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JOHN FORD AND HIS CIRCLE: COTERIE VALUES AND THE  
LANGUAGE OF FORD'S THEATRE

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Ph. D.

University of Warwick

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September, 1986

## INTRODUCTION

John Ford seems to have begun his dramatic career by collaborating with Dekker and Rowley on The Witch of Edmonton, and to have ended it with The Lady's Trial. The distance which he travelled between these two works is extraordinary, for he moves from a reasonably conventional use of language and of the stage to a strange, dreamlike form of drama where much of the life and emotions of the characters is veiled from the audience. His later plays contain clear indications of a dissatisfaction with his medium. One of the principal reasons for this seems to be Ford's distrust of language, and this in turn is closely linked to another persistent strand in his thought, the difficulty of constructing and preserving one's identity. Perkin Warbeck is the play which is most obviously concerned with this, but it is present throughout Ford's works. Ford always presents his characters as battle grounds where conflicting elements of the self, and particularly the blood and the heart, struggle for dominance. The characters' response to this frightening multiplicity of possible selves is almost invariably to choose one of the conflicting selves and to adhere to it rigidly. Through a form of psychological self-mutilation they exclude all the other elements, and try desperately to stabilize their personalities. From this attempt to find a position of stasis and immobility it is of course only a short step to an active death-wish, and Ford consistently presents this inherent distaste for living as a repugnance to the basic support of life, food. The first section of this thesis begins, therefore, after a discussion of the canon and chronology of Ford's works, with an examination of the frequent references to food in Ford's plays, and I attempt to show how the changing tenor of these references indicates some of the reasons for Ford's transformation from the dramatist of The Witch of Edmonton to the dramatist of such a play as The Broken Heart. This is followed by a discussion of the distrust of language

which Ford so frequently evinces in his plays, which also played an important part in determining his development as a dramatist. There is then an examination of his obsessive and highly charged uses of the words heart, blood, sweat and tears. It is, ultimately, the lack of proof that speech is 'heartfelt' that renders it untrustworthy. The last section of this first part of the thesis considers the use of ceremony and stage action in The Broken Heart, which is here regarded as an attempt by Ford to discover an alternative, non-verbal method of conveying meaning. This section also discusses the possibility that Ford may have been a Catholic, a speculation which is treated more fully in the second part of the thesis.

The second part begins with a study of Ford's dedicatees, and of his possible relations with them. This second part of the thesis is related to the first in two ways. The language of Ford's dedicatory epistles, like that of his plays, seems often to be used as much to obfuscate meaning as to convey it. In several instances he seems equally eager to advertise the fact of his connection with his dedicatee and to conceal the exact nature of the connection, as when he tells the Earl of Peterborough, dedicatee of 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, that 'my services must ever owe particular duty to your favours by a particular engagement', but gives no details of the 'engagement'. Both The Golden Mean and A Line of Life, moreover, were originally printed with elaborate dedications, but without the names of the dedicatees: again, Ford seems deliberately to be drawing attention to the coterie nature of his work. Something of the same effect is also created by the commendatory verses from his friends which he published with his plays. This section contains, therefore, a close examination of the careers and affiliations of his dedicatees; and from this I go on to argue that Perkin Warbeck can, in many ways, be seen as an elaborate

and somewhat oblique compliment to a group of these dedicatees. It seems as though Ford, having failed to find a satisfactory way of making himself generally intelligible, had decided instead to speak only to the few.

The other main connection between the two parts of the thesis lies in the fact that Ford's dedicatees appear to have had something in common with Ford's use of ritual: both had strong links with Catholicism. His uses of the words heart, blood, sweat and tears, too, seem in many ways more reminiscent of Jesuit devotional thought than of English Protestant tradition. It is of course pure speculation to suggest that Ford may have been a Catholic, but it would certainly provide a plausible explanation for some of the more curious aspects of his work. It could, too, have been the link between him and his dedicatees, in which case it would not be surprising that he was unwilling to make plain the nature of the connection; and if Ford was a Catholic that might explain why, although in later life he was apparently financially secure, he nevertheless felt the need to seek patronage, for a Catholic could never have too many friends and protectors. I have therefore made the suggestion at various points in the argument that Ford's works are perhaps best viewed as being written for ( or at least by a member of) a small and rather exclusive Catholic coterie. I have tried not to let this become an idée fixe, however, and if Catholicism is not accepted as the answer to some of the questions raised by Ford's works, I hope my discussion of the questions themselves will still stand.

## THE CANON

Any consideration of the canon of Ford's works is fraught with difficulty. During a period that is generally taken to have begun roughly around 1623, and that ended in 1638, he produced seven unaided, extant plays : The Lover's Melancholy, The Broken Heart, 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, Love's Sacrifice, Perkin Warbeck, The Fancies Chaste and Noble and The Lady's Trial. We also know that two decades earlier, in 1606, Ford had been the author of a eulogy on the late Earl of Devonshire, entitled Fame's Memorial, and of the prose tract Honour Triumphant; or, The Peers' Challenge, with its accompanying short poem 'The Monarchs' Meeting'; and that in 1620 he not only published another prose tract, A Line of Life, but also admitted his previous authorship of The Golden Mean, which had appeared anonymously in 1613. In 1934 Joan Sargeaunt suggested that Ford should be considered to be the author of the long religious poem Christ's Bloody Sweat, also printed in 1613, and the idea has on the whole found favour. **1.** H. J. Oliver, for instance, accepts the work as 'probably but not certainly by Ford',**2** and Davril both accepts Miss Sargeaunt's evidence and also adduces more of his own in favour of Ford's authorship,**3** as also does G. D. Monsarrat.**4** Certainly Christ's Bloody Sweat makes almost obsessive use of the words blood, heart, sweat and tears, which were to continue to be used and examined throughout Ford's literary life and which were apparently of the deepest interest to him. There are twenty-five uses of the words tear or tears in the poem, sixty of heart, ninety-five of sweat and one hundred and forty of blood. It is also interesting to place side by side the following two passages, the first from Christ's Bloody Sweat and the second from The Broken Heart:

Love is no god, as some of wicked times  
 (Led with the dreaming dotage of their folly)  
 Have set him foorth in their lascivious rimes,

Bewitch'd with errors, and conceits unholy:  
 It is a raging blood, affections blind,  
 Which boiles both in the body and the mind.

But such whose lawfull thoughts, and honest heat,  
 Doth temperately move with chaste desires  
 To choose an equall partner, and beget  
 Like comforts by alike inkindled fires;  
 Such find no doubt in union made so even:  
 Sweet fruité of succours, and on earth a heaven.<sup>5</sup>

With this compare the following exchange :

Penthea.	I have left me
	But three poor jewels to bequeath. The first is
	My youth; for though I am much old in griefs,
	In years I am a child.
Calantha.	To whom that?
Penthea.	To virgin wives, such as abuse not wedlock
	By freedom of desires'. , but covet chiefly
	The pledges of chaste beds, for ties of love,
	Rather than ranging of their blood; and next
	To married maids, such as prefer the number
	Of honourable issue in their virtues,
	Before the flattery of delights by marriage.
	May those be ever young.

Christ's Bloody Sweat is neither a particularly good, nor, in its own right, a particularly interesting poem. But for the occasional illumination which it throws on its author's later and better works, and for its already highly individual uses of the words blood, heart, sweat and tears, it repays study.

Another twentieth-century attribution of a previously anonymous work to Ford has also found fairly general acceptance. In 1606 Professor Willi Bang produced his Louvain reprint of the 1633 quarto of The Queen; or, The Excellency of Her Sex, which bore no author's name on its title-page but which Bang claimed for Ford. His reasons, in a rough translation of the original German, were these:

At every turn the most splendid characters are directly overwhelmed in their effect by the most vulgar rabble - that is Forde. At every turn we further find a juxtaposition of morally and poetically sublime situations and such which are distorted by crude lacks of tact and taste and the lowest 'humour' - that is Forde again. Finally the



drawing of character is at every turn the same ; yes, I do not hesitate to assert that a good connoisseur of Forde will believe he recognises again old acquaintances in almost all the persons of *The Queene*. And finally the whole circle of ideas, the often *recherche*, almost exaggerated rich-in-hyperbole mode of expression as well as the whole vocabulary of *The Queene* points decisively to John Forde...To me, myself, it would be - in the interest of Forde, of course - a true joy if Kate Gordon and Eroclea would offer the charming Queen of Aragon their cheeks for a sisterly kiss.<sup>6</sup> .

Dugdale Sykes agreed with Bang, declaring that

if Ford wrote *The Queen* his authorship should be deducible from its vocabulary and from a comparison of its language with that which we know to be his, and I propose here to show that its authenticity can be established by this method in so conclusive a fashion that those possessing no more than an ordinary reader's acquaintance with Ford will be able to recognize that its claim to a place amongst his dramatic productions is unquestionable.<sup>7</sup>

Sykes rightly points to the appearance in *The Queen* of some of Ford's favourite words, including partake, thrive, penance, bosom, fate, antic, chronicle, crave, creature, dally, forfeit (as noun), and mad (as verb). He also comments on the occurrence in the play of the relatively unusual forms dee and tee in place of the more common d'ye and t'ye. In considering the latter point, however, a note of caution should be introduced. In a short but highly interesting article Ronald Huebert has shown that these forms are not as rare as had previously been supposed. Indeed, 'd'ee actually occurs with slightly greater frequency in Shirley's plays than in Ford's, although t'ee is more common in Ford...The presence of d'ee and t'ee in a play does not, I would argue, constitute evidence for assigning that play to Ford, or to Shirley, or indeed to any other dramatist.'<sup>8</sup> The presence of these contractions may, however, help to consolidate an already fairly strong case for Ford's authorship, and even if they are to be altogether disregarded the remaining internal evidence seems convincing. Greg felt that Sykes 'marshals the textual evidence in favour of Ford's authorship, and this on general grounds it is extremely difficult to doubt';<sup>9</sup> and he also reported that

after a careful and repeated reading of the present play along with the whole of Ford's acknowledged works of a dramatic character, I have formed a fairly confident opinion on the subject, which is entirely at one with Professor Bang's...It cannot be a case of imitation, for some of it is Ford at his worst, and that no sane man would imitate.<sup>10</sup>

Sherman, too, agreed that the play was Ford's,<sup>11</sup> while Miss Sargeaunt remarked that 'his hand is easy to recognise, it is this indeed that makes it possible to be almost certain, on internal evidence alone, of his authorship of The Queen and of parts of The Spanish Gipsy.'<sup>12</sup> Oliver, too, found that 'the evidence as a whole is overwhelming... the signs of Ford's hand are so frequent and so evenly distributed throughout the play that it seems impossible that any other playwright could have had even a collaborator's part in it'.<sup>13</sup> Davril had no doubts at all about the correctness of the attribution to Ford;<sup>14</sup> and even Schoenbaum, so rigorous and meticulous in his criteria, felt that 'verbal parallels and literary correspondences - defined correspondences, not mere impressions - may provide a basis for attributions acceptable to the responsible historian, critic and editor. Such evidence (especially the larger stylistic resemblances) for the assignment of The Queen to Ford is most impressive.'<sup>15</sup> Donald K. Anderson was more cautious, but did remark that 'having closely studied all of Ford's works, I must confess that The Queen does strike me as his',<sup>16</sup> and offered additional evidence to support the attribution; and Dorothy M. Farr remarked that 'there seems little doubt that The Queen is by Ford'.<sup>17</sup>

Some further evidence for Ford's authorship of The Queen may here be briefly given. In Act II, Alphonso declares

As I am King the tongue  
Forfeits his head that speaks another word.  
Muretto, Talk we not now like a King?

(11.1113-17) This may perhaps be compared with King James' words to Perkin in Perkin Warbeck, 'He must be more than subject who can utter/ The language of a king, and such is thine'; (H.i.I03-4) In both cases, kingly language is something that is dangerously separable from any actual fact of royalty. Also in Act II, the Queen commands her waiting-woman Herophil

Go hang my chamber all with mourning black;  
Seal up my windows, let no light survey  
The subtle tapers that must eye my griefs.

(II.I267-71) Another Ford heroine, Calantha in The Broken Heart, showed a similar urge, under the pressure of grief, to find a ritual through which to conduct her mourning; and hers too involved candles. Once more in Act II, Velasco exclaims 'Mock you? Most fair Salassa, if e're truth / Dwelt in a tongue, my words and thoughts are twins'. (11.1391-4) Here he almost echoes Nearchus in The Broken Heart, who declares to Calantha that 'My tongue and heart are twins'. (111.iii.64) And at the close of Act II Salassa tells Velasco 'Your oath / Is past, if you will lose your self you may'. (11.1320-2) Such an equation of one's self with one's vow must, surely, be an unmistakable mark of Ford. So too is the conveying of feeling more through silence than through speech suggested by Alphonso's 'But now Muretto, / The eye of luxury speaks loud in silence'. (Act III, 11.1619-22) The play also contains a very obvious borrowing from Othello. Muretto, trying to whet Alphonso to jealousy, says to him 'Why not sir? I think now a woman may lie four or five nights together with a man, and yet be chaste; though that be very hard, yet so long as 'tis possible, such a thing may be'. (Act 111, 11.1671-3) This is clearly derived from Iago's lines to Othello in very similar circumstances. In both 'Tis Pity She's A Whore and Love's

Sacrifice Ford displayed a fondness for rehandling Shakespearean material, and the latter play obviously owes a great debt to Othello. And lastly, Alphonso, in Act IV, entreats the Queen 'O tell me pray / And make me ever, ever fortunate'. (II.2360-2) The gentleness produced by despair, the repetition and the cadence seem all unmistakably Fordian. There appears, on balance, very little possibility for doubt about the authorship of this play.

It is far less easy to be so certain about any of the other works which various critics have attributed to Ford. The Spanish Gypsy, when it was first printed in the quarto of 1653, bore on its title-page the information that it was by Middleton and Rowley. In 1924, however, in an article that later reappeared in his book Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama, H. Dugdale Sykes declared that The Spanish Gypsy

is, I am convinced, substantially, if not wholly, from the pen of John Ford. That the main part of the play is his I feel no doubt whatever, and as clear traces of his hand are also to be found in the Sancho and Soto and gypsy scenes (usually attributed to Rowley) I am strongly disposed to believe that Ford wrote the whole play.<sup>18</sup>

Joan Sargeaunt thought, however, that 'it is highly improbable that Ford was responsible for the gypsy scenes',<sup>19</sup> and added that 'the whole tone and atmosphere of the Gypsy scenes are completely unlike anything else of Ford's';<sup>20</sup> but she did see his hand in the rest of the play, and concluded that 'complete certainty can rarely be achieved in this world, but it may fairly be claimed that at least a reasonable degree of probability of Ford's part authorship of The Spanish Gypsy is reached by the combined evidence of similarity of diction, imagery, style, structure, characterization and ideas'.<sup>21</sup> Oliver discussed the case for attributing the play to Ford, but found that 'although there are language clues, there is nothing in the characterization or plotting that seems particularly

characteristic of Ford'.<sup>22</sup> He concluded that 'I question very much whether you can do more than say that Ford at some stage of the play's history probably "had something to do" with it'.<sup>23</sup> Schoenbaum also felt that 'the outward evidence of authorship is...fairly strong - certainly too strong to be ignored - and the play cannot be dislodged from the Middleton canon on the basis of subjective critical impressions, especially since some Middletonians have no difficulty in reconciling the play on critical grounds with the dramatist's acknowledged later work'.<sup>24</sup> Davril, however, declared that 'nous rangeons cette belle pièce dans la série des oeuvres que Ford écrivit en collaboration',<sup>25</sup> with Rowley or Middleton or both having written part (but not all) of the gipsy scenes. Roper, too, in the introduction to his edition of 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, felt that 'it is very likely that Ford wrote a substantial part of The Spanish Gipsy',<sup>26</sup> and Leech thought the same.<sup>27</sup> David M. Holmes declared that 'there is an over-all frivolous quality about The Spanish Gipsy which makes it differ markedly from the other twenty plays that Mr Bullen included in The Works of Thomas Middleton, and which makes it seem doubtful that Middleton had a hand in the actual writing of it'.<sup>28</sup> He therefore considered that 'Ford, attempting to imitate Middleton, may have written the main plot, and been assisted by Rowley with the gipsy scenes'.<sup>29</sup> Anderson was uncertain; he refers to the play as a probable collaboration with Rowley,<sup>30</sup> but says elsewhere that 'the playwright may have been responsible for all or part of The Spanish Gipsy, but to me such a hypothesis seems insufficiently documented'.<sup>31</sup> In recent years, however, the question appears to have been settled. Two authoritative studies of the Middleton canon both concur in giving the main plot to Ford, Macdonald P. Jackson's tentatively<sup>32</sup> and David J. Lake's positively, with the assertion that 'I find that the gipsy scenes of The Spanish Gipsy are indeed by Dekker, and that

the play can be divided without much uncertainty between Dekker and Ford'.<sup>33</sup> Lake's evidence is impressive, and James Hogg, for one, considered that Lake's book had 'more or less definitely solved the problem'.<sup>34</sup> In view of this, and of the fact that my own subjective impression is that the main plot of The Spanish Gipsy looks very much like the work of Ford, I have included it in the discussions of his plays; I have, however, tried to avoid using evidence taken from The Spanish Gipsy as the principal basis of an argument.

Ford has also been thought to have been responsible for one or more scenes in two other plays, The Welsh Ambassador and The Fair Maid of the Inn. It was Bertram Lloyd who first suggested that The Welsh Ambassador had been jointly written by Ford and Dekker. He felt that 'there is sufficiently strong resemblance in style, treatment, and (particularly) vocabulary to satisfy any student of Dekker that that prolific journalist and playwright is mainly responsible for the play';<sup>35</sup> but that in two scenes, Ill.iii and V.i, 'there is more than a touch of characteristic Fordian pathos and seriousness in the verse, which is also reminiscent of that writer in its cadence and idea. In many passages...the whole movement of the lines, with their frequent adjurations and Fordian repetitions, instantly distinguishes them from the work of the other writer concerned in the play'.<sup>36</sup> He had previously declared that 'it can at least be safely affirmed that Ford is the only likely writer of these scenes'.<sup>37</sup> Oliver reviewed Lloyd's arguments and concluded

I see no reason for rejecting any of these suggestions. The stylistic evidence is interesting and I would add that the lines in which the King begins to regret his lustfulness and cruelty have a characteristic Ford use of 'plurisie':

th  
trew bewty dwells in meeknes, loue w th pittie  
keepees leagues, there is a plurisie w in mee  
requires a skillful surgion that can launce it.

. ^

There are no signs of Ford that I can detect elsewhere in the play; and the two scenes are not altogether unworthy of him.

Oliver also remarks that

the whole play gives me the impression of being incomplete - either mutilated or perhaps not fully restored. There may, then, be more significance than Lloyd thought in the fact that Henslowe had paid Dekker and Drayton in October 1398 for a play *Connan Prince of Cornwall* (Penda in *The Welsh Ambassador* is son to the Duke of Cornwall and assumes the name of Conon). Did Ford alone or Ford and Dekker in collaboration set out to revise an earlier play of which Dekker had written at least part? **39**

Whether or not the play as we now have it is indeed a reworking of an earlier treatment of the subject, it seems to me probable that III,iii and V,i are indeed by Ford. Carintha's lines, the last of III,iii, are strongly reminiscent of the distinctions so carefully drawn by Ford in A Line of Life between goodness and greatness in men:**40** 'weel joyne o Councells by what art wee can / to turne a greate kinge to a greate good man'.**41** The servant who describes Armante to Carintha also uses an expression of which Ford was fond, 'shee lookes like a lady of the tyme' (1.I200); and it may, too, be worth noticing that there is an echoing of Shakespeare,, which was another favourite habit of Ford's. Carintha, alone, says of the King and Armante

this lady  
hee wore as a rich Iewell, on his very hart  
now t'is by him defact & broake in peices  
& swept awaie like rubbish from his Court.

(II.II88-II9I) In Henry VIII Norfolk, speaking of a woman whose position is in many ways similar to that of Armante, Katherine of Aragon, says to Suffolk

He counsels a divorce, a loss of her

That like a jewel has hung twenty years ..  
About his neck, yet never lost her lustre.**42**

Similarly, the King's urging on of Cornwall and Chester to provide entertainment for his wedding is very like Amyclas' instructions to Calantha and Orgilus, in The Broken Heart, to see Euphranea's marriage properly celebrated. The King of The Welsh Ambassador exclaims

whie shines not brauery  
throughout o Court in rich habiliments  
of glory; Chester  
Chester: Sir  
King: bee it proclaimed  
that whoe soer'e presents most Curious sports  
of art or [spol] Chardge to grace o nuptiall feasts  
shall have a lardge reward, wee wilbee royall.

(11.1634-42) The King of The Broken Heart declares

Our bounties  
Shall open to thee, Orgilus. For instance -  
Hark in thine ear - if out of those inventions  
Which flow in Athens thou hast there engrossed  
Some rarity of wit to grace the nuptials  
Of thy fair sister and renown our court  
In th'eyes of this young prince, we shall be debtor  
To thy conceit. Think on't.

(11.iii.56-63) Finally, one of the very last lines of V,i sounds a note that is typical of Ford from Christ's Bloody Sweat onwards, as Athelstane says 'better to lyve in teares then dye in laughter'.

(I.1939) Lloyd remarks that 'the play was apparently written about the year 1623'.**43** This is roughly in the middle of Ford's period of collaboration with Dekker, and there seems no reason to doubt that this play also was the product of their joint authorship, and that Ford's share in it was III,iii and V,i.**44**

In the case of The Fair Maid of the Inn it is less easy to feel confident about making an attribution. Oliver remarks that



Mr. Lucas' conclusions are that the play was possibly divided as follows:

: I, 1Massinger.

II. Webster.

III.i. Ford, Webster?, Massinger.

III.ii. Ford, Massinger?, Webster.

IV.i. Ford.

IV.ii.-V.ii. Webster.

V.iii. Massinger, Webster.

...My own examination of the play leads me to agree that Ford's share cannot be greater than this.<sup>45</sup>

He felt that the case for giving IV,i to Ford was far stronger than for any of the other scenes. Joan Sargeaunt agreed, and did not even discuss the possibility that Ford might have had a larger share in the play than this. She felt that

the ascription of single scenes in plays to authors on internal evidence alone is, perhaps, more dangerous than a similar endeavour to ascribe the whole of or a very large part of a play to an author. But if the evidence is allowed to be strong enough to establish at least a strong probability of Ford's authorship of *The Queen* and a large part of *The Spanish Gipsy*, it is only logical to accept evidence of the same kind as establishing an equal degree of probability in the ascription to him of a single scene.<sup>46</sup>

Davril broadly accepted Lucas' division of the play,<sup>47</sup> and the normally cautious Anderson unhesitatingly attributed to Ford a part-share in *The Fair Maid of the Inn*.<sup>48</sup> Cyrus Hoy agreed that Ford had a hand in the play, but thought that his share had been the writing of Act III and the co-writing of IV,i with Fletcher: he commented that 'the supposition would seem to be that Fletcher's share in this, presumably the last play on which he worked, was assumed by Ford who, writing in collaboration with Massinger and Webster, brought the play to completion after his death'.<sup>49</sup>

There are parts of *The Fair Maid of The Inn* which were very clearly not written by Ford. At II.i.139 'girle' is monosyllabic, as is never the case in his work; and the exact parallel between

what Mariana says she has done to secure an heir, and what Arane in A King and No King actually did do, is strongly suggestive of the presence either of Fletcher or of a writer, like Massinger, considerably more under the influence of Fletcher than was Ford. Schoenbaum, indeed, thinks the whole play is Fletcher's, and criticises Lucas' work on it for displaying 'too casual treatment of the relevant external facts'.<sup>50</sup> But IV,i does indeed look like the work of Ford. Like Velasco in The Queen, Bianca echoes the expression of Nearchus, declaring to Cesario 'Had your heart, / Your hand and tongue been twins, you had reputed / This courtesy a benefit'.<sup>51</sup> These words, too, show some of the distancing and suppression of emotion so characteristic of Ford. This is achieved both by the use of the remote pluperfect and by the use of abstract nouns when speaking of feelings which is so marked a habit of his, as when Penthea says to Orgilus in The Broken Heart 'my sorrows / By thee are made inferior to my fortunes'. (1I.iii.II\$-20) 'Twins', too, is a word that Ford is fond of, as is 'comforts' (Fair Maid, IV.i. p.189); and as Miss Sargeaunt points out, 'girle' in this scene is scanned as a disyllable, and Ford's favourite contractions 'dee' and 'tee' occur.<sup>52</sup> On the whole, it seems that one can be cautiously confident that so many of Ford's distinctive features could not be found clustered in one scene if he were not the author of it.

The view has also been advanced that Ford was responsible for some, or more likely all, of The Laws of Candy, which first appeared under the names of Beaumont and Fletcher. The theory was put forward by Oliphant, following suggestions by Wells and by Bertram Lloyd: the latter had remarked that the play was 'likely to be by Ford in parts', and had added that 'I'm convinced of his hand in V and III, and think that he likely wrote a part of the rest (e.g. I.i)'.<sup>53</sup> Oliphant himself went further and declared

that 'my own view of the play is that it is wholly Ford's, save for one little bit of Fletcher';<sup>54</sup> and Cyrus Hoy went further yet, arguing that 'the play has a number of affinities with Ford's unaided work, and in the state of our present knowledge, it seems best to regard The Laws of Candy as wholly his'.<sup>55</sup> He did, however, feel that 'the linguistic evidence is such that, while it does not rule out the possibility of attributing the play to Ford, neither does it establish his presence in it'.<sup>56</sup> Personally I can find in the play very little indeed that is suggestive of Ford, and there are only three points of similarity to his known work which seem to me really striking. Gasparo says to Melitus 'The Senate / Is wise, and therein just',<sup>57</sup> a phrase which recalls the dedication of A Line of Life to the 'wise, and therein noble'. Cassilanes declares 'I may be bold / To justifie a truth' (1.ii.p.24.5), which shows a Fordian fondness for the abstract; and Erota quotes both Giovanni and Annabella when she says to Antinous 'Love me, or kill me'<sup>58</sup> (1V.i.p.279). Moreover, Cassilanes mentions 'The Marquess Mountferrato' (IV.i.p.283), and there is a Duke of Montferrato, uncle to Grimaldi, in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore (1.ii.76). Against this, however, there must be set the extremely un-Fordian consideration of finance (1.i.p.238), and the fact that the plot of The Laws of Candy is an extremely complex affair, very different from the notorious thinness of most of Ford's. Altogether I find little in the play to suggest him as the probable author.

S.B. Ewing, jr., has also discussed the possibility that the anonymous play Andromana should be attributed to Ford, but he concludes that in fact the play only 'stands as interesting evidence that...Ford was not without at least one follower in his own time'.<sup>59</sup> In 1966, Leonora Leet Brodwin proposed Chapman as the author and Ford as the reviser of The Second Maiden's Tragedy,<sup>60</sup> but Middleton now appears established beyond much doubt as the author, and there appears

no reason to suppose that there was a reviser. Finally, Alfred Harbage suggested Dekker as the author of the Huntly scenes in Perkin Warbeck,<sup>61</sup> and Sidney R. Homan, arguing from some rather dubious parallel passages, agreed with him.<sup>62</sup> Peter Ure, however, has argued against this so effectively that one recent commentator, Sharon Hamilton, has declared the Harbage / Homan case completely disproven.<sup>63</sup> There certainly seems no reason to doubt Ford's authorship of the whole of Perkin Warbeck.

The last and most intractable of the works which have been variously attributed to Ford is a mysterious work entitled The Great Favourite; or, The Duke of Lerma. This seems to have been ascribed by Moseley to Henry Shirley. It came to prominence in 1668 when a manuscript copy of the original version was apparently handed to Sir Robert Howard, who worked it over to an extent which it is now impossible to determine and had it acted with Nell Gwyn playing the heroine. Moseley's evidence is by no means so reliable that it can be accepted unquestioningly, and in 1940 Harbage confidently declared the ascription to Henry Shirley to be worthless and claimed instead that 'Ford I am sure is our man'. He added that the play 'bears the stamp of Ford in its plot materials, its characters, and its style'.<sup>64</sup> Sensabaugh agreed with him, declaring that 'for ten years John Ford has been my constant companion, his voice becoming as familiar as that of an old friend's; and when I read The Great Favourite authentic accents fell on my ears'.<sup>65</sup> Leech, though not certain of the correctness of the attribution, ventured to suggest that if the original play really were by Ford 'it is probable that in the original form it had a strong family likeness to Love's Sacrifice';<sup>66</sup> and Davril even went so far as to say that 'la pièce telle que nous la possédons, taillée et modifiée par Howard, mérite même d'être incluse un jour dans une édition complète des oeuvres de Ford'.<sup>67</sup> Oliver, however, declared that 'I have made a close study of The

Duke of Lerma in an attempt to clinch the case for Ford but can only conclude that it must stop far short even of probability'.<sup>68</sup> One also needs to bear in mind, in any discussion of the authorship of the play, that Sir Robert Howard was extremely well read in Renaissance drama and would by no means have found it beyond him, if he had wanted to and perhaps even if he had not, to imitate the stylistic characteristics of Ford, Webster, Fletcher, Shakespeare, or a number of others. A recent editor points out that Howard's first play The Blind Lady 'reveals his interest in, and knowledge of, the plays of his Elizabethan and Jacobean predecessors', and in particular that 'the Princess has similar traits of characters to Calantha in The Broken Heart, and Caeca's servant Peter, "thou ingrateful piece of wise formality" (ill.ii), is often very like Ford's "wise formalitie" John a Water, Mayor of Cork, in Perkin Warbeck'.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, The Surprisal (1662) seems to show an intimate knowledge of 'Tis Pity She's a Whore.<sup>70</sup> This means that passages which seem strangely parallel to passages in Ford need not necessarily have been written by Ford. All the same, it is difficult to imagine who else could have written Maria's lines 'Come, sit down. See Izabella, / These flowers live without the sence of sorrowes' (IV.i.12-13). This has the simplicity and cadence of Ford's verse at its very best, when it is conveying deliberately repressed emotion. Another passage in IV,i contains an image popular in Ford from Christ's Bloody Sweat onwards:

Yet will you turn your eyes into your Brest,  
And they must weep, for they will see thy heart  
So very foul, that it needs pious washing.

(11.190-2) IV, i is indeed the scene in which the most characteristic Fordian echoes cluster. It is even tempting to see a connection between the fact that Medina makes reference to the unusual manner

in which wolves were believed to beget their young (iV.i.128-30), and our knowledge that this somewhat unlikely subject aroused considerable interest in at least one of Ford's close contemporaries at the Middle Temple, the diarist John Manningham.<sup>71</sup> And as Oliver points out,<sup>72</sup> the following lines of Medina sound so like Ford that it seems difficult to imagine that he did not write them:

'Tis pitty, forces me to this violence,  
The pitty of thy blood, I had a share in  
Before it was infected with this leprosie.

(iV.i.103-3)

Ironically enough, however, the presence in this scene of so many Fordian echoes only makes the case for his authorship harder, and not easier, to prove. In his Address to the Reader Sir Robert Howard says that one of the reasons that made him decide to alter the old play was that 'on the person of Philip the 3. there was . . . fixt such a mean character, and on the Daughter of the Duke of Lerma, such a vitious one'.<sup>73</sup> Now IV,i is the scene in the play, as we now have it, where the impregnable virtue of Maria is seen in its most shining colours; and if, in the original version, she was not virtuous at all, it seems inevitably to follow that the entire scene as it stands is the work of Howard. There is, perhaps, one other possibility, rather coyly hinted at by Harbage:<sup>74</sup> that Maria, like Annabella and Bianca, was both virtuous and vicious, and that while she was indeed guiltless in her conduct towards the King, her relations with her own father may not have been so free from blame. This could perhaps explain the paradox of why the most Fordian sounding passages should occur in a scene which apparently could never have found a place in the old play. But of course there is always the possibility that Maria is simply a most splendid hypocrite, in which case one would immediately think

of Ford's occasional collaborator Webster, the creator of Vittoria Corombona; and there is also the possibility - more difficult to credit, but not to be disregarded - that Sir Robert did indeed write the whole scene himself, as would seem to have been made necessary by the alterations he had made to the characters. Whatever the truth of the matter, however, it is now impossible to reconstruct, all the more so since Howard has clearly inserted several scenes and has probably worked over almost all the others. The stylistic similarities already noted, and perhaps the occurrence in I.i of the character-name Velasco (the name of the general in The Queen), seem to suggest that behind the present play there may indeed lie one by Ford, but the work as it now stands can only safely be attributed to Sir Robert Howard.

There remain two plays in which Ford is known to have had a hand, but in which there is still room for argument about the extent of his share. In the case of The Witch of Edmonton there is remarkably-little disagreement. Davril,<sup>75</sup> Sargeaunt,<sup>76</sup> and Oliver<sup>77</sup> are all unanimous on I.i, Ill.ii, and V.ii being certainly by Ford, while Sargeaunt and Davril also give him the latter part of I.ii, possibly part or all of Ill.iii, and certainly part of IV.ii, which Oliver also thinks is 'more likely to have been written by Ford'.<sup>78</sup> The play's recent editor Etta Soiref Onat also reaches much the same conclusions.<sup>79</sup> With The Sun's Darling the position is rather more difficult. It has been usual to ascribe to Ford Acts I, IV and V. Sargeaunt basically agrees with this division, although she feels that the work is in fact a revision, most likely by Ford and Dekker, of Dekker's much earlier masque Phaeton.<sup>80</sup> Davril, while considering that 'la pièce n'est pas assez belle pour qu'on s'attarde longuement sur la part respective des auteurs', gives the Philomel song and that of Ill.iii to Dekker and all the rest of the songs to Ford, agrees that it is a revision of Phaeton, but

thinks that by far the greatest part is the work of Ford and only Ill, i and Ill.iii the entirely unaided and unrevised productions of Dekker.<sup>81</sup> Oliver, on the other hand, does not believe in the Phaeton theory, and points to evidence which makes him think instead 'that the play was revised is highly probable - but in 1638 or 1639'.<sup>82</sup> Of the authorship of the 1624 version he finds that 'I do not see any hope of making a satisfactory division with this evidence', that 'my own opinion is that [Ford's] share in 1624 was slight', and that 'I should not care to venture a confident opinion of Ford's authorship of the songs in the play, although it may be granted that Folly's song in Act I could easily be his'. It could indeed: it is difficult not to be struck by the similarity in thought in the following two passages:

They who by their dreams  
     True joys measure,  
 Feasting starve, laughing weep,  
 Playing smart; whilst in sleep  
     Fools, with shadows smiling,  
     Wake and find  
     Hopes like wind,  
     Idle hopes, beguiling.

(The Sun's Darling, I.i.p.1) With this compare the words of Orgilus to Penthea in The Broken Heart:

All pleasures are but mere imagination,  
 Feeding the hungry appetite with steam  
 And sight of banquet, whilst the body pines,  
 Not relishing the real taste of food.

(II.iii.34-7) Act IV, too, is full of characteristic Fordian cadences, as in Raybright's lines to Pomona,

I have dreamt  
 The folly of my days in vain expense  
 Of useless taste and pleasure!



(p.153) In Act V, too, we find the idea of the need for the veins to be nourished, which is also implicit in Penthea's 'Her blood - 'tis just - be henceforth never heightened / With taste of sustenance' in The Broken Heart (IV.ii.131-2). In Acts II and III, however, there is little to suggest Ford. On the whole it seems best to agree with Oliver that the Scottish references point to a 1638/9 revision, and not to quarrel with the usual apportioning of Acts II and III to Dekker and Acts I, IV and V to Ford.

This completes the list of extant works in which Ford certainly or possibly had a hand. There are also, however, several titles of works which are now lost, but of which the existence has been more or less reliably documented. Of these the one about which we know most, thanks to the invaluable work of Professor Sisson, is The Late Murder of the Son Upon the Mother; or, Keep the Widow Waking.<sup>83</sup> It is now clear that this was based on the stories of Tobias Audley, who forcibly married a wealthy widow, and of Nathaniel Tindall, who for reasons now unknown murdered his mother. The two men had nothing to connect them with each other except for having been delivered for trial from Newgate at the same Gaol Delivery, on 3rd September 1624. Since Ford, Dekker and Rowley had already used as a source the pamphlet on Elizabeth Sawyer written by Henry Goodcole, chaplain of Newgate, and since Goodcole had dedicated work to Ford's early dedicatee the Earl of Arundel, they may perhaps have been on good enough terms with him to receive inside information about the two cases. Barely anything is known of the Tindall plot, but the Audley story has been reconstructed in considerable detail by Professor Sisson. We also know that the play was performed at the Red Bull, and that its authors were Dekker, Rowley, Ford and Webster.

Of the other lost works, little more than the titles is known. In 1613 Ford published a work entitled Sir Thomas Overburyes Ghost contayneinge the history of his life and untimely death. From Ford's

other references to Overbury, as for example in his commendatory verses to the Wife, we know that his attitude towards his fellow Middle Templar was sympathetic. In 1624 Ford and Dekker collaborated on two plays which are now lost, The Fairy Knight and The Bristowe Merchant. Of these nothing is known but the titles. Bang, however, speculates that there may be a connection between The Bristowe Merchant and a prose novel by Dekker; he seems to have found especially persuasive the fact that two (unrelated) characters in this prose novel bear the names Giovanni and Annabella, and he even goes so far as to say that 'we know from Forde's 'Tis Pity She's A Whore that he also was no doubt familiar with the core of the story'.<sup>84</sup> Moseley and Warburton (whose authority is by no means beyond question)<sup>85</sup> also ascribe to Ford alone three plays which are no longer extant, Beauty in a Trance, The Royall Combate and The London Merchant. Beauty in a Trance was acted at Court in 1630, and was described by Warburton as a comedy. We know nothing more of any of these plays, except that The London Merchant (the title of the play-within-the-play in The Knight of the Burning Pestle) sounds suspiciously like a mistake for The Bristowe Merchant. There is also a fourth play listed by Moseley as being by Ford and by Warburton as having been burnt by his cook, called An ill beginning has a good end, and a bad beginning may have a good end. This snappily-titled work seems almost certainly to have been the same play as one of a similar name acted at Court in 1613, and mainly for that reason Professor T.M. Parrott has questioned the attribution to Ford.<sup>86</sup> He considers that since the other works performed on that occasion were by such luminaries as Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Shakespeare, it would be hardly likely that Ford's very first play would have been of such quality as to be thought fit to appear in this impressive list. Also, as Davril remarks, if Ford did indeed write his first play in 1613 and have it acted at Court, but

did not write his second until 1621, 'on comprend mal le long silence de Ford après de si brillants débuts'.<sup>87</sup> But on the other hand it cannot be denied that Ford's scenes in The Witch of Edmonton, which must otherwise be regarded as his first play, show a scarcely less remarkable genius as a beginner than we would need to suppose if An ill beginning were his. Furthermore, the years 1613-21 were abnormally quiet ones for the London theatres - very few new plays of note were produced during that time - and Dekker was in prison from 1613 until 1619. It is not inconceivable that Ford could have tried his hand in 1613 but then have felt that the time was not propitious enough and his own interest in the theatre not strong enough to make him do more, and that it was Dekker who finally made him change his mind. The evidence, however, is tantalisingly inadequate. A satisfactory conclusion cannot be reached.

## DATING

The scholars and critics who have addressed themselves to the problem of the dates of composition of Ford's independent plays are unanimous on only one point: certainty is next to impossible, and it seems quite likely that we shall never be able indisputably to establish even the order, let alone the dates, of his greatest works. The external evidence for sequence and dating is pitifully scant, the internal far from conclusive, and Davril has rightly remarked that 'si on désire préciser les dates de composition des pièces avant d'en aborder l'examen, on s'aventure alors dans un labyrinthe aux allées si embrouillées que l'issue se dérobe sans cesse'.<sup>1</sup> Of only two plays is the dating beyond doubt: The Lover's Melancholy was licensed on the 24th November, 1628, and The Lady's Trial on 3rd May, 1638. Furthermore, since The Fancies Chaste and Noble was not entered in the Stationers' Register until 3rd February, 1638, and was printed later in the same year, it has usually been accepted as immediately preceding The Lady's Trial. The likelihood of this is increased by the fact that, as Fleay pointed out and Bentley later confirmed, 'the barber's remark...[V.ii] must refer to Old Parr. This old man, reputed to be 152 years old, was brought to court by the Earl of Arundel in September 1635; he died in London 14 November 1635'.<sup>2</sup> This would have been a circumstance which might have been particularly well known to Ford if, as I shall later suggest, he maintained some form of connection with the Earl of Arundel after his 1606 dedication to him. Ewing, however, considered that he could detect ridicule of The Fancies Chaste and Noble in Shirley's Changes.<sup>3</sup> Since that was licensed in 1631-2, The Fancies would, if Ewing is correct, be considerably earlier than supposed; and it is, presumably, in the light of this and of the Old Parr evidence combined that Kathleen McLuskie dates The Fancies '1631, revised 1635-6'.<sup>4</sup> But Shirley and Ford appear to have been on friendly terms,<sup>5</sup> which would have made it odd for the

one to ridicule the other's play, and the evidence does not really seem to warrant moving The Fancies from the date more usually given of 1635-6. (It was pointed out by Fleay and Bentley that it must have been acted before May 1636, for that was when Queen Henrietta's Men left the Phoenix). Continuing to work backwards, it is also possible to feel fairly confident in assigning a date to Perkin Warbeck, for Peter Ure in a fascinating article points out that there are clear references in the play to a genealogical controversy which was raging in Scotland between 1632 and 1633. Since 'the gossip among the courtiers is perhaps not very likely to have got going to any extent until about the autumn of 1632',<sup>7</sup> late 1632 or 1633 would seem to be the likeliest date for the play's composition (it was published in 1634).

An attempt to assign a precise date to any of the other plays, however, cannot, in the absence of further evidence, be any more than speculation. One argument which has often found favour is that because The Broken Heart and The Lover's Melancholy were Blackfriars plays, while all the other extant, independent works were acted by Christopher Beeston's companies at the Phoenix, it therefore seems likely that The Broken Heart and The Lover's Melancholy were the first of Ford's independent plays; and this is a theory which seems to be supported by the indisputable fact that The Lover's Melancholy was the first of the plays to be published. Thus Ronald Huebert states confidently that 'Ford's early association with the King's men comes to an end in 1630, after which he contributes his remaining plays to the repertoire of Queen Henrietta Maria's company'.<sup>8</sup> (The Lady's Trial, however, was in fact acted not by the Queen's men but by Beeston's Boys). Ribner,<sup>9</sup> Sensabaugh,<sup>10</sup> Oliver,<sup>11</sup> Una Ellis-Fermor,<sup>12</sup> Kenneth Muir,<sup>13</sup> Donatella Ravignani<sup>14</sup> and R.F. Hill <sup>15</sup> all place The Lover's Melancholy first in the order of composition, as Bawcutt is also cautiously inclined to do.<sup>16</sup>

T.J.B. Spencer, however, feels that the evidence is inconclusive;<sup>17</sup> and there is a peculiarly puzzling statement in Ford's dedicatory-epistle to 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, addressed to the Earl of Peterborough, which appears to some critics to conflict sharply with the theory that The Lover's Melancholy is the earliest of the plays. There Ford refers to 'Tis Pity as 'these first fruits of my leisure'. Whether he is speaking of a particular period of leisure, such as one of the holidays between law-terms, or whether he is saying that this is his first play - whether he is in fact even telling us that it predates The Witch of Edmonton, his first collaborative play - there can be no way of knowing. Partly because of this strange statement and partly because of its vigour, its style and its extraordinarily Jacobean character, 'Tis Pity is the main rival of The Lover's Melancholy for the title of Ford's first independent play. Leech remarks that 'it is likely that 'Tis Pity was one of his earliest independent plays',<sup>18</sup> and later adds that it is indeed 'perhaps the first that he wrote independently'.<sup>19</sup> Derek Roper, in his edition of the play, seems inclined to consider it as Ford's earliest independent drama.<sup>20</sup> He even puts forward the tantalising suggestion that ' 'Tis Pity may have been written at virtually any date before 1633, or, if Rosset is accepted as a source, between 1613 and 1633. It may quite easily have been a Jacobean play in fact as well as in spirit'. Gamini Salgado also remarks that 'Tis Pity 'may date from any time between 1615 and 1633',<sup>21</sup> and E.H.C. Oliphant suggests that both 'Tis Pity and Love's Sacrifice 'were considerably earlier in date than 1621'.<sup>22</sup> Bawcutt, however, in his introduction to the play, points out that 'the title-page... states that it was "Acted by the Queenes Maiesties Servants, at the Phoenix in Drury-Lane". This suggests that the first performance took place between 1626, when the Queen's Company came into being, and 1633; the date of publication'.<sup>23</sup> Boas, though, feels that

'Tis Pity is at least earlier than The Broken Heart,<sup>24</sup> and if it precedes The Broken Heart then we are left with no reason why it should not also precede The Lover's Melancholy, since we are no longer supposing that Ford wrote first for the Blackfriars and then for the Phoenix. H.W. Wells puts forward a tentative dating of 'Tis Pity to 1627, The Lover's Melancholy and The Queen to 1628, The Broken Heart to 1629 and Perkin Warbeck to 1633,<sup>25</sup> and Schelling rather less tentatively offers exactly the same dates and sequence but omits any mention of The Queen.<sup>26</sup> Finally, Davril proposes 1626-7 for 'Tis Pity, 'précédant de peu Love's Sacrifice (1627-28?)', 1628-30 for The Queen and Beauty in a Trance, 1630-32 for The Broken Heart, and 1633-34 for Perkin Warbeck.<sup>27</sup>

With such critical disagreement and such unsatisfactory evidence there seems to be little chance of ever arriving at a reasonably certain order of composition. There is, however, one more or less undisputed aspect of the relationship to each other of Ford's earlier plays, and that is that Love's Sacrifice and 'Tis Pity She's A Whore seem naturally to form one group, and The Broken Heart and The Lover's Melancholy (the two King's Men plays) another. Leech remarked that 'Love's Sacrifice...has all the marks of being an intermediary play between 'Tis Pity on the one hand and The Broken Heart and Perkin Warbeck on the other'.<sup>28</sup> Derek Roper felt that ''Tis Pity and Love's Sacrifice stand together and are as unlike Ford's other plays as the work of another man might be'.<sup>29</sup> Boas, too, contrasted The Broken Heart with 'Tis Pity and Love's Sacrifice, declaring that 'the versification which is less lyrical in quality, and the diction which is compressed and occasionally less lucid than that of ['Tis Pity and Love's Sacrifice], suggest that it was of later composition'.<sup>30</sup> Sargeant also felt that the two plays could be grouped together,<sup>31</sup> for reasons endorsed by Roper,<sup>32</sup> namely the metrical tests of Professor Pierce. One small piece of evidence

suggests that The Broken Heart was certainly published later than Love's Sacrifice and 'Tis Pity She's A Whore: Spencer points out that it is the only one of the three to have on its title-page Ford's anagram, Fide Honor, and that 'it seems likely...that Ford devised the anagram between the publication of Love's Sacrifice and 'Tis Pity She's A Whore and that of The Broken Heart'.<sup>33</sup> It also seems likely to me that not only was The Broken Heart printed later than 'Tis Pity and Love's Sacrifice, it was also written later. 'Tis Pity, Love's Sacrifice and The Lover's Melancholy all clearly display a heavy dependence on Shakespeare for their plots and for some of their characterization: the debts to Romeo and Juliet, to Othello, and to Twelfth Night and King Lear respectively can hardly escape notice, and it is further possible to argue that 'the scene in which Giovanni kills Annabella owes so much to the death scene of Desdemona that it could, evidently, not have been written without the Shakespearean model'.<sup>34</sup> It is also apparent that parts of Love's Sacrifice borrow heavily from Middleton's Women Beware Women. It does not seem too far-fetched to hazard a development away from the strongly imitative forms of these plays towards the achievement of an independent voice and manner in The Broken Heart and Perkin Warbeck (in Perkin, the obvious echoes of Henry V and Richard II are far more thoroughly subordinated to Ford's own vision and purpose than were the borrowings of the earlier plays). This would therefore put both 'Tis Pity and Love's Sacrifice before 1628. (Indeed, it would seem strange if Ford, after his intensely busy collaborative period from 1621 to 1623, had produced nothing further before 1628). I would further argue that, of these two, 'Tis Pity is the earlier, on the possibly rather flimsy grounds that Ford seems to me to find a new life for the Jacobean tradition in 'Tis Pity which he can, however, sustain only at so extraordinary a pitch of



violence and abnormal behaviour as he makes use of there, while Love's Sacrifice, like Shirley's The Cardinal, goes through the motions but is essentially written in a dead form. There seems no reason why the famous reference in Love's Sacrifice to 'women antics' should automatically date it to 1632. It could, for instance, refer to the performance of Racan's Artenice at Somerset House on February 21st, 1626, which we know attracted considerable attention: as Pauline Gregg remarks, 'Charles's mother had appeared in Court masques with little criticism (except when she blackened her face) but this would be the first time that a Queen of England had spoken a role or that her ladies had taken male parts'.<sup>35</sup> From Love's Sacrifice Ford may be thought naturally to have turned to a very different kind of play, and also to a different type of acting and of audience as he switched playhouses from the Phoenix to the Blackfriars. Perhaps the publication of The Lover's Melancholy so soon after it appears to have been written may be taken as reflecting the author's satisfaction with the new style at which he had arrived, after, I think, a false start with The Queen. Sherman, in his edition of 'Tis Pity and The Broken Heart, remarks that 'closely related to The Lover's Melancholy by virtue of their common relation to The Anatomy of Melancholy is the play called The Queen',<sup>36</sup> and Anderson also puts The Queen immediately before The Lover's Melancholy.<sup>37</sup> It was to be in such a lyrical Greek setting as that of The Lover's Melancholy and for the same actors and audience that Ford produced what is arguably his greatest play, The Broken Heart, which seems overwhelmingly likely to have been written later than The Lover's Melancholy because it is there that he breaks away from Shakespeare and Middleton and Burton and establishes his own peculiar tone and manner.

If these arguments are accepted, the Burtonian, Shakespearean The Queen (again owing a considerable debt to Othello) can perhaps

best be placed between Love's Sacrifice and The Lover's Melancholy, after Ford had exhausted one method but before he developed another. His failure to publish it may indicate that he himself did not think very highly of it. R.J. Kaufmann, alone of all his tribe, thinks that

the probable order of composition was in fact The Queen, Love's Sacrifice, 'Tis Pity;<sup>38</sup> but although the shared debt to Othello and the emphasis on the keeping and breaking of vows do indeed relate The Queen closely to Love's Sacrifice, its examination of mental disorder, heavily influenced by Burton, and its tragicomic form are no less akin to The Lover's Melancholy. This makes it seem reasonable to place it between the two in order of composition. I therefore tentatively propose dates of 1623-6 for 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, and 1626-7 for Love's Sacrifice and The Queen. The Lover's Melancholy,

The Broken Heart and the lost Beauty in a Trance, also written for the King's Men and acted at Court in 1630, would follow. In the absence of a text or even of a plot summary of Beauty in a Trance, such as Professor Sisson has provided for Keep the Widow Waking, it remains impossible to speculate on its likely place in the series; and The Broken Heart might therefore have been composed at any time between 1628 and 1633, though if C.A. Gibson is right in detecting in it a borrowing from Massinger's The Picture then the most likely date for it is 1630-I.<sup>39</sup> For these reasons I have chosen

to treat the plays in the order 'Tis Pity, Love's Sacrifice, The Queen, The Lover's Melancholy, The Broken Heart, Perkin Warbeck, The Fancies Chaste and Noble and The Lady's Trial. I hope, however, that even if the earlier part of this sequence should ever be conclusively shown to be wrong, the main argument will not be seriously affected, for the principal contention of this thesis is for a marked difference between the first six, and the last two.

'WITH HEAVY HEARTS, YET AS MERRY AS WE CAN': THE MAKING OF A

CAROLINE DRAMATIST

In 1621 John Ford collaborated with William Rowley and Thomas Dekker to produce The Witch of Edmonton. It was probably the first play on which Ford had worked. Rowley, however, although only a year or so older than Ford, had been writing steadily for the theatre since around 1607, collaborating with Heywood, Day, Wilkins, and Middleton; and Dekker, fifteen years older than Rowley, had had his first play produced in 1599 in the reign of Elizabeth, and had since collaborated with Chettle, Haughton, Heywood, Webster, Jonson, Middleton and Massinger.<sup>1</sup> The Witch of Edmonton was firmly rooted in a long, strong tradition of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. It displayed, for instance, clear affinities with such domestic tragedies as the anonymous Arden of Faversham and as A Woman Killed with Kindness, by Dekker's and Rowley's old associated Heywood, which had enjoyed such popularity at the turn of the century: it has been remarked that 'there is a very strong thread to this play which seems to demonstrate a continuing interest in the problems raised in the earlier domestic tragedies'.<sup>2</sup> But it is not merely a nostalgic harking-back to an antiquated genre from the dramatists' young days. It was, as Arden of Faversham itself had been, a topical play, a dramatic re-telling of a story only a very few months old, and \* containing, as well as the tragedies of Susan, Frank, and Mother Sawyer, some touching and realistic domestic detail (particularly in the splendid Act IV, scene ii) and some boisterous comedy. It could fairly be said that The Witch of Edmonton looked not only backwards, to the heyday of the domestic tragedy, but also forwards, pointing the way to a long series of successful, topical plays, including, in various ways, Middleton's A Game at Chess in 1623 and Brome and Heywood's The Late Lancashire Witches in 1634, as well as at least one and probably two now lost plays in which Ford and Dekker were to have a hand, The Late Murder of the Son upon the Mother; or,

Keep the Widow Waking (with Rowley and Webster) and (perhaps) The Bristowe Merchant.<sup>3</sup>

The Witch of Edmonton is, moreover, despite the sombre nature of two of its three interlocking plots, an ultimately life-affirming and even a quietly optimistic play. As in Arden of Faversham and A Woman Killed with Kindness, guilt and crime are seen as things which true repentance can wash almost effortlessly away, and even a murderer can die in hope of heaven. As Madeleine Doran points out,

the movement towards the double ending, which mitigated the harshness of tragedy, was felt especially in English domestic tragedy - e.g., in A Woman Killed (1603), The English Traveller (?1623), The Witch of Edmonton (1621). The two latter were even designated as tragi-comedies on their title pages. Géraldine's unfaithful mistress, in The English Traveller, and Frank Thorney, the murderer, in The Witch of Edmonton, receive a just reward in death, but save their souls by repentance.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, some of the most striking similarities between The Witch of Edmonton and earlier domestic tragedies lie in the peace and confidence which settles on the entire dramatis personae at the end of the play, and the sense that society has been at least to some extent purged and restored. In Arden of Faversham Alice, the adulteress and murderess, is seen in Act V, scene i frantic to prevent her guilt from being discovered; but once the secret is out she seems to be immediately filled with a spirit of almost joyful resignation, and at her next appearance, in V.iii, she apostrophises the husband whose murder she had ordered with

Forgive me, Arden: I repent me now,  
And, would my death save thine, thou shouldst not die.  
Rise up, sweet Arden, and enjoy thy love,  
And frown not on me when we meet in heaven:  
In heaven I'll love thee, though on earth I did not.<sup>5</sup>

Even when Alice has learned that she is to be burned to death her only

remark is 'Let my death make amends for all my sins'. At the end of A Woman Killed with Kindness reconciliation again produces harmony out of the previously troubled discords of the play as Mistress Frankford, also an adulteress, speaks calmly of her 'zeal to Heaven, whither I am now bound', and repeats a few lines later 'Pardon'd on earth, soul, thou in Heaven art free'. This is also the mood that, at least in part, animates the last scene of The Witch of Edmonton. All the surviving characters of the play show a strong interest in salvaging something from the ruin, and in attempting to learn their lessons and to make constructive use of their experiences. Frank and Mother Sawyer both die repentant, Frank at least parting at peace with all, and the play ends with Kate and Somerton agreeing to marry, Old Carter offering Winnifride a home, and the exhortation 'So let's every man home to Edmonton with heavy hearts, yet as merry as we can, though not as we would'. This is a remark which could perhaps stand just as well at the end of either of the earlier tragedies here discussed, just as the great Act IV, scene ii of The Witch of Edmonton would not have been out of place in a turn-of-the-century domestic tragedy. .

Although there is considerable dispute about the precise shares of the three authors of The Witch of Edmonton, most critics are agreed that IV.ii and the last scene of the play are from the hand of one man: and strange-ly enough that one man is almost universally believed to have been neither of the authors who, having previously collaborated with Heywood, might have been thought likely to have produced echoes of his plays, but the newcomer, Ford. In what was almost certainly his first play, he apparently proved himself a master of fast-moving, domestic, realistic theatre, with an eye for a stage picture and a skill approaching genius when it came to depicting the impulses of his characters to grab at what are sometimes quite literally crumbs of consolation in their attempts to alleviate

their distresses. There is something of the essence of domestic tragedy in the desperate childlikeness of Frank's yearning for physical comfort in the following exchange:

Frank. The knife, the knife, the knife!

Katherine. What knife?

Exit Dog.

— Frank. To cut my chicken up, my chicken.

(IV.ii.119-20) Here the repetition of 'chicken' (a favourite Ford trick) and the grammatically redundant but emotionally vital 'up' create an awful particularity and a sense of irrational but burning need which appear to look forward to that green silk quilt which is the soul's desire of Middleton's Bianca in her suddenly unsatisfactory marriage.<sup>6</sup> Ford, however, did not go on to write such a play as Women Beware Women. Within less than a decade the great domestic playwright of The Witch of Edmonton was doing something very different indeed: the bed, the pocket-knife and the chicken would give way to a stage bleak and bare, except for a formal grouping of chairs in four scenes and an altar in one; the realism and the naturalism would be replaced by ritualistic and emblematic staging; and the homely setting of Edmonton would change to the cheerless and long-dead civilisation of Sparta, in a play studded with what look very like references to the unhappy Earl of Essex and his unhappy sister, both of them, also, long since dead.<sup>7</sup> Nor was Ford writing any more in a mainstream dramatic tradition. The closest thing to The Broken Heart previously to be seen on the English stage had been parts of The Second Maiden's Tragedy, and the only remotely similar plays in the rest of the century were written not in England at all but in France, by Racine. In The Broken Heart, as in the French : classical theatre, for a character to sit is a momentous event - even the sick Ithocles and the dying Amyclas never lie down, they

only sit - and there is no comfort, nothing to be salvaged: the loss of love is an absolute loss, and there are no other ties to keep the characters of these plays from dedicating themselves to death.

