues head) immature, silly.

186 Sonn to thy brother Key) Key, the other Salting Father, might have been called brother to Gamble because they had gone to the same school, thereby duplicating the joke Randolph used about his school-fellows, brothers, who could not, therefore, be his Sons as well. Key named his Sons after rhetorical figures.

192 his Cocks-Comb) his symbol as jester.

193 Rodes) Joseph Rhodes, sizar, B.A. 1631/2; M.A. 1635, or Osmund Rhodes, pensioner, B.A. 1629/30; M.A. 1633. If he was Joseph, and so a sizar, it is possible that he earned his keep, as some sizars did, by being sexton or bell ringer of Trinity Chapel, or, as seems likely from the context, by bell ringing at a church in New Market,

where perhaps he collapsed and was thought to be dead from ringing the bells strenuously. Steeple fame seems a pun on church steeple and steeplechase since New Market was known for its horse racing. Rhodes may then have been racing, instead, during the course of which he may have been knocked unconscious, seemingly dead.

194 Botolph bells) the bells of St. Botolph Church, which was on the campus.

197 Sell, Hatley, Hearn & Jngrey) probably other bells in the vicinity.

198 Ring-leader) A pun on the meaning of the word itself and on the literal meaning, the leader of the peals, the ringing, of the bells.

201 New-market) A nearby town east of Cambridge, known for its horse races.

201-20) Apparently there had been a rumor that Rhodes, who might have come from Botson, l. 211, had died at Newmarket, and the passing bell, which traditionally rang the passing of each parishioner at the time of his death, had tolled for him.

207-20) The left margin is indented to denote a change in the meter, possibly indicating a song. There is a shift here to tetrameter, to a sort of doggerel.

209 John Hall) Hall of St. John's College.

217-28 Botolf . . . Bennet, . . . & y^e round Church) These were all in Cambridge. Botolf appears as Botolph in l. 194. The round church was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, standing at the juncture of Hightand Trinity Streets, which perhaps were two of the boundaries of the square mentioned in l. 218. It probably dates from 1120 to 1140.

224 knowtes) Possibly a pun on notes, takes notice of, and musical notes. He probably did not, or could not, sing in tune if he sang as sweet as a swan.

225 die) The swan legendarily sang just before dying.

Between ll. 230 and 231 Manuell) This name, as it is written in the script, closely resembles the Marvell for which Bowers took it. I believe, however, that this passage refers to James Manwell, matriculated sizar from Trinity, Lent 1626/7 and proceeded B.A. 1631/2 as Mannell.

235-38) These lines mark the second departure from couplets in the Salting. Here he substitutes abcb. The only other variation from couplets in this work appears in ll. 65-69.

239) Evans was not identified by Bowers, not could I find a likely student of that name in Venn. A kit was a pocket violin.

240 moue y^e stocks & stones) As Orpheus did.

242 Sellengers round) A very old country dance described in John Playford's The English Dancing Master (1651). The presence of many allusions, such as to Sellengers round and Bank's horse (below) in this as well as Hey for Honesty would seem additional evidence of Randolph's having written not only much of the 1651 adaptation of the latter but all of these particular passages.

243 railes) These were wooden fences, according to Bailey's Dictionary (1724). The initial letter of this word in the manuscript could as easily be read as an s, but railes seems to make more sense than sailles in this context.

244 a) This letter seems to have been crossed out so: a, but it seems necessary here.

248 Banks) A magician of the early seventeenth century who had a celebrated trick horse.

249 learne) This may have been a copying error for leave, which it resembles. If learne is correct, there would be no contrast to justify the preceding But.

253 ye French come) Possibly in war.

254 whether he may saue ye Capitoll) If he, as a goose, may save the Capitol, as geese were reputed to have warned the Roman troops of the enemy's approach and so to have saved Rome.

255 John Heggins bottom) This was probably the actual name of a freshman at the time who may have left Trinity College or have changed colleges before taking a degree and so was not listed in Venn. Higgen was not only the outstanding character in Fletcher and Massinger's Beggar's Bush, but Randolph was impressed enough with him to take both the name and character boldly out of the original play for Hey for Honesty, giving credit to his source; in the play Higgen appears briefly as the leader of the rascally soldiers in a scene of Randolph's invention.

257 y^u king of Crutches) Randolph's Higgen in HFH is compared to Falstaff: "My brave comrades, Knights of tatter'd Fleece, / Like Falstafs Regiment, you have one shirt among you" (III.i.209-10). He then suggests that his rabble throw their crutches at the enemy (III.i.227-28).

259 Demosthenes of lice) This exact phrase is not used in HFH, but Higgen's men are referred to as making up "An army royal of Imperial Lice," (III.i.93), a line which leads to many allusions to these "scutch Lice" and "English creepers," l. 100, even going into the pedigrees (scutcheons, or should one say lineage?), ll. 100-215.

261) The scribe probably lost his place here because the M of My

is written over a T, just as he wrote the W of Which over a c in the previous line. Note that the next two lines in the text do begin with a c and t, respectively. As the copyist started to copy ll. 260 and 261, his eye apparently moved to the following two lines.

261-62 My brother Keys rhetoricall Sons, whom he calls Tropes & Figures) Cf. l. 187, where Randolph refers to Kay's Sons as "Rhetoricall."

263 legible voice . . . audible face) Randolph often used this device, which resembles the rustic humor Shakespeare used in the *Pyramis* and *Thisbe* scene in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The speaker of such lines is usually a bumpkin trying to talk poetically; the unintentional humor comes from the literal meaning of the passage.

264 Dolls) This word may have been miscopied for Dells, a cant word used in Beggars' Bush for virgins although Shakespeare's *Doll Tearsheet* may be its prototype.

267 wittn's) fool.

268 bottom) Randolph is using the same pun here as Fletcher used in Beggars' Bush.

274 fort) for it.

275 Justice of peace's letter) Perhaps such a letter was considered a license to beg.

276 heel) This may be a pun on heel and he'll; better in this context continues the punning with a quibble on butter and better.

Between 276 and 277 Nelson) John Nelson, who matriculated sizar, Easter 1627. Hebritian) Nelson apparently had a reputation for being a Hebrew student perhaps even before he came to Trinity. Some of the schools and tutors who prepared boys for the university offered instruction in Hebrew. Both Milton and Randolph apparently learned this language in their schools, St. Paul's and Westminster. wry) twisted to one side, askew.

282 Predicam^{ts}) A pun on the logic term.

287 learne'd [sic]) The e is needed for the rhythm. Perhaps the apostrophe was added by the scribe.

294 Rabbi Kimchi) Probably Rabbi David Kimchi (1160?-1235?), the best known of an illustrious family of biblical and Hebrew grammar scholars. For more information, see notes on l. 296, Niphal, Pecod, below and articles on David, Joseph and Moses Kimhi, Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1971).

295 Beth, Aleph, Jod) The second, first, and tenth letters of

the Hebrew alphabet.

296 Niphal) A reference to the greatest contribution of the teacher and older brother of Rabbi David Kimchi, Rabbi Moses Kimchi (died c. 1190) to Hebrew scholarship. He was a grammarian who stressed the morphology of the verb. By considering the nifal the passive of kal, he was then able to arrange the eight conjugations of Hebrew verbs, beginning with kal and nifal as the first two conjugations. Pecod), or possibly Pcod in the text. Moses Kimchi also introduced the use of the root pkd, "pecod," in grammatical paradigms. Nifal and pecod are two of his grammatical innovations popularized by his brother David to the extent that they were common features in later Hebrew grammars used in Christian Europe.

298 Gutterall) A pun on the open throat's being a gutter, a passageway, and its being used to make guttural sounds. This also continues the grammatical theme because the gutturals in Hebrew are not only letters representing certain sounds made in the throat but a grammatical category because of the way they behave.

Between 298-99 Foster) William Foster, who matriculated pensioner Easter 1627.

299 Corner-Cap) Four-corner, flat-top academic cap worn with the academic gown. This reference is another indication of the need for frequent edicts calling for stricter observance of rules of decorum in dress and behavior among students and fellows. Foster, a freshman, should have been wearing the round hat, which was to be worn by lower classmen at Trinity; the corner cap was then reserved for graduate students at the college.

301-02) Foster likes well the world and all things in it except our Commons, or food.

308 prive) This word is not clearly written, but probably is 'prive for deprive.

310 tee) This word is not clearly written in the text, but undoubtedly tea was meant here.

314 predicables) A term in Aristotle's logic; his four predicables were later made five by the schoolmen: genus, species, difference, property, and accident. There are puns here on strain, which is a process in food preparation, with its meaning in logic, and on mess, which may refer to a dish.

APPENDIX B

JOHN MILTON'S PROLUSION VI AS ANOTHER SALTING

John Milton was one year behind Randolph at Cambridge from Milton's freshman year to his Master of Arts commencement in 1632. In his sixth prolusion, which I see as another salting, Milton refers often to the illustrious audience "coming here in crowds to-day."¹ It seems probable that when a senior with a reputation as a great wit, like Randolph, or as an admired orator, like Milton or Randolph, was scheduled to preside as Father at an initiation, his friends and those seeking amusement before the onset of college discipline would throng to the salting that night. I think it likely, for instance, that Milton attended Randolph's Salting the year before his own for just such a reason.

Almost all of John Milton's recent editors and intellectual biographers have agonized over the nature and purpose of what early editors numbered his sixth prolusion. The extant sections of Prolusion VI consist, according to Phyllis B. and E. M. W. Tillyard, of three parts: the Latin oratio, the Latin prolusio, and the English verse, At a Vacation Exercise in the Colledge, first printed in the Poems in 1673.²

"No one has found any satisfactory explanation of the occasion

on which these outrageous and complex Latin and English pieces were delivered," Harris Fletcher has pointed out in his intellectual biography of Milton.³ He thought it might have been written as a Praevaricator's mock oration at a Cambridge commencement exercise.⁴ This was a logical speculation since the Praevarication, like Milton's Prolusion VI, was characterized by broad humor which often descended to rawness in puns and other kinds of humor, including attacks, sometimes close to vituperation, on some personal characteristics of individuals in the audience. Praevarications often contained rough language (albeit in Latin) because it was considered rhetorically decorous for this kind of satire. As I have indicated in the discussion of Randolph, the outrageous language and abuse often contained in these burlesque orations sometimes resulted in their discontinuation for some years after a particularly offensive Praevarication had been delivered. This, as shown earlier, had occurred previously at Trinity College to the show and the salting as well for similar reasons until Randolph was allowed to revive both and the Praevarication later on.

