SHAKESPEARE'S SATIRE OF THE LITERARY
AND THEATRICAL MILIEU, 1593-1603

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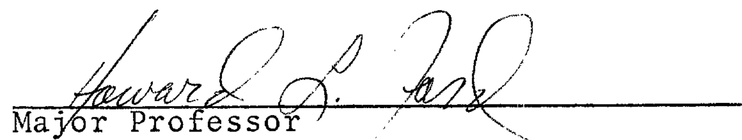
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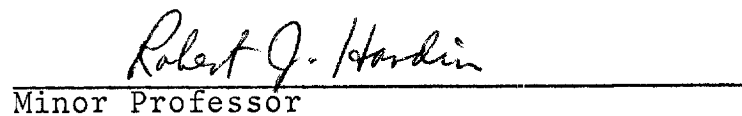
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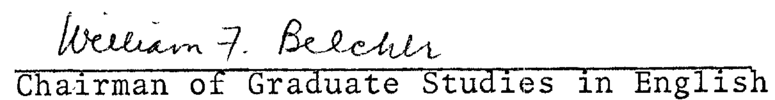
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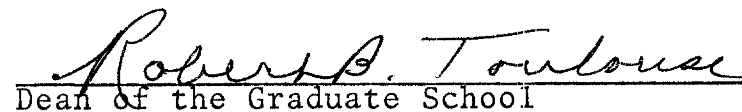
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The purpose of this study is to investigate the evidence of Shakespeare's satire in certain plays written during the years 1593-1603. The study examines only the satire which deals with other writers and actors and events that are connected in some way with the theater. Although there have been investigations into Shakespeare's satire by such scholars as Richard David, Arthur Quiller-Couch, John Dover Wilson, E. A. J. Honigmann, Francis A. Yates, Leslie Hotson, and others, nowhere has this material been drawn together into a single study.

This thesis is organized into six chapters. The introduction discusses the general development of satire and the problems in Elizabethan London that were instrumental in developing the mood that found its expression in satire.

The second chapter investigates the satire in Love's Labour's Lost, the most satirical of Shakespeare's plays. Satire in the play is aimed at the Martin Marprelate controversy and the quarrel which developed between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe. In the play Nashe is satirized through the character of Moth, and Harvey is reflected in both Armado, the braggart, and Holofernes, the pedant. Much satire in the play is aimed at Sir Walter Raleigh and the

group of mathematicians, astronomers, and poets who made up Raleigh's atheistic "School of Night." The poet of Raleigh's school, George Chapman, and the mathematician, Thomas Harriot, are also satirized in the play. Harriot is satirized through the character of Holofernes, although another theory suggests that Holofernes is actually a caricature of John Florio, a teacher of Italian and author of a dictionary, _Worlde of Words_.

The third chapter investigates the lives of William Gardiner and his stepson, William Wayte, enemies of Shakespeare, who are satirized in _II Henry IV_ and _The Merry Wives of Windsor_ in the characters of Justice Shallow and Slender. These two plays, in addition to _Henry V_, also provide satire of Shakespeare's contemporary, Ben Jonson, through the character of Nym, who constantly prates of his humors. Jonson may have been further satirized in the Welsh soldier, Fluellen, the premiere classicist of _Henry V_. Another contemporary, Edward Alleyn, is reflected in the character of Pistol in _II Henry IV_, _Henry V_, and _The Merry Wives of Windsor_.

Chapter IV discusses the satire in _Troilus and Cressida_ which concentrates on the war of the theaters and contemporaries of Shakespeare who were involved in it. Ben Jonson is seen again in this play, in the character of Ajax; and another contemporary involved in the stage quarrel, John Marston, is reflected in the character of Thersites. Further satire of George Chapman and his translation of the _Iliad_ is also seen in the play.

Chapter IV discusses one other bit of theatrical satire, found in King John, in which Shakespeare satirizes a well-known quarrel that occurred between one James Burbage and the widow of his brother-in-law, John Brayne. There are several parallels between the Burbage quarrel and certain incidents in the play.

This study concludes that Shakespeare was a very practical man, deeply involved in all aspects of his craft, and as a capable business man, he capitalized on those elements that would please an audience, and during the years 1593-1603, satire was very popular. Thus, in several of Shakespeare's plays, a character appears who has certain traits or peculiarities of some well-known Elizabethan figure. Shakespeare's satire has resulted in the creation of some very interesting characters, such as Justice Shallow, Pistol, Fluellen, Armado, and many others.

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THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Patricia Pitner Kelsoe, B.A.
Denton, Texas
December, 1971

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The majority of the satiric plays of William Shakespeare were written during the last decade of the reign of Elizabeth. These were the years in which the non-dramatic satires of such major figures as John Donne, Joseph Hall, and John Marston began to appear. During this period satire in the drama was also of growing interest to the Elizabethan audience, with the satiric plays of such men as Shakespeare, Marston and Ben Jonson achieving before the end of the Queen's reign a pronounced vogue.[1] Elizabethan theatre audiences were delighted by the use of satire, personal identification, or burlesque. They enjoyed all kinds of satire, whether it were politcal or religious, social or theatrical.[2]

Undoubtedly the satire of the 1590's was a result of the same factors which were ultimately to create the Jacobean tone of pessimism and skepticism; that is, Shakespeare's satire and the general development of satire were symptomatic of the feelings of fear and disillusionment that steadily increased during Elizabeth's last years. If satire does

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[1]Robert Boies Sharpe, The Real War of the Theatres (London, 1934), p. 135.

[2]Ibid., pp. 134-136.

indeed flourish in a time when a society becomes aware of its failures, then there was much in the last decade of Elizabeth's career to provide the background for an age of satire. At least three major factors contributed to the uncertainty and dissatisfaction of Englishmen. One problem was the question of Elizabeth's successor. Educated Englishmen knew of the horrors that had occurred during the War of the Roses and had vivid memories of the more recent problems following the death of Henry VIII. Memories of the chaotic changes from reformation to reaction in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary were still vivid. Because Elizabeth had no heir, there were several claimants to the throne, although none had any general support. Furthermore Elizabeth allowed no debate on the subject. Thus, the uncertainty created by the question of Elizabeth's successor was an important cause of the unrest in the country.[3]

Another factor that contributed to the dissatisfaction in England was the continuous fear of invasion by Spain. Although history has shown that the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 was decisive, Englishmen were fearful that the attempted invasion was only "a prelude to greater dangers."[4] The popular notion that peace reigned in England after the defeat of the Spanish Armada is untrue: actually in the decade after the

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[3]Harley Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, editors, A Companion to Shakespeare Studies (Cambridge, 1964), p. 176.

[4]G. B. Harrison, editor, Shakespeare: The Complete Works (New York, 1948), p. 28.

Armada Englishmen passed through as great a period of anxiety and unrest as any in their history.[5] As late as 1597 an expedition to raid the coast of Spain was prepared. However, this expedition, under the command of the Earl of Essex, was not successful. In the meantime there was a threat of danger at home, for it was learned that a new Spanish Armada was at sea; but luckily it was scattered by a tempest before reaching the coast of England.[6]

Although the question of Elizabeth's successor and the constant fear of invasion were major problems, perhaps the greatest problem facing Englishmen was the religious turmoil that was very evident during this period. Political parties did not yet exist, and the theory of the state was based upon the interpretation of Christian doctrine. Thus, the three main forms of religion--Catholic, Established Church, and Puritan--expressed considerably different views of the social order. The accepted theory saw the Queen as ruling under God's special blessing, and she was the supreme head of Church and State. The idea that the social order must be based on the will of God was accepted by both the Puritans and the Catholics; however, both felt that the Established Church was anti-Christian. The government regarded the Catholics as the greater danger. In 1570 Pope Pius V had excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, thus absolving Catholics from duties of allegiance

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[5] _Ibid._, pp. 29-30.

[6] _Ibid._, pp. 28-29.

to her; and it was a matter of much concern to Elizabeth's supporters whether Catholics would fight for or against the Queen if there were to be an invasion. While it was feared that the Catholics might ally with the Queen's enemies abroad, there was much concern that Puritans might cause a social revolution at home. Extreme Puritans felt that the Bible was the only expression of God's will, and thus expressed "violent and alarming theories of the State." They proposed a type of democracy in which their "Church was to be organized in local elderships, and thence to distinct Conferences, Provincial Synods and finally a National Synod which should have supreme power, even over the sovereign." Further, Puritans held that the Church of England was unchristian and could not be tolerated by a good Englishman.[7] Elizabeth and her ministers felt that the views of the Puritans were alarming and revolutionary and should be suppressed.[8]

In addition to the three major sources of discord in England during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, there were, of course, other problems. One of these was the romantic, flamboyantly brave, and ambitious Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who for a period of ten years before his death, was the most conspicuous figure in England next to Elizabeth herself. For a time he was a great favorite in Court, and the

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[7]Granville-Barker and Harrison, pp. 172-175.

[8]Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 22.

Queen granted him excessive favors, which he regarded as his rightful due.[9] His popularity with the Queen became so great that one courtier, in writing of Essex's relationship with Elizabeth, said that "When she is abroad nobody is near her but my Lord of Essex; and at night my Lord is at cards, or one game or another with her, till the birds sing in the morning."[10] The relationship of Essex and the Queen was of great interest to Elizabethans.

Perhaps further tension was created by the perpetual rivalry between Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh for the favor of Elizabeth. Raleigh was the reigning favorite of Elizabeth from 1582 to 1592.[11] However, the arrival of Essex in 1587 and his rapid rise in Elizabeth's esteem was very significant in coloring the future fortunes of Raleigh. With the arrival of Essex in Court, "Raleigh became jealous and alarmed, and Essex was childishly intolerant of the older favourite."[12] Further, it is generally believed that Essex was responsible for Raleigh's temporary retirement from Court. Sir Francis Allen wrote on August 17, 1589, that "My Lord of Essex hath

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[9]Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[10]Martin A. S. Hume, Sir Walter Raleigh: The British Dominion of the West (New York, 1926), p. 37.

[11]M. C. Bradbrook, The School of Night (Cambridge, 1936), p. 4.

[12]Philip Magnus, Sir Walter Raleigh (New York, 1956), pp. 44-45.

chased Mr. Raleigh from the Court and hath confined him unto Ireland."[13] However, no matter what favor the Queen showed Essex, "it was gall to him if 'that knave Raleigh,' as he called him, shared the favor of the Queen."[14] The rivalry between these two men became so intense that in the autumn of 1588 a duel was arranged between them, although it was prevented by the Privy Council.[15] The differences between Raleigh and Essex were often temporarily settled, but they were in fact rivals to the very end.[16] The manifestation of this rivalry was seen in several ways. For example, a literary war developed between Raleigh and other members of his atheistic school (dubbed by Shakespeare as the "School of Night") and Essex and his faction.[17] In addition to this literary war, the rivalry between Raleigh and Essex resulted in their continuous maneuvering for Elizabeth's favor. The rivalry continued in this manner for many years with each man attempting to gain some advantage over the other. The decline in one rival's fortune seemed to indicate a rise in the situation of the other. For example, Raleigh's sudden and very necessary marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of Elizabeth's

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[13]Ibid., p. 45.

[14]Hume, p. 37.

[15]Magnus, p. 45.

[16]Walter Oakeshott, The Queen and the Poet (London, 1960), p. 65.

[17]Bradbrook, p. 7.

Maids of Honor, in 1592, brought down on Raleigh's head a "torrent of the royal fury," and Raleigh was not fully forgiven for five years.[18] This slip by Raleigh was no doubt applauded by Essex. However, even with Raleigh in the background, the relationship between Essex and Elizabeth was at best uneasy. There were frequent quarrels and emotional reconciliations. The climax of their relationship came in 1598 in a disagreement concerning a competent commander for an expedition to Ireland. From this point on the fortunes of Essex began to fail, until on February 19, 1601, Essex and his friend, the Earl of Southampton, were tried for high treason and condemned to death. Although Southampton was reprieved, Essex was beheaded six days later.[19] Raleigh, as Captain of the Guard, was present at Essex's execution. However, he was forced to watch from a distance because the populace at this time hated Raleigh, feeling that Essex was being sacrificed to his intrigues.[20]

Although in retrospect it appears that Essex was not a great man, "his death caused a vast wave of feeling in England. His rise and fall was not merely the story of one man's folly and ruin. It affected the nation more deeply than any event

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[18]Magnus, p. 55.

[19]Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 24.

[20]Hume, p. 158.

since the Great Armada."[21] Thus, the fall of Essex was one of the major factors which engendered emotions of bitterness and disillusionment among Englishmen. Causes for the pervading mood of melancholy were complex and are difficult to analyze. The mood appeared in many forms, and there were few writers of importance who failed to notice it. The most prominent expression of this complex mood of melancholy may be best seen in the satires of the period.[22]

Non-dramatic satire developed along several lines. The Nashe-Harvey quarrel was medieval in nature, resembling in part the Scottish flytings. The works of Sir John Harrington show the influence of Rabelais. Other works illustrated the revival of classical, cynical satire; Joseph Hall, in Vergideriarum Libre, and John Marston, in The Scourge of Villanie, used the bitter satire of Juvenal and Martial as their model. The tone of these English satirists was caustic, and their philosophy was extremely cynical.[23]

The quantity of Elizabethan satire and the nature of it increased to such objectionable extents that in 1599 the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London ordered that no more of the works of Hall, Marston, and certain other satirists

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[21]Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 24.

[22]Granville-Barker and Harrison, pp. 179-180.

[23]Sharpe, pp. 134-136.

should be printed, that books by Harvey and Nashe should be burned, and that no satire or epigrams should thereafter be printed.[24] But by this time, the literary satires had begun to influence the drama.

Marston had moved into the theater, and his dramatic satires were highly cynical. They show a rather morbid interest in vice and perversion; the lines of the madmen and fools consist almost entirely of railing, and the mood of the hero is cynical melancholy, showing his dissatisfaction with the world. This type of satiric content was quite popular in plays written around the time of the Poetomachia, 1599-1602,[25] in which Marston, incidentally, was involved.

Another type of comedy also took over some of the modes of formal satire. This was the social satire on manners which is seen in the "humour" comedies of George Chapman and Ben Jonson. Generally the tone in this type of satire is light and frivolous rather than serious or bitter and is much like the comedy of manners. The most outstanding examples of this mode are Jonson's Every Man in his Humour and Chapman's A Humourous Day's Mirth. Humour characters are also evident in many of the plays of Shakespeare. For example, Love's Labour's Lost, As You Like It, and Twelfth Night have many characters who are humourous by Elizabethan definition.

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[24] Harold N. Hillbrand, editor, Troilus and Cressida: A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare (London, 1953), pp. 382-383.

[25] Sharpe, p. 135.

The development of dramatic satire during this period actually had begun with two types: the social-economic and the religious-ethical. The first is seen in such plays as The Cobbler's Prophecy and A Knack to Know a Knave, and perhaps also includes Cloth Breeches and Velvet Hose. Of the religious-ethical type The Seven Deadly Sins and A Looking Glass for London, and perhaps Seven Days of the Week, are representative. The next form of satire was political; and in the great series of history plays which culminated in Shakespeare's Henry V, the Chamberlain's company "affected incidentally an aristocratic and genealogical method of personal-political satire."[26] More obvious and personal satire is seen in such plays as The Mack, Paradox, and The Tinker of Totness. Also in this list is The Isle of Dogs, which caused the downfall of Pembroke's company, a major acting group of the time.[27]

The growing popularity of this cynical type of satire, when added to the gloomy situation in politics and drama, soon had its influence on Shakespeare.[28] As far as the question of Shakespeare as a writer of personal satire is concerned, it is important to remember that Shakespeare was a man of his times. He was very influential in the drama, and as a playwright he had to be interested in what went on around him. He may not

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[26] Ibid., p. 134.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., p. 136.

have been interested in politics as an individual, but as an actor he served partisan patrons and catered to partisan audiences. Sharpe says:

> As for Shakespeare, everything we know about his life, his associations, his ways of working, shows him as a practical and adaptable, not an egoistic, Art-for-Art's-sake person--rather as the solid type of man who might be relied upon to be loyal to his fellows' interests, whether these interests restrained in him a flaming desire to allegorize Elizabethan politics (which I do not believe he had), or urged him (as I believe they did) to give them in each new play one or two characters whose resemblance to contemporary figures might be safely on the hither side of libel, and yet sufficient to start that profitable sort of gossip which would swell the audience; and perhaps also a few of those political generalizations the Elizabethans so loved, which might have the same effect. . . . It is my belief that the politics and personalities in Shakespeare's dramas derive naturally from his loyalties.[29]

The loyalties of Shakespeare would be to his personal patron, his company's patron, his fellow shareholders, and his audience. Therefore, is it not possible that the character of Falstaff, for example, though originally sketched as the Elizabethan braggart soldier, would have enough identification with the historical Oldcastle and the contemporary Cobham to cause great delight to the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, and the Earl's friend, Essex, whose dislike of Cobham antedated 1597?[30]

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

The most significant period for Shakespeare's satire appears to fall during the years 1593 to 1603. Therefore, this study will examine the evidence of satire in certain of his plays that were written during this period. The satire that shall be investigated concerns only Shakespeare's fellow-actors, contemporary writers, and certain events that in some way involve the theater. The plays that will be examined include _Love's Labour's Lost_, _I Henry IV_, _II Henry IV_, _Henry V_, _The Merry Wives of Windsor_, _Hamlet_, _King John_, and _Troilus and Cressida_.

This discussion of Shakespeare's satire will cover a number of prominent people of the period. _Love's Labour's Lost_ satirizes the famous quarrel between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe. It also contains satire of such figures as George Chapman, Sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Harriot, and other persons in the atheistic School of Night. In addition, this play satirizes John Florio, Protestant tutor of the Earl of Southampton, and at least one notable Italian visitor to English shores, Giordano Bruno. The Falstaff plays present satire of a certain justice of the peace, William Gardiner, and of his stepson, William Wayte. The Falstaff plays and _Henry V_ also contain satire of a famous rival writer to Shakespeare's company, Edward Alleyn. _Troilus and Cressida_ again reveals satire of Ben Jonson and George Chapman and also includes some satire of John Marston, another prominent writer of the period.

For this study of Shakespeare's varied satires it is necessary to review several incidents or issues which developed during Shakespeare's time and which established the foundation for much of the satire examined in this study. These incidents include three famous ones: the Martin Marprelate controversy, the Nashe-Harvey quarrel, and the War of the Theaters. They also include a quarrel which involved Shakespeare and his friend Frances Langley on one hand and William Gardiner and William Wayte on the other. The study will also take note of a theatrical quarrel which occurred between James Burbage, the leader of Shakespeare's company, and the widow of his brother-in-law, John Brayne, as well as several other events occurring between 1593 and 1603 which might have contributed in some measure to the satire found in Shakespeare's plays.

CHAPTER II

SATIRE IN *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*

The play by Shakespeare which perhaps affords the best opportunity for an examination of satire, contemporary identification, or topicality is *Love's Labour's Lost*. As a general rule Shakespeare did not use a great amount of personal allusion or topicality in his writing; however, this play contains a large number of allusions, many of which a modern reader would find impossible to understand if he failed to examine the events and people that were important during Shakespeare's times and that may have influenced him in the writing of this play.