Perhaps even more strange, in view of the importance of the knife and the chicken in The Witch of Edmonton, is the attitude displayed towards food by certain characters in Ford's independent plays. Racine's characters, we feel, could no more devote their thoughts to eating than they could turn somersaults on stage; but banquet scenes and references to food were an integral part of the Elizabethan and Jacobean tradition, and references to tastes in eating and drinking had been useful revelations of character in contexts as diverse as Falstaff calling for sack, and the impetuous, sensual Duchess of Malfi greedily devouring the apricots which, like the apple in Paradise, constitute a trap which will eventually lead to her fall. We have already seen that Ford was well aware of the possibilities of such references: perhaps nothing could have better illustrated Frank's extraordinary propensity to convince himself that all was well, and to forget inconvenient facts like bigamous marriages, than his frantic concentration on his chicken at the moment when his crimes were about to be revealed. In The Broken Heart, however, there is no eating. Even at the celebration of the wedding of Prophilus and Euphranea, an event which would normally, as in The Witch of Edmonton and even in 'Tis Pity, have automatically entailed a banquet, there is no feasting, but only the solemn ceremonial dance during which Calantha is brought the news of the play's first three deaths. Such banquets as there are in this play are all in the mind, not on the stage, and that abstract, non-physical element is taken one step further by the fact that even the banquets of which the characters speak are never real ones.<sup>8</sup> Orgilus tells his lost love Penthea that

All pleasures are but mere imagination,  
 Feeding the hungry appetite with steam  
 And sight of banquet, whilst the body pines,  
 Not relishing the real taste of food.  
 Such is the leanness of a heart divided  
 From intercourse of troth-contracted loves.

(H.iii.34-9) There is also another remote and insubstantial banquet mentioned when Ithocles, dying, apostrophises his dead sister with

Pentheia, by thy side thy brother bleeds:  
 The earnest of his wrongs to thy forced faith.  
 Thoughts of ambition, or delicious banquet,  
 With beauty, youth, and love, together perish  
 In my last breath, which on the sacred altar  
 Of a long-looked-for peace - now - moves - to - heaven.

(IV.iv.64-70) Here 'banquet' is tellingly grouped with the abstract nouns 'ambition', 'beauty', 'youth' and 'love'. Food becomes even more rarefied in Bassanes' assertion that

There is a mastery  
 In art to fatten and keep smooth the outside,  
 Yes, and to comfort up the vital spirits  
 Without the help of food: fumes or perfumes,  
 "Perfumes or fumes.

(IV.ii.162-6) R.J. Kaufmann rightly points out that 'the banquet imagery...is an objective correlative for the deeper, more pervasive image stratum having to do with deprivation of sustenance, psychic as well as physical, just as the imagery of "desubstantialization" or sublimation of solid "food" into gaseous form is a variant of the comprehensive imagery of perversion of normal growth and regulated natural process'.<sup>9</sup> There is nothing in this play of the vital, physical reality of Frank's chicken, or of the sense of food as representing a solid, continuing life, to which Frank clings and which pulses strongly on despite his



bigamous marriages and his murder of Susan. There are no such bonds to tie the characters of The Broken Heart to life. I shall discuss later how both in this play and in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore Ford pointedly refers to the excellent physical health of characters about to die - even Amyclas does not seem to have anything actually wrong with him - and one of the most notable effects of this is to stress the spirituality of his personages' existences, and the extent to which they feel themselves dislocated not only from various parts of their minds but from their bodies as well - as it were a literal disjointing. This alienation from their own corporeality finds further expression in these banquets which do not nourish, and in the general inefficacy of food to comfort or to preserve life which is so finely conveyed in the elegiac duet between Penthea and Ithocles:

Penthea. Of country toil drinks the untroubled streams With leaping kids and with the bleating lambs, And so allays her thirst secure; whiles I Quench my hot sighs with fleetings of my tears. Ithocles. The labourer doth eat his coarsest bread, Earned with his sweat, and lies him down to sleep- Whiles every bit I touch turns in digestion To gall, as bitter as Penthea's curse.	The handmaid to the wages Of country toil drinks the untroubled streams With leaping kids and with the bleating lambs, And so allays her thirst secure; whiles I Quench my hot sighs with fleetings of my tears. Ithocles. The labourer doth eat his coarsest bread, Earned with his sweat, and lies him down to sleep- Whiles every bit I touch turns in digestion To gall, as bitter as Penthea's curse.
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(III.ii.34-62) As Donald K. Anderson, in an interesting article, points out, 'in 'Tis Pity, tragedy results when lovers defy the dictates of society; because the banquet is eaten, the heart is ripped out. In The Broken Heart, tragedy results when lovers yield to society; because the much desired banquet is never tasted, the heart is ground to dust, burned, or broken'.<sup>10</sup> It is not by an arbitrary choice of death on the dramatist's part that Penthea, like Mistress Frankford in A Woman Killed with Kindness, dies by self-starvation: like Giovanni's entrance with Annabella's heart upon his dagger, it is the culmination of a sustained pattern of

theme and imagery. The way in which these characters have deliberately opposed themselves to emotional progress or alteration in life and to change, and seem almost to have sought out death as the surest way of preserving themselves in the frozen postures which they have adopted, is paralleled in the emblematic, tableau-like staging of the play; and it is paralleled also in the way that they have withdrawn themselves from the physical processes of life, and from food in particular. And it is perhaps in part as a result of this denial of physical comfort to the body that it would be inconceivable for Nearchus or Armostes or Bassanes at the end of The Broken Heart to speak those lines which Ford had put into the mouth of a character less than ten years earlier, and to conjure his fellow-survivors of the tragedy to go 'every man home...with heavy hearts, yet as merry as we can, though not as we would'. Far fitter as an expression of the spirit of The Broken Heart are the lines of poor mad Penthea, 'Griefs are sure friends. They leave, without control, / Nor cure nor comforts for a leprous soul' (IV.ii.168-§). All cheer, all comfort, all nourishment whether physical or spiritual would be completely alien to the Spartan society of The Broken Heart. The most poignant expression of this for the original audience might well have been Penthea's lines

every drop  
Of blood is turnèd to an amethyst,  
Which married bachelors hang in their ears.

(IV.ii.129-131) The traditional properties of the amethyst, as given in lapidaries, were 'the comfort of the body and the soul';<sup>11</sup> but here that idea of comfort is deliberately inverted, and is associated with the unnatural, life-denying ideas of frozen blood and married bachelors.

It has been remarked above that the characters of The Broken

Heart, and most obviously Penthea and Orgilus, deny themselves physical consolation. Indeed it appears that one of the principal functions of the scene in which Orgilus appears to Euphranea and Prophilus disguised as Aplotes is to associate him further with privation and an unhappy asceticism, by contrast with the 'sumptuousness' (1.iii.141) and the cheerful generosity of his sister and her lover. It is not only for food, however, that Orgilus, Penthea, Ithocles and Calantha are starving; as Anderson points out, 'Penthea's death is more spiritual than physical; she starves for lack of love'.<sup>12</sup> Nor is this true only of Penthea. Orgilus refuses to consider forgetting Penthea and choosing another wife; Ithocles and Calantha never consummate their betrothal / marriage; Penthea's husband may well be impotent,<sup>13</sup> and even if he were not he could not give her the satisfaction she needs. The lack of food and the lack of love appear to be closely linked, and not just in The Broken Heart. Anderson rightly points out that in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore 'throughout the play Ford depicts physical love in terms of feast and food; hence the love-death scene between Giovanni and Annabella is symbolized not only by the torn-out heart but by the banquet of pleasure'.<sup>14</sup> It is, indeed, in 'Tis Pity that we can best attempt to trace the developing sensibility and poetic voice which turned the realistic dramaturgy of The Witch of Edmonton (and, it seems safe to assume, of the lost Keep the Widow Waking) into the ritual staging and formal tableaux of The Broken Heart. In many ways 'Tis Pity She's A Whore is not a particularly surprising play for the author of IV.ii and V.ii of The Witch of Edmonton to have written. If Ford did indeed collaborate with Dekker or Rowley on The Spanish Gipsy in 1623, then we can clearly see him there, too, writing in a recognised theatrical mode and using what must by then have been fairly standardised 'short-hand' clues to characterization and probable plot development that would have

smoothed the paths of both dramatist and audience. Anne Barton has argued that in The Broken Heart 'to be well acquainted with Shakespeare, with the convolutions of Elizabethan and Jacobean revenge tragedy, with standard character types and the normal configurations of plot within a five act structure is to be hindered, not helped in understanding the plot as it unfolds'.<sup>15</sup> In The Spanish Gipsy, on the other hand, an audience familiar with the Shakespeare and Fletcher plays about children lost and later restored would easily unravel the likely place in the story of the gipsy sub-plot, while the playwright was saved from lingering over Roderigo's change of heart by drawing on a long-established convention, ranging from Angelo in Measure for Measure to Helvetius in The Second Maiden's Tragedy, of a sudden volte-face. The action and the staging of the play are certainly not naturalistic, but then naturalism was a quality specifically of the domestic drama and certainly never a criterion for plays set in Spain or Italy, where, as every good Jacobean knew, anything might happen. The Spanish Gipsy does, however, represent events in a way that a Jacobean audience would have expected and which would have been instantly comprehensible to them, and the pace and fluidity of its earliest scenes, for example, are a world away from the stylised dropping away from life of The Broken Heart.

Much the same can be said of 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, which, 'à la différence de The Broken Heart, ne nous présente pas des personnages qui semblent vivre dans une transe somnambulique, mais témoigne d'un bout à l'autre d'une grande vigueur dramatique - un peu excessive même au goût de certains'.<sup>16</sup> It is set not in long distant Greece but in roughly contemporary Italy, in the familiar world of revenge-intrigues and corrupt cardinals. Its first audiences must have had a pretty good idea of what to expect, and on the whole they got it; indeed the closeness of its affinities with

other drama of the kind has led Howard Felperin to remark that

by the end of *'Tis Pity*, the principals are desperately casting about among the entire repertory of the Elizabethan and Jacobean theater for roles to shore against their ruin. Soranzo becomes a degraded Othello; the Spaniard Vasques' revenge-plotting recalls that of his countryman Hieronimo and Vindice's as well; Annabella patterns herself on Middleton's falling but repentant heroines; and the Cardinal proves true to his venal Websterian prototypes.<sup>17</sup>

Its plot, its pace and its use of the stage do, indeed, link it much more closely with such great Elizabethan and Jacobean plays as Romeo and Juliet, The Duchess of Malfi and Women Beware Women than with any of Ford's own other work except for Love's Sacrifice. Indeed, the measure of the dependence of those two pieces on the Elizabethan and Jacobean tradition can be seen in their heavy reliance on their Shakespearean sources, without a knowledge of which much of their significance would be lost, whereas The Lover's Melancholy has transmuted Twelfth Night and King Lear into a totally new work of art, quite alien to the spirit of the originals. 'Tis Pity, however, also contains much that is new, and in it we can see the first indication of themes and moods that were later to become the hallmark of Ford, and which were to find their finest and fullest expression in The Broken Heart. The stylised effect of the stage picture, as in the 'marriage' of Giovanni and Annabella, was one of these; another was the image of the perverted banquet, and the association of food with love which we see when Ithocles, speaking of his projected marriage to Calantha, says

Then the sweetness  
Of so imparadised a comfort, Orgilus!  
It is to banquet with the gods.

(IV.iii.127-9)

As Anderson points out, food and love are constantly associated

in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore. There is, furthermore, a persistent differentiation throughout the play between food which is healthy, wholesome and nourishing, associated always with one specific group of characters, and food which is somehow corrupted or not performing its proper function, associated equally consistently with other groups of characters. Philotis, in particular, is the dispenser of real food and genuine comfort: indeed it seems to be chiefly in her capacity as bringer of happiness to those who apparently have no chance of it, such as Richardetto and Bergetto, that she is present in the play, and when she leaves it at the end of Act IV, scene ii an important potential source of consolation and healing has vanished. It is notable, for instance, that the supposed doctor Richardetto is too inept at his pretended craft even to diagnose Annabella's pregnancy, but that Bergetto's account of his first meeting with Philotis, when he has been injured, has her washing his wounds 'most excellently' (ll.vi.83), a contrast which nicely points up her healing and comforting properties. Bergetto is the principal recipient of the comfort offered by Philotis, and one of the qualities that makes him so endearing and in a sense so positive a character, and that renders his death such a loss to the world of the play, is his constant association with simple bodily wants and pleasures like dainties and soft clothes. Hippolita, Vasques and Soranzo, on the other hand, are all associated with corrupted food and unharmonious feasts, and so, although he himself does not realise it, is Florio. Besides these there is a third group, made up of Annabella and Giovanni themselves, who in this as in so much else are unlike anybody else in the play. They eat; but the food that they consume, although wholesome in itself, invariably makes them ill, and it is significant that the two major events in their downfall are both heralded by a banquet. Just as Penthea dies of both lovelessness and starvation, so Annabella and Giovanni die

from excessive gratification of their appetites, and from the consumption of the wrong sort of food.

The extent to which comfort might ordinarily be conceived of as a useful corrective to the rigidly extreme positions of Fordian lovers is interestingly indicated in the first scene of this play. Religion, and a personal appeal to his former pupil, both fail the Friar, but he does not give up hope: he still has one weapon left. What appeals to the reason have not achieved, physical discomfort perhaps may, and his last attempt is to order Giovanni to 'weep, sigh, pray / Three times a day, and three times every night;' (I.i.76-7). It is surely this trait of the Friar, rather than any taint of immorality, which makes him advise Annabella to marry Soranzo, for he has not gone with the lovers into a world where the decencies and comforts of everyday living no longer count. Giovanni unfeelingly 'beats his breast, and wipes his eyes / Drowned all in tears' (I.ii.138-9); but the Friar in the midst of his distress about his pupil can still pause on the fact that 'I day and night have waked my aged eyes / Above my strength, to weep on thy behalf (II.v.7\*8). In the consciousness of the desire for physical comfort which informs 'aged' and 'above my strength' lies the gap in understanding between Giovanni and the Friar. Bonaventura could well have used of his pupil the words of Tecnicus to Orgilus in The Broken Heart,

Neglects in young men of delights and life  
Run often to extremities. They care not  
For harms to others, who condemn their own.

(i.iii.I6-I8) Like the Friar, Florio is also a character who, like Old Carter in The Witch of Edmonton, would like everything to be as cheerful and comfortable as possible; but ironic double meanings of which he is unaware undercut his remarks just as they do his well-meaning but doomed attempt to marry his daughter to a man she can love.

When he is brought out of his house by the fight between Grimaldi and Vasques, he demands indignantly 'Must I be haunted still with such unrest / As not to eat or sleep in peace at home?' (1.ii.23-6). He does not know that his equation of 'home' with 'peace' is a false one, and that 'these sudden broils' are even more 'near his doors' (1.ii.22) than he suspects. His attempt to reconcile the difference between the two men is soon compromised even further by resonances of which he is ignorant, as he declares

I would not for my wealth my daughter's love  
Should cause the spilling of one drop of blood.  
Vasques, put up, let's end this fray in wine.

(1.ii.61-3). This is the first mention of drink in the play, and it is meant to be a symbol of comfort and of the drowning of differences which Florio is hoping to engineer; but much more significant in terms of the future development of the play is Florio's casual but prophetic utterance of the words 'blood' and 'wine' in the same breath. As Carol C. Rosen points out, 'verbally turning blood to wine, Florio fosters a motif of sacrilegious communion which, like Hippolita's bloody curse following a drink of deadly wine, culminates in the final scene of 'Tis Pity'.<sup>18</sup> This hint at the communion ceremony also points forward to the unhallowed mock-marriage ceremony of Giovanni and Annabella, and to Giovanni's description of Annabella's heart as 'food' (V.vi.24), with its ghastly reminiscences of the communion sacrament, as well as to the bloody banquets of IV.i and V.vi, of the first of which the Friar so aptly remarks 'that marriage seldom's good, / Where the bride-banquet so begins in blood' (IV.i.110-111). Soon afterwards wine is mentioned again, but with scarcely happier associations, as Annabella says of Putana 'Sure the woman took her morning's draught too soon' (i.ii.102). She thus suggests that Putana's place is with those who make



perverted use of food and drink; and Putana, as is several times stressed, is the 'tut'ress' of Annabella, and so may be expected to exert a powerful influence on her charge's attitudes. The entrance of the wholesome, self-pampering Bergetto provides a welcome relief, as he at once establishes a quite different atmosphere with his 'Didst thou think, Poggio, that I would spoil my new clothes, and leave my dinner to fight?' (1.ii.I06-7) and his 'I will but wash my face, and shift socks' (1.ii.117-8). Bergetto's interests are several times shown to include clothes as well as food - Putana refers to his 'silken coat' (1.ii.I03) - and in this, too, he acts as a foil to the main characters. Giovanni 'walks careless of himself (1.ii.I34), and fine clothes, like fine food, are for . Annabella signs of death: 'alas, these gay attires were not put on / But to some end' she warns her brother (V.v.20-1), and she is very soon proved right as, 'in all her best' (V.v.98), she is stabbed by him.

It is revealing that when Bergetto leaves (1.ii.I21), he is almost immediately replaced by Giovanni, for the fool's brief appearance has been enough to create an illuminating contrast with the young brother-lover. Bergetto would not leave his dinner to fight - or possibly, for that matter, to do anything else - but Giovanni has 'even starved / My veins with daily fasts' (1.ii.133-4). This is the first mention of a disordered relationship with food which is to characterize the lovers throughout the play. For them their love is their food - Giovanni refers to the 'divine ambrosia' of Annabella's lips (H.i.I7) - and this idea finds particularly powerful expression in the play's references to unnatural communion sacraments, just as Giovanni by his use of language borrowed from biblical accounts of the crucifixion (V.vi.22) again confuses divine love with human. It is in this sense that the visual expression of their love-death is indeed the banquet of V.vi, for it is their

feasting on the forbidden fruits which brings them to their deaths; but the perverted and incestuous nature of their love has prevented them from feasting in the conventional way, and their banquet of illicit love has been mirrored in the radical disruption of their attitude towards actual physical food. It is notable that both the lovers are sickly (Giovanni is said to be delicate at I.iii.3-6; Annabella is made ill by her pregnancy, and has been so earlier, according to Florio's words at II.i.60). Both of them, also, associate food with sickness. Giovanni instructs Putana to pass off his sister's nausea by saying that ' 'twas but some ill diet' (III.iii.27), and Annabella herself tells Richardetto that 'she had lately eaten / Melons, and as she thought, those disagreed / With her young stomach' (III.iv.3-5). Giovanni refuses the loving-cup at his sister's marriage with the words 'I cannot drink... 'Twill indeed offend me' (IV.i.27), and although it is, of course, primarily the symbolic implication of the act which he cannot stomach, nevertheless the visual image which will remain in the audience's memory is of Giovanni pushing away a cup of wine. Similarly, when Florio summons his children with 'Come, 'tis supper-time' (II.vi.128) and exits, they do not follow him; they stay instead to banquet on their own private feast of love, just as Giovanni refers to the 'taste of love' (V.iii.5)\* and calls 'every kiss / As sweet and as delicious as the first I reaped' (V.iii.8-3). They are sustained only on the spiritual food of their love, and when Vasques tells Giovanni that Annabella is 'troubled with a new sickness, my lord; she's somewhat ill' (IV.iii.246-7), Giovanni again demonstrates the antipathy the lovers feel to more normal forms of nourishment when he ascribes her supposed indisposition to her having 'took too much of the flesh, I believe' (IV.iii.248). Giovanni and Annabella are not alone in comparing their love to a banquet. When Soranzo is berating Annabella for her pregnancy, he exclaims

Must your hot itch and plurisy of lust,  
 The heyday of your luxury, be fed  
 Up to a surfeit.

(1V.iii.8-10) Vasques, too, says to Soranzo of Giovanni, 'Let him go and glut himself in his own destruction' (V.iv.44-3). Philotis - who makes her first appearance carrying a lute, like an emblematic representation of harmony - dispenses to her lover the comforts of clothes and food (in the shapes of a codpiece-point and a box of marmalade), and is associated with 'sweetmeats and dainty devices' (111.v.41). But Giovanni and Annabella withdraw ever further from the normal patterns and processes of life, and become associated instead with frozen states of lifelessness and pétrification; Annabella's blood 'will anon / Be frozen harder than congealed coral' (V.iii.25-6), and Giovanni has earlier told her that

Such a pair of stars  
 As are thine eyes would, like Promethean fire,  
 If gently glanced, give life to senseless stones.

(I.ii.196-8) The weight of those senseless stones hangs heavy on the image, and attaches itself to Annabella's eyes. One more instance of the lovers' removal from the norms of the life around them may also be noted. Giovanni wishes to strip Annabella of a possession, by making her send back the jewel that has been generously and unconditionally given to her by Donado (11.vi.133-4). The path chosen by these lovers is to take them as far distant from the feasts and the items of personal adornment so prized by other members of that society as it does; from the moral code of that society; and the fact that the two aberrations appear to be intimately connected would be fully supported by Renaissance physiology. The general belief was that 'for the proper functioning

of mind and body, it is essential that the spirits be quick, lively, exquisitely subtle, and absolutely pure. The quality of the spirits depends naturally upon the quality of the blood. Unwise diet or ill digestion may produce blood of such a nature that good spirits may not be engendered from it'.<sup>19</sup> If, however, ' a man is dissatisfied with his complexion, there are means, especially dietary means, by which he may heat himself, cool himself, moisten himself, dry himself. If he follows the voluminous advice in the dietaries he "may in time change and alter his bad complexion into a better" '.<sup>20</sup> Giovanni and Annabella, then, may well be eating the wrong foods not only metaphorically but literally.<sup>21</sup>

There is also a third group of characters in the play, those who are associated with the corruption and disruption of eating, and particularly with poison. Of these the prime culprit is Hippolita, for she in a sense bears the guilt not only of her own crimes but also of Richardetto's and Grimaldi's mistaken collaboration in the death of Bergetto. Her adultery with Soranzo, and her plan for getting rid of her husband, were directly responsible for Richardetto's resorting to poison to avenge himself. Nor could he have found a more fitting method for the attempt, for Hippolita, whose action inspired it, is as consistently associated with blighted banquets and the depriving of comfort as Philotis is with wholesomeness and healing. She actually articulates the warping of the idea of comfort on which she is engaged when she says of Soranzo 'But let him go, / My vengeance shall give, comfort to his woe' (II.ii.10ji-6). Similarly, she later exclaims 'On this delicious bane my thoughts shall banquet: / Revenge shall sweeten what my griefs have tasted' (H.ii.163-6). It is she who disrupts the wedding-feast, and as has already been remarked it is also she who is the prime cause of Bergetto's death. Hippolita is also the only character besides Philotis, Bergetto and Annabella whose dress is ever mentioned: and she is wearing black,

a visual image of sorrow and death. It should by now be clear that the attitudes to and associations with food of the various characters play an important part in the mood and structure of 'Tis Pity, and that this is another verbal and visual strand in the play picked up by Giovanni's entrance with his sister's heart impaled upon his dagger. For here, as earlier in The Witch of Edmonton, the dagger is not just an instrument of killing, but of eating, too. Annabella's heart is Giovanni's food, just as Dante's was for Beatrice, in his vision of her and God:

and in one of his hands methought he held a thing that was all aflame; and methought he said to me these words : vide cor tuum. And when he had tarried a while, methought he awoke her who slept and so wrought he by his art that he made her eat of that thing that was aflame in his hand, whereof she ate appeared.<sup>22</sup>

In production this could have been made very clear by having the banqueters all frozen- in mid-gesture with their own knives, too, transfixing lumps of meat. The point would be even clearer if, as seems probable, a sheep's heart was used,<sup>23</sup> since sheep's hearts would have been frequently eaten by large numbers of people. As Artaud said, Giovanni indeed 'tue son amante et lui arrache le coeur comme pour s'en repaître au milieu d'un festin où c'est lui-même que les convives espéraient peut-être dévorer'.<sup>24</sup> The visual emblem of the heart on the dagger hideously reinforces the sense of Giovanni's words in the following passage:

You came to feast, my lords, with dainty fare;  
I came to feast too, but I digged for food  
In a much richer mine than gold or stone  
Of any value balanced: 'tis a heart,  
A heart my lords, in which is mine entombed.

(V.vi.23-7) Here, too, the surrounding of the lovers with images of freezing and crystallization is again evident. Annabella's body is

compared to a mine and her heart to a gem, and Giovanni's own heart is apparently lifelessly 'entombed'. In 'Tis Pity, we can already begin to see something of the trains of thought that were eventually to lead to The Broken Heart. It was only logical for images of withdrawal from life, of refusal of normal physical processes, and of rigid adoption of ever more extreme positions to spill over into the language and to find expression also in the staging and pacing of the play.

Something of the same retreat from the life of the flesh is also visible in the two plays which, it is here supposed, came between 'Tis Pity and The Broken Heart - Love's Sacrifice and The Lover's Melancholy. In both of these, it is made very plain that it is only the low-life characters inhabiting the sub-plots who feel any interest in eating. In Love's Sacrifice the fool Mauruccio declares that he 'must be delivered of poetry in the eternal commendation of this gracious toothpicker: - but, first, I hold it a most healthy policy to make a slight supper' (11.iii.p.45). When Morosa is attempting to comfort Mauruccio, now her husband and newly banished from the court, she promises him that he need 'fear nothing, love; you shall have new change of apparel, good diet, wholesome attendance' (iV.i. p.80); and Colona coaxes Roseilli, who brings out the best in everybody in his disguise as a fool, 'come, fool, I'll give thee plums enow; come, fool' (1V.ii.p.88). Here, too, both the scorn of the lovers for physical comforts, and the potential attractions of those same comforts, are forcibly brought out. The distance in comprehension and attitudes between the lovers and D'Avalos is neatly conveyed in his aside on Fernando's courting of the Duchess, 'not kissing yet? still on your knees? O, for a plump bed and clean sheets, to comfort the aching of his shins' (1I.iii.pp.46-7). Again, Bianca swears to Fernando that

If thou dost spoil me of this robe of shame,  
 By my best comforts, here I vow again  
 To thee, to heaven, to the world, to time,  
 Ere yet the morning shall new-christen day,  
 I'll kill myself.

(11.iv.p.32) The mention of 'comfort' at such a moment as this serves to evoke simultaneously both the delight normally to be taken in it, and Bianca's refusal to be swayed by it. The passion and single-mindedness of her nature are thrown all the more into relief, just as is achieved by those awesome last lines of the mad Penthea, 'Griefs are sure friends. They leave, without control, / Nor cure nor comforts for a leprous soul' (1V.ii.168-9). Dorothy M. Farr rightly remarks of Penthea that 'it is interesting that the idea of comfort recurs so frequently in this the most relentless character of the play'.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the tormented Duke in Love's Sacrifice exclaims 'How happy is that idiot whose ambition / Is but to eat and sleep, and shun the rod!' (111.iii.p.64). But the great gulf which separates Fernando, Bianca and to a lesser extent himself from such a state of happiness can be clearly seen in the fact that the only time that anyone in Love's Sacrifice is seen either to eat or drink is when Fernando in V,iii puts to his lips the phial of poison. Once again, the stage picture tells us that the lives of these characters are radically incompatible with the ordinary processes of consumption - to drink is to die - and strengthens the equation of illicit love with tainted or unnatural food (an equation which makes it difficult to understand how so many critics can have considered Ford to be seriously claiming that an incestuous or adulterous liaison should be socially acceptable). Nor is the sense in which the poison is to be perceived as a form of food dependent solely on the stage picture of Fernando drinking it: he explicitly evokes the ideas both of food and of the perversion of the normal processes of eating with the cry 'cruel torment, feast, / Feast on, do!' (V.iii.p.103)

The doomed lover no longer consumes his love / food, but is consumed by it, just as he will shortly be swallowed up by the gaping tomb of Bianca. Nor is Fernando the only character to associate food with death. The suicide of the Duke leaves Pavy in a state of crisis, from which Fiormonda quickly rescues it by bestowing the sovereignty and herself on Roseilli. He, as the cousin and friend of Fernando, is anxious to start his reign by avenging himself on the destroyer of Fernando, D'Avalos. He instantly orders that the former secretary is to be hung up alive in chains, and adds that 'whosoe'er lends a bit / Of bread to feed him dies' (V.iii.p.I07). In the pattern that is by now becoming familiar in Ford, the moment of possible comfort is evoked only to make the mood of disaster even blacker, just as in The Broken Heart Penthea's attempts to persuade Orgilus to forget her, and to ensure the marriage of Ithocles and Calantha, are both frustrated by Orgilus' frenzied concentration on doom and unhappiness. Roseilli is another of those Fordian characters with an extraordinary talent for turning something which is already bad into something that is even worse, for we soon see that in his threat of death to anyone who might take pity on D'Avalos he has started as he means to go on. He promptly informs Fiormonda, the woman whose love he has sought so eagerly throughout the play, that 'henceforth I here dismiss / The mutual comforts of our marriage-bed' (V.iii.p.I07). Here is another in that series of radical misalliances which produces the disastrously consummated love of Annabella and Giovanni and the disastrously unconsummated love of Penthea and Orgilus and Ithocles and Calantha. As S. Gorley Putt remarks, 'the play ends, as it began, with vows damming up the springs of life'.<sup>26</sup>

In The Lover's Melancholy the pattern is continued, for here too only the low-life characters such as Cuculus and Grilla appear to think food worthy of their attention, while the princes, lords and



ladies of the main action again display manifestly disordered attitudes to food, as when Thamasta says to Amethus of the supposed Parthenophilthat

he delivers

His tales so gracefully that I could sit  
And listen, nay, forget my meals and sleep  
To hear his neat discourses.

(1.iii.43-6) For the most part, however, eating is a thing so remote from these ethereal creatures that they never even mention it. The exception to this is Meleander, for we are repeatedly told that one of the manifestations - or perhaps one of the causes - of his distemper is his refusal to eat, his determination not to avail himself of what Ithocles in The Broken Heart calls 'the only ordinary means / Which are ordained for life' (iV.ii.137\*3). Meleander himself says that he has not 'dined these three days' (11.ii.43), and his servant Trollio remarks on his own despair of ever getting a dinner. Later we see again that nausea in the face of food which distinguishes so many of these characters, when Meleander berates the assembled company with

Ye work and work like moles, blind in the paths  
That are bored through the crannies of the earth,  
To charge your hungry souls with such full surfeits  
As being gorged once, make 'ee lean with plenty.  
And when ye have skimmed the vomit of your riots,  
Y'are fat in no felicity but folly;  
Then your last sleep seize on 'ee. Then the troops  
Of worms crawl round and feast; good cheer, rich fare,  
Dainty, delicious.

(1I.ii.92-100) Meleander also complains that 'they will not give me meat, / They have starved me' (II.ii.121-2), exhibiting some of the pathos so often associated in Ford with the simple sweets of life like food and clothes ; and he declares to Corax

If thou canst wake with me, forget to eat,  
 Renounce the thought of greatness, tread on fate,  
 Sigh out a lamentable tale of things  
 Done long ago, and ill done; and, when sighs  
 Are wearied, piece up what remains behind  
 With weeping eyes, and hearts that bleed to death,  
 Thou shalt be a companion fit for me,  
 And we will sit together like true friends  
 And never be divided.

(IV.ii.117-26)

It is interesting that when at the end of the play order is finally restored and all wounds are healed Palador should choose to celebrate the occasion by exclaiming 'On to the temple! There all solemn rites / Performed, a general feast shall be proclaimed' (V.ii.230-1). Palador has chosen wisely, for a grand banquet will not only be the symbol of the restored state of the court but will also, in some sense, help to bring it about. Food in these plays stands for comfort, for community of interest and shared humanity, for an agreement to be tempered and modified by the everyday processes of time and life : a ceremonial feast is the outward expression and enactment of this order and this submission to nature. Ford's heroes and heroines, however, refuse almost unanimously to have anything to do with such flexibility. The ties by which they are bound are often, as in the cases of Penthea, of Bianca, and of Flavia in The Fancies Chaste and Noble, so contradictory that they threaten to pull these personages apart, and so the creation of a coherent selfhood all too often necessitates a radical uprooting and discarding of a fundamental part of the self. Annabella in 'Tis Pity attempts to deny her own moral sense and her need for the approbation of others, and that finds expression in the recurring pattern of references in the play to perverted or poisonous food. Penthea, rather more typically of Ford's characters, will not acknowledge her pressing emotional needs, and starves herself to death. Either way, in the words of Ithocles, 'Nature / Will call

her daughter, monster' (iV.ii.135\*6); and either way, as we have seen and as will later be examined in more detail, will lead to a withdrawal from life and the adoption of an extreme position into which the figure will be crystallized, and eventually frozen, in the absolute immobility of death, for that is the only means by which so unnatural and so unlikelike a dislocation of self can finally be maintained.

Ford's carefully patterned food imagery is one of the ways in which he points his audience towards an understanding of the attitudes towards life displayed by so many of his characters. In his last play, The Lady's Trial, he was again to use attitudes to food as an index; and there he shows the precariousness of the balance struck, and the urgency of the need to follow his warmly advocated 'Golden Mean', by making Auria rather surprisingly declare 'Command doth limit us short time for revels; / We must be brief in them' (V.ii.p.97).<sup>27</sup> No such balance as that achieved at the end of The Lady's Trial is, however, struck in any of the preceding tragedies, and it is perhaps that inability on the part of so many of the characters to come to terms with their own physical natures which, as much as anything, makes the plays tragedies. Moreover, his peculiarly sharp perception of this oddly alienated state led Ford to try to present its complexities and implications by a highly charged opposition between the language of the play and the stage picture - the language studded thick with references to physical processes and to parts of the body such as the heart and the bodily fluids sweat and tears; and, in sharp contrast, an almost total absence of physical action, just a succession of slow, almost frozen tableaux. When an author is guided by dramaturgical principles such as these, it is no wonder that the brilliant naturalism and swift, sure pace of The Witch of Edmonton were replaced by the austere ritual and stately dance of

death of The Broken Heart, that the tone should have become so rarefied, or that a man writing in the universal idiom of the Jacobean stage should so very soon afterwards have found himself writing plays which, although so dependent on earlier works for their plots, were utterly removed in spirit from anything seen before or for a long time afterwards on the English stage.

'A PREY TO WORDS': A SEARCH FOR AN INDEX OF THOUGHT

Of all the aspects of Ford's art, few have been so universally remarked upon as what H.J Oliver called 'his particular skill - in suggesting emotion not by words so much as by the absence of them.'<sup>1</sup> Havelock Ellis sensitively commented that

It is the grief deeper than language that he strives to express... He is a master of the brief mysterious words, so calm in seeming, which well up from the depths of despair. He concentrates the revelation of a soul's agony into a sob or a sigh. The surface seems calm; we scarcely suspect that there is anything beneath; one gasp bubbles up from the drowning heart below, and all is silence.<sup>2</sup>

'You will know from your theatrical experience that there is nothing like silence to establish communication' says Joseph to Charlie in John le Carré's The Little Drummer Girl,<sup>3</sup> and Robert Davril points out that

when he became aware of the possibilities of silence on the stage, Ford made it one of the basic elements of his dramatic technique and psychology. It is not exaggerated to say that all his women, to some degree, are like Calantha and Cordelia, and owe much of their dignity and nobleness to their restraint and to their silent attitude.<sup>4</sup>

When Penthea in The Broken Heart meets Orgilus disguised as Aplotes, she says disgustedly to him 'Thing of talk, begone! / Begone without reply!' (H.iii.43-6). In 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, Annabella's second speech of the play is 'Pray do not talk so much' (1.ii.74), addressed to Putana. Indeed the very first line of 'Tis Pity is the Friar's 'Dispute no more in this', followed up with 'Such questions, youth, are fond' (1.i.9) and with 'No more! I may not hear it' (1.i.12). The Friar is certain of the existence of heaven and of the possibility of divine mercy and forgiveness, but he finds no language in which to express these deepest beliefs of his soul, and he furthermore maintains an absolute disbelief in the ability of the glib eloquence of Giovanni to function as an accurate register of truth. It is notable,

too, that when in II, vi the Friar mounts his first attempt to save Annabella's soul it is only hell, and not heaven, to which he can give verbal expression. The Friar places no value on the language current in society as an adequate means of conveying matters of real importance. This distrust is shown to be well-founded in the second scene of the play. Soranzo calls Grimaldi 'this gentleman, whom fame reports a soldier' (1.ii.32), with the clear implication that Fame, as in the prologue to Henry IV Part II, is not to be trusted, and that the name of a thing may have no correspondence with the truth of a thing. This hint of the potential unreliability of language is taken up again barely twenty lines later, in the following exchange :

Florio. My lord Soranzo, this is strange to me,  
           Why you should storm, having my word engaged:  
           Owing her heart, what need you doubt her ear?  
           Losers may talk by law of any game.  
 Vasques. Yet the villainy of words, Signior Florio, may  
           be such as would make any unspleened dove choleric.

(1.ii.53\*3) Soranzo does not appear to place much faith in Florio's 'word'; losers may talk, but talk signifies nothing; 'my word' is apparently to be taken to mean the same thing as 'her heart'. 'The villainy of words', too, is an ominous phrase, and seems to look forward to Annabella's talk of 'vain and useless speech' (V.v.19).

These are not the only indictments of the accuracy of language that we hear or have suggested to us in the play. On at least two occasions, we are shown that speech can be subjected to manipulation by those who possess either power, or money, or both. The actions of the cardinal reduce 'justice' to nothing but a word, a signifier without its signified; and we again find social rank exercising a destabilizing influence on language in the exchange between Poggio and Bergetto which runs

Bergetto....I hope, Poggio, thou never heard'st of an elder  
 brother that was a coxcomb, didst, Poggio?  
 Poggio. Never indeed sir, as long as they had either  
 land or money left them to inherit.

(I.ii.I09-13) It is noteworthy, too, that it is an utterance of the Cardinal's that is taken to stand as the title of the play: it is his privilege to have not only the last but also the official word on the subject. In such a society, where language seems so divorced from experience, it is perhaps little surprise to audience or readers to find that the utterances of Giovanni - described by the Friar as a 'miracle of wit' (1.i.47) and 'wonder of thine age' (1.i.49) - can rarely stand up to clear analysis. Early in the play he declares ' 'tis not, I know, / My lust, but 'tis my fate that leads me on' (i.ii.138-9). But lust he certainly feels, and he has already destabilized the meaning of the word 'fate' in his defeatist lines 'All this I'll do, to free me from the rod / Of vengeance; else I'll swear my fate's my God' (1.i.83-4). As Cyrus Hoy puts it, 'where, in fact, lies the distinction between Giovanni's lust and Giovanni's fate? The answer, of course, is that there is none, the point being that Giovanni's lust is his fate'.<sup>5</sup> The language which Giovanni then proceeds to use to his sister is, furthermore, so loose an indicator of his meaning that it draws from her the puzzled question 'D'ee mock me, or flatter me?' (1.ii.204). To this he replies with the nonsensical lines

If you would see a beauty more exact  
 Than art can counterfeit or nature frame,  
 Look in your glass, and there behold your own.

(1.ii.203-7) Annabella's beauty was framed by nature; what she sees in her looking-glass will be by the help of the art which made that glass. The inflated language which Giovanni adopts in his role as

lover has in fact no meaning at all, and that is also true of other parts of the language of the play. When discussing the Friar's advice to Annabella to marry for the safety of her honour, Mark Stavig declares that 'as for the references to "your Honours safety", the friar probably does not mean "for the safety of your reputation\*" but rather "for the safety of your true honor - that is, your moral integrity and virtue"'.<sup>6</sup> Such a reading, however, can hardly be supported by the play itself, for Annabella tells Soranzo that ' 'twas not for love / I chose you, but for honour' (1V.iii.22-3), and as G.F. Sensabaugh points out, 'Annabella indeed made it clear that she did not marry Soranzo for love but for honor, that is, for public opinion'.<sup>7</sup> Since the liaison with Giovanni has continued after her marriage, Annabella clearly means by 'honour' her reputation in society, and not that quality which Tecnicus in The Broken Heart feels it to be. 'Honour' is an unanchored term, as 'justice' was in 111.ix, and as 'revenge' will become when Giovanni declares 'now brave revenge is mine' (V.vi.74) although, as Fredson Bowers remarks, 'it is difficult at first to understand why Giovanni should call his deed a revenge'.<sup>8</sup> Justice, honour, and revenge are all terms of which a proper understanding is vital to the smooth functioning of society: here they are used so loosely as to be effectively meaningless, mere words floating in a void. The tenor of Annabella's reference to 'vain and useless speech' (V.v.19) is still more sharply underlined by the final frenzied and incomprehensible utterances of her brother. Annabella declares 'then I see your drift' (V.v.66), but Giovanni has in fact so little succeeded in conveying his meaning to her that when he says 'Farewell' (V.v.79) she can ask 'Will you be gone?' Brian Morris points out in his introduction to the play that in his question 'does the fit come on you, to prove treacherous / To your past vows and oaths?' (V.v.4-3), 'Giovanni, aware that their love has been betrayed, plays upon the concept of treachery in such



a way as to divorce it completely from their present peril'.<sup>9</sup> He equivocates too when he declares to his sister that his intention is 'to save thy fame, and kill thee in a kiss' (V.v.84): this is a statement which is flatly contradicted by his full and clear disclosure of the incestuous relationship in the next scene. Two lines later he comes out with an even more meaningless remark, 'revenge is mine; honour doth love command', which is also blasphemous in its arrogation to a human being of the statement 'Vindicta mihi' which is God's alone. The breakdown of a speech as a means of communication is further indicated by Giovanni's lines 'when thou art dead / I'll give my reasons for't' (V.v.87-8); and in the next scene there is a further instance of words which had once represented important concepts slithering away into mere sounds, as Giovanni cries 'mercy? Why, I have found it in this justice' (V.vi.102). It is little wonder that his final recourse should have been to the frightful visual symbol of the heart impaled upon the dagger.

In Love's Sacrifice, that play of secret meetings at night and snatched exchanges, 'there are throughout, as elsewhere in Ford, some significant silences, which are apt to be missed in reading',<sup>10</sup> and we find, also, constant reminders of the distortedness of courtly language. Fernando manages completely to wrongfoot D'Avalos by the simple expedient of taking 'the Platonic euphemisms as the reality' (i.i.p.77);<sup>11</sup> and Colona would have done better to pay more attention to her own distrust of Ferentes' fine language, indicated when she says

Well, well, my lord, I have no heart of flint;  
Or if I had, you know by cunning words  
How to outwear it.

(I.ii.pp.18-19) The 'cunning' of Ferentes' words is further emphasized soon afterwards: another mistress reproaches him with

' 'Tis well; the time has been when your smooth tongue / Would not have mock'd my griefs' (1.i.p.20). It is significant, too, that Fernando should insist that his tongue is 'the voice of truth' at the very moment when he is about to use it insincerely, to praise Fiormonda's beauty (1.i.p.22). Words are again shown as being destabilized and unvalued in the following exchange:

Fiormonda.	Honour! puhj	
	Honour is talk'd of more than known by some.	.
Bianca.	Sister, these words I understand not.	

(1.ii.p.25) Mauruccio's inflated language is scorned and derided, and it is little wonder that Fernando, saying the opposite of what he means, should call it a rare quality in Roseilli the supposed fool that 'you shall not hear him speak one wise word in a month's converse' (11.ii.p.41). Fernando also says of Roseilli in this guise of an idiot that 'I understand his language: your fool is the tender-heartedst creature that is' (11.ii.p.43). It seems to be the fool's very inarticulacy that guarantees the tenderness of his heart. Again, D'Avalos disregards absolutely Bianca's protestations of virtue, which he seems to be able to hear,<sup>12</sup> and mutters in a gleeful aside 'Now, now, the game is a-foot!' (II.iii.p.48). He thinks, and he is right, that Bianca's words are not sure guides to her thought, as we see when she tells Fernando that 'in short words, howe'er my tongue / Did often chide thy love, each word thou spak'st / Was music to my ear' (II.iv.p.31). Speech must indeed require a powerful guarantee under such circumstances, and Bianca shows herself at a loss for one as she declares that

	if no pledge
Of love can instance what I speak is true	
But loss of my best joys, here, here, Fernando,	
Be satisfied and ruin me.	

(II.iv.p.52)

Similarly, Julia says of Ferentes that 'if vows have any force, I am his wife' (III.i.p.34); but vows apparently do not have force, as her father reminds her when he says of frequent lechers that 'their hearts and their tongues are as different as thou, thou whore! and a virgin' (III.i.p.35). Julia's and Colona's experiences of Ferentes' truth leads one to declare to the other that what they must do is 'with cunning words / First prove his love' (III.i.p.37). They have learned that words can be used to disguise, not reveal, intent. It is, too, what D'Avalos does not say, rather than what he does, that the Duke considers important when he tells his secretary that 'such broken language argues / More matter than your subtlety shall hide' (III.iii.p.67). And when D'Avalos promises that 'I will not deliver a syllable which shall be less innocent than truth itself (III.iii. pp.67-8) he instantly proceeds to report, as a fact, what he is in a position only to surmise, and what is not indeed the case. So too the Duke, on the very next page, addresses Fernando as 'mine own best Fernando, my dear friend', when he in fact believes Fernando to have done him deadly wrong. It is little surprise after this that when Mauruccio, after the murder of Ferentes, truthfully protests 'good my lord, I am an innocent in the business' the Duke should instantly reply 'to prison with him' (III.i.p.73). D'Avalos again reminds us that things may not be what they appear to be when he warns the Duke that he might have to allow 'a bastard - of whom you did not so much as beget a little toe, a left ear, or half the further side of an upper lip - inherit both your throne and name' (IV.i.p.73). Nor does Fiormonda attach any credence to Fernando's denials of passion: she tells him plainly 'you are in love', and adds that she has guessed at his carefully concealed feelings because she too 'in silent sighs /... courted thee for love' (IV.i.p.82). But even when discovered Fernando's is a love that dare not speak its name. He dismisses

Fiormonda with ''Tis not your subtle shifting (that) shall creep / Into the secrets of a heart unsoil'd' (1V.i.pp.82-3). It is notable too that in Act V, scene i Bianca is at her most eloquent and her most persuasive; but she is lying, partly, it seems, to protect Fernando, and partly to ensure her own death. It is no surprise that the first line of V,ii is Petruchio's 'may we give credit to your words, my lord?', or that the Duke should so desperately cling to Bianca's blood on his sword as being somehow reliable evidence of her infidelity, although it is hard to see how it could be any such thing. But the Duke cannot live with uncertainty, as we see when he responds to Fernando's protestations of Bianca's innocence with 'Fernando, dar'st thou swear upon my sword / To justify thy words?' (V.ii.p.99). Fernando is the only living creature who knows the truth of the whole affair, and it is; ludicrous to expect him to be able to adduce any sort of proof of what he says. The Duke, nevertheless, finally credits him. But he still does not trust to words the deepest thoughts of his own soul, and he speaks silently to himself when he makes the resolution which is, we may presume, a vow to kill himself (V.ii.p.100). The Duke can find peace only in death, because his devotion to the memory of Bianca would always be, potentially, 'a prey to words'; and it seems to be this which renders him so aghast when Fernando intrudes on his private ritual, possibly threatening to present an alternative view of Bianca. He cries

Fernando, man of darkness,  
Never till now, before these dreadful sights,  
Did I abhor thy friendship: thou hast robb'd  
My resolution of a glorious name.

(V.iii.p.104) Not until Fernando has been safely silenced by death can Caraffa once again call him 'a friend unmatched' (V.iii.p.103).

In The Lover's Melancholy, too, 'because of the various perversions

to which it is prone - its ability to feign false emotion and to falsify emotional truth, its tendency to liberate and excite emotions which it should order and restrain - language is treated with frequent suspicion by the characters...Silence seems often the better part of wisdom'.<sup>13</sup> The very first words of the play are Menaphon's 'Dangers! How mean you dangers'. Pelias' speech does not convey clear meanings to Menaphon because it is too 'courtly', and Menaphon is driven to ask him 'prithee, Pelias, / Where didst thou learn this language?' (i.i.17-18). 'Language', in Ford, is never used simply to mean 'speech', or 'tongue', but always, as here, carries the sense of a highly specialised discourse. Languages proliferate, and thus they may further increase the disbelief in the ability of speech accurately and objectively to contain truth which we see in Amethus' words to Menaphon 'O, I want words / To let thee know my heart' (1.i.39-40). Amethus again fears that language may distort his meaning when, about to tell Menaphon what he has said of him to Thamasta, he changes his mind, and declares instead

Come, in troth I dare not tell thee what,  
Lest thou might think I fawned upon a sin  
Friendship was never guilty of; for flattery  
Is monstrous in a true friend.

(I.i.63-8) What he says of his cousin Palador a few lines later might stand for many of Ford's characters: the melancholy prince 'will sparingly discourse'. 'When anyone in the play becomes excessively rhetorical, he is criticised. When depicting worthy people, Ford avoids elevated rhetoric and elaborate patterns of diction and imagery and concentrates instead on a direct and simple expression of their thoughts and feelings'.<sup>14</sup> While 'those who speak directly are not always virtuous,...those who speak in a highly rhetorical way are usually deluding someone, often themselves'.<sup>15</sup>

Very few people in Cyprus seem to regard speech as an accurate expression of thought. Sophronos warns Palador that

Through your land  
Your subjects mutter strangely, and imagine  
More than they dare speak publicly.

(II.i.74-6) A few lines later comes an exchange of similar tenor:

Palador. Of me! My subjects talk of me?  
Corax. Yes, scurvily,  
And think worse, prince.

(II.i.78-9) We soon see too that although Sophronos, Corax, Aretus and Pelias have all told Palador their opinions, that which he is most anxious to secure is Rhetias', for he has not spoken at all; and it is Rhetias to whom he says 'be plain in what thou mean'st to speak; there's something / That we must know' (II.i.139-40). It is perhaps because language is considered to be so unreliable that Palador is so determined to keep\*secret his love for Eroclea. The disclosure of it would do him no harm; one would perhaps rather have expected him to offer vast sums for her return or for news of her. But it is only to Rhetias, who did not venture an opinion when the others did, that he will unlock 'a tongue was vowed to silence' (II.i.216). Even then he conjures him 'o, be faithful, / And let no politic lord work from thy bosom / My griefs' (II.i.227-9). The preciousness of a thought seems somehow to be equivalent to the degree of silence with which it is surrounded. T.B. Tomlinson has said of The Broken Heart that 'our attention is on the splendiddness of the mask which conceals feeling, not on the significance of the feeling's being concealed'.<sup>16</sup> In fact, however, it soon becomes apparent that the greater the insistence on concealment, the greater the value attached to the emotion concealed. The means of expression

seem to be considered so corrupted that what can be expressed through them must itself be corrupted in the process, or have been of little value from the start. When Thamasta offers to tell the Prince how Menaphon and the supposed Parthenophil met, she informs him that

It was the newest, sweetest, prettiest accident  
That e'er delighted your attention.  
I can discourse it, sir.

(II.i.237-9) To this Palador at once replies 'some other time' - as though what can be 'discoursed' is of little or no interest to him. In much the same spirit Parthenophil tells Thamasta that Kala has 'in few words, but pithy, / Much moved my thankfulness' (II.i.294-3). Rhetias advises Amethus that 'few words to purpose soon'st prevail; / Study no long orations; be plain and short' (II.ii.127-8). The disguised Eroclea makes no comment on the pitiful spectacle of her father and sister except that 'all is not well within me, sir' (II.ii.147); Menaphon resolves that 'henceforth I will bury / Unmanly passion in perpetual silence' (III.ii.194-3); and Corax tells Palador that love, presumably the most potent of passions, cannot in fact find outward representation at all. If Parthenophil, for instance, loved Thamasta,

it were impossible  
To limn his passion in such lively colours  
As his own proper sufferance could express.

(III.iii.101-3) It is also significant that it is not what Palador says but what he is determined to keep silent that reveals to his counsellors the source of his melancholy, as he cries 'hold! / Let no man henceforth name the word again' (HI.iii.109-10). But it is in the reunion scene between Palador and Eroclea that the equation of silence with value, and the condemnation of the outward

expression of things as liable to be irrelevant and dangerously-misleading, are most powerfully conveyed. Palador says to Eroclea

'Tis not the figure stamped upon thy cheeks,  
The cozenage of thy beauty, grace, or tongue,  
Can draw from me a secret that hath been  
The only jewel of my speechless thoughts.

(1V.iii.71-4) When Eroclea is restored to her family, too, we find the moving lines

Eroclea.	I have not words
	That can express my joys.
Cleophila.	Nor I.
Meleander.	Nor I.

(V.ii.121-2) Similarly, Meleander asks his daughter 'but wherefore drop thy words in such a sloth?' It was a convention of the romance that the whole story did not have to be gone over again at the end; but here attention is drawn to it. Finally, Meleander himself says to the Prince 'my tears must thank ye / For my tongue cannot' (V.ii. 217-8).

In The Broken Heart the characters lock themselves still deeper within walls of silence. The love affair of Ithocles and Calantha is, to an even more striking extent than that of Giovanni and Annabella, an off-stage romance. Ford declines to dramatise the declaration which Ithocles later tells us has taken place between III,v and IV,iii, and we see Calantha speak only fifteen words to Ithocles after she has become contracted to him, while he replies with even greater brevity 'divinity' and 'my whole felicity'. They never meet again alive. Of this extraordinary reticence which pervades The Broken Heart, T.J.B. Spencer has remarked

the contrast between, on the one hand, this dignity and seriousness



and, on the other, the vulgarities of the courtiers and the maids of honour may well be deliberate. Ford intended us to feel the immense superiority of civilised and serious love over the flirtations of 'court-ease'. Lemophil and Groneas are as much a contrast to the real lovers as is Nearchus later, with his exaggerated language of courtship (see III.iii.14-26.and 42-3). 'You are too courtly' is Calantha's terse comment (III.iii.43); and she is right. What have the verbalisms of Lemophil, Groneas, and Nearchus to do with the supreme passions of love?<sup>17</sup>

Words in this play seem fundamentally disconnected from experience. Although, in The Broken Heart, there is indeed a serious and concerned attempt to grapple with one of the words that is no less important and no less loosely used here than it was in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, the crucial term 'honour' - the learned Tecnicus devotes twenty lines to expounding its meaning - the exposition is addressed not to the whole or even to a main part of the dramatis personae but to Orgilus alone; and furthermore, in another instance of how little the words in these plays have to do with the process of communication, it falls on completely deaf ears. As Fredson Bowers points out, 'how little his precepts of true honor founded on legal justice (III.i.1075-82) affected Orgilus may be shown by Orgilus's triumphant acknowledgement of his crime as 'Honourable infamy' (V.ii.24-72)'.<sup>18</sup> Huebert, too, remarks that 'The Broken Heart presents a bewildering variety of different impulses yoked together under the single name of "honour"',<sup>19</sup> a confusion which Tecnicus never succeeds in removing. More remarkable still is the forcing apart of speech from experience created by the extraordinary proliferation of abstract nouns in the play. Prophilus, for instance, says to Calantha of Ithocles,

Excellent princess,  
Your own fair eyes may soon report a truth  
Unto your judgement, with what moderation,  
Calmness of nature, measure, bounds and limits  
Of thankfulness and joy, 'a doth digest  
Such amplitude of his success as would  
In others, moulded of a spirit less clear,  
Advance 'em to comparison with heaven.

(1.ii.33\*40) Davril rightly points out that 'le drame de Ford donne, pour sa part, un exemple de l'utilisation du mot abstrait que personne dans le drame avant lui, y compris Shakespeare, n'avait tenté de faire à une telle échelle'.<sup>20</sup> He thinks this especially true of 'The Fancies, où l'emploi de l'abstraction devient si abusif que le texte est parfois indéchiffrable';<sup>21</sup> but the seeds have been sown much earlier. Coburn Freer remarks of Orgilus in I,i that 'his inhibitions are all in good shape, especially as they exclude concrete nouns or specific verbs'.<sup>22</sup> Thelma N. Greenfield comments on the frequency, in the play in general, of the coupling of an abstract noun with a concrete verb,<sup>23</sup> and Anne Barton points out that Bassanes' language has 'a specificity which throws into relief the other characters' predilection for the abstract'.<sup>24</sup> Brian Morris, too, has said in his introduction to the play that 'the periphrastic syntax is little more than a stream of half-consciousness, whose movement acts as an anodyne upon understanding'.<sup>25</sup> The comment could, indeed, be applied to the greater part of Ford's work.

Clifford Leech writes of Caroline playwrights in general that 'the trend was towards a plain dress for thought and feeling. Davenant and Massinger, even Shirley, we read with less care for the complexities of sound and sense than we give to their predecessors, and sometimes the desire for clarity of style is made articulate'.<sup>26</sup> Ford, however, writes in a style which, so far from being clear, is at times positively tortured, and which serves to make speech not so much a means of expression as a hindrance to it.<sup>27</sup> H.J. Oliver points out that 'Bassanes comes to life with his bitter asides and generalizations from his own theoretical experience, when he makes his contribution to the congratulating of Prophilus and Euphranea on their betrothal'.<sup>28</sup> Actual experience is silent; what is discussed here has in fact never really happened and is only 'theoretical experience'. A dislocation of speech from thought is suggested as

early as the second and third lines of The Broken Heart. Orgilus, when asked by his father Crotolon the reason for the journey he intends, replies 'Reason? Good sir, / I can yield many' - and thus implies that what he will allege as a reason is not necessarily such at all. There is, also, the irony of Crotolon's reproach to his son that 'You spin out your discourse' (l.i.71): Orgilus is here deceiving his father, since he is not in fact going to Athens at all, and when it is his real plans and thoughts which are in his mind he is so far from spinning out his discourse that he gives no-one any indication of them at all. Like so many of the characters in these plays, Orgilus seems to have become so distrustful of language as a medium that he entrusts to it as little as possible of value. On the rare occasions when communication is achieved between these reticent personages, it is not done through words; it seems, indeed, to be rather through the gaps in speech that feeling can most readily be conveyed. Penthea, alone with the brother who has so cruelly wronged her but who is now repentant, is told that his heart is breaking with grief. She exclaims

Not yet, heaven,  
I do beseech thee. First let some wild fires  
Scorch, not consume it. May the heat be cherished  
With desires infinite, but hopes impossible.

(ill.ii.46-9) Ithocles replies 'wronged soul, thy prayers are heard' (lII.ii.30), and two lines later adds 'I consume / In languishing affections for that trespass'. With only these dark hints, which are not referred to again, to guide her, Penthea, forty lines later, asks her brother 'Who is the saint you serve?' (lII.ii.93). Ithocles is appalled by the directness of the question, which is made more striking by the fact that 'the anticipated iambic pattern...proposes a stress on is.'29 He answers

Friendship, or nearness  
Of birth to any but my sister, durst not  
Have moved that question as a secret, sister,  
I dare not murmur to myself.

(III.ii.93-6) As T.J.B. Spencer points out in his edition, 'Ithocles has not actually mentioned that the cause of his troubles is love. Presumably Penthea discerns sensitively what has happened and bluntly asks him who the lady is'.<sup>30</sup> Even Ithocles' eventual response is not plainly couched. It is

Calantha is the princess, the king's daughter,  
Sole heir of Sparta. Me most miserable!  
Do I now love thee?