Milton's language in parts of this prolusion, as David Masson, Fletcher, and the Tillyards have observed, is extremely offensive, a foreshadowing, some critics hold, of the invective he used in his defenses. Phyllis B. and E. M. W. Tillyard have pointed out that Milton explained the "looseness" and "licentiousness" of the oratorical buffoonery that was to follow in terms of his audience and the genius of the place--Cambridge.⁵ Masson described the language used at one point in this prolusion as being about as "nauseous and obscene as the resources of the Latin dictionary could well enable one to be."⁶

Merritt Y. Hughes' theory concerning the occasion of this Vacation Exercise was that Milton "was chosen the Father, or leader, of a group of students who were to amuse their classmates and tutors with a traditional entertainment at the beginning of the long vacation" at the end of the Easter term in July 1628.⁷

John T. Shawcross elaborated a little more on this: "the mid-summer frolic for which these verses were written consisted of numerous skits and recitals; perhaps Milton's fellow performers were the 'late fantasticks' of l. 20" of the English verses beginning, "Hail native Language,"⁸ the third part of the exercise. Kathryn A. McEuen, who provided the notes and prefaces to the prolusions for the Yale edition of the Complete Prose Works of John Milton, contented herself with merely explaining that the work was called a "Vacation Exercise" because it was "delivered at the conclusion of the summer term."⁹

The theory that this exercise was part of the "Cambridge revels" has been so widely accepted that it spills over into the biography and criticism of Milton's near contemporaries at Cambridge. For instance, John M. Berlan wrote in his introduction to the Poems of John Cleveland that probably at some time "towards the close of his undergraduate course, Cleveland, like Milton, officiated as 'Father' of the Cambridge revels," Berlan's explanation for two orations by Cleveland on his being chosen Father in the Public Schools.¹⁰ Cleveland, who attended the same college, Christ's, as Milton did, was about seven years behind him. Berlan's hypothesis is that although "the exact nature of this ceremonial is undetermined," evidently one student was "chosen as the 'Father' and a number of others as 'Sons' and then they acted some

burlesque on the college life or curriculum."¹¹ He then compared the wit shown in their respective orations by Cleveland and Milton, with Milton, who was trying to make the best of an uncomfortable situation apparently almost forced upon him, being declared a poor second. Close reading of these orations of Cleveland makes it clear from their context that they were written for a far different kind of occasion. First, Cleveland's orations were on being chosen Father in the Public Schools, a term to distinguish the functions of the university acting as a body from the overlapping ones just beginning in the colleges of the seventeenth century, while Milton himself labelled his speech At a Vacation Exercise of the College, meaning Christ's College. Cleveland had been appointed Father to represent the interests of fledgling disputers of his college, also Christ's. His inexperienced Sons were about to perform before the whole university in formal Acts required annually of all degree candidates.¹² An upperclassman of experience and considerable skill, he was honored academically by being appointed Father to these sophisters of his college, and he expresses his appreciation for this recognition. Randolph and Milton were chosen more for their wit and humor than for academic achievement although their skill as orators must certainly have been a factor in their being chosen. Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington, editors of the latest edition of Cleveland's poems, follow, and thus help to perpetuate, Berlan's theory of the Cambridge revels.¹³

Tempting as these conjectures are as explanations of the purpose of Milton's Prolusion VI and the two Cleveland orations, I believe all these theories are mistaken, albeit good guesses and fascinating

examples of how earlier scholarly speculations can become more elaborate as they are built upon by later writers.

There are many similarities between Milton's mysterious academic exercise, this prolusion, and Randolph's Salting, some of which I have pointed out in the general section of this salting. For instance, Randolph's monologue of 1627 was delivered when he was a senior, and his Sons were matriculated that year or the year before, when no initiations had been held at Trinity College. Another reason for initiating students in 1627 who matriculated in 1626 was that many freshmen who were admitted in the Spring began their actual residence in the Fall semester,¹⁴ and so were officially entering the college community at that time. Milton's sixth prolusion he himself dated by declaring he was 19 when he wrote the poem, which comprises the third part of the vacation exercise. This was in 1628 when he, like Randolph the previous year, was a senior and many of his Sons, as I shall show, were matriculated that year or the year before because, Milton says, for some reason this custom had been "neglected last year."¹⁵ This omission may not have been the result of a ban by the college officials as it had been at Trinity College. Milton merely invents a fanciful excuse for the neglect last year of the almost annual custom, as he refers to this ceremony a few times in this oration, of having such an initiation at the college. Perhaps, he says, those scheduled to become Fathers at the ceremony labored so diligently in the town (apparently at becoming actual fathers) that they were then excused from the duty of feigning Fatherhood at the ceremony.¹⁶

The Dating of This Salting

Milton's editors usually follow David Masson in dating this exercise midsummer of 1628. I suggest, however, that Milton's salting was given during the traditional period: some time before the beginning of Michaelmas term, not after Easter term, which ended with Commencement Day, always the first Tuesday in July, and so not in midsummer. I tentatively date this prolusion early October 1628. For one thing, Milton at the very beginning of his oration talks of his having already returned from London, "that city which is the chief of all cities," and of his intention to "bury myself in learning." As he was apparently already at Cambridge, was "warming" to his work, "there came a sudden summons" and he "was dragged away by the yearly celebration of our ancient custom and commanded to transfer" his zeal for acquiring knowledge to "foolery and the invention of new jests." That Milton had already returned to Cambridge for a "spell of cultured leisure," perhaps to use the expanding facilities of the university library to pursue his personal interests or to begin preparations for his senior year, would be an additional factor in moving the date from Midsummer to before the beginning of the oncoming academic year. The new dating would also fit in better with Milton's probable visit to Stowmarket soon after writing a letter on July 21, 1628, to his early tutor, Thomas Young. Milton did not mention this Vacation Exercise in his letter of July 2, 1628 to Gill, a puzzling omission to such modern Milton critics as William Riley Parker,¹⁷ simply because this exercise was to be given months later with, as Milton himself explains in the beginning of the oration, little advance notice.

Milton's Salting

Milton calls the occasion being celebrated, the initiation, "assuredly no foolish one, but on the contrary most commendable." Comparing himself, in mock heroic style, to Lucius Junius Brutus, "that second founder of Rome and great avenger of the lusts of kings," who was willing to "disguise his almost godlike mind and wonderful natural talents under the semblance of idiocy," Milton concludes that there is no reason for his being ashamed to "play the wise fool for a while, especially at the bidding of him whose duty it is, like the aediles at Rome, to organise these shows." Like Randolph, he uses the word show. Milton tells his audience that he was "persuaded to undertake this office" of Father because of the "new-found friendliness" of his audience, "fellow-students of my own college."¹⁸ Randolph had a similar audience.

In the second part of the exercise, the prolusion proper, Milton first explains why he had been called so suddenly to be the "Dictator" of the festivities. Fletcher makes a good case, I think, for Milton's having been called in as a last minute replacement for the acknowledged leader of the sophisters who was "an eager candidate for the post" until he was probably banished from the university for a recent escapade, perhaps that of leading about fifty sophisters in a town-gown fracas at Barnwell, "a notorious place of amorous resort at this time."¹⁹ No scholar has yet discovered a source recounting an escapade such as Milton describes in mock-heroic style or any punishment for anything like it at the time in any of the histories or chronicles of Cambridge.

Probably the excesses of language and content in Milton's

prolusion which seem to have shocked Masson and Phyllis Tillyard had become traditional because of some of the other definitions and connotations of salt, such as pungent or stinging wit, and lecherous or salacious characteristics of people, obtained by transferring to saltings the definition of the word which referred to bitches in heat.²⁰ For instance, Milton was not above such plays on words as on Sphinx and sphincter in comparing the song of the Sphinx, the laughter of the audience, to the "groans from the posterior of the audience," the song of the sphincter, the other half of the two-part melody after "today's feast" has so crammed their bellies that the "extra strain" upon them from laughing might "accidentally let out some enigmas, [supply your own pun] which I leave to the doctors [academic, not necessarily medical ones in the audience] instead of Oedipus," who solved the Sphinx's riddle, "to explain."²¹ Milton devotes the first part of his salting, called "(i) THE ORATION" by the editors of the Yale edition of The Complete Prose Works of John Milton, to an explanation of the circumstances of his oration and what amounts to an apology for his unseemly manner and matter.

Like Randolph's, Milton's speech has many puns and quibbles on the names of students in their respective colleges known to be uninitiated freshmen and sophomores, who were the Sons being addressed by Milton and Randolph. We are able to identify many of their Sons from those who entered their colleges the year of each Saltings or the year before. Identifying Milton's Sons, however, is a little harder than naming Randolph's because most of Milton's allusions to their names are in the middle part of the exercise, the prolusion proper, which, like

the first part, is in Latin, necessitating translating the text into English first and thereby perhaps bypassing some Latin puns along the way. There is no way of knowing how many students were initiated into the college at the time. It is possible, however, to figure out several places where it is obvious that Milton has gone out of his way to include certain references which seem tenuously joined to the main oration. I believe, however, that the fact that I could relate many names from the relatively short list of lowerclassmen matriculated at Christ's College between 6 July 1626 and 17 December 1628²² to the second and third parts of the exercise indicates that at least some of these names are alluded to; if so, they, too, provide strong evidence of this exercise's having been presented as a salting.

An editor of the Yale edition of Milton's prose refers in a note to the passage from pp. 278-79 which is believed to contain a number of puns on the names of two college servants, one of whom Tillyard thought was Sparks. Tillyard suspected that either Sparks had a brother or that another servant had an "equally convenient name like Coles or Furness."²³ In this passage Milton expresses his admiration for his fellow students because they had forced their way through what I feel was surely imaginary "flame and fire into this place to hear me speak."²⁴ This fire may have been a metaphor for his own discomfort, which he stresses earlier, and that of those being initiated on what seemed to them "the road to Hades," which, like Dante's Commedia, led through purgatory until they are now safe in paradise. If the fire had been traversed after his Sons had performed, their state might now be one of relief; if not the joy of eternal bliss. I believe, too, that

this fire was a kind of rhetorical hook upon which to hang the name of one of the freshmen, not a servant as Phyllis Tillyard suggested, although she did guess his surname: Edward Furnice,²⁵ probably one of the Sons. Milton's audience has somehow come out of the "fiery furnace," nor did King Arthur's champions "overcome and destroy the enchantments of the flaming castle" more easily, Milton continues. Almost certainly the castle refers to another Son, Telamueth, or Talmache, Castle.²⁶

Milton then promises himself "a select audience; for if any rubbish has passed through the furnaces and penetrated to this place, I can only say that our porters are mere jack-o'-lanterns, or 'foolish fires.'" ²⁷ The reference to porters here seems to point to another possible Son, Samuel Porter.²⁸ The phrase "foolish fires," *ignis fatuus*, continues two of Milton's imagery clusters in this part of the oration: the first of fire, light, and coal; the second of fools. There are earlier references to the medieval Ship of Fools, to the classical Feast of Fools, to himself as the Dictator of the commonwealth of Fools presiding over a festival sacred to Hilaria, mother of the gods, according to him, or mother of the god Laughter, as well as to April 1, April Fool's Day.²⁹

Both imagery clusters seem to include a play on words between a word of the first group, Coke, the hard core of coal left after other parts have been consumed, unknown before the seventeenth century,³⁰ and a word belonging to the second, a cokes, which was often written, in those days before the standardization of English spelling, as coaks, cox, coxe, and coax, meaning a silly fellow, fool, ninny, simpleton,³¹

and so surely related to the coxcomb of the Elizabethan fools. This meaning accounts, of course, for Ben Jonson's naming the gull, the juvenile in Bartholomew Fair, Bartholomew Cokes. Cook, Cooke, and Coke were apparently interchangeable spellings at that time.³² The hot coals or cokes, who were also fools, could possibly refer to both George Cocke³³ and James Cookson.³⁴ The fire and flame through which they had all just come could be a Latin pun on the different meanings of ignis: fire and flame and the ensuing destruction, but also, figuratively, the fire of passion, love, which is often mentioned in this oration. It may have been no coincidence, then, that Jeffrey Love³⁵ and Joseph Lovett³⁶ were probably in the audience.