If it were possible for the modern scholar to judge the date that this play was written more positively, many of the allusions and personal identifications could be discussed with more certainty. However, the date of the writing of *Love's Labour's Lost* remains a greatly disputed matter, with scholarly guesses ranging from 1588 to 1596.[1] An examination of the external and internal evidence may aid in more clearly pinpointing the date of this play. As far as external evidence is concerned, references to the play occurred in

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[1]G. B. Harrison, editor, *Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (New York, 1952), p. 395.

Frances Meres' Palladis Tamia in 1598 and in Robert Tofte's Alba, also dated 1598. In Alba the wording is:

> Loues Labour Lost, I once did see a Play
> Ycleped so, so called to my paine.

It is possible that the "once" refers to some time long before the time of writing. An examination of the internal evidence reveals that the style is lyrical and contains echoes of Shakespeare's non-dramatic poems, especially The Rape of Lucrece, dated 1594, and the sonnets. There is much resemblance in both thought and expression between the "Dark Lady" sonnets (especially 127-132) and the praise by Berowne of "blackness" in IV, iii.

Other evidence which aids in establishing a general date for the play can be found in the allusions to contemporary events. For example, there are obvious references to the plague which was violent during the years 1591 to 1594, when the phrase "Lord Have Mercy on us" (V,ii,419)[2] was widely used. Another example of this type of evidence is found in a joke by Moth in which he says, "Master, will you win your love with a French brawl?" (III,i,6). This "French brawl" probably refers to the anti-alien riots which occurred at intervals in the 1580's and 1590's. An abortive anti-alien plot occurred in September, 1586, and there were more demonstrations in

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[2]Unless otherwise noted, all citations from Love's Labour's Lost are from Richard David, editor, Love's Labour's Lost (Cambridge, 1951).

May, 1593.[3] The conclusion reached from an examination of this evidence is that the main body of the play was written in the 1593-1594 season. The reference in the play to the Gray's Inn revels is probably a later touch, added between February, 1594-1595 (the date of the revels) and Christmas 1597-1598, which is the presumed date of performance before the Queen.[4] Richard David concludes that the play in its present form was probably completed in the autumn of 1597 or 1598.[5]

At this point it is interesting to note that Love's Labour's Lost is Shakespeare's only play for which there are no known literary sources, although there is some reason for suspecting that there was a source which no longer exists. There is considerable historical basis for various elements in the play. For example, the character Ferdinand of Navarre has a historical counterpart in Henri of Navarre, and many of the traits of Ferdinand were actually traits of Henri. Henri, like Ferdinand, was known for writing all over the page: "Writ o' both sides the leaf, margent and all" (V,ii,8). And he was also noted for such impetuous riding habits as are mentioned in IV, i, 1-2.[6] Further historical basis for this

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[3]Ibid., pp. xxvi-xxix.

[4]Ibid., pp. xxxi-xxxii.

[5]Ibid., p. xxvi.

[6]Ibid., p. xxxiv.

play is seen in the fact that the real king received two embassies from France. Almost certainly, the purpose of one of these trips was to discuss the dowry, which included Aquitaine, of Marguerite de Valois, Princess of France. It is very probable that one of these trips served as a model for the embassy in Love's Labour's Lost (II,i). Both events were conducted with pageantry, gallantry, and entertainment very similar to the events related in Shakespeare's play.[7] Perhaps Shakespeare also saw an opportunity here for much fun, for among the notable figures who were aiding Henri of Navarre in 1591-1592 were the Marshal de Biron and the Duc de Longueville. These men were two of Navarre's chief commanders. The Duc de Mayne was Henri's most powerful opponent. There is much humor in a situation which brings a group such as this together to discuss philosophy in a chaste atmosphere and to avoid the company of women, especially as the real Navarre was very much a ladies' man.[8]

An examination of Love's Labour's Lost reveals that Shakespeare found much to satirize in the activities and affectations of the people of his time. Unlike most of Shakespeare's plays, in which the writer is interested in the world and the universal problems of mankind, Shakespeare's concern in this play is with a specific corner of Elizabethan

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[7] Ibid., pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

[8] Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 395.

London. In order to understand Shakespeare's satire of the men and events he observed, it is necessary to first review two incidents of the period which influenced much of the satire in the play.

The first incident of importance is the Martin Marprelate Controversy, or the Pamphlet War. The main cause of this controversy was, of course, the rather unusual figure of Martin himself, unusual because he was the kind of man who could give himself entirely to the propagation of what he believed to be the truth, knowing with some certainty that sooner or later it could cost him his life.[9] The controversy was mainly concerned with the Puritan movement, in which Martin was very much involved and which gathered strength throughout the reign of Elizabeth and had its greatest effect among the less educated classes. The basis of this controversy was a series of tracts published by Martin. In the first one, the Epistle, Martin attempted to spread scandalous gossip about the bishops. Martin's motive in doing this was to avenge himself for injuries he had suffered at their hands. In this tract Martin, by the use of his wit and by the violence of his attack, gained the attention of the country for the no less witty but more serious tracts which were to follow.

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[9]Ronald B. McKerrow, editor, The Works of Thomas Nashe (Oxford, 1958), V, 36.

These later tracts include Epitome, Hay Any Work for Cooper, the Theses, and the Just Centure of Martin Junior.[10] The publication began in October or November of 1588 and ended in the middle of September, 1589. There were in all seven publications. All were under the name of Martin, although two of these were professedly by a "Martin Junior" and a "Martin Senior."[11] The Martinist pamphlets represented "the defiance by one man of the whole ecclesiastical power of England."[12] In 1598 Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, published an official reply to Martin entitled An Admonition to the People of England;[13] however, this work was perhaps too weighty to be effective for its purpose, and it soon became apparent that it was necessary to answer Martin in a style similar to his own. Thus it was decided to use secular writers who were of as ready and pungent a wit as Martin. Among the writers engaged by the bishops were Thomas Nashe and John Lyly.[14] Although there is ample evidence that Nashe indeed took part in the campaign against Martin, what his precise part was has not been determined. Among the anti-Martinist works which

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[10] Ibid., pp. 35-36.

[11] Ibid., p. 42.

[12] Ibid., p. 36.

[13] Ibid., p. 42.

[14] Ibid., p. 44.

were important in this controversy were the three Pasquil tracts, A Countercuff to Martin Junior, The Return of Pasquil, and The First Part of Pasquil's Apology. Other important tracts were An Almond for a Parrot, Martin's Month's Mind, Mar-Martin, A Whip for an Ape, and A Mirror for Martinists.[15] At one time or another, all of these have been attributed to Nashe; however, there is now much debate as to which of these, if any, can correctly be attributed to him. Pap with a Hatchet, written by John Lyly, was also important to this controversy.

The second issue of importance in the background for Shakespeare's satire in Love's Labour's Lost is the famous quarrel between Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey. This was perhaps one of the most important events in the life of Nashe; and R. B. McKerrow, Nashe's major editor, points out that it is difficult for us to realize the interest such a quarrel could arouse in the more limited circle of Elizabethan writers and readers. He further points out that it is strange that two men should win fame or infamy from their abuse of each other and "that Nashe, the brilliant satirist of manners, and Harvey, the profound scholar, should have become first and above all things the victor and the vanquished in a duel of contumely."[16] Also of interest in this discussion is the fact that this contest is usually described as being between

[15] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[16] Ibid., p. 65.

the brilliant young wit and the dull, conceited pedant; however, McKerrow has found that Harvey was not dull and old-fashioned and that Nashe was not an innocent young genius.[17]

It seems that the quarrel, which became a part of the Marprelate controversy, had its ultimate beginning as an offshoot of an argument between Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, and Sir Philip Sidney in 1579; it was caused by a simple misunderstanding or misinterpretation of a rather harmless piece of Harvey's satire, a poem entitled Speculum Tuscanismi, which ridiculed an Italianate Englishman. By chance this poem was construed as an attack upon the Earl of Oxford,[18] perhaps because of the fact that Harvey was a protégé of the Earl of Leicester and his nephew Philip Sidney, both of whom were of Puritan sympathies.[19] The idea that the poem was intended as an attack was furthered by John Lyly, who at this time was not on good terms with Gabriel Harvey. Lyly brought this poem to the attention of the Earl in hope of incensing him against the author. However, Oxford took little notice of the matter. Perhaps the whole affair between Harvey and Lyly would have been forgotten between the years 1580-1589 had there not been a passage in Lyly's Pap with a Hatchet (October, 1589) in which a work by Harvey entitled

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., p. 73.

[19] David, p. xl.

Three Letters is referred to. Harvey prepared a reply which was not published until much later in Pierce's Supererogation. However, the more temperamental brother of Gabriel Harvey, Richard, prepared a criticism of the anti-Martinist writers in his Plain Perceval, in which it is thought Gabriel conspired. Among the anti-Martinists was Robert Greene, who, in the same year that Pap with a Hatchet appeared, published Menaphon which contained a laudatory preface by Nashe. This preface is a general criticism of contemporary literature, in which by implication Nashe placed Greene among the foremost literary figures. Richard Harvey seemed to have felt that this preface, written by a member of a group which had attacked his brother, should be answered. The answer appeared in 1590 in Lamb of God, in which Harvey condemned Nashe and Greene. McKerrow feels that Harvey had some excuse for his attack because Nashe's preface to Menaphon was the work of a young man who had as yet given no proof of his right to sit in judgment of others. According to his own statement, Richard Harvey had been at the time of publication of Menaphon, completely unaware of the existence of Nashe; therefore, this event is generally regarded as the beginning of the quarrel. About two years later came Greene's A Quip for an Upstart Courtier, in which there is a sneer at the entire Harvey family; however, this passage was withdrawn soon after publication. Perhaps

Nashe thought that this sneer was not enough, for he then attacked Richard Harvey in Pierce Penilesse in a passage which McKerrow regards as an afterthought. Although Nashe did not call anyone by name, references to Harvey's Paean, his Dialogues, and other works easily mark the identity of Harvey.

It is important to remember at this point that there had been no quarrel between Nashe and Gabriel Harvey, whom Nashe had mentioned only once, and that with approval for his Latin verses. Nashe stresses this point in Strange News. Richard Harvey never answered Nashe's attack in Pierce Penilesse, and the quarrel was taken over by Gabriel.

At the publication of A Quip for an Upstart Courtier Gabriel Harvey was involved in family problems. His younger brother John had died, leaving a wife, Martha, and two children; Martha charged that the Harvey family was keeping what should have belonged to her. Legal affairs brought Gabriel to London in August, 1592, and kept him there until the middle of the following year. During this time Gabriel Harvey attempted to answer the attack on his family. This answer was included in Harvey's Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets: Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused. The writing of Foure Letters coincides with the death of Greene. Foure Letters opens with an epistle which consists of an introduction from Christopher Bird of Saffron Walden to

Emmanuel Demetrius, commending Harvey to him. It concludes with a sonnet entitled "A due Commendation of the Quipping Author," which Nashe suggests was really the production of Harvey himself. The second letter is directed entirely against Greene. The third letter is in two parts. The first part is a general defense of himself, and the second part is a reply to Pierce Penilesse. The fourth letter is generally Harvey's apology for answering the attacks made upon him. He says little of Greene and refers to Nashe as "beggarly Pierce Pennylesse" and "Puny Pierce." In these letters Harvey's tone when referring to Nashe is not unfriendly; it is more patronizing.[20] Nashe answered with Strange News, a reply which is more bitter and violent than Harvey's attack seemed to warrant. Harvey replied at once in Pierce's Supererogation, dated April 27, 1593. This work is in three parts. The first is an apology for taking notice of Nashe's attack, the second is a long reply to Pap with a Hatchet, and the third deals more particularly with Strange News. In this section there is also a discourse upon the excellence of the ass (since Nashe had often called Harvey an ass).[21]

Because Harvey and Nashe had acquaintances in common, there was probably some attempt made at reconciling the two men. At any rate in Christ's Tears Nashe wrote an apology to

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[20]McKerrow, pp. 73-86.

[21]Ibid., pp. 88-93.

Harvey. It is generally believed that Harvey rejected the apology in the first edition of Christ's Tears.[22] Nevertheless, because of New Letter Nashe withdrew his apology and made a fresh attack in the second edition of Christ's Tears.[23]

At this point there was an attempt on the part of Harvey to end the quarrel. However, Nashe's Have with You to Saffron-Walden ridiculed Harvey, his life, and his works, the last quarter of the book dealing with Pierce's Supererogation.[24] One other publication involved in this quarrel was The Trimming of Thomas Nashe, which replied to the long, railing dedication to Richard Lichfield, barber to Trinity College, which appeared in Have with You. However, McKerrow finds it difficult to believe that this work was done by Harvey. Nevertheless the quarrel ended at this point, for in 1599 Whitgift and Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London respectively, ordered "that all Nasshes bookes and Doctor Harvyes bookes be taken wheresoeuer they maye be found and that none of theire bookes bee euer printed hereafter."[25]

Love's Labour's Lost reflects the interest that Shakespeare had in his contemporaries and in those things in which they were involved. Scholars have found ample evidence in

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[22] Ibid., pp. 95-96.

[23] Ibid., p. 103.

[24] Ibid., p. 106.

[25] Ibid., p. 110.

the play that Shakespeare was interested in the Martin Marprelate controversy and in the quarrel between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe. The evidence of his interest in the latter is seen in the many puns that involve echoes of the actual quarrel and also puns on several of the publications that were written during this period. An example of this is seen in Shakespeare's use of the words "purse," "pen," and "penny," which remind us of Nashe's Pierce Peniless, his first anti-Harvey pamphlet. In the play Holofernes says, "Master Parson, quasi pers-on. And if one should be pierced, which is the one?" (IV,ii,82-83). Another example of this play on words is seen when Costard says to Moth:

> An I had but one penny in the world, thou should'st have it to buy gingerbread. Hold, there is the very remuneration I had of thy master, thou halfpenny purse of wit, thou pigeon-egg of discretion.
> (V,i,66-70)

Here Shakespeare suggests a quibble upon Pierce Penilesse, "as the owner of that purse does in the opening of his own tract, but his words suggestively echo an outburst by Gabriel Harvey in his Pierce's Supererogation (1593), wherein after dubbing his antagonist 'a young man of the greenest springe, as beardles in jugement as in face, and as Peniles in witt as in purse' he sarcastically suggests that he might next publish Nashes Penniworth of Discretion."[26] Another suspected echo

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[26] Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson, editors, Love's Labour's Lost (Cambridge, 1923), p. xxii.

of the quarrel has been seen in the following dialogue:

> Costard. Marry, master schoolmaster, he that is likest to a hogshead.
> Holofernes. Of piercing a hogshead! a good lustre of conceit in a turf on earth; fire enough for a flint, pearl enough for a swine: 'tis pretty; it is well. (IV,ii,84-88)

H. C. Hart was positive that the phrase "piercing a hogshead" with the emphatic "of" was an echo of the passage in Pierce's Supererogation in which Harvey quotes a certain gentlewoman's criticism of Nashe's Pierce Penilesse. "She knew what she said that intituled Pierce, the hoggeshead of witt: Penniles, the tosspot of eloquence: & Nashe the very inventor of Asses. . . ." This identification grew less positive, however, when John Crow discovered that "piercing a hogshead" was slang in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for getting drunk.[27]

It seems evident that Shakespeare was indeed noting the Harvey-Nashe quarrel in this play. Many scholars feel that there is ample evidence for identifying Nashe and Harvey with certain characters in Love's Labour's Lost. Evidence for identifying Nashe as Moth in the play is seen when Moth says, "It was so, sir; for she had a green wit" (I,ii,85). This play on the words "green" and "wit" reminds us of Robert Greene's Groatsworth of Wit,in which Greene warned Nashe, whom he called "Young Iuvenall," aginst baiting scholars, referring most probably to Harvey. The fact that Green addressed Nashe as

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[27]David, p. 84.

"Young Iuvenall" is significant, for the title, "gallant young Juvenal," was given to Nashe by Frances Meres in his catalogue of English writers, Palladis Tamia.[28] In Shakespeare's play the character of Moth is many times referred to as "juvenal" or "tender juvenal." Further evidence in the play that makes this identification even more certain is seen in the discovery that the name "Moth" is a rearrangement of Nashe's Christian name in its usual Elizabethan spelling. Shakespeare refers to this name in Love's Labour's Lost:

> When Isacles hang by the wall,
> And Dicke the Sheepheard blowes his naile:
> And Thom beares Logges into the hall. . . . (V,ii,902-905)[29]

It is further significant that the name "Neshe was a recognized variation of the surname Nashe, and 'nesh' or 'nash' at that time meant 'soft, delicate, pitiful, tender.'"[30] Another reason for believing that Moth is Nashe is that Nashe was a "youthful-looking satirist who lacked a beard in 1596 and was calling himself 'stripling' so late as 1599." In Shakespeare's play Moth is also called "boy," "child," and "shrimp."[31] For an example of this, note the following passage which introduces Moth's role in the play of the Nine Worthies:

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[28] Ibid., p. xli.

[29] Quiller-Couch and Wilson, p. xxiii.

[30] Ibid., p. xxii.

[31] Ibid., p. xxii-xxiii.

> Great Hercules is presented by this imp,
> Whose club kill'd Cerberus, that three-headed canis;
> And, when he was a babe, a child, a shrimp,
> Thus did he strangle serpents in his manus. (V,ii,581-584)

This passage has even more significance if we consider the possibility that "Cerberus" here refers to the three Martins, Martin Marprelate, Martin Senior, and Martin Junior. These three were in a sense "slain" by Nashe in his anti-Martinist tracts.[32]

Since we have this identification of Nashe as Moth and have noted references in Love's Labour's Lost to the Nashe-Harvey quarrel, it therefore follows that Harvey must appear somewhere in the play. The identification of Harvey in this play is a subject of debate. The most persuasive argument suggests that it is quite probable that we have the character of Harvey in both Armado, the braggart, and Holofernes, the pedant. However, there are several important objections to each of these identifications of Harvey, and indeed one of the main objections to each claim is the strength of the rival claim. Among the other difficulties is Holofernes' penchant for precise pronunciation, which is very unlike Harvey, as is Armado's passion for Jacquenetta. However, there are also several points of comparison. Both of these characters have certain affectations of language that are reminiscent of

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[32] Ibid., pp. xxi-xxiii.

Harvey. And both have the "wizened mahogany face so praised by the Queen and so cruelly mocked by Nashe in _Have With You_."[33] In fact, David feels that the following description of Holofernes by Shakespeare is very similar to the description of Harvey that Nashe presented in _Have With You_.[34] The passage concerns Holofernes' face:

> Holofernes. What is this?
> Boyet. A citern-head.
> Dumain. The head of a bodkin.
> Berowne. A death's face in a ring.
> Longaville. The face of an old Roman coin, scarce seen.
> Boyet. The pommel of Caesar's falchion.
> Dumain. The carved bone face on a flask.
> Berowne. Saint George's half-cheek in a brooch.
> Dumain. Ay, and in a brooch of lead.
> Berowne. Ay, and worn in the cap of a toothdrawer
> And now, forward; for we have put thee in
> countenance. (V,ii,603-612)[35]

In this play Moth is seen more with Armado than with Holofernes, but he mocks Holofernes more cruelly. "Holofernes is attended by an obsequious clerical shadow, just as Gabriel was attended by his parson brother Richard. Armado pawns his linen, as Harvey was said to have done to pay his printer, and is as stingy as Harvey to his dependents."[36] In this play it is

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[33]David, p. xliii.