(III.ii.100-3) When Penthea passes on to Calantha herself the information she has thus gleaned, the princess is equally unwilling to trust her thoughts to speech. She says instead 'Lady, / Your check lies in my silence' (HI.v.107-8), and adds in an aside 'Ithocles? Wronged lady!' (HI.v.110). In the next scene she tosses Ithocles a ring (which would probably, aptly enough, have taken the common form of two hands holding a heart, like the modern Irish claddagh);<sup>31</sup> and the next time we see her she begs her father 'Pray, sir, give me this young man' (IV.iii.78), and then says to Ithocles 'Have I now kept my word?' (IV.iii.88).

Ithocles, too, displays reluctance to speak of his feelings. Prophilus describes his friend's condition to Penthea as 'sadness grows / Upon his recreations, which he hoards / In such a willing silence' (II.iii.6-8); and Penthea seems similarly to confirm and enshrine the preciousness of what they have lost when she says to Orgilus

As for the old, forget it.  
'Tis buried in an everlasting silence,

And shall be, shall be ever. What more would ye?

(II.iii.68-70) She further urges him 'if ever thou didst harbour worthy love, / Dare not to answer' (II.iii.121-2), and she demonstrates the unreliability of language, and its ability to be distorted, in her 'I'll call thy former protestations lust' (II.iii.113). It is little wonder that Orgilus departs from her with the resolve, from which he will not deviate, 'Action, not words, shall show me' (II.iii.126). Significantly, too, it is the absence of sound that makes Bassanes so convinced that something must be going on between Penthea and Ithocles (III.ii.16-27). Armostes reminds his nephew of the superiority of silence to speech with his 'He deserves small trust / Who is not privy counsellor to himself (IV.i.77\*\*S), and the newly reformed Bassanes declares in his agony 'Ere I'll speak a word / I will look on and burst' (IV.ii.107-8). In the same vein Orgilus declares that 'We trifle time in words' (V.ii.121). But by far the most powerful expression of a deep-seated distrust and fear of language comes when Orgilus describes Penthea as 'left a prey to words' (IV.ii.4) -

'a queer, simple and expressive phrase, which suggests that Ford's heroines are better wordless; for them, to speak is to be mad'.<sup>32</sup>

In the fifth act of the play, too, first Calantha's dance and then her death scene reveal the extent to which spectacle is preferred to language as a means of expression. Euphranea says 'Could my tears speak, / My griefs were slight' (V.ii.72-3); this feeling that what can be expressed cannot be of major importance seems to permeate Calantha's refusal to give vent to her grief, which the shocked reactions of the three messengers of death show to display an endurance far beyond what anybody but herself could have expected of her. Words are shown as powerless to disrupt the ordered round of the dance; Calantha appears to find the most powerful expression of her grief, and hence the most fitting tribute to the dead, in

silence; and finally she does not even give voice to her own last thoughts, but instead delegates the task to the three anonymous singers of her dirge. An audience or readers accustomed to Shakespearean or Websterian tragedy is used, as it were, to a protagonist who pushes beyond the frontiers of normal human experience, but who never fails to send back a report, even if it is with his dying breath, of what he finds there. The message that Calantha sends back is sung, is formularised, and finds expression through voices other than her own, while she herself dies silently.

A similar silence blankets much of what is vital in Perkin Warbeck. Perkin informs King James that

Great king, they spared my life, the butchers spared it ;  
Returned the tyrant, my unnatural uncle,  
A truth of my dispatch.

(II.i.63-7) Here the question of how a 'truth' can be an indicator of something which is not in fact true is implicit, but never answered. The matter is very little clarified when Perkin declares that

As for the manner, first of my escape,  
Of my conveyance next, of my life since,  
The means and persons who were instruments,  
Great sir, 'tis fit I overpass in silence;  
Reserving the relation to ther.seerecy\*  
Of your own princely ear.

(H.i.90-3) Later Perkin remarks that

The extent of bounty hath been so unlimited  
As only an acknowledgement in words  
Would breed suspicion in our state and quality.

(III.ii.97-9) Perkin is a king of words; Katherine says to him 'You

have a noble language, sir' (Ill.ii.163), and Dalyell remarks 'A' courts the ladies / As if his strength of language chained attention / By power of prerogative' (H.iii.6-8). But it is not in words that significance resides, just as it is not in Perkin the shadow-king that the real source of power lies. As C.J. Norman rightly points out, 'his most serious fault, perhaps, is his failure to match word and deed. He has the language and bearing of a king, yet he consistently fails to match his majestic speech with equally majestic actions'.<sup>33</sup> We see again the divorce of speech from thought when James stands wordless on the stage and Crawford explains that 'The king is serious, / Deep in his meditations' (Ill.iv.47-8), while Perkin says to Dalyell 'I accept this tender of your love / Beyond ability of thanks to speak it' (IV.iii.I70-1). The irrelevance of language to feeling, and its compromised status as a means of communication, are perhaps best seen in the following exchange between Henry and Katherine-

Henry.	Whoever calls you mistress Is lifted in our charge: a goodlier beauty Mine eyes yet ne'er encountered.
Katherine.	Cruel misery Of fate, what rests to hope for?

(V.ii.169-172) And the most powerful and moving demonstration of the inadequacy of language to convey strength of feeling comes at the departure of two of the noblest characters in the play:

Dalyell.	I want utterance: My silence is my farewell.
Katherine.	Oh - Oh -

(V.iii.181-2)

Nor are these the only ways in which the efficacy of speech is called into question in these plays. Ford frequently brings to the

attention of his audience the existence of what effectively constitutes a hierarchy of speech, which means that the utterances of some characters are privileged over those of others. The last words, as it were the summings-up, of 'Tis Pity She's A Whore and Perkin Warbeck go to the Cardinal and King Henry respectively, and in both cases have strikingly little reference to the fundamental experiences of the other characters of the dramas. It would be hard, too, not to attach some significance to lines such as Pelias' 'O, the prince! Stand and keep silence' in The Lover's Melancholy (11.i.46), or Dalyell's 'Silence!' followed by the stage direction 'Enter King JAMES' in Perkin Warbeck (11.iii.20). Again in The Lover's Melancholy, Pelias pointedly falls silent upon the entrance of Amethus (1.i.21-2), and there occurs, too, the following exchange -

Rhetias. You had a father, sir.  
Palador. Your sovereign whilesihe lived. But what of him?  
Rhetias. Nothing. I only dared to name him; that's all.

(II.i.135\*138) Similarly, Kala, although speaking the truth, urges Menaphon not to reveal who gave him his information, because it would endanger her (III.ii.38-9). Perhaps most revealing of all are Alphonso's lines in *The Queen*:

As I am King, the tongue  
Forfeits his head that speaks another word.  
Muretto, Talk we not now like a King?

(II.III3-III7) King James in Perkin Warbeck talks in similar style when he declares that 'he is not / Our friend who contradicts us' (II.iii.68-9); and James gives further evidence of the destabilizing power he exerts upon language when he makes the ridiculous statement that 'Good kind Huntly / Is overjoyed' (1I.iii.I02-3). Language can



be manipulated or altered by those in power if they abuse their authority.

Ford further makes us aware that language can never be an unvarying index of thought, because of the differing pressures exerted on it by those who are to hear it. It is in part this consciousness of variation between public and private speech, and the constant awareness of the presence of a listener, which help to make his greatest plays so theatrically successful. Euphranea in The Broken Heart exclaims to Prophilus 'Sir, we are overheard. / Cupid protect us!' (1.iii.92-3). In 'Tis Pity She's A Whore we find the following exchange:

Annabella. I would not have it known for all the world. ,  
Putana. Nor I. indeed, for the speech of the people;  
else 'twere nothing.

(II.i.50-2) Similarly, in the passage already quoted above from Perkin Warbeck, where Perkin refuses to reveal how he escaped from the Tower, he feels that rash talk on his part might endanger lives if heard by any but King James. Also in Perkin Warbeck come Henry's remark about Hialas, 'A' spoke not to be heard' (111.iii.48), and the following exchange from the dutiful chorus of attendant lords:

Henry.	Daubeney, Oxford,
	Urswick, must Perkin wear the crown?
Daubeney.	A slave!
Oxford.	A vagabond!
Urswick.	A glow-worm!

(IV.iv.32-34) They could hardly say anything else; and they even answer in the order in which he called on them. Even one of the apparently senseless remarks of Bergetto in 'Tis Pity underlines the implication that speech is fluid, untrustworthy and slippery. He tells Donado that 'this fellow hath a strange horse, / A most

excellent beast I'll assure you uncle, my barber / says' (1.iii.37-9).  
The whole point of this anecdote depends upon a mere barber's word  
being worthless.

It is perhaps in part this sense that language is being appropriated  
and manipulated by those in power which leads so many of Ford's  
characters to be deeply distrustful of what might be termed received  
speech. Orgilus, Giovanni, Ithocles and Fernando all shy away from  
the proffered counsel of Tecnicus, the Friar, Armostes and Roseilli,  
just as Palador and Meleander shun Corax, who attempts to cure them;  
and it is notable that when a similar figure appears in Muretto of  
The Queen the wise sayings which he imparts to his tutee Alphonso  
are precisely those which he does not want him to believe, and that  
he alone of all his fellows is single-handedly and entirely successful.  
However, although all these characters dismiss the generally accepted  
formulae of wisdom as irrelevant and worthless, they cannot rest  
without some workable form of sign system with definable values, even  
if there is only one other person who will share this language with  
them (S. Gorley-Putt refers to Giovanni and Annabella as belonging to  
'their own secret society of two').<sup>34</sup> As more normal modes of speech  
are perceived as increasingly discredited, Ford's characters search  
with growing desperation for alternative means of self-expression -  
a problem aggravated by the fact that the self is seen as hopelessly  
fragmented and disintegrated. Ithocles, for example, feels that the  
whole of his present life is being ruined by a past action performed  
not by himself but by one alienated, dislocated part of him:

My rash spleen  
Hath with a violent hand plucked from thy bosom  
A lover-blest heart, to grind it into dust.

(III.ii.43-3) This search for a viable mode of self-expression  
manifests itself in many different ways. One method of convincing

another character of one's own sincerity, and of making sure that the meanings of words are not being destabilised, is felt to be repetition. Giovanni and Annabella in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore use exactly the same words for their vows of love (i.ii.233-9); Eroclea in The Lover's Melancholy, wanting to convince Thamasta of her sincerity, repeats her own phrases to her (HI.ii.163-6); and Bianca in Love's Sacrifice makes use of Fernando's own earlier formulation to make her promise to him. But even this may not suffice, for language in Ford is seen as something dangerously separable from selfhood, as is suggested by Katherine's words to Perkin, 'You have a noble language, sir' (ill.ii. I63). It is not so much an attribute of personality as, in some sense, an external possession. It proves nothing.

It seems to be as a result of this disillusionment with the spoken word that the characters of Ford take more and more to expressing themselves through music. Since the principal concern of so many of these characters is love, this is perhaps hardly surprising, for 'in an abstract sense love is music, for love is harmony and harmony is music...music was one of various manifestations of love. Love was imagined to be felt as flame, savoured as sweetness, heard as music'.<sup>35</sup> It is perhaps such a conception as this of the nature of music that leads Annabella in 'Tis Pity, when threatened by Soranzo, to answer him with a line from a song (IV.iii.39 and 62). Calantha has her dirge sung as she is dying speechlessly; Parthenophil is introduced to us first as a musician surpassing even the nightingale. Charles O. McDonald has said of The Broken Heart that Ford's 'central pattern of imagery in the play is that of music',<sup>36</sup> while Huebert remarks that 'like the swan of ancient myth, Penthea can express herself most sweetly through the music of death'.<sup>37</sup> Davril similarly comments that in The Broken Heart 'la musique imprègne pour ainsi dire la vie de ses Héros. Elle est l'expression spontanée de leur félicité comme de leur souffrance, l'idéal de paix totale qu'ils poursuivent sans

relâche et qui leur est refusé. Elle est encore l'accompagnement de leur plainte et de leur mort dont une chanson annonce tristement la venue'.<sup>38</sup> As well as to music, the characters also turn towards visual emblems. Giovanni attempts to force an equation between signifier and signified by ripping out the heart of Annabella; Orgilus, by his murder of Ithocles, 'has made the visual equation between Penthea, trapped in her marriage situation, and Ithocles locked in the chair'.<sup>39</sup> They also attempt to express themselves through ritual action and gesture, apparently in the hope that this will prove to be a less compromised mode of communication than the more usual ones. Kaufmann remarks that 'they are compelled to express their deepest impulses through symbolic gesture...Ford's characters seldom express their deepest feelings directly, so these feelings must be inferred by means of image, cadence, emphasis and action'.<sup>40</sup> Stavig comments that 'although Ford treats all of his plays as symbolic structures, he is in The Broken Heart moving away from the more realistic presentation of the professional dramatists toward the more symbolic techniques of the masque'.<sup>41</sup> Thelma N. Greenfield, too, points out that 'much of the process and language of process in The Broken Heart is crystallised into ceremonial form. The pattern is repeated violation and reconstitution of ceremony'.<sup>42</sup> Even Annabella and Giovanni, who turn so determinedly away from the usual life and customs of their society, cannot manage without ritual, and contract for themselves a sort of sacrament of unholy matrimony. Calantha's scarcely less irregular 'wedding' to the dead body of Ithocles is also marked by great and elaborate ceremony, as is the curing of Meleander, to which the entire fifth act of The Lover's Melancholy is devoted. Even the deeply private scenes of leave-taking between Katherine and Perkin, and of love-declaration between Bianca and Fernando, are marked by solemn vows, while Orgilus, the Duke of Pavy, Fernando, Calantha and Penthea all make of their

deaths scenes of ritual sacrifice and purgation, and Giovanni does the same to Annabella. Perhaps the most extraordinary ritual of all is Calantha's dance. Here we see to how great an extent these characters prefer to constrain their innermost selves within a rigidly-constructed and maintained outer identity with which nothing must be allowed to interfere, and which finds by far its most fitting expression in the unchanging, inflexible and predetermined patterns of ritual movement.

In what are here taken to be the two last plays, however, a rather different attitude towards language and the trust to be reposed in it can be seen to emerge. There seems to be a desire evinced in the late works to take speech at face value, and to cease the process of constant questioning of language, and of trying to discover a reliable guarantee for it, which has been so marked a feature of the earlier plays. This is, indeed, scarcely surprising, for in both these plays the virtue of one or more female characters (five in The Fancies Chaste and Noble) is unjustly suspected; is openly challenged; is found to be improvable; but is nevertheless finally accepted without question. After all the questioning of words, the words of Spinella, of Flavia and of Castamela must finally be accepted at face value if sanity and peace are to be restored to the societies in which they live. But what seems to have happened in these plays is by no means the reaccording of trust to language, or the re-establishing of a belief that words can indeed be the accurate registers of thought and fact. It does not appear that Ford has ceased to probe the definitions of his terms because he has established them, but rather because the deepest of his probes have not been able to find for these words any fixed or reliable meaning at all. Communication through words is therefore impossible when anything of real value is at stake, and there seems, indeed, to be an exactly inverse correlation between eloquence and truth. It seems, in a sense, to be precisely because

Spinella cannot establish her innocence that she is eventually believed, just as there appears to exist some perverse sort of relationship between the incompleteness of the explanation offered by Troylo-Savelli and Octavio, at the close of The Fancies Chaste and Noble, and the cheerfulness with which all those involved totally accept this half-hearted démystification which leaves so many questions unanswered. (is Octavio impotent? Why could Troylo-Savelli not just have proposed to Castamela? What have the Fancies felt about having their good names causelessly called into question?) Flavia in The Fancies speaks to Fabricio of 'those wives, whose innocence, / Stranger to language, spoke obedience only' (11.i.p.230). It seems that in the works of Ford innocence must always be a stranger to language, that corrupted and corrupting medium. Thought and speech are fundamentally disconnected, as when Spinella in The Lady's Trial says to Malfato 'my ears receive / The words you utter, cousin, but my thoughts / Are fasten'd on another subject' (IV.i.p.66). She never knows that he has been telling her that he loves her. Auria in the same play tells Aurelio 'Friends we are, and will embrace; but let's not speak / Another word' (I.i.p.18). Spinella knows that her surest defence is to make Aurelio speak plainly, for he can in fact say nothing. Finally she desists from speech altogether, and produces instead 'the greatest stroke of eloquence [she"]can muster. She faints'.<sup>43</sup> And it is this, finally, which leads Auria to exclaim 'Spinella! / Regent of my affections, thou hast conquer'd'.

It will be obvious that an effective equation of silence with value, and of speech with worthlessness, presents a dangerous problem for a dramatist, who will find it a little impractical to have his stage permanently populated with non-speaking characters. 'Such a view of life and character was not completely suited to express itself in the Elizabethan convention of drama';<sup>44</sup> as Una Ellis-Fermor perceptively points out, 'Ford often seems to anticipate the Theatre

de Silence and share its dangers'.<sup>45</sup> The difficulties into which Ford has been led are already apparent in The Fancies Chaste and Noble, for the character in that play whose position is both the most interesting and moving in its own right, and also resembles the most closely those which Ford had previously shown himself interested to explore - Flavia - is also one of those characters of whom we see distressingly little.

'Ford n'a laissé d'elle qu'une étude peu fouillée, mais le peu qu'il montre brille d'un éclat limpide' remarked Davril,<sup>46</sup> and Joan Sargeaunt similarly commented that 'The Fancies may contain little of real worth, but that little is almost pure gold. Ford's treatment of Flavia's story can hardly be beaten in English literature for its dramatic intensity'.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, however, her sufferings are submerged beneath the singularly unfunny antics of Secco, Spadone, Nitido, and Morosa, for, to quote Stuart Sherman, 'in The Fancies and The Lady's Trial, the underplot swarms wantonly over the main action'.<sup>48</sup> Dorothy

M. Farr, indeed, has expressed a feeling that 'it is a pity he did not see fit to make the story of Flavia the major interest in this or some other drama'.<sup>49</sup> It seems ridiculous to suppose that the author of The Broken Heart, who had by this time been a dramatist of standing for at least sixteen years, did not know his craft sufficiently well to have been able to produce better scenes than those of the unhappy sub-plot of The Fancies Chaste and Noble, in which F.S. Boas observes that 'Ford touches the nadir of his attempts at dramatic humour'.<sup>50</sup>

The problem is that since, in his eyes, it appears to have been precisely the silent quality of Flavia's suffering which invests it with nobility and interest, Ford may be thought to have caught himself in the trap of having established as it were a personal poetics of drama which leads logically and directly to the writing of unsatisfactory plays. 'The increasingly undramatic continence which is the most marked feature of Ford's development'<sup>51</sup> means that those characters who have the most interesting things to say are precisely

those who will remain shrouded in silence.

It begins to appear as a possibility that Ford was genuinely interested in the psychology of the suppression of passionate feeling...Along some such lines, we suspect, a solution of the enigma of Ford might be found in which the facts were reconciled. For the John Ford who could not express dramatically a conception of human suffering which in itself seems to preclude drama is comprehensible to the imagination. We could then understand the startling discrepancy between his limpid diction and psychological exorbitance.<sup>52</sup>

The natural consequence of such an attitude is the extraordinary inexpressiveness of The Lady's Trial, where Guzman, Fulgoso and Amoretta seem often to usurp the stage from Adurni, whose conversion is barely hinted at, from Castanna, whose importance in the plot seems strangely unjustified by anything she ever says, and from Auria, Aurelio and Spinella, who seem merely sketches of characters. The inner life of these personages is so resolutely suppressed that they seem more like characters in a pageant than in a play, passing at a great distance and never really involving the audience in their fates. Dorothy M. Farr remarks of the Amoretta sub-plot that 'it is a surprising falling-off from the author of The Broken Heart and Perkin Warbeck', and of the play in general that 'the main plot is the skeleton of a very good play, but as it is, the lack of sufficient material for five acts has to be compensated in the sub-plots'.<sup>53</sup>

We know more about so minor a figure as Bergetto than about Castanna, Spinella, Auria, Aurelio or Adurni, and although, in Ford, the silence of a character seems almost to operate as a guarantee that his thoughts would be worth knowing, it is a method which must inevitably fail to engage the audience and which is, in the end, alien to drama. As Schoenbaum remarks, 'la sorte de drame à laquelle Ford semble aspirer est peut-être en fin de compte essentiellement anti-dramatique'.<sup>54</sup>

Small wonder that this is Ford's last play, for he has, in effect, written himself into silence.





## 'SPEAKING SWEAT': SOME STRANGE USES OF SYNECDOCHE IN THE WORKS

OF JOHN FORD

'Ford est un des dramaturges élizabéthains qui se répète le plus volontiers et revient sans cesse aux termes qui l'ont une fois séduit'.<sup>1</sup>

So said Robert Davril; and he added that

le sens déborde les limites du mot dans plus d'un cas. Le vocabulaire de Ford, relativement limité, acquiert donc une valeur qui lui est propre. Quand on y est habitué, d'un seul mot jaillissent de multiples associations sans que la phrase ait besoin de se charger d'explications. Avec un minimum de termes la langue peut donc rester simple et riche de sens.<sup>2</sup>

There are indeed words which, throughout his career, Ford comes back to again and again, investigating and exploring their fields of meaning, and using some of them in so highly personal a way that they seem frequently to assume private significances quite alien from their traditionally accepted ones. This study will consider a relatively small number of words, but they are ones which, in all his works, are used by Ford in a consistent, unusual, and highly interesting manner; it is, therefore, hoped that a close consideration of the uses, nuances and associations of these words in Ford will cast light both on the manner, and also on the possible purpose, of the creation of that mood of silence, of suppression of emotion, and of the ritual extinguishing of life which is so peculiarly his. Those words are 'blood', 'heart', 'tears', 'sweat', and 'rip'.<sup>3</sup>

Of course the obsessive use of these words both in isolation and in association with each other is by no means peculiar to Ford. As early as Shakespeare's Richard II (a play, incidentally, which seems to have been a major influence on Perkin Warbeck), ' "tongue\*" becomes a key-word, and is often paired with "heart" in reference to the possible disjunction between what men mean and what they say'.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, as Ronald Huebert points out, Ford's use of the terms here discussed has much in common with that of baroque poets such as Southwell

(the protégé of Lady Arundel, mother of a Ford deicatee) and Crashaw:

around the altars where Ford's heroes make their sacrifices to love, we find a rich cluster of sensory images including blood, sweat, tears, flames and wounds - the characteristic material substances of baroque poetry. The epigraph which Crashaw prefixes to 'The Weeper' is a key to the imagery of the poem, and indeed a key to the imagery of the baroque style;

Loe where a WOUNDED HEART with Bleeding EYES Conspire.  
Is she a FLAMING Fountain, or a Weeping fire 5

Huebert goes on to add that

in the baroque image cluster, one sensory impression merges with another and the images produce a vision that is slightly hazy rather than precise. In Crashaw's poetry tears change imperceptibly into sweat, and sweat into blood. In the same way, Caraffa's sacrifice of 'bleeding tears' blends two liquid images into one, and blurs the border between two sensory impressions. In general, the renaissance image presents a clear picture of reality, while the baroque image cluster disguises reality in atmospheric mystery.<sup>6</sup>

Lastly, he points out that

in Ford's dramatic poetry, the erotic world and the religious world mingle, intertwine, and become almost indistinguishable from one another. There is ample warrant for such a fusion of sensuous and sacred impulses in the devotional manuals of the seventeenth century and in the poetry inspired by the arts of meditation and contemplation. The devotional practice of the Jesuit order in particular calls for an 'application of the senses' to the subject of meditation, and Jesuit treatises abound in examples of highly erotic contemplation of the sacred mysteries.<sup>7</sup>

Many aspects of Ford's language are indeed reminiscent of Jesuit techniques, and in particular of the Jesuit emblem books. Benedict van Haeften's Schola Cordis (Antwerp, 1629), for instance, includes pictures showing 'the crucifixion of the heart or the refuge of the heart in the wounded side of Christ'<sup>8</sup> and one in which 'Eve, standing beside the Tree of Knowledge, offers her heart to the serpent'.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, 'the heart is pictured as actually going through all the different processes, being burnt on the sacrificial altar, washed in

a fountain of blood, ploughed and sown with the good seed, crushed flat beneath a press; or it is endowed with an ever open eye in accordance with the text, I sleep but mine heart waketh'.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting that the writer also comments of these images that 'in their themes, in the conventions on which they were based, they were obviously more suited for the expression of Catholic rather than of Protestant religious ideas'.<sup>11</sup> It should be remembered that Southwell was a Catholic priest and martyr, and that Crashaw (whose own affinities with the Jesuit emblem books are also remarked on by Miss Freeman)<sup>12</sup> became a Catholic convert. Southwell's connection with the Arundel family, in which Ford too showed himself interested, has already been mentioned. Crashaw later went on to write the famous couplet on two Ford plays, fastening particularly on the 'religious significance'<sup>13</sup> of their titles:

Thou cheat'st us, Ford; mak'st one seem two by art:  
What is Love's Sacrifice but The Broken Heart?

I shall discuss elsewhere the possibility that Ford may have had Catholic sympathies. In the meantime, it should be noted that, despite the officially Calvinist doctrine of Christ's Bloody Sweat, and the attack on Rome contained in it, its affinities are, in many respects, clearly Catholic. One last point may here be considered. One of the terms under discussion in this chapter is 'tears'. Louis L. Martz has spoken of 'the literature of tears which flooded Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries',<sup>14</sup> and has also referred to

the importance of Southwell in 'introducing to England the continental literature of tears'.<sup>15</sup> He further points out that Southwell's Marie Magdalen's Funeral Teares is 'evidently based on an Italian meditation attributed to St. Bonaventure'.<sup>16</sup> Now the possibility that Ford's Friar in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore is to be taken as being a representation of,

or a reference to, the Seraphic Doctor never seems to have received consideration, although its implications would be of extreme interest. His first name was after all Giovanni, which might appear to strengthen the possibility of a connection with 'Tis Pity; and Josuah Sylvester, who was connected with the circle of Ford's dedicatees, christened his son Bonaventura. Critics have often been puzzled as to how to view Ford's Friar: Joan Sargeaunt, for instance, remarked that 'if we knew more of Ford we might know more of the Friar, but as it is he must remain, like his creator, something of an enigma'.<sup>17</sup> It might, however, be sufficient to know, or at least to bear in mind, more about St. Bonaventure. The attitude taken by Ford's Friar towards the sophistical arguments of Giovanni would be a highly probable reaction from a man 'whose associate St. Bernard denounced curiositas as the father of sin',<sup>18</sup> and who himself 'was a man of the highest intellectual attainments, but...would emphasize that a fool's love and knowledge of God may be greater than that of a humanly wise man'.<sup>19</sup> The possibility that Ford in this play may be displaying knowledge of the life of a medieval Italian saint may perhaps be slightly strengthened by the surprising fact that he may also display similar awareness in The Lady's Trial. There really was a wealthy family called Adorni in Genoa, and in the fifteenth century one of its members, Julian, really was a noted rake. He was converted to a life of goodness and holiness through his marriage to the woman who in 1737 was to be canonised as St. Catherine of Genoa, rather as the Adurni of The Lady's Trial is won to virtue through the goodness of Spinella and Castanna.<sup>20</sup>

To return, however, to the principal point, uses of terms such as 'heart', 'blood', 'sweat' and 'tears' which are similar to Ford's uses of them are not to be found only in Crashaw and Southwell, or even only in clearly baroque writers. Even in the sixteenth century speaking, thinking and movable hearts abound, as in Gawyn Goodlucke's greeting of Christian Custance in Ralph Roister Doister,<sup>21</sup> or Jacke Jugeler's

description of Jenkine Careawaie in Jacke Jugeler.<sup>22</sup> Sidney, also, in passages of Astrophil and Stella which, in view of his interest in Penelope Devereux, were surely familiar to Ford, has talking hearts and bleeding tears;<sup>23</sup> Spenser in Amoretti has a heart that bleeds tears;<sup>24</sup> Wilbye's Weep, weep mine eyes contains the line 'Weep eyes, weep heart, and both this accent cry'; and even the Puritan Middleton has 'a bond of blood' in The Second Maiden's Tragedy and sharpened blood in A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, while Shirley, Ford's friend (and another Catholic) has weeping hearts, sweating souls and blood that kisses and embraces.<sup>25</sup> Examples could be multiplied. Even the 'flesh-ripping pattern' later to be discussed 'is by no means unique to Ford'; but 'his way of using the metaphor is genuinely distinctive'.<sup>26</sup> And the same can also be said of the other shared metaphors. Crashaw is describing rapt and mystic states, and is obviously speaking metaphorically; but Ford, like Fernando in Love's Sacrifice when confronted by D'Avolos' lofty Platonism, is attempting to take the language absolutely literally. He applies, to his exploration of these terms, a logical and ruthless consistency that is all his own.

The first of these words to be considered is 'blood'. In the two earliest of Ford's published works, Honour Triumphant and Fame's Memorial, 'blood' appears to carry much its usual meaning and set of associations. In 'The Monarchs' Meeting', for instance, the writer addresses King Christian with 'Hail, princely stem of great magnificence, / Issue of royal blood' (p.377). But by the time our author next appears in print with The Golden Mean and Christ's Bloody Sweat, both published anonymously in 1613, his profoundly original voice is already beginning to make itself heard. Even into the couple of lines quoted above from 'The Monarchs' Meeting', there could be read the idea that King Christian's princeliness is partly or wholly determined by his blood. This notion in itself is scarcely striking. In the following passage from The Golden Mean, however, the future

development of Ford's thought is already foreshadowed: the idea which was barely hinted at in The Monarch's Meeting is taken one step further, as we read that

THOMAS MOWBRAY, Duke of Norffolke,,in the Reigne of RICHARD the Second, being by the said King, by reason of the Kings youth and indiscretion, and in regard of some other differences between Mowbray and other Princes of the bloud, upon an appeale of treason, banished; was so far from being herewith dejected, that...hee undertook a glorious warre in the land of Palestine, against the common enemie of God and Truth, the Turke, and willingly made his blood a sacrifice to the redemption of his Fame.

(pp.303-6)<sup>27</sup> The common enough phrase 'princes of the blood' would not, alone, be significant. But when it is picked up so soon afterwards by the equation of dying with losing one's blood, and hence by implication the equation of one's life with one's blood, one begins to be aware of a developing concept of a close involvement between the blood of a person, and the identity of that person. This is an involvement eventually to become, in the minds of Ford's characters if not of Ford himself, practically inextricable; and it will find its most startling and most vivid expression in the use of the figure of speech synecdoche.

Also present, in the passage quoted above, is an evocation of the religious overtones and associations of the word 'blood', produced by the description of it as a 'sacrifice'. This is an idea which it is not strange to find in an author whose other work of the same year was a religious poem entitled Christ's Bloody Sweat. Joan Sargeaunt has claimed that the conception of sin as needing to be washed off with tears is 'almost the only definitely religious idea he makes use of,<sup>28</sup> but references to bleeding hearts and to blood as offering, the staples of Baroque religious poetry, can be found throughout his works, with their strange divorce, in the later works, from any expression of orthodox Christian feeling highlighted by the fact that they have been first brought to prominence in the overtly Christian context of Christ's

Bloody Sweat. But although it is in Christ's Bloody Sweat that we find the most striking and the most revealing of Ford's early uses of synecdoche, there is another instance of 'blood' in The Golden Mean which merits attention. Ford tells us that 'such undoubtedly, are rather strangers to the bloud of Vertue, then any way indued with the spirit of perfect Noblenes' (p.240). The phrase 'stranger to one's blood' has nothing new about it; but what is surprising is the association of blood with virtue. It is difficult to comprehend in what sense virtue can have blood. It seems best able to be understood if here, again, blood is conceived of as the predominant and governing quality of a thing, and as coming close to being synonymous with identity.

In Christ's Bloody Sweat, what are later to be established as the peculiarly Fordian uses and resonances of the word 'blood' are even more in evidence. 'Blood' and 'bloody' occur one hundred and forty times in this poem, and while many of those occurrences display only the literal meaning of the word, others are startling in the images and associations with which they surround it. We find, for instance, a description of Christ as

A Pellican indeed, that with her bloud  
Pulls out her heart, to give her Chickens food.

(p.18) Here we find the first instance of a linking of 'blood' with 'heart' which will echo throughout Ford's works, and provide an ; important motif in some of his most powerful scenes. We observe, too, an association of both the blood and the heart with food which we shall also come across again. The comparison of Christ with a pelican who feeds her children with her blood is of course common enough, but the connection of heart and food, so significant in Ford, seems to be peculiar to Ford. Another recurring and important motif occurs when



we read

Doth any love to be in love with beautie?  
Come hither, in these drops he shall behold  
Water and blood, both in their proper dutie,  
So lively as Arts self would have extold:  
In curious figures shadowing delight,  
Blood like to red, and water like to white.

(p.34) In The Spanish Tragedy, and later in Ford's own 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, one character writes an important letter to another character in her own blood. Here, however, the idea is taken one step further, for blood is not merely used as the means of communication: it, along with water, is the actual communicator itself, apparently acting of its own volition. 'Blood' is actively 'shadowing delight', conveying an idea; it is almost as though the drops of blood themselves were possessed of an independent intelligence. We soon find blood behaving in an even more extraordinary manner, as we read the following description of Christ's bloody sweat:

His bloody sweat the comfortable matter  
That must renew us in the time of need,  
Both meat and drink: blood, meat, and drink, the water,  
The last to quicken, and the first to feed:  
Water the seale of Baptisme doth present,  
And blood his supper: each a sacrament.

(p.50) In Peter Shaffer's The Royal Hunt of the Sun the Inca Atahualpa expresses horror at the thought of drinking the blood of God; what his reaction would have been to eating the blood of God beggars the imagination. Nor is turning itself into food the only feat of which blood is capable. We read of the Soul and Christ that

From his love she may behold distilling  
A sweat of blood, as if his blood complains  
To tell her of the horrors he sustaines.

(p.78) Once more, blood has become the conveyor of meaning, although the traditional association was of the heart with meaning. Keir Elam has referred to the 'cardiac metonymy for personal expression',<sup>29</sup> and the standard gesture used as a guarantee of sincerity was 'laying the hand "open to our heart, using a kind of bowing gesture"' in affirming, swearing, calling upon God to witness a truth'.<sup>30</sup> The use of such a gesture would have underlined even more sharply the strangeness of Ford's references to the blood, not the heart, as guarantor. A little further on in Christ's Bloody Sweat the idea receives even more startling expression:

Oft hath bin seene a woman who hath lou'd  
 Some constant friend who black mischance hath slain,  
 How looking on his wounds she hath been mou'd  
 To rent her haire and fatallie complaine,  
 Cursing her birth and life, refraining food,.  
 Kissing the silent murmur of his bloode.

(p.81) The idea of kissing blood seems only slightly less repellent and impossible than Giovanni's impaling of his sister's heart upon his dagger. Even more remarkable, however, is the implied conception of death as the silencing of the blood. One is tempted to say that only Ford could ever have thought of silence in blood as a quality worthy remark. After this it can come as little surprise to read the in any case more normal

The great acquittance of my debt discharg'd  
 Seal'd with his blood, that I might be inlarg'd.

(p.83) Although blood may have been temporarily silenced, however, it has not yet resumed its customary liquid state, as we see when the soul says of Christ

His wounds shall bee my cloyster, heere immur'd,

Ile sequester my solace from the living:  
 His drops of blood, my beads, with which secur'd  
 lie score the prayers of my heart mis-giving.

(p.83) We also discover that 'So is he purg'd with water, fed with  
 blood' (p.286) and that

The crimson dye of his carnation red  
 Hath washt his soule in puritie of white:  
 The conduit of the water that he bled  
 Hath dy'd the soule in graine of wish't delight:  
     Water hath dy'd, and blood hath wash't, 'tis strange,  
     But true; his vertue hath procur'd this change.

(p.286) Blood can speak, be eaten, take the form of beads, and wash.  
 It seems almost to have independent life, as is suggested, too, in the  
 lines

As his eyes his precious teares did waste,  
 So did his heart bleede teares of blood as fast.  
  
 And if his shedding teares his blood did paine,  
 His drops of blood pai'd back his teares againe.

(p.289) Here, blood is capable of feeling. It shows signs of even  
 more surprising attributes when we read that

A greater light, more holy and Divine,  
 Surpassing all the splendour of the Sun,  
 Could never to the eyes of mortals shine  
 Than this most sacred Blood, which hath undon  
     And laid to publick view the Mount of Evill  
     Which both was fram'd and colour'd by the Devill.

(p.96) Finally, we find the exhortation to Christ to

In the delicious Bath of Blood and Water,  
 Cleanse leprous Soûles, and Hells dominion batter.

(p.103) Most of the miraculous powers here mentioned are, of course, attributed solely to the blood of Christ, which would naturally be expected to be of particular power and versatility. The 'silent murmur', however, was not of divine but of human blood; and the association of blood with communication, with food, and, to a bewildering extent, with identity, will all be found again in Ford.

In Ford's next published work, A Line of Life, there are, as one might have expected from its subject matter, only two uses of 'blood', and neither of them is particularly interesting. Nor are there many in The Witch of Edmonton, on which he collaborated with Dekker and Rowley; but some of those few are of considerable interest. Frank, about to confess to Winnifride that he has murdered Susan, tells her

Sit thee then down,  
And when th'ast heard me speak, melt into tears.  
Yet I, to save those eyes of thine from weeping,  
Being to write a story of us two,  
Instead of ink, dipp'd my sad pen in blood.

(1V.ii.\$6-100) Here the old idea that what is written in blood is true receives ironic confirmation from the fact that Frank is not in fact writing, but is using 'pen' as a metaphor for 'sword'. He has killed Susan, and hence what is conveyed by blood is indeed true. A few lines further on Katherine tells Old Carter that 'This villain kill'd my sister! See else, see, / A bloody knife in's pocket' (11. 117-8). Here blood is adduced as an incontrovertible witness; and so it is again when Old Carter confronts Frank with the following accusation:

Some knives have foolish posies upon them, but thine has a villainous - one. Look! Oh, it is enamell'd with the heart-blood of thy hated wife, my beloved daughter! What say'st thou to this evidence? Is't not sharp? Does't not strike home? Thou canst not answer honestly and without a trembling heart to this one point, this terrible bloody point.

(II.I63-9) Here again we see the association of heart and blood; and here again we find the idea of blood as evidence, as a conveyor of truth or meaning.

There are three other plays written before 1623 in which Ford possibly or certainly had a hand - The Welsh Ambassador, The Fair Maid of the Inn and The Sun's Darling. Only the last of these, in which his share was far greater than in either of the other two, yields a particularly exciting use of blood, which occurs when Winter says of Raybright to the Clowns that he is

A prince who is so excellently good,  
His virtue is his honour more than blood.

(V.i.p.I58) This suggests a link between blood and personal honour which harks back to 'The Monarchs' Meeting'. This may also be the best place to mention The Spanish Gipsy, since it cannot escape attention that one scene in particular, II.iii, looks very much as though it comes from the same pen as Christ's Bloody Sweat. Clara says to Fernando

In my bosom,  
Next to my heart, my lord, I have laid up,  
In bloody characters, a tale of horror.

(II.47-9) The association of the heart and the blood is typical of Ford; and so is the use of blood as a means of communication. This is seen again when Clara tells her future father-in-law

Truth copied from my heart is texted there:  
Let now my shame be throughly understood;  
Sins are heard furthest when they cry in blood.

(U.63-5) Here the phrase does not carry its usual meaning, for no

blood has been spilt, nor is any going to be. Clara's words in fact scarcely bear close examination, unless she is taken to mean that sins are heard farthest when it is the blood that speaks them - that is, when they are what might more commonly be called 'heartfelt'.

Eventually Fernando replies to Clara. He says

White paper,  
This should be innocence; these letters gules  
Should be the honest oracles of revenge:  
What's beauty but a perfect white and red?  
Both here well mix'd limn truth so beautiful  
That to distrust it, as I am a father,  
Speaks me as foul as rape hath spoken my son;  
'Tis true.

(11.71-8) Here again blood tells true; and here, again, we have a reference to the idea of red and white as forming the truth of beauty which also occurred in Christ's Bloody Sweat and which was to reappear in The Broken Heart. But however confident one may personally feel about Ford's authorship of The Spanish Gipsy, it is not a completely certain attribution, so it will be safest to pass lightly over any inferences to be drawn from it, and to turn again to the main body of the work which is unquestionably his.

In his introduction to 'Tis Pity, Brian Morris has pointed out that the word 'blood' 'occurs more than thirty times in the play, and covers a fairly wide range of meaning'.<sup>31</sup> He further adds that these frequent occurrences, 'together with Bergetto's pathetic astonishment at the sight of his own blood, and Annabella's letter written in her blood, build up an insistence upon the word until the literal and metaphorical senses coalesce, and the word becomes almost co-extensive with life'.<sup>32</sup> The very first use of the word in the play already presages the weight of meaning which it will eventually be called upon to bear. Giovanni exclaims to the Friar

Say that we had one father, say one womb  
 (Curse to my joys!) gave both us life and birth;  
 Are we not therefore each to other bound  
 So much the more by nature? by the links  
 Of blood, of reason? nay, if you will have't,  
 Even of religion, to be ever one,  
 One soul, one flesh, one love, one heart, one all?

(i.i.28-34) The phrase 'ties of blood' is commonplace enough for the oddness of its literal meaning to pass unnoticed; but although 'links of blood' may appear a close enough synonym, it is in fact sufficiently novel and arresting to invite examination on its literal rather than its metaphorical level, so that one might imagine the blood of two people being linked much as their arms might be. There is, too, the strangeness of the fusion here of two meanings of the word 'blood' which are usually kept very firmly distinct. Giovanni's bond with Annabella should properly be one of 'blood' in the sense in which Ford uses it when, dedicating Love's Sacrifice to his cousin the other John Ford, he refers to their 'ties of blood'. But because of Giovanni's perverted passion the bond between him and his sister is also one of 'blood' in the sense employed by Hippolita, when she upbraids Soranzo with the charge that 'Thy sensual range of blood hath made my youth / A scorn to men and angels' (il.ii.29\*30). These two meanings have been forced together into a hideous pun, which seems all the more unnatural when compared with the relatively simple and orthodox thought of the line which this passage must inevitably recall, Hamlet's 'Excitements of my reason and my blood'.<sup>33</sup> There, too, Hamlet is citing 'reason' and 'blood' as the two elements which might reasonably be expected to drive him to action. But Giovanni is discussing the permanent state of 'nature'; and if reason and blood are to be conceived of, absolutely and without qualification, as the two determining elements in man, it will be seen that blood is indeed on the way to constituting a large part of one's identity. Furthermore, what would more commonly be thought of as the partner or occasionally the

opponent of reason would surely be the heart. It is interesting to note that here, as already in Christ's Bloody Sweat, there seems to be a gradual but perceptible move away from the heart and towards the blood as the repository of feeling.

We soon find another use of 'blood' which is familiar from Christ's Bloody Sweat. The Friar orders Giovanni

Hie to thy father's house, there lock thee fast  
 Alone within thy chamber, then fall down  
 On both thy knees, and grovel on the ground;  
 Cry to thy heart, wash every word thou utter'st  
 In tears, and, if't be possible, of blood.

(I.i.69-73) Tears of blood and sweat of blood are associated both with religious repentance and with absolute, indubitable sincerity of feeling. Blood has again become a register of truth, apparently taking over a function more usually associated with the heart. Again, Richardetto, consulted by Florio about Annabella's sudden illness, advises the old man that

You need not doubt her health; I rather think  
 Her sickness is a fullness of her blood -  
 You understand me?

(III.iv.7-9) Here the state of Annabella's blood is taken to be the factor that determines the state and the well-being of her entire body. But it is in Act V that the play upon 'blood' is at its most obsessive and its most powerful. Annabella, alone, wishes aloud

let some good man  
 Pass this way, to whose trust I may commit  
 This paper double-lined with tears and blood.

(V.i.32-4) Tears and blood, the twin tokens of repentance, are here joined again with something of that closeness of association which in



Christ's Bloody Sweat might lead one to wonder whether Ford was fully-aware of the difference. The Friar delivers the letter to Giovanni, and instructs him

Unrip the seals and see ;  
The blood's yet seething hot, that will anon  
Be frozen harder than congealed coral.  
Why d'ee change colour, son?

(V.iii.24-7) **34** 'Rip' and 'unrip' are used twelve times in the works of Ford, occurring once in The Queen, once in The Broken Heart, once in The Lover's Melancholy, four times in Love's Sacrifice and six in 'Tis Pity. In five of those uses the word denotes an operation performed in order to reveal or discover truth. In The Queen there is the following exchange :

Salassa. What is your lordship's pleasure?  
Velasco. To unrip  
A story of my fate.

(II.I362 ff.) In 'Tis Pity, Giovanni declares to Annabella

And here's my breast, strike home!  
Rip up my bosom, there thou shalt behold  
A heart in which is writ the truth I speak.

(i.ii.209-II) The Friar, too, tells Annabella that

I am glad to see this penance; for believe me,  
You have unripped a soul so foul and guilty,  
As I must tell you true, I marvel how  
The earth hath borne you up.

(ill.vi.1-4) And when Annabella denies Soranzo the name of her child's father he threatens 'Not know it, strumpet! I'll rip up thy heart / And find it there' (lV.iii.33-4). In a similar vein, Fernando tella

Bianca in Love's Sacrifice that

If, when I am dead, you rip  
This coffin of my heart, there shall you read  
With constant eyes, what now my tongue defines,  
Bianca's name carved out in bloody lines.

(11.iii.p.49. Since I shall later argue that Ford may have had Catholic sympathies, it may be as well to draw attention to the fact that he is here quoting almost directly the dying speech of Mary Tudor, England's last Catholic queen. The reference would have been immediately apparent to most of his audience and might have encouraged any tendency to interpret the play in the light of Catholic thought). The same passage is repeated later (11.iv.p.34). Of the remaining six occurrences of the word, one is concerned with the ripping up of some old clothes (Love's Sacrifice, III.i.p.39) two with the threatened unripping of the wombs of Fiormonda and Bianca respectively (Love's Sacrifice, IV.i.p.76 and V.i.p.51), and all the remaining ones with the unripping of hearts or bosoms. Bassanes in The Broken Heart entreats

Rip my bosom up,  
I'll stand the execution with a constancy.  
This torture is unsufférable.

(III.iii.188-90) Giovanni in 'Tis Pity cries

Here I swear

-

By all that you call sacred, by the love  
I bore my Annabella whilst she lived,  
These hands have from her bosom ripped this heart.

(V.vi.36-9) Similarly, Meleander in The Lover's Melancholy, when Corax talks to him of Eroclea, exclaims

Cruel man!  
 How canst thou rip a heart that's cleft already  
 With injuries of time?

(IV.ii.94-6) There is, then, a strong association between ripping, the revelation of truth, and hearts. When the Friar says to Giovanni, in the passage already quoted above, that he must unrip the seals to read Annabella's blood, we once again find 'blood' used where one might more normally expect 'heart', and we see the blood, not the heart, as the conveyor and repository of truth and meaning. Nor are these the only interesting uses of blood in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore. We again find loss of life expressed in terms of loss of blood when Vasques exhorts Soranzo 'Call to remembrance your disgraces, your loss of honour, Hippolita's blood, and arm your courage in your own wrongs,!' (V.iv.22-4). Finally, we find the blood and the heart considered to be of equal value, with the scale indeed tilted perhaps slightly in favour of blood, when Giovanni, alone with the body of Annabella, declares

Soranzo, thou hast minsed thy aim in this,  
 I have prevented now thy reaching plots,  
 And killed a love, for whose each drop of blood  
 I would have pawned my heart.

(V.v.99-102)

In the play which is here taken to be the one most likely to follow 'Tis Pity, Love's Sacrifice, 'the air is warm with the altar-smoke and tears of amorous devotion, with the steam of transfixed and bleeding hearts'.<sup>35</sup> We are early reminded of the extent to which society is entirely happy to recognise a man's character and status as largely determined by his blood. The Duke promises Fernando that he shall be

partner in my dukedom, in my heart,  
 As freely as the privilege of blood  
 Hath made them mine ; Philipppo and Fernando  
 Shall be without distinction.

(1.i.p.I3) It is Philipppo's blood which has made him a Duke, and this is a concept of identity which is to play a large part in Perkin Warbeck's claim to the English throne. Not long afterwards we find a similar employment of 'blood' to mean, essentially, 'self, when Ferentes says to Julia 'Pity of my blood, away!' (1.ii.p.20); and in the following passage it must again carry the same sense, for although the context would suggest the frequent meaning 'lust' the sense of the sentence scarcely permits such a reading. Bianca says to Fernando

Know, most unworthy man,  
 So much we hate the baseness of thy lust,  
 As were none living of thy sex but thee,  
 We had much rather prostitute our blood  
 To some envenomed serpent than admit  
 Thy bestial dalliance.

(11.iii.p.48) Blood is again seen as the register of truth and sincerity when, in a passage already quoted above, Fernando tells Bianca

If, when I am dead, you rip  
 This coffin of my heart, there shall you read  
 With constant eyes, what now my tongue defines,  
 Bianca's name carved out in bloody lines.

(11.iii.p.43) Soon afterwards, we find perhaps the most complete expression yet of an inextricable link between blood and selfhood, in which the former seems almost to determine the latter. Fiormonda demands of her brother

Art thou Caraffa? is there in thy veins

One drop of blood that issu'd from the loins  
Of Pavy's ancient dukes?

(IV.i.p.73) The sense of blood as being a measure of the depth of feeling is also present once more, as the Duke says to Bianca

Come, black angel,  
Fair devil, in thy prayers reckon up  
The sum in gross of all thy veined follies.

(V.i.p.94) These lines are immediately followed by two which contain a thought long since familiar:

There, amongst other, weep in tears of blood  
For one above the rest, adultery!

Blood is again called in as a reliable witness when the Duke commands Fernando

Look here, 'tis written on thy poniard's point,  
The bloody evidence of thy untruth.

(V.ii.p.98) Donald K. Anderson, jr, points out, in reference to this, that when the three murderesses of Ferentes appear with their babies in their arms 'here, in contrast to the Bianca murder scene (V.i), the evidence of sexual intercourse is incontrovertible'.<sup>36</sup> Lastly, during the incredible near-apotheosis of Bianca at the end of the play to which all the characters insist on subscribing, we find once more the notion of blood as a sacrifice, this time fantastically divorced from any serious religious feeling; and we also find once more the idea of blood as the truthful conveyor of thought, the means, indeed, by which the heart's emotions might be read. The Duke stands at his dead wife's tomb, and apostrophizes her with

Behold, I offer up the sacrifice  
 Of bleeding tears, shed from a faithful spring,  
 Pouring oblations of a mourning heart  
 To thee, offended spirit!

(V.iii.p.I03)

In The Queen, we find both the expression of death as loss of blood, and a strange perversion of the idea of blood as sacrifice. Alphonso says of his sovereign

Cry mercy, she is Queen of Arragon,  
 And would with her own eyes (instead of masks  
 And courtly sports) behold an act of death.  
 Queen, welcom, Queen, here quaff my blood like wine;  
 And live a brave she tyrant.

(II.362-70) The Lover's Melancholy, as a tragicomedy, has only eleven uses of 'blood', and none of them is particularly interesting or unusual. But in The Broken Heart it appears twenty five times, and frequently in passages of peculiar resonance and beauty. Ithocles entreats Penthea

Trouble not  
 The fountains of mine eyes with thine own story.  
 I sweat in blood for't.

(III.ii.I09-II) Here, as in Christ's Bloody Sweat, the blood is the evidence of his sincerity; and here too, as in the earlier work, 'blood' is so close to 'sweat' and 'tears' that they seem to have blended indistinguishably. Later, Penthea, now mad, cries piteously

Dear soul, h'a? lost his colour. Have 'ee seen  
 A straying heart? All crannies, every drop  
 Of blood is turned to an amethyst,  
 Which married bachelors hang in their ears.

(IV.ii.128-131) Here the gradual ebbing away of life and vitality

which is so marked a feature of The Broken Heart, and the direction of energy away from ordinary activities and towards a meticulously detailed ritual of renunciation and death, find beautifully piercing expression. These images, of blood being settled into a fixed shape from which it can never change and of it being permanently displayed, mirror the way in which so many characters of the play seem freely to choose to freeze themselves into monuments to an emotion, and never allow their griefs to escape from their thoughts. It is also in Penthea's mad scene that we come across the first demonstration of the possible dangers of an equation of blood with identity, as she bewails her fate with

To all memory  
Penthea's, poor Penthea's name is strumpeted.  
But since her blood was seasoned, by the forfeit  
Of noble shame, with mixtures of pollution,  
Her blood - 'tis just - be henceforth never heightened  
With taste of sustenance. Starve. Let that fullness  
Whose plurisy hath severed faith and modesty -  
Forgive me. O 1 faint!

(IV.ii.147-134) Here, too, we find an interesting variation on the 1 association between blood and food already established in Christ's Bloody Sweat. It seems that it is not Penthea's body, but her blood, which will be starved and wasted away by her refraining from food, and so it will presumably be the decay of her blood which will actually kill her. In current medical theory, blood did indeed turn into food;<sup>37</sup> but Penthea, by isolating one aspect of the process from all the rest, is providing a distorted view of it. (it should also be noted that if the name of Groneas' companion is to be taken as 'Hemophil', then Ford in the list of speakers' names is translating 'blood-lover' as 'glutton'). Blood also plays an important part in the following exchange between the princess and her suitor:

Calantha. Hath not this motion  
Raised fresher colour on your cheeks?  
Nearchus. Sweet princess,  
A perfect purity of blood enamels  
The beauty of your white.

(V.ii.20-3) Here the feelings to which Calantha has so resolutely refused to give verbal expression can manifest themselves only through her blood, which is the sole reliable messenger of her heart. Blood is again associated with semiotic consonance and with the transmission of truth when Calantha addresses Orgilus as 'Bloody relater of thy stains in blood' (v.ii.77). Blood creates stains: the evidence which it provides cannot be distorted.

This is an idea which manifests itself very early in Perkin Warbeck, where the word is used thirty-five times (there had been only thirty-four appearances even in 'Tis Pity). In the first scene we find the interesting exchange

Durham. The king's countenance gathers a sprightly blood.  
Daubeney. Good news, believe it.

(I.i.128-9) Here again blood is infallible evidence; and here again, it is also the only evidence. We are once more made aware of the problems which can be caused if blood and identity are to be regarded as closely connected when King James explains to Hialas and Durham that he has harboured Perkin, and so brought England and Scotland to the brink of all-out war, because

his fair demeanour,  
Lovely behaviour, unappalled spirit,  
Spoke him not base in blood, however clouded.

(1V.iii.37-9) Blood is again called in to give evidence when Perkin declares 'witness Edward's blood in me' (1V.iii.96). Later, too, it seems once more to have become 'co-extensive with life', in the



following exchange:

Henry.	thy feet of pride have slipped To break thy neck.
Warbeck.	But not my heart; my heart Will mount till every drop of blood be frozen By death's perpetual winter.

(v.ii.32-3)

In Ford's two last plays there is a marked decline in the number of occurrences of what have previously been his favourite words. There are ten uses of 'blood' in The Fancies Chaste and Noble and eighteen in The Lady's Trial, and none of these uses is of particular interest. But the uses in the earlier plays have already been quite enough to indicate the extent to which blood has become the repository of feeling, the communicator of feeling, and the test and witness of the truth of feeling. It seems to act, with startling frequency, as the determinator of selfhood; and it is also often mentioned in conjunction with sweat and tears, which are associated with it in its function of giving evidence.

As early as 'The Monarchs' Meeting' we find an interesting use of synecdoche in connection with the word 'sweat', as we read that 'Now were the blossoms ripen'd to the hand / Of well-deserving sweat' (p.373) 'Sweat, it seems, has hands. But like blood, sweat receives its most sustained and most revealing exploration, as is scarcely surprising, in the long religious poem Christ's Bloody Sweat. There we find Christ instructing the poet

Set then the tenour of thy dolefull song  
To the deepe accentes of my bloudy sweate!

(p.5) Sweat has, as it were, an independent voice, presumably implying also independent thoughts. It also displays some of the

strange attributes of the blood, for in the following passage loss of it is death, while it can, by itself, confer life and even food:

All those hath Christs deere bloody sweate layd open  
 (For even his death was but a sweate in bloud),  
 Offring to all in hearte contrite and broken  
 The benefit of life and living foode.

(p.29) Moreover, it,like blood, is a bath:

He that doth most addict himself to sin,  
 Did he but bathe his thoughts, and once a day  
 Wash, through his earnest meditations, in  
 The bloody sweat of Christ, and truely pray  
     To be made cleane by sorrowes strongly urged,  
     Soone should he hate his faults, and soone be purged.

(p.32) We find, too, that

Christs bloody sweate was that distilling river,  
 The comfortable Iordan, whose fair streames  
 Did cleanse the Syrian Naaman.

(p\*33) And 'Christs bloody sweate that precious poole is, truely /  
 Bethesda cald' (p.33). Indeed,

These are the waters of eternall life,  
 And he that drinkes them shall not thirste againe.

(p.34) Sweat is again given a means of independent expression in the following passage:

Doth any covet time-beguiling song?  
 Come hither, heare is musicke in this sweate;  
 Words sung to God, spoke with a zeale so strong  
 As that it doth his bloody sweate beget.

(p.34) Here one is also struck by the strangeness of the verb 'beget'

as applied to the noun 'sweat', almost as though it were in its own right a person. Even more striking is the following passage:

But whiles the sufferance of our God is great,  
Fly to the safety of his Bloody Sweate.

(p.30) 'Sweat' occurs most often in conjunction with 'blood'. The two, indeed, seem frequently to be almost interchangeable - if not actually confused, as they appear to be in this passage:

What can he now resolve, but to retire  
Unto the sweat of Christ, and cleft in mind,  
Humbled in meeke astonishment, desire  
Comfort in this bloody Bath to find.

(p.36) Something of the same blurring, too, appears in

And rest the griefes so numberlesse and great  
In the sweet slumber of his bloody sweat.

(p.69) 'Sweat', however, also appears on its own, and sometimes it alone performs some of the functions of blood. This happens in the following passage where it, like blood, is called upon to give evidence of the sincerity of a statement:

And witnesse heere this crimson sweat, how I  
(O soule of man) doe for thy whoredomes dye.

(p.76) And sweat, like blood, is called upon to speak not only for others but also for itself. This we see when we read

Guilt reads a lecture of her foul misdeeds,  
And bids her looke upon this streame of red,  
Layes to her view the speaking sweat that bleeds.

(p\*79) For most of the poem, however, 'sweat' is closely coupled with 'blood'; and both are also intimately linked, sometimes to the point of near-identification, with tears, as when we read

Yet He, when no invitement could intreat,  
Wept for their errors in his bloodie sweat.

(p.88) Sweat and tears seem indeed to be conceived of as very closely connected, as are sweat and another bodily fluid in the following passage from The Spanish Gipsy:

Soto. I have sought him, my lord, in all four elements:  
in earth, my shoes are full of gravel; in water, I drop  
at nose with sweating.

(IV.iii.13-18) Sweat again seems to be conceived of as a variant form of tears in The Broken Heart, when Bassanes tells Phulas

There's a lust  
Committed by the eye, that sweats, and travails,  
Plots, wakes, contrives, till the deformed bear-whelp  
Adultery be licked into the act,  
The very act.