The next items to terrify his audience after the fire are two objects standing on the very threshold, for Milton's hearers must pass between them, like Scylla and Charybdis. These are, he says, "our fiery Cerberus barking forth smoke to terrify us, laying about him with his blazing staff, and puffing out mouthfuls of glowing embers" and "that burning and all-consuming Furnace of ours [which] belches forth lurid flames and pours out coiling wreaths of smoke."³⁷ The furnace at the end of this quotation has already been identified. The fiery Cerberus Milton describes seems to be smoking tobacco, forbidden to Cambridge students in repeated university statutes, especially during the visits of the King and his court to the University.³⁸ Surely the need for the statutes came from the popularity of the practice. Because this ceremony took place during vacation, a time of relaxation, there may have been more smoking than usual, thereby adding to the smoke, fire, flames, embers, sparks, and coals.

Milton's reference to Cerberus, the three-headed dog guarding the door to Hades, which they had all come through in imagination, is odd since no classical description has Cerberus barking smoke, laying about him with his blazing staff, or "puffing out mouthfuls of glowing embers." The viciousness of the Cerberus of Homer and Virgil was literally trebled by his three mouths. The bark of the dog described by Milton is worse than his bite.³⁹ The blazing staff might, however, simply represent a torch stave held by one of the guards since torches or links were used to light the stage of the college halls for evening performances of plays or shows.⁴⁰

Another similarity between the speeches of Randolph occurs when Milton too refers to the banquet prepared for his listeners. Both also refer to the table set with various delicacies although Milton doubts that his audience will be able to eat much of the feast because of the big meal they had just finished before the ceremony, obviously a reference to the regular evening meal, the remnants of which had probably just been cleared from the Christ's College commons.

Milton's description of the "empyrean" banquet is in keeping with the hyperbolic imaginary journey he and his audience have just completed through fiery Hades and purgatory to paradise. This banquet will exceed that famous feast of Antony and Cleopatra, who reputedly served eight boars at their table. Milton's initiates are at tables "decked with all the luxury of Persia and loaded with rarest dainties." The first course consists of fifty fatted boars pickled in beer for three years, who are still so tough that "they may well tire out even our dog teeth." Fletcher has pointed out that the boars are the

seniors, who have been at Cambridge for three years.⁴¹ Their having been pickled for that period in beer, the usual beverage served with meals at Cambridge, seems an obvious allusion. The dog-teeth of the audience at the end of this quote are canini, meant to swell the involved Latin pun Milton has been preparing us for. This conceit is based on the similarities of canis, dog (Cerberus); canus, gray or ash-colored; canna, a reed or cane, and so possibly the blazing staff; canine or eye teeth; and, later, Caenis.

The next course consists of "the same number of excellent oxen with magnificent tails, just roasted befor^e the door by our fiery servant: only I am afraid all the juice has gone into the dripping-pan." The oxen are probably the juniors; the sophomores, calves' heads; and the young goats, the freshmen.⁴² In addition, I think we can interpret the magnificent tails from which all the juice has gone in the Freudian sense as well as a play on the words tails and caudle. Caudle, as we have seen in the general discussion on the nature of saltings, was served at some saltings to those who did well in their speeches. Cauda, tail, puns well with caudle, or caudal, as it was sometimes spelled. The wine with whatever else made up this particular recipe might then have been roasted, heated, before the door. Edward Furnice was matriculated sizar, and his assignment could have been to tend the fire, heat the caudle, or hold the torch to light the commons, making him the fiery servant, too.

The calves' heads, the sophomores, were "fat and fleshy enough, but with so little brains as not to be enough for seasoning."⁴³ Randolph's feast, too, included a calves' head: Gamble, who needed

sauce "because I see y^u hast so little braines" (ll. 180-85). Milton's freshmen, "a hundred kids, more or less,"⁴⁴ were "too lean, I think, from overindulgence in the pleasures of love." Capella is the diminutive of goat, according to Thomas Cooper's Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae,⁴⁵ or a kid. Francis Capell⁴⁶ might then be another of Milton's Sons.

They also expected for the feast, Milton continues, "a few rams with fine spreading horns, but our cooks have not yet brought them from town."⁴⁷ These might have been intended for show, for they would doubtlessly be too tough to eat. Perhaps they were fellows or graduate students of the college.

For anyone preferring birds, Milton goes on, "we can provide any number of them, long fattened on dough and flour and grated cheese." From his description, the birds, too, were freshmen. One bird, he says is "as green in character," an obvious reference to immaturity and ignorance, as in plumage. These birds "always fly about in flocks and nest in the same place," and so they will be suitably served up on one dish at the banquet. In the same mocking vein, he advises those partaking to eat sparingly of them because they are "rather underdone and lacking in solid nutriment." There were many birds among the possible initiates at Christ's College, including Henry Massingberd,⁴⁸ Thomas Bird, George Cocke, and Samuel Bird.⁴⁹

Milton, the expansive host, offers yet another bird which he "can most heartily recommend," an enormous turkey, "so fat and stout after three years' fattening that one vast dish is scarcely big enough for it." This fowl has such a "long and horny beak that it could attack

an elephant or rhinoceros with impunity," but the hosts had it specially killed "just at the right moment, since it was beginning to be a danger to young girls and to attack women, like the large apes."⁵⁰ Since it had been fattening for three years, this turkey seems to refer to a senior, one of Milton's classmates who had perhaps added much weight and libido since his matriculation three years earlier. There is always the possibility, however, that quite the opposite was true and that Milton is being ironic here.

The poultry section of this feast also includes several geese, including, surely, Jeremiah Goose.⁵¹ It is likely that since Milton wrote of "several" geese, "some of this year's hatching and some earlier," that there was at least one other Goose of another class at Christ's College. The geese, whose hissing Milton describes as being loud enough to betray their presence,⁵² are an inversion of those in the classic story of the geese who saved Rome, the capitol, mentioned by Randolph in his salting. Their hissing warned the Romans of the presence of the enemy, not of themselves.

Milton as Father

After his description of this heavenly feast, Milton returns to his main function, wondering how he has become a Father so soon, citing mythological parallels, including the possibility of his having been violated by some god, like Caenis, a Thessalian woman ravished by Neptune, as a result of which she gained the power to change her sex and so her name to the masculine Caeneus. Or perhaps he had slain a serpent, like Tiresias. These theories could explain his own metamorphosis from "the Lady," his nickname, to a necessarily male Father.⁵³

Milton next assumes his responsibilities as Father and addresses himself to his Sons, of whom, like Randolph, he sees a "goodly number."⁵⁴ Like Randolph, too, in what must be a traditional part of the ceremony, he wonders what to name his Sons. But first he urges his Sons to "enjoy your feast with a right good will,"⁵⁵ much as Randolph urged his to "Fall too, you for y^r cheere we can afford," (l. 32).

While Milton is considering a general category of names for the initiates, he too waxes rhetorical and creates suspense by throwing out ideas only to discard them. So Milton will not give his Sons "the names of various dishes, . . . to furnish a banquet for you." He discards the banquet idea though only after exploiting it shamelessly because it "would be too like the savagery of Tantalus and Lycaon," both of whom slew humans and offered cooked parts of their victims as food to the gods. Milton will not name them for parts of the body either "lest you should think me the father of so many bits of men instead of whole ones." And he does not wish to call them after various kinds of meat he protests after he has already done so. Instead, he decides to call them "after the Predicaments of Aristotle, to indicate the nobility of their birth and the liberality of their habits."

He, as Randolph did, then partially defines his philosophy of satire. He wishes his jests to be the mean between biteless, stale jokes and ones that would be too biting. In this section of Milton's speech there are, naturally, several allusions to teeth since references to biting and toothless satire were a commonplace in the running debate about the nature and function of satire itself which continued well into the eighteenth century. There are several puzzling references

to yellow teeth, which may have been more meaningful to his audience than to modern day readers.

Using more "salty" phrases, Milton wishes he were, like Horace, a fishmonger's son so that he would be as sick of salt water as "were those soldiers of ours who lately managed to escape from the Island of Re." This last allusion is, of course, to the recent disaster of the year before, 1627, the outcome of which was still uncertain in Randolph's Salting.⁵⁶ It serves also as a bridge to more puns on salt because of Rhe's importance to salt production. It is a possibility, too, that it was traditional at Christ's College to serve those initiates doing ill in their responses salt water instead of the salt beer we have read of above.

Randolph had also referred to the Predicaments, after which Milton finally names his Sons, when he described how "grave" Nelson was. Nelson, he said, tread so softly as if he were afraid to move his head for fear of "shaking ye Predicam^{ts}, yt are sleeping there" (ll. 279-82).⁵⁷

We now return to our laboring prospective Father, who invokes as he is about to give birth, "Neptune, Apollo, Vulcan, and all the artificer gods," praying that they strengthen his ribs with wooden supports or bind them with iron plates, probably before or immediately after the simulated birth of his Sons. This reinforcement was necessary after his almost exhausted sides (aching from laughter possibly, as well as the labor necessary to give birth to so many Sons, whether as the Lady or the Father, he does not say) have been repaired by Ceres, "who gave Pelops a shoulder-blade of ivory" to replace the one served

to the gods by his father, Tantalus, and eaten by them.

Recovered from the multiple birth, Milton announces his plan to "overleap the University Statutes," ruling that all but a privileged few public ceremonies, classes, and conversation at the university be conducted in Latin. "Overleap" here seems a pun on salt and saltation, sal and saltatus, past participle of saltare, to leap, dance. He will leap over the statutes because he had dallied (morari) but also, punning on morari, he has played the fool⁵⁸ too long. He is then going to scale the wall of Romulus and run off from Latin into English.⁵⁹

At this point in his monologue, Milton does what he said he would: he switches to English and to heroic couplets, the form Randolph had used throughout his Salting. In this third section, Milton apostrophizes his Native Language and then proceeds to the more formal initiation in which he, the Father of the predicaments, is Ens, or being, intent on choosing an appropriate son to represent each of Aristotle's other categories. One of the Sons, Relation, seems to have been played by George Rivers, probably because he had a brother, Nizell, a relation, who was admitted at the same time as he.⁶⁰ We know Rivers was Relation because he was the only one called by name in this work and provided the occasion for several lines listing British rivers that might have been his father.⁶¹

The first Son, Substance, the eldest son of Ens, was probably Roger or Edward King⁶² because of his royal last name. Milton addresses him in lines 59-90. The style of these thirty-odd lines captures the spirit of classical Sibylline prophecies with their irony and paradoxes veiling the true meaning. Milton seems to be writing of the elder,

perhaps more talented, King, who might nevertheless have been shorter in stature than his brother:

O're all his Brethren he shall Reign as King,	75
Yet everyone shall make him underling, ^o	^o perhaps a reference
And those that cannot live from him asunder	to his height
ungratefully shall strive to keep him under;	
In worth and excellence he shall out-go them,	
Yet being above them, he shall be below them; ^o	^o a balanced paradox--
From others he shall stand in need of nothing,	he is above his broth-
Yet on his Brothers shall depend for Cloathing. ^o	ers in worth but below
	them in height.
	^o hand-me-downs?