[34]_Ibid._, p. 177.

[35]See Frances A. Yates, _A Study of Love's Labour's Lost_ (Cambridge, 1936), p. 44. Miss Yates feels that this passage could possibly be an allusion to John Florio's countenance, which was given an unflattering description by Cornwallis.

[36]David, p. xliii.

Armado who, like Harvey, is noted for writing the l'envoy. Armado says, "Some enigma, some riddle: come, thy l'envoy; begin" (III,i,69). Harvey placed a l'envoy at the end of his poetical Theme upon Vertue, and there is also another at the end of his Gorgon Sonnet, written against Nashe. Nashe singled out the use of the word in this trivial manner for ridicule in Have With You to Saffron Walden. He made a verb of it: "we shall l'envoy him," give him farewell.[37]

Further evidence of Shakespeare's interest in Thomas Nashe, Gabriel Harvey, and the Martin Marprelate controversy is seen in the attempt of scholars to explain the following rhyme from Love's Labour's Lost:

> The fox, the ape, and the humble-bee.
> Were still at odds, being but three:
> Until the Goose came out of door,
> And stayed the odds by adding four. (III,i,93-96)

It is noteworthy that this rhyme is much like the following, which is from the title-page of the anti-Martinist Martin's Month's Minde.

> Martin the ape, the dronke, and the madde
> The three Martins are, whose workes we have had,
> If Martin the fourth comes, after Martins so euill
> Nor man, nor beast comes, but Martin the devill.

David believes that this rhyme plays on the Puritan party, Marprelate, and the Bishops, who were quarreling. Since there were only three, they could only be "at odds." The fourth addition, the goose, "stays the odds." Dover Wilson has

[37]Ibid., p. 51.

identified the goose as Gabriel Harvey, "who with his brother Richard has in Plaine Percevall recommended a middle course." In identifying Harvey as the goose, the following passage from Nashe's Have with You, in which like Shakespeare, he caricatures "envoys" is significant:

> Gabriel Harvey, fames duckling,
> hey noddie, noddie, noddie:
> Is made a gosling and a suckling,
> hey noddie, hey noddie.[38]

Love's Labour's Lost provides still more satire. For example, there is satire in the two major themes of the play, the themes of love and of learning. In the beginning certain characters, Berowne, Longaville, Dumain, and the King of Navarre, have renounced love and ladies in a stoic attempt to devote all their time to study. This idea was perhaps suggested to Shakespeare by the young Earl of Southampton, who figures significantly in much of Shakespeare's life. In 1593 Southampton was being urged by his guardian, Lord Burleigh, to marry; however, Southampton refused. Therefore, it is possible that love, or rather a disdain of love, occupied the young Earl and his friends.[39] This theory appears even more probable since some scholars believe that this play was written for presentation at a private house and was perhaps intended for the delight of Southampton and his circle.[40]

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[38] Ibid., pp. xlii-xliii.

[39] Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 395.

[40] Quiller-Couch and Wilson, p. xii.

The Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, might also be important to this satiric theme. The evidence for this is in an essay, discovered by Miss Frances Yates, in which Northumberland attempted to prove the superiority of the attractions of learning over those of women. This essay sums up the attitude of Northumberland about his own wife, Dorothy Devereux, the sister of Lady Rich, the "Stella" of Sir Philip Sidney's sonnet sequence, Astrophel and Stella. It is interesting to note that "Stella" had earlier been insulted in this same manner by Giordano Bruno, an Italian astronomer who had connections with the French Palace Academy.[41] In 1585, while in England on secret business for the French king, Bruno dedicated to Sidney his De gli eroici Furori, which bitterly condemned romantic love and sonnet writing because they stood in the way of the quest for higher knowledge. Bruno concluded that perhaps English women were exceptions "being celestial creatures, stars (with perhaps a pun on the name 'Stella')." However, this conclusion hardly redeemed the insult to Sidney's own love and his love poems.[42]

The theme of learning and Shakespeare's emphasis on the academy provide some additional satire, and this satire concerns Sir Walter Raleigh and the "Schoole of Night."

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[41]Yates, p. 127, presents much evidence in support of the theory that Berowne in the play was perhaps meant to recall Bruno.

[42]David, p. xlvii.

This "schoole" was started by Mathew Roydon, a protégé of Raleigh and a minor man of letters, who with others of his friends made up a little "academy" for philosophical and scientific discussions. In 1592 this academy was branded by a pamphleteer as "Sir Walter Rauley's Schoole of Atheisme," and after Raleigh's disgrace in 1594 it received the attention of a special commission appointed by the Privy Council to investigate its heresies.[43] The academy included several notable men: Thomas Harriot, a great mathematician; Christopher Marlowe and George Chapman, both poets; Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, known as the Wizard Earl; and others such as Thomas Hughes and William Warren. There was much suspicion concerning the discussions of this group; it was said that, with Harriot as their schoolmaster, a number of young noblemen were taught to jibe at the Scriptures, that such articles of faith as the immortality of the soul and the future life were ridiculed, and that the masters taught their young scholars among other things, to spell God backwards.[44] It is also almost certain that this circle was very interested in and excited about the "new Astronomy." Several "ingenious spirits in the generation after Copernicus (*ob*. 1543) were vividly excited over the 'new astronomy' and

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[43] *Ibid*., pp. xlii-xliii.

[44] Harrison, p. 396.

at the certainty that men who dabbled with the new Copernican system invited (and got) accusation of heresy." Raleigh's group actually had been called by its enemies "The School of Atheism" because of its astronomical investigations.

This school was appropriately nicknamed the "Schoole of Night"[45] by Shakespeare in <u>Love's Labour's Lost</u>.

> Oh, Paradox! Black is the badge of Hell,
> The hue of dungeons and the school of night. (IV,iii,251-252)

Shakespeare's interest in this school and in the things which concerned its members is obvious in this play. In the following passage Shakespeare plays on the word "light." Berowne speaks:

> To seek the light of truth, while truth the while
> Doth falsely blind the eyesight of his look:
> Light seeking light doth light of light beguile:
> So, ere you find where light in darkness lies,
> Your light grows dark by losing of your eyes. (I,i,75-79)

Shakespeare also plays on the words "measure" (V,ii,184-194) and "number" (V,ii,197-199). The fact that these words are emphasized through repetition is very significant. The word "light" suggests the stars, "measure" suggests the fact that astronomers were interested in measuring the distance of the stars; and the word "number" perhaps refers to the interest of the Raleigh group in calculations and mathematics. Shakespeare gives his opinion of the practices of the academy in the following lines:

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[45] Quiller-Couch and Wilson, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

> These earthly godfathers of heaven's lights,
> That give a name to every fixed star,
> Have no more profit of their shining nights
> Than those that walk and wot not what they are.
> Too much to know, is to know nought but fame;
> And every godfather can give a name. (I,i,88-93)

Another work which is important for its possible connections with the school of night is George Chapman's Shadow of Night, which was written to praise the studious life and to flatter Raleigh's circle. Chapman dedicated this work to Matthew Royden. The dedication reads:

> How then may a man stay his marvailing to see passion-driven men, reading but to curtail a tedious hour, and altogether hide-bound with affection to great man's fancies, take upon them as killing censures as if they were judgment's butchers, or as if the life of truth lay tottering in their verdicts.
>
> Now what a supererogation in wit this is, to think Skill so mightily pierced with their loves, that she should prostitutely show them her secrets, when she will scarcely be looked upon by others but with invocation, fasting, watching.

The use of the words "supererogation" and "pierced" in this dedication recall Harvey's Pierce's Supererogation, which replied to Nashe's attack in Strange News. Although it is possible that this passage is a "general censure of uninstructed critics," it sounds more like Chapman's response to an attack of his poem by a hack member of a rival group. Arthur Acheson says that this attack "is no other than Love's Labour's Lost, the hack is Shakespeare, and the rival group that of Southampton and his friend Essex, who was in perpetual rivalry with Raleigh at court."[46] This attack on The Shadow

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[46] David, p. xlv.

of Night would also be an attack on Raleigh, Shakespeare's over-serious academy would be Raleigh's "schoole," and as Dover Wilson has pointed out, the three comic characters who are so confused by arithmetic would suggest the three famous mathematicians who are allied with Raleigh.[47]

There is other evidence in *Love's Labour's Lost* that Shakespeare was indeed concerned with George Chapman and his *Shadow of Night*. For example, Shakespeare plays upon Chapman's name:[48]

> Beauty is bought by judgment of the eye,
> Not utter'd by base sale of chapmen's tongues. (II,i,15-16)

Another piece of evidence may lie in William Minto's suggestion in his *Characteristics of the English Poets* (1885) that Chapman was the "rival poet" of the sonnets and that *Shadow of Night* was the poem whose "proud full sail" had been a challenge to Shakespeare. Using this clue Arthur Acheson noticed the opposition between the themes of *The Shadow of Night* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. *The Shadow of Night* is "a eulogy of contemplation, study, knowledge (often symbolized as astronomy) as opposed to the life of pleasure and practical affairs:[49]

> Since Night brings terror to our frailties still,
> And shameless Day doth marble us in ill;
> All you possessed with indepressed spirits,

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[47] *Ibid.*

[48] Quiller-Couch and Wilson, p. xxix.

[49] David, p. xliv, quoting Acheson. David does not give a reference for Acheson's work.

> Endued with nimble and aspiring wits,
> Come consecrate with me to sacred Night
> Your whole endeavours, and detest the light.
> Sweet Peace's richest crown is made of stars,
> Most certain guides of honoured mariners,
> No pen can anything eternal write
> That is not steeped in humour of the Night.[50]

If we set this final couplet beside Berowne's speech in which he dissolves the academy and in a sense turns its members back to real life, we see that Love's Labour's Lost may indeed be a specific retort to Chapman's challenge:[51]

> Never durst poet touch a pen to write
> Until his ink were temper'd with Love's sighs;(IV,iii,343-344)

The above passage seems to indicate that Shakespeare did indeed intend some recognition of Raleigh's school and the men who were involved in it. We may then wonder if there is any possible identification of Raleigh himself in the play. Several scholars have suggested that the character of Armado is a satire of Raleigh,[52] and it is certain that such an identification would cause great mirth in the Southampton circle. Certainly much delight would be caused by Moth's teasing and taunting of Armado, as is seen in the following:

> Armado. I am all these three.
> Moth. And three times as much more, and yet nothing at all.
> Armado. Fetch hither the swain: he must carry me a letter

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[50]Quiller-Couch and Wilson, p. xxxi.

[51]David, p. xliv.

[52]Yates, p. 147, offers evidence that in the character of Armado the Earl of Northumberland should be recognized.

Moth.	A message well sympathized: a horse to be an ambassador for an ass.
Armado.	Ha? ha? what sayest thou?
Moth.	Marry, sir, you must send the ass upon the horse, for he is very slow-gaited. (II,i,45-53)

There was perhaps an actual association between Nashe and Raleigh that would help to explain the relationship of Moth and Armado. David suggests that Nashe is in some way the key to many of the interrelationships of the Raleigh and Essex factions. In the play "Moth has an equivocal position, attached to Armado and yet twitting him as openly as do the King and his Lords."[53] Nashe also shifted between the two parties. Before the summer of 1592 Nashe's patron is not known. Pierce Penilesse, published in the autumn of 1592, was dedicated to "Amyntas," probably Ferdinando, Lord Strange, who later becomes the "ingenious Darby" that Chapman mentions in the dedication of The Shadow of Night. This association therefore connects Nashe with Raleigh's group. In 1593 Nashe was under the protection of Sir George Carey. Carey, who was also Lord Hunsdon, was named by Chapman in the same breath as Lord Strange and the Earl of Northumberland; however, Hunsdon later became the Lord Chamberlain, giving his name and his protection to Shakespeare's company of actors. It was during the period that Nashe was with Carey that he wrote The Terror of Night, which significantly "ridicules the pretensions of 'conjurers' (the name had been applied to Harriot),

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[53]David, p. xlviii.

reproves the follies of atheists and rails at the neglect of patrons who are more interested in being accounted Gloriosos at Court than in rewarding real merit."[54] The reference is probably to Raleigh, and David suggests that Nashe may have been at one time closely connected with Raleigh's school. He says that "It is odd how the memory of an unkind and vain-glorious patron is associated in his mind with atheism--not only in the Terrors, but in Pierce Penilesse and Christ's Tears as well."[55] Thus David theorizes that Raleigh may have been Nashe's first patron, and his renunciation of the properties of the Night may connect him to Raleigh's school more closely than heretofore suspected. Nashe finally allies himself with Essex's group when he dedicates The Unfortunate Traveller to the Earl of Southampton.[56]

There is further evidence for identifying Armado with Raleigh. Interestingly enough, Armado in the play is a Spaniard. He is introduced by Navarre:

> Our Court, you know, is haunted
> With a refined traveler of Spain. (I,i,161-162)

Would there not be a great deal of humor in presenting Raleigh, a man who had taken part in the defeat of the Spanish Armada, as a Spaniard?[57] The name "Armado" is also significant. It

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[54]Ibid., p. xlix.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid., pp. xlviii-xlix.

[57]John Dover Wilson, editor, Love's Labour's Lost (Cambridge, 1962), p. xv.

is obviously a reminder of the Armada.[58] The description continues:

> A man in all the world's new fashion planted
> That hath a mint of phrases in his brain;
> One whom the music of his own vain tongue
> Doth ravish like enchanting harmony. (I,i,163-166)

Here Shakespeare is telling the audience what to expect, "namely 'the dandy and planter of Virginia, spinner of traveller's tales.'"[59] The last two lines probably refer to Raleigh's country dialect.[60] The King concludes:

> How you delight, my lords, I know not
> But I protest I love to hear him lie. (I,i,173-174)

This passage provides a helpful clue to the identification of Raleigh as Armado because a well-known poem by Raleigh is entitled "The Lie."[61]

Other evidence for the identification of Raleigh as Armado can be seen in the parallel between Armado's situation in the play and Raleigh's, for in Love's Labour's Lost it becomes necessary for Armado to marry the pregnant Jacquenetta. Raleigh found himself in a very similar situation. Before May, 1592, Raleigh had been a great favorite of Queen Elizabeth despite his notorious atheism. However, when it was discovered

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[58] H. B. Charlton, editor, _Love's Labour's Lost_ (New York, 1917), p. vii.

[59] Wilson, pp. xiv-xv.

[60] David, p. 1.

[61] Wilson, pp. xiv-xv.

that he had seduced one of Elizabeth's maids-of-honor, Raleigh fell into disgrace.[62] David feels that the phrases "the eel is quick" and "the party is gone," which so upset Armado, are taunts at the predicament in which Raleigh found himself.[63] After the discovery of Raleigh's indiscretion, the Queen was very angry and had him thrown into the Tower, "where he lapsed into profound melancholy and wrote her fantastical letters."[64] The "fantastical letters" provide another point of comparison between Armado and Raleigh, for Armado also writes "fantastical letters" to Jacquenetta:

> By Heaven, that thou art fair is most infallible; true, that thou art beauteous; truth itself, that thou art lovely. More fairer than fair, beautiful than beautous, truer than truth itself, have commiseration on thy heroical vassal! The magnanimous and most illustrate King Cophetua set eye upon the pernicious and indubitate beggar Zenelophon; and he it was that might rightly say, _veni_, _vidi_, _vici_; which to annothanize in the vulgar (O base and obscure vulgar!) _videlicet_, he came, saw and overcame: he came, one; saw, two; overcame, three. . . .(IV,i,62-71)

One other piece of evidence for this identification consists in the fact, to which we have previously alluded, that Raleigh had a certain affectation of speech. It is very possible that the "Chirrah" of Armado (V,i,33) "may be a gibe at the Wessex accent that Raleigh kept all of his life."[65]

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[62]Harrison, _Shakespeare: The Complete Works_, p. 396.

[63]David, p. 1.

[64]Harrison, _Shakespeare: The Complete Works_, p. 396.

[65]David, p. 1.

Perhaps it would be worthwhile at this point to mention that none of Shakespeare's characters is necessarily a portrait of a single individual. It is possible that one of Shakespeare's characters may be a caricature of several different people. As David tells us, the Elizabethans were quite capable of "assimilating a multiple allegory, in which a fictional character can stand simultaneously for two persons in real life, themselves exemplars of an abstract virtue."[66] Thus, Armado has certain characteristics that suggest Gabriel Harvey and other traits that lead to his identification as Walter Raleigh. Holofernes has already been mentioned as a possible caricature of Harvey. Strong evidence, however, suggests that Holofernes, "a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions" (IV,ii,66-68), would also remind the Elizabethan audience of Thomas Harriot, the famous mathematician, who was reputed to be a "'conjurer' and the Master of 'Sir Walter Rawley's school of Atheism.'"[67] John Dover

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[66]*Ibid.*

[67]Yates, pp. 6-7, "'Holofernes shares with the other "worthies" a curious incompetence in arithmetic: they cannot tell their own numbers when they get together. Armado (I,ii, 39-54) cannot multiply one by three; Costard (V,ii,488 *et seq.*) cannot multiply three by three. "I am ill at reck'ning, it fitteth the spirit of a tapster," explains Armado, and Costard groans, "O Lord, sir, it were a pity you should get your living by reck'ning, sir." Again, in III, i, 87-97, we can see Armado reckoning up three laboriously on his fingers until Moth "stays the odds by adding four." That these passages play insistently on *somebody's* mathematical pretensions (well known to the audience) is surely evident.'"

Wilson feels that Harriot "forms a natural link between the great sophister-doctor, Master Tubal Holofernes in Rabelais, and his namesake in Love's Labour's Lost. The Holofernes of the French classic teaches his pupil, among other things, "the comport for knowing the age of the moon, the seasons of the year, and the tides of the sea."[68] Harriot gave instruction in mathematics and astronomy, and Holofernes is connected with astronomy by his readiness to solve the riddle on the age of the moon:

> The moon was a month old when Adam was no more,
> And raught not to five weeks when he came to fivescore.
> (IV,ii,40-41)

Further evidence for this identification is found in the fact that Harriot and the Holofernes of Rabelais were said to teach their students to spell backwards. In Harriot's case this involves the accusation that in Raleigh's school of Atheism, "the conjurer that is Master thereof, taught his scholars 'to spell God backward.'"[69] Surely Shakespeare glances at this practice when Moth says of Holofernes:

> Yes, yes, he teaches boys the hornbook.
> What is a, b, spelt backward, with the horn
> on his head? (V,i,46-47)

A line in Love's Labour's Lost that interests many scholars who see Harriot as Armado is Armado's question to Holofernes,

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[68] Wilson, p. xvi.

[69] Ibid.