(II.i.3-7) Blood, sweat and tears all appear again in The Broken Heart when Ithocles entreats Penthea

Trouble not  
The fountains of mine eyes with thine own story.  
I sweat in blood for't.

(III.ii.I09-II) And two of the same elements are coupled once more in Perkin Warbeck, in Henry's lines

As if we were a mockery-king in state,  
Only ordained to lavish sweat and blood

In scorn and laughter to the ghosts of York.

(l.i.4-6) Sweat is also, to some extent, associated with blood's frequent function of being a reliable indicator of feeling. In The Fancies Chaste and Noble Spadone, alone, declares 'The fear put me into a sweat; I cannot help it' (V.iii.p.313). Fear must induce sweat, and therefore thanks to sweat emotions can find visible expression.

Tears, independently or in conjunction, can perform many of the functions of blood and sweat. In Fame's Memorial they are described as an offering, in the same sense as blood often is:

O, what Heraclitus would spare his eyes  
To shower tears in showers, and distil  
The liquid of a griev'd heart's sacrifice,  
Which will consume itself?

(p.312) Here, too, they are also the messengers of the heart, as blood has so frequently been. They are not always reliable: in Honour Triumphant it is said of 'wise-seeming censors' that

They have forgot the wiles which made them tremble  
In heat of youth, when youth their bloods did move,  
What wit they us'd, what tears they did dissemble.

(p.367) Usually, however, they are associated with the accurate revelation of thought and feeling. In Christ's Bloody Sweat we read

Here then unclaspe the burthen of my woes,  
My woes distill'd into a streame of teares,  
My teares begetting sighes, which sighes disclose  
A rocke of torment, which affliction beares:  
My griefes, teares, sighes, the rocke, seas, windes  
unfain'd,  
Whence shipwrackt soûles the land of safety gayn'd.

(p.3) Most particularly, tears are the true tokens of repentance.

In Christ's Bloody Sweat we read that the wicked are barred from Heaven

Al because they were too slacke in teares:  
Which are the ready tokens Christ hath lent,  
His bloody sweate on earth to represent.

Never was teare from any heart let fall  
In true repentance, but the lord of grace  
Hath seene and botled up, and kept it all  
For such as must his saving health embrace.

(p.63) Tears also, like blood, participate in a strange synecdoche  
in the following passage:

Eyes-, were the instruments ordain'd to weepe,  
But eyes in such a case must not suffice;  
- For his whole bodie did due order keepe,  
It undertooke the office of his eyes,  
That as his eyes his precious teares did waste,  
So did his heart bleede teares of blood as fast.

(p.89) Like blood, tears are fundamentally messages and signs. But  
even they are not, by themselves, necessarily trustworthy:

His Eyes cry out in teares, O cruell paine!  
  
Not like the fawning of some subtile queane,  
Some Dalilah, that flatters and beguiles,  
Knowing Arts rule how to abuse the meane,  
To laugh in teares, and both to weepe in smiles :  
Christ could not doe so, he wept teares in deed;  
Such teares as 'twas all one to weepe or bleed.

(p.90) Here, blood must be called upon to reinforce the evidence of  
tears.

Usually, however, tears bear trustworthy witness. In The Witch  
of Edmonton, Old Thorney says to his son

Forgive me, Frank. Credulity abus'd me.  
My tears express my joy, and I am sorry

I injur'd innocence.

(i.ii.I%-8) In The Spanish Gipsy, they are not only the tokens but also the means of repentance. Clara tells Roderigo

for my part,  
I have washed off the leprosy that cleaves  
To my just shame in true and honest tears.

(l.iii.62-4) Also, like the blood that transformed itself into a rosary, they can be of such potency that they are conceived of as objects solid and actually tangible:

Before she would reply, from her fair eyes  
She greets me with a bracelet of her tears.

(The Spanish Gipsy, III.iii.286-7) But even tears are capable of misrepresentation or misinterpretation. Fernando in The Spanish Gipsy explains to Clara

Thou too, too-much-wrong'd maid, scorn not my tears,  
For these are tears of rage, not tears of love.

(III.iii.80-1) In The Fair Maid of the Inn, though, tears are again associated with the revelation of emotion and with religious feeling in the following exchange:

Bianca. Pitty me, but never love me more.  
Cesario. Nay now y'are cruell,  
                    Why all these tears? - Thou shalt not go.  
Bianca. I'll pray for ye.

(IV.i.p.188) In The Welsh Ambassador, too, the King expresses his new-found repentance in the line 'Better to lyve in teares then dye

in laughter' (IV.i.1939). Much the same idea is present in the Friar's already-noted advice to Giovanni in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore:

Cry to thy heart, wash every word thou utter'st  
In tears, .and, if't be possible, of blood.

(I.i.72-3) And tears are again messengers in 'Tis Pity as Hippolita reminds Soranzo 'Thine eyes did plead in tears, thy tongue in oaths' (II.ii.36). It is noteworthy, however, that neither Soranzo's tears nor his oaths spoke true. Shortly afterwards, moreover, tears, although not actual liars themselves, are nevertheless made to bear false witness when Donado, speaking of Bergetto, says to Annabella

would you could hear  
Sometimes, what I see daily, sighs and tears,  
As if his breast were prisoner to his heart!

(II.vi.8-10) Even when they tell true, their message may always pass unheeded. Florio reminds Donado

'Tis bootless now to show yourself a child,  
Signior Donado; what is done, is done;  
Spend not the time in tears, but seek for justice.

(III.ix.1-3) This is even more vividly and beautifully expressed in the following lines of Soranzo's:

Dost thou triumph? The treasure of the earth  
Shall not redeem thee, were there kneeling kings  
Did beg thy life, or angels did come down  
To plead in tears, yet should not all prevail  
Against my rage.

(IV.iii.64-8)

The possible inefficacy of tears does not, however, prevent their



being called upon. In Love's Sacrifice Fernando, alone, reveals that he has considered them a powerful weapon in his attempt to persuade Bianca to grant him her love:

I have su'd and su'd,  
Knelt, wept, and begg'd; but tears and vows and words  
Move her no more than summer-winds a rock.

(11.ii.p.35) Tears, too, become the guarantors of sincerity when Bianca says to Fernando

By these dishevell'd hairs, these wretched tears,  
By all that's good, if what I speak my heart  
Vows not eternally...

(11.iv.p.33) Tears are again the signs of feeling in The Queen: the heroine, indeed, shows much the same conception of their power and actual tangibility as was found in Christ's Bloody Sweat and The Spanish Gipsy, for she wishes that she had sent 'A handful of my tears unto the King' (11.1319\*20). Even Alphonso subscribes to this view, and summons tears to give evidence for him: 'In witness / Whereof, behold (my lords) these manly tears' (11.3330-2). But he has earlier demonstrated that even tears may not convince, when he cries to Muretto of the Queen

Guilty apparently: Monstrous woman! Beast!  
Were these the fruits of her dissembling tears!  
Her puling, and her heart sighs.

(II.I635-9) In The Lover's Melancholy tears are again given voice. Meleander says to Palador 'My tears must thank ye / For my tongue cannot' (V.ii.217-8); but there is still the spectre that they may fail to persuade, raised again by Meleander's bitter phrase, 'Scorn to useless tears!' (II.ii.117). The same danger is again felt to be

inherent in the silence of these messengers when Bassanes in The Broken Heart promises Penthea that

Thou shalt appear in such a ravishing lustre  
Of jewels above value that the dames  
Who brave it there, in rage to be out-shined,  
Shall hide them in their closets, and unseen  
Fret in their tears.

(II.i.78-82) Still, though, the characters turn to them, as when Tecnicus calls upon them as evidence of truth in his lines

List, Orgilus,  
Remember what I told thee long before;  
These tears shall be my witness.

(iV.ii.134-6) And Bassanes assumes tears to be the clearest signs of emotion when he says

Mark me, nobles,  
I do not shed a tear, not for Penthea.  
Excellent misery!

(V.ii.64-6) Euphranea's last lines of the play are 'Could my tears speak, / My griefs were slight' (V.ii.73-4). There both the motivation for the recourse to tears, and its ultimate futility, are powerfully encapsulated. A tear is again the sign of feeling in Perkin Warbeck, when Huntley says to Katherine

Accept my tears yet, prithee; they are tokens  
Of charity, as true as of affection.

(IV.iii.135-6) In The Fancies Chaste and Noble, however, they may again be deceptive. Flavia, in an aside, cries 'Dissemble, honest tears, / The griefs my heart does labour in' (ill.ii.p.272). The

evidence of tears is being distorted, although in a good cause. They are not infallible witnesses, and here it is obviously of great importance to an admirable character that they should not be so. For Flavia, the revelation of the thought of her heart is not only difficult but undesirable, even though it is merely that she loves the man she married. In The Lady's Trial, however, the situation is stabilised, and the meanings of words are again allowed to pass unchallenged. As is only to be expected in a play which ends with the acceptance of both the fidelity of Spinella and the ultimate unprovability of that fidelity, the evidence of the tears in The Lady's Trial is taken at face value. Levidolche says to Martino

Sir, alas,  
What would you have me do? I have no orators,  
More than my tears, to prove my innocence.

(II.ii.pp.37-8) To this, Martino's reply is 'Enough; thy tears prevail / Against credulity'.

It has already been pointed out that several functions here performed by blood, and to a lesser extent by sweat and tears, would more traditionally be thought of as belonging to the heart. What then, in the works of Ford, has become of the heart?

We have already seen that, towards the end of 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, Giovanni seems to consider the heart and the blood as being more or less of equal value when he calls his sister 'a love, for whose each drop of blood / I would have pawned my heart' (V.v.101-2). Another instance of this appears in The Golden Mean. There, as already pointed out, occurs the unusual phrase 'blood of vertue'; and there too occurs the rather less surprising 'heart of vertue' (p.242). This suggests almost an interchangeability between 'blood' and 'heart'. But, in the same work, we also find the beginning of a dissociation of heart from thought, and this, presumably, is intimately connected

with the growing association between blood and thought. We are told of 'the greater number of the ruder, and more ignorant sort in a kingdome' that 'violence in judgement and wilfulnesse in errour, like two untamed Heifers, draw them and their best knowledge quite contrarie waies. In so much as often their voyces discent from their meaning, and most often their harts from their voyces' (p.287). The unreliability of the heart is mentioned again only a page or so later, when we read of 'John, that great and last Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, whose pride and ruine were at once hastend by the too much confidence he had in the harts of the Cominaltie'. In Christ's Bloody Sweat, however, published in the same year as The Golden Mean, the heart seems to play its normal role, as for instance when we read that

A sacred flame mixt with an holy feare,  
As if Gods voyce had spoke, seem'd to invite  
My heart to prompt my ready hand to write.

(p.4) The equation of one's heart with one's innermost core also seems to be complete in

Teares in mine eyes, division in my heart,  
Disgrace upon my name, plaintes in my breast.

(p.6) And the equation also seems complete in the following passage about Christ:

Father, hee pray'd, and lifted up his eyes  
(For in his eyes he had inthron'd his heart)

(p.14) There is, however, a confusion visible when we read that

His heart he pawn'd, and yet not for his friend,  
For who was friend to him, or who did love him?  
But to his deadly foe he did extend

His dearest blood, to them that did reprove him.

(p.52) Here little or no distinction seemed to be drawn. The heart is clearly conceived of as the seat of feeling in the lines

Never was teare from any heart let fall  
In true repentance, but the lord of grace  
Hath seene and bottld up.

(p.66) And blood is the messenger of the heart, the conveyor of feelings rather than in any sense the source of them, in the following passage;

That as his eyes his precious teares did waste,  
So did his heart bleede teares of blood as fast.

His eye was but an echo to his heart,  
Which answer'd every accent of his woe,  
While both his eye and heart did beare a part,  
As said the one, the other echo'd so:  
Was ever man as I am (quoth his eyes):  
I \_ am, alas, his heavie heart replies.

(p.89) Even here, however, the implied equation of 'eyes' and 'man' is confusing and disquieting. The eyes' independence is carried even further in the next verse:

His Eyes cry out in teares, O crue ll paine !  
O cruell paine! his Heart saies; (quoth his Eyes),  
And must I then be slaine? I must be slaine,  
Answeres his Heart; his Eyes, Ah let me die,  
Me die, his Heart; his Eyes, Dye, dye, content,  
I die content, his Heart: thus both consent.

(p.90) Thus both consent. But both also have it in their power to disagree, and it will be noticed that tears here are specifically the messengers of the eyes, and not of the heart. This is a state of affairs in which it is not impossible that the heart may be unable to

find any form of expressing itself at all. And as Keir Elam points out, 'the call for heartfelt sincerity introduces at the same time the possibility of its opposite, namely of a breach in the heart-speech integrity'.<sup>38</sup> In A Line of Life we find another strange phrase, in the passage 'what infinite enticers hath a man, as he is a mere man, to withdraw him from an erected heart!' (p.395). The adjective 'erected' again seems to ascribe unusual powers of independent motion to the heart, as though, as is apparently the case in some of the verses above, it were a person in its own right. Here, too, we see the association of the heart with defiance, with rigidity, and with one unyielding posture, which is to play so prominent a part in the later plays. Although 'blood' may as it were have infringed on its prerogatives, the heart has by no means lost its traditional identification with the seat of feelings and with the truth of a person's inner self. This we see when in The Witch of Edmonton Frank tells Winnifride that

Thou shalt want no pleasures,  
Nor any other fit supplies whatever,  
Thou canst in heart desire.

(1.i.40-2) Furthermore, the heart has by no means lost its associations with true speech. Again in The Witch of Edmonton, Old Carter exclaims to Frank 'Thou canst not answer honestly and without a trembling heart to this one point, this?terrible bloody point' (IV. ii.167-9). Similarly, just as death is frequently seen as being the loss or decay of the blood, so too it can sometimes be expressed as the death, most frequently by breaking, of the heart. In The Sun's Darling we find the following exchange :

Summer. And did break her heart, then?  
Delight. Yes, with disdain.

Summer. The heart of my dear mother-nurse, the Spring!  
I'll break his heart for't.

(ill.iii.pp.138-9) It is perhaps as a result of their rigidly-unbending, 'erect' quality that the hearts of Ford's characters are given to breaking. At all events, it is clear that although in 'Tis Pity blood may well have become 'co-extensive with life', the heart is slow to relinquish its more generally accepted claim to that function. Loss of life can be seen as the freezing of the blood, as in Perkin Warbeck where Perkin declares

my heart  
Will mount till every drop of blood be frozen  
By death's perpetual winter.

(V.ii.53-3) Or loss of life can be seen as the freezing of the heart, as when Orgilus in The Broken Heart dies with the words 'Welcome thou ice that sittest about my heart; / No heat can ever thaw thee' (V.ii.134-5). The Sun's Darling, however, contains, along with an affirmation of the heart's customary supremacy, an indication of the threat to its position. Bounty tells Raybright

Sir, you can speak well; if your tongue deliver  
The message of your heart without some cunning  
Of restraint, we may hope to enjoy  
The lasting riches of your presence here  
Without distrust or change.

(V.i.pp.162-3) Speech, however, does not truthfully deliver the message of the heart; or, if it does, the heart in this instance at least cannot be the determining guide of a man's thoughts, character and intentions. Despite his promise to do so, Raybright will not stay with Winter, any more than he has stayed in any of the other Courts where he has said that he would. Much the same danger

is apparent in The Fair Maid of the Inn, where Bianca tells Cesario

Had your heart,  
Your hand and tongue been twins, you had reputed  
This courtesy a benefit.

(IV.i.p.87) In the same scene, though, we once again see that the heart still clings on to its traditional associations, as shown in the following exchange:

Cesario. But say you so too young lady?  
Clarissa. I should else betray  
My heart to falsehood, and my tongue to perjury.

(p.192) Similarly, the heart is the undoubted seat of the emotions in The Welsh Ambassador when Carintha, alone, says of Armante 'this lady / hee wore as a rich Iewell, on his very hart' (III.iii.11.1188-90). The Spanish Gipsy also contains a number of illuminating uses of 'heart', but because of its uncertain authorship they will be looked at only briefly. It is, however, interesting to note another instance of the apparent interchangeability of the heart and the blood. Where Giovanni associates his 'reason' and his 'blood', Roderigo says to Clara

So much I am the executioner  
Of mine own trespass, that I have no heart  
Nor reason to disclose my name or quality.

(1.iii.80-2) Here, too, hearts bleed (I.iii.29) and break (1.iii.97); and we also find a phrase strongly reminiscent of The Broken Heart, 'O, that no art / But love itself can cure a love-sick heart!' (III.ii.303-4). Here the heart is the undoubted repository of emotion. There is also, however, the passage already quoted above, where Clara seems to invoke not the heart alone but the blood also as guarantors of her



sincerity when she says to Fernando

Truth copied from my heart is texted there:  
Let now my shame be thoroughly understood;  
Sins are heard farthest when they cry in blood.

(III.iii.63-5) Similarly, she has earlier told him that

In my bosom,  
Next to my heart, my lord, I have laid up,  
In bloody characters, a tale of horror.

(III.iii.47-9) Lastly, we find another interesting example of the ascription of unusual spatial qualities to parts of the body. In Christ's Bloody Sweat the soul referred to Christ's wounds as her 'cloyster'. Here, Constanza declares

to these oracles  
Of riper judgement, lower in my heart  
Than on my knees, I offer up my suit.

(V.i.110-12)

Immediately after Brian Morris, in his introduction to 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, has remarked upon the large number of occurrences of the word 'blood' in the play, he points out that

Ford plays upon the word 'heart' in the same way. There is a ground level of meaning in which 'heart' is synonymous with 'feelings'... which runs through the play, but there are also outcrops in which the word is used in a more literal sense, as a violent prolepsis of the spectacle in the final Act...The word is used more than thirty-five times in the play, its senses varying with its contexts, but always forcing together the literal and the symbolic meanings, so that the repetition and the movement together condition the reader or the audience for the visual fulfilment of the last scene, when the word is made flesh.<sup>39</sup>

The word is, perhaps, forced to make itself flesh in rather the same way

as Hieronimo, in The Spanish Tragedy, feels himself impelled to bring the actual body of his son onto the stage as evidence of his death. Throughout 'Tis Pity, the audience or readers have continually impressed upon them the difficulty and the dangers with which any attempt to convey the contents of the heart is fraught. If the heart is the essential determinant of identity, it is imperative that the truth of it be clearly conveyed and understood: but how can this be done? Giovanni's answer seems to be his final terrible deed, accompanied by the demented but in one sense hideously logical question

'tis a heart,  
A heart my lords, in which is mine entombed.  
Look well upon't; d'ee know't?

(V.vi.26-8) 'The madness is obvious (you can't recognise a person by his heart), and yet as dramatic metaphor, the symbol is completely viable'.<sup>40</sup> The impossibility of ultimate certainty of the contents of the heart is darkly and ominously brought home by the brief exchange between Soranzo and Annabella before their marriage:

Soranzo. Did you but see my heart, then would you swear -  
Annabella. That you were dead.

(ill.ii.22-3) The overwhelming need to see the heart, and the conception of it as the repository of truth and identity, are several times emphasised in the play. Giovanni says to the Friar

Gentle father,  
To you I have unclasped my burdened soul,  
Emptied the storehouse of my thoughts and heart,  
Made myself poor of secrets; have not left  
Another word untold, which hath not spoke  
All what I ever durst or think, or know;  
  
.  
And yet is here the comfort I shall have?,  
Must I not do what all men else may -love?

(i.i.12-19) Later, in a vivid encapsulation of both the need for and the impossibility of access to the heart, he tells his sister

And here's my breast, strike home!  
Rip up my bosom, there thou shalt behold  
A heart in which is writ the truth I speak.

(i.ii.209-II) Finally, Soranzo, determined to discover the name of Annabella's lover, storms 'Not know it, strumpet! I'll rip up thy heart / And find it there' (1V.iii.33-4). The secrets of the heart, however, cannot be forced. They are finally its own, and although they may sometimes (as with Annabella's letter) find expression through the blood, blood has on occasion tended to display a dangerous and startling independence from the heart. This may remind us that in 1628 William Harvey did in fact revolutionise the traditional view of the relationship between the blood and the heart: whereas it was before believed that the heart infused the blood with the 'vital spirit', the new orthodoxy was that the heart was simply the pump of the blood, the agent rather than the controller of its life-bringing circulation. Furthermore, we have already seen that despite the inroads made on its position by the blood, the heart still retains a claim to be the only possible origin of sincerity. This may ultimately be what makes Giovanni attempt to force an absolute, indissoluble equation of the signifier with the signified.

It is as such a proof of sincerity that Fernando in Love's Sacrifice kneels before Bianca, and, when she asks 'What means the man?', replies

To lay before your feet  
In lowest vassalage the bleeding heart  
That sighs the tender of a suit disdain'd.

(11.ii.p.47) Here, too, we notice that the heart 'sighs'. Once again

we see the heart alone invested with functions more usually thought to require the participation of the whole body, so that here, as frequently in Ford, the heart, by synecdoche, stands for the entire person. It is in much the same spirit that Fernando utters a line already familiar from The Spanish Gipsy, 'Bent lower in my heart than on my knee' (11.iii.p.47), or the passage already quoted,

If, when I am dead, you rip  
This coffin of my heart, there shall you read  
With constant eyes, what now my tongue defines,  
Bianca's name carved out in bloody lines.

(11.iii.p.4\$) Here both the heart and the blood are once more called upon as indices of truth. The heart, though, can still perform that function alone, as we see when Bianca tells Fernando

By all that's good, if what I speak my heart  
Vows not eternally, then think, my lord,  
Was never man su'd to me I denied, -  
Think me a common and most cunning whore;  
And let my sins be written on my grave.

(11.iv.p.33) She adds

Command my power, my bosom; and I'll write  
This love within the tables of my heart.

(11.iv.p.33) And she dies with the word 'heart' on her lips, as she tells her husband that she leaves 'My tragedy to thee; my heart - to - to Fernando' (V.i.p.96). Bianca's heart has indeed been given to Fernando, and his to her; but the tragedy of the play might be said to lie not so much in the story of the two lovers as in that of Caraffa, whose heart tells him to spare his wife but whose blood, the noble descent urged by his sister Fiormonda, makes him kill her. In Caraffa we see a dangerous separability between the blood and the

heart, and we are reminded that each one has been shown as capable of governing and determining human identity. It is perhaps little wonder that Caraffa, in a desperate attempt to convince his wife's spirit of the genuineness of his feeling, should summon to his aid not one but three registers of truth when he says

Behold, I offer up the sacrifice  
Of bleeding tears, shed from a faithful spring,  
Pouring oblations of a mourning heart  
To thee, offended spirit!

(V.ii.p.I03)

The problem is again in evidence in The Queen. The eponymous heroine says to Alphonso

by the love  
I bare the King of Arragon, (an oath  
As great as I can swear by) I conceiv'd  
Your words to be true speakers of your heart,  
And I am sure they were; you swore they were.  
How should I but believe, that lov'd so dearly.

(11,11.II48P37) Here again, the words were not in fact the speakers of the heart; Alphonso's real thoughts had remained dangerously concealed. Similarly, the apparent evidence of the heart is distrusted by Alphonso himself when he says to Muretto of the Queen

Guilty apparently: Monstrous woman! Beast!  
Were these the fruits of her dissembling tears !  
Her puling, and her heart sighs..

(11,11.1653-9) Nevertheless, the heart is still the seat of feeling: this we see when Lodovico says to Velasco of Salassa 'Come, I know you love her with all the very vaines of your heart' (V,11.3843-7). We also find, in The Queen, two more unusual, but by now familiar, uses of the word 'heart'. Velasco tells Salassa

You, Lady, are the deity I adore,  
Have kneell'd too in my heart.

(11,11.1380-3) And Muretto advises the Queen 'Let not the faint  
feare of Death deject you before the royalty of an erected heart'  
(v,ii.3830-3).

The problematic status of the heart, and the question of the  
availability to it of means of self-expression, are also raised  
early in The Lover's Melancholy. Amethus says to Menaphon

Give me thy hand. I will not say, 'Th'art welcome';  
This is the common road of common friends.  
I am glad I have thee here - O, I want words  
To let thee know my heart.

(I.i.37-40) We also find an emphatic assertion that the heart  
contains the feelings of a person. Corax defines melancholy as

briefly this :

A mere commotion of the mind, o'ercharged  
With fear and sorrow, first begot i'th'brain,  
- The seat of reason, and from thence derived  
As suddenly into the heart, the seat  
Of our affection.

(III.i.113-8) And in a particularly memorable and beautiful passage,  
Meleander too places both feeling and life in the heart, when he  
instructs Corax to

Sigh out a lamentable tale of things  
Done long ago, and ill done; and, when sighs  
Are wearied, piece up what remains behind  
With weeping eyes, and hearts that bleed to death.

(IV.ii.120-3) In The Broken Heart, too, the heart is the seat of  
emotion. Orgilus tells Crotolon 'My sister's marriage / With  
Prophilus is from my heart confirmed' (III.iv.49-50); but here even

more than in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, it is possible for the heart to find no means of expression, to be totally isolated from the rest of the body, and to be in fact unable to perform the function of encasing the inner core and the identity of a person. Perhaps it is this, in part, which leads so many of the characters of the play to construct for themselves an identity, frequently of a rather arbitrary nature, to which they must at all costs adhere. This is a process which is seen at its clearest in Perkin Warbeck; but the root causes of it are most starkly and most extensively exposed in The Broken Heart. Prophilus tells Euphranea that with the supposed Aplotes as their messenger,

So can we never,  
Barred of our mutual speech, want sure intelligence;  
And thus our hearts may talk when our tongues cannot.

(1.iii.150-2) He means to comfort her; but the suggested possibility of a divorce between heart and tongue might well prove far from reassuring to a perceptive audience. Later, Orgilus, still disguised as Aplotes, paints for Penthea a moving picture of the plight of a body which has lost its heart:

All pleasures are but mere imagination,  
Feeding the hungry appetite with steam  
And sight of banquet, whilst the body pines,  
Not relishing the real taste of food.  
Such is the leanness of a heart divided  
From intercourse of troth-contracted loves.

(H.iii.34-9) This state, which Penthea is soon to describe as 'Divorce betwixt my body and my heart' (11.iii.37), kills Penthea, Orgilus and Calantha, and indirectly causes the death of Ithocles. It is because Penthea no longer has a heart that she wishes to starve her blood; the various components of her body seem terrifyingly

dissociable from her and from each other. This we see again when Ithocles attributes his initial disastrous action not to his youthful self, but only to a part of that self, which then had the mastery:

Sad Penthea,  
 Thou canst not be too cruel. My rash spleen  
 Hath with a violent hand plucked from thy bosom  
 ' . : . . . . . A lover-blest heart, to grind it into dust.

(ill.ii.42-3) Parts of the body seem to have independent life. This is again hinted at in Nearchus' repetition of the earlier conceit of Constanza and of Fernando, in the following exchange:

Calantha.	A prince, a subject?
Nearchus.	Yes, to beauty's sceptre.

(III.iii.42-3) Shortly afterwards Nearchus asserts the integrity of his personality when he tells Calantha that 'My tongue and heart are twins' (III.iii.64), but his remark is undercut when Orgilus says to Crotolon 'My sister's marriage / With Prophilus is from my heart confirmed' (III.iv.49-30), since it is highly doubtful whether it is indeed heartfelt feeling or mere expediency that has prompted Orgilus' approval. The idea of the heart as both the proof of feeling and as essentially unreadable, needing somehow to be visible and tangible in order to be known, finds particularly hideous expression in a verbal conceit uttered by Orgilus which is less horrible than the visual conceit of Giovanni only in that it is less prominent. He promises Ithocles

The glory  
 Of numerous children, potency of nobles,  
 Bent knees, hearts paved to tread on!



(IV.iii.129-31) And the ability of the heart to be separated from the body again finds expression when Calantha (whose heart is in fact breaking) exclaims

How dull this music sounds! Strike up more sprightly.  
Our footings are not active like our heart,  
Which treads the nimbler measure.

(V.ii.17-9)

In Perkin Warbeck separability and its dangers are again early apparent. King Henry declares 'Stanley, we know thou lovest us, and thy heart / Is figured on thy tongue' (I.i.IOI-2); but Stanley is a traitor and he is lying. Later King Henry seems to have abandoned the quest for hearts that are figured on tongues, and to have accepted the principle on which Orgilus eventually resolves, 'Action, not words, shall show me' (The Broken Heart, II.iii.126). He declares 'O, happy kings, / Whose thrones are raised in their subjects' hearts' (III.i.117-8), and there, too, we see again the curious spatial properties with which hearts are sometimes credited. In a play where the man who speaks the language of a king is almost certainly not really a king, it is hardly surprising that we should see an apparent abandoning of the attempt to link heart and speech. Nor is Perkin the only character in the play for whom identity is a problem. At the beginning of the play, both Katherine's father and Katherine herself are oppressively conscious of what Huntly calls 'The piece of royalty that is stitched up / In my Kate's blood' (I.ii.16-7); and it is with that in mind that Oxford entreats her 'Remember, lady, who you are; come f^om / That impudent impostor' (V.ii.111-2). But Katherine, unlike Caraffa, has decided that she will be defined by her heart, not by her blood, and she tells Perkin 'You must be king of me, and my poor heart / Is all I can call mine' (HI.ii.168-9). Perkin, by contrast, rests his concept

of his own identity firmly on his blood. The idea of blood as a sign occurs early in the play, when King Henry, on being told of Stanley's treachery, exclaims 'Urswick, the light! / View well my face, sirs; is there blood left in it?' (1.iii.87-8). It can convey the feelings of the heart more reliably than either speech or action, as is shown in Henry's later words of Stanley,

But I could see no more into his heart  
Than what his outward actions did present.

(II.ii.31-2) Blood as a sign is an idea on which Perkin more than once places great reliance. He attempts to reassure Katherine by declaring

But we will live,  
Live, beauteous virtue, by the lively test  
Of our own blood, to let the counterfeit  
Be known the world's contempt.

(III.ii.169-72) Here, however, the test of blood is immediately invested with uncertainty by the fact that although Perkin is speaking of Henry as the 'counterfeit', that is the very word which most of the other characters in the play would apply to Perkin himself. Later he repeats the idea, when he says of Katherine

witness Edward's blood in me, I am  
More loth to part with such a great example  
Of virtue than all other mere respects.

(IV.iii.96-8) But blood can only bear witness to the thoughts of the heart: it cannot speak for itself, any more than the heart can be its own instrument of communication, as Giovanni apparently thinks it to be when he rips out Annabella's. The forcing together of the literal and the metaphorical senses has made nonsense of both, and communication

is now completely impossible: Perkin's referral of the justice of his claim to his blood can do him no good at all. And even if an accurate means of expression for the heart could be found, it is no longer necessarily considered reliable, as we see when King Henry says of Perkin's claim that

so,  
The lesson, prompted and well conned, was moulded  
Into familiar dialogue, oft rehearsed,  
Till, learnt by heart, 'tis now received for truth.

(V.ii.76-9) Speech which does not contain the thoughts of a heart may, nevertheless, work upon another heart as though it did: the corruption of the channels of communication works both ways. And that corruption is further evidenced when Perkin says to Katherine 'I cannot weep, but trust me, dear, my heart / Is liberal of passion' (V.iii.100-1). The feelings of the heart are again seen to be unable to find a satisfactory form of expression as Perkin once more struggles for words: 'To you, lord Dalyell - what? Accept a sigh, / 'Tis hearty and in earnest' (V.iii.180-1).

In The Fancies Chaste and Noble we again find the heart taking on characteristics more usually associated with the entire body, but the word also seems to occasion much less anxiety and to be much less fretted over. Flavia, trying to dissemble her emotion in front of Julio and Fabricio, says

O, my stomach  
Wambles at sight of - sick, sick, - I am sick -  
I faint at heart.

(II.i.p.231) Julio reassures her with

Thou'rt a matchless pleasure;

No life is sweet without thee: in my heart  
 Reign empress, and by styl'd thy Julio's sovereign,  
 My only precious dear.

(II.i.p.232) Heart is again conceived of as a person, almost as a kingdom, in its own right. There is, however, a difference between this and the earlier plays. Floria says to Castamela of Troylo-Savelli 'You will find his tongue / But a just secretary to his heart'; and this time, the claim is true, and it is also accompanied by a statement of verifiability - 'You will find'. The same phrase occurs again in The Lady's Trial, when Adurni says to Spinella

I use  
 No force but humble words, deliver'd from  
 A tongue that's secretary to my heart.

(II.iv.p.42) Here again it is true, and is later proved to be so. Later, too, the heart is again associated with semiotic consonance as opposed to dissonance when Auria declares

Had any he alive then ventur'd there  
 With foul construction, I had stamp'd the justice  
 Of my unguilty truth upon his heart.

(III.iii.p.36) A similar phrase is also found when Levidolche, speaking to Benatzi of Adurni and Malfato, says that she is 'henceforth resolutely bent to print / My follies on their hearts' (III.iv.p.63). Much the same association of the heart with the idea of meaning being truthfully conveyed is made, though less directly, in Spinella's

Hold! my heart trembles: - I perceive thy tongue  
 Is great with ills, and hastes to be deliver'd.

(IV.i.p.67) It is present, too, in Martino's words to Levidolche, 'Fain would I smother grief, but out it must; / My heart is broke' (V.i.p.83). It seems as though Ford, having worried over the word for so long, has been finally forced to, or become content to let its most obvious and traditional meanings stand in the end unchallenged. The extent to which he has ceased to fret over the word is marked to a degree by a diminution in the number of its appearances : from a maximum of fifty, in The Broken Heart, it drops to twenty-three in The Fancies Chaste and Noble and twenty in The Lady's Trial. It is almost as though the words have been worried to death.

Such apparently subordinate parts of the body as the blood, the heart, sweat and tears can, then, all put forward a claim to be the governing factor and indeed, in various ways, the mouthpiece of the entire body. When a speaker wishes to emphasise his complete sincerity, he will often cite a combination of these repositories of inner truth as evidence for the genuineness of his utterance ; but this in fact serves only to show that although they all speak together on this occasion, they could all speak separately on another, and perhaps contradictorily, if they chose. This highlights the terrifying nature of Ford's vision of personality as being so fragmented and disintegrated that the problem for his characters seems to be only secondarily one of self-expression, their primary difficulty being all too often the establishing, indeed the actual physical locating, of a self to be expressed. Lois E. Bueler sees The Broken Heart, Love's Sacrifice and 'Tis Pity She's A Whore as 'experiments in the tragic failure of male integration',<sup>41</sup> and R.J. Kaufmann says of Orgilus that 'all his actions are displaced expressions of the residuum of selfhood he seeks to reinstate but cannot. Hence, the ventriloqual and disembodied impression he makes upon himself as well as us'.<sup>42</sup> Dorothy M. Farr points out a similar

fragmentation in Ithocles, remarking that 'there are two conflicting natures' in him and that 'the Ithocles we see in the episode with Penthea (111.2) is a man on the deathbed of his old self, without a new self to put in its place'.<sup>43</sup> And Thelma N. Greenfield has a similar comment to make of Bassanes: ' "I do not shed a tear, not for Penthea!" The simplicity and colloquialism of this last line and its preceding insistent imperative and direct address, "mark me, nobles", cannot mitigate the sense of the speaker's disengagement from himself, a sense that comes from the vagueness and complexity of the preceding lines'.<sup>44</sup> Of The Broken Heart in general, Kaufmann remarks that 'nowhere is there the same degree of attention to the problems of constructing and maintaining one's persona, nor the same obsessive regard for the direction and control of the self'.<sup>45</sup> The impression of fragmentation is further strengthened by having, as it were, a doubled authorial viewpoint: as Larry S. Champion points out, in both 'Tis Pity and The Broken Heart Ford 'refuses to provide a culminating experience through which to lend single moral and emotional perspective to the tragic events. The anagnorisis as well as the protagonist is doubled in each instance, and the insight achieved by the two characters are flatly contradictory'.<sup>46</sup> Dislocation is also suggested by disjunction in the plots of the plays - for instance by the fact that in The Broken Heart 'the disguise of Orgilus and his reconciliation with Ithocles, two important devices used by the conventional revenger, are here removed from connection with the revenge'.<sup>47</sup> Nor is this true only of The Broken Heart. In The Lover's Melancholy 'the main characters are divided against themselves and the purpose of the whole action is the satisfaction of their basic need for an inner harmony, a 'concord in discord' of disparate yet complementary human elements'.<sup>48</sup> In Perkin Warbeck

Huntley responds to Dalyell's courtship of his daughter with a paradoxical expression of self-division, 'I would 'a had my daughter so I knew't not' (1.ii.44), a self-division which his deceptively simple injunction to Katherine ('Thou art thine own', 1.124) actually imposes on her too, and which is enacted in the ceremonial of choice he devises for her - 'Keep you on that hand of her; I on this...' (11.94 ff). **49**

King Henry, too, 'feels his identity threatened when the treason of Stanley, his other self, "The all of all I am!"' (1.iii.109), forces a division between the demands of personal emotion and political safety'.**50** As for the counterfeit himself, 'it is precisely in the diverse kinds of persons who "cleave" to Perkin that we see the most overt and visible manifestation of the duality of his nature... Perkin does not draw only rude mechanicals to himself; he also draws Katherine'.**51** It is perhaps this consciousness of an alarming multiplicity of possible, and frequently conflicting, selves available to them - all gifted apparently independently with the power of speech - which creates the wish, perhaps indeed the need, so characteristic of Ford's personages, radically to curtail and restrict the self. They force their entire identity into one rigorously maintained persona, no matter how arbitrarily assumed or how difficult to preserve it may be, and they usually attempt to achieve an equation between the fragmented self and the total identity by means of some kind of self-defining vow. Even as early as The Witch of Edmonton Ford had shown an interest in vows: 'much emphasis is laid in the first scene on the marriage vows which Frank reiterates to convince Winnifride of his good faith'.**52** It is also in The Witch of Edmonton that we first see the characteristic habit, commented upon by Joan Sargeaunt,**53** of having a father give his daughter free choice in marriage. This is a liberty which in 'Tis Pity and Perkin Warbeck will create a striking foil for the heroines' 'constancy in the pursuit of courses of action which they have deliberately chosen',**54** and throw even more sharply into relief the determined adherence to the vowed identity. 'By a

solemn vow, one circumscribes his choices and hence gains a predictable future. Vows are at once the expression of taste and the most arbitrary and compelling form of self-definition - a vow can confer identity'."<sup>55</sup> Salassa tells Velasco in The Queen 'Your oath is past, / If you will lose your self you may' (11.1520-2). This is an identifying of one's self with one's oath which is absolutely typical of Fordian personages. It is again possible to apply more generally one of Kaufmann's remarks about The Broken Heart, for he points out that 'the characters are doomed by tragically narrow, nonorganic identifications of their own natures; thus, Orgilus comes to see himself as an avenger, Penthea plays the role of a wronged woman, and Calantha is nothing if not a Spartan'.<sup>56</sup> Michael Neill, too, comments that 'the characters of The Broken Heart see in performance a stratagem against flux, a way of fixing their identity in a single attitude of monumental constancy; and the tragedy of the play springs precisely from their attempt to impose a formal mask of manners upon the broken and refractory inner self'.<sup>57</sup> If the blood and the heart pull a person in two different directions, then the only way in which Ford's characters can conceive of personality as being coherently maintained is by the rigorous exclusion - in fact the disavowal - of one or other of the contradictory factors. In The Broken Heart, the deep uneasiness felt about this potential control of speech by the body is indicated by the fact that 'when physical details enter the speeches, the brief lines with their tightly controlled meters disinfect the subject matter and keep it at a distance...There is an attempt to disengage from the body altogether'.<sup>58</sup> As Catherine Belsey remarks of II.iii.36, 'reference to the body is curiously metaphorical'.<sup>59</sup> At the same time, it seems that, at least in the major central period of Ford's work ('Tis Pity, Love's Sacrifice, The Queen, The Lover's Melancholy, The Broken Heart and Perkin



Warbeck), the fact that any of these fragmented elements of the personality can suddenly appear as the definitive mouthpiece of the whole leads to a serious distrust of language itself. It appears to be suspected of being an unsatisfactory index to the totality of thought and emotion; the received wisdom enshrined in such forms as proverbs and saws is treated with scepticism; and character after character displays a deep-seated reluctance to entrust the thoughts nearest his soul to the care of a medium potentially so unreliable. They search instead for a more satisfactory manner in which outwardly to crystallise their inner emotions, and they turn away from speech towards ritual, music, dance, gestures, and visual emblems.

The characters in Ford who attempt to cast a half or a portion of themselves as their officially recognised identity, excluding and suppressing any alien elements - and thereby destroying themselves in the process - are legion. In Love's Sacrifice, all three of the principal characters are torn between two clashing aspects of themselves. Bianca is the wife of Caraffa and the would-be mistress of Fernando; Fernando is the friend of Caraffa but loves Bianca; Caraffa himself is caught literally between the demands of his blood and his heart, his honour and position as Duke of Pavy and his love for his wife. As Ronald Huebert points out, 'the struggle to remain true to a vow, the attempt to fulfil a vow, and the desire to break a vow constitute both the physical and the psychological action'.<sup>60</sup> Fernando is relatively fortunate in that he is able - or thinks he is able - to remain true to both his commitments, and he can be content to live as long as Bianca is alive; but for Bianca herself truth and selfhood can be purchased only by death. Caraffa's first words to her when they are left alone after he has discovered her with Fernando are 'Woman, stand forth before me; - wretched whore, / What canst thou hope for?' (V.i.p.91). The answer which this seems

almost to invite is 'Mercy'; and the ease with which Fernando later convinces the Duke of Bianca's innocence suggests that she would have had little difficulty in persuading her husband to be appeased. She herself, a few lines later, says

Alas, good man! put up, put up; thine eyes  
Are likelier much to weep than arms to strike.

But for all that, her answer to Caraffa's question is 'Death; I wish no less'. When he shows reluctance to translate his threats into actions, she attempts by all the means in her power to goad him to her murder: as Clifford Leech points out, 'it is apparent that she seeks a quick death and wishes to drive the Duke to the point of killing her',<sup>61</sup> just as Annabella, when her pregnancy is discovered by Soranzo, 'jeers at him and exults in her love - wanting to drive him to the point of killing her'.<sup>62</sup> Only in death can her fidelity to both her vows be guaranteed, a fact brought home to the audience by her safe sleep in the tomb with Caraffa on one side and Fernando on the other; whilst Carâffa, having momentarily deferred to his blood and to his sister, symbol of that blood, wrests an identity for himself out of the chaos of the end of the play by recasting himself as the wholehearted lover and Bianca as his calumniated mistress. He ignores all the evidence of her guilt which he had previously found so convincing, and he becomes genuinely indignant when Fernando appears, for Fernando might remind him of that other half of Bianca which his salvation lies in suppressing. 'Like Biancha, the duke can resolve the stresses and conflicts of living only by making a vow that commends him to the grave'.<sup>63</sup> The self-defining vow is essentially a self-splitting vow, and we begin to understand how wise Annabella in 'Tis Pity had been when she promised Soranzo merely 'To live with you and yours' (111.vi.53)'

Even the situation of Bianca, however, is preferable to that of Penthea. She, like Frank in The Witch of Edmonton, has, albeit against her will, 'given both hands away' and 'in th'end shall want her best limbs' (The Witch of Edmonton, IV.ii.94-3). Her only escape from the intolerable 'Divorce betwixt my body and my heart' (II.iii.37) which Ithocles has forced on her is a rigid suppression of that part of herself which is 'wife to Orgilus' (II.iii.96). She carries this so far that she can tell her lover

Should I outlive my bondage, let me meet  
Another worse than this and less desired,  
If of all men alive thou shouldst but touch  
My lip or hand again!

(H.iii.I04-7) As S. Gorley Putt remarks, 'there is a more than necessary relish in her rectitude, as the wallowing in her deprived state takes on a positive, rather than simply resigned note'.<sup>64</sup> Her excuse for thus crushing all his hopes at once (and Bassanes being an old man, hopes of her outliving him would be by no means unreasonable) is that she is no longer a virgin. This, however, seems hardly tallying with the ability of Grausis to enrage Bassanes by referring to the mere possibility of Penthea's becoming pregnant (II.i.121-3); with Penthea's emphasis on the sterility of the marriage (TV.ii.87-8); or with Bassanes' own agonised 'O that I could preserve thee in fruition / As in devotion!' (III.ii.163-6). It seems highly probable that Bassanes is, in fact, impotent; and even if he were not, we have the testimony of Lovell, in A New Way to Pay Old Debts, that

I grant, were I a Spaniard to marry  
A widow might disparage me, but being  
A true-born Englishman, I cannot find  
How it can taint my Honour.

(V.i.51-4) It seems that Penthea's excuse is a mere pretext, and that - an inability to cope with her divided self has led to the wish to eradicate half of that self. This eventually brings about her madness, in which she starves herself - or more particularly part of herself, her blood - to death. In an instructive comment, Davril remarks that for Ophelia madness had provided an escape, but that

Penthea, au contraire, reste à mi-chemin entre le réel et l'irréel. Sa folie est le prolongement de la souffrance, le sommet d'un calvaire lentement gravi. Son délire maniaque a quelque chose de plus profond, de plus fouillé. Il a fallu plus de temps et de pression, il a fallu son propre vouloir pour user sa résistance nerveuse et l'anéantir.<sup>65</sup>

As Ronald Huebert points out, 'with a relentless logic all her own, Penthea goes to perverse extremes to exclude even the bare possibility of happiness',<sup>66</sup> and that is perhaps because she feels that happiness for her must come second to the need to reintegrate, or at least to attempt to reintegrate, her personality. Nor is Penthea the only character in The Broken Heart who feels that she has as it were to rough-hew herself an identity out of the living flesh of her heart, discarding everything that will not fit into her ruthlessly defined persona. This of all his plays is the one in which Ford places the most emphasis on the urgently felt need to crystallise what would normally be passing, developing states of life and emotion into perpetual states of being. Character after character appears unnaturally frozen in a particular pose normally adopted only for a moment, but here unalterably snatched out of time. This we see in Penthea's beautiful lines,

every drop  
Of blood is turned to an amethyst,  
Which married bachelors hang in their ears.

(IV.ii.129-31) The process of petrification is complete. As Huebert

remarks,

Orgilus is still in that ideal phase of betrothal for which Penthea longs. His development has been arrested; his love has been frozen, petrified, just as the vitality of his blood has hardened, metaphorically, into the purple mineral substance called amethyst...By idealizing the happiness of the past, Penthea crystallizes her love into a form that cannot grow or develop. The price of ideal love is metamorphosis into a hard, inanimate gem.<sup>67</sup>

So too Calantha's blood becomes enamel (V.ii.22), and Annabella's blood in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore is compared to coral (V.iii.25-6); and so too in The Broken Heart the bodies 'visible on the stage, drained of being, constitute emblems of the immobilizing power of a romantic love which is at once unalterable and unable to be fulfilled'.<sup>68</sup> In much the same way, as Thelma N. Greenfield so perceptively points out, the names, on which the dramatist lays so much stress, are not, as was customary, those of types: 'for the important characters the names signify not fundamental character traits but states of being evolving from action and situation'.<sup>69</sup> Orgilus is angry specifically because he has lost Penthea, Penthea's cause of complaint is that she has lost Orgilus: neither state of mind need necessarily be permanent. It may be worth remembering, if The Broken Heart really is based on the stories of Philip Sidney and Penelope Devereux, that Sidney settled down perfectly happily with Frances Walsingham, and Penelope fell in love with Charles Blount. But Penthea and Orgilus seem voluntarily to choose to freeze themselves in these unhappy states, which they adopt as the sum total of their identities, much as Calantha refuses natural process in favour of the crystallised symbolic moment when she says

Be such mere women, who with shrieks and outcries  
Can vow a present end to all their sorrows,  
Yet live to vow new pleasures and outlive them.

(V.iii.72-4) Nor would Calantha's refusal to reign on the grounds that her sex makes her unfitted for it find much credence in a country which celebrated the anniversary of Elizabeth I's accession as a national holiday. Stavig is right to remark of Penthea and Calantha that 'from one point of view they help bring on their own final tragedies by the very rigidity of their insistence on dying as tragic victims rather than trying to begin new lives'.<sup>70</sup> Prophilus, similarly, takes his name from a single aspect of himself which he has apparently elevated to the status of definitive characteristic. He is 'dear' because he is the friend of Ithocles, 'in which the period of my fate consists' (1.ii.42). But process cannot be held at bay for ever, as is seen in the ludicrous inappropriateness of the names 'Euphranea' and 'Bassanes' to these characters by the end of the play. So narrow a definition of selfhood is shown in The Broken Heart to be at the best unprofitable and at the worst ruinous.

In Perkin Warbeck, the theme of the arbitrariness of the identities which some of the characters assign to themselves is even more prominently foregrounded. The most notable case is of course that of the eponymous hero himself. In the absence of any proof that Perkin knows himself to be Richard of York, the most plausible explanation of his conduct seems to be that he has in some sense decided to be Richard of York. Katherine, too, is shown at the beginning of the play as being caught between the royal blood of Scotland flowing in her veins and her amiable suitor Dalyell, and caught also between the king to whom she owes obedience and the father to whom she seems so tenderly attached. She seems desperately to need some absolute commitment which can engross her whole self, and although it is never clear that what she feels for Perkin is exactly love he is nevertheless, in this respect, certainly the answer to a maiden's prayer. Like Crashaw's Saint Teresa, Katherine seems to thrive on

total engagement. There seems also to be something verging on the fanatical, and perhaps the slightly desperate, in the unquestioning loyalty of Henry's supporters. This is especially striking in view of the shakiness of the Tudor claim to the crown - which Ford, under the circumstances, makes very few bones about - and in view too of the fact that one of the king's most trusted supporters does not hesitate to think Perkin's cause juster than his. The overwhelming need of all these personages seems to be for a fixed, immutable identity. At the same time, the very concept of identity is being constantly undercut by the emphasis on the role-playing of Perkin, with its inevitable reminder that what the audience are in fact seeing in the case of each of these people is simply that 'The player's on the stage still, 'tis his part; / A' does but act' (V.ii.68-9). Dalyell, having been once the admirer of Katherine, wishes to be always the admirer of Katherine (could Ford have had in mind the similar devotion of William, Lord Craven, dedicatee of The Broken Heart, to Elizabeth of Bohemia?) - Katherine herself, in complete contrast to her historical counterpart, will remain fixed in her role as Perkin's widow. Selfhood seems primarily to be a rigorous preclusion of all possibilities of growth or change, a freezing and a crystallisation of a moment out of time. This we see in Orgilus' desperate cry, in defiance of time and the world, 'Pentheia is the wife to Orgilus, / And ever shall be' (II.iii.96-7). 'Ford n'a pas inventé le personnage qui conserve coûte que coûte l'intégrité de son moi, mais il paraît attacher plus d'importance encore à la fidélité à ce qu'il a résolu d'être plus qu'à ce qu'il est'.<sup>71</sup> It is not even the case that the characters; of these personages might be considered to have been predetermined by the distribution of humours in their bodies, for it was popularly believed that 'if a man is dissatisfied with his complexion, there are means, especially

dietary means, by which he may heat himself, cool himself, moisten himself, dry himself. If he follows the voluminous advice in the dietaries, he may in time change and alter his bad complexion into a better'.<sup>72</sup> But for Calantha, Katherine, Perkin, Giovanni and the rest, to change is conceived of as disastrous. For them it is not enough to 'be', they must be assured that they 'ever shall be'; and such.<sup>a</sup> a concept of selfhood can find its final guarantee only in the ultimate immobility of death. Kaufmann remarks that in The Broken Heart the characters are 'forced to preserve the validity of their choices by stabilizing their roles in death',<sup>73</sup> and the comment is equally true of the other tragedies. The extent to which death for these characters is a psychological rather than a physical necessity is emphasised by a repeated stress on their physical health at the moment of death. In ''Tis Pity She's A Whore Giovanni, about to murder Annabella, says to her

Give me your hand; how sweetly life doth run  
In these well-coloured veins! how constantly  
These palms do promise health!

(V.v.74-6) The dying Duke in Love's Sacrifice refers to his life-blood as a 'sprightful flood' (V.iii.p.106); and Bassanes in The Broken Heart says of the blood of Orgilus as it gushes out of his arm that

It sparkled like a lusty wine new broached.  
The vessel must be sound from which it issues.

(V.ii.123-6) It is the demands of their minds, not of their bodies, which drive these characters to their deaths.

It is indeed characteristic of Ford's personages to view life as an elaborate preparation for



the minute  
 Of resolution, which should bid farewell  
 To a vain world of weariness and sorrows.

(The Sun's Darling, V.i.p.168) So much of their energy seems to be directed away from the living of life, and towards the ritual extinction of it. Shanti Padhi draws an instructive contrast between Calantha and the hero of The Second Maiden's Tragedy, whose situation is roughly similar to hers: 'as strong-minded as Govianus, who reconciles himself to life, Calantha almost wills her own death'.<sup>74</sup> Kaufmann speaks, with regard again to The Broken Heart, of 'the course of the play as a moving away from the source of life',<sup>75</sup> while Davril remarks that 'rester ce que l'on est, à l'instant suprême. Les héros de Ford n'ont pas un but différent de celui de leurs frères élizabéthains. Mais à leur effort pour conserver l'intégrité du moi, s'ajoute, en général, chez eux, l'intense satisfaction intérieure d'en finir avec les calamités de l'existence'.<sup>76</sup> As H.W. Wells reminds us, in The Broken Heart even the King 'sadly ebbs out of existence, one hardly knows why';<sup>77</sup> and T.J.B. Spencer comments that 'what first strikes us, in reading him, is that all feeling of protest against the fact of death has disappeared...Death is always soothing to his characters ; they express no resentment or bitterness at the world they are so ready to leave'.<sup>78</sup> Ford's characters seem ready to agree with Montaigne when he says of the day of death that 'c'est le maistre jour, c'est le jour juge de tous les autres; c'est le jour, dict un ancien, qui doit juger de toutes mes années passées. Je remets à la mort l'essay du fruict de mes estudes. Nous verrons là si mes discours me partent de la bouche, ou du coeur'.<sup>79</sup> We have already seen that many of the personages of Ford have also felt that it is only in death that the truth of the heart can be assured. Furthermore, the end of life is the only sure guarantee against being altered and changed by life. It assures absolutely the process of crystallisation

of emotion, indeed, as it were, of gemmification -

Of his bones are coral made,  
Those are pearls that were his eyes.<sup>80</sup>

Death will also be the only final protector of the self, since it alone

holds out the undoubted promise that what Palador in The Lover's Melancholy calls 'a secret that hath been / The only jewel of my speechless thoughts' (TV.iii.73-4) will be safely 'buried in an everlasting silence' (The Broken Heart, II.iii.69). Giovanna Pellizzi, who identifies in Marston 'an effort to destroy the high-valued in order to save it from being sullied by the outside world', rightly adds that 'a self-destructive vein is certainly present in John Ford's work'.<sup>81</sup> Ford's characters again and again display a deep-seated reluctance to commit to the distrusted medium of language

the thoughts of the heart. Indeed, as we have seen, there is considerable doubt expressed as to whether there is indeed a language available to the heart. The characters seem rather to feel that those thoughts which can be given verbal expression are not really those of the heart at all, and can be of no profundity or value: their attitude seems enshrined in the opening line of the song which begins III,ii of The Broken Heart, 'Can you paint a thought?' It is little wonder that they should attempt to find other, non-verbal means of expression.

#### THE BROKEN HEART ON THE STAGE

'Action gives many poems right to live' said Ford in his commendatory verses to Massinger's The Great Duke of Florence. It is only on the stage that The Broken Heart, even more than most of Ford's plays, can really come to life - or perhaps one should more properly say 'come to death', for a succession of stage pictures and other visual effects all underline with striking forcefulness the ideas of freezing, of immobility, and of lifelessness contained in both the language and the plot of the play. As Stavig remarks, 'Ford, in The Broken Heart, seems to have been consciously trying to make fuller use of what we can call emblematic methods as a means of defining the nature and significance of the suffering that is the play's main theme'.<sup>1</sup>

Donald K. Anderson, too, points out that 'Ford makes effective use of spectacle; gesture, posture, and grouping assume unusual significance, especially in the portrayal of love and death'.<sup>2</sup> And Michael Neill comments that 'time and again the tableau arrangement of the scenes is made to mirror the rigidity of the social roles to which these Spartans are wedded...Stage properties repeatedly draw attention to the allegorical effect of these tableaux'.<sup>3</sup> The tendency of the repeated visual images and the tableau-like scenes is not, however, merely to place further stress on the ebbing away of life, of blood, of joy. They also invest the action with the character of ritual and ceremony; and they thus point up an important aspect of the play's meaning. As Thelma N. Greenfield points out, 'much of the process and language of process in The Broken Heart is crystallized into ceremonial form. The pattern is repeated violation and reconstitution of ceremony.'. She adds that 'these transformed ceremonies are the inevitable results of the violation of Penthea's purity through marriage rites. Much of the language concerning ceremony has to do with sacrifice'.<sup>4</sup> The striving for ceremony is also remarked upon by Michael Neill, who feels that 'Ford's prologue

promises us 'a pity with delight' (1.18), and the chief source of that delight is the wonder invited by the play's embodied paradoxes - by an imposition of ceremony upon grief which provokes 'amazement' even from the characters themselves'.<sup>5</sup> Sturgess, too, comments in the introduction to his edition that 'elaborate scene-headings, clearly the playwright's, usually betoken a piece of ritual behaviour instinctively created by a character or characters'.<sup>6</sup>

In many ways, the play constitutes an attempt at Holy Theatre. It is interesting that in his book on the subject, Christopher Innes remarks that 'when critics discuss the use of ritual in contemporary drama or avant garde directors describe their attempts to rediscover the primitive ritual function of theatre, Artaud's name is usually the first to be mentioned'.<sup>7</sup> Artaud, of course, was deeply interested in Ford, and had great praise for Annabella, Maeterlinck's adaptation of 'Tis Pity. Perhaps what attracted him in Ford was their common search for a satisfactory ritual. It is also notable that the reason for the ultimate failure of the dramatic form of The Broken Heart (which was not re-used by Ford) is much the same as the reason given by Peter Brook for the failure of more recent attempts at Holy Theatre. He declares that

even if theatre had in its origins rituals that made the invisible incarnate, we must not forget that apart from certain Oriental theatres these rituals have been either lost or remain in seedy decay...at all times, we need to stage true rituals, but for rituals that could make theatre-going an experience that feeds our lives true forms are needed.<sup>8</sup>

He also warns that 'we can try to capture the invisible but we must not lose touch with common sense - if our language is too special we will lose part of the spectator's belief. The twin dangers of inappropriate rituals, and an unsatisfactory language, ultimately prevent Ford from finding, in The Broken Heart, a suitable dramatic form: but before it is abandoned it is thoroughly explored, and it

seems that Ford might well have agreed with Amory's advice to Tom D'Invilliers in Scott Fitzgerald's This Side of Paradise, 'you'd write better poetry if you were linked up to tall golden candlesticks and long, even chants'.<sup>9</sup>

Even as early as the first scene of the play, the stage action is carefully choreographed and rich in emblematic significance. I.ii. opens with a ceremonial flourish, and in quick succession come three solemn, formal entrances - first that of Amyclas with Armostes and Crotolon, then that of Calantha and her companions, and lastly, preceded by another flourish, that of Ithocles, with 'LEMOPHIL and GRONEAS; the rest of the Lords ushering him in' (1.5I).<sup>10</sup> Amyclas, Armostes and Crotolon all speak in turn a short speech of welcome, each of which is answered by half a line from Ithocles. Then it is Calantha's turn, and, taking the chaplet from her two waiting attendants, she puts it on the victorious general's head. As T.J.B. Spencer points out in his introduction to the Revels edition of the play, 'this crowning of Ithocles by Calantha foreshadows that in V.iii',<sup>11</sup> just as her later throwing of a ring to him 'looks forward to V.iii.63-5) where Calantha puts her mother's wedding ring upon his finger'.<sup>12</sup> The instinct for ceremonial gesture asserts itself again at line 99, where Amyclas extends his hand for Lemophil and Groneas to kiss; and visual action is once more vital at lines 103-5! where Prophilus symbolically offers Euphranea his arm (which it seems probable that she takes). In barely a hundred lines the playwright has firmly established the image of a court which wishes to express itself in beautifully modulated, ceremonial behaviour, in that 'dance' of 'actions' of which Ithocles speaks (il.ii.IO), so that it can impose pattern and order and harmony on all that it does.