John T. Shawcross has explained lines 77-78: "Substance supports the other predicaments and keeps them together."⁶³ Other puns are also satisfactorily explained in his notes for these lines.

In the next section, Milton addresses Relation by his true name, as has been pointed out earlier. This section is filled with allusions to British rivers and, surely, other Sons.⁶⁴ The missing English prose section, intentionally omitted by Milton as he indicates, doubtless includes references to other Predicaments not dealt with by line 100 of this poem: Place, Time, Posture, Possession, Action, and Passion.⁶⁵

In conclusion, then, in his sixth prologue, Milton uses devices found in some Cambridge University academic comedies or shows, including many characteristics found elsewhere only in Thomas Randolph's Salting of the year before. Both Milton and Randolph were seniors at the times they addressed uninitiated lower classmen, mostly freshmen, of their respective colleges as their Sons in these "shews." The humor used by both poets includes puns and other plays on words based on the names of the Sons and references to salt and seasonings, as well as on the various courses of their imaginary feasts, purportedly the occasions

of their speeches. Both writers also joke about their unsuitability for the role of Father, especially to so many Sons, and describe in mock heroic style the lavish banquets they propose to serve. They also consider various schemes for naming their Sons, mentioning some only as an excuse to rule them out with puns or other humor. Then they name their Sons by using the controlling schemes they finally settle on: dishes at the banquet itself or the predicaments. It is interesting to see, however, that the techniques, imagery, and motifs foreshadowing their later, more mature work contribute distinctive texture to each salting. The tone and complexity of Milton's salting are also closer to his later works than to Randolph's Salting.

It is possible to identify some of Milton's Sons from among the students then eligible for initiation: freshmen and some sophomores matriculated at their college after the last salting. Both texts also break off rather abruptly, perhaps because the responses of those being initiated came next. In Milton's case we do know that he himself edited his work and that he chose to omit the last section of his oration, as well, because it was in English prose and in his mind not worthy of the perpetuity offered by the printed page. The unknown Randolph admirer who copied his Salting might have felt similarly that the remainder of his text was inferior in quality.

The differences between the two saltings--that there were two Fathers at the Trinity, and apparently only one at the Christ's, College ceremony, that fellow-commoners were salted by Milton and not by Randolph, and that Milton's ceremony was part Latin and part English, part prose and part rhymed couplets, as compared to Randolph's all-

English Salting in rhymed couplets--can possibly be explained by traditional ceremonial differences at the two colleges or by the freedom in form and content inherent in the non-traditional classification of "shew" at Cambridge. Each Father was apparently free to exhibit his ingenuity in whatever format he deemed most effective for including the surnames of his Sons. His next objective was to display to the greatest advantage whatever wit and outrageous word associations his imagination could fashion to delight his audience and enhance his growing reputation among his peers and the fellows and professors of his college.

Neither Randolph's nor Milton's Salting adds to the literary reputation of either writer, but both orations shed additional light on some long-forgotten aspects of Cambridge undergraduate life of the time. They also provide biographical details about the two developing poets of the sort which is so often hazy for writers of the early seventeenth century when only royalty and important statesmen were believed to be suitable subjects for biography. Although Milton's life has been the subject of later scrutiny by his nephew, David Masson, J. M. French, and Harris Fletcher, among others, so that we know more about him than about his writing contemporaries, seeing Prolusion VI as a salting helps to explain some aspects of Milton's work which have puzzled Miltonists. In this salting we catch a glimpse of him among his peers at a time when he was popular enough to have been chosen Father to a group of underclassmen and obliging enough to adapt his Muse and oratorical skill to the undecorous decorum of burlesque. He may not have been the obvious choice among his classmates for metamorphosis into a university wit, but he was equal to the demands of the role, uncharacteristic as it was, and after

his initial discomfort, seems to have even enjoyed playing it. He could use invective with the best, or the worst, of the students as well as flash his classical knowledge and his poetic facility.

Randolph's Salting is more enlightening than Milton's for the details it reveals about Cambridge undergraduate practices and the many similarities in style and language between it and Hey for Honesty, the latter of which was believed to have been written for presentation at Cambridge sometime between 1626 and 1628. The similar references in each, particularly the ones to the Rhe expedition, the outcome of which was still in doubt in the Salting of 1627 and which was already established in Hey for Honesty, seem to pinpoint some period after the Salting in 1627 or in 1628 as the date of composition of Hey for Honesty. The similarities between the two Randolph works also provide additional evidence of Randolph's having written the lines containing them rather than the 1651 adaptor, F. J., of the earliest edition of this first translation of an Aristophanes' play into English.

NOTES

Chapter I

¹"Verses Prefixed to the 1638 Volume," in The Poems and Amyntas of Thomas Randolph, John Jay Parry, ed., (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1917), p. 55, hereafter referred to as Parry.

G. N. Joan is identified by Parry as "apparently" George Wilde (1610-1665), fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, 1631, a wit and academic playwright in his younger days. Later chaplain to Archbishop Laud. After the Restoration, Bishop of Derry. "Notes on the Introductory Poems," Parry, p. 355.

²Gerald Eades Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, Plays and Playwrights (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956), V, 968.

³Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph (New York: Benjamin Blom, First published 1875; Reissued 1968), hereafter referred to as Hazlitt. For more on this unscholarly edition, see an original review of this edition, The Saturday Review, August 21, 1875, pp. 240-42. Greg, Parry and Moore Smith have also commented negatively on it.

⁴Walter W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (New York: Russell & Russell, 1910), pp. 295-96.

⁵C. L. Day, "Thomas Randolph's Part in the Authorship of Hey for Honesty," PMLA, xli (1926), 325-34. This article contains the best discussion of the authorship of the play and logically separates Randolph's translation, really adaptation, from the later additions.

Toback, "Thomas Randolph's Hey for Honesty, Down With Knavery: A Critical Edition," Diss. New York University, 1971.

⁶G. Thorn-Drury, ed., "Introduction," The Poems of Thomas Randolph (London: Etchells & Macdonald, 1929).

⁷Phillimore's article was originally printed in the Dublin Review of 1913, cited by Douglas Bush, Engaged and Disengaged (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1966).

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- ⁸Thomas More (London, 1935), p. 379, cited in Bush, p. 104.
The identity of the sixth scholar of the quote is not given.
- ⁹Bush, pp. 113-14.
- ¹⁰Thomas Fuller, The History of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge: Univ. of Cambridge Press, 1655), p. 100.
- ¹¹Bush, p. 114.
- ¹²Bush, pp. 116-117.
- ¹³Douglas Bush, English Literature of the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1946), p. 17. Hereafter this work will be referred to as Bush, Engl. Lit.
- ¹⁴Parry, pp. 161-62.
- ¹⁵Mark H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 6.
- ¹⁶Curtis, p. 6.
- ¹⁷I have drawn quite heavily in this section on the universities from Curtis, William T. Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), and Harris Francis Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton, II, "The Cambridge University Period, 1625-32" (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1961), especially the Appendix.
- ¹⁸Frederick S. Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1914), p. 14.
- ¹⁹Bush, Engl. Lit., p. 17.
- ²⁰Bush, Engl. Lit., p. 32.
- ²¹Margaret Crum, "Introduction," The Poems of Henry King (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 1-62.
- ²²Crum, p. 5.
- ²³Crum, pp. 29-30.
- ²⁴Joseph H. Summers, The Heirs of Donne and Jonson (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 77-78.
- ²⁵Thomas Fuller and others.

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- ²⁶Gerald C. Moore Smith, Thomas Randolph, Warton Lecture on English Poetry (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1927).
- ²⁷G. Thorn-Jrury, p. x.
- ²⁸Charles Henry Cooper, Annals of Cambridge University, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1942-52), II, 202, n. 1, cited by Cooper, p. 7.
- ²⁹Headnote, "Roger Ascham," in The Literature of Renaissance England, John Hollander and Frank Kermode (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), p. 98.
- ³⁰G. C. Moore Smith, College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge (Cambridge: at the Univ. Press, 1923), p. 11, hereafter referred to as CP.
- ³¹Cambridge History of English Literature, VI, Pt. 2 (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1910), hereafter referred to as CHEL, p. 340.
- ³²CHEL, VI, Pt. 2, p. 342.
- ³³Thomas Heywood, An Apology for Actors. In three books--from the edition of 1621 compared with that of W. Cartwright (London: Reprinted for the Shakespeare Society, 1841), pp. 28-29.
- ³⁴CHEL, VI, Pt. 2, p. 338.
- ³⁵Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama: 1558-1642 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), II, 372-74.
- ³⁶Joel B. Altman, The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1978), pp. 3-4.
- ³⁷Altman, pp. 5-6.
- ³⁸J. B. Leishman, The Art of Marvell's Poetry (London: Hutchinson, 1966), p. 22, hereafter referred to as Leishman.
- ³⁹Leishman, p. 22.
- ⁴⁰From Tristram of Lyonesse, cited by Charles Lamb, "Epilogue," Dramatic Specimens and the Garrick Plays, V, 628, in The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb (London: Methuen and Co., 1903-4).

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- ¹Cited by Boas, p. 350.

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²Moore Smith, CP, pp. 20-21.

³An Account of the Christmas Prince, as it was exhibited in the University of Oxford in the Year 1607. Now first published from the original Manuscript (London: Malone Society, 1816). The full account was obviously written after the fact, and while the tone throughout is sympathetic to the students, there are warnings to posterity about the negative side of such frolics inserted periodically. These qualifications seem out of keeping with the tone of the rest of the narrative. They make it tempting to surmise that this manuscript may have been written during the interregnum to make available a record of this discontinued tradition, which would never have been tolerated by the new regime. After writing of the students' decision to elect a Prince, the narrator adds that the students had "cleane forgotten" the "danger, charge and trouble of such iestinge," p. 2.