"Do you not educate youth at the charge house on the top of the mountain?" (V,i,77-78). It is perhaps possible to explain this line when it is known that Harriot lived and probably gave lessons at Sion House, Isleworth, where the Earl of Northumberland also resided. If it is true that Harriot gave instruction at Isleworth to young scholars, this fact could certainly be the explanation of Armado's question.[70] David feels that Sion House may be the "mountain" mentioned in the question.[71]

It is further significant in making this identification that Harriot was known to scribble doggerel poems which contained mathematical puns all over his scientific papers. In 1922 Dover Wilson discovered this verse while looking through a volume of Harriot's mathematical papers:

> If more by more must needs make more
> Then lesse by more makes lesse of more
> And lesse by lesse makes lesse of lesse
> If more be more and lesse be lesse.
>
> Yet lesse of lesse makes lesse or more
> Use which is best keep best in store
> If lesse of lesse thou wilt make lesse
> Then bate the same from that is lesse
>
> But if the same thou wilt make more
> Then adde to it the signe of more
> The sign of more is best to use
> Except some cause the other choose
>
> For both are one, for both are true,
> Of this inough, and so adew.[72]

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[70] Ibid., pp. xviii-xix.

[71] David, p. xlvi.

[72] Wilson, pp. xvii.

It would seem almost certain that this riddle on Plus and Minus is definitely of Harriot's composition and that Shakespeare had seen it and indeed had it in mind "when he composed Holofernes' octosyllabic epitaph on the 'pretty pleasing pricket.'" Shakespeare's mathematical lines stress the word "sore" instead of Harriot's "more."

> Some say a sore, but not a sore
> Till now made sore with shooting.
> . . . .
> If sore be sore, then L to sore
> Makes fifty sores one sorel:
> Of one sore I an hundred make
> By adding but one more L.[73]

One other important fact is that Harriot, like Holofernes, had a parson follower, disciple, or parasite called Nathaniel. A letter found among "Harriot's papers congratulates him on his 'deserved good fortunes' and is signed 'y^{rs} ever in true fidelitie, Nath Torporley', and is addressed 'To my very good friende, Mr. Thomas Hariots at Durhā House. . . .'"[74] In Act IV, scene ii of Love's Labour's Lost, Nathaniel reveals that he, too, is very impressed with Holofernes. At one point Nathaniel says to Holofernes:

> Sir, I praise the Lord for you, and so may my parishioners; for their sons are well tutored by you, and their daughters profit very greatly under you: you are a good member of the commonwealth. (IV,ii,73-75)

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[73] Ibid., p. xviii.

[74] Ibid.

Thus far, a rather strong case already exists for the identification of Holofernes as Thomas Harriot. The fact that this idea is endorsed by two respected scholars, Richard David and John Dover Wilson, is of added importance. However, there is another case that is worth discussion. Miss Frances A. Yates in _A Study of Love's Labour's Lost_ offers evidence that the original of Holofernes is John Florio, a celebrated teacher of Italian and author of a dictionary, _Worlde of Words_. She finds significance in the fact that Holofernes at one point talks like a dictionary:

> The deer was, as you know, _sanguis_, in blood; ripe as the pomewater, who now hangeth like a jewel in the ear of _caelo_, the sky, the welkin, the heaven; and anon falleth like a crab on the face of _terra_, the soil, the land, the earth. (IV,ii,3-7)

Although this dictionary was not published until 1598, Florio announced in 1591 that his dictionary was nearly ready for publication, and in the 1598 edition he said that people had been ridiculing the dictionary before its publication. Thus it is entirely possible that the allusion by Shakespeare was intended to remind the audience of Florio and his dictionary. It is also interesting to note that it is possible to construe "Holofernes" into a kind of anagram of Florio's name:

IHOLOFERNES -- IOHNESFLOREO[75]

This kind of supposition is risky to say the least, and Miss Yates makes much more of the fact that in _Love's Labour's_

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[75]Yates, pp. 35-36.

Lost Shakespeare rather maliciously satirizes not only pedantic affectation, but various literary crazes of the day. For example, Shakespeare parodies, among other things, euphuism, arcadianism, the sonneteering fashion, and the mania for proverbs and for strange Latinate words.[76] Indeed Miss Yates finds reason to believe that the characters of Holofernes and even Armado glance at the writing of John Florio, for there is reason to think that Florio not only used "proverbs, synonyms, and every kind of Italianate Spanish, euphuistic and arcadian device in his own writings, but that he deliberately taught such ornaments to his pupils, and therefore would be a peculiarly suitable object for satire on literary affectations."[77]

Other evidence presented by Miss Yates consists of the fact that the identification of Holofernes was made as early as 1774, when William Warburton maintained:

> There is very little personal reflexion in Shakespear. Either the virtue of those times, or the candour of our author, has so effected, that his satire is, for the most part, general, and as himself says,
>
> . . . his taxing like a wild goose flies,
> Unclaim'd of any man. . . .
>
> The place before us seems to be an exception. For by Holofernes is designed a particular character, a pedant and schoolmaster of our author's time, one John Florio, a teacher of the Italian tongue in London, who has given us a small dictionary of that language under the title of A world of words. . . .

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[76]Ibid., p. 11.

[77]Ibid., p. 38.

It is further believed that Florio replied to Shakespeare's attack on him in an address which was inserted in the 1598 edition of his dictionary. Florio links Shakespeare with another satiric dramatist:

> Let Aristophanes and his comedians make plaies, and scowre their mouthes on Socrates; those very mouthes they make to vilifie, shall be the meanes to amplifie his vertue.[78]

The main objection to the theory that there was trouble between Shakespeare and Florio has always been the fact that John Florio, who was the tutor of the Earl of Southampton, would have been a welcome friend in the Southampton household. However, this objection is dispelled when we learn that Southampton, a Catholic, was a minor when Florio, a Protestant, was appointed as his tutor by his guardian, Lord Burleigh. Burleigh was the Master of the Queens Wards and a Protestant mainstay and champion. Florio succeeded the Catholic Swiftin Wells, a friend of Southampton's father and one of the executors of his will.[79] In speaking of Southampton's probable feelings about this situation Miss Yates points out that

> . . . it cannot have been altogether pleasant to have to stand by and say nothing while his Catholic language tutor was hanged and disembowelled not far from the Southampton town house, to be succeeded by a Protestant tutor who was probably also a spy and whose appointment he was quite powerless to resist. . . .[80]

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-32.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

When we see Florio as an unwelcome guest in Southampton's home and consider Shakespeare's connection with Southampton, it becomes clear that Florio might have been a most suitable target for satire in *Love's Labour's Lost*. From the play there is much evidence to support the theory that John Florio is the original of Holofernes. For example, there is the appearance in the play of the "Venetia" proverb. "*Facile precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat*," is misquoted by Holofernes to flaunt his knowledge of Mantuan; Holofernes immediately follows this misquotation with an Italian proverb:

> Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice:
> *Venetia, Venetia,*
> *Chi non ti vede, non ti pretia.*
> Old Mantuan! Who understandeth thee not, loves thee not. (IV,ii,93-97)

The importance of this proverb is that it appeared in *Second Fruits* (1591), a conversation manual designed to teach Italian to Englishmen. This proverb also had occurred in Florio's *First Fruits* (1578).[81]

Another reason for identifying Holofernes as Florio rests in the fact that Holofernes takes the part of Judas Maccabaeus in the masque of the Worthies, and in the course of this role he is made to say, "Judas, I am" three times. Holofernes also intercepts and reads a letter with the approval of Sir Nathaniel,

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[81] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

the parson, who says, "Sir you have done this in the fear of God, very religiously" (IV,ii,146-147). This is significant when we learn that it is possible that Florio played the part of a spy while employed at the French embassy. If this fact were known, the phrase "Judas, I am" would definitely have meaning. It would be even more significant if Florio really did work as a spy for Burleigh in the Southampton household.[82]

Miss Yates' most important evidence concerns John Eliot, who in 1593 published Ortho-Epia Gallica. This work appears on the surface to be a modern-language textbook. Like other books of this kind, it contains sets of dialogues which are presented in English and in the language it purports to teach. However, a closer examination reveals that Ortho-Epia Gallica is an attack on many foreign-language teachers in London at that time.[83] Among Eliot's main targets are John Florio and his Italian-English dialogues, First Fruits and Second Fruits. Now this attack on Florio is indeed significant because it makes him topical. Other satires of him would be likely. "Any time after 1593 an allusion to Eliot's parody of him

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[82]Ibid., pp. 27-32.

[83]Yates, pp. 56-59, finds evidence that Shakespeare has some satire of a Spanish educationalist, Juan Luis Vives, who was also parodied by John Eliot. This satire is mainly of the dialogue or Absey books which were used to teach a foreign language. Miss Yates finds a parallel between a passage from Vives in which he is teaching the Spanish vowels and the scene in Love's Labour's Lost in which Moth causes Holofernes to call himself a sheep.

would be an amusing topical hit. . . ."[84] The importance of Miss Yates' opinion rests in the fact that certain points of contact between Shakespeare's and Eliot's satires on Florio can be found. For example, both Shakespeare and Eliot recall Florio in their titles.[85] From _First Fruits_ we have this phrase:

> We neede not speak so much of loue, al books are ful of loue, with so many authours, that it were labour lost to speake of Loue.[86]

Many people suspect that Shakespeare took the title for his play from this passage. Eliot, too, reminds us of Florio, for the full title of Eliot's manual is _Ortho-Epia Gallica, Fruits for the French_.

Miss Yates also finds new significance in the Venetia proverb in the fact that "the traveller" is mentioned:

> Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice. (IV,ii,95-96)

This proverb provides a point of contact between Eliot and Shakespeare because Eliot's longest and closest parody of Florio is in his second dialogue which he calls "The Traveller" and because Shakespeare mentions "the traveller" in the same place where he gives Florio's "Venetia" proverb.[87]

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[84] _Ibid._, p. 43.

[85] _Ibid._, pp. 42-43.

[86] _Ibid._, p. 34.

[87] _Ibid._, pp. 43-44.

One other point of contact that may be mentioned is the fact that Eliot very much admired and imitated Rabelais. His entire joke against Florio is conceived in a Rabelaisian style. "Let us now remember the fact that the name of the pedant in *Love's Labour's Lost* is also the name of the pedant in Rabelais. Might not this suggest that Shakespeare knew of and was in sympathy with Eliot's Rabelaisian satire on pedants?"[88]

In summation, this chapter shows that *Love's Labour's Lost* was quite possibly written for a special occasion, perhaps a private performance in Court, and that in its present form the play was completed in the autumn of 1597 or 1598. Most importantly, the chapter proves that evidence of the presence of satire in this play is indeed strong. There is ample evidence that Shakespeare satirized elements of the Nashe-Harvey quarrel and the Martin Marprelate controversy. There is further evidence that Shakespeare provides satire of Sir Walter Raleigh and other members of his School of Night. This satire of Raleigh and his friends would certainly have been appreciated by the Earl of Southampton and the Essex faction. In addition, Southampton would have enjoyed Shakespeare's satire of his unwanted tutor, John Florio, which this play provides.

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[88] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

CHAPTER III

SATIRE IN THE FALSTAFF PLAYS, *HENRY V*, AND *HAMLET*

The play that has just been discussed, *Love's Labour's Lost*, was perhaps the most topical and satirical of Shakespeare's plays. However, in many of his other plays he found ample opportunities for brief satirical blows at his contemporaries who were involved in some manner with the theater.

For discussion of Shakespeare's satire in this chapter it is necessary to review an incident that will be important in later discussions of two rather interesting creations of Shakespeare, Justice Shallow and Slender. This incident concerns an argument in which Shakespeare was involved. The first evidence of this disagreement was found by Leslie Hotson when he discovered a court record dated November 29, 1596, which disclosed that Shakespeare's name was one of four against whom William Wayte demanded surety of peace. The translated document states:

> England Be it known that William Wayte craves sureties of the peace against William Shakspere, Francis Langley, Dorothy Soer wife of John Soer, and Anne Lee, for fear of death, and so forth.
>
> Writ of attachment issued to the sheriff of Surrey, returnable of the eighteenth of St. Martin (i.e. November 29, 1596, the last day of Michaelmas term).[1]

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[1]Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare Versus Shallow* (Boston, 1931), p. 9.

Francis Langley, who assumes a rather significant role in this discussion, furnishes some helpful hints about Shakespeare's life. The most important fact about Langley is that he "purchased the manor of Paris Garden in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1589."[2] In the winter of 1594-1595, he had begun building a playhouse which he named the Swan. Now this information is important because it had previously been thought that Shakespeare used Burbage's playhouse, the Theatre, in Shoreditch into the year 1597. However, there is no proof of this; and it also does not explain why Shakespeare moved from Bishopsgate, a district close to Burbage's Theatre, to the Bankside in or before November, 1596. Hotson suggests that Shakespeare went to the Bankside because he and his fellow-actors had moved from the Theatre in the autumn of 1596 and were for a time in Langley's new playhouse, the Swan.[3]

In order to identify William Wayte, Hotson looked further into the Controlment Roll. His efforts were rewarded, for he found another document, dated November 3, 1596, which states:

> England Be it known that Francis Langley craves sureties of the peace against William Gardener and William Wayte for fear of death, and so forth.[4]

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

This is indeed interesting. In the first document found by Hotson, Wayte had testified to his fear of Shakespeare and Langley, and now the fact is established that earlier Langley had sworn that not only Wayte but also a certain William Gardiner had first threatened him with death. This new name, William Gardiner, proved to be very significant. To identify him, Hotson began his search in the series of State Papers for Elizabeth's reign and under the dates 1584-1585 found his name connected "with the report of a search in a certain suspected house for papist and papistical books."[5] The report had been signed by William Gardiner, Esquire. Hotson suspected that Gardiner was a Surrey justice of peace who had jurisdiction over the Bankside and Paris Garden. His suspicions were confirmed by a glance at the _Acts of the Privy Council_. "Here was the minute of the well-known letters dated July 28, 1597 (sent by the Privy Council to the justices of peace for Middlesex and Surrey): orders elicited by the 'lewd matters' contained in Tom Nashe's _Isle of Dogs_, a play recently acted by Pembroke's Men at Langley's theater, the Sawn."[6] And William Gardiner was one of the justices ordered to cause the stage of the Swan to be torn down by its owner Langley with whom Gardiner had had a violent quarrel in the preceding autumn.[7]

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[5] _Ibid._, pp. 19-21.

[6] _Ibid._, pp. 21-22.

[7] _Ibid._, p. 22.

Further evidence of the quarrel was uncovered in a search of the records of the equity side of the Exchequer. Hotson found a suit dated 1591, "brought by Thomas Heron, gentleman, and under-marshal of the Court of Exchequer, against William Gardiner of Southwark, Surrey, and William Wayte"; in this bill Gardiner is described as "a justice of the peace," and Wayte is described as "a certain loose person of no reckoning or value, being wholly under the rule and commandment of the said Gardiner."[8]

At this point Hotson concentrated his efforts on Gardiner, as Wayte was entirely under his domination. Turning to the docket rolls of the courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, he found three separate suits which Gardiner had brought against Francis Langley for slander.

> Two of these actions had been entered in the Queen's Bench in Easter term preceding, and one in the Common Pleas. In the Queen's Bench suits, Gardiner alleges that on two occasions in the spring, May 21 and May 22, at Croydon, Surrey, Langley publicly and slanderously said of him, "He is a false knave, and a false perjured knave; and I will prove him so." Gardiner asserts that his reputation has been damaged by these remarks to the value of a thousand pounds each. In the suit in the Common Pleas, Langley is alleged to have said of Gardiner again at Croydon, but on June 1, "He is a false knave; a false, forsworn knave, and a perjured knave." For this Gardiner demands two hundred pounds damages.[9]

In defense of himself against all of these charges, Langley maintained, adducing records to prove his statements, that a

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[8]*Ibid.*, p. 24.

[9]*Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

few years before in a suit in the Court of Wards, Gardiner had given false testimony under oath, thereby committing perjury. In other words, "Gardiner was slandered with matter of truth."[10] He therefore did not care to risk a jury trial. Thus, in 1596 Gardiner was bent on avenging himself against Langley and attacked him at his most vulnerable point, his ownership of a theater. By the use of his power as justice of the peace in Southwark and seconded by the Lord Mayor and aldermen, Gardiner was able to persecute Langley, Shakespeare, and his fellow-actors at the Swan.

Hotson continued to seek evidence against Gardiner, and his efforts uncovered an abundance of material which proved that Gardiner was a notorious scoundrel and that Waye was his despicable stepson. Hotson says of Gardiner, "His life, as I have woven it together from new documents, will grow before our eyes into a tissue of greed, usury, fraud, cruelty, and perjury: of crime, in short, enough to make him a marked man even in the Elizabethan age."[11]

One example of Gardiner's character that bears on a later discussion of satire is seen in the fact that, among his other activities, he defrauded his wife's family, his son-in-law, and his stepson. His wife was the widow of the late Edmund Wayte, a prosperous leatherseller of Bermondsey, and the

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

eldest daughter of another rich leatherseller, Robert Luce or Lucy, a gentleman of London. Hotson shows that by his marriage to Frances (Luce) Wayte, Gardiner managed to secure the estates of both of these two wealthy citizens, for Frances administered her father's estate after the death of her mother. By Edmund Wayte, Frances had had two sons. The elder son was to inherit the estate; however, he must have died young because a later document showed that his rights passed to William, the younger son. Hotson shows how Gardiner systematically cheated William of his inheritance.[12]

Thus, the fact that Shakespeare had become involved in a quarrel with this "false knave" justice-of-the-peace, William Gardiner, and his subservient stepson, William Wayte, would make them likely candidates for satire. Indeed, it is very probable that Shakespeare used Gardiner and Wayte as prototypes for his own Justice Shallow and Abraham Slender. The events of 1596 would have been in Shakespeare's mind in the spring of 1597, a time when personal satire was becoming popular. William Gardiner died the following autumn, and it does not seem likely that Shakespeare would have satirized him after his death.[13] As previously seen, Gardiner and Wayte were very likely candidates for satire, and it seems probable

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[12] Ibid., p. 32.

[13] Ibid., p. 111.

that Shakespeare's "acquaintance and association with such flagrant examples of human infirmity during this period of playhouse adversity may have had some effect upon his imagination and writing."[14]

The Henry IV plays were probably completed during the winter of 1596-1597, although there is some evidence to indicate that II Henry IV underwent expansion, for some scholars believe that "the Justice Shallow scenes have all the characteristics of augmented or revisional material."[15] The date of The Merry Wives of Windsor is a subject of much debate among scholars. Hotson suggests that the play was written to be presented before the Queen at Westminister at the Feast of the Garter on April 23, 1597.[16] The two plays were probably written within just a few months of each other.

II Henry IV introduces Master Robert Shallow, Esquire, the Gloucestershire justice-of-the-peace. Here, Shakespeare uses several methods to paint the picture of an extremely foolish and "shallow" old man. For example, the reader cannot avoid the obvious contrast between Shallow and the Lord Chief Justice. Shallow indeed falls short in the comparison, and it is significant that Falstaff takes advantage of Shallow,

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[14] William Bracy, The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text (Mission, 1952), p. 108.