We also see, however, even at this early stage in the play, that this struggle for order and harmony is not altogether a successful

one. As Thelma N. Greenfield, in a passage already quoted above, points out, 'the pattern is repeated violation and reconstitution of ceremony'. Rituals become confused and disordered; Penthea's marriage rites, which, as she herself reminds us, ought to have produced birth, lead instead to death; Euphranea's marriage rites are turned into the ritual self-slaughter of her brother; Calantha's marriage rites are inextricably confused with those of her coronation, her own funeral, and the funeral of Ithocles. By the end of the play it has become only too apparent that the only shaping patterns which can be imposed on human behaviour are the petrifying ceremonies of death, and just as the struggle for order is present in Act I, scene ii, so too are the seeds of eventual disorder. Amyclas declares of Ithocles' defeat of Messene

O 'twas  
A glorious victory and doth deserve  
More than a chronicle; a temple, lords,  
A temple to the name of IthoclesI

(1.ii.16-9) It is not strongly stated, but there is something of a feeling of inadequacy here: as far as we are told, no temple to the name of Ithocles ever is erected during his lifetime, and so we are left with a strange but settled impression that external action has somehow failed to perform all that is required of it. The only temple in which Ithocles will take first place is that in which

Calantha weds his corpse. More serious than this, however, is what happens at the end of the scene after the court has left. In marked contrast to the dignified exchange between Prophilus and Euphranea, we are immediately presented with a transgression of decorum as 'Lemophil stays; Chrystalla, (and) Groneas Philema' (1.IO6), and, as is apparent from the dialogue, attempt to kiss them. They then split up into couples and carry on two separate conversations, apparently

taking it in turns to speak in low asides unheard by the audience. Shakespeare, of course, had done exactly the same thing in Love's Labour's Lost; but what had seemed natural and reasonable on the stage of the Globe would have been obviously strained and contrived in the much smaller Blackfriars. Although Groneas and Lemophil might have been quite happy to whisper to Chrystalla and Philema, the two ladies are clearly not in a mood to consent to such liberties. It seems rather that Ford has deliberately made this scene stylised, making the couples change places as in a formal dance, in order to present it as an obvious parody and undercutting of the courtly ceremonial that has preceded it. It foreshadows the perversions of rituals to come.

The first of these adulterated ceremonies comes in II,iii. Rites, ceremonial actions performed by man in the sight of his gods, and often linked to the natural rhythms and events of seasons, societies, and human lives, are intended to make firmer the bonds between man, the gods, society and nature; polluted rites, like the polluted sacrifices which form so important a part of Aeschylus' Oresteia,<sup>13</sup> correspondingly loosen those bonds and leave their practitioners all the more isolated and helpless. So, in II,iii, the very actions which ought to have ensured the happiness of Penthea and Orgilus are seen now as powerless and empty, serving ultimately to drive them further apart, as they, like Giovanni and Annabella, perform a strange semblance of the marriage ceremony, kneeling in front of each other and each taking and kissing the other's hand. The ritual nature of these actions is underlined by Penthea's 'We may stand up' (I.67), where the 'may' makes it clear that she thinks of them as acting in obedience to a set of rules. These few movements indicate clearly both the strength of the instinct for ritual gesture, and its futility.

In III,ii, also, formal groupings and stylised action convey an

essential part of the play's meaning. The scene opens with a ceremonial passing over the stage, the second in the play (the first was when Euphranea and Prophilus walked past the disguised Orgilus). This is followed by the immediate re-entrance of Bassanes and Grausis, who come in 'softly, stealing to several stands, and listen' (1.15). Since Prophilus has to enter thirty lines later specifically to send them off, and since what later happens at the end of the scene would have been quite sufficient to inform us of Bassanes' enraged jealousy, it seems that this episode is deliberately included for the striking visual image of two persons - two being 'the ominous number of division'<sup>14</sup> - standing distanced from each other, but both conveying by their attitudes ideas of insecurity and distrust. This creates an atmosphere of suspicion and uneasiness which will be extremely important in determining the mood for the major scene between Ithocles and Penthea which follows. (The dialogue between Grausis and Bassanes cannot be accounted for on the basis of providing time for Ithocles and Penthea to enter the discovery space, for they could have done that in the interval between the acts).

Given the importance of the scene which follows - the first time brother and sister have been alone together - it is particularly frustrating that the nature of the action is not completely clear. The stage direction is 'ITHOCLES discovered in a chair, and PENTHEA' (I.32), and Ithocles' first line is 'Sit nearer, sister, to me; nearer yet'. We do not know the exact size of the discovery space at Blackfriars, but it seems very likely that it was not large enough comfortably to contain two chairs. In any case, it is hardly probable that the actor playing Penthea is to pick up his chair and move it closer, and then do it again at the command 'Nearer yet'. It seems probable, then, that there is only one, wide chair, along which Penthea moves at the request of her brother; and this means that the conversation is not a naturalistic one between two people facing each



other, but one where the participants sit formally side by side, faces turned away from each other and, presumably, staring straight out at the audience in those parts of the dialogue, such as 34-64, where it becomes a sort of 'antiphonal chorus on their mutual unhappiness'.<sup>15</sup> Here we have a fine example of the hardening and petrifying of visual images in a way reminiscent of the gem imagery favoured particularly by Penthea, for this picture of the brother and sister seated side by side is one that will be repeated, in IV.iv - and there the helplessness and constraint implied in the earlier scene will have become even more complete and unalterable, for both are now dead. As Brian Morris remarks in his introduction to the play,

Orgilus has placed side by side the murdered man and his self-slaughtered sister; he has made the visual equation between Penthea, trapped in her marriage situation, and Ithocles locked in the chair; his blood for her forced faith. And he is aware of this as a spectacle. The last words of the scene emphasize the emblematic quality of the stage-picture:

Sweet twins, shine stars for ever.  
In vain they build their hopes whose life is shame:  
No monument lasts but a happy name.<sup>16</sup>

Their double death scene also has another meaning, however. It forcefully and visually illustrates the way in which Orgilus' pursuit of vengeance is making evil spread and multiply; for as he places himself on the other side of Penthea and says 'Between us sits / The object of our sorrows' (11.17-8) he shows himself to be doomed and trapped in exactly the same way as Ithocles and Penthea are. The sense of his future doom is made all the stronger by the audience's memory that Penthea's and Ithocles' own deaths have been visually foreshadowed in the very same way. In The Broken Heart, indeed, to sit down is as much an indication of impending doom as it is in the case of Racine's Phèdre. Michael Neill rightly points out that 'the chairs which appear in four of the most formal tableau-scenes become striking

physical symbols of emotional constriction';<sup>17</sup> and Amyclas, the only other character to appear seated, also dies very soon afterwards. The appearance of Amyclas in a chair also affords the opportunity for further symbolic action, expressing both the waste and the destruction of the play and also the dividedness which is a feature of so many of the characters. In the last scene, the crystallisation of roles in death is encapsulated by the fact that the dead, crowned Ithocles is now 'like an image of the dead king';<sup>18</sup> the fragmentation of the characters, too, is expressed by the splitting of the role and attributes of Amyclas between Ithocles, who wears his crown and is his 'image', and Nearchus, his actual successor.

It is indeed in the last act of the play that ritualistic and symbolic action become of the greatest importance. Calantha's dance has attracted more attention and more criticism, favourable and unfavourable, than any other aspect of the play: Lamb thought it reminiscent of Calvary, Hazlitt thought it ridiculous and contemptible, and a pale copy of its 'original' in Marston's The Malcontent. Where the dance in The Broken Heart differs radically from that in The Malcontent, however - so much so that they cannot sensibly be compared - is in its symbolic importance as a visual expression of the principles, so sacred to the Renaissance, of order, proportion, and harmony. E.M.W. Tillyard remarks that

ever since the early Greek philosophers creation had been figured as an act of music...there was the further notion that the created universe was itself in a state of music, that it was one perpetual dance...The angels or saints in their bands dance to the music of heaven...Of all the dances that of the planets and stars to the music of the spheres in which they were fixed was the most famous.<sup>19</sup>

At the end of Milton's Comus, probably written very soon after The Broken Heart, the Spirit presents that Lady and her two brothers to their parents with the explanation that

Heaven hath timely tried their youth,  
Their faith, their patience, and their truth,  
And sent them here through hard assays  
With a crown of deathless praise,  
To triumph in victorious dance  
O'er sensual folly and intemperance.**20**

This association of dancing with morality is not an isolated nor an arbitrary one. We have already seen it being explicitly made within The Broken Heart itself by Ithocles (1I.ii.8-10), and, as Keir Elam points out, 'the rhetoric of the dance has an impressive sixteenth-century pedigree, comprehending, not least, Sir Thomas Elyot's apology for dancing, particularly the French 'bace dance', as a mode of allegory'.**21** Anne Barton further remarks that

Calantha...turns the abstraction of Ithocles' fancied 'dance' into a concrete reality, and demonstrates that it not only should but can over-ride personal anguish. In doing so, she summons up ideas that are more than narrowly aristocratic...Sir John Davies's long poem 'Orchestra Or a Poeme of Dauncing', printed in 1596, provides a gloss on the dance in Act V of The Broken Heart, linking it with a great Renaissance and classical tradition. Through the exercise of will, Calantha holds the court together in an order and harmony sanctioned and repeated by the seasons, the constellations, the tides, and the fruitful marriage of the elements. **22**

Nor was it simply the generally patterned and formal nature of the dance which conveyed these meanings. Specific actions could have specific significances, as Roy Strong makes clear when speaking of 'the geometrical patterns of dances in court masques and in the French ballet de cour': 'in 1610 a ballet danced the 'alphabet of the ancient Druids' in which, for example, a square within a square meant Virtuous Design or three tangential circles The Truth Known'.**23**

We do not have the exact steps for the dance in Act V of The Broken Heart, but I am informed by Mr Martyn Craft, a member of the York-based dancing group Punkes' Delight, that it is very probably a brawl, or bransle, a circular dance in which partners are alternated so that each woman dances with each m&n. This suggestion derives

support from the fact that Aurelia's dance in The Malcontent, on which this scene is often said to be based, is a brawl.<sup>24</sup> As a ring dance, it would pick up the visual image of the ring which Calantha throws to Ithocles and which she later places on his dead finger, and it would also act as a symbol of the circling spheres. The dance may also, however, be another of those apparent images of peace and stability in the play which are in fact so savagely undercut: for the fact that Calantha, on whom our attention is focussed, dances with each man in turn may make her look very like the figure of Death in the medieval Dance of Death.<sup>25</sup> That would be a visual image with added force for an audience which remembered IV,ii of The Duchess of Malfi, where, as Inga-Stina Ekeblad shows,<sup>26</sup> the functions of wedding-dance and death-dance are hideously combined - and that dance, like Calantha's, had had eight participants. Even though we cannot be certain of the actual steps, however, the significance of the dance as an assertion of the principles of order is plain enough. But it is also more than this. It is three times interrupted by messages of death, and Calantha's refusal to break it off constitutes not only a statement of harmony but also a denial of the power of the word. It is almost as if we were witnessing an acting out of the famous debate between Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson on the relative superiority of the script and the scenery; and here the script is resoundingly defeated, the spectacle triumphs over the language, and we have a powerful visual statement of the imperilled state of words and of communication in this as in other of Ford's plays. Furthermore, those three interruptions, together with the eventual effect of h'er superhuman exertions on Calantha herself, make it very clear that this is also, in one sense, a Dance of Death.<sup>27</sup> Here too, as in the repetition of the visual image of Penthea and Ithocles seated side by side, the pattern has hardened and petrified

into death; here, too, as in the marriage-like ceremony between Penthea and Orgilus in Il.iii, an image that should be symbolic of life has become instead inextricably associated with perversion and death; and here too we have the feeling that patterns of behaviour intended to be protective have, instead, become destructive.

The idea of perverted and confused rituals is even more apparent in the final scene of the play. This is the most formal, stylised and tableau-like of any yet, with coronation, marriage and funeral all hideously blended into one. 'When Calantha pronounces her own coronation-turned-abdication and marriage-funeral rites, the union of ritualized action and ritual language and the ceremonial paradoxes reach full strength'.<sup>28</sup> Hints of inappropriate ceremonies are already apparent during the dumbshow which precedes the scene, for 'on the altar, where we should expect "five tapers of virgin wax", the Quinque Cerei making up the Pythagorean number of nuptial union, are simply two such lights, the ominous number of division'.<sup>29</sup> The visual echoes of The Second Maiden's Tragedy, which lies behind the last scene of this play as it does behind that of Love's Sacrifice, will also summon up memories of the unholy practices of the Tyrant upon the corpse of the innocent Lady, and the necrophilia he there displays. But the visual allusion to The Second Maiden's Tragedy may also be useful in another sense. In that play too some very significant rites and ceremonies occur, and are described in such a way that its recent editor Anne Lancashire considers these episodes to constitute a direct discussion of religious practices and issues. In her introduction to the Revels edition of the play she remarks that

the 'Homélie against perill of idolâtrie' presents the true Church of England and the 'idolatrous' Roman Catholic church in allegorical terms easily associated with the S. M. T.'s living lady and her dead, painted (in V.ii) body...Censorship at certain points in the S. M. T. MS... suggests that at least one 1611 reader was aware of controversial religious implications in the drama; and V.ii. probably presents the

Catholic-protestant clash most clearly, in the parallel ceremonies beginning and ending the scene: the Tyrant's worshipping of the Lady's body (with reference to idolatry and to Latin prayers) contrasting with Govianus' pre-burial honouring of the body. (Note that the Lady's spirit is present for the latter ceremony but not for the former).<sup>30</sup>

She adds that 'S. M. T. thus may well be a part of seventeenth-century religious controversy, and perhaps even an indirect attack on what many Protestants felt to be the pro-Roman Catholic policies of James I, and on the Roman Catholicism of courtiers of great influence with James - above all, the unpopular Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton'.<sup>31</sup> It is this possible attack on the Howards which may perhaps explain why the play was censored, for the editor points out that the censor, Sir George Buc, 'owed his position as Master of the Revels to the influence of his patrons, the Howards'.<sup>32</sup> As we shall see, however, Ford's position with regard to the Howards was somewhat different from that of the author of The Second Maiden's Tragedy, for he had earlier chosen one of them, Thomas Earl of Arundel, as a dedicatee; and it may well be that his religious attitudes were also somewhat different from those being expressed in the earlier play. I shall discuss elsewhere the idea that Ford may have had Catholic sympathies. This is of course purely a speculation, but it is an interesting one to bear in mind in a discussion of the ritualistic elements in The Broken Heart, especially in view of the visual reference to The Second Maiden's Tragedy, a play which seems quite likely to have been recognised in its own time as referring to the differences in religious practice between Catholics and Protestants. One detail in particular seems to bear out the possibility that we are to view the last act of The Broken Heart in a Catholic context. The last sentence of the stage direction which opens V,iii is 'CALANTHA and the rest rise, doing obeisance to the altar'. This is of course a specifically Catholic and High Anglican practice,<sup>33</sup> and that it was clearly recognised and identified as such is suggested by the following stage direction from The Second Maiden's Tragedy:

They bring the body in a chair, dressed up in black velvet which sets out the paleness of the hands and face, and a fair chain of pearl 'cross her breast, and the crucifix above it. He stands silent awhile, letting the music play, beckoning the Soldiers that bring her in to make obeisance to her, and he himself makes a low honour to her body and kisses the hand.

A song within, in voices.

(V.ii.14)

Even without a knowledge of The Second Maiden's Tragedy, however, (and it was by then an old play, and one not necessarily familiar to the whole of Ford's audience), there are sufficient clues to the specifically religious, and generally Catholic, nature of the proceedings in V,iii of The Broken Heart. The very title would have raised such expectations, for 'the phrase retains a good deal of the solemnity of its religious overtones',<sup>34</sup> as was readily detected by Crashaw: as Joan Sargeaunt points out, in his couplet on the titles of this play and of Love's Sacrifice 'it is evident that he uses the two phrases in their religious significance'.<sup>35</sup> Spencer further remarks that Orgilus at V.ii.148-9 uses 'a Christian phrase'. The obeisance to the altar would independently be recognised as an aspect of Catholic and High Anglican worship; and as Ronald Huebert points out, 'temples and altars bring into prominence the religious quality of love in The Broken Heart'.<sup>36</sup> He also thinks that the association would probably already have been made well before V,iii in the minds of the spectators, since 'for a Christian audience the paradox of virgin-wife or married maid would intensify the religious quality of Penthea's love, by association with the Virgin Mary'.<sup>37</sup> And insofar as V,iii is the celebration of the marriage-in-death of Calantha and Ithocles, the very fact that this is a wedding in front of an altar is enough to make it quite alien to at least the more militant of the Puritans, who as soon as they arrived at power were to overturn dramatically the traditional ceremony of marriage:

its religious character was torn from it when the Presbyterian 'Directory' was substituted for the Book of Common Prayer in 1643 and the use of the latter was forbidden by law. Seven years later the solemnisation of marriages was taken out of the hands of the clergy and transferred to those of the Justices, and then secularisation was complete. Even the banns, though they were still sometimes called in church, were quite as often cried in the market-place on three successive market-days, along with notices of lost goods or of forthcoming sales.<sup>38</sup>

Admittedly all this was a long way in the future at the time when The Broken Heart was written, but the demands for such measures had been steadily growing for years. Even in the time of Elizabeth Puritans were 'opposed...to the remnants of Catholic rites - the use of the cross, of the ring in marriage, processions, baptisms in fonts'.<sup>39</sup> The fact that Calantha not just once but twice bestows a ring on Ithocles, both times in a prominent and significant episode surrounded by dialogue which points up the action, could in itself be seen as a statement of preference for 'Catholic' rites - whether as distinct from or as part of the Catholic religion itself.

The association of ceremony with love and marriage is not, however, the only one operative in the play. I have discussed in the first chapter the link in Ford's work between love and food, and the importance in this respect of Penthea's self-starvation, and of the frequent references in this play to uneaten food; as R.J. Kaufmann points out, 'the banquet imagery...is an objective correlative for the deeper, more pervasive image stratum having to do with deprivation of sustenance, psychic as well as physical, just as the imagery of 'desubstantialization' or sublimation of solid 'food' into gaseous form is a variant of the comprehensive imagery of perversion of natural growth and regulated natural process'.<sup>40</sup> Now of the great occasions of seventeenth-century life which were surrounded by ceremony, marriage is of course an obvious one; but of the smaller, everyday events of life, none was more consistently surrounded with ritual than the serving and eating of meals, particularly in the



residences of the aristocracy, in whom Ford showed himself so interested.<sup>41</sup> Mark Girouard has remarked that the lord's household in general 'cocooned him in a mystique of continuous ritual, both secular and religious',<sup>42</sup> and he refers in particular to 'the ceremony and hierarchy of eating'.<sup>43</sup> This is exemplified in 'the Harleian regulations for the household of an earl, which date from the late fifteenth century',<sup>44</sup> but which Thomas Platter saw still being observed at Nonsuch in 1399;<sup>45</sup> for 'up to the early seventeenth century even new households of any pretension were likely to follow mediaeval models'.<sup>46</sup> The Harleian regulations are extremely interesting, for they not only describe in great detail all the ceremonies of serving and eating a meal which had daily to be observed, they also indicate the specifically religious character of some of these ceremonies. When the carver was preparing for dinner, for instance, 'his towel, second napkin and girdle were worn in exactly the same way as a priest wears a stole, maniple and girdle for the mass'.<sup>47</sup> Here the connection between spiritual nourishment and physical food, with overtones of the sacrament of communion (according, of course, to Catholic rites, since the Harleian regulations date from before the Reformation) is very clear; and it must again be stressed that 'the ceremonies described in the Harleian regulations were the standard ones of the time. They relate closely...to those in numerous surviving household regulations for other royal, noble and knightly households of the fifteenth, sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries'.<sup>48</sup> Such an association between spiritual and physical nourishment could only have been strengthened by two tendencies during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. One was to dispense with the chapel and chaplain, and have the head of the family conduct 'daily or twice-daily prayers for the household in the hall or great chamber'.<sup>49</sup> The other was for servants and

masters to take their meals separately, the former eating in the hall and the latter, except on special occasions, in the great chamber. These two tendencies, combined, meant that food and religion had begun to occupy the same space in the house. There is one further connection that should be noticed. The master of the house and his family would still use the hall for more important or formal meals, with the food being brought in from the kitchen through the screens passage, so it needs to be remembered that 'the three arches at the kitchen end of the hall originally had a ceremonial as well as a practical function. They formed a triumphal arch or secular west portal'.<sup>50</sup> This was an association with particular resonance in a theatre. In the first place, theatre design was almost certainly influenced by that of hall screens: great halls had long doubled as performance spaces, and as W.M. Tydeman points out,

there is little evidence that raised and curtained platforms were set up in halls before the second half of the sixteenth century, and most scholarly attention has been focussed on an alternative method, which took advantage of the usual structure of a Tudor hall, where the lower end leading off to the kitchens and servants' quarters was partially or completely partitioned off with screens from the main body of the hall, so that a kind of passage-way was formed, sometimes called 'the entry'. Part of the purpose of the screens was to shield those dining from the eyes of those crossing the lower end of the hall (just as the screens in medieval churches had done); their other main function was to protect the inmates from draughts from doors at each end of the passage-way.<sup>51</sup>

The reference in the above quotation to medieval churches leads on to the second point of relevance. The halls of great houses were not the only places where theatre had been performed before (and in some cases after) the construction of playhouses. Churches had also been used, and though performances took place in many areas of the building, the west door certainly sometimes played a part.<sup>52</sup> If the hall screen resembled a 'secular west portal', then the facade of the Blackfriars, from what we know of it, might well carry associations of

both (it was, after all, a former religious house, and the theatre itself may well have been set up in the frater, the former refectory of the monastery); and visual echoes could perhaps have been made more pronounced by prominent use of the doors and by the ceremonial, processional nature of several of the entrances. In short, both the staging of the play and the actual stage itself could have been used to underline the tenor of the untasted banquet imagery and so to strengthen the impression that the rituals and the ceremonies which were intended to provide the spiritual nourishment of society were signally failing to do so; that the rites were in fact perverted at their source ; and that it is at least in part as a result of this that characters bleed, starve and will themselves to death. One last point should perhaps be considered. The complex of references to highly ceremonial but ultimately unreal banquets might well have evoked, in the minds at least of the older members of the audience, memories of the royal dinners of the time of Elizabeth I. These were served with solemn and unvarying ritual, as Peter Brears describes:

First two gentlemen entered the room, one bearing a rod, and the other a tablecloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times, with the utmost veneration, was spread upon the table. After kneeling again, they then retired to be followed by two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-cellar, a plate and bread; when they had kneeled, as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table, they too retired, with the same ceremonies performed by the first gentlemen. At last came an unmarried lady, dressed in white silk, along with a married one bearing a tasting knife; the former prostrated herself three times, and in the most graceful manner approached the table where she carefully rubbed the plates with bread and salt.<sup>53</sup>

In this complicated ritual, the genuflections and the thrice-repeated actions might well call up some thoughts of religious ceremonies; and, perhaps even more interesting for the present argument, all this was performed for the benefit of an empty room. The Queen herself was

never there. She preferred to eat in the privy chamber, and since she had a very poor appetite much of what was served to her went untasted until it was later distributed to her ladies. Here, indeed, was a meal without that Real Presence which alone could give it validity; and perhaps this idea too might have been present in the minds of Ford's audience.

It can, then, at least be suggested that The Broken Heart is a demonstration of the premature death that overtakes both the soul and the body when the ritual forms of behaviour through which society works out its fears, its transitions, and its relationship to time and the gods, are undermined and corrupted. More specifically, it may have a direct reference to the outlawed rites of the Catholic church, and to the fanatical Puritan opposition to music, candles, and to bowing to the altar in church, all of which are prominent in the last scene of The Broken Heart. The root cause of all the evil and dividedness of the play, Penthea's double marriage to Bassanes and Orgilus, can also be seen in terms of unsatisfactory rituals, as Peter Ure points out:

her contract with Orgilus was binding before law and before God; so, too, was her marriage with Bassanes. It was a dilemma inescapable in a world where matrimony was controlled by practices that concealed a hidden rivalry, where, as between Calvin and the Catholics, custom might well be confused about the relative importance of civil contract and solemnization in church. Penthea's tragedy, then, is written, like Mistress Frankford's, not in the stars but in the social habits of a particular period.<sup>54</sup>

It should be borne in mind, furthermore, that Catholicism differed from Protestantism not only doctrinally but also, and in many ways more importantly, in a whole range of attitudes towards the customs, rhythms, rituals, and even, significantly, the food of society. Alan

- Dures remarks that 'an invitation to religious services in a gentry household usually meant an invitation to a meal afterwards',<sup>55</sup> and

John Bossy comments that 'the old religion was a cycle of fasts and feasts',<sup>56</sup> and that

an account of Elizabethan Catholicism must begin as a commentary on the term most frequently used to describe it, the 'Old Religion'. What answers to this description is a Catholicism less concerned with doctrinal affirmation or dramas of conscience than with a set of imaginal observances which defined and gave meaning to the cycle of the week and the seasons of the year, to birth, marriage and death.<sup>57</sup>

Bossy further points out the specifically courtly character of Catholicism. In the time of Elizabeth

there remained throughout the reign a strain of indigenous courtly Catholicism, of which the most permanent representative was Lord Henry Howard the great-uncle of Ford's dedicatee the Earl of Arundell ...The thesis that Catholicism, rightly understood, was the natural religion for a courtly society began towards the end of the reign to make an impression at the English Court, and a trickle of conversions resulted, which was to turn into a steady flow in the seventeenth century.<sup>58</sup>

Thus Catholicism was in many ways 'a predominantly social sentiment'<sup>59</sup> and a 'complex of social practices',<sup>60</sup> not necessarily a religion of committed martyrs: indeed Lord Henry Howard's friend Charles Paget thought the militant Douai priests interfered too much in politics, and 'by the reign of James clerical militancy has worn itself out and instead of "a religion of action" we find "a religion of contemplation"'.<sup>61</sup>

Catholicism, also, might well have been a religion of particular comfort to a character like Penthea, so convinced of her own deadly sin. It has already been remarked that Penthea's use of a phrase like 'virgin-wives' would have summoned up associations with the Virgin Mary. So, too, might her references to roses, long a principal symbol of the Virgin, and to gems, for jewel imagery was frequently applied to the Virgin, and indeed in the specific connection in which Penthea mentions gems: 'gems share in the idea of eternity, for they are unchanging'.<sup>62</sup> It may not be too fanciful to suggest that these

verbal references draw attention to the idea that access to Catholic rites might have lessened the tragedy of Penthea, since the Virgin was a 'guarantor of a safe conduct to heaven for sinners, however wicked, who performed the right ceremonies':<sup>63</sup> 'she can be good and merciful without being right, which is one reason why the stern moralists of the Reformation opposed her cult',<sup>64</sup> and thus 'the only haven from the sure terror of eternal damnation, the interceding Virgin'<sup>65</sup> provided a sharp contrast to 'la pensée calviniste, creusée et assombrie encore par le puritanisme, ne faisant donc qu'aggraver une austérité prête à accueillir la tristesse, l'inquiétude, voire le désespoir'.<sup>66</sup> Catholicism was in many ways a more forgiving religion than Protestantism- Lawrence Stone argues that 'the Reformation destroyed the social and psychological supports upon which both the community and the individual had depended for comfort and to give symbolic meaning to their existence'.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, Lisa Jardine, amongst others, has argued that this deprivation of comfort affected women particularly, since 'the abolition of saint worship... removed a moral support from women which went unexpectedly deep'.<sup>68</sup> This, combined with its aristocratic character, might well have made Catholicism an appealing religion to Ford. At all events, there is certainly a sense of isolation from heaven created in The Broken Heart by the fact that, although the Blackfriars could certainly have provided an upper acting area,<sup>69</sup> there is in the play no action above. When one remembers the obvious symbolism of Annabella's appearances on the upper stage in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, the impression created is one of lack of access to a state of grace.

The Broken Heart, then, looks very like a statement of the inefficacy of Protestant ritual. It should be remembered that Laud did not become Archbishop of Canterbury until 1633, and that in any case he 'and his chief supporters saw in the Anglican doctrine and

ritual the true Catholic faith, deplored the errors of Rome and were steadfast against them';<sup>70</sup> Laud 'accused both Weston and Cottington of being too lax with the Catholics in the early 1630s'.<sup>71</sup> The religious situation in the England of the early 1630s, when The Broken Heart seems most likely to have been written, had the dual disadvantage of seeming far too Catholic to the Puritans and far too Puritan to High Anglicans and Catholics. However dangerous the Arminian practices of Laud appeared to the Puritans, they would by no means have seemed to Catholics to make an appeal for a return to Catholic rites unnecessary; and perhaps The Broken Heart constitutes some such appeal. At all events, the fact of the failure and perversion of many of the ceremonies in the play is, in itself, obvious enough, and whether the argument for the relationship to Catholicism is accepted or not, it can still be claimed that in the ineffectiveness of the rituals lies the reason for the formal uniqueness of The Broken Heart among Ford's plays. The chronology of these is so uncertain that we cannot be sure which of them followed The Broken Heart; the most likely candidate seems to me to be Perkin Warbeck, but whether this is so or not it is clear that the movement towards tableau-like action in The Broken Heart was one which Ford did not pursue, for none of his other plays develops this approach. The reason for this could well be that, as so poignantly exemplified in the play, the meaning of ritual and ceremony is finally no less ambiguous than that of words. What looks like a coronation may at a moment's notice become first a wedding and then a funeral; what looks like an emblem of harmony is hideously transformed into a 'dance of death',<sup>72</sup> and a similar travesty of the dance has occurred earlier, in V.ii, when 'Bassanes joins Orgilus in a danse macabre, a ritual celebration of death that is basically opposed to the primitive worship of life'.<sup>73</sup> Where words break down, symbolic gesture might have assumed the role of bearer of meaning, but in The Broken Heart it has been tried and found wanting.

## FORD AND HIS DEDICATEES

Of the nineteen persons known to have received dedications from John Ford,<sup>1</sup> one was his cousin and namesake John Ford of Gray's Inn (co-dedicatee of The Lover's Melancholy, printed in 1629, and sole dedicatee of Love's Sacrifice, printed in 1633). Five more appear to have been personal friends, namely John and Mary Wyrley, the dedicatees of The Lady's Trial (1639), and Nathaniel Finch, Henry Blount and Robert Ellice, the other three dedicatees of The Lover's Melancholy. Robert Ellice was the brother of that Thomas Ellice who was later to join John Ford of Gray's Inn in providing commendatory verses for Perkm Warbeck,<sup>2</sup> and it had been Nathaniel Finch who on 3rd February 1625 had signed the 'Answer' of Dekker when he had been summoned to the Star Chamber on charges arising from the production of the now lost play Keep the Widow Waking, by Dekker, Rowley, Webster and Ford.<sup>3</sup> Ellice, Finch, Blount and John Wyrley were all, like the author's cousin John Ford, members of Gray's Inn; and they were also, as Ford himself seems likely to have been,<sup>4</sup> all Oxford men. Indeed Robert Ellice and John Wyrley had matriculated at Magdalen within a few months of each other, on 31st January 1622-3 and 17th May 1622 respectively, and this made them close contemporaries of another, more exalted Ford dedicatee, William Lord Craven, Baron of Hampstead-Marshall (recipient of the dedication of The Broken Heart in 1633). Craven matriculated at Trinity on the 11th of July, 1623, when he was 13, and the following year entered the Inner Temple. During this period he could well have been part of this group of Oxford-educated Inns of Court men of good but not great family (his parents had been a Lord Mayor of London and an alderman's daughter). After 1627! however, when he was knighted by Charles I, his standing advanced rapidly: in 1631 he commanded English troops fighting for Gustavus Adolphus, he was raised to the peerage, and from 1632 onwards he was famous principally for his wholehearted devotion to Charles I's



sister, the widowed Elizabeth of Bohemia, to whom he was rumoured (without much probability) to be secretly married, and whom he assisted out of his enormous fortune.<sup>5</sup> The dedication to Craven, therefore, may well have combined Ford's two tendencies to dedicate to personal friends, and to dedicate to members of the nobility.

Craven and his Winter Queen thus aptly lead us on to the second, and larger group of Ford's dedicatees - that of members of the aristocracy, listed below:

Penelope Devereux	<u>Fame's Memorial</u> (1606)
The Earl of Pembroke	<u>Honour Triumphant</u> (1606) <sup>6</sup>
The Earl of Montgomery	" "
The Earl of Arundel	" "
The Duke of Lennox	" "
The Countess of Pembroke	" "
The Countess of Montgomery	" "
The Earl of Northumberland	<u>The Golden Mean</u> (1613)
Viscount Doncaster	<u>A Line of Life</u> (1621)
The Earl of Peterborough	<u>'Tis Pity She's A Whore</u> (1633)
The Earl of Newcastle	<u>Perkin Warbeck</u> (1634)
The Earl of Antrim	<u>The Fancies Chaste and Noble</u> (1638)

The group is a large, and, at first sight, an apparently heterogeneous one - it does, after all, embrace a period of over thirty years - and any discussion of it as a whole is further complicated by the fact that we cannot always be certain of the extent to which Ford's choice of dedicatees was in fact determined by necessity. Did Ford dedicate Honour Triumphant to Pembroke, Montgomery, Arundel and Lennox simply because they had taken part in the challenge on which his pamphlet

was based, or did he base his pamphlet on the challenge in order to be able to dedicate it to Pembroke, Montgomery, Arundel and Lennox?<sup>7</sup> But although the answer to this will probably never be known, it can nevertheless be accepted that a dedication of any sort implies a clear wish on the part of the author to have his name associated with that of the dedicatee; and the dedicatees with whom Ford has chosen to have his name linked do, in fact, form a surprisingly coherent and close-knit group. They were bound together not only by a common interest in literature but also by close kinship ties, shared political interests and allegiances, and, in many cases, by their common religious background.

The two members most on the fringes of the group are William Craven (The Broken Heart) and Randal MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim (The Fancies Chaste and Noble). Even they, however, had links with Ford's other dedicatees. The Earl of Northumberland (The Golden Mean) had borrowed money from Craven's parents,<sup>8</sup> and the Earl of Arundel (Honour Triumphant) was, like Craven, a close friend of Elizabeth of Bohemia. He and his wife escorted her to her new home the Palatinate after her marriage in 1613; after she had settled there 'the affectionate confidence of the letters she addressed to them, now grave now gay, tells its own story';<sup>9</sup> and when she was widowed in 1632 it was Arundel who was sent by Charles I to invite her to return to England. Viscount Doncaster, too (A Line of Life), was a frequent correspondent of the Winter Queen, and one with whom she must have felt very much at ease, since in the 1620s she addressed a letter to him from the Hague which began 'thou ugly, filthy, camel's face'.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, both Craven and MacDonnell, like others of Ford's dedicatees, appear in the list of aristocrats in Mary Fage's Fames Roule (1637). But connections such as these are slight, beside the extensive and intricate ties which link together Penelope Devereux, Pembroke, Montgomery, Arundel,

Lennox, Northumberland, Doncaster, Peterborough and Newcastle.

From the phrase 'my willing pains, hitherto confined to the Inns-of-Court studies' in the dedication to Fame's Memorial it seems probable that this was the earlier of his two 1606 works, and that his first published piece was, therefore, addressed to Penelope Devereux. This lady was the daughter of Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford and first Earl of Essex, and of Lettice Knollys, a cousin of Elizabeth I on the Boleyn side, whose second husband was Elizabeth's favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester - a marriage for which the Queen to her dying day never forgave her cousin. Penelope was the eldest child of Lettice and Essex, and she was followed by three others: her beloved brother Robert, who was later to succeed his father as Earl of Essex and his stepfather Leicester as the favourite of Elizabeth, and who was to be executed for treason in 1601 in the aftermath of the ill-fated Essex conspiracy; Walter, who was killed at the siege of Rouen; and Dorothy, who eloped with the poverty-stricken Sir John Perrot, and after his death went on to marry Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (dedicatee of The Golden Mean). Penelope's father Essex

was descended from all the great houses of mediaeval England. The Earl of Huntingdon, the Marquis of Dorset, the Lord Ferrers - Bohuns, Bourchiers, Rivers, Plantagenets - they crowded into his pedigree. One of his ancestresses, Eleanor de Bohun, was the sister of Mary, wife of Henry IV; another, Anne Woodville, was the sister of Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV; through Thomas Woodville, Duke of Gloucester, the family traced its descent through Edward III.<sup>11</sup>

The earldom of Essex was originally a Bourchier title, and had come to Walter Devereux through his grandmother, the sister of the last Bourchier earl. The name of Bourchier is one which will be mentioned again in the next chapter.

When Penelope was still a child Walter Devereux went to serve as

Elizabeth's commander in Ireland. Elizabethan Ireland was not at the best of times a pleasant place; for the Earl of Essex, however, matters were made worse by the bad feeling between himself and his deputy, Henry Sidney, whose wife Mary Dudley was Leicester's sister.<sup>12</sup> It was partly in an effort to heal this breach, and partly out of genuine liking for the child of his enemy, that Essex suggested a marriage between Henry Sidney's eldest son Philip and his own eldest daughter Penelope, and on his deathbed - brought prematurely to the grave by the troubles and rigours of Ireland - he expressed a strong hope that this marriage should take place. Philip, however, seems not to have been particularly enthusiastic, and Penelope's guardians the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon (the latter another sister of Leicester), together with her brother the new Earl of Essex, soon married her off to Robert Rich, greatly against her will. Rich was the grandson of that Sir Richard Rich, 'of whom no one has ever said a good word',<sup>13</sup> who founded the family fortunes by his perjury at the trial of Sir Thomas More. Penelope seems never to have regarded Lord Rich with anything but detestation - she had little time for 'a husband who expected her to conform to the puritan ideals of obedience and submission'<sup>14</sup> - but she nevertheless refused to embark on an affair with Philip Sidney, who had by now come to realise the value of what he had let slip through his fingers, and who immortalized their relationship in the sonnet sequence Astrophil and Stella.

Connections between the Devereux and Sidney families remained close, however. When Penelope's brother Walter was killed at the siege of Rouen his widow married Philip Sidney's youngest brother Thomas, and when Philip in turn died a hero at Zutphen his widow, Frances Walsingham, married Penelope's other brother Robert, Earl of Essex. Furthermore, Penelope seems to have been throughout her adult life a close friend of the middle Sidney brother, Robert, and

his wife Barbara Gamage (the couple celebrated in Ben Jonson's 'To Penshurst') and was godmother to their eldest son. At the time of the christening, Rowland Whyte wrote to Sir Robert Sidney that 'my Lady Rich's desires are obeyed as commandments by my Lady'.<sup>15</sup> This child was later to marry Penelope's niece, Dorothy Percy, whose sister Lucy was the wife of Viscount Doncaster, dedicatee of A Line of Life, and whose father Northumberland was the dedicatee of The Golden Mean.

Although Philip Sidney apparently could not persuade Penelope to adultery, there was someone who could: Charles Blount. Blount, who began his career at court with a duel with Essex and immediately afterwards became the Earl's closest friend, seems to have become Penelope's lover in the 1590s. The story that they were precontracted before her marriage to Rich seems unlikely to be true: it may well have been put about by William Laud, the chaplain who married them and who was later to become famous as Charles I's Archbishop of Canterbury, in an attempt to clear himself of the blame which James I attached to his part in the affair.<sup>16</sup> Penelope bore Blount several children, and once the fall of Essex had made her no longer an asset but rather a liability to her husband, he divorced her and she and Blount married. Uproar ensued. The status of divorce in England at the time was hopelessly unclear, but it was generally assumed that a divorced person could not remarry during the lifetime of their first spouse, and James I, happy to tolerate the adultery of Penelope and Blount, banished them from court for their marriage. Even the recent triumph of Blount (now Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire) in succeeding where the Earl of Essex had failed and achieving victory in Ireland did not prevent them from being forced to retire to the country. The next year, broken-hearted, Blount died. Penelope lived barely long enough to read Ford's Fame's Memorial, Samuel Daniel's

'Funerall Poeme' and Giovanni Coperario's 'Funerall Teares' before she followed him to the grave.

It will immediately be seen that for a young man embarking on a literary career, Penelope Devereux in 1606 would have been a far from obvious choice for a first dedication. A decade or even five years earlier, as the sister of Essex or as the mistress of the conqueror of Ireland, she was indeed in a position to dispense patronage; but now she was widowed, disgraced, and perhaps already visibly ill. It is noticeable that Daniel, in his elegy on Blount, is careful to avoid reference to her, and Schelling has said of Ford's dedication to her that 'a more inauspicious beginning for an aspirant to literary fame could hardly be imagined; for Devonshire had died in disgrace for this very marriage and Ford had nothing to gain'.<sup>17</sup> An examination of Ford's dedicatees as a group, however, makes this dedication to Penelope Devereux look rather less surprising. It has been mentioned above that she was the sister-in-law of the Earl of Northumberland, who in 1613 was to be the dedicatee of The Golden Mean. It has also been mentioned that she was the Stella of Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophil and Stella, the close friend of his brother Robert, and briefly the sister-in-law of his youngest brother Thomas, who married the widow of her brother Walter. Such a close network of connections would certainly have brought Penelope into contact with 'Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother' - Mary, Countess of Pembroke, for whom the Arcadia was written, who was the beloved patroness of many of the leading literary men of the day, and who was, furthermore, the mother of the Earl of Montgomery (co-dedicatee of Honour Triumphant) and of the Earl of Pembroke (co-dedicatee of Honour Triumphant and sole dedicatee of Christ's Bloody Sweat). Certainly we know that the two women had many friends and protégés in common. It has been remarked above that Samuel Daniel was one of only three people who published tributes to Charles Blount.

Daniel had also previously spoken well of Essex:<sup>18</sup> indeed in 1603 his tragedy Philotas was thought to contain complimentary references to Essex, and this got him into serious trouble for 'allegorical malpractice'.<sup>19</sup> In this crisis, it had been Blount to whom he had turned for help. Blount, however, was not his only patron, for around 1591 the Countess of Pembroke had engaged him as tutor to her elder son William, and from then on he was closely associated with the Pembroke family. Daniel was, furthermore, the brother-in-law of John Florio, who dedicated the second book of his translation of the Essays of Montaigne jointly to Penelope Devereux and to Philip Sidney's daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland (Penelope's step-niece by the marriage of Sidney's widow to Essex). Perhaps Ford too - he who was said to be 'a Friend and Acquaintance of most of the Poets of his Time'<sup>20</sup> - knew Daniel; at all events, he must have known of him, and Sherman<sup>21</sup> and R.F. Hill<sup>22</sup> both detect echoes of Daniel's Hymen's Triumph in The Lover's Melancholy.

Daniel was not the only member of his circle who may have exerted an influence on Ford's later writing. Davril thinks that there are sufficient resemblances between The Queen and The Dumb Knight, by Lewis Machin and Gervase Markham, to justify the conclusion that 'il est possible que Ford ait puisé dans la pièce de Markham',<sup>23</sup> and Austin Warren remarks that a poem attributed to Markham and entitled Mary Magdalene's Tears is an example of that 'literature of tears' to which Southwell, Crashaw and Ford himself all contributed.<sup>24</sup> Markham had previously offered dedications to Sir Philip Sidney's daughter Elizabeth ('Poem of Poems'), to Charles Blount (The Most Honorable Tragédie of Sir Richard Grinvile, Knight) and to Penelope Devereux herself, in conjunction with her sister Dorothy (Devoreux, or Vertues Tears, a panegyric on their brother Walter, killed at the siege of Rouen). He was also acquainted with Sir Robert Sidney, who mentions

him in a letter;<sup>25</sup> and Markham's brother Francis was brought up in the household of the Earl of Pembroke, and later held a captaincy under the Earl of Essex. The Markhams' father, furthermore, was a first cousin of Sir John Harington, to whose wife and daughter Florio dedicated the first book of his translation of Montaigne. We have already seen that the second book was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney's daughter and to Penelope Devereux, and indeed a recent biographer of Penelope declares that Florio, like his brother-in-law Samuel Daniel, was a member of 'the Essex party'.<sup>26</sup> The same biographer adds that Gervase Markham 'clearly saw the Essex circle as the foremost source of literary patronage'.<sup>27</sup>

John Davies of Hereford was another link between the two circles. He dedicated sonnets to Penelope Devereux and Charles Blount, and to the Countess of Pembroke and her son; indeed he addressed to Pembroke a series of poems on the Overbury murder, and we know that Ford aîs o wrote a work, now lost, on the same subject. Nicholas Breton, another protegee of the Countess of Pembroke, dedicated his Honour of Valour to Charles Blount, and his A Mad World, My Masters to Florio. John Donne, whose patron the Countess of Bedford was the Lucy Harington who had been the co-dedicatee of the first book of Florio's Montaigne, wrote verse letters to Penelope Devereux' daughters Lettice and Essex; John Dowland, who ale.o dedicated to Lucy Harington, dedicated a galliard to Penelope, applied to the Earl of Essex for permission to travel abroad, and chose Philip Sidney's younger brother Robert as godfather to his eldest son. William Byrd similarly counted both Penelope Devereux and the Sidney circle among his patrons.<sup>28</sup> A final, and in some ways the most interesting name that can be linked with this circle is that of Barnabe Barnes. Barnes, who had served in France with Essex in 1391, published his Parthenophil and Parthenophe in 1393 (it will be remembered that Parthenophil is the name adopted



by Eroclea in The Lover's Melancholy). In 1598 he contributed commendatory verses to the Worlde of Wordes of Florio, who had been his servitor at Oxford; and in 1606 verses by him were prefixed to Fame's Memorial, while Ford returned the compliment by writing verses for a treatise by Barnes printed in the same year. Barnes also dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, and this friendship alone would have meant that Ford could hardly have failed to be aware of the social and literary milieu of the Devereux and the Sidneys. Indeed, as T.M Parrott points out, he deliberately alludes to it when he invokes memories of Astrophil and Stella by referring to Penelope Devereux as 'that glorious star'.<sup>29</sup>

It has already been remarked that Penelope Devereux died soon after Ford's dedication to her. The rumour quickly spread that on her death-bed she had been converted to Catholicism; and although a recent biographer finds the evidence for this inconclusive,<sup>30</sup> the story is not inherently improbable. In a letter to Elizabeth pleading for Essex's release she mentions, although only in passing, Purgatory - something in which Protestants did not believe.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, the Jesuit John Gerard claimed in his autobiography that he had very nearly converted her in March 1594, but that she had been dissuaded by Charles Blount, and her biographer notes that 'at about the same time Penelope was befriending another Catholic priest Father John Bolt...He was arrested at Broadoaks also in March 1594 and was about to be tortured when Penelope intervened on his behalf and managed to secure his release and he escaped to the Continent'.<sup>32</sup> Certainly her brother Essex was always considered to be very generous to Catholics. When he sacked Cadiz 'priests and churches were spared; and three thousand nuns were transported to the mainland with the utmost politeness. The Spaniards themselves were in ecstasies over the chivalry of the heretic General'.<sup>33</sup> He gave 'secret refuge to at

least one Jesuit priest';<sup>34</sup> and

Camden wrote that when the Catholics grew hopeless of James's religion and could find no English Catholic of proper antecedents for the Crown, they cast their eyes upon the Earle of Essex, (who never approved the putting of men to death in the cause of religion), feigning a Title from Thomas of. Woodstock, King Edward the Third's Sonne, from whom hee derived his Pedigree.<sup>35</sup>

It has also been remarked that 'Essex's putsch was mainly supported by indigent lower gentry who had turned to war as a profession, by papists, and by Welshmen'.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, many of Essex's friends and associates were Catholics, including his mother's third husband Sir Christopher Blount, a relative of Penelope's lover Charles and one of the leaders of the Essex conspiracy.<sup>37</sup> (Another member of the family, Sir Charles Blount of Mapledurham, was also a Catholic).<sup>38</sup> The young Earl of Southampton, Essex's closest associate and the husband of his cousin Elizabeth Vernon, came of a markedly Catholic family, although his own religious loyalties are unclear;<sup>39</sup> and the Earl of Clanricarde, whom Essex's widow married as her third husband, was certainly Catholic,<sup>40</sup> and in 1645 their son was declared a Papist by Parliament.<sup>41</sup> Even the stepfather of Essex and Penelope, the undoubtedly Puritan Earl of Leicester, had received a dedication from at least one known Catholic,<sup>42</sup> and the house of their cousin Francis Tregian, the compiler of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, was a known centre of Catholic worship.<sup>43</sup> Indeed this book, which was 'probably intended for use by an exclusively Roman Catholic circle',<sup>44</sup> contains a 'Corranto Lady Rich' along with the 'Lord Monteagle Pavan' and the 'Lavolta Lord Morley' which were 'dedicated to a family known for Catholic agitation and also related to the Tregians'.<sup>45</sup> Nor was the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book the only collection of specifically Catholic music with which Penelope's name can be associated. I have already pointed out the dedication to her of 'My Lady Rich her

Galliard' by the Catholic Dowland.<sup>46</sup> She also received the dedication of a consort song by the Catholic Byrd. Byrd may well have been a personal friend of a Catholic Norfolk gentleman named Edward Paston,<sup>47</sup> a relative of the Earl of Rutland (who married Elizabeth Sidney, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney and stepdaughter of Essex, and was a member of the Essex party). One of the topical songs in Paston-'s collection appears to contain references to Penelope (including the inevitable pun on her married name, Rich). Furthermore, Paston is mentioned'by Bartholomew Young in the preface to his translation of the Diana of George of Montemayor, published in 1598...What is more, Young writes as though Paston were known to Lady Penelope Rich, to whom this printed translation is dedicated'.<sup>48</sup>

Penelope also received non-musical dedications from Catholics, most notably from Henry Constable, 'a Roman Catholic in exile', who 'wrote sonnets to her'.<sup>49</sup> John Buxton remarks that 'to judge from these he must have known her well';<sup>50</sup> certainly we know that he carried a miniature of her to the then James VI of Scotland,<sup>51</sup> and that she said of him in a letter 'Je...souhaite à Monsieur Constable qu'il ne suit [sic] plus amoureux'.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Samuel Daniel, Gervase Markham, John Davies of Hereford, and Nicholas Breton, proteges though they were of the devoutly Protestant Countess of Pembroke, may have had Catholic connections. Anthony à Wood claimed that Daniel was 'for the most part "in animo catholicus"', although the claim is dismissed by the recorder as worthless;<sup>53</sup> Breton's name was affixed (though perhaps in error) to a Catholic treatise entitled Marie Magdalene's Love, which appeared in 1593;<sup>54</sup> Arthur Wilson, a pupil of John Davies of Hereford, 'states that Davies was a Roman Catholic';<sup>55</sup> and it has already been remarked that Mary Magdalene's Tears, attributed to Markham, was a poem 'on a theme much celebrated... by Catholics'.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, Robert Markham, a first cousin of Gervase Markham's father, was converted to Catholicism in 1392, and

another first cousin of Gervase's father was the Catholic conspirator Antony Babington. It should therefore be borne in mind, during the discussions to come of the possible Catholicism of Ford's other dedicatees, that Penelope Devereux moved in a circle with considerable Catholic connections.

In the same year as he dedicated Fame's Memorial to Penelope Devereux, 1606, Ford also dedicated Honour Triumphant to the Earl and Countess of Pembroke, the Earl and Countess of Montgomery, the Earl of Arundel, and the Duke of Lennox. The Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery were brothers - William and Philip Herbert, sons of Sir Philip Sidney's sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke - and it has already been pointed out that there were many connections between the literary circle of their mother and that of Penelope Devereux. Samuel Daniel had been Pembroke's tutor, and he and John Davies of Hereford both contributed commendatory verses to the translation of Du Bartas by Josuah Sylvester, who dedicated to Pembroke and who had been a protégé of Essex. Florio, too, was under 'heavy obligations to Pembroke',<sup>57</sup> and in his will, made in 1623. left to Pembroke all his Italian, French and Spanish books;<sup>58</sup> and Charles Blount's secretary Fynes Moryson dedicated his Itinerary to Pembroke. We know, indeed, that Pembroke was 'often in the society of Lord Mountjoy and under the roof of Penelope's brother',<sup>59</sup> and that in 1608 Pembroke, Montgomery, Arundel and Lennox all joined with Penelope's eldest son Robert Rich in a masque to celebrate the marriage of Lord Haddington.<sup>60</sup> Pembroke, too, was later to be credited with having arranged the marriage of Penelope's daughter Lady Isabella Rich to Sir Thomas Smythe's son.<sup>61</sup> By 1606 Pembroke was already famous as a patron of literature in the great tradition of his mother and uncle, and he kept this up throughout his life. He gave Ben Jonson £25 to buy books every New Year's Day,<sup>62</sup> he was a generous friend to his cousin George Herbert, to John Donne,

and to Philip Massinger, the son of his father's old steward, and he had William Browne to live with him at Wilton. This last, like Ford a Devonshire man and a student of Exeter College, Oxford, contributed, as did Ford, commendatory verses to works by Massinger and to later editions of Overbury's 'Wife', and since we know that Browne's association with Pembroke continued until at least 1624 it is tempting to suppose that Ford's may also have done so. Certainly when Ford, Dekker, Webster and Rowley collaborated on Keep the Widow Waking, in 1624, they appear to have found themselves in competition with another play on the same subject by Drew, which the censor also licensed; but 'for unspecified reasons he allowed the Dekker, Rowley, Ford and Webster play a one-day advantage'.<sup>63</sup> The censor was, of course, Pembroke's cousin Sir Henry Herbert, and one can perhaps wonder whether a still-existing connection between Ford and Pembroke was not a factor in Herbert's otherwise curious decision. Certainly he entered the play as 'written by Forde, and Webster', which might suggest that he regarded Ford as the principal person with whom he was dealing in the matter.

Pembroke certainly took an interest in the drama. It was he who had secured Sir Henry Herbert his appointment, and when Burbage died in 1619 the Earl wrote to James Hay, Viscount Doncaster (dedicatee of A Line of Life) 'that he had stayed away from a play at Court "which I being tender-hearted could not endure to see so soone after the loss of my old acquaintance Burbadg"'.<sup>64</sup> Pembroke and his brother Montgomery might well have felt a special interest in Burbage, since they were soon to be hailed as an 'incomparable pair of brethren' in the dedication to them by Heminge and Condell of the First Folio of Shakespeare. It is thought by some that Pembroke may also have had a less reputable connection with Shakespeare, since in the last years of Elizabeth's reign, before he had succeeded to the earldom, he had

accepted responsibility for the pregnancy of the Queen's Maid-of-Honour Mary Fitton, who some would claim as the Dark Lady of the Sonnets. But despite acknowledging his paternity, Pembroke refused to marry the unfortunate Mary, and when he did eventually choose a bride, in 1604, it was a lady of a much more exalted station. This was Mary Talbot, daughter of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, and of Mary Cavendish, the daughter of the famous Bess of Hardwick. There had already been intermarriages between the two families - Mary's uncle Francis Talbot had married Pembroke's aunt Anne Herbert - and the new Countess' family moved in much the same circles as her husband's. In the late 1590s Mary's father the Earl of Shrewsbury had been on an embassy to France with Robert Rich, the husband of Penelope Devereux. In 1595 and 1597, when Frances Walsingham, widow of Sir Philip Sidney and wife of Penelope's brother Essex, was staying at Barn Elms with her mother, 'the visitors included the Sidneys, the Talbots, Lady Penelope Rich, and Lord Mountjoy'.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, Mary's father Gilbert Talbot may even have had some connection with Edward Paston, the Norfolk Catholic whose music collection included a song apparently about Penelope Devereux.<sup>66</sup> This, then, was the Countess of Pembroke whom Ford included in the dedication of Honour Triumphant. As for the lady with whom she shared that honour, her sister-in-law the Countess of Montgomery, she had been born Susan de Vere, daughter of Edward, 17th Earl of Oxford, and of Anne, the daughter of Elizabeth I's minister William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and she had married Montgomery for love in 1604. We cannot connect her with the Pembroke / Sidney / Essex circle as clearly as we can Mary Talbot, but the two sisters-in-law did have one important thing in common. They were both Catholic.