The beginning of January, the Prince's "Lord-treasurer, alarmed at the near-depleted treasure," presented an itemized bill with a mandate, written in Latin, for more contributions from the president and senior fellows of the college, and levied a new subsidy of the junior masters and the rest of the college. The narrator says he is giving the itemized bill in full "wherein it might appeare how costly the presedent revels had beene, which bill (for better direction and warning of others heere after how they medle with such sportes) was thought good heere to bee inserted," p. 35. After they got enough money to continue the revels, the narrator comments: "whereuppon finding themselves againe before hand, and resolving to save nothing for a deere yeare, they proceeded to new expenses and new troubles," p. 38.

The manuscript ends with "The Conclusion," which fairly evaluates the whole experience. It ends with a warning that others should take heed if they attempt a similar undertaking "lesse they find better meanes at home, and better mindes abroad," pp. 75-76; in other words that they should be more affluent than these students and that these others should be sure their guests do not criticize them for not accomplishing what they had no intention of doing.

⁴An Account of the Christmas Prince, p. 25. This will be referred to hereafter as the Xmas Prince.

⁵Xmas Prince, pp. 33-34.

⁶Xmas Prince, p. 39

⁷Xmas Prince, p. 33.

⁸Xmas Prince, pp. 70-71.

⁹Xmas Prince, p. 59.

¹⁰"Epilogue," The Pilgrimage to Parnassus, quoted by Adolphus William W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death

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of Queen Anne (New York: Octagon, 1899; republished 1966), II, 634.

¹¹Moore Smith, p. 40.

¹²Ward, I, 211.

¹³In the show The 7 Daies of the Weeke, which was a part of the St. John's revels.

¹⁴Ward, I, 260, 261.

¹⁵Ward, I, 211.

¹⁶Ward, I, 218.

¹⁷Ward, I, 209, 213, 218, resp.

¹⁸Xmas Prince, pp. 70-74.

¹⁹Bentley, III, 18.

²⁰Ward, I, 242.

²¹Bentley, III, 18.

²²OED; Collier, Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare, Shakespeare Society Publications (1846), cited in Ward, I, 149, n.

²³Moore Smith, p. 40.

²⁴William T. Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), p. 171.

²⁵Costello, p. 24.

²⁶Fuller, History of the University of Cambridge, p. 139.

²⁷Thomas Fuller, The Worthies of England, ed. John Nichols (London: T. Tegg, 1811), I, 238.

²⁸Costello, pp. 25-26.

²⁹Hardwicke State Papers, i, 394, in Costello, p. 26.

³⁰"To the pious Memory of my deare Brother in-law M^r Thomas Randolph," Parry, p. 60. "Brother in-law" was then used for what we would call step-brother.

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³¹Anon. (London: Printed by Thomas Harper for Iohn Marriot, 1630), title page and p. 31.

³²Fredson Bowers, "Thomas Randolph's Salting," Modern Philology, 39 (1942), 275-280.

³³Schelling, II, 94.

³⁴Gesta Grayorum, or the History of the Prince of Purpoole, Anno Domini, 1594 (London: 1688), reprinted by Malone Reprints, 1915, W. W. Greg, general editor. It was also included by John Nichols in his Progresses of Elizabeth. GG, p. vi; text on pp. 58-64.

Greg's introduction to the account of this revels leads one to understand that the revels had been given fairly regularly but had been discontinued three or four years previously (I). The plague had been quite widespread for at least three of those years.

³⁵E. K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage (London: Clarendon Press, 1903), pp. 11, 116, and 403; 119; and 399, respectively.

³⁶Cited by John Ashton, A righte Merrie Christmasse (n.d., re-issued 1968, New York: Benjamin Blom), p. 11 and many others.

³⁷Ashton, p. 18.

³⁸Ward, I, 251.

³⁹Xmas Prince, 25-26.

⁴⁰For a fascinating and quite thorough examination of English pageantry of the time, see David M. Bergeron's English Civic Pageantry: 1558-1642 (Columbia, S.C.: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1971).

⁴¹Xmas Prince, pp. 59-60.

⁴²Xmas Prince, p. 68.

⁴³Xmas Prince, p. 55.

⁴⁴Xmas Prince, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁵Boas, p. 197, n.

⁴⁶Xmas Prince, p. 68.

⁴⁷Moore Smith, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁸Xmas Prince, p. 55.

⁴⁹Boas, p. 100.

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⁵⁰According to John Dee, in Boas, cited in Moore Smith, p. 18.

⁵¹Moore Smith, pp. 54-60. Note the variety in nomenclature for what are probably shows.

⁵²Moore Smith, p. 21.

⁵³Xmas Prince, and GG.

⁵⁴Xmas Prince, p. 68.

⁵⁵GG, p. 4.

⁵⁶GG, pp. 2-5.

⁵⁷GG, p. vii.

⁵⁸Moore Smith, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁹Ashton, pp. 125 and 144-45, resp.

⁶⁰Xmas Prince, pp. 25-26.

⁶¹Xmas Prince, p. 13.

⁶²Xmas Prince, p. 12.

⁶³GG

⁶⁴GG, p. 6.

⁶⁵GG, p. 20.

⁶⁶GG, pp. 27-31.

⁶⁷GG, p. 57.

⁶⁸W. W. Greg, "Introduction," GG, p. vi-viii.

⁶⁹GG, p. vi.

⁷⁰GG, pp. 49-50.

⁷¹GG, pp. 48, 49, 51.

⁷²GG, p. 52.

⁷³GG, p. 53.

⁷⁴Xmas Prince, pp. 59-60.

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- ⁷⁵Boas, p. 197, n.
- ⁷⁶Xmas Prince, p. 68.
- ⁷⁷Xmas Prince, p. 70.
- ⁷⁸Xmas Prince, pp. 72-73.
- ⁷⁹Moore Smith, p. 46.
- ⁸⁰Xmas Prince, pp. 73-74.
- ⁸¹GG, pp. 20-22.
- ⁸²GG, p. 53.
- ⁸³GG, pp. 54-55.
- ⁸⁴GG, pp. 57-67.
- ⁸⁵GG, pp. 67-68.
- ⁸⁶Bentley, V, 975.
- ⁸⁷Bentley, V, 975.
- ⁸⁸Moore Smith, p. 66-72.
- ⁸⁹Moore Smith, pp. 20-21.
- ⁹⁰GG
- ⁹¹Xmas Prince, p. 36.
- ⁹²Moore Smith, p. 19.
- ⁹³Xmas Prince, p. 58.
- ⁹⁴Boas, p. 151.
- ⁹⁵ARISTIPPVS, / OR / The Iouiall Philosopher: DEMONSTRATIVELIE /
proouing, That Quartes, Pintes, / and Pottles, / Are Sometimes necessary
Authors in a Scholers / Library. / Presented in a priuate Shew. / To
which is added: / THE CONCEITED PEDLAR (London: Printed by Thomas Harper
 for Iohn Marriot, 1630), p. 1
- ⁹⁶Aristippus, p. 2.

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¹See the appendix for a discussion of Milton's sixth prolusion as a salting.

²For a discussion of college shows see previous chapter.

³This reputation had probably been established by the end of his first year at Cambridge when his poem celebrating the marriage of King Charles to Princess Henrietta Maria on June 13, 1625 was included with verses by other members of the University in a volume printed to commemorate this event. Most of these poets, like James, Duke of Lenox; Andrew Downes, renowned professor of Greek; and Samuel Collins, Provost of King's College, [Cooper, Annals, III, 179] were quite illustrious. Randolph also contributed a poem to the University's volume memorializing a heretofore illustrious friend and alumnus of Cambridge, now disgraced, Sir Francis Bacon upon his death in 1626.

Recognition of the precocious Randolph as a wit was surely enhanced, as well, by his first Cambridge dramatic production, Aristippus, or the Jovial Philosopher, a "private shew," presented at Trinity some time between the winter of 1625 and the end of 1626.

⁴G. C. Moore Smith, CP, pp. 39-40.

⁵Fredson Bowers, "Thomas Randolph's Salting," Mod. Phil. xxxix (1942), 275-80.

⁶I am indebted to Stephen R. Parks, Curator of the James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, for his helpfulness, and his permission to use and quote from Thorn-Drury's unpublished notebooks and several seventeenth century manuscript commonplace books, including the one which contains Randolph's Salting, Osborn b65.

I am also grateful to Fredson Bowers for his help in locating the Salting text and to Professor James W. Sims for encouraging me to publish this text.

⁷Like most of the gentlemen-manuscript poets of his time, Randolph apparently did not keep copies of all his poems because few gentlemen were then interested in having their poems published. The only poems published during his short lifetime spanning under thirty years were the ones included among the official collections of commemorative verses by members of the Trinity College or Cambridge University academic community and his Latin dedicatory poems prefixed to Huntington Plumptre's Epigrammatum opusculum.

Randolph's brother Robert carefully edited (for publication) as many of the poems as he could locate by 1638, two years after Randolph's death. This volume contains many early poems as well as those of his later years. His two best plays, The Muses' Looking Glass and Amyntas, both in verse, are included in this edition too. Further poems were added in the second, 1640, edition, while additional poems have since been attributed to Randolph by W. C. Hazlitt in the first modern edition of the poems in 1875, by John Jay Parry in a 1917

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edition, and by G. C. Moore Smith, "Some Unpublished Poems of Thomas Randolph, (1605-1635)," *Palaestra*, 148 (1925), 244-57. Moore Smith pointed out in this article that "after all this, a number of Randolph's poems remain in seventeenth century commonplace books and have never been printed" (p. 246).

⁸Pp. 230-221. The pages have been numbered in pencil fairly recently. Some of the notes, like these, were begun from the back of the book and go forward, and so are inversely numbered.

⁹There are also extracts and notes from books published in the 1630's in this volume, among which are Thomas "Fullers holy warr," Rainold [John Reynold's] "Gods Revenge on Murther," and what is apparently a translation from Nicolas Caussin's "ye Holy Court." There are also Latin notes from Livy, followed after a few pages by additional notes from the same history in another hand.

¹⁰Bowers, p. 279. The authenticated examples were reproduced by W. W. Greg in English literary autographs, XCVIII, from the Admission Books of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Cambridge University Registry.

¹¹J. H. Marsden, College life in the Time of James the First. As Illustrated by an Unpublished Diary of Sir Symonds D'Ewes. Baronet and M.P. for Some Time a Fellow-Commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge (1851, pp. 14-15, cited by Bentley, V, 992).

The college Halls, usually the Commons, were also used for plays and entertainments put on by members of the college and for students delivering college declamations.

¹²Marsden in Bentley, V, 992.

¹³One definition of tuck in OED is rapier.

¹⁴Marsden. For other variations of Saltings, see n. 30 below.

¹⁵Marsden.

¹⁶Charles Lamb, who was an antiquarian as well as an essayist. Cited in OED.

¹⁷Bower narrowed down the Salting date to between September and October 1627 from internal evidence, mostly on the basis of several references in it to the French war of 1627.

¹⁸Bentley, V, 972.

¹⁹ARISTIPPVS, / OR / The Iouiall Philosopher:, p. 1.