[15] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

[16] Hotson, p. 122.

something that he is unable to do to the Lord Chief Justice. The reader is also made aware of Shallow's "thin" character by Shakespeare's description of his emaciated physical appearance. Falstaff described him as a "bearded hermit's staff" and a "Vice's dagger," and he remarks of himself that if he were cut in shafts he would make no less than four dozen, each the size of Shallow. Shakespeare shows us Shallow's poverty of mind, his silliness, by having him repeat words in certain of his speeches. In one example of this, Shallow says to Falstaff:

> I will not excuse you, you shall not be excused, excuses shall not be admitted, there is no excuse shall serve, you shall not be excused. (V,i,5-7)[17]

There is also foolishness in scene ii of Act III when Shallow, an old man in position of some authority, boasts of his youthful exploits. In this scene the topics of old age and death are mentioned often, and we are reminded that Shallow is old. Unlike King Henry, however, he does not seem concerned with death or with preparing for death. Instead, he enjoys his sack, his merriment, and his dishonesty.

Shallow is also ambitious. He is very quick to remind his company that he has some authority under the king (V,iii,118). He is also eager to take advantage of his friendship with Falstaff and indeed lends him a thousand pounds. Perhaps his ambitions are also pointed out when Silence sings:

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[17]All quotations from the plays of Shakespeare,unless otherwise noted, are from G. B. Harrison, editor, Shakespeare: The Complete Works (New York, 1952).

> Do me right
> And dub me knight
> Shamingo. (V,iii,79-80)

Shallow is corrupt in handling his office and is very easily influenced to modify legal decisions. This is shown in scene i of Act V, in which Davy, Shallow's servant, intercedes on the behalf of William Visor, an arrant knave, who is to appear in a law suit before Justice Shallow. Because Davy has been his servant for eight years, Shallow feels that he should be allowed special considerations; therefore Davy's friend is not punished.

The character of Shallow is carefully drawn. The entire range of his depravity and foolishness is seen in this part of Falstaff's soliloquy:

> I do see the bottom of Justice Shallow. Lord, Lord, how subject we old men are to this vice of lying! The same starved Justice hath done nothing but prate to me of the wildness of his youth, and the feats he hath done about Turnbull Street, and every third word a lie, duer paid to the hearer than the Turk's tribute. (III,ii,324-330)

The similarities between Shallow and Gardiner are indeed interesting. Both are justices; both spent their youths in London; and both were not above using the law for their own advantages. Hotson finds no evidence that Gardiner was admitted to any one of the great Inns of Court; however, he has discovered that the justice sent three of his sons to the Inner Temple, and "this choice makes it more than possible that he himself had studied at Clement's Inn; for Clements

Inn, preparatory Inn of Chancery, was annexed to the Inner Temple."[18] Gardiner, too, was known to ingratiate himself with important persons. He lent money to Sir Walter Raleigh, entertained the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley, and other magnates at dinner and celebrated "the acquaintance of Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer."[19] Like Gardiner, Shallow has been to Clement's Inn. He also lent 1,000 pounds to Falstaff as Gardiner lent 600 pounds to Raleigh, and Shallow likes to remind his friends of his acquaintance with important persons. Shakespeare touches on these characteristics when Falstaff says of Shallow:

> And now is this Vice's dagger become a squire, and talks as familiarly of John a Gaunt as if he had been sworn brother to him, and I'll be sworn a' ne'er saw him but once in the tiltyard and then he burst his head for crowding among the Marshal's men. I saw it, and told John a Gaunt he beat his own name, for you might have thrust him and all his apparel into an eel-skin, the case of a trible hautboy was a mansion for him, a court. (III,ii,345-351)

In The Merry Wives of Windsor more specific parallels between Justice Shallow and William Gardiner are found. However, in this play the character of Shallow undergoes no additional development. This play also exposes the hopeless stupidity of the William Wayte type in the character of Abraham Slender.[20] Indeed the overall picture of Slender in this

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[18] Ibid., p. 106.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Bracy, p. 109.

play is the picture of a very simple-minded and foolish young man. The physical description of Slender that Shakespeare gives provides the audience with a great deal of amusement:

> Quickly. And Master Slender's your master?
> Simple. Aye, forsooth.
> Quicly. Does he not wear a great round beard, like a glover's paring knive?
> Simple. No, forsooth. He hath but a little wee face, with a little yellow beard--a Cain-colored beard.
> Quickly. A softly-sprighted man, is he not?
> Simple. Aye, forsooth. But he is as tall a man of his hands as any is between this and his head. He hath fought with a warrener.
> Quickly. How say you? Oh, I should remember him. Does he not hold up his head, as it were, and strut in his gait?
> Simple. Yes, indeed, does he. (I,iv,18-32)

Hotson further points out that Slender's self-portrait as a hot, quarrelsome swashbuckler who is extremely bold at bear-baiting is "a loving touch to the delicious sketch of Master Slender":[21]

> Slender. I love the sport well, but I shall as soon quarrel at it as any man in England. You are afraid if you see the bear loose, are you not?
> Anne. Aye, indeed, sir.
> Slender. That's meat and drink to me, now. I have seen Sackerson loose twenty times and have taken him by the chain; but, I warrant you, the women have so cried and shrieked at it that it passed. (I,i,302-310)

It may be significant that "Sackerson's arena was the Bear-Garden, on the very Bankside where the warlike Wayte had picked a quarrel with Shakespeare, and conceived his physical fear of the poet."[22]

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[21]Hotson, pp. 107-108.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 109.

The *Merry Wives of Windsor* provides further parallels between Wayte and Slender and Gardiner and Shallow. The following passage offers a very important clue for these identifications:

> Slender. All his successors gone before him hath done't, and all his ancestors that come after him may. They may give the dozen white luces in their coat.
> Shallow. It is an old coat.
> Evans. The dozen white louses do become an old coat well. It agrees well, passant. It is a familiar beast to man, and signifies love.
> Shallow. The luce is the fresh fish. The salt fish is an old coat. (I,i,14-23)

The luces were emblazoned on the coat of arms of the Lucy family and it has always been assumed that here Shakespeare was mocking Sir Thomas Lucy, who had lived in the neighborhood of Stratford-on-Avon during Shakespeare's youth and early manhood. Tradition says that in his youth Shakespeare had fallen afoul of Lucy -- indeed, that Shakespeare, having fallen into bad company, had made a practice of deer stealing, that Shakespeare had more than once robbed a park that belonged to Sir Thomas, and that Shakespeare had been prosecuted by him.[23] However, Hotson has discovered that Sir Thomas Lucy was not the only acquaintance of Shakespeare to bear the luces in his coat-of-arms, for, as related earlier, Gardiner's first wife was Frances Luce (or Lucy), daughter of Robert Luce (or Lucy). Therefore, Gardiner was entitled to quarter the

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[23]Harrison, p. 937.

Lucy arms. "Now the luces were blazoned _haurient_, that is, perpendicularly, as fishes rising to the surface of the water."[24] The assertion that the luces would "agree well passant" becomes clear when we realize that also impaled on Gardiner's family arms was a griffin passant and that his crest was a lion passant.[25] In explanation of the remark that "The luce is the fresh fish. The salt fish is an old coat" (I,i,22-23), Hotson states that the lines make an allusion to the combined arms of the great Fishmongers' Company: "The Fresh or Stockfishmongers' coat displayed luces, and that of the Saltfishmongers bore dolphins. Of the two, the Saltfishmongers' coat was the more ancient."[26] Because Gardiner was a former Warden of the Leathersellers' Company and Sheriff-elect of London twice, "the arms of the important livery companies were as familiar to him as his own."[27] Therefore, Hotson feels that if we picture Shallow as Gardiner, the remark is very natural.[28] Considering this new evidence, it would seem that Shakespeare would have more reason for anger at his and Langley's recent enemy than at Sir Thomas Lucy.

Part of the evidence that has always seemed to prove that in this play Shakespeare did intend to satirize Sir Thomas

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[24]Hotson, pp. 94-95.

[25]_Ibid._, p. 95.

[26]_Ibid._

[27]_Ibid._

[28]_Ibid._, pp. 94-101.

Lucy lies in the fact that he was reputed to own a park. However, Hotson has discovered that Gardiner, too, owned a park, Lagham, in Godstone, Surrey, an enclosed area which was complete with a gate-house. Hotson discusses the chicanery that Gardiner employed in obtaining this property, and the tale illustrates vividly Gardiner's lack of principle and character. Because of the devious methods which Gardiner did not hesitate to use, Hotson feels that any allusion to his park would have been very amusing to a Bankside audience. It becomes very significant that in the play Falstaff sarcastically tells Shallow not to bring the subject of the park and Falstaff's invasion of it to the attention of the Privy Council. "Twere better for you if it were known in counsel. You'll be laughed at" (I,i,121-122).

One other piece of evidence that Hotson finds very important in identifying Shallow with Gardiner and Wayte with Slender involves the fact that Shallow plots to make a very advantageous marriage for his kinsman Slender:

> Slender. Did her grandsire leave her seven hundred pound?
> Evans. Aye, and her father is make her a petter penny.
> Slender. I know the young gentlewoman. She has good gifts.
> Evans. Seven hundred pounds and possibilities is good gifts.
> Shallow. Well, let us see honest Master Page.
> (I,i,59-67)

In a complaint by Thomas Heron, an under-marshal of the Court Exchequer, Hotson discovered an episode in the life of Gardiner and Wayte that provides significant commentary on

this passage. The episode involved a young girl, Joan Taylor, who as next of kin to Robert Mote, was left a considerable estate. Before Joan came of age, the estate was administered by William Wilson, an overseer of Mote's will:

> Having thus control over Joan and her property, Wilson conspired with Justice Gardiner "between them both to enjoy the goods and lands of the said Joan Tayler." And to this end "by compact between them, they married the said Joan to one William Wayte, a certain loose person of no reckoning or value, being wholly under the rule and commandment of the said Gardiner. After which marriage being performed, the said Gardiner (having the said Wayte at his commandment) procured the said William Wayte, and the said Joan his wife by the hard dealing of the said Wayte, for small or no consideration to convey the lands of the said Joan unto the children of the said Gardiner. . . ."[29]

Wayte's subservience to Gardiner is also significant, for in the following passage obviously Slender is completely under the rule of Shallow:

> Shallow. Will you, under good dowry, marry her?
> Slender. I will do a greater thing than that, upon your request, Cousin, in any reason.
> Shallow. Nay, conceive me, conceive me, sweet Coz. What I do is to pleasure you, Coz. Can you love the maid?
> Slender. I will marry her, sir, at your request. But if there be no great love in the beginning, yet Heaven may decrease it upon better acquaintance when we are married and have more occasion to know one another. I hope upon familiarity will grow more contempt. But if you say "Marry her," I will marry her. That I am freely dissolved, and dissolutely.
> (I,i,246-260)[30]

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[29]Ibid., p. 102.

[30]Ibid., p. 110.

It is Hotson's opinion that the parallels between history and drama make the identification almost certain. Shakespeare, in "retaining enough of their peculiar features to give a Southwark audience supreme delight . . . led the precious pair gently by the nose to a permanent place on the great stage of fools."[31]

A discussion of Shakespeare's satire and of those events and people who influenced his writing would hardly be complete without a glance at his very interesting contemporary, Ben Jonson. Later discussion will concern the Poetomachia, the quarrel of the theaters that raged during the years 1599-1602,[32] and affected the careers of several of England's most talented playwrights. Discussion of the stage quarrel and Ben Jonson here shall be limited to those factors which involve Shakespeare. Harrison relates that during this period of his life Ben Jonson probably did not have a very pleasant disposition. Indeed, he appears to have been very conceited and quarrelsome, "a bully, snob and prig."[33] Further evidence of Jonson's disposition is given to us by William Drummond, who preserved a record of his conversations with Jonson. At the end of these conversations he adds his own estimation of Jonson's character:

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson, editors, The Merry Wives of Windsor (Cambridge, 1921), p. xxxi.

[33] G. B. Harrison, Shakespeare's Fellows (London, 1923), pp. 138-139.

> He is a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemnor and scorner of others; given rather to losse a friend than a jest: jealous of every word and action of those about him (especiallie after drink, which is one of the elements in which he liveth); a dissembler of ill parts which raigne in him, a bragger of some good that he wanteth; thinketh nothing well but what either he himself or some of his friends and countrymen hath said or done; he is passionately kynde and angry; careless either to gaine or keep; vindictive, but if he be well answered, at himself. . . .[34]

In Drummond's notes, which fill forty-one pages of a volume published by The Shakespeare Society, it is interesting to discover that the name of Shakespeare appears twice. In one place Drummond mentions that Jonson criticized Shakespeare because "in a play, he brought in a number of men saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, wher ther is no sea neer by some 100 miles."[35] Jonson's second mention of Shakespeare probably explains his main objection to him. He says "that Shakspeer wanted arte."[36]

Johnson's feelings toward Shakespeare are indeed an interesting subject. Perhaps his attitude can best be explained as being a mingling of jealousy and affection. It was thanks to Shakespeare that the Globe theater produced Jonson's first comedy, Every Man in His Humour. D. H. Madden explains that "In a man of Jonson's temperament a sense of

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[34] D. H. Madden, Shakespeare and His Fellows (New York, 1916), pp. 115-116.

[35] Ibid., p. 115.

[36] Ibid.

obligation due to the kindness of a successful rival goes far to account for the conflict between jealousy of a rival, love of the man, and admiration of his genius, to which the extraordinary man gave expressions during his lifetime."[37]

There are several satirical blows at Shakespeare in Jonson's plays. For example, Harrison feels that in the play Poetaster, His Arraignment, Jonson at one point, makes fun of Shakespeare through the character whom he calls a "parcel-poet," (III,i,310)[38] and further satire of Shakespeare occurs when, of Caprichio, Tucca says:

> They [the players] are grown licentious, the rogues; libertines, flat libertines. They forget they are i' the statute, the rascals; they are blazoned there; there they are tricked, they and their pedigrees; they need no other heralds, I wiss. (I,i,272)

Two years earlier, after a previous rebuff, Shakespeare's father had been granted a coat of arms by the heralds, so William could thereafter call himself "a gentleman." It seems that at the time the affair caused some amusement and indignation, and in the above passage Tucca seems to refer to it.[39] Another example of Jonson's criticism of Shakespeare is seen in the prologue of the revised version of Every Man in His Humour. Here, Jonson sneers at his rival who wanted art and

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[38]All quotations from the plays of Jonson are from Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Hereford, editors, Ben Jonson (London, n.d.), references are to act, scene, and page numbers.

[39]Harrison, Shakespeare's Fellows, pp. 147-148.

ignored the unities of time, place, and action; he criticizes the playwright who does such things as these:

> To make a child, now swaddled, to proceed Man,
> and then shoot up, in one beard, and weed
> Past threescore years: or, with three rusty swords,
> And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words,
> Fight over York, and Lancaster's long jars,
> And in the tyring-house bring wounds, to scars.

These examples of Jonson's satire of Shakespeare and his references to him are mild indeed compared to his satire of Marston and Dekker, who managed to repay Jonson in kind.[40]

Although Shakespeare was very prominent in the theater, there is no direct evidence in his plays that he entered into the Poetomachia in any way. Nevertheless, as previously noted, in _The Second Part of The Return from Parnassus_, the actor Kempe says that Shakespeare had indeed given Jonson "a purge that made him bewray his credits." Scholars, of course, have given many and varied explanations of the purge. Dover Wilson offers one rather interesting theory. He states that the controversy or stage quarrel, "on its literary side, hinged itself upon Jonson's classical theory of the Comedy of Humours," which he exemplified in _Every Man in his Humour_, in 1598, the date that Wilson gives for the writing of _The Merry Wives of Windsor_."[41] In brief, a humour character is one whose "conduct is controlled by some one characteristic

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[40]Madden, p. 124.

[41]Quiller-Couch and Wilson, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

or whim or humour. Some single humour or exaggerated trait of character gave each important figure in the action a definite bias of disposition and supplied the chief motives of his actions."[42] Wilson offers the theory that Shakespeare's purge of Jonson is found in one of Shakespeare's humour characters, Corporal Nym, who appears in The Merry Wives of Windsor and Henry V. As evidence for this theory, Wilson offers the fact that Jonson had seen military service in the Netherlands and boasted that he had killed his man and taken the "spolia opima" from him. His promotion on the stage to corporal, which Shakespeare gives Nym, would surely delight the audience. Another reference to Jonson through Nym may be found in the fact that "Jonson notoriously suffered from physical (as well as other swellings) of the head, and in The Merry Wives of Windsor, Nym is made to say, 'I have operations (in my head) which be humours of revenge.'"[43] Lastly, about this time Jonson may have been starring in the provinces as Hieronimo, Marshal of Spain in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, and it is also interesting to note that "nym" is short for Hieronimo, "with a side-glance at 'nim' to steal." In view of these facts, Wilson suggests that the "purge" occurred when Shakespeare introduced Jonson into The Merry Wives of Windsor as

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[42] William Thrall and Addison Hibbard, A Handbook to Literature (New York, 1936), pp. 97-98.

[43] Quiller-Couch and Wilson, p. xxxii.

Corporal Nym,who prates of his humours, repeating the word until "its boredom becomes comic."[44] For example, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* Nym says:

> And this is true. I like not the humor of lying. He hath wronged me in some humors. I should have borne the humored letter to her; but I have a sword, and it shall bite upon my necessity. He loves your wife. There's the short and the long. My name is Corporal Nym. I speak, and I avouch. 'Tis true. My name is Nym, and Falstaff loves your wife. Adieu. I love not the humor of bread and cheese, and there's the humor of it. Adieu. (II,i,132-141)

There is another character found in Shakespeare's writing who may perhaps be a caricature of Ben Jonson. This character is Shakespeare's premier classicist, and it is probable that the main difference between Shakespeare and Jonson on the subject of how to write plays involves the relative attention each gave to classical dramatic theory. Jonson's attitude toward the classics was almost one of worship. *Every Man in his Humour* was written as a strict Roman comedy. Jonson observed the three unities, but even more he kept to the spirit of the old classical comedy. Jonson objected to the fact that Shakespeare seemed to ignore the rules. He once remarked that Shakespeare "flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped," and when he learned from Shakespeare's fellow actors that Shakespeare's plays reached them without a blot or erasure in the lines, he remarked, "Would he had blotted a thousand"; in other words,

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[44] *Ibid.*

Jonson labored for the classic idea of decorum in his plays while Shakespeare went to such violent extremes in his writing that Jonson said that some of it was "ridiculous" and "could not escape laughter."[45] Jonson's love of rules and the classical, proven method of writing, may perhaps be noted by Shakespeare in Henry V through the character of Fluellen. Fluellen, too, believed that the classical, proven method was the only way, although he applies this theory to fighting a war instead of writing a play. Fluellen states his attitudes about the correct manner of conducting a war on several occasions. For example, he emphatically tells Captain Gower to lower his voice and gives reasons why Gower should have known better than to yell out in the darkness:

> So! In the name of Jesu Christ, speak lower.
> It is the greatest admiration in the universal world
> when the true and aunchient prerogatifes and laws
> of the wars is not kept. If you would take the pains
> but to examine the wars of Pompey the Great, you
> shall find, I warrant you, that there is no tiddle-
> taddle nor pibble-pabble in Pompey's camp. I warrant
> you you shall find the ceremonies of the wars, and
> the cares of it, and the forms of it, and the
> sobriety of it, and the modesty of it, to be other-
> wise. (IV,i,65-75)

At another point Fluellen praises one man and condemns another for their attitudes toward fighting a war. Fluellen says of Captain Macmorris:

> By Cheshu, he is an ass, as in the world. I
> will verify as much in his beard. He has no more
> directions in the true disciplines, than is a puppy dog.
> (III,ii,74-77)

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[45]Marchette Chute, Shakespeare of London (New York, 1949), pp. 202-205.