As sons of the resolutely Protestant Mary Sidney, Pembroke and Montgomery were brought up in the new faith, and they adhered to it

all their lives. Margot Heinemann has emphasised Pembroke's strong Puritan and anti-Catholic connections,<sup>67</sup> and Clarendon said of him that 'he was a great lover of his country, and of the religion and justice which he believed could only supporte it, and his frendshipps were only with men of those principles'.<sup>68</sup> But this was not true. The possible connections with Catholicism of Markham, Breton, Daniel and Davies of Hereford have already been noted. Ben Jonson, to whom the Earl gave S23 each year to buy books, was a known Catholic; Shakespeare almost certainly had a Catholic father and daughter and may perhaps have been brought up as a Catholic himself;<sup>69</sup> and Pembroke was a bountiful patron to 'such adherents of the old faith as Inigo Jones and the playwright Philip Massinger'.<sup>70</sup> (One of Massinger's uncles was imprisoned for recusancy; another was refused his Oxford doctorate because of his Catholicism).<sup>71</sup> The Herberts were also related by marriage to William Habington, 'a member of the higher Catholic gentry',<sup>72</sup> and Montgomery commissioned The Queen of Aragon from him; Sir Henry Herbert's records refer to the play as 'made by my cozen Abington'.<sup>73</sup> However anti-Catholic his public politics, many of Pembroke's personal friends and even family were of the old religion - a contradiction, indeed, that was hardly surprising at a time when 'though the gentry as local magistrates seemed curiously reluctant to enforce the laws against Catholics, as members of parliament they remained vociferously anti-Roman, viewing with suspicion any overtures towards toleration, and even demanding the promulgation of new penal statutes to reinforce those already in existence'<sup>74</sup> - in order, presumably, for those too to remain unenforced. Furthermore, as has already been mentioned, the wives of both Pembroke and Montgomery were Catholic. The Countess of Montgomery was the daughter of 'a self-acknowledged recusant',<sup>75</sup> and in June 1606 the father of the Countess of Pembroke received a

deeply disgruntled letter from one Sir Peter Finch complaining about 'how resolute your most honourable lady was in the opinion of popery and how boldly and openly she would maintain the same...at your lordship's table'.<sup>76</sup> But to complain to Shrewsbury was useless. By 1606 the daughter of Bess of Hardwick had already done her work, and all three of her daughters had been brought up as Catholics. And all three of those daughters have some place in this discussion - Mary, the eldest, as the Countess of Pembroke; Elizabeth, the second, as being, like Penelope Devereux, a dedicatee of Florio's translation of Montaigne; and Alatheia, the youngest (who was later to be described by Prynne as a 'Popish she-wolf')<sup>77</sup> because only a very few weeks after the departure of King Christian in 1606 she became the wife of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who along with Pembroke, Montgomery and Lennox was one of the four dedicatees of Honour Triumphant.

Until the death of Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Howard had been under a considerable cloud, for shortly before he was born his father, Philip, Earl of Arundel, had been declared a traitor and imprisoned in the Tower, where he died soon before his son's tenth birthday. Philip Howard had been the eldest son of Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk, a cousin of Queen Elizabeth on the Boleyn side, by his first wife, the daughter and heiress of the last Fitzalan Earl of Arundel. Through her the Arundel title had come to the Howards, but it had been almost immediately forfeited again by the attainder of Philip Howard. Not until the accession of James I was the young Lord Thomas restored in blood and given his father's titles of Arundel and Surrey, and from 1606 onwards he was a prominent figure at the court. He married Alatheia Talbot on the 30th September, 1606, the year in which the dedication of Honour Triumphant was jointly addressed to himself, Pembroke, Montgomery and Lennox. Both before and after this marriage



he had close connections with the Pembroke / Sidney / Essex circles. Like the Devereux, the Howards 'descended from Thomas of Woodstock';<sup>78</sup> and the great-great-grandmother of Penelope Devereux and her brother Essex on their mother's side - the ancestress through whom they were able to claim kinship with Elizabeth I - had been a Howard. The two families were on close terms, and 'Robert, Earl of Essex, of whose kindness to him in youth, Lord Arundel frequently spoke in after years, was wont to foretell that, if he lived, he would be a great and wise man; and playfully called him "the Winter Pear"'.<sup>79</sup>

Arundel's friendship with Essex may perhaps have been fostered by his great-uncle Lord Henry Howard, brother of the 4th Duke of Norfolk, who long after Essex's death went out of his way to secure posts and favours for his former followers. However this may be, it is notable that Ford's was the first dedication to be offered to Arundel, and that for a long time afterwards the only dedications that he received were from writers in some way connected with the Pembroke / Sidney / Essex circle. In 1607 he received a dedication from Tobias Hume. Hume, who has been thought to be the original of Sir Andrew Aguecheek,<sup>80</sup>

had, like Ford, published work celebrating the 1606 visit of King Christian of Denmark, and had offered a dedication to Pembroke in 1605. Also in 1607 Arundel received a dedication from Gervase Markham, which was shared with Montgomery and with the fourth dedicatee of Honour Triumphant, the Duke of Lennox; and in 1625 Samuel Daniel, who in 1603 had addressed a poem to his great-uncle Lord Henry Howard, dedicated to him. More interesting than any of these, however, are two dedications which, as in the case of Pembroke, lead one to speculate that Arundel's connection with Ford may have continued well beyond 1606.<sup>81</sup> In 1618 another work appeared which was dedicated jointly to Arundel, Montgomery and Lennox. Its author was Henry Goodcole; and it was the same Henry Goodcole who three years later

was to produce a pamphlet entitled The Wonderful Discovery of Elizabeth Sawyer, a Witch, late of Edmonton, which Dekker, Ford and Rowley were to use as the source for their play The Witch of Edmonton. It was also in 1618 that another work appeared which was to become a source for a Ford play - Thomas Gainsford's The true and wonderfull history of Perkin Warbeck. This, too, was dedicated to Arundel, and when Gainsford the next year produced The True Exemplary and Remarkable History of the Earl of Tirone he dedicated it to the Earl of Clanricarde, the man whom Frances Walsingham, widow successively of Sir Philip Sidney and of the Earl of Essex, had married as her third husband. It was, too, in The Compleat Gentleman, written by Henry Peacham, tutor to Arundel's children, and dedicated to the Earl's son Sir William Howard, that there appeared the first mention in English of Carlo Gesualdo, the Italian nobleman and musician whose life story formed the basis for Ford's Love's Sacrifice.<sup>82</sup>

Arundel was also a close friend of the author of Ford's other source for Perkin Warbeck, Francis Bacon. Bacon, like his brother Anthony, had begun his career in the service of Essex - a friendly letter from Penelope Devereux to Anthony Bacon still survives <sup>83</sup> - and although Francis, unlike Anthony, later turned against the Earl, he nevertheless maintained an association with Charles Blount, to whom he dedicated his Apologie...concerning the late Earl of Essex in 1604, and whose trustee Sir William Godolphin he represented in the legal battle which followed Blount's death, when his legacies to Penelope Devereux and their illegitimate children were hotly

contested by a distant cousin. For a long time after that Francis Bacon's career was so successful that he had little or no need of aristocratic patronage, but when he fell from power in 1621 it was to be Arundel, Pembroke and Lennox who were in the forefront of the attempts to rescue him from total disgrace;<sup>84</sup> and when five years

later he was suddenly taken ill in the street it was to Arundel's house that he went to die. The wife of Bacon's eldest brother was, moreover, a relation of Sir George Buc, whose extravagant praise of the Howards, the Herberts and the Earl of Essex in a work on the peerage of England written in 1614 aptly illustrates the closeness of the links between these families<sup>85</sup> - links that were to continue well into the new reign, when Montgomery, Arundel, Pembroke and the third Earl of Essex, Penelope Devereux' nephew, were to form the core of the aristocratic opposition to Charles I. It should, further, be noted that Bacon, although a Protestant himself, uttered a plea for greater toleration in 1617,<sup>86</sup> counted recusants among his close family,<sup>87</sup> and never abandoned his friend the Catholic convert Tobie Matthew, 'although the friendship was hazardous, to say the least'.<sup>88</sup>

For Arundel, like his wife, was 'brought up a most strict Catholic'.<sup>89</sup> His grandfather Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk, although a Protestant himself, had been executed for attempting to marry the staunchly Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots; and his son, Arundel's father, was converted to Catholicism not long before Arundel's birth, and although he was committed to the Tower for it he steadfastly refused to renounce his faith and has, indeed, recently been canonised for the saintliness of the life he led during his ten years' imprisonment. It was in the Tower that he met Nicholas Roscarrock, a Catholic historian who was a close friend of Penelope Devereux' recusant relative Francis Tregian, and who was associated with the Catholic family of the Habingtons (relations by marriage of the Herberts) and with the Catholic conspirator Babington (a cousin of Gervase Markham's father).<sup>90</sup> There was another Howard in the Tower at the time, Philip's half-brother Lord William Howard of Naworth, and after the latter's release Roscarrock went to live with him at Naworth Castle. Until Roscarrock died in 1633, he was in receipt of an annuity of £200 from the Earl of Arundel - the connection having

almost certainly been established through Lord William Howard, who 'saw much of his nephew' and had a suite of rooms at Arundel House reserved solely for his use.<sup>91</sup> Both Tregian and Byrd, too, were connected with Arundel's great-uncle Lord Henry Howard.<sup>92</sup>

Another recusant prisoner in the Tower at this time was the Jesuit priest and poet Robert Southwell. The affinities of his work with Ford's have already been discussed; and Southwell was the especial protégé and spiritual guide of Arundel's mother, Anne Dacre, of whom Arundel always spoke as 'my blessed mother'.<sup>93</sup> Arundel's family background, then, was firmly and publicly Catholic. The Gunpowder Plotters displayed considerable anxiety to keep him away from the Houses of Parliament on the day they were to be blown up,<sup>94</sup> and Ford's fellow Middle Templar John Manningham records in his Diary that

there is a foolishe rime runnes up and downe in the Court of Sir H(enry) Bromley, L(ord) Tho(mas) Howard, L(oid) Cobham, and the deane of Canterbury, Dr. Nevil, that each should goe to move the K(ing) for what they like:

Nevil for the protestant, L(ord) Thomas for the papist,  
Bromley for the puritane, L(ord) Cobham for the Atheist.<sup>95</sup>

Clarendon, 'who was prejudiced against' Arundel,<sup>96</sup> said that 'he was rather thought to be without religion, then to inclyne to this or that party of any';<sup>97</sup> and it is true that in 1616 he was officially received into the Anglican church. This, however, has been attributed by Hugh Trevor-Roper to 'his desire to enter public life rather than his sudden discovery of the true means of salvation'.<sup>98</sup>

As late as 1639 his presence at the head of an army seems to have encouraged Catholics to join it,<sup>99</sup> and in 1926 his father's biographer Cecil Kerr claimed that 'documents have lately come to light proving that he was reconciled to the Church before he died';<sup>100</sup> and certainly his eldest son, Henry Frederick, Lord Maltravers, was brought up a Catholic.

It was this son of Arundel's who in March 1626 was to strengthen the already existing links between the family of his father and that of the fourth dedicatee of Honour Triumphant, the Duke of Lennox, by marrying, without royal permission, Lennox's niece, Elizabeth Stuart. By that time Lennox himself was dead, but he had already formed one bond between the families by his marriage to Arundel's cousin Frances Howard, daughter of Viscount Bindon. (One of Duchess Frances' pages was William Davenant, who claimed to be the illegitimate son of Shakespeare. Davenant was a known Catholic, and his tragedy Albovine was to attract commendatory verses from Pembroke's Catholic relative Habington and from Henry Blount and Robert Ellice, co-dedictees of The Lover's Melancholy). Lennox was the son of James I's cousin and first favourite Esmé Stuart, whom the Scottish nobles forced James to banish to France, where he soon died. His son then returned to Scotland, where 'he was received into the King's special favour'.<sup>101</sup> When James became King of England Lennox went south with him, and there he continued for the rest of his life. Although half Scottish and half French, he was rapidly accepted by the English nobility, and seems to have been especially close to Montgomery and Arundel, with whom he shared dedications from Gervase Markham in 1607 and from Henry Goodcèle in 1618. Nicholas Breton, a protégé of the Countess of Pembroke who, as we have seen, had dedicated to Charles Blount, to Florio and to Francis Bacon, also dedicated his An Invective Against Treason (an undated manuscript) to Lennox, and Ben Jonson (who wrote a sonnet in praise of Breton) lived for five years as the guest of Lennox's brother Lord d'Aubigny.<sup>102</sup> There was even a connection with Nicholas Roscarrock, for he, while in the Tower, had aided the Scottish Jesuit Crichton, an agent of Lennox's father. For Lennox, too, had been brought up a Catholic. Both his parents had been of that religion, and although during his brief stay in

Scotland his father 'renounced the Catholic faith to keep the king's favour', he was nevertheless 'plotting to overthrow the Kirk altogether. He was involved in a wild scheme for a joint invasion of Britain, French and Scottish Catholics would invade England while the Spaniards attacked Scotland'.<sup>103</sup> His son, the Lennox of Ford's dedication, married, as we have seen, a member of the Catholic Howard family, and was the brother-in-law of the Catholic Earl of Huntly; and some at least of the children of his brother were well known for their adherence to the old faith.<sup>104</sup> (He himself died childless.)

Ford's next two dedicatees were a father-in-law and son-in-law, Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (The Golden Mean, 1613) and James Hay, Viscount Doncaster and later Earl of Carlisle (A Line of Life, 1621). The Earl of Northumberland was, as already mentioned, the brother-in-law of Penelope Devereux through his marriage to her sister Dorothy. The marriage was never particularly happy. Indeed, it produced 'one of the hottest conjugal squabbles recorded',<sup>105</sup> which ended with the Countess telling her husband that she would eat his heart in salt (a threat which has been likened to that of Beatrice in Much Ado About Nothing to 'eat his heart in the market-place', and which is also a little reminiscent of Ford's own Giovanni). We even know that news of the Northumberlands' disagreements reached the Middle Temple, for Manningham records in his Diary 'I heard that the E(arl) of Northumberland lives apart againe from his lady now that shee hath brought him an heire, which he sayd was the soder of their reconcilement. He lives at Sion House with the child, and plays with it, being otherwise of a very melancholy spirit'.<sup>106</sup> The marriage never broke down irretrievably, however, and Northumberland was always on good terms with his wife's family. With Charles Blount he had something in common, for Blount's father and brother were both passionately addicted to alchemy,<sup>107</sup> and it was Northumberland's own

interest in the same subject that had earned him the soubriquet of The Wizard Earl; indeed, Chapman in The Shadow of Night referred to him as 'deep-searching Northumberland'. Another of the names mentioned by Chapman was that of the Earl of Derby. Derby's widow was the recipient of dedications from Samuel Daniel, Thomas Gainsford, and John Davies of Hereford; once again we are in the Pembroke / Sidney / Essex circle, and it is not surprising to find Northumberland in 1607 paying 40s to Davies of Hereford, who was the tutor of his son Algernon and who dedicated to his daughters Dorothy and Lucy and to the Earl himself, and in 1603 being appealed to by Francis Bacon on the grounds of his friendship with the latter's brother Anthony.<sup>108</sup> Northumberland's younger brother William, moreover, was the dedicatee of Parthenophil and Parthenophe by Barnabe Barnes, whom he knew at Oxford. In return Percy contributed commendatory verses to Barnes' treatise Office, and so too did Ford. Barnes was an associate of Markham and Daniel,<sup>109</sup> and had had Florio for his servitor at Oxford. William Percy was also the subject of an epigram by Charles Fitzgeffrey, along with Daniel and Sir John Harington, a cousin of Gervase Markham's father; and Daviès of Hereford and Josuah Sylvester wrote verses on Fitzgeffrey. Moreover, Northumberland's youngest son married a Herbert, and he was also on terms of close friendship with Arundel. When, in 1621, he was finally set free from the Tower, Arundel 'supped with him on the night of his release, and dined with him next day'.<sup>110</sup>

Northumberland had been in the Tower since 1605. His crime was entertaining his cousin to dinner; unfortunately for him, the date was the 4th November, 1605, and the next day his cousin, Thomas Percy, was discovered to be one of the leaders of the Gunpowder Plot. Although Northumberland had been brought up a Protestant, he had frightened the government in 1582 by striking up a friendship at

Paris with Charles Paget, a Catholic agent of Mary Queen of Scots. He had also begged James before his accession for greater toleration for Catholics; the recusant Byrd had been his sister's tutor;<sup>111</sup> he had a great many Catholic servants; and, perhaps most damning of all, he had admitted his cousin Thomas Percy the conspirator 'to the company of Gentlemen Pensioners, personal bodyguard of the Sovereign, without extracting the required oath of allegiance when Thomas Percy was known to be an ardent convert to Catholicism'.<sup>112</sup> Northumberland was charged with treason and with having attempted to make himself chief of the Catholics in England, and spent the next sixteen years of his life in the Tower. During this period, Ford's was the only dedication he received. John Davies of Hereford, in 1609, failed to get a dedication to Northumberland past the censor. Ford's greater success may have been due to the fact that he omitted from the first edition both his own name and that of the dedicatee, and when in 1620 he dedicated A Line of Life to Viscount Doncaster, later the Earl of Carlisle, he similarly refrained from publishing the name of the dedicatee, and only included it in the manuscript presentation copy. Doncaster, who had married Northumberland's daughter Lucy, was earnestly working for his father-in-law's release, which might have been enough in itself to earn him the dedication of A Line of Life. Furthermore, he was a friend of Pembroke and also of Arundel, of whom he was fond of saying 'Here comes the Earl of Arundel in his plain

Stuff and Trunk Hose, and his Beard in his Teeth, that looks more like a Noble Man than any of us',<sup>113</sup> and whom he helped in his picture collecting.<sup>114</sup> Doncaster's wife, moreover, was a friend of Tobie Matthew,<sup>115</sup> 'friend to Arundel and confidant to his wife';<sup>116</sup> and Matthew, as we have seen, was a friend of Francis Bacon, and a Catholic. This pair of dedications, to Northumberland while he was a prisoner in the Tower and to his son-in-law who was attempting to



have him released, give us a yet clearer picture of this circle in which Ford clearly took an interest, and of which he may well have been a part himself.

The other dedications that he offered, even though they come thirteen years after that to Doncaster, are still to people connected with much the same group. 'Tis Pity She's A Whore is dedicated to John Mordaunt, who had been at court most of his life and who had been created Earl of Peterborough in 1628. In 1625 he had received a dedication from Francis Markham, brother of Gervase; in 1637 he, along with others of Ford's dedicatees, was to be included in Mary Fage's Fames Roule. He was the son of Henry, fourth Lord Mordaunt, who like Northumberland was imprisoned in the Tower on suspicion of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, although only for a year; his mother was Margaret, the daughter of Henry, Lord Compton. Lady Mordaunt was a staunch Catholic-indeed in 1625 the head of the English mission was operating from her house<sup>117</sup> - and for this reason she was deprived of the custody of her son, who, also in 1625t was converted to Protestantism. His conversion does not seem to have been taken very seriously, however, for his name is included in the Petition Against Recusants in Authority drawn up by Parliament in 1626.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, his wife was a Howard - Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, and granddaughter of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, the man who had warned Charles Blount of the failure of the Essex rebellion. This alliance seems to have been a source of some pride to the Mordaunt family, for Mordaunt's son the second Earl of Peterborough christened one of the rooms in his house at Drayton the Norfolk room.<sup>119</sup> The marriage also, of course, made Mordaunt a relative by marriage of Arundel, so that this dedication fits into much the same pattern as the earlier ones. So too does that of Perkin Warbeck to William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle.

Newcastle's father had been Sir Charles Cavendish, younger son of the famous Bess of Hardwick. When Bess had taken George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, as her fourth husband, she had also married her daughter Mary to Shrewsbury's son Gilbert, who later became 7th Earl of Shrewsbury and the father of the Countesses of Arundel and Pembroke, (it was this same Mary Cavendish whom we earlier found being complained of as an obstinate defender of 'popery'). Newcastle, therefore, was related by marriage to Arundel and Pembroke, and indeed his second wife Margaret, in her biography of him, refers to both of them as members of his family,<sup>120</sup> and adds that Newcastle and his brother 'were partly bred with Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury their Uncle in Law, and their Aunt Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, Gilbert's Wife, and Sister to their Father; for their interceded an intire and constant Friendship between the said Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, and my Lord's Father, Sir Charles Cavendish'.<sup>121</sup> She further says that 'such was my Lord's Love to the Family of the Shrewsburies, that he would rather wrong himself, then it',<sup>122</sup> and indeed there seem always to have been very friendly relations between Newcastle, Arundel and Pembroke.

Pembroke seems to have been dining with Newcastle's aunt, the Countess of Devonshire, on the day he died;<sup>123</sup> when Newcastle entertained Charles I at Bolsover in 1633 Arundel housed the overspill (including William Harvey) at his nearby manor of Worksop;<sup>124</sup> Arundel and Pembroke jointly relieved Newcastle of the executorship of his uncle Gilbert Talbot;<sup>125</sup> and Newcastle's first wife, the mother of his children, was the widow of Arundel's cousin Henry Howard, younger son of the Earl of Suffolk.

It has been mentioned that Newcastle was partly brought up by his uncle and aunt the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, parents of the Countesses of Pembroke and Arundel. He was not the only stray Cavendish child to stay for long periods in their household. His

grandmother Bess of Hardwick had always been ambitious for her children, and some years before had achieved what seemed like the resounding triumph of marrying her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish to Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, whose elder brother Henry Lord Darnley had been the second husband of Mary Queen of Scots and father of James I. But Charles Stuart had died shortly after the marriage, soon followed by his wife, and instead of the male heir for which she had hoped Bess was left with only an orphaned granddaughter, Arabella Stuart. It was through this cousin, with whom, at the house of the Shrewsburies, he spent much of his childhood, that Newcastle was connected with even more of Ford's circle. Arabella was of course the cousin of the Duke of Lennox; she was proxy godmother for Bess of Hardwick at the christening of the Arundels' eldest son (later to marry Lennox's niece); she even seems to have had some sort of flirtation with Penelope Devereux' brother the Earl of Essex,<sup>126</sup> and the man she eventually married, William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, took as his second wife Essex's daughter Frances Devereux (he seems to have been friendly with the Cavendishes, since his second wife wrote to her brother in the 1630s of meetings with them).<sup>127</sup> Moreover, the Frances Howard who became Duchess of Lennox had previously been the third wife of Hertford's father.<sup>128</sup> It is interesting, too, to find Arabella's name anagrammatised by Ford's fellow Middle Templar Manningham as 'Arbella Stuarta: tu rara es et bella', especially when one bears in mind that Manningham's anagrammatic renderings are intended to be fitted to the persons' qualities, as in 'Henricus Burbonius: rex bonus orbi' and 'Georgius Savile: Egregious Vile As'.<sup>129</sup> Arabella's fame was, of course, principally due to her closeness to the Crown, which was highlighted by the Bye Plot of 1603 of which the aim was to place her on the throne. One of the conspirators in it was Griffin Markham, cousin of the father of Gervase; Arabella's uncles Henry Cavendish and

Gilbert Talbot were also suspected of involvement. All these men were suspected of Catholic sympathies, and so, too, was Arabella. 'Her Protestant religious views were thought to waver; at one point the Pope even supported her pretensions',<sup>130</sup> and some years earlier 'the Roman Catholic party' had pressed hard for a marriage between Arabella and Northumberland.<sup>131</sup> In 1609 the Catholic John Wilbye dedicated his second set of madrigals to her (the first set had been dedicated to Newcastle's father), and her husband appears to have been in possession of a book which originated in the collection of the Norfolk Catholic Paston.<sup>132</sup>

Thus Newcastle, however firmly Protestant his own views may have been,<sup>133</sup> came, like so many of Ford's dedicatees, from a family with strongly Catholic connections. His father's first wife, mother of his half-sister Mary, had been the daughter of the recusant Lady Kytson, and his own second wife's grandfather was almost certainly a recusant.<sup>134</sup> When he was serving as Charles I's commander in the North, in 1642, Fairfax reported to the Speaker of the House of Commons that Newcastle was 'granting his commissions for raising men to papists for the most part'.<sup>135</sup> He received a dedication from William Sampson: Sampson had previously collaborated with Gervase Markham, whose Catholic connections have already been examined. He was also the generous patron of the known Catholics Shirley, Jonson, Davenant and Brome. Two of these dramatists, Shirley and Brome, received commendatory verses from Ford, and that, together with some other connections, may make us wonder if Ford's links with Newcastle may not have been fairly close. Newcastle may have employed William Lawes,<sup>136</sup> and Lawes had been apprenticed to Giovanni Coperario - the only person apart from Ford and Samuel Daniel to produce an elegy for Charles Blount - and had set poems by Pembroke; and in 1673 a new edition of his works attracted a poem in his praise from Thomas Jordan, who had dedicated to Ford's cousin and namesake John Ford of Gray's Inn and who

had produced a ballad adaptation of The Broken Heart. Lawes also seems to have composed the music for the two songs in Ford's last play The Lady's Trial.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, in 1646 two of Newcastle's daughters wrote a play called The Concealed Fansyes, in which it is very tempting to see possible references to Ford.<sup>138</sup> Luceny says to Courtly 'now will not yo next posture bee to stand with foulded Armes, but that posture now growes much out of fashion' (I.iv.p.810); and Tatteny says to Presumption 'Now doe yoe thinke the pulling downe your Hatt and lookeinge sadd, shall make me beleeeve yo speech for trueth but you are deceived' (II.i.p.814). One cannot but think of the only description of Ford that has come down for posterity:

Deep in a dump Jack Ford alone was gat,  
With folded arms and melancholy hat.<sup>139</sup>

This completes the survey of Ford's dedicatees, and it is now time to discuss the question which so much of this chapter has tried to suggest: was Ford a Catholic? The answer, of course, will almost certainly never be known; but the evidence is suggestive. We have seen the strongly Catholic connections of almost all of his dedicatees, and of the people to whose works he contributed commendatory verses: and both the wife and the son of Christopher Beeston, in whose theatre five of his seven surviving independent plays were performed, were recusants.<sup>140</sup> The baptisms of one of his brothers and one of his sisters cannot be found in the parish records,<sup>141</sup> which proves nothing in itself, but would fit into the picture of a family with Catholic sympathies. Moreover, Ford seems to have attended Exeter College, Oxford.<sup>142</sup> When discussing the Protestant family background of Nicholas Roscarrock, A.L. Rowse asked

what accounts for the convinced - it is not too much to say - the

passionate, undeviating Catholicism of the two youngest sons, Nicholas and Trevennor?

It would seem that the atmosphere of Exeter College, from which Nicholas supplicated for his B.A. at Oxford in 1368, is the answer. Exeter was, along with St John's, the most strongly Catholic in its sympathies of all Oxford colleges at this time. Its Rector, John Neale, was deprived by Elizabeth's Visitors in 1370 and went to Douai. His successor, Robert Newton, resigned in 1378 to be received as a Catholic.<sup>143</sup>

By April 1378 Exeter was so notorious that the government decided on

special action against Catholics there.<sup>144</sup> The college had associations, too, with a patron of Byrd and a relative of the Earl of Shrewsbury, John, Lord Petre: he was educated at Exeter, 'of which foundation his father was a liberal benefactor', and he was 'a prominent Catholic'.<sup>145</sup> Although all this was some years before Ford entered the college - indeed before he was even born - the old traditions and associations would probably have been slow to die. And from Exeter (if he was indeed there), Ford went to the Middle Temple, which was notoriously 'pestered with papists';!out of two hundred sixty members in Commons in 1609, only one hundred twenty had received Communion';<sup>146</sup> and we know from at least two anecdotes in Manningham's Diary that many sound Protestants at the Temple entertained friendly feelings for Catholics.<sup>147</sup>

It has to be admitted that there is also evidence pointing in the other direction. Ford's mother was the niece of Lord Chief Justice Popham, who, 'writing in 1399! was convinced that much tougher measures against Catholics were necessary'.<sup>148</sup> Presumably, however, if Ford had had much regard for his great-uncle's feelings he would never have offered a dedication to Penelope Devereux; for at the time of the Essex rebellion, when Popham was a prisoner in Essex House, 'she strolled out into the courtyard and began bantering with [the] guards, calling up that "if they were true gentlemen they would throw her down the head of that old fellow"'.<sup>149</sup> As well as the Popham connection,

however, there is the lack of contemporary evidence to link Ford with recusancy or even with Catholicism; but then remarkably little is known of him at all, not even the date of his death,<sup>150</sup> and it was by no means unknown for Catholics to avoid detection or, at any rate, prosecution. Nicholas Roscarrock's name was not included in the 1377 Inner Temple certificate of recusants though 'he was an ardent Catholic and was imprisoned in the Tower from 1580 to 1586 for religion'.<sup>151</sup> Dowland, too, kept out of trouble, and 'unlike the case for Byrd, where the prosecutions for recusancy are fully documented, no trace can be found of any such actions having been brought against him and he himself declares, "I...never heard any mass in England"'.<sup>152</sup> Dowland, moreover, proceeded to degrees in both universities.

A more serious objection, however, would appear to be the savage attack on Rome in Christ's Bloody Sweat. But it should be remembered that a commitment to Catholicism by no means entailed a commitment to the Pope, and that plenty of English Catholics loathed the Jesuits and felt that they did far more harm than good; as Alan Dures has pointed out, 'there were few supporters of papal supremacy among catholic families, and where Catholicism drew heavily on conservative tradition in the remoter areas, papal interference was as unacceptable as that of the crown'.<sup>153</sup> A similar distinction has been noted by Gilles D. Monsarrat in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, where the Cardinal 'is not the representative of God but of the pope' while 'Bonaventura is the voice of religion and the mouthpiece of Ford's own theological beliefs'.<sup>154</sup> Even so, however, Davril has declared of Christ's Bloody Sweat that 'quant à la tendance religieuse du morceau, elle est sans aucun doute protestante. L'attitude sarcastique vis-à-vis de Rome en est une preuve suffisante, mais l'importance donnée par ailleurs aux remords qui, unis à la vertu salvatrice du sang du Christ, assurent le rachat, imprègne la pensée d'une nuance calviniste'.<sup>155</sup> A recent editor, though,

considers that 'throughout the poem there is only the one reference to Calvin's doctrine of the elect, a sort of nod of the head towards the Church's theological teachings',<sup>156</sup> and Clifford Leech points out that

although 'there is an assertion of a Calvinistic doctrine of the elect', 'on this last point the writer's thought appears inconsistent, for in many places he seems to imply a general availability of salvation'.<sup>157</sup>

Derek Roper remarks in his introduction to 'Tis Pity that in Christ's Bloody Sweat 'Calvinist beliefs and attitudes jostle with confessions, incense and beads',<sup>158</sup> and R.F. Hill, in his introduction to The Lover's Melancholy, remarks on the absence of Calvinist thought in the play.<sup>159</sup> Perhaps the 'nod of the head towards the Church's theological teachings' might even have been intended to please the dedicatee of the poem, Pembroke, who despite his patronage of Catholics was after all a leading Puritan, and could scarcely lend his name to a poem containing Catholic doctrine.

I suggest, then, that Ford may have been a Catholic, and that he may also have been more closely involved with his dedicatees and their circle than has hitherto been supposed. I have already discussed the ways in which a bearing in mind of Ford's putative Catholicism may suggest a new reading of The Broken Heart: I now propose to suggest that a bearing in mind of his dedicatees, their interests and their associates may offer fresh clues to the interpretation of Perkin Warbeck.



'MINIONS TO NOBLEST FORTUNES': A POSSIBLE MOTIVE FOR THE  
INCLUSION OF CERTAIN CHARACTERS IN PERKIN WARBECK

For a playwright who in the early 1630s was proposing to produce a new work, a chronicle history was by no means the obvious form to choose. 'History plays had been out of fashion for many years',<sup>1</sup> and even as a history play Perkin Warbeck was not exactly in the mainstream of the genre, for 'Ford chose to focus his chronicle not on the traditional hero, a British monarch, but a would-be usurper'.<sup>2</sup> Perkin Warbeck does indeed have amongst its principal characters not only one but two kings - Henry VII of England and James IV of Scotland - but its eponymous hero is a man whom all the other characters of judgement believe to be no better than 'Osbeck's son of Tournay, a loose runagate, /A landloper' (V.iii.24-3); and the very fact that it should be such a man as this who is chosen to give his name to the play could by itself be thought of as a possible vehicle for authorial comment. Might Ford perhaps not be deviating from the tradition at all: might he be covertly asserting that Perkin Warbeck was in fact the king of England? It should perhaps be noted at this point that the man who had preceded Sir Henry Herbert in the office of censor, Sir George Buc - like Ford a Middle Templar - had written a history of the reign of Richard III in which he had hinted at that very possibility. Buc had dedicated his history to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the man to whom Ford in 1606 had dedicated one of the four parts of his Honour Triumphant and to whom Gainsford in 1618 had dedicated the history of Perkin Warbeck which was to be one of Ford's two principal sources for his play.<sup>3</sup> It would by no means have been inconceivable for Ford to have had it in mind that Perkin was indeed the real king; and since Perkin was long since dead without issue and the Stuarts' claim to the throne was actually rather stronger if traced through Henry VII's wife Elizabeth of York than when taken through Henry himself, it might not even have been all

that dangerous for Ford to hint at such a possibility. There is, however, no firm indication of any such hint in the play, and the unusual choice of title seems simply to reflect the strange nature of this one late flowering of an antiquated genre, which, like a French classical drama, only narrates, on a small, indoor stage, the battles and deaths which its predecessors in the genre had shown on the bare boards of the public theatres.

There is, however, arguably one respect in which Perkin Warbeck very closely resembles some, at least, of its illustrious predecessors. The Tudor theory of history repeating itself in cyclical patterns <sup>4</sup> perhaps in part derived from the Medieval concept of the Wheel of Fortune - meant that however deeply rooted the chronicle play might be in the time in which it was set, however authentic and particularised the narrative, it was nevertheless susceptible of a contemporary application. Such an application had, at least in the case of Richard II,<sup>5</sup> been publicly and pointedly made on no less momentous an occasion than the eve of the Essex rebellion.<sup>6</sup> This is a fact which it is difficult to imagine had escaped Ford's attention. He had shown keen interest in the affairs of Essex and his family in the early part of his career, and possibly, if The Broken Heart is accepted as having reference to the story of Penelope Devereux,<sup>7</sup> more or less throughout it; and Ford's maternal great-uncle Lord Chief Justice Popham, who may well have been responsible for his admission to the Middle Temple, had been imprisoned in Essex House for the brief duration of the rebellion, and had also drawn up the indictment against Hayward for his history of Henry IV. Elizabeth I was herself so conscious of the parallels drawn between her and Richard II on the one hand, and between Essex and Bolingbroke (whose other title of Hereford was also that of the ancestors through whom Essex's claim to the throne was derived) on the other, that on one occasion she

exclaimed to William Lambarde, the keeper of the records of the Tower, 'I am Richard II, know ye not that?'<sup>8</sup> Donald K. Anderson's remark, made on the basis of parallel passages, that 'Ford may have had Richard II in mind when writing Perkin Warbeck' may well have had more significance than he knew.<sup>9</sup>

The disgrace and execution of Essex did not put a stop to the drawing of parallels, whether intended or not, between him and the heroes of stage plays. In 1603 Samuel Daniel, who, as we have seen, was closely associated with several of Ford's early dedicatees, published his tragedy, Philotas, first begun in 1600. It was not long before 'court quidnuncs suggested that the late Earl of Essex was represented under the disguise of Philotas, and that the writer apologised for his rebellion';<sup>10</sup> as Brents Stirling has neatly put it, 'Daniel was accused of allegorical malpractice',<sup>11</sup> a charge of which Stirling goes on convincingly to argue that he was almost certainly guilty. In an effort to extricate himself from the difficulties into which this accusation had plunged him, Daniel appealed to the Earl of Devonshire, brother-in-law of Essex and soon to be the subject of Ford's eulogistic elegy Fame's Memorial. He also applied to the Earl of Arundel's great-uncle Henry Howard, now Earl of Northampton, who was always well-disposed towards partisans of Essex, and to Sir Robert Cecil.<sup>12</sup> The affair eventually blew over, but in 1609 Daniel carefully omitted from his account of the reign of Henry IV 'several stanzas that are sympathetic to the cause of Richard II',<sup>13</sup> perhaps by way of relieving his feelings. When Ford in the 1630s turned to the chronicle history play, he was choosing - and I shall argue that he was choosing deliberately - a form in which there was a tradition of an audience seeing not only a representation of previous political events but also a comment on contemporary events, and sometimes, too, on identifiable contemporary persons.

With this in mind, it may well be profitable to direct attention

towards a group of characters in Perkin Warbeck who are not often much considered: the noblemen of the Scottish and English courts, the loyal supporters of Henry VII and James IV. Some scholars have seen the play as a lesson in kingship,<sup>14</sup> but it might equally well be described as a lesson in how to be, and how to treat, a nobleman. C.J. Norman has said that 'Ford's ideals for man and society reflect a typically Elizabethan concern for degree, hierarchy and harmonious order',<sup>15</sup> and certainly Perkin Warbeck would hardly have been able to prevent the English and Scottish nobility in a more favourable light. Daubeney, Oxford, Surrey, Huntley, Crawford and Dalyell all behave towards their monarchs in a thoroughly correct manner, and even Sir William Stanley - unlike the three traitors in the scene in Henry V which bears some resemblance to this - is made to appear a noble and to some extent a redeemed figure by contrast with the informer Clifford, with whom he has a rather impenetrable exchange which seems to exist solely for the purpose of leaving the audience with a more favourable impression of Sir William than they might otherwise have had. Ford is equally careful to preserve the dignity of the nobility when he transfers the character of garrulous fool from the nobleman, John de la Poole, who possesses it in Gainsford, to the humble John a Water, sometime Mayor of Cork.<sup>16</sup> It has been rightly pointed out, too, that one of the things which makes Henry successful and James unsuccessful is that Henry makes much better use of the loyalty and competence of his servants. James insolently disregards Huntley, and eventually has to learn to alter his attitudes; Henry from the beginning deposes and delegates to admirable effect, and also allows himself to be over-ruled by his councillors when he feels that his personal affection for Sir William Stanley may get the better of his habitual state-craft. The closeness which exists between Henry and his court is in sharp contrast to Dalyell's 'Silence!', which is addressed to Crawford, and is

instantly followed by the stage direction 'Enter King JAMES' (il.iii.21). It is a contrast that becomes all the more striking when we remember that King James sits secure and unchallenged on his throne, while there are at least two current pretenders, Warbeck and Warwick, to that of Henry, and we also see an earlier one in the shape of Lambert Simnel. King James' followers have, therefore, only one possible focus for their loyalty, while King Henry's have at least three: yet they all but one unswervingly and unquestioningly choose Henry, even though, as Perkin is not slow to remind us, his position is by no means unassailable. What was won by conquest could perhaps be taken away by conquest:

Henry...	What followed?	
Warbeck.		Bosworth field:
	Where, at an instant, to the world's amazement, A morn to Richmond and a night to Richard Appeared at once. The tale is soon applied: Fate, which crowned these attempts when least assured, Might have befriended others like resolved. .	

(V.ii.69-74) In this passage, the interchangeability of monarchs seems in a sense confirmed by Ford's having chosen to call the one by a name so similar to that of the other. In a play in which Warbeck seems to have elected more or less arbitrarily to play the role of a king, Katherine to play that of a wife rather than that of a Princess of Scotland, and Dalyell to play to the exclusion of all else that of a faithful friend, not the least surprising choices of identity are those of Henry's noblemen to be resolutely and without deviation Henry's noblemen. Their devotion is rewarded, however, by the frankness with which Henry treats them, and by their success in establishing the dynasty with the survival of which their personal fortunes are of necessity bound up.

The last point seems, indeed, to be the one political lesson that is indisputably to be learned from Perkin Warbeck: the fortunes

of the king and the fortunes of his nobles are indissolubly interwoven, and both sides will be benefited if the relationship between them is as cordial and as co-operative as possible. This is something which everyone in the play except King James seems already to be very much aware of, and even he comes gradually to modify his behaviour as he discovers, for instance, that he must send 'Some noble personage to the English court / By way of embassy' (1V.ii.28-9) if he is to have

A league with Ferdinand, a marriage  
With English Margaret, a free release  
From restitution for the late affronts,  
Cessation from hostility! and all  
For Warbeck not delivered, but dismissed!

(IV.iii.36-60) Similarly, none of Henry's admirable sagacity and foresight would have been of much practical use to him without Daubeney, Oxford, Surrey and the Bishop of Durham to implement his commands and to wield his authority by proxy in both the extreme north and the extreme south of his kingdom simultaneously. It does indeed seem reasonable to argue, as Irving Ribner has done, that 'implicit in the play is the plea that King Charles follow the path of his Tudor rather than his Stuart forebear',<sup>17</sup> or to agree with Lawrence's comment that 'Ford's Henry VII provided an implicit ideal for Charles I'.<sup>18</sup> It may well be thought no accident that the two monarchs of whom Ford gives here such detailed portraits are two kings through whom Charles claimed his English and Scottish thrones respectively, and that we are directly reminded of that fact by being shown the negotiations for the marriage between King James and Margaret Tudor which was eventually to unite the two crowns. It is, in fact, not only to the security and stability of the Tudor dynasty that we see Daubeney, Oxford and Surrey making such a significant contribution; it is also to that of the Stuarts, for what we see them - and Huntley and

Crawford in their roles as ambassadors - helping to bring about is the very alliance which was eventually to place James I on the English throne.

The possibility that Ford was attempting to remind King Charles that he, as well as his ancestors, owed a considerable debt of gratitude to the aristocratic families who had in a sense seated him safely on his throne, and that the writer may furthermore have been hinting that it was a debt which was currently not being discharged in anything like a satisfactory manner, is strengthened when we remember that the dedicatee of Perkin Warbeck was William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, the patron of Jonson and himself a minor playwright. Cavendish was a member of the old nobility - his uncle was the Earl of Devonshire, his grandmother the celebrated Bess of Hardwick, and one of his first cousins Arabella Stuart - but for all this he had never attained the position at the court of Charles I to which he felt that his rank and family connections automatically entitled him. Antonia Fraser has spoken with regard to the reign of James I of 'the indignation of those nobles, heads of the ruling families, who considered themselves the king's "natural councillors" and as such unfairly excluded by upstarts such as Carr and Buckingham'.<sup>19</sup> In the time of Charles I things grew even worse, and Martin Butler remarks that 'within the court were grandees like Arundel and Newcastle who, magnifying the prestige of the nobility and the important place due to them in government, resented the influence wielded by meanly-born upstarts'.<sup>20</sup> He adds of Newcastle that 'by birth (as a scion of a great Tudor family) and temperament an Elizabethan, he was out of his depth in Charles's progressive court, isolated, distrustful and saddened by the decline of the English nobility...later he complained reproachfully that Charles had neglected the old, established nobility and surrounded himself with "meane people"'.<sup>21</sup> This is a complaint which sounds very like Ford's lament in The Golden Mean that

one generall note is ever remarkable in a Prince, whose uncertaintie of favour, is curious to please his variablenesse in the change of newe friends ; that then the Ancient Nobilitie beares alwaies the least sway; for the government of that Princes minde, is so besotted with affecting his owne affections, as hee accounteth those onely worthie of the Noblest titles and preferments, which hee imagineth are (but in themselves else are not) desertful.

And (most lamentably) are places of Authoritie rent from the administration of perfect Wisedome, and perfect Noblenesse, to be conferred on those, who are onely wise, because thought so, and onely Noble, because made so. Wherein the Noble indeed are upon very trifles quarrelled against, that the possession of their Honors and Jurisdictions, may passe smoother away to upstart favorites: and this cannot be other than a maine wound, both to vertue and the lovers of vertue.

(p.283) In his own plays, Newcastle set forward the alternative which he himself considered far preferable to the personal rule of Charles I: a return to the great days of Elizabeth, when magnates like his step-grandfather Shrewsbury, the guardian of Mary, Queen of Scots, had enjoyed the influence and power which Newcastle felt they deserved. In The Variety his character Manly dresses and acts like Elizabeth's favourite the Earl of Leicester, and Martin Butler considers that 'the opinions of Manly - patriotic, nostalgic for England's Elizabethan greatness - express Newcastle's own discontent with a Frenchified, unheroic court and its king'.<sup>22</sup> Such was the man to whom Perkin Warbeck was dedicated.

It will have been noticed that the name of the Earl of Arundel, another Ford dedicatee, was linked above with that of Newcastle, who was his wife's first cousin, as sharing a general disillusionment with the court of Charles. Arundel was 'ambitious to take that place as an officer of state which he believed his title owed him';<sup>23</sup> like Newcastle, he

not only deplored the absence of 'vertue' in public life, but saw its demise as, in part, the result of unwelcome changes in the system of government. The old organs like the Privy Council were no longer exercised as they had been and it was because they were ignored that the body politic no longer functioned healthily. Arundel believed that in the golden days of Elizabeth men of ancient 'Greatness', the scions of the old aristocracy, had peopled the Privy Council and then



that body had been a true supporter of the Crown.<sup>24</sup>

His biographer also suggests that

Ben Jonson epitomised the views held by Arundel in his text for *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, a masque of 1621. In this, a character appears as an art patron whose destiny it would be:

to make true gentry known

From the fictitious. Not to prize blood  
So much by the Greatness, as by the Good.<sup>25</sup>

It is interesting that the views which Arundel's biographer here attributes to him are couched in language so reminiscent of that of Ford in A Line of Life. In 1626 Charles I even went so far as to try to prevent Arundel from attending the House of Lords, but the other peers had refused to tolerate such an infringement of aristocratic privilege. Arundel had partially returned to favour after the assassination of his enemy Buckingham in 1628, but he was still known to feel that there was room for improvement in Charles' style of government. His principal cause of dissatisfaction was always the reduced status of the old nobility. He himself would have liked to be restored to his grandfather's title of Duke of Norfolk, but it was not just his own position that he was concerned about. On 16th February 1629 he and other peers, including the 3rd Earl of Essex, son of Elizabeth's favourite.

attempted to rehabilitate the historic earldom of Oxford...Through no fault of his own the twentieth Earl of Oxford was, as Arundel put it, 'denuded of any Estate to support this honour'. This was deemed a grave injustice, a travesty against the present holder and his class, a wrong which should be righted. Here was a peer 'full of honour and worth', blessed with the best blood in England and the highest honors, but belittled by a small estate.<sup>26</sup>

Indeed, Arundel's secretary Edward Walker referred to him as 'contenting himself to be as it were the Supporter of ancient Nobility and Gentry,

and to interpose in their behalves. Witness the Care he had in the Education of the now Earl of Oxford'.<sup>27</sup> It should be remembered during what follows that the ancestor of this Earl of Oxford was, of course, one of the peers so favourably treated in Perkin Warbeck. For at this point it will be worthwhile to take a look at the noblemen who feature so prominently in Ford's play. To a large extent Ford had, of course, very little choice in the matter of whom to include in his dramatis personae, since history and his sources had already decided the question for him. There was, however, room for selectivity, for expansion, and even for invention, and also for slight but interesting changes of emphasis. In Perkin Warbeck James IV challenges the Earl of Surrey to decide the issue by single combat. In real life, it had been Surrey who challenged James; and 'James replied to this with an illogical snub; "it became not an Earl thus to challenge a King"'.<sup>28</sup> In thus changing the story round, Ford presents Surrey's behaviour as absolutely faultless, which might have taken some of the sting out of the insult if it still rankled in the breast of Surrey's direct descendant, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. The episode would moreover have served for at least some of the audience as a reminder of that major Howard triumph the Battle of Flodden, where - or so Arundel believed - the Duke of Norfolk had killed James IV in single combat.<sup>29</sup> The compliment would have been particularly welcome to Arundel, who had military aspirations himself, and who when appointed Charles I's commander against the Scots was to have himself painted with the helmet worn by his ancestor at Flodden. Nor was this the only change made by Ford. Bacon's account quotes Perkin's proclamation as stating that Henry 'hath none in favour and trust about his person, but Bishop Foxe, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Riseley, Turbervile, Tyler, Cholmeley, Empson, James Hobarte, John Cutte, Garth, Henry Wyate, and such other caitifs and villains of birth'.<sup>30</sup> To this the editors append the interesting note

that 'the name of Empson is given in the MS. proclamation, but not in Speed: a circumstance worth observing, because we must suppose that Bacon supplied the omission from his recollection of the original; the name of Empson being too notable a one in connection with Henry VII to be overlooked'.<sup>31</sup> By Ford, however, the name of Empson was decisively overlooked, as were all the others but one (that of Bishop Fox) on the above list. Nor were they the only ones to be left out. Bacon says specifically of the Cornish rebellion that 'their aim was at Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the King's screens in this envy' (p.176); and of Henry at Blackheath that 'having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he divided them into three parts. The first was led by the Earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk' (p.179). He further adds that the Londoners, at first alarmed by the rebel force on Blackheath, at last 'grew to be quiet and out of fear; the rather for the confidence they reposed (which was not small) in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex and Dawbeney; all men well famed and loved amongst the people' (p.181).

Gainsford, too, has details and names not to be found in Ford. He agrees that the anger of the Cornishmen was directed primarily against Bray and Morton,<sup>32</sup> and he says too that Henry sent

to attend upon the Scots, Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, a puissant politike Captain, prisoner at the overthrow of King Rich, the 3. and within two yeares set at liberty, and after Iohn Lord Dinham made high treasurer of England, was appointed to muster the forces of the Countie Palatine of Durham, & the borders round about, & so attend that Service.

(P.157) He adds that 'to keep Warbeck from comming into England & ioining with the Rebels, the whole nobility combined themselves, especially the earle of Essex, & Lord Mountioy' (p.153). Finally, he declares that at Blackheath Henry 'presently sent Iohn Earle of Oxford.

Henry Burchier Earle of Essex, Edmond de la Poole Earle of Suffolke, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Humphrey Stanley, and other worthy martiall men, with a company of Archers and horsemen to environ the Hill where the Rebels were encamped round about' (p.160). Bacon, too, tells us that at Blackheath 'the lord Dawbeney charged them with great fury; insomuch as it had like by accident to have brandled the fortune of the day. For by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting in the head of his troops, he was taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered' (pp.181-2). Another piece of information found in Bacon is that when Perkin was first heard of in England 'it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the King and his government, taxing him for a great taxer of his people and a discountenancer of nobility' (p.162). Bacon further tells us that Henry had at least some 'bad counsellors and ministers' (p. 1.53); and adds of Stanley that 'the cause for which he suffered...was little more than for saying in effect that the title of York was better than the title of Lancaster, which was the case of almost every man, at the least in opinion'.

Now all this presents a rather different picture from that seen in Ford's Perkin Warbeck. Ford makes little mention of Morton and none of Bray, and he gives no indication of the fact that Surrey had begun the reign in deep disgrace after his father, Shakespeare's 'Jockey of Norfolk', had fallen fighting on the losing side at Bosworth. Surrey, like Oxford and Daubeney, is blameless. Even Daubeney's narrow escape at Blackheath seems more like an act of heroism than the folly which it is in Bacon's eyes; and although we hear that 'My lord of Oxford with his fellow peers / Environing the hill fell fiercely on them' (ill.i.63-4) we are told nothing more of the 'fellow peers', even though they are listed in Bacon and Gainsford, and the credit goes exclusively to Oxford and Daubeney. Similarly, there is absolutely no suggestion at all that Oxford, Surrey or Daubeney would even for

a moment consider sharing Sir William Stanley's views on the relative merits of the titles of York and Lancaster. Indeed they strongly deny such a possibility in the following exchange:

Durham.	<p style="text-align: right;">You may, you may;</p> <p>And so persuade your subjects that the title Of York is better, nay, more just and lawful Than yours of Lancaster; so Stanley holds: Which if it be not treason in the highest, Then we are traitors all, perjured and false, Who have took oath to Henry and the justice Of Henry's title - Oxford, Surrey, Daubeney, With all your other peers of state and church, Forsworn, and Stanley true alone to heaven And England's lawful heir.</p>
Oxford.	<p style="text-align: right;">By Vere's old honours,</p> <p>I'll cut his throat dares speak it.</p>
Surrey.	<p style="text-align: right;">'Tis a quarrel</p> <p>T'engage a soul in.</p>

(II.ii.14-26) It is notable, too, that there is no mention in Perkin of any shadow of a breach between Henry and his peers, despite the accusation in Bacon that he was regarded as a 'discountenancer of nobility'. There are also several occasions where a number of names appear in Bacon and Gainsford but are absent in Ford, who lists only those of Oxford, Surrey, and Daubeney. Of these omissions, perhaps the most surprising is that of the Earl of Essex, for it was through the Essex of this period, his great-great-grand-uncle Henry Bouchier, that Elizabeth's favourite derived his title; and we have already seen Ford's interest in that doomed young man. But it must be remembered that if, as has been argued, Ford really intended to remind Charles I of the debt the English monarchy owed to the nobility, then nothing would have been more fatal to his case than the mention of the name of the last aristocrat to lead an armed revolt against the Crown. It was far wiser for him to concentrate his praise on Oxford, Surrey, and Daubeney. These are not, however, the only characters to be portrayed in a consistently favourable light, for in another departure from his sources Ford introduces upon the scene Huntley, Crawford and Dalyell

the latter totally an invention of his own. These three - even Crawford in the little we see of him - are always admirable, and never, even under some considerable provocation, deviate from their loyalty to their rather undeserving sovereign. When so many characters display individually such nobility and such rectitude of sentiment, it is perhaps hardly surprising that they should all be presented as the best of friends. There is no rivalry amongst Henry's noblemen for his favours, for office or for command; Katherine feels that she can trust the Countess of Crawford with her father's opinion that the King is in error; and towards the end of the play both Henry and Oxford show great consideration for Huntley. Despite the differences between the English and Scottish kings, despite indeed the fact that for part of the play they are effectively at war, Crawford, Dalrymple and Huntley, by being distanced throughout from James' policy-making and by actually being in England and on stage at the end of the play, seem almost like part of one big happy family with Oxford, Surrey and Daubeney. And it is when looked at as various members of a large and complex family that the noblemen of Perkin Warbeck may suddenly acquire a new interest, for there exist close family relationships between the noblemen of the fifteenth century who were characters in Ford's play and the noblemen of the seventeenth century to whom Ford had addressed dedications. The close friendships between the nobles which Ford depicts in the play seem also to have existed in real life, for their children intermarried. Daubeney's son married Surrey's daughter, but left no issue, and rather more to the present point Surrey's grandson, the poet Earl executed by Henry VIII, married Oxford's great-niece, Frances de Vere. The great-grandchild of their marriage was Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who had been one of the four dedicatees of Ford's Honour Triumphant and was, as we have already noticed above, a political associate of the Earl of Newcastle, dedicatee of Perkin Warbeck, and

the husband of Newcastle's first cousin. The Surrey of Perkin Warbeck left other children, too. One daughter became the mother of Queen Anne Boleyn and one son the father of Queen Catherine Howard; and the son of Surrey's second marriage was the great-grandfather of Elizabeth Howard, a girl who was doubly a Howard because she was also descended from Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Anne Boleyn and daughter of a Howard. And this Elizabeth Howard was better known as the Countess of Peterborough, for she was the wife of the Earl of Peterborough to whom Ford in 1633 had dedicated 'Tis Pity She's A Whore. Nor is this the end of our concern with the House of Howard. Elizabeth Howard, Countess of Peterborough, claimed descent from Mary Boleyn through her great-grandfather Henry, who had been Mary's son. Mary had also had a daughter, Catherine, who as the mother of Lettice Knollys was the grandmother of Penelope Devereux, dedicatee of Fame's Memorial, and also of Dorothy Devereux, Countess of Northumberland, wife of the dedicatee of The Golden Mean. It should be noted that the Northumberlands were also the parents-in-law of Viscount Doncaster, to whom the presentation copy of A Line of Life is dedicated. Since Mary Boleyn, from whom all these derived their descent, was Surrey's granddaughter, we can see that from the Surrey of Perkin Warbeck were descended two of Ford's dedicatees and the wives of three other dedicatees. We also see that it was possible for him to eulogise an ancestor of the Essex family (for Essex was, of course, the brother of Penelope and Dorothy Devereux) without ever having to mention the name of Essex.

This is not the end of the story. It has already been remarked that the Oxford of the play had a great-niece, Frances de Vere, who married Surrey's grandson and became the great-grandmother of Ford's Earl of Arundel. The same family much later produced Lady Susan de Vere, who in a love-match in 1604 became the Countess of Montgomery. She was one of the two overall dedicatees of Ford's Honour Triumphant, and she was also, through her mother Anne Cecil, the first cousin once removed of

Francis Bacon, author of one of Ford's two principal sources for Perkin Warbeck. Lady Susan's sister, Elizabeth, had earlier become the wife of the Earl of Derby. Perhaps this might help to explain the exceptionally favourable light in which Ford painted Sir William Stanley, from whose brother the Earls of Derby were descended. John Davies of Hereford and Gainsford, author of Ford's other source for Perkin Warbeck, had both dedicated works to Lord and Lady Derby's sister-in-law, the Countess Dowager. There were also family connections between the Countess Dowager and the Earl of Newcastle, and her husband had been related to both the Howards and the Herberts. As for the Daubeney of Perkin Warbeck, although his son's marriage to Surrey's daughter was childless he did have another child, Cecily. This daughter of Daubeney became, by her marriage to John Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarine, the ancestress of the Bouchier Earls of Bath. One of these, Cecily's great-grandson, married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford; and this made him the brother-in-law of Elizabeth's sister Anne, Countess of Warwick, who was in her turn the sister-in-law of Lettice Knollys, and the perpetual advocate and protectress of Lettice's son, the Earl of Essex. On one occasion Lady Warwick sent the errant Earl 'a message saying that if he obtained his liberty and came to Greenwich she would contrive an opportunity to let him"into the palace gardens one day when the Queen happened to be in a good humour, so that he might plead his cause in person'.<sup>33</sup> The Earl of Bedford's son, too, the sixth earl, was a member of the Essex party; and the sixth earl's wife, Lucy Harington, was a patroness of Daniel, Florio, and many others. Interestingly enough, this Russell alliance also made Lord Bath the brother-in-law of Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland, whose daughter Lady Anne Clifford, the pupil of Samuel Daniel, became the second wife of Ford's dedicatee the Earl of Montgomery.<sup>34</sup> Both the Countess of Cumberland and her daughter were recipients of dedications from Samuel Daniel, and we know from



Lady Anne's diary that she was also friendly with others in what we might loosely term the Ford circle. In January 1617 we read that 'My Lady Arundel had much talk with me...From Somerset House we went to Essex House to see my Lady of Northumberland'; and 'upon the 6th being Twelfth Day I went about 4 o'clock to the Court with my Lord. I went up with my Lady Arundel and ate a scrambling supper with her and my Lady Pembroke at my lord Duke's lodgings'.<sup>35</sup> (It is difficult to imagine who this Duke can have been other than Ford's dedicatee the Duke of Lennox). This marriage into the Russell family also linked Lord Bath with Lady Bacon, mother of Francis, and with Lady Burghley, grandmother of the Countess of Montgomery of Honour Triumphant, since their sister Elizabeth had married John, Lord Russell. Apart from the marriage alliance and close friendship between the Bouchiers of Bath and the Russells,<sup>36</sup> it is difficult to see much connection between them and the other peers here considered, although it may be worth noting that an Earl of Bath, along with his contemporary Earls of Arundel and Pembroke<sup>37</sup> and the contemporary Sir John Mordaunt,<sup>38</sup> was amongst the earliest and strongest supporters of the Catholic Mary I when she was faced with the revolt of Lady Jane Grey, and went on to become one of Queen Mary's most reliable Privy Councillors. During the reign of Elizabeth, too, 'Henry Bouchier, brother of the Earl of Bath, was openly stated to be involved in pro-Catholic intriguing'.<sup>39</sup> Little can be ascertained of the Earls of Bath, for they never held public office (which might in itself be a sign of possible Catholic sympathies). The Earl of Arundel, however, made a will in September 1641 appointing 'my right noble Cousins and friends the Earls of Bath and Dorset the Executors'.<sup>40</sup> We know, too, that the third earl had been the grandson of Sir Thomas Kytson, and was thus connected by marriage with the first wife of Newcastle's father, and with the Cornwallises, who were clients of the Howards.<sup>41</sup> The

Comwallises and the Kytsons were part of a strongly Catholic circle, and the Earls of Bath too seem to have been traditionally Catholic, though the third earl received a dedication from the rabidly anti-Catholic Matthew Sutcliffe. We also know that 'the 3th Earl of Bath declared an income in 1642 of about SI,000, a third of which was devoted to raising £12,000 as marriage portions for his three nieces'.<sup>42</sup> (Might this elderly, childless uncle of three nieces possibly have had something to do with Ford's character Octavio in what was almost certainly his next play after Perkin Warbeck, The Fancies Chaste and Noble?) The only thing we can say for certain is that the Earls of Bath - like their ancestor Daubeney, builder of the famous Barrington Court in Somerset - would have been well-known in Ford's native county of Devonshire, for they had substantial estates there and both the third and the fourth earl were buried there. Edward the fourth earl, too, received a dedication from Gervase Markham's brother Francis. These links combine to suggest that these descendants of a Ford character may, as in the other instances, have been associated with Ford's dedicatees.