²⁰Aristippus, Praeludium, p. 2. This scene bears some resemblance

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to one in The Muses' Looking Glass in which personifications of the four genres of drama--comedy, tragedy, mime, and satire--contend. Randolph could make poetry of such seemingly unlikely didactic material as Aristotle's teachings, like the Poetics here and in The Muses' Looking Glass. The latter play also celebrates the classical golden mean, Lady Mediocrity, the concept of which Randolph based Aristotle's vices and virtues in his Ethics. The vices of this work are also personified in the play, as are Lady Mediocrity's daughters, the virtues. Many of Randolph's poems, especially some of his pastorals, illustrate this gift of transmuting philosophy, science, or criticism into lyrical gold.

Randolph was chosen to revive, not only the show and the salting, but also the part of Praevaricator at the 1632 Commencement, a year after he received his M.A. The Praevaricator, traditionally the brightest M.A. of the previous year, was to deliver an oration mocking those declamations presented by the candidates as one of the requirements for their degrees. After listening to days of serious oratory, not all of it gifted, the Commencement audience, the Cambridge authorities felt, was ready for some comic relief, even in Latin. This tradition had apparently been discontinued, as it had sometimes been previously, for reasons similar to those responsible for the hiatus for shows, especially for particularly scurrilous and indecent, albeit witty, language and allusions.

²¹In this Praeludium, Show pledges to avoid petulant hate and malice, gossip and accusations of various kinds so no one need fear this show. She, and so Randolph, will use all her skill to "beg but honest laughter" and some smiles and will give no cause for grief that she lives once more. [Praeludium, pp. 2-3.]

²²Bowers, p. 278.

²³S. R. Gardiner, History of England: 1603-42 (London, 1886), VI, 146-47, cited by Bowers, p. 277.

²⁴Bowers, p. 278.

²⁵"Salting," OED.

²⁶Cited in W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, Oxford--The Age of John Locke (Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1973), p. 28.

²⁷Personal correspondence, 22 May 1974 from Trevor Kaye, Sub-Librarian.

²⁸Personal correspondence, 25 June 1974 from Dr. E. S. Leedham-Green, Assistant to the Keeper of the University Archives, The University Library, Cambridge.

Dr. Leedham-Green could not find any declamations of Praevaricators in the University Archives, either, although these were far more important speeches than the saltings because they were performed before

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the whole university and very important guests. Both were intended to be showpieces of burlesque wit.

²⁹Correspondence, Leedham-Green.

³⁰Reminiscences of Oxford, cited in OED.

Incidentally, Eric Partridge's A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional Usage (New York: Macmillan, 1961), lists this kind of ceremony as the third definition of the verb Salt: "Students' slang. To admit (a freshman in a university) with certain burlesque ceremonies, one of which was making him drink salt and water or putting salt in his mouth. Obs." One wonders when the beer got transmuted into water. Partridge is also the source of a delightful allusion from Chapman's play, May Day, 1611, II, i, 32: "I warrant you, Sir, I have not been matriculated at the Vniversity to be meretriculated by him: salted there to be colted here."

The custom of salting apparently crossed the Atlantic with the colonizing English and seems to have survived here longer than it did in England. There is a reference to "Salting the Freshman" annually at Dartmouth College, only here the ritual was corrupted to the "trick" of putting salt and water on the seats of the incoming students "so that their clothes are injured when they sit down" (Albert Barrere and Charles G. Leland, A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant (Ballantyne Press, 1890)).

³¹The French war was fought over wine although the British hoped to gain the valuable salt marshes of Rhé as well. Buckingham's forces planned to return home with French wines, then scarce in England, and with salt. Randolph refers to the wine situation in the concluding couplet of his grace: "Heaven send o^r Navy home againe / full of French wines. Amen, Amen." (ll. 91-92)

The scarcity and subsequent rapidly rising price of French wines were the result of the seizure in December 1626 of a fleet of two hundred English and Scottish vessels carrying the year's supply of wine by the Duke of Epernon, governor of Guienne, in reprisal for the British capture of French ships earlier. The French war began almost immediately after this capture of the fleet as it was sailing from Bordeaux. Unfortunately, in June 1627 Buckingham's forces had to leave behind the wines and the salt in their possession "and of a value . . . to answer much of our expense," according to Sir John Eliot in a speech before the house of Commons on June 3, 1628. "Speech on the Petition of Right," cited in Chauncey A. Goodrich, ed., Select British Eloquence (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), p. 5.

³²Kathryn A. McEuen, ed. of the prolusions, Complete Prose Works of John Milton, Don Wolfe, ed., Yale edition (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1953), I, 266. This work will be referred to hereafter as JMYPR.

³³John Venn and J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses (Cambridge:

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Cambridge Univ. Press, 1924).

³⁴Bowers, p. 275.

³⁵The unsuitably lavish attire of many aristocratic or wealthy students was the target not only of frequent royal statutes on dress decorum, but of many comedies of the times, including some of Randolph's.

³⁶OED

³⁷Bentley, III, 312-16.

³⁸Ll. 318-19, Thomas Randolph's Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery: A Critical Edition, Phyllis Brooks Toback, ed., Unpublished Dissertation, New York University, 1971.

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¹Bentley, V, 971-72.

²This, like several other non-scholarly reference works, is riddled through with many biographical and critical errors because it is based on the erratic, unscholarly introduction and headnotes to the last, 1875, edition of Randolph's works by W. C. Hazlitt.

³I, 2.

⁴"Introduction," Parry, p. 23.

⁵Joe Lee Davis, The Sons of Ben: Jonsonian Comedy in Caroline England (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 105-07.

⁶Davis, p. 106.

⁷Davis, p. 109.

⁸Davis, pp. 109-10.

⁹Davis, pp. 110-11.

¹⁰CHEL, VI (Part II), 261.

¹¹CHEL, VI (Part II), 261.

¹²Curtis, p. 129.

¹³Gilbert Harvey to Mr. Wood, Edward J. L. Scott, ed., Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573-1580, 1874, pp. 78-9, cited in Curtis, p. 128.

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¹⁴Walter E. Houghton, Jr., "The English Virtuoso," JHI, iii (1942), 66.

¹⁵Curtis, p. 129.

¹⁶Aristippus, 1630, p. 1; hereafter cited as Arist.

¹⁷Arist., p. 2.

¹⁸Arist., p. 3.

¹⁹Arist., p. 2.

²⁰Fletcher's Appendix on the lists of required or suggested readings of the various tutors in volume two are very informative on this score, and his commentary is excellent.

²¹Hazlitt, p. 28.

²²Rosalie L. Colie, The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance, Barbara K. Lewalski, ed. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973), p. 78.

²³Randolph was apparently the first to use this characternym which is usually thought the creation of H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen. His Simplicius Simplicissimus is the main character in the famous early picaresque novel, Simplicissimus the Vagabond, which was first published in 1669. Grimmelshausen was born one year before the probable date of production of Aristippus, 1626. Randolph may have invented this name by merely translating the characternym of Simple, Simplicius' prototype in an earlier Randolph play, The Drinking Academy. Samuel A. Tannenbaum and Hyder E. Rollins, eds., The Drinking Academy (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1930), p. x, have pointed out many similarities that this earlier show shares with The Jealous Lovers and Aristippus. Randolph, a Son of Ben, may have taken the obvious characternym Simple from Jonson, who used it in some of his plays too.

²⁴P. 7.

²⁵III, 265 n.

²⁶Oxford Companion to English Literature, 1969.

²⁷Davis, p. 108.

²⁸Pretty much the characterization is given Aristippus by Randolph's contemporary, Thomas Stanley, in what is believed to be the first history of philosophy in English. Stanley adds quite a few anecdotes along the same lines, and quite a bit more of biographical detail, The History of Philosophy (London, 4th ed., A. Miller, 1743).

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²⁹OED.

³⁰John Milton, Paradise Regained, The Minor Poems, and Samson Agonistes, Merritt Y. Hughes, ed. (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1937), p. 187 n. Hughes quotes Moore Smith on the resemblance. Other editors have been less circumspect in seeing Randolph's influence in this line.

³¹Colie, p. 78.

³²Day, p. 331.

³³Thomas Randolph, like Milton, wrote two semi-humorous epitaphs on Hobson's death.

³⁴Marvin T. Herrick, Tragicomedy, Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, No. 39 (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1955), pp. 37, 40.

³⁵Herrick, p. 38.

³⁶Herrick, pp. 17, 40.

³⁷Herrick, p. 20.

³⁸Moore Smith, CP, pp. 57, 60, respectively.

³⁹Herrick, p. 41.

⁴⁰Herrick, p. 40.

⁴¹Herrick, pp. 42-43.

⁴²Cyrus L. Day, "Thomas Randolph and The Drinking Academy," PMLA, 43 (1928), 800-01, hereafter referred to as Day, DA.

⁴³Day, DA, p. 801.

⁴⁴Day, DA, pp. 801-02.

⁴⁵Day, DA, p. 809. Day, going still further into the relationship among these scripts theorizes that The Drinking Academy may have been omitted from the early editions of Randolph's poems by his brother Robert, a very careful editor, because the subject "had been more fully and more skillfully treated in Aristippus and the first part of The Jealous Lovers." Day admits that this early, immature play "suffers, no doubt, by comparison with the brilliant Aristippus, or with Randolph's masterpiece, the pastoral Amyntas," but he believes it is "scarcely inferior to his other plays." He finds it "rather more satisfying in form than The Conceited Peddler" or even than the much-praised Muses' Looking Glass, which is admittedly no more than a series of dis-

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connected scenes." I vehemently disagree with Day's evaluation and description of Randolph's masterpiece, The Muses' Looking Glass. My reasons appear in the next chapter, which will contain an in-depth examination of this play.

In their introduction to their critical edition of The Drinking Academy, Samuel A. Tannenbaum and Hyder E. Rollins make a good case for Randolph's having written this play to be acted by the students of his old school, Westminster, if only its dating could be established as 1623-24, "Introduction," The Drinking Academy, p. xii.

Fredson Thayer Bowers established as the link between The Drinking Academy and another short play by Randolph, The Fary Knight, or Oberon the Second, of which Bowers was the first and only editor, the fact that they were companion manuscripts written in "the same three inks" on "identical paper," with "the cuts in the backs for the binding cords" matching precisely, and so presumably "bound together by the writer in the same volume," which was discovered in 1900 among David Garrick's books (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1942), pp. xiv-xv. I agree with those who hold that neither of these manuscripts is holographic, but it is possible that Randolph could have had these bound together anyway. At any rate, Bowers felt that "a good conjectural case can be made" for the Fary Knight's having been written by Randolph at Christmas 1622-24 for Westminster School, as the editors of The Drinking Academy had assumed, The Fary Knight, pp. xx, xxxiii.

I also agree with the similarity he found between "the mock drinking scene of The Fary Knight in which Spendall's soldiers toss off their pots at the military commend 'give fire,'" and the conception of the initiation ceremony in Aristippus, "itself reminiscent of The Tempest," as well as other resemblances he notes between these two Randolph works, The Fary Knight, p. xxiii.