However, of Captain Jamy, Fluellen says:

> Captain Jamy is a marvelous falorous gentleman, that is certain, and of great expedition and knowledge in th' aunchient wars, upon my particular knowledge of his direction. By Cheshu, he will maintain his argument as well as any military man in the world, in the disciplines of the pristine wars of the Romans. (III,ii,81-87)

Throughout Shakespeare's career, he was extremely interested and involved in all aspects of the theater and was quite naturally in continuous rivalry with other theaters, actors, and writers. There are several passages and characters in his plays that make comment on other actors or various practices of the theater. The main rival of Shakespeare's acting company throughout most of his career was the Lord Admiral's Company, and their celebrated actor Ned Alleyn was a very important competitor of the Lord Chamberlain's Men. Alleyn was the "leading exponent of the older style of heavy robustious rant."[46] Shakespeare indeed glances at Alleyn through the character of Pistol, who appears in _II Henry IV_, _The Merry Wives of Windsor_, and _Henry V_. From Pistol's mouth pours "an abundant parody of contemporary bombast," and he is well able to reach the most "tragic heights at the smallest provocation."[47] Perhaps one of the best examples of Pistol's bombast is seen in II Henry IV when he says of Doll Tearsheet:

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[46]Harrison, _Shakespeare: The Complete Works_, p. 939.

[47]Matthias Shaaber, editor, _Henry IV, Part II_: The Variorum Shakespeare (London, 1940), p. 631.

> I'll see her damned first, to Pluto's damned lake,
> by this hand, to the infernal deep, with Erebus
> and tortures vile also. Hold hook and line, say
> I. Down, down, dogs! Down, faitors! Have we
> not Hiren here? (II,iv,169-173)

And later he says:

> These be good humors, indeed! Shall pack horses,
> And hollow pampered jades of Asia
> Which cannot go but thirty miles a day,
> Compare with Caesars, and with Cannibals,
> And Trojan Greeks? Nay, rather damn them with
> King Cerberus, and let the welkin roar.
> Shall we fall foul for toys? (II,iv,177-183)

Here Pistol is speaking in a jargon which is taken from the more extravagant plays which the Admiral's men were producing at the Rose Theater.[48] "Ancient Pistol is no booklover, but a patron of the theater, and when he misquotes _Tamburlaine_, he is thinking not of Marlow but of his idol Alleyn; and so he stalks about the stage giving a very fair imitation of Alleyn's best tragic style."[49] In _I Henry IV_ there is perhaps another bit of satire of Alleyn. In scene iv of Act II, Falstaff assumes the role of the King, scolding his prodigal son. Here Falstaff "assumes the tragic mannerisms of the great Alleyn in a heavy role,"[50] and it is interesting to note that this satire was directed at Alleyn during a period when the competition between the Chamberlain's and Admiral's

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[48]Harrison, _Shakespeare: The Complete Works_, p. 671.

[49]Shaaber, p. 631.

[50]Harrison, _Shakespeare: The Complete Works_, p. 632.

companies was becoming more intense.[51] In the following passage from I Henry IV, Shakespeare again satirizes his rival Alleyn:

> Falstaff. Give me a cup of sack to make my eyes look red, that it may be thought I have wept: for I must speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein.
> Prince. Well, here is my leg.
> Hostess. O Jesu, this is excellent sport, i' faith!
> Falstaff. Weep not, sweet queen, for trickling tears are vain.
> Hostess. Oh, the father, how he holds his countenance!
> Falstaff. For God's sake, lords, convey my tristful queen, for tears do stop the floodgates of her eyes.
> Hostess. Oh, Jesu, he doth it as like one of these harlotry players as ever I see!
> Falstaff. Peace, good pint pot; peace, good tickle-brain. Harry, I do not only marvel where thou spendest thy time, but also how thou art accmpanied. For though the camomile, the more it is trodden on, the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is wasted, the sooner it wears. That thou art my son, I have partly thy mother's word, partly my own opinion, but chiefly a villainous trick of thine eye, and a foolish hanging of thy nether lip, that doth warrant me. If then thou be son to me, here lies the point; why, being son to me, art thou so pointed at?
> (II,iv,421-449)

There is a bit of satire of Alleyn found in Hamlet, too. In scene ii of Act II, there is a short speech which is perhaps from a lost play of Dido and Aeneas, although it is probably Shakespeare's own work. This speech, delivered by the first player,is done with "excessive gesture and emotion;" also, "it is written in the heavy elaborate style still

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[51] Ibid.

popular in the dramas of the Admiral's men."[52] Later in Act IV, scene ii of Hamlet, Shakespeare, in the prince's famous advice to the players, states his own creed and the creed and practice of his company "as contrasted with the more violent methods of Edward Alleyn and his fellows":[53]

> Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue. But if you mouth it, as many of your players do, I had as lief the town crier spoke my lines. Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand, thus, but use all gently. For in the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness. Oh, it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, who for the most part are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb shows and noise. I would have such a fellow whipped for o'erdoing Termagant -- it out-Herods Herod. Pray you, avoid it.
> . . . .
> Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor. Suit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature. For anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is to hold as 'twere the mirror up to Nature--to show Virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure. Now this overdone or come tardy off, though it make the unskillfull laugh, can not but make the judicious grieve, the censure of the which one must in your allowance o'erweigh a whole theater of others. Oh, there be players that I have seen play, and heard others praise -- and that highly, not to speak it profanely -- that neither having the accent of Christians nor the gait of Christian, pagan, nor man, have so strutted and bellowed that I have thought some of Nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably. (III,ii,1-16, 18-38)

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[52]Ibid., p. 903.

[53]Ibid., p. 908.

In one other passage in Hamlet Shakespeare found it necessary to make a reference to stage events. As previously indicated, the Admiral's and Chamberlain's companies experienced sharp competition from the Blackfriar's Company, which was composed of a group of children managed by Henry Evans. These children became extremely popular; they were the fashion, and they captured much of the audience of the professional players. Such writers as Marston, Jonson, and Chapman found that the boys' companies gave an author much more freedom and liberty to write as he pleased and they used these companies to satirize and lampoon each other.[54] Shakespeare's concern about this situation is seen in the following passage, in which Rosencrantz discusses the popularity of the children's companies and the resulting decline of interest in the presentations of the professional players:

> Ros. Nay, their endeavor keeps in the wonted pace. But there is, sir, an eyrie of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question and are most tyrannically clapped for't. These are now the fashion, and so berattle the common stages -- so they call them -- that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose quills and dare scare come thither.
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> Haml. What, are they children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escoted? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterward, if they should grow themselves to common players -- as it is most like if their means are no better -- their writers do them wrong to make them exclaim against their own succession? (II,ii,352-368)

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[54]Chute, pp. 230-233.

Thus, this study concludes that the satire that was previously thought to have been aimed at Sir Thomas Lucy was intended for Shakespeare's enemies, Justice William Gardiner and his stepson, William Wayte. In two of his plays, _II Henry IV_ and _The Merry Wives of Windsor_, Shakespeare uses the characters of Justice Shallow and Slender to lampoon these two scoundrels with whom he and his friend, Francis Langley, had experienced disagreements severe enough to result in legal actions. This study has also reviewed Shakespeare's satire of Ben Jonson. This satire is seen in the characters of Fluellen, the "classicist," in _Henry V_, and Corporal Nym, who frequently utters the word "humour" in _The Merry Wives of Windsor_ and _Henry V_. Satire of Edward Alleyn, a rival actor, is seen in the character of Pistol, who appears in _II Henry IV_, _The Merry Wives of Windsor_, and _Henry V_, and who constantly speaks the kind of bombast given on stage by Alleyn. This study has further shown that in _Hamlet_ Shakespeare, a businessman concerned about the success of his company,satirically expresses his displeasure at the advent and popularity of the children's companies.

CHAPTER IV

SATIRE IN *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*

The next play in this study of Shakespearean satire is *Troilus and Cressida*. In some ways this is one of Shakespeare's most interesting efforts, for the disillusioned and unpleasant spirit of the play has for many years caused scholars and critics to wonder at the state of the dramatist's mind when he composed this work. For example, Harrison says:

> *Troilus and Cressida* is one of the most puzzling of Shakespeare's plays, although at times one of the most powerful. It is distinctly an unpleasant play, and has therefore been ignored by those critics who prefer to avoid the dark corners in Shakespeare's mind. . . . *Troilus and Cressida* is the work of a man in the bitterest mood of disillusionment to whom the world has become "a foul and pestilent congregation of vapors."[1]

A. C. Bradley had earlier noted that in *Troilus and Cressida* the reader is very aware of "a partial suppression of that element of Shakespeare's mind which unites him with the mystical poets and with the great musicians and philosophers. . . . We feel an intense intellectual activity, but at the same time a certain coldness and hardness, as though some power in his soul, at once the highest and sweetest were for a time in abeyance."[2]

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[1]G. B. Harrison, editor, *Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (New York, 1948), pp. 974-975.

[2]A.C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (New York,1955), p. 151.

Because of the bitter tone of this play and because it is one of Shakespeare's most satirical plays, it will be helpful at this point to review some of the tangential matters concerning Troilus and Cressida. The exact dating of the play is rather uncertain. F. G. Fleay, whose opinion is endorsed by several other scholars, believes that the Troilus story was written about 1594, and that someone other than Shakespeare completed the play about 1599. He further states that the play was revised in 1602, although he gives no reason for this statement. However, R. A. Small presents a thorough amount of evidence, both external and internal, that places the date of the work in the last months of 1601.[3] If this dating is correct, it means that Shakespeare would have written the play during the years of the "War of the Theaters," which will be very significant in this discussion.

The play first appeared in 1609, in two quarto editions. The second edition has a preface which says that the play was "never stal'd with the stage, never clapperclaw'd with the palms of the vulgar," and that it was published against the wills of the "grand possessors."[4] This preface, plus other factors, led to the assumption by many scholars that the play had been written for a special occasion, perhaps a festival at one of the Inns of Court. There are several reasons for

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[3]R.A. Small, Ben Jonson and the Poetasters (New York, 1966), pp. 140-141.

[4]Ibid., p. 140.

this deduction. For instance, the work contains long philosophical and meditative speeches which would probably not be of much interest to the customary Shakespearean audience. The characters argue about intellectual issues which would be of more interest to a gathering of subtle and well-trained minds, especially legal minds, than they would be to the groundlings. Hector seeks to prove that the accepted universal laws of morality demand that Helen be returned to her husband:

> There is a law in each well-ordered nation
> To curb those raging appetites that are
> Most disobedient and refractory,
> If Helen then be wife to Sparta's King,
> As it is known she is, these moral laws
> Of nature and of nations speak aloud
> To have her back returned. (II,ii,180-186)[5]

This discussion of the morality of war would have been best understood and appreciated only by a group of men who had a legal education, for the passage relates to the view of Alberico Gentili, who was the Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford after 1587. In his work *De jure belli libri tres*, which was written in 1598, the author for the first time, "identifies *jus naturae*, in the sense of 'law as implanted by nature in the human mind' or 'law as capable of being demonstrated by reason,' with *jus gentius*, meaning 'rules common to the laws of all nations.'" The remainder of Gentili's work consists of collecting and codifying rules for the conduct of war. Another piece of evidence concerning the place of

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[5]All quotations from the plays of Shakespeare are from

performance for the play occurs when Pandarus says:

> Some two months hence my will shall here be made.
> It should be now. . . . (V,x,53-54)

The word "here" is more significant if it indicates a place where lawyers were gathered instead of a public or private theater.[6]

For this discussion of Shakespeare's satire of Troilus and Cressida, it is necessary to review the famous "War of the Theaters," or "Poetomachia." Robert Sharpe, in The Real War of the Theaters, traces the rivalry of the Admiral's Men and the Chamberlain's Men through the years 1594-1604 to the final supremacy of the Chamberlain's Company. Sharpe follows these companies through the problems caused by the advent of the boy companies, the troubles caused by the political affiliations of each company (exemplified in the case of the Chamberlain's Company by the fall of the Earl of Essex) and carefully examines the repertories of each. In the beginning these two companies were well matched; and although they were challenged by others in the next eight years, their supremacy remained unshaken.

In order to judge the relative success of the two companies, Sharpe notes which plays were selected for court performance by Edmund Tilney, the Master of the Revels for Queen Elizabeth, whose official task was to recommend a

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[6]O. J. Campbell, Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida (California, 1936), pp. 191-192.

select list of dramas for the court's celebration at Christmas. Sharpe feels that Tilney's judgment would have been the same as that of the court because his post was under the general supervision of the Lord Chamberlain; however, he owed his position to the influence of the Lord Admiral, his kinsman. Tilney was therefore under obligation to both, and politics would not be likely to have any bearing on his choices. Sharpe also points out that the fact that two companies ruled the stage at the same time is somehow typical of the dualism of Elizabeth's political policy. It is also important to note that because the companies were attached to the persons of the great nobles, the political relations of these patrons would have an effect on the companies and the policies of the companies. Therefore, some of the rivalry would have political overtones.[7]

Although these two companies were rather well-matched, each had certain merits and advantages. Sharpe says that the Chamberlain's Men of Burbage were rather weak financially. The Admiral's Men had stronger outside backing in the person of Philip Henslowe. However, Sharpe feels that this advantage was actually a handicap because Henslowe, a rather ignorant man, probably held rather crude theories of attracting an audience. In acting, the Admiral's Men had a very important asset in Ned Alleyn, for the Queen herself was very fond of

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[7]Robert Boies Sharpe, The Real War of the Theaters (London, 1934), p. 1.

his acting, especially in the roles created by Marlowe, and the fact that the Admiral's Men had the plays of this great writer must also be considered an advantage in their favor. However, the Chamberlain's Richard Burbage was becoming a recognized rival of Alleyn, and the services of Will Kempe, a very popular clown, were a great box-office asset for the Chamberlain's Men. The most important asset for this company was, however, the fact that they possessed the services of William Shakespeare, who had a well-established literary and dramatic reputation by the autumn of 1594.[8]

The audiences of the rival companies further point to their differences. It is probable that the Admiral's Men clung to tradition and were less eager for any innovation, aiming their productions at the taste of the older, less sophisticated, more middle-class types. On the other hand, the audiences of the Chamberlain's Men were a different matter. "Here the pit and cheaper galleries surged with sword-and-buckler servants, hungry 'materialists,' 'younger sons of younger brothers,' and other retainers and followers of the warlike Earl of Essex," including such men as the young Earl of Southampton, the patron of William Shakespeare.[9]

Sharpe also discusses the respective repertories of each company for each season and points out the superiority that

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

one company might have had in a particular type of drama. For example, in the 1594 season the comedies of the Admiral's Men showed a strong romantic trend, whereas the strength of the Chamberlain's Company was in farce.[10] In tragedy a slight advantage may be awarded to the Chamberlain's Men, for although their tragedies were fewer, they were on the average newer.[11] There was also a difference in each company's treatment of a particular event or type of character. An example may be seen in the differences in the treatment of friars by the respective companies. If one wished to see a friar in an undignified or immoral role, one would see the Admiral's production. On the other hand, a sympathetic treatment of friars would be seen in the Chamberlain's production.[12]

For this discussion the main interest shall be in the rivalry as it is expressed in the plays of the period through the use of satire and lampooning of contemporaries and in the stage quarrel which finally evolved from this rivalry between the companies. A good example of the way in which the satire was used by the companies is seen in Shakespeare's _A Midsummer Night's Dream_. Sharpe believes and shows evidence that the satire in this play "was not remote, general, and literary, but immediate, specific, and personal, motivated by

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[10]_Ibid._, p. 34.

[11]_Ibid._, p. 45.

[12]_Ibid._, p. 58.

a really vital rivalry and applying directly to a current series of productions by the rival company, the Admiral's Men, to the author of these plays, Thomas Heywood, and the principal actor in them, Ned Alleyn -- and not without general satirical implications against the typical audience and whole popular policy of the Henslowe-owned and Alleyn-dominated company."[13] There is also a possibility that this play contains a burlesque on one or more contemporary poems, such as _The Silkworm and Their Flies_; and perhaps there is also some burlesque of Heywood's _Four Ages_.[14] Use of such satire, that is, satire of fellow actors or writers, was very prominent in the plays of the period and set the scene for the stage war that developed.

Perhaps one of the first incidents which led to the stage quarrel was the production of Nashe's very satirical _Isle of Dogs_ by Pembroke's Men. The Queen and her council reacted sternly to this play, causing all playhouses to be closed. Nashe went into hiding, and one of his collaborators, Ben Jonson, was thrown into prison along with Gabriel Spencer and Robert Shaw, who were fellow-players. When they came out of prison, it was determined that they would join the Admiral's Men;[15] however, as far as Jonson was concerned, the relationship did not last for very long, for in 1598 the very

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[13] _Ibid._, p. 63.

[14] _Ibid._

[15] Harrison, _Shakespeare: The Complete Works_, p. 41.

important production of his Every Man in His Humour was given by the Chamberlain's Company. Jonson's departure from the Admiral's Men was connected with his killing in a duel of Gabriel Spencer, one of Henslowe's actors.[16] Jonson was tried for manslaughter and found guilty, but he was able to escape by pleading "benefit of clergy," a survival of the times when educated men, that is, men who could read, were of so great a value that they were given a second chance.[17] Nevertheless, Jonson's stay with the Chamberlain's Men was also short-lived, for in 1599, with the failure of Every Man out of His Humour, he left this company with hard feelings, which he later expressed in his work for the boy actors.[18] This vigorous and growing competition with the boy companies plus the mutual dislike of Jonson and Marston, writer for Paul's boys, added the final sparks which helped to bring the stage quarrel to a climax. Sharpe feels that the inception of the quarrel was in some of Marston's satirical scurrilities which offended the dictatorial Jonson's vanity, and it was about this time in 1599 that Marston rewrote Histriomastix for the Paul's boys, a play in which is found some satire of Jonson as Chrysoganus plus some satire of the Admiral's and Chamberlain's Men.[19] Jonson added fuel to the

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[16] Sharpe, p. 120.

[17] Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 28.

[18] Sharpe, p. 121.