The English noblemen of Perkin Warbeck were not the only ones to have left descendants. It is not absolutely clear which Earl of Crawford Ford has in mind, but Gifford, in his edition of Ford, points out that the peer of the play is possibly the brother-in-law of Lady Katherine Gordon's sister, another daughter of Huntley.<sup>43</sup> This would make the Countess of Crawford of the play Elizabeth Hamilton, a distant connection of James IV and I on his father's side, and also, therefore, a connection of Newcastle's late cousin Lady Arabella Stuart, and also of Arundel's daughter-in-law, Lady Elizabeth Stuart. About Huntley himself we can be more certain. As well as Katherine and the daughter who married Crawford's brother, he had also a son, the third earl, and a grandson, George Gordon, 4th Earl of Huntley, who was killed while apparently trying to rescue Mary Queen of Scots

from the power of her half-brother the Earl of Moray. He was succeeded by his son the 3th Earl, also named George, who was the brother-in-law of Queen Mary's third husband the Earl of Bothwell and who, along with the Hamiltons (the Countess of Crawford's family), attempted to restore Mary to the throne, showing a rather forlorn loyalty which was perhaps hardly surprising since 'the Gordons of Huntley adhered in fact, if not always by profession to the Catholic church'.<sup>44</sup> It was perhaps this ardent Catholicism which in 1588 led the fifth earl's son, George the sixth earl, to contract a marriage with Lady Henrietta Stuart, eldest daughter of James VI's rabidly Catholic favourite Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox - a circumstance which made Huntley the brother-in-law of Ford's 1606 dedicatee Ludovick Stuart, 2nd Duke of Lennox. Despite James VI's protection of him, the sixth earl eventually succumbed to unrelenting pressure from the Kirk and openly professed Protestantism, but no-one was remotely convinced of his sincerity in doing so, and when in March 1606-7 he was summoned before the Scottish Privy Council to answer a charge of Catholicism he felt that his safest course was to appeal to James in England. He came south again ten years later, on a visit which attracted considerable attention because the Archbishop of Canterbury lifted from him the Church's sentence of excommunication. On his deathbed in 1635, however, he professed himself to be of the Catholic faith; and his uncle, James Gordon, was a Jesuit priest who had even attempted the conversion of King James while he was still in Scotland. The sixth earl's son, though, George Gordon, 2nd marquis of Huntley (who died of grief on hearing of the execution of Charles 1) was educated a Protestant, for he was brought up at the court of James I along with the young princes Henry and Charles. Although he was resident in France between 1622 and 1636, it might be worth noting that it is not impossible that Ford might have made his acquaintance, or at least have become aware of his existence, before he left England;

and that he was not only the nephew of Lennox but was also the first cousin of Arundel's daughter-in-law.

So much for Huntley's son. But it is not as the father of a son but as the father of a daughter, Lady Katherine Gordon, that Huntley is prominent in Perkin Warbeck, and that daughter also occupies an interesting place in the histories of some of the families at which we have been looking. All that has been said of her father's connections obviously applies to her as well, and it is notable that it was her brother from whom the 2nd marquis of Huntley claimed descent. But her relationships through her mother Annabella, daughter of James I of Scotland and Queen Joan Beaufort, are possibly even more interesting. Henry in Perkin Warbeck addresses Katherine as his 'cousin' (V.ii.144); and so she is, for her grandmother, Joan Beaufort, was his great-aunt, and that makes them second cousins (which would be a point to consider for those critics who have felt that Henry is here offering Katherine a chance to become his mistress). Through Joan Beaufort, also, even more than through their other common ancestor James I of Scotland, Katherine was of the same blood as James VI and I. Owing to an extraordinary amount of intermarriage three of his grandparents were descended from one or both of Queen Joan's two marriages (the second was with the picturesquely-named James Stewart, Black Knight of Lorne)<sup>45</sup> It was also from those two marriages that Ludovick Stuart, 2nd Duke of Lennox, was descended, as was Arundel's daughter-in-law Lady Elizabeth Stuart, the daughter of Esmé, 3rd Duke of Lennox. Thus, although Katherine was not the ancestress of King James, of Lennox, or of Elizabeth Stuart, she was closely and complicatedly connected to them all, and that in a period when the ramifications of kinship were recognised at a much greater distance than they are today.

Katherine was, in fact, no-one's ancestress, for not one of her four marriages seems to have produced children. Her will (dated 12th October, 1537) makes no mention of any (nor does it refer to Perkin

Warbeck, although all her other husbands are mentioned by name). She did, however, have a step-child. This was Margaret Cradock, the daughter of Katherine's third husband, Matthew Cradock of Swansea; and the son of Margaret Cradock was William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke, grandfather of the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery to whom Ford dedicated two of the four parts of Honour Triumphant. It is clear from Sir Matthew's will that he was extremely fond of Lady Katherine,<sup>46</sup> and indeed he built a magnificent tomb (formerly in St Mary's Church, Swansea, but destroyed in World War II) for her and for himself, but although the inscription on it recorded that she was buried there she did in fact live to take a fourth husband, Sir Christopher Assheton of Fyfield in Berkshire, and it is at Fyfield that she is interred. The tomb built by Sir Matthew was of some interest in its own right, however, for its armorial bearings included those of Hay, the family of Viscount Doncaster, to whom Ford dedicated A Line of Life. The reason for the presence of the Hay arms is unclear. The Rev. J.. Montgomery Traherne remarks that

this Coat must have been inserted out of compliment to Lady Catherine's family. The second Wife of her Father was a Hay, as was also the first Wife of her Grandfather; but as she did not descend from either of these marriages, she had no right to quarter the Arms. Her Grandfather, Alexr de Seton, Earl of Huntley, bore the same arms without the Ox yoke; possibly, after all, the Hay arms may have been used by mistake.<sup>47</sup>

It does seem possible, however, that Lady Katherine's name was in some way connected with the family of yet another Ford dedicatee. There is also one last point. Although Katherine was not in fact the ancestress of the Earls of Pembroke, it has nevertheless been more than once claimed that she was; Horace Walpole thought so, and so, according to Gifford, did Sir Robert Gordon, 'whom Douglas calls the historian of the family'. He flatly stated that 'shee mareid Sir Mathie Cradock (a man of great power at that tyme in Glamorganshire in Wales), of the

marriage is descended this William Earle of Pembroke, by his grandmother, and had some lands by inheritance from the Cradockes. Lady Katherine Gordon died in Wales, and was buried in a chappell at one of the Earle of Pembroke's dwelling-places in that cuntry'.<sup>48</sup> Now we have already seen that Lady Katherine neither died in Wales nor was buried there - and wills and pedigrees leave no doubt that Margaret Cradock, mother of the first Earl of Pembroke, was in fact the daughter of Sir Matthew's first wife Alice Mansel. But it is possible that Ford, if he did indeed know of Lady Katherine's connection with the Pembrokes, may not have known all the details, and could perhaps have come across such erroneous information as that given above. If Ford does; not supply a date for the history written by Sir Robert Gordon; but one can guess from the orthography and from the reference to 'this William Earle of Pembroke' and his grandmother (Margaret Cradock was in fact his great-grandmother) that the passage is very probably written during the lifetime of, and referring to, Ford's dedicatee, who died in 1630. Events in Glamorgan would not necessarily have been too remote for Ford to have had any knowledge of them. It has already been remarked that his mother was the niece of Lord Chief Justice Popham; and Popham's mother and wife both came from Glamorgan. Moreover, it was by no means uncommon for the children of a first wife to be erroneously ascribed to a second; and Margaret Duchess of Newcastle gives the desire to prevent such an error as her principal reason for including an account of her own life along with that of her husband.<sup>49</sup> All this, however, can only be speculation, especially in view of the declaration by the Lady Katherine of the play that she will never marry again. It cannot be proven, although it seems likely, that Ford knew of her connection with the Pembrokes. It does, however, seem certain that he would have known of her close family connections with King James, with the Duke of Lennox, and with the wife of the Earl of Arundel's heir.

The last remaining character to be considered is Dalyell, and here the problem becomes even more complicated. Of the Dalyell of the play Gifford remarks 'there are two persons of that name, William and Robert Dalzell, grandsons of Sir John Dalzell, either of whom, from the date, might be meant for the character here introduced. Of the former nothing is recorded: the latter, Douglas says, \*"was killed at Dumfries in a skirmish between Maxwell and Crichton, July 1508'".<sup>50</sup> The lack of nobility which Huntley cites as a reason for not wishing to give his daughter to Dalyell (I.ii.13-19) also makes it very difficult to trace the family, and all that can easily be discovered is that the Dalyell of Ford's own day was later created Earl of Carnwath, has been described by C.V. Wedgwood as a 'loud-voiced, wooden-headed warrior',<sup>51</sup> and was thought by Clarendon to have been more or less single-handedly responsible for the Royalist defeat at Naseby.<sup>52</sup> There is, however, one other piece of information about the Earl of Carnwath, tantalising in its difficulty of interpretation. In an extremely interesting article, Peter Ure has pointed out that during 1632 and 1633 a fierce genealogical controversy was raging, to which Charles I had inadvertently given rise by raising his distant cousin from the earldom of Menteith to that of Strathearn.<sup>53</sup> The significance of this act had been that Strathearn was the hereditary title of the descendants of the second, legally married wife of King Robert I of Scotland, but that despite the unquestionable legality of this union the succession to the throne had been vested in the issue of King Robert's earlier and rather more irregular relationship with Elizabeth Mure of Rowallan, whose bastard children had eventually been legitimised despite the fact that King Robert and Elizabeth were well within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. The descendants of the second wife, Euphemia Ross, had continued to give the Stuart kings trouble, until they had eventually been barred from any title to the earldom

of Strathearn. Nobody, however, seems to have told Charles I this; and when Malise Graham, the Earl of Menteith, petitioned for the title of Earl of Strathearn, he was given it apparently without a second thought. Charles discovered too late what a hornets' nest he had stirred up, for by the extremest possible interpretation of his act he had actually called into question the legitimacy of his own claim to the Scottish throne. The matter was discussed in the Scottish Parliament, and Charles in a fury with many of his advisers discovered that he had no alternative: he must despatch someone to Scotland to demote the new earl of Strathearn and sort out the whole messy business. The man he chose for this purpose was Robert Dalyell, the future earl of Carnwath. Now it is notable that the only character whom Ford introduces into Perkin Warbeck without having found him in his sources is Dalyell; and it is equally notable that one of the few pieces of historical information found in Perkin Warbeck and not derived from Bacon or Gainsford is found in the following lines of Dalyell to Huntley:

I could add more; and in the rightest line  
Derive my pedigree from Adam Mure,  
A Scottish knight, whose daughter was the mother  
To him that first begot the race of Jameses  
That sway the sceptre to this very day.

(I.ii.29-33) The daughter of Adam Mure was Elizabeth, whose legitimised eldest son was, as we have seen, chosen as the heir to Robert I. Ford's information is completely correct, although we may well be surprised that he should have been aware of so obscure a fact, which he has apparently taken the trouble to find out for himself. The inclusion of the character-name Dalyell, and of this strange genealogical reference, must, surely, refer to the Menteith / Strathearn affair. Their possible drift will be considered later. Meanwhile it may be noted, in support of the general argument of this chapter, that



although Elizabeth Mure was not herself the ancestress of Dalyell but merely the sister of an ancestor he nevertheless takes, as it were, part of the credit for her. This makes it seem all the more likely that Katherine Gordon, who stood in the same relationship to the Earls of Huntley and in a similar one to the Duke of Lennox and to Arundel's daughter-in-law, would have been similarly regarded by them as a relation. Moreover, Ford here is displaying both a consciousness of and a highly detailed knowledge of the family tree of at least one of his characters, which makes one the readier to believe in a similar awareness in the cases of others.

Indeed, the study of genealogy, along with that of heraldry, was one of the great crazes of the Jacobean and Caroline periods. This may be seen in the extraordinarily large surviving number of pedigrees, both real and fictitious, of the period, including one which greatly delighted James VI and I by tracing his descent directly back to Adam and Eve ( though who, it might be asked, does not descend from Adam and Eve?) As early as 1585 the frieze in the Great Chamber at Gilling Castle in Yorkshire was 'mainly filled with the arboreal family trees of the Yorkshire gentry who were entertained there',<sup>54</sup> while the approach to the garden at Theobalds was 'through a loggia printed with genealogies',<sup>55</sup> and 'the College of Arms was inundated with applications for heraldic devices'.<sup>56</sup> Elaborate family trees were painted, etched, embroidered and engraved, frequently with small portraits of the various members of a family above their names. And we know that some at least of Ford's dedicatees took an especially lively interest in the subject of their ancestors and their connections. Newcastle's second wife, in the biography that she was later to write of him, shows a phenomenal knowledge of his family history: beginning his pedigree, she confidently asserts 'I could derive it from a longer time, and reckon up a great many of his Ancestors, even from the time of William the Conqueror'.<sup>57</sup>

In much the same spirit Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, whose close friendship with many of Ford's dedicatees has already been remarked upon, refers in a letter to her eldest son to a very remote ancestress indeed, Catherine Swynford, wife of John of Gaunt. She was, says the Queen, 'a low woman', and she cautions her son that 'we shoulde seek to follow our ancestours vertues and not their vices'.<sup>58</sup> Neither of these, however, carried what Lawrence Stone has described as a 'cultivated ancestor-worship'<sup>59</sup> as far as did the Earl of Arundel. In 1621 he went to the Tower for refusing to let pass an insult to his ancestors;<sup>60</sup> he had his portrait painted in full armour, an act which has been called 'a make-believe revival of the past in the social life of the present';<sup>61</sup> and he deliberately set out to be 'the protector of the honor of the Howards'.<sup>62</sup> A recent historian of the Howard family has written that

in the late sixteenth century there began that remarkable cult of the past which is such a strong and consistent feature of the Howard family history...Their successors would always look back with nostalgia and reverence to the departed glories of the first four Howard dukes, the Brothertons, the Staffords, the de Veres, the Fitzalans and the whole host of the medieval baronage, a lost world of ancient Catholic piety and aristocratic privilege, in contrast to the decadence and mediocrity of the present. The urge to revive, to relive, or to commemorate adequately, that lost baronial and Catholic past would be a powerful force determining the behaviour to a greater or lesser degree of all the future heads of the family.<sup>63</sup>

Of Ford's Arundel, he further writes that

Thomas was fascinated by the story of the Howards...For this reason Holbein was among his favourite artists...he had immortalized the Howards and their world in what seemed in retrospect their golden age of power, riches and glory...Much of Arundel's own achievement, the repair and recording of ancient tombs, the erection of monuments to his relations, the commissioning of paintings of his ancestors and events in family history, his patronage of historical scholarship, was a tribute to and commemoration of the Howards.<sup>64</sup>

Nor is this only a modern interpretation. Clarendon, too, remarked of

him that he 'thought no other parte of history considerable, but what related to his owne family, in which no doubt ther had bene some very memorable persons'.<sup>65</sup> Such a man could scarcely have failed to look benevolently on a play which presented his ancestor the Earl of Surrey in so favourable a light.

In the seventeenth century, too, cousinage was recognised even at removes which may now seem extraordinary. This was seen particularly during the period of Buckingham's meteoric rise to favour, when a marriage alliance with even the most distant of his relatives was suddenly enough to procure a person favour. So Muriel St. Clare Byrne, in her edition of A New Way to Pay Old Debts, writes of Sir Giles Mompesson, possible original of *Overreach*, that 'the marriage of his sister-in-law to the half-brother of the King's unpopular favourite, George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, brought him to Villiers' notice';<sup>66</sup> and so, too, Anne, dowager countess of Arundel, refers to Henry Cavendish and his wife Grace as 'my brother and-sister'<sup>67</sup> when they were in fact the aunt and uncle of her daughter-, in-law. Similarly, Elizabeth, Lady Lumley, referred to Arundel as 'my nere kinsman',<sup>68</sup> for she was the second wife of his uncle by marriage. More striking still is 'the claim to cousinhood advanced in the early seventeenth century by Thomas Wentworth in a letter to Sir Henry Slingsby. The connection was indeed there, but there were no fewer than seven links in the genealogical chain which joined the two, three of them by marriage through the female line'.<sup>69</sup> At much the same period Mary Countess of Warwick used the revealing phrase 'I was married into my husband's family'.<sup>70</sup> Nor was it only the aristocracy who looked at family connections in this way, as is shown by the interest taken by the diarist Manningham in the great-granddaughter of 'a Dutchman, of kin to my cosens first wifes sisters husband'.<sup>71</sup> The marriage alliance, indeed, was a tie which bonded

not just two individuals but also their entire families, especially since two generations of one family might quite commonly marry two generations of another, sometimes at the same time. Leicester's nephew's widow married the Earl of Essex, the son of Leicester's second wife; the fourth Duke of Norfolk married the widowed Lady Dacre at the same time as his son the Earl of Arundel married her daughter; and Bess of Hardwick, grandmother of the dedicatee of Perkin Warbeck, married her daughter by her first marriage to her fourth husband's son, and her son to his daughter. It is notable, too, that Bacon, when speaking of Sir William Stanley in relation to King Henry, should call him 'a man that was tied unto him in so near a band of alliance, his brother having married the King's mother',<sup>72</sup> and that Massinger should have dedicated A New Way to Pay Old Debts to Robert, Earl of Carnarvon, a man apparently completely unknown to him, on the grounds that 'I was born a devoted servant, to the thrice noble family of your incomparable Lady'. All this suggests that while the family relationships which exist between Ford's dedicatees and Ford's characters may seem to us today to be impossibly obscure, they would have been aspects of family history of which the dedicatees themselves may be expected to have been perfectly well aware. It is also possible that within the relatively small world of the London aristocracy, where, as we have seen in Lady Anne Clifford's diary, there was a constant social round, such knowledge would have been fairly widespread. It may, however, be granted that very few of the merchant class or even of the knightage would have been likely to know that the Lady Katherine Gordon whom they were seeing on the stage was in real life the second wife of the great-great-grandfather of the Earl of Pembroke. They would have been more likely to realise that Surrey, as a Howard, was the ancestor of Arundel - Arundel, after all, always signed himself 'Arundel and Surrey' - but they may well not have known that Arundel, almost twenty years earlier, had been the recipient of a Ford dedication. On the

whole, therefore, it may safely be said that if part of the message of Perkin Warbeck is to be taken as lying in the family connections between some of Ford's characters and some of Ford's dedicatees, then it was a message able to be understood by only a very, very few, a highly select band of the aristocracy, while the rest of the audience remained in blissful ignorance.

It is, of course, always possible that Ford himself was in fact ignorant of all these complicated genealogical links ; that the connections which can be traced between his characters and his dedicatees are the merest coincidence; and that this approach brings us no nearer to understanding the mystery of Perkin Warbeck. It seems to me, however, that Dalyell's reference to his descent from Adam Mure, and indeed the inclusion of the name Dalyell at all - of which Peter Ure has said in his edition that 'the hypothesis that Ford knew the contemporary Dalyells seems worth investigating' - encourage the audience or reader to consider the characters not just as isolated figures in history but as founders or members of families. We know, too, that Ford was by no means ignorant of history: Peter Ure points out in his note on II.i.24-8, where Philip Augustus; and Robert the Bruce are mentioned, that 'these two historical examples seem to be original to Ford, not drawn from the sources'. If, moreover, the play is indeed to be connected with Arundel, then he would have been the ideal person to supply Ford with this sort of information. As Earl Marshal 'his servants were the heralds and part of their job was searching and maintaining records'. **73** The heralds had, indeed, 'qualified themselves for their places by unrivalled knowledge of remote history'. **74** Arundel would have had not only the means but also the inclination to help. He 'loved history', **75** especially that dealing with the period of 'the Tudor Howards, to whose memory Arundel was always to be devoted': **76** he 'had a passion for anything to do with

the reign of Henry VIII, a time when his family and country had both been great, and he was deeply interested to discover what had made that possible'.<sup>77</sup> The period dramatised in Perkin Warbeck is precisely that at which the Howard family fortunes began to recover from their setback at Bosworth and to begin a steady rise. Moreover, Arundel was associated, through his great friend Sir Robert Cotton, with the revolution in techniques of writing history brought about by such historians as Camden, and 'this revolution was to bring the discipline into a dialogue with social and political thought so that those wishing for a change in the order of government turned to historians as their natural allies'.<sup>78</sup> In Cotton's own history The Reigne of Henry III

he implied that the necessary reform of the corrupt Jacobean politiea.<sup>1</sup> system, in which honours went to the highest bidder, could be accomplished only if there was a return to the primitive but pure system of government that had existed during the reign of that Angevin king. The moral for Arundel, at once patron and pupil of the author, was that history was a living tradition applicable to the present.<sup>79</sup>

Arundel himself wrote to Cotton from Padua of his belief that 'a study of history was an ethical endeavour'.<sup>80</sup> He was always deeply committed to 'the preservation of the past, the encouragement of the future, generous provision for artists and primary sources for scholars'.<sup>81</sup> Most interestingly of all, he himself commissioned a history of his family; and the man whom he asked to write it was none other than John Hayward, whose dedication of his history of Henry IV to Essex had played so instrumental a part in the unhappy favourite's downfall. This choice alone speaks volumes about Arundel's attitudes to the writing of history, and makes it seem even more probable that he would have been well-disposed towards such a work as Perkin Warbeck is here argued to be.

Moreover, the drawing of parallels between the situation shown in

a history play and contemporary political events was, as we have seen above, often employed as a way of reading a history play (compare the difficulties with the censor which led to the enlisting of Shakespeare to help write part of Sir Thomas More). The known political views of the play's dedicatee Newcastle provide further encouragement to see Perkin Warbeck as a discreet reminder to Charles I that he and his ancestors owed their throne to the loyalty and courage of the nobility of England and Scotland, and that in refusing to heed their advice or to give them posts of authority commensurate with their rank, he was wantonly ignoring one of his most valuable resources. It is perhaps even possible that the veiled reference to the Menteith / Strathearn affair might be taken as something like a hint that his own position was not unassailable, and that just as Henry VII, Charles' ancestor, had been troubled with 'the ghosts of York' (1.i.6), so it was just conceivable that Charles I himself might one day find a pretender, perhaps even, for example, the Earl of Menteith, raising the banner of rebellion against him; and that then nothing could save him but the absolute devotion of those very peers of the realm from whom he was in 1634 apparently set on alienating himself. The fact that we with hindsight know that within a decade the banner of rebellion was indeed raised against the king, albeit not by a pretender, and that two at least of the noblemen with whom we can show Ford to have been associated, the Earl of Peterborough and the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, took up arms not with the king but against him, adds a distinct note of sharpness to this putative warning.

Perkin Warbeck, then, far from being an exploration of one of history's by-paths, may be seen as a direct and acute comment on Charles I's conduct towards his nobility, and even as containing in some strange shape a prophecy of the Civil War to come. The question remains as to whom this remarkably perceptive warning was addressed.

If Charles or Henrietta Maria ever saw the play, one could not blame them if the familial connections between Ford's early dedicatees and the characters in the play - and indeed the reference to the Menteith / Stratheam affair itself - failed to strike them at first glance. They could not, after all, necessarily be expected to know that all but one (William, Lord Craven, who was perhaps a friend) of Ford's previous titled dedicatees had an ancestor or a relation favourably represented in the play; nor would they have realised that Ford had introduced both Dalyell and the information concerning his genealogy without having found them in his sources, unless, as seems unlikely, they were exceptionally familiar with both Bacon and Gainsford. The only person capable of profiting by the warning seems in fact to have been the last person whose ears it was likely to reach. The man who might have been expected to know at least his Gainsford, however, would be Ford's 1606 dedicatee the Earl of Arundel, for to him Gainsford had dedicated his work. It had also been the Earl of Arundel who had tried to rescue Bacon from the wreck of his political fortunes in the wake of his impeachment. The Earl of Pembroke's first wife, too, was a first cousin once removed of Bacon's, and his second wife Lady Anne Clifford also had connections by marriage with the historian; and 'the 4th Earl of Pembroke was hardly less proud of his family than the 2nd Earl of Arundel'.<sup>82</sup> In short, the people who would have been most likely to recognise any warning in Perkin Warbeck to Charles I that he was neglecting his nobility would have been the neglected nobility themselves, who would also have been able to recognise the family connections between themselves and the admirable characters of the play. It may well be argued that Ford is indeed the dramatist of a coterie, but that the coterie was not, as claimed by Sensabaugh, that of Henrietta Maria's Platonic love-cult but rather of a small group of noblemen hovering equally on the verges of the



court and on the verges of dissatisfaction. Perkin Warbeck might well be thought to have been written primarily not to convey a warning to the King, but more as a comfort and a compliment to those who could congratulate themselves on perceiving and agreeing with its message; and it is perhaps this despair of being able to change or modify the abuses which the playwright discerns, the closedness which comes of preaching only to the converted, which create in the play an atmosphere of witnessing a rebellion which was doomed from the start, and a piece of history which in some fundamental way was too unmomentous and insignificant ever to count as real history. At no stage do we see, for instance, one of those battles which in earlier works of the genre had at least to some extent created the illusion that history was being shaped and determined before the very eyes; of the audience: in Perkin Warbeck, Henry's foresight has long since unalterably decided the course of events. Everything is a foregone conclusion, and the best that the characters can do, as in so many of Ford's plays, is to bear their unpleasant fate with fortitude. And this, perhaps, is the ultimate message of Perkin Warbeck: it may contain a half-hearted attempt to offer advice to the king, but at a rather deeper level its whole atmosphere contains a feeling that any such advice will inevitably be disregarded and that Ford's dedicatees, like Ford's characters, will best show the nobility on which they base their claim to political power by showing themselves, as he had advised the Earl of Northumberland to do in The Golden Mean, superior to their adversities. In the epilogue to The Broken Heart the actor declares that

Our writer's aim was in the whole addressed  
Well to deserve of all, but please the best.

It has also been pointed out by T.J.B. Spencer that 'other writers of

tragedies created meaningful names in plenty...But what is odd about Ford's Greek-sounding names in The Broken Heart is that the significance of the names must have been unintelligible to the audience'.<sup>83</sup> Other critics, too, have commented on Ford's willingness to make himself impenetrable to the generality of his readers. Gifford considered that in Fame's Memorial 'he writes to the *οὐκ ἐπίστοι*, and takes especial pains to keep all but those familiarly acquainted with him in complete ignorance of his story'.<sup>84</sup> Juliet Sutton, too, argues in defence of her interpretation of The Fancies Chaste and Noble that 'it would be quite characteristic of Ford, who in his prologues reveals some intellectual arrogance, to concoct a plot which would be fully intelligible only to a minority of his audience'.<sup>85</sup> If the arguments in this chapter are accepted, it will be seen that the desire to please those whom the writer, at any rate, considers to be the best, is equally much one of the prime motivations of Perkin Warbeck. Ford's putative patrons may also have been quite content for the message of the play to remain indecipherable except to the initiated. In a letter to Sir Robert Cotton, Arundel makes it quite clear that he has no intention 'of having published the history of his family which he has commissioned from Hayward; it is only for his own library'.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps, indeed, the selectivity was part of the appeal, so that here too, as in The Broken Heart, the sense that the message of the play can be conveyed only to those who already know it creates a deep feeling of the uselessness of speech as a general means of communication, and of the need of something with which to replace it. The solution offered here is, apparently, a private language, drawing on deep reservoirs of knowledge on the subject of genealogy.

PERKIN WARBECK ON THE STAGE.

'A play read hath not half the pleasure of a play acted':<sup>1</sup> so said the Elizabethan theatregoer Sir Richard Baker, and it is a comment that is, as might be expected, especially applicable to a dramatist who showed himself so deeply suspicious of language as a means of communication. Ford's plays can only ever come half alive in the reading, for as words failed him he turned increasingly to pictures: Annabella's return to grace is expressed by her physical return to the upper stage from which she had descended to become Giovanni's mistress; Giovanni's determination to possess his sister completely, his confusion of love with food, and the breakdown of language in the play are all encapsulated in the frightful emblem of the heart on the dagger. The language of Perkin Warbeck is as much that of the stage picture and the visual symbol as that of any of his other plays, and indeed perhaps more so, for if the play was indeed making veiled criticisms of Charles I then they would of necessity have to be expressed as obliquely as possible - and there can be few better ways of getting a suspect play past the censor than by having dangerous comments not in the text, which was what the censor read, but enshrined in one of the many other languages through which a performance of a play can speak to an alert audience. Since Ford's avowed aim, in the epilogue to The Broken Heart, was to 'please the best', he would presumably have been quite content for the more complex of the signifying codes used to have been comprehensible only to a few, especially since the play's full meaning was, in any case, almost certainly available only to a very select audience indeed.

The non-verbal signifying systems of which Ford makes use in Perkin Warbeck can be divided into two types: those which he also uses; elsewhere in his work, and those which are peculiar to Perkin. Prominent amongst the first is visual reference to other plays, sometimes, but not always, accompanied by a verbal echo as an additional pointer.

As Keir Elam points out,

appropriate decodification of a given text derives above all from the spectator's familiarity with other texts (and thus with learned textual rules). By the same token, the genesis of the performance itself is necessarily intertextual: it cannot but bear the traces of other performances at every level, whether that of the written text (bearing generic, structural and linguistic relations with other plays), the scenery (which will 'quote' its pictorial or proxemic influences), the actor (whose performance refers back, for the cognoscenti, to other displays), directorial style, and so on...An 'ideal' spectator, in this sense, is one endowed with a sufficiently detailed, and judiciously employed, textual background to enable him to identify all relevant relations and use them as a grid for a correspondingly rich decodification<sup>2</sup>

Of course the 'ideal' spectator for any play of Ford's is by now long since dead, and some of the 'relevant relations' will probably never be recoverable. We shall, for instance, almost certainly never know what, if any, use was made by Ford of the earlier and now lost play on the subject of Perkin Warbeck which Gainsford, author of one of Ford's sources for the play, seems to have seen in 1608-10 or 1614-18.<sup>3</sup> At other points, too, it is unclear whether or not the stage action would be reminiscent of an earlier play, as in IV.v.1-10 where it would be very easy for the actor playing Warbeck to point a comparison between his personage and Shakespeare's Richard II by the simple action of kneeling to touch the earth, but where there is no stage-direction to that effect. There are, however, clear instances; where a knowledge of earlier plays, and particularly those by Ford himself, appears to be of help in deducing the implications of the stage picture. Michael Neill considers that

in Act III, scene iv, Perkin and Bishop Fox compete for the roles of Good and Bad Angels to James, while Crawford and Dalyell act as pious chorus (II.36-34). In Act IV, scene iii, when James enters with 'Durham and Hialas on either side', whispering their silky antiphon in either ear, he looks for all the world like Mankind beset by Vices, or Ford's own Raybright in the grip of Humor and Folly.<sup>4</sup>

The nice balance of Perkin and Bishop Fox 'competing' is, however, subtly upset by the placing of the Bishop on a visually higher level than his opponent; perhaps it is not too far-fetched to claim that this is Ford's way of indicating the impossibly superior odds against Perkin. It has already been remarked above that in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore Ford seems to use the upper stage in this symbolic way, and it also seems reasonable to suppose that much the same effect is intended when Katherine and Perkin first appear on stage together and she is above him, just as her social rank is above his. The next time we see them arrangements are being made for their marriage; Katherine has descended, and unlike Annabella, she remains below with her beloved. It would be very interesting to know what kind of stocks Perkin is put in at the end of the play, for without a clear visual image of the scene we cannot know whether Ford is representing Perkin as utterly, abjectly prostrate, yet nevertheless triumphant, or whether he is by an ironic reversal raised up in some way above the normal surface of the stage so that he achieves both physically and spiritually the stature in death to which he could not attain in life. We can be certain, though, that what Michael Neill calls 'the ceremonial of choice' devised by Huntley for Katherine - 'Keep you on that side of her, I on this'<sup>5</sup> - would recall quite clearly, for anyone who had seen it, the symbolic positioning of the dead body of Penthea between Ithocles and Orgilus in IV,iv of The Broken Heart, so that Katherine too is shown as being caught between two conflicting duties. Similarly, in the stage direction at the very beginning of the play we find 'Enter King Henry... The King supported to his throne by Stanley and Durham'. This is a striking visual image indeed, which combined with the verbal echo of the deposition scene in Richard II which soon follows it conveys with brilliant economy the tenuousness of Henry's hold on the crown, and will also help the audience to register both the shock and the implications

of Stanley's treachery.<sup>6</sup> And if the playwright is indeed concerned to show the dependence of a monarch on his nobles, and the debt which he therefore owes them, he could hardly have found a more fitting symbol. This is not the only time that an entrance is used to dramatic and striking effect. In Perkin Warbeck, as in The Lover's Melancholy, The Broken Heart and for that matter the Shakespeare history plays, it is usual for characters to enter more or less in order of rank, in a visual statement of the hierarchy which governs society. There is of course some room for manoeuvre within the order of entrances - Durham, for instance, comes on ahead of Oxford in I.i, but behind him in II.ii, presumably because they are of roughly equal rank - but for the most part the order of rank is strictly observed. This makes all the more pointed such stage directions as those at II.iii.72, 'Enter Warbeck leading Katherine, complimenting, Countess of Crawford, Jane, Frion...', and at III.ii.83, 'Enter King James, Warbeck leading Katherine, Crawford, Countess and Jane'. If Warbeck is an impostor, then the simple fact of his taking precedence of the Earl and Countess of Crawford is in itself a dangerous threat to social order and hierarchy. He has disrupted the forms through which society operates, and it is notable that under his influence, Katherine also does so. In V.ii she enters into King Henry's presence walking behind Oxford, for all Ford's women with the exception of Calantha cede precedence to men, and even the proud Thamasta lets the socially inferior Menaphon go before her. In V.iii, however, Katherine is behaving, as Oxford tells her, 'without respect of shame' (1.82), and one of the ways in which this manifests itself is in the hopelessly disordered stage direction 'Enter Katherine, Jane, Dalyell and Oxford'. It seems likeliest that Katherine is running in (which would in itself be a transgression of decorum) and that the other three are hastening after her as best they may, which would explain what Jane is doing in front

of the two noblemen. It is significant that Katherine's behaviour on this occasion leads Oxford, to say to her 'Remember, lady, who you are' (V.iii.III). One of the things which is most striking in Ford's plays - all of them to some extent about the difficulty of determining one's identity - is the prevalence, and indeed the attractiveness, of a view of things which interprets identity as being essentially the same thing as social standing, in a literal as well as a metaphoric sense. There is a very interesting moment in this connection in Love's Sacrifice, when a servant is sent to D'Avolos to order him to 'forbear to rank in this solemnity in the place of secretary; else be there as a private man' (v.iii.p.I02), to which D'Avolos replies 'As a private man! What remedy? This way they must come ; and here I will stand, to fall amongst 'em in the rear'. This brief and seemingly unimportant exchange reveals the extent of Ford's concern with such matters: as far as can be detected from the stage directions,<sup>7</sup> D'Avolos does not, for instance, take off a cloak or surrender any keys, and his new status is registered simply by a change in his position on the stage and perhaps in his general bearing. Similarly, in Perkin Warbeck it is notable that Katherine's descent from the stage says nothing about her spiritual status, as Annabella's had: as in the scene where Bishop Fox wrests from Perkin ascendancy over James, it seems to be used principally as an indicator of rank and influence.

The highly formal nature of entries onto the stage is accompanied by other instances of ceremonial action in the play. Michael Neill remarks of II,i that 'the formal, masquelike entry described in the lengthy stage direction (lines 39-40) is equipped by James with a suitably literary title, "majesty encounters majesty";<sup>8</sup> and he comments too that the revels in III,ii 'reflect ironically on the histrionic nature of Perkin's performance, presenting in the wild antimasque... a farcical image of the futile chivalric masquing in the coming

invasion of England - later to be mocked by Henry as mere dancing "revels".<sup>9</sup> In general the episodes concerning war in Perkin remind one much more of the off-stage action of French classical tragedy than that battle scenes of Henry V or even of Antony and Cleopatra - and since the latter may well have been 'primarily a Blackfriars play',<sup>10</sup> and since what may be a plan for the Phoenix stage shows it as being 23 feet 6 inches by 13 feet, 'which cannot have been very different from the Blackfriars dimensions',<sup>11</sup> we can only assume that Ford could have given us much more realistic indications of battles if he had wanted to, and that he deliberately chose not to. Perkin Warbeck must be one of the most resolutely bloodless of all history plays. Even in Henry VIII Wolsey and Buckingham meet untimely deaths; in Perkin, it can be argued that the only casualty of whom we are really conscious is Sir William Stanley. Warwick never appears, and Warbeck himself is not seen to die, and is in any case far too much the actor for us not to be more than usually aware that two minutes after he has been led off to execution he will, as it were, be coming on again to take his bow. This banishing from the stage of all the normal accompaniments and consequences of war makes what we do see of it essentially a masque indeed, a vehicle for the striking of attitudes and the playing of roles. The 'battle' scenes are therefore used to underline one of the principal themes of the play, which is that in such a world action and the maintaining of the self are essentially matters of play-acting. Ford has given the actor who plays Perkin no soliloquies, and no indication of whether he is playing a self-deluded dreamer, a calculating impostor, or the rightful king of England. Only a fine actor can create such a personage, and so Ford makes his play enact in the performance its primary statement, which is that one effective solution to the problem of selfhood is to act the self.

All these methods of bringing out the play's meaning may also be



found, to a greater or lesser extent, in several of Ford's other pieces. There may, however, be another means of visual expression used which would be peculiar to Perkin Warbeck, and that is the language of heraldry. The close family connections between the English and Scottish aristocrats of the play and the English and Scottish aristocrats to whom Ford addressed dedications has already been mentioned. It has also been remarked that the relationships were in some cases so complex and obscure that very few people indeed could have been expected to be aware of them, and thus to have recognised their possible significance for the meaning of the play. Now the stage direction at IV.i.I9 says specifically 'Enter Marchmount and another herald in their coats', and this reference by Ford to the complicated codes of heraldry may perhaps be enough to justify speculation that the noblemen, when armed and maybe at other times, would have worn their surcoats, with their coats of arms blazoned upon them, or would at the very least have been carrying their shields, which would also have had heraldic identification on them. We certainly know that Henry VII's was a reign particularly prone to heraldic display: 'he seems to have'had a love for all the pageantry and panoply of an outworn and fast-fading chivalric civilisation. The architectural memorials he left behind him are a blaze of heraldry. He held tournaments and indulged in pomps and 'progresses' that were labyrinths of intricate and elaborate allegory and symbolism'.<sup>12</sup> At his banquets he had 'heraldic devices made of brawn or pastry',<sup>13</sup> and it was in his reign that 'in the lists in front of Westminster Hall, a tree of chivalry was set up for the first time, on which the challengers hung their shield'.<sup>14</sup> If the nobles did wear their coats, then the kinship links between the characters of the play and Ford's dedicatees would have been much more recognisable. Even those members of the audience not familiar with the meanings of heraldic symbols might well recognise the coat

of arms of the dead Surrey of the play as similar to that of the living Earl of Arundel, his direct descendant,<sup>15</sup> although they would not necessarily know that nearly twenty years earlier Arundel had been the recipient of a dedication from Ford; but they would still take the point that his ancestor was being presented as a defender of the realm. The importance placed on heraldic display can be illustrated by the argument that took place when Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, whom Ford eulogised in Fame's Memorial, died in 1606. Three months before his death, he had married Penelope Rich, but since her first husband, from whom she had been divorced, was still alive, it was by no means clear whether her marriage to Blount was legal (the mere fact of having performed it was to block the promotion chances of William Laud for at least eleven years). When the time came for the arrangements to be made for Devonshire's state funeral much attention was paid to the question of whether Penelope's arms should be set up beside his; eventually the decision was taken that they should not be, and she was thus effectively denied recognition as his countess. Ford could probably have felt certain that even those in his audience who were unable to decipher any heraldic displays there may have been would still have known that the signifying system used was one which others, even if not they themselves, were finding intelligible, and thus that the stage picture was once again pointing up the play's meaning. Indeed the very obscurity of heraldry might in itself have proved attractive to Ford, for in the mysterious phrases and references with which he likes to fill his dedications we can perhaps see something of a sense of belonging to a group which likes to advertise both its own existence and its own selectivity. However that may be, it would have been perfectly in character for a playwright so suspicious of words to have chosen to use this silent language of pictures to express his meaning, for the stage picture, the stage action and the very fact of performance

itself all carry a considerable part of the significance of the play.**16**

## CONCLUSION

I argue, then, that Ford, so far from being amoral, decadent and sensationalist, was in fact seriously concerned to explore in his plays ideas about the nature of selfhood, about politics and good government, and perhaps about religion. But more important than this was the fact that, if the foregoing arguments are accepted, he must be seen as being in many ways the dramatist of a coterie; and this coupled with his grave distrust of language seems to me to have been responsible for both his best and his worst drama, and to be one of the principal features of his work as a whole. If language is unreliable, one needs to be very sure that one addresses oneself only to people who already know what one means - who speak the same language. But this, of course, makes real communication impossible. Perkin Warbeck is a very fine play, but it was not, for the general audience, the political warning that I have argued it was meant to be; and in The Fancies Chaste and Noble almost every opportunity for good dramatic writing is strangled at birth. In The Lady's Trial we have the sense of a play that constantly hovers on the brink of greatness, but never achieves it. Lord David Cecil has said of Ford that 'such a view of life and character was not completely suited to express itself in the Elizabethan convention of drama. And, in fact, it is only in The Broken Heart that he finds the appropriate form fully to express his imaginative vision'.<sup>1</sup> Moody E. Prior, too, has argued that

Ford was neither an unworthy nor an unwise inheritor of the Elizabethan tradition. His difficulty was that much which he inherited was unsuitable to the moods and assertions and materials which he tried to work out dramatically. To some extent he devised instruments and means of his own, but the weight of the past was so great that he was unable to get sufficiently clear of it to arrive at a wholly original organization of his art which would render mutually compatible the means which he had devised and the ends to which they were appropriate.<sup>2</sup>

It seems to me that while some of his plays are undoubtedly failures, they are so not because Ford lacked artistic integrity, but because he

possessed it. His dedicatees, who seemed to him noble, were political failures; and although he managed to reconcile this opposition in the success-in-failure of Warbeck, it seems in the last two plays perilously-much as though failure is an index of worth. The idea that what is of value can never find satisfactory expression seems inevitably to have led to the writing of bad plays. But before Ford overshot the limits of what his theatre could do, and began to produce failures, he had provided the audience with the excitement of seeing him push his way to the very limits: and in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, The Broken Heart and Perkin Warbeck he snatched success from the very jaws of defeat.



## CRITICAL REVIEW

Criticism of Ford's plays began effectively with Langbaine in 1691, and so did the controversy which, until very recently, has raged around him almost every time that his name was mentioned. Langbaine objected that Ford had been too sympathetic to the incest in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore;<sup>1</sup> and apart from the lone voice of Lamb proclaiming the sublime, Christ-like beauty of Calantha's dance,<sup>2</sup> there was for a long time a general agreement that Ford was an irresponsible, amoral decadent. Condemnation was directed mainly at 'Tis Pity, partly on the grounds that all the other plays, with the possible exception of The Broken Heart, were even worse: it was on 'Tis Pity that Ford's reputation must rest. (Few even of Ford's most devoted admirers have ever had a good word to say for The Fancies Chaste and Noble). Thus Hazlitt declared that

I do not find much other power in the author (generally speaking) than that of playing with edged tools, and knowing the use of poisoned weapons. And what confirms me in this opinion is the comparative inefficiency of his other plays. Except the last scene of the Broken Heart (which I think extravagant - others may think it sublime, and be right) they are merely exercises of style and effusions of wire-drawn sentiment. Where they have not the sting of illicit passion, they are quite pointless.<sup>3</sup>

Even one of Ford's early editors, William Gifford, considered him unduly favourable to incest and frequently immoral, and complained that 'excepting Spinella in "The Lady's Trial", and perhaps Penthea, we do not remember in Ford's plays, any example of that meekness and modesty which compose the charm of the female character'.<sup>4</sup> Hartley Coleridge suggested in the dramatist's defence that although Ford's choice of the 'horrible stories of 'Tis Pity, The Broken Heart, and Love's Sacrifice' might seem perverse,

it would be unfair from hence to conclude that he delighted in the contemplation of vice and misery, as vice and misery. He delighted in the sensation of intellectual power, he found himself strong in the imagination of crime and agony; his moral sense was gratified by

indignation at the dark possibilities of sin, by compassion for rare extremes of suffering. He abhorred vice - he admired virtue; but ordinary vice or modern virtue were, to him, as light wine to a dram drinker.<sup>5</sup>

This suggestion, however - in many ways more suited to the exculpation of 'Monk' Lewis or Mary E. Braddon than to that of Ford - did not find favour. In 1898 Saintsbury declared that 'The Broken Heart piles up the agony by the most preposterous and improbable means';<sup>6</sup> and the claim for Ford's immorality appeared with new force in S.P. Sherman's essay 'Ford's Contribution to the Decadence of the Drama', which appeared as an introduction to Bang's 1908 Louvain edition of John Fordes Dramatische Werke, Erster Band, in the series Materialien Zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas. Here Ford is said to have 'sinned in his subject matter',<sup>7</sup> to be an apologist for incest,<sup>8</sup> and to have made a significant contribution not only to the decadence but also to the final collapse of English Renaissance drama, since 'the unmistakable savour of decadence in his work delights kindred souls, but sorely offends the Conservative and the Puritan. There can be little doubt that this savour provoked the much-suffering nostril of the militant Prynne, and had its influence in closing the theatres in 1642'.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Schelling in 1910 referred to 'the most notable trait of Ford, a peculiar and dangerous power of analysis, of poetical casuistry, which stretches art and ethics beyond their legitimate spheres'.<sup>10</sup>

Sherman's essay established an idea of Ford as the final spluttering out of Elizabethan drama, catering to a jaded audience, which was slow to relinquish its hold. It was taken for granted that a bored Cavalier audience needed more robust fare than had the groundlings of Elizabeth's merry England, and that Ford's own amoral temperament had combined with audience pressure to produce the worst plays of a generally bad lot. J.M. Robertson declared that after 1623 'serious people were increasingly indifferent or hostile to the theatre ; and plays were



written for less critical and thoughtful audiences. Thus the standard of taste declined with the decline in the quality of recruits to the profession of playmaking'.<sup>11</sup> He goes on to argue that 'it is a mistake to say, as some do, that the later playwrights were necessarily driven to violent and unnatural or corrupt effects by a sheer exhaustion of good themes';<sup>12</sup> and he adds with a strange disregard for the chronological progression on which his argument depends that 'Ford and Cyril Tourneur...were men of neurotic proclivity, but they were not made so by dearth of good tragic plot material'.<sup>13</sup> In much the same vein, Janet Spens wrote in 1922 that 'Middleton and Ford and Webster may stress a democratic morality, but they are clearly not addressing country-folk or humble artisans, and it seems to be a law that to appeal to these is the condition of immortality'.<sup>14</sup> In 1923 William Archer declared that 'Ford's spirit was, indeed, more subtle than that of Webster. He loved the abnormal more than the merely brutal',<sup>15</sup> and added that 'there is neither truth to nature nor even any striking dramatic effect in the affected and purposeless stoicism of Calantha'.<sup>16</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, two years later, referred to 'the Cavalier spirit expressed by Ford and Fletcher and Shirley',<sup>17</sup> and to 'the decadent lubricity of the Fords and others who descended to the most disgusting and nauseating of sexual emotions'.<sup>18</sup> He added that 'the novelties in the torments introduced upon the stage have no dramatic purpose; they are there merely to arouse feelings of curiosity and thrill in the hearts of a jaded public'.<sup>19</sup> A History of English Literature published the next year referred to Ford's decadence as an established fact, and remarked that 'his plays move in a heavy, still and thundery atmosphere. Their lack of even the lightest breath of lively and wholesome air is disquieting. Ford's persistence in painting exquisite suffering and the refinements of perversity is a manifest sign of decadence, yet it constitutes his originality which outweighs

his reminiscences and his borrowing'.<sup>20</sup> Alongside the criticism in this comment, however, is a real appreciation of the special qualities of Ford, such as had already been displayed by Havelock Ellis in his sensitive introduction to the Mermaid edition of Ford. (One wonders what would have been the reaction of the French authors of A History of English Literature if it had been suggested to them that the 'persistence in painting exquisite suffering' of Racine was 'a manifest sign of decadence.')

Generally, however, Ford was still considered mainly as an apologist for incest. Herbert J. Grierson, in a series of lectures delivered in 1926 and 1927, declared that 'Fletcher's levity and florid rhetoric go ill with his tragic horrors; but only Ford, I think, a more serious spirit, can be charged with decadence, in that he set forth deliberately the thesis that a great passion is its own justification, condones any crime'.<sup>21</sup> In 1932, in The Cambridge History of English Literature, W.A. Neilson criticised Ford on the two favourite grounds, immorality and incompetence in the handling of comic material. He felt that in 'Tis Pity 'no objection lies against the introduction of the fact of incest, but the dramatist's attitude is sympathetic',<sup>22</sup> and adds that

in his attempts at comedy, Ford sinks to a lower level than any dramatist of his class, and his farce lacks the justification of much of the coarse buffoonery of his predecessors. It is not realistic; it is not the expression of high spirits; it is a perfunctory attempt to season tragedy and romance with an admixture of rubbish, without humour and without joy.<sup>23</sup>

The next year G.B. Harrison, in the introduction to his edition of selected plays of Webster and Ford, slightly modified the by now customary accusation of decadence. He argued that Ford 'suffered that complete lack of moral indignation which often comes from much study of psychology' and that 'Ford can be condemned for the choice of an unholy

theme, but his skill and insight are subtle';<sup>24</sup> but he nevertheless felt that in 'Tis Pity She's A Whore 'Ford's sympathies are clearly with the defiant, not the repentant sinner', and he remarks of Webster and Ford that 'they had no particular creed except agnosticism, but they were abominably clever'.<sup>25</sup> The next year Hazelton Spencer remarked that 'the poet's doctrinaire sympathy with lovers as such, his worship of beauty, and his contempt for conventional morality, are constantly reflected in his works'.<sup>26</sup> It was also in 1934 that T.S. Eliot's influential essay on Ford appeared in Elizabethan Essays, and this, like the comments by Legouis and Cazamian quoted above, combined a generally censorious view with a sensibility to the distinguishing features of Ford's talent. He felt that in 'Tis Pity 'Ford handles the theme with all the seriousness of which he is capable, and he can hardly be accused here of wanton sensationalism';<sup>27</sup> he spoke of 'that which gives Ford his most certain claim to perpetuity: the distinct personal rhythm in blank verse which could be no one's but his alone',<sup>28</sup> and he also advanced the unusual and thought-provoking view that Perkin Warbeck was Ford's finest play; but ultimately he considered most of Ford's work to be second-rate, and even concluded that 'Tis Pity - despite its 'seriousness' - 'may be called "meaningless"'.<sup>29</sup>

The year after the publication of Elizabethan Essays, in 1935, the first book-length study of Ford appeared, a valuable, sensitive, and very thorough work by M. Joan Sargeaunt. She gave serious consideration to Ford's non-dramatic work (she had previously been the first to attribute to him Christ's Bloody Sweat and The Golden Mean, both now universally accepted as his), and she also provided illuminating expositions of several of the themes and ideas which inform his work. This was followed the next year by Una Ellis-Fermor's The Jacobean Drama, where the theory of the decadence of the audience is offered to exculpate the dramatist himself from the charge:

superficially, Ford's plays show all the signs of a late and decadent art in their use of sensational episode and setting. But as one approaches him more closely it becomes clearer that these groupings and situations', are, like the utterly incongruous comic sub-plots of his plays, concessions to the needs of-the theatre rather than a spontaneous expression of his thought.<sup>30</sup>

Here, too, we find considerable understanding of Ford's peculiar genius, as illustrated by the remark that 'side by side with the violence and sensationalism of the theatrical element in his plays, Ford pursues what was indeed the theme to him of major interest, the study of characters whose strongest quality was a reticent dignity in endurance'.<sup>31</sup>

Three years after that, however, H.W. Wells could still write that in 'Tis Pity

Ford treats the sins of his two chief lovers more gently than might have been expected. Though presumably, like the audience of the play, still believing in God and in the Christian concept of sin and morals, he by no means takes so uncompromising a view of Giovanni's impiety and skepticism as Tourneur takes of the atheism of D'Amville. Although he evidently holds most of Giovanni's arguments of defence of incest to be sophistical, with Cavalier slipperiness as much as with tragic insight he ascribes some nobility to Giovanni's character and even introduces a note of pure tragedy into the speeches addressed to Annabella just before her death.<sup>32</sup>

The next year, though, a counter-tendency became clear. Fredson Bowers pointed out that in the conduct of the revenges in 'Tis Pity 'Ford is absolutely in accord with the ethics of the period'<sup>33</sup> and issued the timely warning that with both 'Tis Pity and The Broken Heart 'there is a tendency for critics...to mistake'for the dramatist's own statement of the moral, the arguments of a character in a fevered state of emotion'.<sup>34</sup> Also in 1940 there appeared S. Blaine Ewing's book tracing the influence of Burton on Ford,<sup>35</sup> and in 1944 came the study by Sensabaugh, who argued that Ford was a passionate supporter of the neo-platonic coterie set up at court by Queen Henrietta Maria, and was consequently an amoral believer in free love of all types<sup>36</sup> - a view

also subscribed to by F.S. Boas two years later.<sup>37</sup> In 1947 both sides of the argument were again stated. Karl J. Holzknecht contended that ' 'Tis Pity She's A Whore is a serious treatment of the tragic theme of incest, which, far from condoning such a repulsive sin, treats it with rare understanding and restraint, and with not the least trace of lubricity'.<sup>38</sup> Wallace A. Bacon, however, once again accused Ford of having allowed a neo-Platonic attitude towards love to draw him into sympathy with the most sinful of his own characters, and, further, of wanting the audience to feel the same. He therefore concluded that 'Ford is a lesser playwright because he never really understood that he was asking the impossible of his audience'.<sup>39</sup> Three years later Hardin Craig echoed much the same view when he declared that Chapman 'was to be followed by other dramatists - Webster, Massinger and Ford - in thus espousing the cause of passion and thus sympathising with the sinner against the moral law'.<sup>40</sup> In the same year, however, new light was cast on the question by Peter Ure's article 'Cult and Initiates in Ford's Love's Sacrifice', where he suggested that 'the "unbridled individualism" of Biancha is shown not in her obedience to the Platonic love-ethic but in her disobedience to it'.<sup>41</sup> This was followed the next year by his 'Marriage and the Domestic Drama in Heywood and Ford', where he showed that 'if the marriage situation which is buried in The Broken Heart is seen in conjunction with other treatments of the theme in the regular domestic drama, it forces us to modify the emphasis which has been laid on Ford's "revolt against the established order" and the "unbridled individualism" of his supposedly decadent ethic'.<sup>42</sup> A further contribution was soon afterward made by H.J. Oliver's book The Problem of John Ford. Oliver is perceptive on many points, speaking for instance of 'Ford's particular skill - in suggesting emotion not by words so much as by the absence of them' ;<sup>43</sup> but his determination to remove the blame for the 'decadence' of the work from the dramatist by

attaching it instead to the jaded Caroline audience leads him to some extraordinary conclusions, such as that it was only because Ford's audience was so hard to please that he was 'content to have Giovanni appear with Annabella's bleeding heart on his dagger'.<sup>44</sup> One year earlier, however, there had appeared by far the most comprehensive and also one of the most sensitive book-length studies on Ford, that by Robert Davril, which contained much valuable comment on many of the dramatist's skills and weaknesses.<sup>45</sup> In 1937 this was followed by Clifford Leech's John Ford and the Drama of his Time, again a serious attempt to come to grips with some of the questions surrounding Ford's art, and by Lord David Cecil's chapter on 'The Tragedies of John Ford' in The Fine Art of Reading. He felt that 'there is something autumnal about Ford, something that portends the end of a phase and a tradition', and that the author's personality, although 'subtle, exquisite and well-mannered...has also something languid and over-delicate about it; it exudes a faint sense of perversity and decay';<sup>46</sup> but he did not accuse Ford of decadence, claiming instead that he had his own morality which 'shows itself in the attitude which he seems to recommend people to adopt in face of humanity's dark destiny'.<sup>47</sup>

In 1938 came an important and informative article by Glenn H. Blayney, 'Convention, Plot and Structure in The Broken Heart', which contains much valuable information about seventeenth-century marriage customs and so helps to elucidate Penthea's situation.<sup>48</sup> The next year saw the publication of 'Kingship in Ford's Perkin Warbeck', which was to be the first in a series of pieces on Ford by Donald K. Anderson, jr.<sup>49</sup> In 1960 there were three pieces of work which were very useful indeed. Cyrus Hoy<sup>50</sup> and Robert Ornstein<sup>51</sup> both showed how little Ford's own views can be associated with Giovanni's, and there also appeared one of the finest of all articles on Ford, R.J. Kaufmann's 'Ford's Tragic Perspective'.<sup>52</sup> Two years later came another article,

'The Design of John Ford's The Broken Heart: A Study in Caroline Sensibility' by Charles O. McDonald, where it was again argued that Ford was 'insisting upon the necessity of restraining passion by reason'.<sup>53</sup> There also appeared an interesting aside by Georg Lukacs, in his book The Historical Novel, where he remarked that in 'Tis Pity 'the incestuous character of the passion is only a perverse accessory';<sup>54</sup> and there were, too, two works which reflected the old and the new attitudes to Ford. Marvin T. Herrick passingly referred to The Lover's Melancholy as being 'seasoned with Ford's own peculiar kind of abnormal emotionalism';<sup>55</sup> Irving Ribner meanwhile claimed that 'what sets Ford apart from his contemporaries is not a disregard for moral issues, but an inability to lead his audience to a full resolution of the problems which he poses'.<sup>56</sup> And in the same year Jean Jacquot, reviewing Lucchino Visconti's production of 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, remarked that 'since the days of Maeterlinck and Symbolism, 'Tis Pity has been generally considered here one of the few dramas by contemporaries of Shakespeare which is worth knowing, not of course as a good play but as an extreme example of Renaissance violent and perverted passion'.<sup>57</sup> Two years later the split in opinion was still apparent, with Alan Brissenden writing an article more or less disregarding the question of decadence and attempting to elucidate Ford's themes and concerns<sup>58</sup> and Moody E. Prior speaking of 'the serious and earnest way in which [Ford] calls attention to the moral problems raised by the action',<sup>59</sup> while T.B. Tomlinson, on the other hand, argued that 'the dangers of taking minor Jacobean drama at face value are well illustrated by the case of writers who -like Chapman and Ford - appear to be making a serious point when in fact they are only making a sentimental one'.<sup>60</sup> He then goes on to speak of 'the frank enjoyment of sin that Fletcher and Ford go in for',<sup>61</sup> and to claim that 'Ford is the real villain of the piece in Jacobean tragedy.