⁴⁶Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses (Cambridge, 1927), Pt. I, vol. IV, 408.

⁴⁷This is the date Fuller gives. Moore Smith bases his redating, 1599-1600, of this comedy on internal evidence and "Fuller MS Jesus Coll.," CP, p. 65.

⁴⁸Fuller, History of the University of Cambridge, p. 1560.

⁴⁹John L. Parry, "A New Version of Randolph's ARISTIPPUS," MLN, 32 (1917), 351-52.

According to Parry, the main differences between the 1630 printed version and the MS one are primarily satiric, then-current references to Ben Jonson, to Olivares, the Spanish prime minister; his general Spinola; and his ambassador Gondomar, as well as to "such delicate subjects as the unsuccessful expedition against Cadiz and the King's many attempts to raise money." While such satire was appropriate, and often expected in a private college show, some of these might be considered offensive in print, while others, such as those referring to

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the strained relations between England and Spain because of the failure of the projected Spanish match, might no longer have been of interest by the time the show was printed in 1630, pp. 252-53.

⁵⁰Dated 1630 in Cooper's Annals, V, 380.

⁵¹Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary.

⁵²Frazer, ii, 60, cited in Chambers, I, 185.

⁵³Frazer, ii, 62, cited in Chambers, I, 185.

⁵⁴Alford, The Hobby Horse & Other Animal Masks (London: The Merlin Press, 1978), p. 210.

⁵⁵Alford, Introduction to English Folklore (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1952), p. 51.

⁵⁶Husband (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 4, 5, 13.

There is also another recent book devoted to a study of this character: The Wild Man Within: an Image of Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism, ed. by Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), but it was not helpful to my study.

⁵⁷Husband, p. 2.

⁵⁸Chambers, I, 186n.

⁵⁹Julia C. Dietrich has performed a great service by editing a most helpful annotated bibliography on folk drama: "Folk Drama Scholarship: The State of the Art," Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, University of Kansas: 19 (1976), 15-32.

After I had discovered the folk character of the wild man, I continued to pursue him in folk drama, where I immediately recognized the second half of Aristippus as an analogue of the mummers' play. Upon resuming my research with the help of Dietrich's bibliography, I was surprised and pleased to find on it an article concluding that in Aristippus, Randolph had revived the mummers' play on the university stage: Martin J. Walsh, "Thomas Randolph's Aristippus and the English Mummers' Play," Folklore 84 (1973), 157-59. Walsh concluded that Randolph's debt was in the character of the doctor and in the resurrection of Aristippus.

⁶⁰Chambers, I, 191-92.

⁶¹Chambers, I, 206-207.

⁶²Chambers, I, 203.

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⁶³Chambers, I, 207.

⁶⁴Alan Brody, The English Mummers and Their Plays: Traces of Ancient Mystery (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 4.

⁶⁵Brody, p. 5.

⁶⁶Brody, p. 17.

⁶⁷This definition is quoted by Samuel A. Tannenbaum and Hyder E. Rollins in their introduction to their text of The Drinking Academy, which has been shown to have been an earlier sketch for the prodigal-son elements of our show. Jonson is defining conjurer here to mean a scholar, which seems to be half of Randolph's meaning, since he means the word to be taken literally, too (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1930), p. xxiii.

⁶⁸Brody, p. 47.

⁶⁹Brody, p. 52.

⁷⁰Brody, p. 55.

⁷¹Brody, p. 55.

⁷²Brody, p. 57.

⁷³Brody, p. 133, quoted from the Netley Abbey Mummers' Play, given in full in Appendix A of his book.

⁷⁴Brody, p. 143, quoted from The Greatham Sword Dance Play, Appendix B of his book.

⁷⁵E. K. Chambers, The English Folk-Play (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 46.

⁷⁶Chambers, Folk-Play, pp. 75-76, from the Mylor Play.

⁷⁷Brody, Appendix B, pp. 143-44.

⁷⁸Brody, p. 47.

⁷⁹Brody, p. 59.

⁸⁰Brody, p. 59.

⁸¹Brody, p. 124.

⁸²Brody, p. 125.

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- ⁸³Parry, Arist., p. 351.
- ⁸⁴In The Works of Thomas Nashe, reedited by F. P. Wilson from the edition of Ronald B. McKerrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), III, 5-6.
- ⁸⁵Nashe, III, 33.
- ⁸⁶Nashe, III, 9.
- ⁸⁷McKerrow, "Introduction," Nashe, V, 107-08.
- ⁸⁸Nashe, V, 110.
- ⁸⁹Nashe, V, 107n.
- ⁹⁰Mentioned at the very beginning of the Dedication, Nashe, V, 5.
- ⁹¹Nashe, V, 6.
- ⁹²Nashe, V, 107.
- ⁹³Cal. to Cambr. Wills, 1501-1765 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1907), p. 51, cited in "Notes," Nashe, IV, 304n.
- ⁹⁴Nashe, III, 264-69.
- ⁹⁵Nashe, III, 136.
- ⁹⁶Nashe, III, 136.
- ⁹⁷Nashe, V, 72.
- ⁹⁸Davis, p. 106.
- ⁹⁹Davis, p. 106.
- ¹⁰⁰Davis, p. 106.
- ¹⁰¹Davis, p. 107.
- ¹⁰²Davis, p. 107.

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- ¹George Saintsbury, A History of Elizabethan Literature (London: Macmillan, 1905), p. 413.

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²Thomas John Charles Dibdin, A Complete History of the Stage (London, Dibdin, c. 1800), IV, 47.

³I shall not consider The Drinking Academy and The Fary Knight, early plays probably written for performance at Westminster School, the writing of which served as his dramatic apprenticeship. I shall also ignore Cornelianum Dolium, a Latin comedy published in 1638, which has been frequently attributed to Randolph because the author's initials only (T.R.) appear on the title page. Bentley, V, 96 found the attribution "dubious," and I believe that no one has examined the text carefully enough for me to decide on this point.

⁴G. C. Moore Smith, "The Canon of Randolph's Dramatic Works," RES 1 (July 1925), 310-11.

⁵Clifford Leech, "Francis Jaques, Author of The Queene of Corsica," Durham University Journal, 39 (1947), 111-19.

⁶Bentley, V, 980-82.

⁷Cyrus L. Day, "Thomas Randolph's Part in the Authorship of Hey for Honesty," PMLA 12 (1926), 328, 334.

Phyllis Brooks Toback went further into this problem of separating Randolph's basic play from F. J.'s additions in her critical edition of this play, an unpublished doctoral dissertation. She found that the changes made by F. J. were somewhat more complex than Dr. Day's findings.

⁸Moore Smith, Thomas Randolph, pp. 14-15.

⁹Bentley, V, 966-67.

¹⁰Bentley, V, 968, 970.

¹¹Walter W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1910), pp. 264, 283.

¹²Greg, pp. 286-87.

¹³Greg, pp. 287-89.

¹⁴Greg, p. 289.

¹⁵Herrick, pp. 165-66.

¹⁶Herrick, p. 169.

¹⁷Slightly varying accounts of the contention over the precedence of the comedies, their reception, and Dr. Butts' suicide and its

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possible causes may be found in Fuller's History of Cambridge University; Charles H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, iii, 249-52; Mullinger's History of Cambridge University, pp. 108-09; Masson, Life of Milton, II, 253; Moore Smith, Thomas Randolph; J. Q. Adams, "Peter Hausted's The Rivall Friends, with Some Account of the Other Works," JEGP, 11 (1912), 433-49.

¹⁸A letter in the State Paper Office endorsed Relations of the manner of the death of Dr. Butts, quoted by Masson, p. 255, cited by Adams, pp. 434-35.

¹⁹Adams, p. 435. The dedication of this play was extremely sarcastic, and the long preface is a strident protestation.

²⁰Adams, p. 433.

²¹Adams, p. 439.

²²Adams, p. 433.

²³The Rival Friends, Indiana Publications, Humanities Series No. 23 (1951). For a more favorable account of Hausted's play than that by Adams or me, see Laurens J. Mills, Peter Hausted, Playwright, Poet, and Preacher, Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series No. 12 (Bloomington, 1944), pp. 17-37, and Mills' introduction to his edition of the play, pp. xi-xvi.

²⁴Bayne, p. 261.

²⁵Greg, p. 296.

²⁶Saintsbury, 413-14.

²⁷Dibdin, IV, 48.

²⁸For more on the importance of Aristotle in seventeenth-century Cambridge, see Costello, pp. 9-10 and *passim*; Mark H. Curtis, pp. iii, 229, 250; and Fletcher, II, Appendix.

²⁹The Muses Looking-glasse, from Poems by Thomas Randolph (Oxford, Leonard Lichfield, 1638), I.iv.

³⁰Bentley, V, 1430-32.

³¹Bentley, VI, 1431.

³²These texts are from Hazlitt, II, 587.

³³These genre divisions are the same as those used by Thomas

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Godwyn in his very popular textbook, Romanae historiae anthologia, "obviously much used at both universities," which went through seventeen editions between 1614-38, according to Fletcher, II, Appendix I, p. 591.

Cyrus L. Day stated that Godwyn's classification "was probably based . . . on Scaliger's Poetics." Nevertheless Day made a major point of the fact that, while Randolph was "doubtless" familiar with both these works, the drama division was "an uncommon one." He also argued that "the probable date of Randolph's alterations renders" the direct influence of Prynne's identical classification "a more plausible hypothesis than coincidence" ("Randolph and Prynne," Modern Philology, xxix (1932), 349-50).

³⁴The Muses Looking-Glasse, by T. R. (Oxford, Leonard Lichfield, 1638), I.i, opening stage directions. I shall indicate references to this edition of the play in the text hereafter.

I have here omitted, and shall continue not to follow italics in the original which are not required today.

³⁵Elbert N. S. Thompson, The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage, XX, Yale Studies in English, Albert S. Cook, ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1903), p. 233.

³⁶I have numbered consecutively the lines in each act.

³⁷Cyrus L. Day, "Randolph and Prynne," p. 350.

³⁸Day, R & P, p. 349. I know that all later editions of this play are based on this 1638 edition because I have collated virtually all editions of this play.

F. J. Fleay, A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), II, 167, first called attention to these later allusions.

³⁹"The Muse's Looking-Glass," The Ancient British Drama, Sir Walter Scot, ed. (London: Wm. Miller, 1810), p. 399n.

⁴⁰Day, pp. 349-50.

⁴¹An olla podrida is simply a highly-spiced stew, which has since come to mean an olio, a medley or miscellaneous collection, perhaps as a result of Randolph's using the term in this way. He often coined neologisms, which later found their way into the language. Examples of these appear often in the OED despite the comparatively small corpus of his writing.

⁴²Hazlitt, I, 174.

⁴³Hazlitt, I, 177.

⁴⁴Hazlitt, I, 174.

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⁴⁵For background on Aristotle's virtues, I have used quite extensively J. A. Stewart, Notes on the Nichomachean Ethics of Aristotle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), I, 282; II, 1-458.