[19] Ibid., pp. 191-192.

quarrel when, in Every Man out of his Humour, he introduced a pair of gulls who attempt to pass themselves off as wits by imitating Marston's manner.[20] Then Marston retaliated with Jack Drum's Entertainment, a play that was very important in the Poetomachia. In this play there is some imitation of Shakespeare's plays. For example, there is a burlesque of Romeo and Juliet in Puff's serenade of Katherine at three o'clock in the morning. However, the majority of the satire is aimed at Jonson personally. In the play Marston presents Jonson as either Brabant Senior or John Fo de King, and has Fo de King fearful that he may "'hand like de Burgullian,' a fat rascal whose fate was sometimes used to taunt Jonson with his own narrow escape."[21] Marston also "depicts certain intrigues which may refer to Jonson's own domestic affairs . . . and uses some vocabulary which Jonson later makes Crispinus vomit in The Poetaster, doubtless by way of retaliation."[22] The play also imitates Jonson's comedies of humours, and there has been some suggestion that Planet is Shakespeare. Although Sharpe finds some evidence to support this assertion, he does not believe that it is really probable.[23]

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[20]Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 45.

[21]Sharpe, p. 159.

[22]Ibid., p. 160.

[23]Ibid., pp. 159-160.

Jonson, then writing for the Chapel boys, followed with Cynthia's Revels, in which there is satire of Dekker as Anaides and Marston as Hedon.[24] Marston replied more strongly with What You Will in the spring of 1601. This play was prefaced with an introduction in which Marston, although he did not mention any names, attacked Jonson because he pedantically insisted on rules and was insolently contemptuous of those who were not in agreement with him:

> Music and poetry were first approved
> By common sense, and that which pleased most,
> Held most allowed pass. Know rules or art
> Were shaped to pleasure, not pleasure to your rules.[25]

Jonson at this point was furious, and in his next play, Poetaster, His Arraignment, he pictured himself as the poet Horace, who is harassed by two inferior wits: Crispinus, who is Marston, and Demetrius, who is Dekker. These inferior wits are finally condemned after a public trial, and as a punishment Crispinus is made "to vomit up his turgid words; he is then dismissed with a warning to mend his manners."[26] Before the play appeared, however, the Chamberlain's Men had hired Dekker to make a reply to Jonson, which he did in Satiromastix. In this play Jonson, as Horace, is brutally and vividly caricatured. Dekker hits Jonson in all his most

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[24] Ibid., p. 192.

[25] Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 45.

[26] Ibid., p. 45.

vulnerable points. Jonson was offended, and for the time being he withdrew from writing plays.[27]

Because Troilus and Cressida is indeed different from most of the plays that Shakespeare wrote, many critics have sought to prove that the play was in some way a document of the war of the theaters in which Marston, Jonson, and Dekker were involved, and that certain characters in the play are lampoons of these individuals. Evidence that this play refers to the stage quarrel can be seen in the fact that there are verbal allusions to the plays that were a part of the quarrel.[28] The following lines are significant:

> When rank Thersites opes his mastic jaws
> We shall hear music, wit, and oracle. (I,iii,73-74)

Shakespeare coined the word, "mastic" from "mastix," meaning a scourge. Dekker used this word often in his play Satiro mastix; or, The Whipping of a Satirist.[29] There are other signs in the play that Shakespeare must have had the war of the theaters and the writers involved in it, especially Jonson, in his mind. His armed prologue seems to be an imitation of the armed prologues introduced by Jonson in Poetaster, 1601, and Marston in Antonio and Mellida in 1602. It is significant that Shakespeare's prologue is very similar to Jonson's. Shakespeare's prologue says:

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[27]Ibid., p. 46.

[28]Small, p. 142.

[29]Harrison, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, p. 983.

> And hither am I come
> A prologue armed, but not in confidence
> Of author's pen or actor's voice . . . (23-25)

These lines are perhaps a parody of Jonson's prologue:

> If any muse why I salute the stage
> An armed prologue; know, 'tis a dangerous age;
> Wherein who writes had need present his scenes
> Forty-fold proof against the conjuring means
> Of base detractors and illiterate apes,
> That fill up rooms in fair and formal shapes
> 'Gainst these have we put on this forced defiance;
> Whereof the allegory and his sense
> Is, that a well-erected confidence
> Can fright their pride, and laugh their folly hence. (6-14)

There is another reference to Jonson's prologue in the lines:

> I have said my prayers, and devil
> Envy say amen. (II,iii,25-26)

This seems to be an allusion to Jonson's use of Envy in the prologue to _Poetaster_.[30]

There is other evidence that this play is in some ways a document of the stage quarrel. It is possible that the fact that Ajax is presented as a rival to Achilles parallels the fact that the King's Men hired Dekker to write his _Satiromastix_ against Jonson. The subsequent defection of Thersites from Ajax to Achilles would then agree with the reconciliation of Marston and Jonson in 1601, when they worked together on _Rosalind's Complaint_.[31]

Further evidence of Shakespeare's involvement can be seen in the well-known speech of Kempe in _The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus_, written about 1601-1602:

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[30] Small, p. 142.

[31] F. G. Fleay, _A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama_ (London,1891), II, 189.

> O that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow, he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him betray his credit.

Many critics believe that Troilus and Cressida would be the best play in which to seek the "purge" that Shakespeare was said to have given Jonson, and if a purge did occur in this play, it is found in the character of Ajax. Campbell offers several reasons why Ajax is probably a satire of Jonson. In this type of play, a satirical comedy, there is often personal satire even though the "principal attack is leveled against general social and ethical absurdities."[32] If Campbell is correct in assuming that the play was written for a special audience, they would not fail to notice very subtle references to individuals. In fact, they would have probably been disappointed if there had been "no personal and political allusions to challenge their ingenuity."[33] Small believes that the character of Ajax is definitely a lampoon of Jonson. To support his theory he points out the genesis of all the other characters in the play. Cressida is shown to have come "from common tradition, Pandarus from Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, Thersites and Nestor from Chapman's Iliad, Troilus from a combination of Caxton's Recuyell with Chaucer, and all the rest from Caxton."[34] The character of Ajax, on the other hand, is derived from no known source. In the

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[32]Campbell, p. 218.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid.

Iliad Ajax Telamon, though heroic, is a rather colorless character, not like Shakespeare's Ajax. Neither of Caxton's Ajaxes can be the original of Shakespeare's character, nor can a combination of the two provide a resemblance. Thus, it is probable that Shakespeare's Ajax is his own creation.

Shakespeare provides a rather elaborate description of Ajax, and it is significant that he mentions "humors." Alexander says:

> This man, lady hath robbed many beasts of their particular additions. He is as valiant as the lion, churlish as the bear, slow as the elephant--a man into whom Nature hath so crowded humors that his valor is crushed into folly, his folly sauced with discretion. There is no man hath a virtue that he hath not a glimpse of, nor any man an attaint but he carries some stain of it. He is melancholy without cause and merry against the hair. He hath the joints of everything, but everything so out of joint that he is a gouty Briareus, many hands and no use, or purblind Argus, all eyes and no sight. (I,ii,19-31)

The first lines of the scene (1-30) seem to be for no other purpose than to present this description of Ajax, "for the defeat of Hector by Ajax, and the consequent wrath of Hector find no place in Caxton's Recuyell or in the Iliad."[35] Also, it is significant that this description of Ajax is not consistent with the character seen in the remainder of the play. Ajax is a rather simple man, personally brave but rather stupid. However, Shakespeare's description shows him as a most complex person. Thus, the elaborate description,

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[35]Small, p. 168.

which Shakespeare went to some lengths to present, has some meaning. Perhaps it is true, as Fleay says, that the description applies much more to Jonson than to Ajax. There are other characteristics of Ajax that suggest Jonson. For example, he is envious of Achilles. Thersites says:

> Thou grumblest and railest every hour on
> Achilles, and thou art as full of envy at his greatness
> as Cerberus is at Proserpina's beauty -- aye, that
> thou barkest at him. (II,i, 35-38)

More of the character of Ajax is apparent in this exchange between Nestor, Diomedes, and Ulysses:

> Nestor. What a vice were it in Ajax now --
> Ulysses. If he were proud --
> Diomedes. Or covetous of praise --
> Ulysses. Aye, or surly borne --
> Diomedes. Or strange, or self-affected! -- (II,iii,246-250)

Ajax complains of the same qualities in Achilles, a fact which causes Agamemnon to remark: "He will be the physician that should be the patient" (II,iii,223-224). Other aspects of Ajax's personality become evident when he is referred to by synonyms of "stupid" or "dull." For example, he is called "blockish" (I,iii,375) and "dull and brainless" (I,iii,381); yet Thersites says, "There were wit in this head, an 'twould out" (III,iii,225-226). The qualities of pride, envy, conceit, are not suggested in Homer or Caxton, and since all of these were attributed to Jonson, it is necessary to conclude that Shakespeare's portrait of Ajax was indeed satirical of Jonson. The picture of Jonson as "blockish" would also be

an added insult. Small feels that the satire of Jonson was severe enough to be called a purge for several reasons. The description of Ajax would cause the audience to immediately think of Jonson. Later, in the scene in which he converses with the generals in front of Achilles' tent (II,iii), Ajax develops into a decidedly comic figure. Small does not believe that Jonson would have taken kindly to this ridicule.[36]

O. J. Campbell does not agree with the identification of Ajax as Jonson. He says:

> To be sure, certain traits -- for example, pride, arrogance, railing, and "humorous" variability -- which are attributed to him by other characters in the play, were ascribed to Jonson by his enemies. But Ajax' dominant characteristic was heavy stupidity, and no one would accuse the shrewd-tempered, shrewder-tongued dramatist of that vice. Besides, Ajax evidently appeared on the stage as a heavy, corpulent, "gorbellied" knave. He is called "the elephant Ajax," a man of "spacious and dilated" parts. But Jonson, less than thirty years old in 1602, was not the ponderous person he later became. . . . For all these reasons it is extremely doubtful that any audience of the time could recognize Ajax as Jonson, or so much as think of the poet while Ajax was on the stage.[37]

However, as Campbell has himself said, the satire in one of these plays, which he calls comical satire, need not be a complete portrait of a person. It would seem that Shakespeare went to considerable trouble to give Ajax some of the attributes of Jonson.

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[36] Ibid., pp. 167-169.

[37] Campbell, p. 219.

There is perhaps another bit of personal satire in Troilus and Cressida, although it is certainly not as positive as the satire of Jonson as Ajax. This identification concerns another of Shakespeare's contemporaries who was very much involved in the war of the theaters. Several critics feel that it is quite conceivable that Thersites is a caricature of John Marston. Through the reply of Duke Senior to Jaques in As You Like It, we see that Shakespeare is cynical of the Marston type of malcontent:[38]

> Jaques. Invest me in my motley; give me leave
> To speak my mind, and I will through and through
> Cleanse the foul body of th' infected world,
> If they will patiently receive my medicine.
> Duke Senior. Fie on thee! I can tell what thou wouldst do.
> Jaques. What, for a counter, would I do, but good?
> Duke Senior. Most mischievous foul sin, in chiding sin:
> As sensual as the brutish sting itself:
> And all the embossed sores and headed evils
> That thou with license of free foot has caught
> Wouldst thou disgorge into the general world.
> (II,vii,58-69)

In making this identification of Thersites as Marston, it is very important to note Shakespeare's characterization of Thersites. His original is from Chapman's translation of Homer's Iliad. However, his character is altered by the satirical spirit that was prevalent around 1600. Also, it is important to note that Thersites is not at all a typical

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[38]Sharpe, p. 136.

Shakespearian character. In fact, many critics feel that he is the most "un-Shakespearian figure" in all his works.[39] Nevertheless, to find a model for Thersites, it is only necessary to look at the plays of Marston and Jonson, for Thersites is a typical railer, a malcontent. Perhaps it is significant that Marston was prominent in the development of this type of character. In fact, his play The Malcontent was acted by the Blackfriars children in 1601.[40] It is also important to note that "Marston and his fellows had established an English convention of scourging sexual abnormalities with the savagery of Juvenal."[41] Thus, the following passage by Shakespeare in which Thersites rails at Patroclus, alluding to his assumed unnatural relationship with Achilles, would be in accord with the practices of the period. Thersites says:

> . . . thou idle immaterial skein of sleave silk,
> thou green sarcenet flap for a sore eye, thou
> tassel of a prodigal's purse thou? Ay, how the
> poor world is pestered with such water flies,
> diminutives of nature! (V,i,34-39)

Other evidence for the identification of Marston as Thersites is seen in that character's relation with Ajax throughout the play. Ajax and Thersites, much like Jonson and Marston during the stage quarrel, argue constantly, verbally assaulting and ridiculing one another. In fact, Thersites is

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[39] Campbell, pp. 202-203.

[40] Fleay, p. 78.

[41] Campbell, p. 204.

something of "a court fool in that he seems to be attached to Ajax as a kind of licensed jester."[42] Much of the ridicule of Ajax is from Thersites. It is further significant that "Ajax is the only warrior who condescends to tussle with Thersites. . . ."[43] In their contest Ajax and Thersites call each other names, and Ajax even strikes Thersites. This continuous and bitter quarreling between Ajax and Thersites is perhaps reminiscent of the behavior of Jonson and Marston during the stage quarrel. In this play it is possible that Shakespeare at least glances at Marston.

There is possibly one other brief glance at a contemporary by Shakespeare in the play. In 1598 appeared the first two of Chapman's translations of the *Iliad*: *Seven Books of the Iliades* and *Achilles' Shield*. "From these books came Achilles' quarrel with Agamemnon and his withdrawal from the war, the character of Thersites, the combat of Ajax and Hector, the proposal to send Helen back, the embassy of Nestor and Odysseus (Ulysses) to Achilles, and the grief of Achilles for Patroclus."[44] However, Shakespeare was not very deeply indebted to his sources, either medieval or Homeric. The plot, speeches, situations, and most of the

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[42]*Ibid.*, p. 203.

[43]John S. P. Tatlock, "The Siege of Troy in Shakespeare and Heywood," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXX (1915), 726.

[44]Harrison, *Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, p. 974.

characterizations were his own. Shakespeare's _Troilus and Cressida_ is very unlike Chapman's. In Shakespeare's play "love is smirched and mocked with a filthy bitterness, and heroism is made ridiculous. Hector the brave, the one man of heroic stature in the play, is murdered in cold blood by Achilles, another classical 'hero,' who is shown as insubordinate, sulky, and lovesick. There is no romance, no beauty, no heroism, and no nobility."[45]

Some critics feel that in the play Shakespeare is directing his satire at Chapman, that he is showing Chapman that there are no noble Greeks or Trojans. This opinion seems quite possible since Chapman was very probably the rival poet of the sonnets, and this translation of Homer was one of the factors that enabled Chapman to share Southampton's favor with Shakespeare.[46]

Several other critics share the belief that _Troilus and Cressida_ is aimed at George Chapman. For example, F. Furnivall thinks that the play is "perhaps a covert attack on Chapman, the translator of Homer."[47] Another critic, Arthur Acheson, in _Shakespeare's Sonnet Story: 1592-1598_, says that _Troilus and Cressida_ was "rewritten in 1598 as a travesty upon Chapman's Homeric translations, which were published in

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[45]_Ibid._, p. 974.

[46]Frederick S. Boas, _Shakespeare and his Predecessors_ (New York, 1904), p. 378.

[47]Small, p. 171.

that year, and fulsomely dedicated to the Earl of Essex, whom Chapman likened to Achilles."[48] Shakespeare was, of course, closely connected with the Essex circle through his intimacy with Southampton. Acheson suggests that in writing Troilus and Cressida, Shakespeare is tactfully deprecating the manner in which Essex was conducting himself at this period, "in jeopardising his favour with the Queen by giving new grounds for the scandal already in circulation for some years regarding his relations with certain ladies of the court."[49] Thus, even though Essex, through Achilles, was lauded by Chapman, Shakespeare presents him as a "vain and enamoured sluggard."[50] He keeps his tent from wounded vanity and fails to prosecute the war against the Trojans because he is involved in an intrigue with Polyxena, one of the daughters of the Trojan king. Even though Shakespeare makes no direct point against Essex, Chapman's dedication combined with certain similarities in the conditions of Essex's life presented in the play, make a point too obvious to be missed by Essex or his friends, who were very concerned about Essex's love affairs. It is probable that

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[48] Arthur Acheson, Shakespeare's Sonnet Story: 1592 - 1598 (New York, 1933), p. 496.

[49] Ibid., p. 499.

[50] Ibid., pp. 499-500.

Troilus and Cressida was not played more than once in this form since Shakespeare wished only to awaken Essex to his duty and not to offend him.[51]

Chapman, then, with characteristic lack of tact, published a defense of Achilles' character in the eighteenth book of the Iliad under the title of Achilles' Shield. Chapman also dedicated the book to Essex, but the resentful tone concerning the patronage of the great which Chapman used in a poem addressed to his friend Harriot, "and appended to this publication, implies that his recent attempt upon Essex's patronage had not been financially successful. In this poem Chapman indicates Shakespeare, and criticises his classical knowledge by referring to the sources of his story of Troilus and Cressida."[52]

A short time after the production of Troilus and Cressida, Chapman and his friends instigated the public revival of the old play now entitled Histriomastix, or the Player Whipt. The play mentions Shakespeare by name and satirizes him and his company as Posthaste and his players.[53]

Troilus and Cressida was revised many times and satiric implications are difficult to recognize. However, Acheson has no doubt that Shakespeare intended satire against Chapman's Homeric translations. He further feels that Thersites did

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[51] Ibid., p. 500.

[52] Ibid., p. 501.

[53] Ibid., p. 504.

not appear in Shakespeare's play in 1598, but was introduced sometime after 1599, and is usually suspected as being satiric of Marston. However, Acheson feels that when the play was revised in 1609, Shakespeare no longer had any reason to caricature Marston, who had retired in 1607. Thus Acheson concludes that Shakespeare in 1609 intended Thersites for George Chapman, who for years exhibited a bitter, envious disposition in his jealousy of Shakespeare. Acheson further states that the character of Thersites "portrays rather than caricatures" George Chapman.[54]

The theory that in Troilus and Cressida Shakespeare is satirizing Chapman is hotly debated among scholars. For example, Hardin Craig says that the theory that Shakespeare "was satirizing the heroes of antiquity, pricked on thereto by his jealousy of Chapman, the translator of Homer is absurd."[55]

Nevertheless, in the play there is obviously a strong probability that Shakespeare was satirizing some of his contemporaries in the theater. There is ample evidence that Troilus and Cressida is satiric of the war of the theaters which involved Shakespeare's fellow dramatists John Marston and Ben Jonson. Jonson is satirized in the play through the

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[54] Ibid., pp. 521-522.

[55] Hardin Craig, editor, The Complete Works of Shakespeare (Chicago, 1951), p. 864.

character of Ajax, a man who "hath robbed many beasts of their particular additions" (I,ii,19-20), and "into whom Nature hath . . . crowded humors . . ." (I,ii,22). Marston is satirized through the character of Thersites, a malcontent of the type which Marston was instrumental in developing. Further satire in the play is aimed at George Chapman, probably the rival poet of the sonnets. Shakespeare shows the Greeks and Trojans of Homeric stories to be far less noble than they had been in Chapman's recent translations of Homer.

CHAPTER V

SATIRE IN *KING JOHN*

As the preceding chapters of this study have demonstrated, Elizabethan audiences were extremely interested in theatrical and literary quarrels and were especially delighted to see these quarrels reflected in the plays of the period. It is possible that in *King John* Shakespeare satirizes another theatrical quarrel. E. A. J. Honigmann, in attempting to date this play in 1590-1591,[1] finds topical evidence that Shakespeare is attempting to reflect a quarrel which occurred between James Burbage and the widow of his brother-in-law, John Brayne. In 1576 these in-laws had jointly built the Theatre (the first English play-house) and they had a disagreement or falling out in 1578. John Brayne died in 1586, and his widow, along with one Robert Miles, whom John Brayne had charged with being the cause of his death, continued litigations, which mainly concerned receipts for the theater galleries.

On November 13 the Court of Chancery had awarded the widow an order that she could collect her share of the gallery

[1]E. A. J. Honigmann, editor, *King John* (Cambridge, 1954), p. xlvii.

receipts, and on November 16, she, Robert Miles, and his son, Ralph, and a friend, Nicholas Bishop, appeared before the gallery entrance to obtain her share.[2]

> When the invaders arrived in the Theatre yard, James Burbage put his head out of the window, and a lively exchange of epithets followed. Then Burbage came down. He told Miles that the Court Order was but a piece of paper fit for base soilure, and called him a knave and a rascal; and named the widow as "murdering whore."[3]

He further declared that he would "commit twenty contempts of court rather than lose his possession."[4] Mrs. Burbage and her son, Cuthbert, were on the scene and joined in the argument. However, the hero of the day was Richard, James Burbage's son and Shakespeare's leading tragic actor from 1594 on, whom one witness saw

> wt a Broome staff in his hand of whom when this depot asked what sturre was there he answered in laughing phrase new they come for A moytie But qd he (holding vppe the said . . . broomes staff) I haue, I think deliuered . . . him A moytie wt this & sent them packing. . . .[5]

There was a deposition made about this visit to the theater by Nicholas Bishop and many others:

> And by cause this depot. spake then somewhat in the favor. of the por womman . . . Ry. Burbage scornfully & disdainfullye playing wt this depotes Nose sayd that yf he delt in the matter he wold beate him also and did chalendge the field of him at that tyme. . . .[6]

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. xlviii.

[3] Charles William Wallace, *The First London Theatre: Materials for a History* (London, 1913), p. 17.

[4] Honigmann, p. xlviii.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. xlix.

The outcome of the action was that James Burbage was "cited to answer for contempt of court. He denied the 'odious termes' against Chancery and religion of which he was accused and fooled the court with seeming humility."[7]

It is very probable that this quarrel would have been quite well known. In the first place, the fact that the suit went to the Court of Chancery (being dealt with there on November 4, 13, and 28 of 1590,) surely would have caused come publicity. Also, the big argument on November 16 between the Burbages and the widow occurred before the assembling theater audience. Many of the theater-goers who later came to see King John could certainly have been familiar with the quarrel.[8]

An examination of King John reveals that there are many extraordinary resemblances between the Burbage suit and some of Shakespeare's additions to the story of John's reign. Honigmann finds significance in the fact that in King John (II,i,2,6,13) "Arthur is made the off-spring of Richard I, an intentional ambiguity reinforced later by the assertion that Arthur is Eleanor's 'eldest son's son' (II,i,177)[9] -- which creates the impression that Constance is aided by the man (Austria) who killed the father of her son, i.e. her

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[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. xlviii.

[9]All quotations from King John are from the Honigmann edition.

husband."[10] This situation corresponds to the Burbage quarrel in which a widow and the man accused of having caused the death of her husband attempt to claim her possessions. Shakespeare's ambiguity in this matter has heretofore been attributed to carelessness. However, when added to the fact "that Shakespeare unhistorically resurrected Austria to champion Constance, the double violation of history leads us, to expect an overriding purpose rather than carelessness."[11] There is further significance in the fact that the first acts of King John deal with a quarrel of in-laws which is parallel to the Burbage-Brayne confrontation. In both cases the widow finds help from a father and son, Robert and Ralph Miles, and France and Lewis. Each group is further aided by a friend, Nicholas Bishop and Austria.[12]

Another example of the parallels found between King John and the Burbage suit is seen in the following passage in which the Bastard vigorously bullies Austria:[13]

> Sirrah, were I at home,
> At you den, sirrah, with your lioness,
> I would set an oxhead to your lion's hide
> And make a monster of you. (II,i,290-293)

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[10]Honigmann, p. 1.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., p. li.

[13]Ibid., p. 1.

Another similar example is seen later in the play:

> Austria. O, that a man should speak those words to me!
> Bastard. And hang a calve's-skin on those recreant limbs.
> Austria. Thou dar'st not say so, villain, for thy life.
> Bastard. And hang a calve's-skin on those recreant limbs. (II,i,56-59)

These passages closely correspond to the fact that Richard Burbage "browbeats the widow's secondary protector Nicholas Bishop, and later is himself largely responsible for the flight of her party."[14] Later in the play the Bastard, like Burbage, is hailed as the hero of the day:

> My lord, I rescued her.
> Her Highness is in safety, fear you not.
> But on, my liege, for very little pains
> Will bring this labor to an happy end. (II,ii,7-10)

Significantly, Austria and the Bastard are of Shakespeare's own creation. Shakespeare's fiction is also evident in the quarrel outside Angiers, which may correspond to the quarrel between the widow and the Burbages outside the Theatre.[15]

Another interesting parallel to the Burbage quarrel is found in the following passage:

> King John. From whom has thou this great commission, France,
> To draw my answer from thy articles?
> King Philip. From that supernal judge that stirs good thoughts
> In any beast of strong authority
> To look into the blots and stains of right
> That judge hath made me guardian to this boy. (II,i,110-115)

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

Here, King Philip declares that he has "commission" from "that supernal judge" to call John to restitution. Although John mocks this, he later submits to the Pope. Burbage, too, disdainfully rejected the court order, but later he submitted to Chancery.[16]

There are other minor coincidences. For example, Austria very confidently promises that he will continue the quarrel of Constance:

> Upon thy cheek lay I this zealous kiss,
> As seal to this indenture of my love:
> That to my home I will no more return,
> Till Angiers and the right thou hast in France,
> Together with that pale, that white-fac'd shore,
> Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides
> And coops from other lands her islanders,
> Even till that England, hedg'd in with the main,
> That water-walled bulwark, still secure
> And confident from foreign purposes,
> Even till that utmost corner of the west
> Salute thee for her king; till then, fair boy,
> Will I not think of home, but follow arms. (II,i,19-31)

This over-confident promise may indeed correspond to a report

> that the said Myles hath made great boast, that it is he, that will maynteyne and defend here herin, al be it she did procure his trouble before the coroners enquest, and did impute to him the deathe of her husband.[17]

It was also Robert Miles who declared that the Theatre was his

> and that he would spend all that he had but he would pull the defendt out of the said Theatre by the eares.[18]

This statement of his firm purpose may be reflected in passages in King John in which Philip declares his goals:

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18]

We'll lay before this town our royal bones,
Wade to the market-place in Frenchmen's blood
But we will make it subject to this boy. (II,i,41-43)

The correspondences in this play are not consistent. For example, Robert Miles is probably reproduced in both King Philip and in Austria, and Nicholas Bishop is possibly also caricatured in Austria. However, "disguised lampooning was the fashion on the Elizabethan stage," and it is possible that Shakespeare used this current real-life drama to enrich his play.[19]

There is perhaps one other aspect of the Burbage story that is paralleled in King John. At the time of the dispute with the widow, Burbage was having trouble with his actors. Both Lord Strange's Men and the Lord Admiral's Men had combined to play at the Theatre, and in the dispute John Alleyn of the Admiral's men sided with the widow.[20] On November 24, 1950, eight days after the trouble, Alleyn "went to the Theatre to have a settlement with Burbage for money due to him and his fellows."[21] When Burbage refused to pay him the money that was owed to the Admiral's men, Alleyn "told him that belike he ment to deale wt them as he did wt the por wydowe."[22] Shortly after this scene, the

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[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid., p. xlix.

[21]Wallace, p. 19.

[22]Ibid.

Admiral's men and several of Strange's men left the Theatre because they feared they would be treated in the same manner as the widow.[23] There is perhaps a corresponding situation in King John. In Act IV, scene ii, the nobles are troubled by the manner in which John treats his rivals. They are frightened for themselves:

> It is our safety, and we must embrace
> This gentle offer of the perilous time. (IV,iii,12-13)

The nobles desert John just as the Admiral's Men had left Burbage. It is further significant that in this situation Shakespeare abandons "historical truth."[24]

The many parallels between the Burbage-Brayne quarrel and incidents in King John are certainly sufficient to indicate the strong possibility that Shakespeare was taking note of this well-known theater quarrel in order to provide added amusement for the viewers of his play. In particular, the scenes for which there are no historical sources suggest that Shakespeare has learned the value of providing his audience with contemporary characters which they can identify and laugh at along with the dramatist who created them.

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[23] Honigmann, p. xlix.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. li.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the course of this study Shakespeare has been examined as a writer of satire involving other writers and actors and events of the theater. As has been pointed out, critics and scholars generally have been reluctant to accept that Shakespeare was a writer of personal satire. For example, Edmund Chambers, in his book William Shakespeare, says that aside from "some passages of obvious satire in the comic scenes" there is not "much of the topical in Shakespeare, whose mind normally moved upon quite another plane of relation to life."[1] And although there may be a general agreement that in his play Troilus and Cressida Shakespeare saw the material "for a merciless satire of the high-flown idea of love fostered by the Mediaeval cycle of romance,"[2] any suggestion that the character of Ajax may be a caricature of Jonson or any identification of Thersites as Marston will be hotly debated. This attitude seems unrealistic. Jacobean testimony confirms that Shakespeare was forced to change the name of Oldcastle to Falstaff under

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[1] E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems (Oxford, 1930), p. 67.

[2] Frederick S. Boas, Shakespeare and His Predecessors (London, 1902), p. 373.

pressure from the Cobham family, and it is very possible that he did intend a slur on that family name.[3] Thus, is it not possible that there would be others that Shakespeare satirized in his plays?

It is very important to remember that Shakespeare was deeply involved in all aspects of his craft. He was a writer and an actor. He knew those elements that would please the audience, and as a practical man of his times, he capitalized on those elements, and as pointed out earlier, satire and personal invective were very much in vogue. Shakespeare must have had a very human interest in Elizabethan personalities, and it seems only natural that these would appear in one guise or another in his plays. This is not to say that one of Shakespeare's characters is a complete portrait of a contemporary personality. Although his characters were built on traits of people he knew, these traits were elusive and changing;[4] and seldom would it be desirable even to attempt a precise one-for-one correlation between a dramatic character and a historical figure.

Love's Labour's Lost is without doubt one of Shakespeare's most topical and satiric plays. It bristles throughout with allusions to contemporary events and living persons, and innumerable efforts have been made to explain its meaning in

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[3]Robert Boies Sharpe, *The Real War of the Theaters* (London, 1934), pp. 69-70.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 234.

terms of the dramatist's milieu.[5] It is generally agreed that _Love's Labour's Lost_ contains echoes of the Martin Marprelate controversy and the well-known quarrel between Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey. The many puns on "pierce," "purse," and "penny," which are prevalent throughout the play, remind the reader of Nashe's _Pierce Penniless_. There is also ample evidence for identifying Nashe with Shakespeare's character Moth. Shakespeare calls Moth "tender juvenal," and Juvenal was Nashe's nickname according to Francis Meres in his catalogue of English writers, _Palladis Tamia_.[6] The identification of Harvey in the play is not as certain. The most persuasive argument suggests that it is quite probable that Harvey is reflected in both Armado, the braggart, and Holofernes, the pedant. The play further provides echoes of the Martin Marprelate controversy, in which Thomas Nashe was involved through the rhyme in _Love's Labour's Lost_ on the fox, the ape, and the humble-bee.

Another interesting theory of the play is that the majority of the satire is aimed at Sir Walter Raleigh and the group of mathematicians, astronomers, and poets who made up Raleigh's atheistic "School of Night." Certainly, Shakespeare's play on such words as "light," "measure," and

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[5]Frances A. Yates, _A Study of Love's Labour's Lost_ (Cambridge,1936), p. 2.

[6]Richard David, editor, _Love's Labour's Lost_ (Cambridge, 1951), p. xli.

"number" suggests the interests and activities of the group. Shakespeare's satire of Raleigh and his group would be very natural, since Raleigh was the political rival of the Essex-Southampton faction, and many things seem to point towards Shakespeare's sympathies being strongly engaged on the Essex-Southampton side.[7]

In the same play Shakespeare takes note of George Chapman, possibly the rival poet of the sonnets, and his poem _Shadow of Night_. Significantly, Chapman was also a member of Raleigh's circle. However, most of the personal satire in the play is aimed at Raleigh himself, who is probably caricatured in the character of Armado. Armado constantly finds himself in embarrassing situations similar to ones in which Raleigh was known to have been involved. Thomas Harriot, the famous mathematician, who was a member of the group and reputed to be a "conjurer," is probably satirized in the character of Holofernes, "a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions" (IV,ii,66-68). However, another theory suggests that Holofernes is actually a caricature of John Florio, a celebrated teacher of Italian, author of a dictionary, _Worlde of Words_, and unwelcome Protestant tutor of the Catholic Earl of Southampton.[8]

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[7]Yates, p. 7.

[8]_Ibid._, pp. 27-32.

Investigation into the lives of William Gardiner and his stepson, William Wayte, gives evidence that Shakespeare found much opportunity for satire of these characters in _II Henry IV_ and _The Merry Wives of Windsor_. Study of the lives of these two scoundrels reveals that they had lived corrupt and greedy lives, cheating others and using Gardiner's office as Justice of the Peace in Southwark to their own advantage. By the end of October or the beginning of November, 1596, Shakespeare had moved to Southwark, where he was quite closely associated with Francis Langley, and it is highly probable that Shakespare's company was acting in the Swan, Langley's playhouse. Shakespeare's reasons for satirizing Gardiner and Wayte were obvious, for the dramatist and Langley were seriously annoyed by the justice and his stepson, "so seriously annoyed, that Wayte swears the gentle Shakespeare put him in terror of his life."[9]

In the plays _II Henry IV_ and _The Merry Wives of Windsor_ there are unmistakable satiric blows aimed at Gardiner and Wayte through the characters of Justice Shallow and Slender. Perhaps the most important point made in this study is the fact that doubt has been cast on the traditional belief that in _The Merry Wives of Windsor_ Shakespeare's satire is directed against Sir Thomas Lucy, Shakespeare's worthy neighbor in

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[9]Leslie Hotson, _Shakespare versus Shallow_ (Boston, 1931), p. 129.

Warwickshire. This study discloses that Gardiner, too, owned a deer park and that because of his marriage to Frances Luce (or Lucy) he was entitled to quarter the Lucy arms. "When we consider the true history of Justice Gardiner, and the local world's opinion of him, the figure of Justice Shallow appears as a new triumph of the dramatist. Shakespeare is here revealed for the first time as a master of personal satire, taking with devastating humour a satisfactory revenge for himself, his associates in the theater, and Gardiner's victims in Southwark."[10]

The two plays _II Henry IV_ and _The Merry Wives of Windsor_, in addition to _Henry V_, provide further satire of Shakespeare's contemporaries in the theater. In _The Second Part_ of the _Return from Parnassus_, the actor Kempe refers to a purge that Shakespeare was said to have given Jonson. In searching for the "purge," Chapter III of this study considered two theories. One, supported by John Dover Wilson, says that the "purge" of Jonson is found in Shakespeare's character, Corporal Nym, who appears in _The Merry Wives of Windsor_ and _Henry V_. Nym prates of his humors in a comic manner, and it was Jonson, of course, who popularized humors in _Every Man in His Humour_ in 1598.

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[10]Hotson, pp. 130-131.

Another theory concerning Shakespeare's satire of Jonson suggests that Shakespeare caricatured Jonson in the character of Fluellen in Henry V. In this play Fluellen is as dedicated to the correct and ancient method of conducting a war as Jonson was said to have been to the correct and ancient manner of writing a play.

Shakespeare's satire of a fellow-actor, the Lord Admiral's celebrated Edward Alleyn, is seen in several plays, II Henry IV, Henry V, and The Merry Wives of Windsor. In these plays Alleyn is satirized through the character of Pistol. Alleyn was known to have favored the older style of heavy, robustious rant, and in the plays Pistol stomps about the stage, reaching "tragic heights at the smallest provocation."[11] Further satire of Alleyn is seen in Act III of Hamlet.

Further satire of Ben Jonson and the well-known "War of the Theaters" is found in Shakespeare's blackest play, Troilus and Cressida. It is very possible that this play may be in some way a document of this literary war, which raged between the years 1599-1602. The "war of the theaters" was probably set off by Ben Jonson's quarrel with Thomas Dekker and John Marston. This quarrel saw each party lampooning

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[11]Matthias Shaaber, editor, Henry IV, Part II, The Variorum Shakespeare (London, 1940), p. 631.

and satirizing the opposition, not even sparing "personal deformities of face, gait or gesture."[12]

Many critics offer the theory that Troilus and Cressida would be a good play in which to seek the "purge" that Shakespeare was said to have given Jonson, and if the purge did occur in the play, it is probably found in the character of Ajax. One point of evidence for such identification is the elaborate description of Ajax in Troilus and Cressida (I,ii,19-31) in which "humours" are significantly mentioned. Furthermore, it is important to note that this description more nearly describes Jonson than any historical Ajax, or the Ajax seen in the remainder of Shakespeare's play.

It is also possible that this play contains a bit of satire of John Marston, who was also involved in the war of the theaters. The satire of Marston may be found in the character of Thersites, a typical railer of the type Marston was prominent in developing. In Troilus and Cressida the interplay between Thersites and Ajax corresponds to the quarreling of Jonson and Marston.

Satire of George Chapman may also figure in a portion of the play, for in Troilus and Cressida, Shakespeare may be attempting to show Chapman that there are no noble Greeks and Romans of the type prevalent in his translation of the Iliad.

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[12]Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson, editors, The Merry Wives of Windsor (Cambridge, 1921), p. xxxi.

One other bit of theatrical satire may also be found in *King John*. E. A. J. Honigmann expounds the theory that in this play Shakespeare is satirizing a well-known quarrel which occurred between one James Burbage and the widow of his brother-in-law, John Brayne. An examination of *King John* reveals that there are several parallels between the Burbage quarrel and certain incidents in the play.

The evidence presented in this study demonstrates convincingly that Shakespeare found much in Elizabethan London and in his contemporaries to satirize. Perhaps the factors that helped create the decade or so of major Elizabethan satire were quite valuable to Shakespeare. The rivalry between the companies may have helped to stimulate some of his best efforts. Indeed, Shakespeare's satiric plays have left the stage with some unforgetable characters, such as Moth, Armado, Holofernes, Shallow, Slender, Pistol, and various others. When Shakespeare is viewed as a satiric writer, he becomes a living human being, painting sketches of people of his age, and the reader can only marvel at his great skill in presenting at one and the same time a satiric portrait of a contemporary and an interesting dramatic character who will live for the ages.

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