⁴⁶I am indebted for background in most of this section to Benjamin Boyce's The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947).

⁴⁷Moore Smith, CP, p. 4.

⁴⁸Moore Smith, CP, pp. 9, 49-72.

⁴⁹Boyce, p. 12.

⁵⁰Boyce, p. 15.

⁵¹Aristotle, Rhetoric, I, vii (1366a), cited in Boyce, p. 15.

⁵²Boyce, p. 15.

⁵³Boyce, pp. 20-22.

⁵⁴Boyce, p. 44.

⁵⁵Boyce, pp. 44-5.

⁵⁶Boyce, p. 45.

⁵⁷Boyce, p. 53.

⁵⁸Boyce, p. 18.

⁵⁹Boyce, p. 8.

⁶⁰The Works of Ben Jonson (Boston, 1855), p. 126.

⁶¹Every Man Out of His Humor, Works of B. J., p. 125.

⁶²Boyce, pp. 5-6.

⁶³Boyce, p. 306.

⁶⁴Boyce, p. 307.

⁶⁵Boyce, pp. 311-12.

⁶⁶The names from Theophrastus are from Theophrastus, The Character Sketches, trans. Warren Anderson (Kent, Ohio: Kent Univ. Press, 1970).

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⁶⁷W. Roy Mackenzie's categories of plot and subjects of the older morality plays were helpful to me. The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1914).

⁶⁸Dibdin, pp. 51-52.

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¹McEuen, I, 274.

²Phyllis B. and E. M. W. Tillyard, eds., Milton: Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises (Cambridge: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. xxx.

³Harris Francis Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton. The Cambridge University Period, 1625-32 (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1901), II, 444.

⁴Like Randolph's Praevarication at Milton's MA commencement in 1632. This Latin burlesque is printed only in Hazlitt.

⁵Tillyard, p. xxx.

⁶David Masson, The Life of John Milton: Narrated in Connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of His Time. 7 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1859-94), I, 290.

⁷Hughes, p. 112, n. 1.

⁸John T. Shawcross, ed., The Complete English Poetry of John Milton (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1963), p. 112, n.

⁹JMYPR, I, 265.

¹⁰John M. Berlan, ed., Poems of John Cleveland (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1911), p. 16.

Berlan probably referred to the festivities as revels because it seems a matter of common knowledge (cf. Boas, University Drama, p. 9, cited in G. C. Moore Smith, College Plays, p. 18; Moore Smith; and Frazer's Golden Bough) that the Cambridge colleges had Lords of Misrule known in the various colleges as the Christmas Lord or Rex Fabarum, Trinity Lord or Imperator or Dominus Ludorum from at least the last quarter of the fifteenth to well into the seventeenth century (Moore Smith, pp. 17-23).

¹¹Berlan, p. 16.

¹²For more on the role of the Father in the Public School orations, see Costello, p. 17, and Curtis, p. 90.

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The early seventeenth century saw the beginning of the ever-increasing role of the individual colleges in the education of its students. The gradual eclipse of the university, the Public Schools, as a teaching institution began at this time.

¹³Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington, eds., The Poems of John Cleveland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. xv.

¹⁴Fletcher, II, 52.

¹⁵JMYPR, I, 283.

¹⁶JMYPR, I, 266.

¹⁷William Riley Parker, Milton, A Biography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), II, 739-40, n. 55.

¹⁸JMYPR, I, 267.

¹⁹Fletcher, II, 445-46.

²⁰OED.

²¹JMYPR, I, 278.

²²I am indebted to Miss E. S. Leedham-Green, Assistant to the Keeper of the University Archives, The University Library, University of Cambridge, for her help, particularly for compiling a list of all those who matriculated from Christ's College from July 1626 through December 1628 "from the relevant register (Matr. 2) and from the college slips collected by the then Registrary (Matr. 6) . . . The register presents the lists in three columns, distinguishing between the three classes usually referred to as Fellow Commoners, Pensioners, and Sizar. They paid fees for matriculation of two shillings, one shilling, and fourpence, respectively."

Unless otherwise specified, all students mentioned in this section on Milton's salting and further identified in these footnotes were in this group.

²³JMYPR, I, 278-79, n. 46.

²⁴JMYPR, I, 278.

²⁵Edward Furnice, matriculated Sizar, 13 July 1628.

²⁶Telamueth, or Talmache, Castle, Fellow Commoner, 15 December 1626.

²⁷JMYPR, I, 279.

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- ²⁸Samuel Porter, Pensioner, 15 December 1626.
- ²⁹JMYPR, I, 277, n. 42.
- ³⁰OED.
- ³¹OED.
- ³²To illustrate, Fletcher's list of tutors at Christ's College in Milton's time includes Francis Cooke, the son of Sir Francie Coke, whose name, I presume, was the same as his father's, Fletcher, II, 30.
- ³³George Cocke, 13 July 1628 as Pensioner.
- ³⁴James Cookson, Pensioner, 5 July 1627.
- ³⁵Jeffery Love, Pensioner, 5 July 1627.
- ³⁶Joseph Lovett, Sizar, 7 April 1628.
- ³⁷JMYPR, I, 279.
- ³⁸"That smoking was not unknown in College halls at the performance of plays appears from a decree of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads in 1607 by which punishments were appointed for taking tobacco: in any dining hall or colleges or at any other time and place of comedies or publick university tragedies shews or assemblies. (Cooper, Ann. III, 28, cited in Moore Smith, p. 43)
- ³⁹Could the blazing staff be a pipe, too, and is it too fanciful to try to identify this hellish dog with William Basit, Pensioner, 17 March 1626/27, or, by punning on the similarity between canis, dog, and canus, gray or ash-colored, the two Graye boys, Robert and Edward, who could supply two mouths anyway?
- ⁴⁰Moore Smith, p. 32.
- ⁴¹Fletcher, II, 451.
- ⁴²Fletcher, II, 451.
- ⁴³JMYPR, I, 280.
- ⁴⁴The hyperbole of using incredibly large round numbers was a characteristic of the mock oration.
- ⁴⁵Thomas Cooper, Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae (London: unpubl., 1578), a late sixteenth century Latin-English dictionary which was still in use in Milton's day, according to Fletcher. Later Latin

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dictionaries translate the word as the female goat, the ewe.

⁴⁶ Francis Capell, Fellow Commoner, 17 March 1626/27.

⁴⁷ JMYPR, I, 281.

⁴⁸ Henry Massingberd, Fellow Commoner, 5 July 1627. Was he the reason they "nest in the same place," massed or massing?

⁴⁹ Thomas Bird, Pensioner, 14 December 1627, and Samuel Bird, Pensioner, 17 December, 1628.

⁵⁰ JMYPR, I, 281.

⁵¹ Jeremiah Goose, Pensioner, 5 July 1627.

⁵² JMYPR, I, 281.

⁵³ JMYPR, I, 283.

⁵⁴ JMYPR, I, 284.

⁵⁵ JMYPR, I, 281.

⁵⁶ Bowers, pp. 277-78.

⁵⁷ Randolph wrote at greater length on the Predicaments in his play, Aristippus, as well, in the same comic style used in the saltings. This play was probably presented at Trinity College in 1626, when it is quite possible that Milton saw it. Academic jokes such as these, which are based on rhetorical terms, are common in many of Randolph's works, and Milton might possibly have had the passage from Aristippus in the back of his mind when he was planning his salting strategy:

Aristip. Sacke, Clarret, Malmsey, White-wine and Hipocras are your fiue Predicables, and Tobacco your individuū, your Money is your substance, full cups your quantity, good Wine your quality, your Relation is in good company, your action is beating, which produceth another predicament in the Drawers, called passion, your quando is midnight, your ubi the Dolphin [a tavern in the town of Cambridge], your situs leaning, your habitus carousing, afterclaps are your post predicaments, your priorums breaking of iests, your posteriorums of glasses, false bills are your fallacies, the shot is subtilis obiectio, and the discharging of it is vera solutio, seuerall humours are your moodes, and figures, where quarta figura, or gallons must not be neglected, your drinking is in Syllogismes, Where a pottle is the maior terminus, and a pinte the minor, a quart the medium, beginning of healths are the premisses, and pledging the conclusion, for it must not be diuided, Topicks or common places are the Tauernes, and Hamon, Wolfe, and Farlowes

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[tavern-keepers in the town} are the three best Tutors in the Vniuersities. (ARISTIPPUS, p. 15).

The play, like many works of other gentlemen of the time, was then published anonymously, but was credited to Randolph later, and subsequent editions appeared with his name. Both this play and The Conceited Pedlar, almost always printed together, and licensed with one fee, are accepted in the canon of his works by all his editors.

In this speech Aristippus is delivering a lecture to his "students" in the tavern in which he has taken residence on parallels between taverns and universities, quibbling on Aristotle's predicaments and other rhetorical terms.

⁵⁸JMYPR, I, 286, n.

⁵⁹JMYPR, I, 286. The overleaping seems to be another sal pun on Saltus, a leap or sudden transition, or Saltation, a dancing or leaping.

⁶⁰George and Nizell Rivers, Pensioners, 13 July 1628.

⁶¹In these lines Milton might have intended references to the following Sons:

"golphie Dun," l. 92, may refer to Thomas Dan, Pensioner, 5 July 1627, or one of the Graye brothers, Robert or Edward, mentioned earlier, since dun is a grayish-brown color.

"th' indented Meads," l. 93, could be a reference to Robert and Richard Meade, both Sizar, Robert, 15 December 1626, Richard 5 July 1627, and could even include Joseph Mead, who served as fellow at Christ's College from 1613 until his death in 1638 (Fletcher, II, 32).

The missing English prose section that Milton only indicates doubtlessly includes references to the other Predicaments not dealt with by line 100, the end of the poem: Quantity, Quality, Place (perhaps Christopher Hall, Sizar, 6 July 1626; the above-mentioned Telamueth Castle; or Richard Marsh, Pensioner, 17 March 1626/27); Time (Godfrey Winter, who matriculated 28 January 1630, shortly before he proceeded B.A., but had probably been at Christ's College all along?), Posture, Possession, Action (Christopher Shute, Pensioner, 5 July 1627; Thomas Taylor, Pensioner, 5 July 1627; William Archer, Pensioner, 5 July 1627; or Adam Hunt, Sizar, 5 July 1627?) and Passion (Jeffery Love, Pensioner, 5 July 1627?).

⁶²Roger and Edward King, Pensioners, 6 July 1626. According to Fletcher, who quotes the entry in the college admission book, they were admitted to the college June 9, 1620 (II, 508). They may have begun their residence at Cambridge anytime between then and the beginning of

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the Michaelmas Term, 10 October 1626. Students usually matriculated some time between the date of admission and the beginning of Michaelmas Term. See the note on Godfrey Winter above for a more puzzling matriculation entry.

Edward King's having been Milton's Son might bring their relationship of subject and author of Lycidas, somewhat closer.

⁶³Shawcross, p.

⁶⁴See first half of note 61 above.

⁶⁵See remainder of note 61 above.

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