He is untrustworthy'.<sup>62</sup> The same year also saw the publication of Winston Weathers' article 'Perkin Warbeck: A Seventeenth Century Psychological Play', where it was rather unconvincingly argued that the play represents an attempt to reintegrate the animus (rational, logical King Henry) with the anima (impulsive, petulant King James) by the banishing of delusion (Perkin) from the sphere of the anima.<sup>63</sup> It was in 1964, too, that Le theatre et son double was first published, with Artaud's famous discussion of the Maeterlinck version of ''Tis Pity She's A Whore'.

In 1963 there appeared some of the best Ford criticism ever written, Brian Morris' introduction to his New Mermaids edition of The Broken Heart, which was to be followed in 1968 by his equally fine edition of ''Tis Pity She's A Whore' in the same series. Before that, in 1967, a very brief but interesting article by N.W. Bawcutt pointed out that Giovanni's line at 1.1.19 is strikingly similar to a line in Seneca's Octavia where Nero is discussing his determination to marry Poppaea.<sup>64</sup> If Giovanni is being compared to Nero then Ford seems to be undercutting his statements very seriously indeed. In the same year there was a valiant attempt by Juliet Sutton (who also published as Juliet McMaster) to rescue The Fancies Chaste and Noble from the hitherto universal critical opprobrium by arguing for the presence in it of a serious moral purpose and design, in which its apparently unsatisfactory structure was in fact essential to the effect.<sup>65</sup> Her arguments were supported the next year in an article by Peter Davison, who also became the first critic with a good word to say for Ford's comedy in general.<sup>66</sup> In 1968 came Mark Stavig's book John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order, which asserted Ford's moral uprightness if anything rather too vigorously, for it failed to allow for the dramatist's breadth of sympathy and understanding;<sup>67</sup> and in the same year Robert B. Heilmann dismissed Ford as a 'great melodramatist whose work at times feels the



pressure of the tragic',<sup>68</sup> and David L. Frost passingly remarked that 'Webster and Ford do not think on moral issues ; this is perhaps; a necessary corollary of being uninterested in ideas except where they are useful dramatically'.<sup>69</sup> In 1969 there was another article by Juliet McMaster (Juliet Sutton) giving some valuable insights into the structural patterns of Ford's plays,<sup>70</sup> and also M.C. Bradbrook's Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy, which although not particularly favourable to Ford contained some very perceptive passages on him.<sup>71</sup> The following year there appeared R.J. Kaufmann's second, equally fine, article on Ford, 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart',<sup>72</sup> and Jonas- A. Barish's well-argued and thought-provoking 'Perkin Warbeck as Anti-History'.<sup>73</sup> Two years after that came Donald K. Anderson's book John Ford, in which he declared that 'although 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, which presents incest not unfavourably, probably should be called "decadent"', most of Ford's other plays, including The Broken Heart, should not'.<sup>74</sup> He adds that 'probably the chief contribution of the present book is in its exposition of Ford's knowledgeable dramaturgy',<sup>75</sup> and also comments that 'Stavig and Sensabaugh mark the two poles of twentieth-century commentary, the former arguing the dramatist's conservatism, the latter his "'unbridled individualism"'. Most of the current critics, including myself, place Ford midway between these two extremes, finding him both compassionate and condemnatory towards his characters'.<sup>76</sup> The same year also saw the publication of the excellent article by Thelma N. Greenfield on The Broken Heart,<sup>77</sup> and of two remarkably hostile discussions of Ford: Arthur C. Kirsch's comparison of him to the worst of Fletcher,<sup>78</sup> and A.K. McIlwraith's remark that Ford

does not try to persuade, as Chapman and Webster did, by asking or making terms with public opinion. He aggravates a scandalous defence of sensuality and adultery by wantonly linking it with the sexual love of brother and sister, with incest. It is an immature reaction to

anticipated opposition to go to the farthest extreme and still present his theme as beautiful.<sup>79</sup>

In 1973 Jackson I. Cope drew some interesting parallels between Perkin Warbeck and Sir Aston Cokayne's expansion of a commedia dell'arte scenario, Trappolin creduto principe; or, Trappolin Supposed A Prince,<sup>80</sup> and in 1974 Philip Edward published a very interesting article on Perkin Warbeck and Massinger's Believe As You List.<sup>81</sup> Two years later came another three intelligent and important articles: 'The Case of John Ford' by Kenneth Muir,<sup>82</sup> '"Anticke Pageantrie": the Mannerist Art of Perkin Warbeck', by Michael Neill,<sup>83</sup> and Eugene M. Waith's 'Struggle for Calm: the Dramatic Structure of The Broken Heart'.<sup>84</sup> In 1977, Larry S. Champion's Tragic Patterns in Jacobean and Caroline Drama contained a perceptive chapter on 'Tis Pity She's A Whore;<sup>85</sup> A.P. Hogan produced an interesting piece on the same play;<sup>86</sup> Anne Barton published an illuminating article on Perkin Warbeck;<sup>87</sup> and Ronald Huebert's important and thought-provoking book John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist also appeared, containing some very valuable observations and offering a perspective on the dramatist's works that was in many ways completely new.

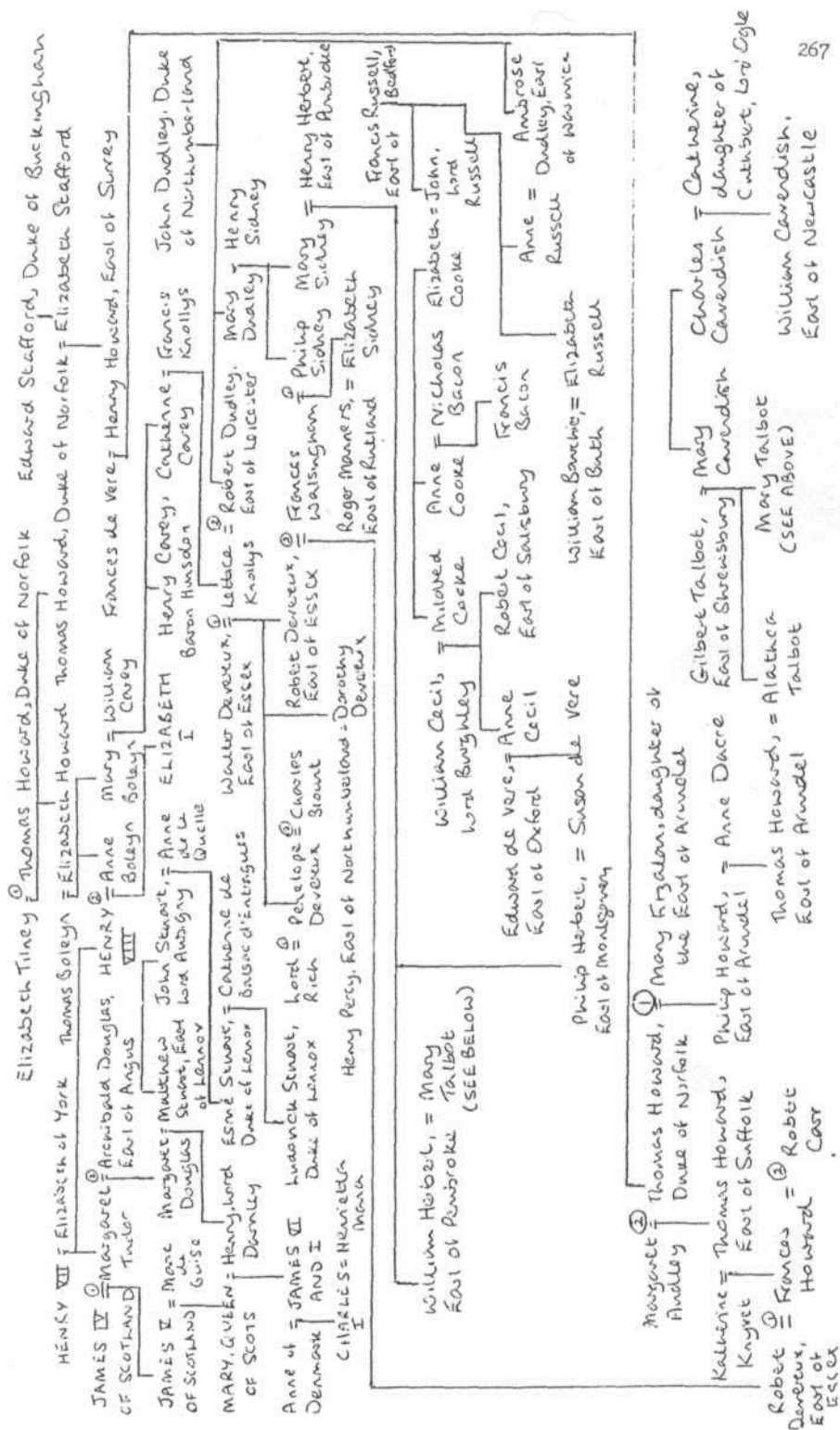
Michael Neill's second article on Ford appeared in 1978,<sup>88</sup> and the next year saw a discussion of Ford in Nicholas Brooke's Horrid Laughter in Jacobean Tragedy, and the publication of the most recent book-length study of Ford, Dorothy M. Farr's John Ford and the Caroline Drama. Although the emphasis on performance is both novel and commendable, the book is unfortunately marred by several inaccuracies (for instance, the author is apparently unaware that the stage directions in the edition she uses are editorial, not authorial, and differ significantly from those in the quartos). The year after that T.J.B. Spencer's edition of The Broken Heart appeared, containing a sensible, balanced and sensitive discussion of Ford's moral position, concerns, strengths,

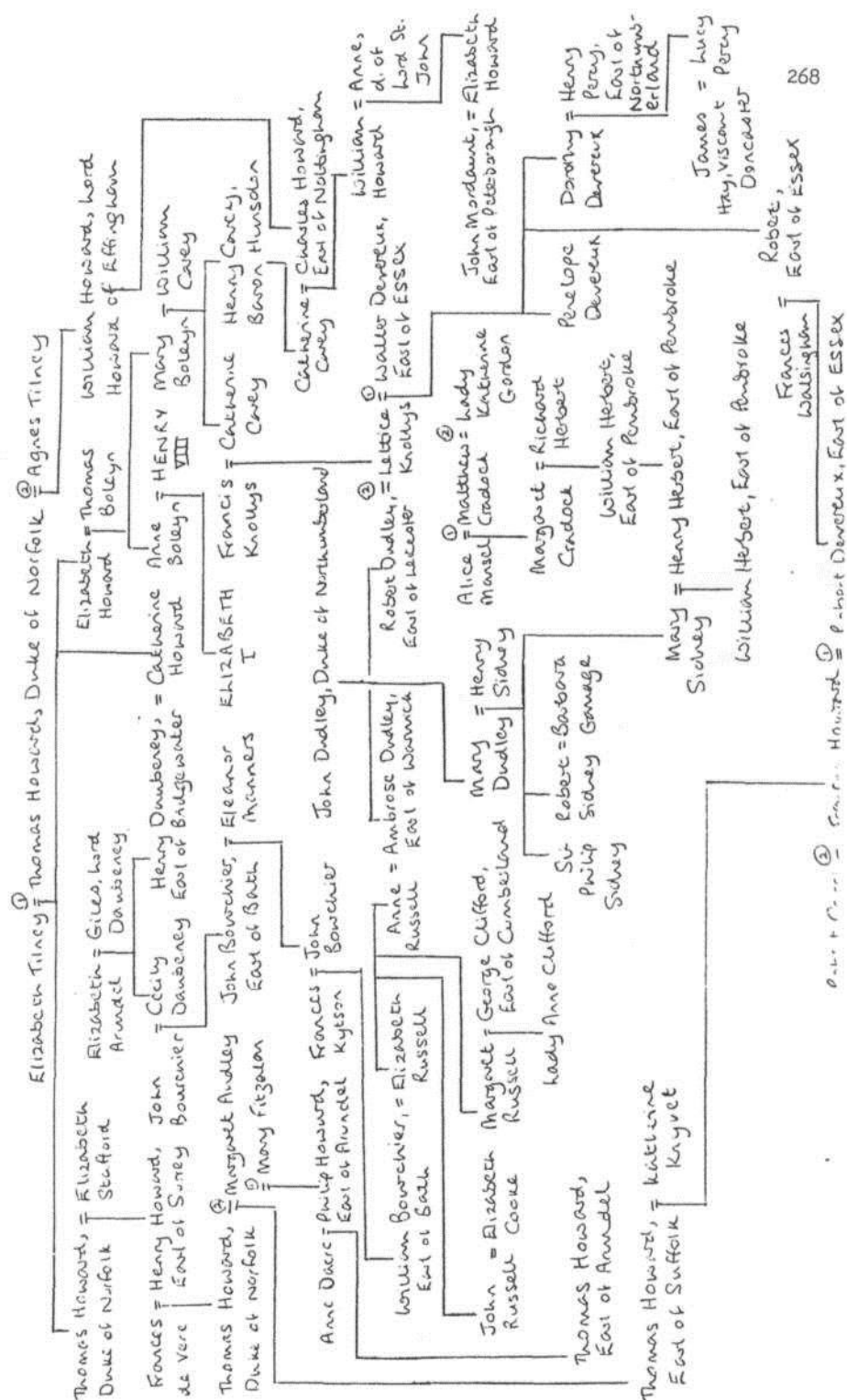
and weaknesses; and also in 1980 there were two more valuable articles, Michael Neill's 'Ford's Unbroken Art: The Moral Design of The Broken Heart'<sup>89</sup> and Anne Barton's 'Oxymoron and the Structure of The Broken Heart'.<sup>90</sup> Most recently of all, in 1981 Coburn Freer's The Poetics of Jacobean Drama included a fascinating analysis; of the various speech-rhythms of the characters in The Broken Heart; and the old accusation of immorality seemed finally laid to rest with S. Gorley-Putt's comment in 1981 that 'it is beyond comprehension how an earlier generation of commentators could find Ford's verse and viewpoint "decadent"'.<sup>91</sup> Since then, Ford has also been discussed in Bruce King's Seventeenth-Century English Literature.

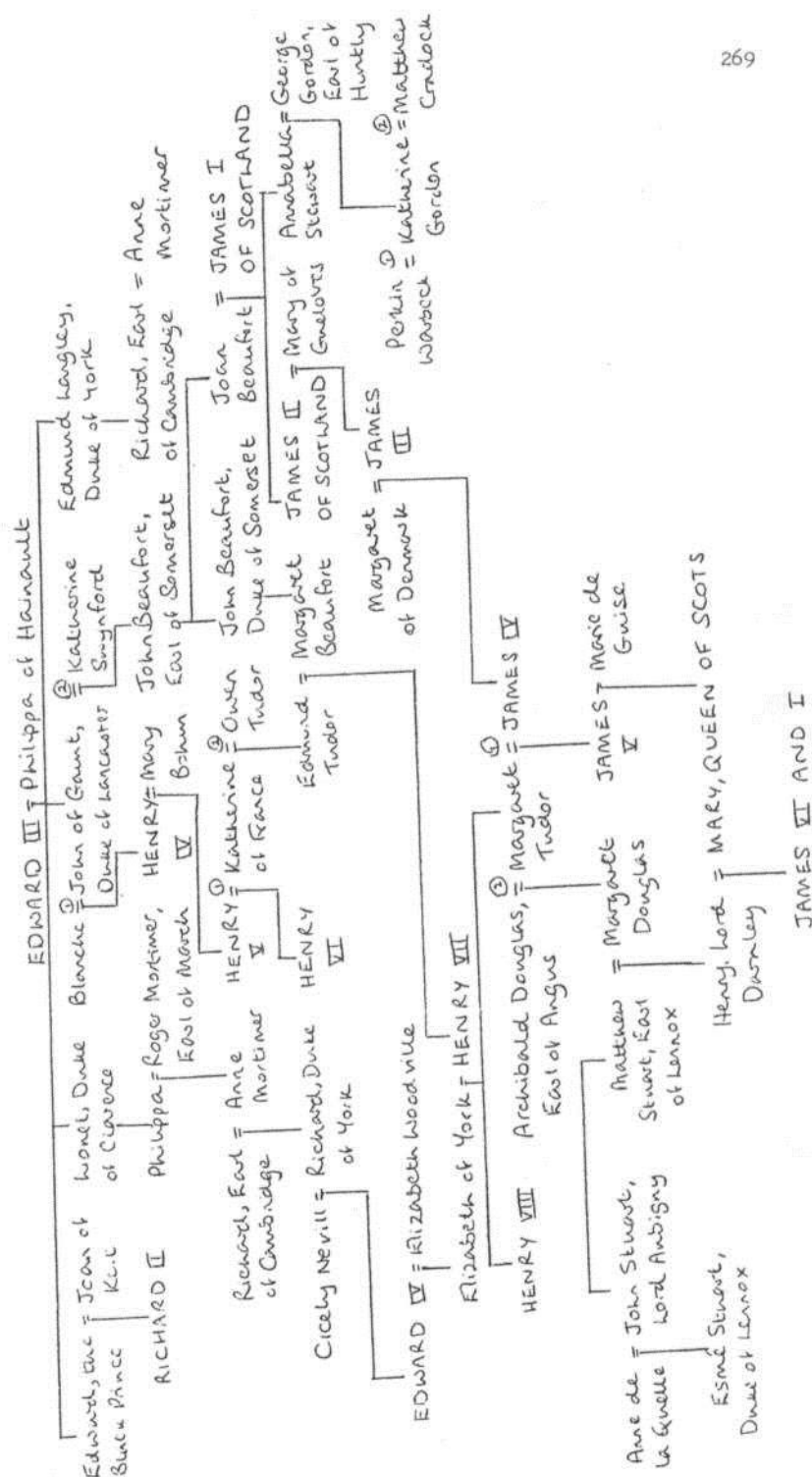
There have also been some interesting references to Ford in other contexts. In 1942, for example, in his novel Wife to Mr Milton, Robert Graves made the heroine's sympathetic Cavalier brother James speak of 'those whom I hold in reverence, as, among dramatic poets, John Ford and John Webster',<sup>92</sup> to which Milton (presented in the novel as a character of supreme repulsiveness) retorts that 'stale comic hodge-podges or villainous ranting exhibitions of blood and brutishness should be everywhere by law forbidden'.<sup>93</sup> The book also contains a subsidiary character by the name of John Ford - a chronically nervous gooseherd - and a question addressed to the future Mrs Milton by her maid which is also strangely reminiscent of Ford: 'Well, my fine lady, and did no gentleman yesterday offer you his heart smoking on a pewter dish?'.<sup>94</sup> As well as this, 'Tis Pity She's A Whore forms a sort of play-within-the-play in Tom Stoppard's The Real Thing. And perhaps one of the most interesting comments ever made on the theatrical power of the last act of 'Tis Pity came from the actor Jack Shepherd in an episode of the television series 'An Actor's Life for Me'.<sup>95</sup> He related how while playing Vasques in Edinburgh he had begun to hallucinate, and in the last scene had clearly seen the actor playing Giovanni to have vine-

leaves growing out of his ears, and had taken him for a death-god called Iacchus. He said that the entire rest of the cast were also mesmerised and that Giovanni himself was in a trance-like state, pulping the heart (a sheep's) rhythmically in his hand; he added that the audience were also affected by the general tension in the air, and that when he, Shepherd, began to deliver Vasques' next line they responded with howls of hysterical laughter. The conviction with which he told the story was a sufficient witness to the impression it had made on him, and also suggests that a connection between the last act of 'Tis Pity and Bacchic feasts is a natural one to make.

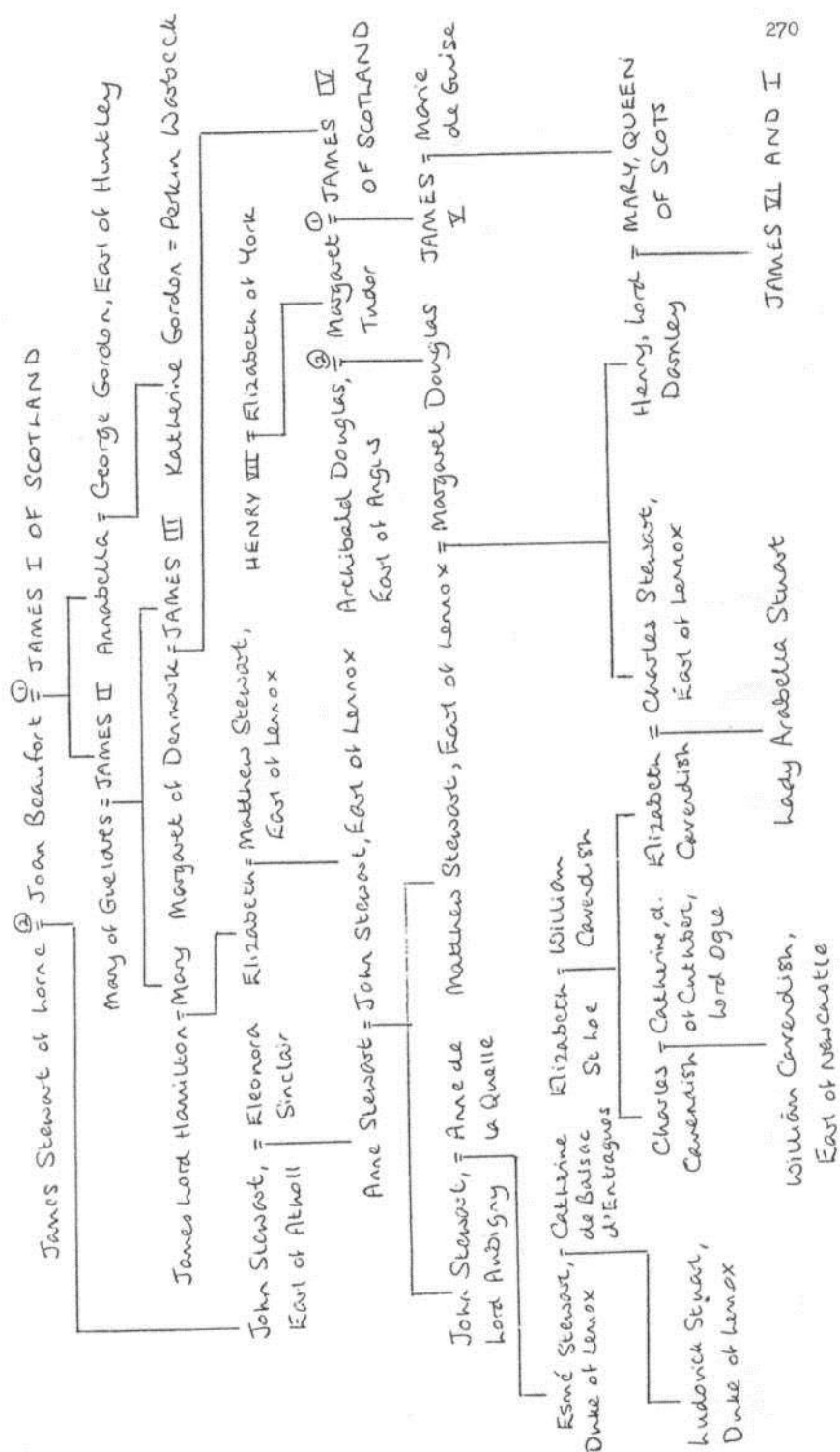
## APPENDIX B













## THE RETURN OF MARTIN GUERRE?

One of the few deviations made by Ford in Perkin Warbeck from his two sources, Bacon and Gainsford, is that he omits any mention of the confession of his own imposture that the historical Perkin eventually made. Ford's Perkin dies apparently convinced of his own royal birth, and this peculiarity in the presentation of the pretender is something for which critics have offered various explanations. Gifford remarked that

Perkin is admirably drawn; and it would be unjust to the author to overlook the striking consistency with which he has marked his character. Whatever might be his own opinion of this person's pretensions, he has never suffered him to betray his identity with the Duke of York in a single thought or expression. Perkin has no soliloquies, no side-speeches to compromise his public assertions; and it is pleasing to see with what ingenuity Ford has preserved him from the contamination of real history, and contrived to sustain his dignity to the last with all imaginable decorum, and thus rendered him a fit subject for the tragic muse.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that Perkin never confesses himself to be an impostor has led at least one critic to wonder whether he was in fact such, or whether Ford was 'raising the question was Perkin Warbeck really an impostor, or possibly a veritable prince?'<sup>2</sup> H.W. Wells made the rather unconvincing claim that 'Ford makes it clear that he regards Perkin as a man imposed upon from childhood by persons in authority, some aware and others unaware of the falsehood of the tale'.<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Babb took yet a third line, and argued that

it is reasonable to suppose...that Ford conceived of Warbeck as a melancholic with the delusion of grandeur. Apparently Urswick is speaking for the playwright when he compares Perkin to melancholy persons who fancy themselves endowed with supernatural powers...he is no rogue and no hypocrite in Ford's play. By making a psychopathic case of him, Ford has given him the sincerity and dignity requisite in a tragic hero.<sup>4</sup>

H.J. Oliver broadly agreed with Babb, suggesting that Ford 'gives the key to his interpretation' of Perkin in Henry's remark 'The custome sure

of being stil'd a King, / Hath fastend in his thought that HE IS SVCH'.<sup>5</sup> Eugene Waith, however, contended that 'the fascination of this play lies in the complete subjectivity of Warbeck's concept of his greatness. That he is not in fact the man he claims to be is clear, but whether he is self-deluded or a deliberate impostor remains an enigma'.<sup>6</sup> Peter Ure declared in the introduction to his Revels edition of the play that the point of 'the Warbeck whose convictions are sane and noble and appeal as such directly out of the play to its spectators' was not that Ford was

trying to persuade us that Warbeck is what he thinks he is but because it is what Ford perceived would 'make' his play as a dramatic experience: one in which the spectators must measure the impact and appeal of Warbeck against the avowed testimony of Henry and a whole range of witnesses, including the source-historians themselves. It should be stressed that this is for the spectators primarily a dramatic and literary experience, not one in which they are asked to judge like a jury or a court of law.<sup>7</sup>

Sharon Hamilton agreed with Ure, and commented that 'with a charlatan as the hero, the drama would have no force. Ford's solution, as critics have long recognized, was to portray Perkin as someone who is entirely convinced of his royal identity'.<sup>8</sup> Finally, A.L. and M.K. Kistner stressed that Ford 'declines to comment on the legitimacy of either Henry's or Warbeck's claim to the throne'.<sup>9</sup> They also quoted Henry's comment at I.i.70-I that Lambert Simnel's acceptance of the post of King's falconer 'shows the difference between noble natures / And the base-born'; and they argued from this that in the last scene 'by Henry's own definition, Warbeck qualifies as nobly born'.<sup>10</sup> They further pointed out that 'throughout the drama Ford carefully counterpoises his characters' statements of Warbeck's imposture and their refutations of it'.<sup>11</sup>

The sheer number and variety of these proffered explanations is an indication of their failure to account for the mystery. The critics

who appear to be on safest ground are those who have been content merely to point out that Ford leaves the question open. The arguments of both Babb and Wells are unconvincing, for both founder upon the lack of sufficient evidence in the text; and Schelling's suggestion that we are to see Perkin as possibly the true king is equally unsupported. On the whole it seems; wiser to follow Kistner and Kistner in never losing sight of the fact that Ford omitted from his play one conclusive piece of evidence about the fraudulent nature of the pretender's claims, which he found in his sources - Perkin's own confession. He could have put the matter absolutely beyond doubt in the minds of his audience and readers; but he seems deliberately to have chosen not to. This refusal to make a firm statement about the matter is curiously reminiscent of the attitude of the great French essayist Montaigne towards another celebrated case of imposture, that in which Arnaud du Tilh, alias Pansette, pretended to be Martin Guerre of Artigat, and was on the point of having his false identity confirmed by the Parlement of Toulouse when the real Martin Guerre suddenly appeared to denounce the imposture.<sup>12</sup> Among the crowd in the court house on the day when Pansette's sentence was pronounced was François de Belleforest, who later mentioned the case 'in a chapter on remarkable physical resemblances in his continuation of Boiastuau's Histoires prodigieuses',<sup>13</sup> and Montaigne himself, who was then a judge at the Parlement of Bordeaux, was also there. He later wrote the following account of the affair:

being yong, I saw a law-case, which Corras a Counsellor of Thoulouse caused to be printed of a strange accident of two men, who presented themselves one for another. I remember (and I remember nothing else so well) that me thought, he proved his imposture, whom he condemned as guilty, so wondrous strange and so far-exceeding both our knowledge and his owne, who was judge, that I found much boldness in the sentence which had condemned him to be hanged. Let us receive some form of sentence that may say: The Court understands nothing of .it; more freely and ingenuously, than did the Areopagites; who finding themselves urged and entangled in a case they could not well cleare or determine, appointed the parties to come againe and appeare before them a hundred yeares after.<sup>14</sup>

The translation is of course Florio's, and the similarity between the attitude which Montaigne felt should have been adopted towards the extraordinary impostor Arnaud du Tilh, and that which Ford has\*, apparently decided to adopt towards the extraordinary impostor Perkin Warbeck, is striking. Michael Neill, indeed, has remarked that the impression produced by Perkin Warbeck is that 'if there is indeed no precedent for such 'imposture', it remains a question whether the word can properly be applied to Perkin at all, since it is in effect from precedent that words derive their meaning'.<sup>15</sup> Ford could, perhaps, have read of the case in Florio's Montaigne. One volume of it had been part-dedicated to his own early dedicatee Penelope Devereux, and another to the sister of the Countesses of Arundel and Pembroke, the wives of two others of his dedicatees; and Florio was the brother-in-law of Samuel Daniel, with whose circle we have already seen that Ford had connections. Ford would certainly have been aware of Florio's work, and is highly likely to have read it.<sup>16</sup> He could also have come across the story of Martin Guerre in Belleforest, or perhaps even in the account of Coras himself, for in France at least 'by the early seventeenth century, "l'arrest de Martin Guerre" was listed among central texts for anyone being trained in jurisprudence'.<sup>17</sup> Ford might conceivably have come across it in the course of his own legal studies, or he could have been directed to it by the reference in Florio. It was certainly the kind of story likely to interest a man whose career was very probably in some sense the law, and who wrote plays in which so many characters rough-hew coherent identities for themselves more or less out of their own flesh and blood. I have suggested that a desire to eulogise the ancestors of his dedicatees dictated the treatment of the noblemen in Perkin Warbeck; it is at least possible that the treatment of the central character was influenced by Montaigne's advocacy of a suspension of judgement in cases of extraordinary imposture.



NOTES



## THE CANON

- 1 'Writings Ascribed to John Ford by Joseph Hunter in Chorus Vatum', The Review of English Studies, 10 (1934), 165-76.
- 2 The Problem of John Ford (Melbourne, 1955), P-13-
- 3 Le Drame de John Ford (Paris, 1954), pp.83-7.
- 4 'John Ford's Authorship of Christes Bloodie Sweat', English Language Notes, 9 (1971-2), 20-25.
- 5 M.I. Scott, 'A Critical Edition of Christes Bloodie Sweat (1613)' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1967), p.65. All further quotations from Christ's Bloody bweat will be from this edition. Editions used for quotation of other works by Ford are as follows: The Broken Heart, edited by T.J.B. Spencer (Manchester, 1980); The Lover's Melancholy, edited by R.F. Hill (Manchester, 1985); The Queen; or, The Excellency of Her Sex, edited by W. Bang (Louvain, 1906); The Chronicle History of Perkin Warbeck, edited by Peter Ure (London; 1968); 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, edited by Derek Roper (London, 1975); The Witch of Edmonton, edited by Simon Trussler and Jacqui Russell (London, 1983). Quotations from The Golden Mean are taken from C.J. Norman, 'A Critical Edition of The Golden Mean and A Line of Life by John Ford' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1968). Quotations from Fame's Memorial, The Fancies Chaste and Noble, Honour Triumphant, The Lady's Trial, A Line of Life, Love's Sacrifice, and The Sun's Darling are all from The Works of John Ford, edited by William Gifford and revised by Alexander Dyce, 3 vols (London, 1895: reprinted New York, 1965). Quotations from The Fair Maid of the Inn and The Laws of Candy are from The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, edited by A.R. Waller, 10 vols (Cambridge, 1906-10); The Fair Maid of the Inn is included in the third volume and The Laws of Candy in the ninth. Quotations from The Spanish Gipsy are from The Works of Thomas Middleton, edited by A.H. Bullen, 8 vols (London, 1885), VI; and quotations from The Welsh Ambassador are taken from the Malone Society reprint edited by H. Littledale and W. Greg (Oxford, 1920).
- 6 pp. vii-viii.
- 7 'Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama (Oxford, 1924), pp.175-6.
- 8 'On Detecting John Ford's Hand: a Fallacy', The Library (Fifth Series), 26 (1971), 256-9 (p.257).
- 9 'Review of Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama', Modern Language Review, 20 (1925), 195-200 (p.196).
- 10 'Review of Bang's edition of The Queen', Modern Language Review, 3 (1908), 292-3 (p.292).
- 11 'A New Play by John Ford', Modern Language Notes, 23 (1909), 245-9.
- 12 John Ford (Oxford, 1935; reprinted New York, 1966), p.147.
- 13 The Problem of John Ford, p.71.
- 14 Le Drame de John Ford, pp.154-8.
- 15 Samuel Schoenbaum, Internal Evidence and Elizabethan Dramatic

Authorship: An Essay in Literary History and Method (Evanston, 1966), p.194.

16 John Ford (New York, 1972), p.42.

17 John Ford and the Caroline Drama (London, 1979)! p.163.

18 Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama, p.183; reprinted from 'John Ford the Author of The Spanish Gipsy', Modern Language Review, 19 (1924), 11-24.

19 John Ford, p.41.

20 John Ford, p.30.

21 John Ford, p.37.

22 The Problem of John Ford, p.33.

23 The Problem of John Ford, p.34.

24 Internal Evidence, pp.164-3.

25 Le Drame de John Ford, p.121.

26(London, 1973), p.xxiii.

27 John Ford and the Drama of his Time (London, 1937), pp.33-4.

28 The Art of Thomas Middleton: A Critical Study (Oxford, 1970), p.220.

29 The Art of Thomas Middleton, p.220.

30 John Ford, p.10.

31 John Ford, p.42.

32 Studies in Attribution: Middleton and Shakespeare, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, 79 (Salzburg, 1979), p.134.

33 The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays: Internal Evidence for the Major Problems of Authorship (Cambridge, 1973)! p.218.

34 'The Spanish Gipsy and Francis Manning's All for the Better, or the Infallible Cure', in Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, edited by James Hogg, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, 71 (Salzburg, 1978), p.97.

35 'The Authorship of The Welsh Ambassador', The Review of English Studies, 21 (1943), 192-201 (p.194).

36 *ibid.*, pp.199-200.

37 *ibid.*, p.193.

38 The Problem of John Ford, p.33.

39 The problem of John Ford, pp.36-7.

40 See for instance p.403 and p.414.

41 H. Littledale and W. Greg, eds, The Welsh Ambassador (Oxford, 1920), 11.1311-12.

42 King Henry the Eighth, edited by A.R. Humphreys (Harmondsworth, 1971), II.2.29-31. Of course the echoing may perhaps be of Fletcher rather than of Shakespeare: A.R. Humphreys suggests in his introduction that the scene may be by Fletcher because the lords regard the King as driven basically by lust, and 'if these sardonic references are Shakespeare's, the King becomes a cynic and a hypocrite, and this the play does not at all seem to intend' (p.19). But in fact it need mean no more than that the lords think him to be a cynic and a hypocrite; the close following of Holinshed here is very much in Shakespeare's manner; and, at all events, Ford may no more have known who wrote which scenes of the play than we do.

43 'The Authorship of The Welsh Ambassador', p.192.

44 Lake, however, feels it safest to assume that 'V.i. is Ford's, III. iii of doubtful authorship, and the rest of the play Dekker's' (The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays, pp.229-30).

45 The Problem of John Ford, p.43.

46 John Ford, pp.63-4.

47 Le Drame de John Ford, p.142.

48 John Ford, p.42.

49 'The Shares of Fletcher and his Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (v)', Studies in Bibliography, 13 (1960), 77-108 (p.100).

50 Internal Evidence, p.165.

51 The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, edited by A.R.

Waller, 10 vols (Cambridge, 1906-10), 3, IV.i.p.187.

52 John Ford, p.64.

53 E.H.C. Oliphant, The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: An Attempt to Determine their Respective Shares and Those of Others (Yale, London and Oxford, 1927), p.485, note 2.

54 The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, p.483.

55 'The Shares of Fletcher and his Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (v)', p.97.

56 *ibid.*, p.77.

57 The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, edited by A.R. Waller, 10 vols (Cambridge, 1906-10), 9, I.i.p.37.

58 It might be felt that there are similarities between Ford's habitual linking of the words 'heart' and 'rip' and the speech in which Cassilanes says of Antinous

Gods do a justice,  
And rip his bosom up, that men may see,  
Seeing, believe the subtle practices

Written within his heart.

(II.i.p.238). In fact, though, the idea that the revealed heart can convey a message is not characteristic of Ford; and the movement of the verse does not have his habitual cadences.

59 'Burton, Ford, and Andromana', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 54 (1939), IO07-I7 (p.1017).

60 'Authorship of The Second Maiden's Tragedy: A Reconsideration of the Manuscript Attribution to Chapman', Studies in Philology, 63 (1966), 31-77.

61 'The Mystery of Perkin Warbeck', in Studies in the English Renaissance Drama, edited by J.W. Bennett, O. Cargill, and V. Hall, jr (London, 1939; reprinted 1961).

62 Dekker as Collaborator in Ford's Perkin Warbeck', English Language Notes, 3 (1965-6), 104-6.

63 'Huntly as Tragic Chorus in Ford's Perkin Warbeck', Papers in Language and Literature, 16 (1980), 250-9 (p.254, note 10).

64 'Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest', Modern Language Review, 35 (1940), 287-319 (p.300).

65 'Another Play by John Ford', Modern Language Quarterly, 3 (1942), 395-601 (p.393).

66 John Ford and the Drama of his Time, p.81.

67 Le Drame de John Ford, p.317.

68 The Problem of John Ford, p.135.

69 M.E. Shewring, 'The Great Favourite; or, The Duke of Lerma, attributed to Sir Robert Howard' (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1977)! introduction, p.14.

70 It is interesting to note that Howard was in contact with the son of one of Ford's dedicatees (see PH. Hardacre, 'Clarendon, Sir Robert Howard, and Chancery Office-Holding at the Restoration', Huntington Library Quarterly, 38 (1974-5), 207-14 (pp.207-9), for a linking of Howard's name with that of Lord Mordaunt, son of the dedicatee of 'Tis Pity She's A Whore). He was, furthermore, himself a relative of the Earl of Arundel, who had been one of the four dedicatees of Honour Triumphant

71 See The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, edited by R.P. Sorlien (University Press of New England, 1976), p.205 (entry dated June, 1603).

72 The Problem of John Ford, p.135.

73 Shewring, p.232.

74 'Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest', p.304.

75 Le Drame de John Ford, pp.117-8.

76 John Ford, pp.35-9.

- 77 The Problem of John Ford, p.24.
- 78 The Problem of John Ford, p.24.
- 79 The Witch of Edmonton: A Critical Edition (London and New York, 1980), introduction, p.122.
- 80 John Ford, p.60.
- 81 Le Drame de John Ford, p.135.
- 82 The Problem of John Ford, p.40.
- 83 Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age (Cambridge, 1936), p.80.
- 84 John Fordes Dramatische Werke, Erster Band (Louvain, 1908), preface, p.vi. This is a rough translation of the original German.
- 85 See W.W. Greg, 'The Bakings of Betsy', The Library (Third Series), 2, 225-239.
- 86 'A Note on John Ford', Modern Language Notes, 38 (1943), 247-53.
- 87 Le Drame de John Ford, p.106.
- DATING
- 1 Le Drame de John Ford, p.68.
- 2 G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, 7 vols (Oxford, 1941), 3, P.443.
- 3 Burtonian Melancholy in the Plays of John Ford (Princeton, 1940), pp.28-32.
- 4 'The plays and the playwrights:1613-42', in The Revels History of Drama in English, Volume IV:1613-1660 (London and New York, 1981), p.207.
- 5 Ford contributed commendatory verses to Shirley's The Wedding, published in 1629, and Shirley gave verses to Love's Sacrifice, published in 1633.
- 6 The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, 3, P.443.
- 7 'A Pointer to the Date of Ford's Perkin Warbeck', Notes and Queries, 215 (June, 1970), 215-217 (p.217).
- 8 John Ford; Baroque English Dramatist (Montreal and London, 1977), pp.182-3.
- 9 Jacobean Tragedy: The Quest for Moral Order (London, 1962; reprinted 1979), P.155.
- 10 'John Ford and Platonic Love in the Court', Studies in Philology. 36 (1939), 206-26 (p.220).
- 11 The Problem of John Ford, p.48.

- 12 The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation (London, 1936; reprinted 1953), p.229.
- 13 'The Case of John Ford', Sewanee Review, 84 (1976), 614-29.
- 14 'Ford e Burton: Riesame di un Rapporto', English Miscellany, 17 (1966), 211-47 (p.211).
- 15 The Lover's Melancholy, edited by R.F. Hill (Manchester, 1985), p.3
- 16 'Tis Pity She's A Whore', edited by N.W. Bawcutt (London and Nebraska, 1966), p.xvii.
- 17 The Broken Heart, edited by T.J.B. Spencer (Manchester, 1980), p.49.
- 18 John Ford and the Drama of his Time, p.37.
- 19 John Ford and the Drama of his Time, p.49.
- 20 'Tis Pity She's A Whore', edited by Derek Roper (London, 1975). p.xxiv.
- 21 English Drama: A Critical Introduction (London, 1980), p.127.
- 22 The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, p.89.
- 23 p. xi.
- 24 An Introduction to Stuart Drama (Oxford, 1946), p.345.
- 25 Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights (New York, 1939; reprinted 1944), supplement, p.13.
- 26 Elizabethan Playwrights: A Short History of the English Drama from Mediaeval Times to the Closing of the Theatres in 1642 (New York and London, 1925), p.314.
- 27 Le Drame de John Ford, p.71.
- 28 John Ford and the Drama of His Time, p.81.
- 29 'Tis pity She's A Whore', p.xli.
- 30 An Introduction to Stuart Drama, p.345.
- 31 John Ford, p.162.
- 32 'Tis pity She's A Whore', p.xli.
- 33 The Broken Heart, p.II.
- 34 C.V. Wedgwood, Seventeenth-Century English Literature (Oxford, 1950), p.43.
- 35 King Charles I (London, 1981), p.158.
- 36 'Tis Pity She's A Whore and The Broken Heart', edited by S.P. Sherman (Boston and London, 1915), p.xx.
- 37 John Ford, p.45.

**38** 'Ford's Tragic Perspective', in *Elizabethan Drama: Modern Essays in Criticism*, edited by R.J.J. Kaufmann (Oxford, 1961), p.359-

**39** 'The Date of The Broken Heart', Notes and Queries, 216 (1971) , 458.

'WITH HEAVY HEARTS, YET AS MERRY AS WE CAN': THE MAKING OF A CAROLINE DRAMATIST

The opening quotation is from *The Witch of Edmonton*, V.iii.169 (the scene is generally ascribed to Ford).

**1** See *Great Writers Student Library: Renaissance Drama*, edited by Derek Traversi (London, 1980), article on Rowley, p.102, and article on Dekker, pp.43-4.

**2** Anne P. Harris, 'The Image of the House: A Study of Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Warwick, 1984), p.22.

**3** Bang suggested a link between *The Bristowe Merchant* and a prose novel by Dekker which, if it had indeed been dramatised, looks as if it must almost certainly have included at least some domestic scenes (*John Fordes Dramatische Werke, Erster Band* (Louvain, 1908), preface, p.vi).

**4** *Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1964), p.199.

**5** *Five Elizabethan Tragedies*, edited by A.K.McIlwraith (Oxford, 1938; reprinted 1971), pp.322-4. Quotations from *A Woman Killed with Kindness* are also from this edition.

**6** Thomas Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, edited by Roma Gill (London, 1968), III.i.27.

**7** C.R. Baskervill ('*Bandello and The Broken Heart*', *Modern Language Notes*, 28 (1913), 51-2), Giovanni M. Carsaniga ('*"The Truth" in John Ford's The Broken Heart*', *Comparative Literature*, 10 (1958), 344-8), and Katherine Duncan-Jones ('*Ford and the Earl of Devonshire*', *The Review of English Studies*, 29 (1978), 477-52), as well as R.C. Bald (*Six Elizabethan Plays (1585-1635)* (Boston, 1933). PP.391-2), all agree with Sherman ('*Stella and The Broken Heart*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 24 (1909), 274-285) in considering the Penelope Rich story a possible source for the play. It may further be noted that Bassanes on his first appearance strongly resembles Jonson's Corvino (see G. Fitzgibbon, '*An Echo of Volpone in The Broken Heart*', *Notes and Queries*, 220 (1975), 248-9), and that a recent editor of the love sonnets of Lady Mary Wroth argues that Lady Mary was the original of Celia in *Volpone* (May Neilson Paulissen, *The Love Sonnets of Lady Mary Wroth, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies*, 104 (Salzburg, 1982), p.25). Certainly Jonson described her to Drummond as 'unworthily married on a jealous husband' (quoted by David M. Bergeron, '*Women as Patrons of English Renaissance Drama*', in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, edited by G.F. Lytle and S. Orgel (Princeton, 1981), p.281). If Ford's audience might indeed have seen in II,i of *The Broken Heart* a reference to Lady Mary Wroth then they would indeed have thought of the Sidney family, for Lady Mary's father Robert was the younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney, and her eldest brother was the godson of Penelope

Devereux. The likelihood of this, however, does not seem great.

8 The psychological aptness of this is confirmed by the fact that almost exactly the same device is used, in another language and two centuries later, by Mikhail Lermontov. In his novel *A Hero of Our Time*, published in 1840, the hero Pechorin muses in the following terms on his unsatisfactory love affairs and the pointlessness of his life:

Thus a man, tormented by hunger and fatigue, goes to sleep and sees before him rich viands and sparkling wines ; he devours with delight the airy gifts of fancy, and he seems to feel relief; but as soon as he awakes - the vision vanishes. He is left with redoubled hunger and despair!

(Translated by Vladimir Nabokov in collaboration with Dmitri Nabokov (1938; reprinted Oxford, 1984), p.131).

9 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart', *Renaissance Drama* (New Series), 3 (1970), 167-87 (p.174, note 3).

10 'The Heart and the Banquet: Imagery in Ford's 'Tis Pity and The Broken Heart', Studies in English Literature, 2 (1962), 209-17 (p.209).

11 David A. Hinton, Medieval Jewellery from the eleventh to the fifteenth century (Princes Risborough, 1982), p.II.

12 'The Heart and the Banquet', p.213.

13 For this suggestion see for instance Dorothy M. Farr, John Ford and The Caroline Drama, p.80, and Donatella Ravignani, 'Ford e Burton', p. 222.

14 'The Heart and the Banquet', p.211.

15 'Oxymoron and the Structure of Ford's The Broken Heart', Essays and Studies, 1980, 70-93 (P.70).

16 Samuel Schoenbaum, 'Peut-on parler d'une "decadence" du théâtre au temps des premiers Stuart?', in Dramaturgie et Société, edited by Jean Jacquot, 2 vols (Paris, 1968), 2, p.843.

17 Shakespearean Representation: Mimesis and Modernity in Elizabethan Tragedy (Princeton, 1977), P. 193.

18 'The Language of Cruelty in Ford's 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, Comparative Drama, 8 (1974), 336-68 (p.360).

19 Lawrence Babb, The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1380 to 1642 (East Lansing, Michigan, 1931), p.8.

20 Babb, The Elizabethan Malady, p.10.

21 There may also be something of the same sort happening in The Broken Heart. Some of the most celebrated lines in Ford are those of the mad Penthea to Orgilus. She says to him

Remember  
When we last gathered roses in the garden  
I found my wits, but truly you lost yours.



(iV.ii.119-21). Here, too, there may be an indication of a failure to make proper use of food, and of the dire results of such a failure. Penthea gathered the roses, but she did not eat them; and perhaps she should have done, for not only were rose-petals and rosewater popular delicacies at the time, but Andrew Boorde in his *Dyetary* confidently declared that 'Roses by a cordyall, and doth comferte the herte and the brayne' (quoted in Lorna Sass, *To the Queen's Taste: Elizabethan Feasts and Recipes* (New York, 1976; reprinted London, 1979), p.125).

**22** Dante Alighieri, *The Vita Nuova and Canzoniere*, translated by Thomas Okey (London, 1906), p.9.

**23** See Nicholas Brooke, *Horrid Laughter in Jacobean Tragedy* (London, 1979), p.124.

**24** *Le Theatre et son Double* (Paris, 1964), p.41.

**25** John Ford and the Caroline Drama, p.92.

**26** *The Golden Age of English Drama: Enjoyment of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays* (Cambridge, 1951), p.164.

**27** Ronald Huebert, in *John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist*, comments of these lines that 'Auria's problems, like Caraffa's in *Love's Sacrifice*, have been the result of too chivalric a view of marriage. His new marriage must place less emphasis on external symbols and more on emotional needs' (p.114).

'A PREY TO WORDS: A SEARCH FOR AN INDEX OF THOUGHT'

The opening quotation is from *The Broken Heart*, IV.ii.44.

**1** *The Problem of John Ford*, p.53.

**2** *John Ford*, edited by Havelock Ellis (London, no date given), introduction, pp.xiv-xv. I cannot resist the temptation to quote here the splendid comment made by Hartley Coleridge on Ford's style, in his edition of *The Dramatic Works of Massinger and Ford*, 2 vols (London, 1840; reprinted 1869) introduction, I, p.xiv, note I:

in all his dramas his language, when not obscured by vain emulation of Shakespeare's involution and superfoetation of thought, is as clear as the stars on a frosty night when there is no moon, - but in his prose addresses he is sometimes as laboriously unintelligible as if he would give the Sphinx a lesson - that might have saved her life - to secure her meaning from being unguessed by having no meaning at all.

**3** (London, 1984), p.199.

**4** 'Shakespeare and Ford', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 94 (1958), 121-31 (p. 129). It should be noted, of course, that silence was one of the most prized of all female qualities. Christina Hole notes that in baptismal records 'the rather lovely name Silence for a girl occurs once or twice' (*The English Housewife in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1953), p.136), and Wallace Notestein points out that 'silence in women was esteemed a great virtue by poets, playwrights and biographers' ('The English Woman, 1580-1650', in *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G.M. Trevelyan*, edited by J.H. Plumb (London,

1955), P.77). There is a particularly useful section on this in Lisa Jardine's *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Brighton, 1983). Interestingly, Steven Ozment includes in his book an image of 'a traditional Catholic portrayal of a good life' in which the woman has a lock and key over her mouth, but here the injunction to silence appears to be qualified:

Every hour, day and night,  
I wear a golden lock upon my lips  
So that they may say no harmful words  
Or wound another's honor.

(When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp.66-7).

5 "Ignorance in Knowledge": Marlowe's *Faustus* and Ford's *Giovanni*', *Modern Philology*, 57 (1960), 145-54 (p.149).

6 John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1968), p.III.

7 'John Ford Revisited', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 4 (1964), 195-216 (p.213).

8 *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy 1587-1642* (Princeton, 1940), p.209.

9 John Ford, *'Tis Pity She's A Whore*, edited by Brian Morris (London, 1968), p.xiii.

10 Oliver, *The Problem of John Ford*, p.81.

11 Stavig, *John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order*, pp.126-7.

12 Fiormonda, similarly concealed at the beginning of Act V, is able to overhear.

13 Michael Neill, 'The Moral Artifice of *The Lover's Melancholy*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 8 (1978), 85-106 (p.100).

14 Stavig, *John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order*, p.77.

15 *ibid.*, p.194.

16 *A Study of Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1964), p.271.

17 *'The Broken Heart'*, edited by T.J.B. Spencer, introduction, pp.46-7.

18 *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*, p.212.

19 *John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist*, p.100.

20 *Le Drame de John Ford*, p.433.

21 *ibid.*, p.432.

22 *The Poetics of Jacobean Drama* (Baltimore and London, 1981), p.174.

23 'The Language of Process in Ford's *The Broken Heart*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 87 (1972), 397-405 (p.401)

- 24 'Oxymoron and the Structure of Ford's The Broken Heart', p.86.
- 25 (London, 1965). p.xxxix.
- 26 'The Caroline Audience', Modern Language Review, 36 (1941), 304-19 (P.316).
- 27 Coburn Freer remarks of Orgilus that 'in his farewell everything happens at one remove as compared to Flamineo's...the final image more describes a shrimp cocktail than an organ suffering a fatal trauma' (The Poetics of Jacobean Drama, pp.179-80).
- 28 The Problem of John Ford, pp.60-I.
- 29 Coburn Freer, The Poetics of Jacobean Drama, p.182.
- 30 The Broken Heart, edited by T.J.B. Spencer, p.136, note on line 93.
- 31 Thomas Middleton, A Chaste Maid in Cheapside edited by Alan Brissenden (London, 1968), p.13\* note on line 180.
- 32 Anonymous review of M. Jôan Sargeaunt's John Ford, entitled 'John Ford and his Tragedies: the Drama of Silent Suffering', The Times Literary Supplement, Saturday, November 9th, 1935.
- 33 'A Critical Edition of The Golden Mean and A Line of Life', p.96.
- 34 'The Modernity of John Ford', English, 18 (1969), 43-52 (p.46).
- 35 Gretchen Ludke Finney, Musical Backgrounds for English Literature: I58C - I630 (The State University, Rutgers, no date given), p.77.
- 36 'The Design of John Ford's The Broken Heart: A Study in the Development of Caroline Sensibility', Studies in Philology, 59 (1962), i4i-6i (p.159).
- 37 John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist, p.33.
- 38 Le Drame de John Ford, p.446.
- 39 The Broken Heart, edited by Brian Morris, introduction, pp.xxiv-xxv.
- 40 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart', p.178.
- 41 John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order, p.145.
- 42 'The Language of Process in Ford's The Broken Heart', p.403.
- 43 Ronald Huebert, John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist, p.II3.
- 44 Lord David Cecil, The Fine Art of Reading (London, 1957). p.86.
- 45 The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation, p.120, note.
- 46 Le Drame de John Ford, p.261.
- 47 'John Ford, p.77.
- 48 'A New Play by John Ford', p.248.

49 John Ford and the Caroline Drama, p.134.

50 An Introduction to Stuart Drama, p.350.

51 Una Ellis-Fermor, The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation, p.4.

52 Anonymous review of M. Joan Sargeaunt's John Ford.

53 John Ford and the Caroline Drama, p.144.

54 'Peut-on parler d'une "décadence" du théâtre au temps des premiers Stuart?', p.841.

'SPEAKING SWEAT' SOME STRANGE USES OF SYNECDOCHE IN THE WORKS OF JOHN FORD

The opening quotation is from Christ's Bloody Sweat, p.79.

1 Le Drame de John Ford, p.430.

2 *ibid.*, p.437.

3 The frequent emphasis on wedding-rings in Ford's plays may also have served to draw attention to the concentration on the heart. These were frequently in the shape of a heart held by two hands, and, furthermore, 'popular superstition had it that a vein or nerve ran from the third finger of the left hand to the heart' (*A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, edited by Alan Brissenden, note on III.i.21).

4 Richard II, edited by Stanley Wells (Harmondsworth, 1969), introduction, p. 43.

5 John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist, p.150.

6 *ibid.*, p.154.

7 *ibid.*, p.37.

8 Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948), p.134.

9 *ibid.*, p.134.

10 *ibid.*, p.134.

11 *ibid.*, p.134.

12 *ibid.*, p.149.

13 Joan Sargeaunt, John Ford, p.139.

14 The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century (New Haven and London, 1954), p.199.

15 *ibid.*, p.184.

16 *ibid.*, p.200.

17 John Ford, p.124.

18 Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, p.112.

- 19 The Penguin Dictionary of Saints, edited by Donald Attwater and revised by Catherine Rachel John (Harmondsworth, 1983), p.68.
- 20 *ibid.*, p.78.
- 21 Four Tudor Comedies, edited by William Tydeman (Harmondsworth, 1984), V.iv.I909-IO.
- 22 *ibid.*, 11.349-33.
- 23 Eighth Song, line 24, and Sonnet 93, line 14.
- 24 Sonnet I, line 8.
- 25 The Second Maiden's Tragedy, edited by Anne Lancashire (Manchester, 1978), I.ii.93; A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, edited by Alan Brissenden, I.ii.9I; The Cardinal, in Jacobean and Caroline Tragedies, edited by R.G. Lawrence (London, 1974), IV.i.270 and V.i.38.
- 26 Ronald Huebert, John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist, p.148.
- 27 It is interesting to see Ford, here, speaking so highly of an ancestor of the Earl of Arundel. It may count as additional evidence that he was knowingly doing the same thing in Perkin Warbeck, a theory which will be discussed later.
- 28 John Ford, p.II.
- 29 Shakespeare's Universe of Discourse: Language-Games in the Comedies (Cambridge, 1984), p.214.
- 30 B.L. Joseph, Elizabethan Acting (New York, 1964; reprinted 1979), pl6.
- 31 p.xxiv.
- 32 p.xxiv.
- 33 Hamlet, edited by Harold Jenkins (London, 1982), IV.iv.38.
- 34 This image might well have reinforced the idea of Annabella's repentance in the minds of some members of the audience. David A. Hinton remarks that coral was 'particularly favoured for rosary beads..., perhaps because, being red, coral was the colour of Christ's blood' (Medieval Jewellery from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, p.I2).
- 35 Leo Salinger, 'The Decline of Tragedy', in The Age of Shakespeare, edited by Boris Ford, revised edition (Harmondsworth, 1982), p.494.
- 36 John Ford, p.110.
- 37 See Lawrence Babb, The Elizabethan Malady, p.6.
- 38 Shakespeare's Universe of Discourse, p.213.
- 39 pp.xxiv-xxv.
- 40 'Tis Pity She's A Whore, edited by Brian Morris, p.xv.
- 41 'Role-Splitting and Réintégration: The Tested Woman Plot in Ford', Studies in English Literature, 20 (1980), 323-44 (p.336).

- 42 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart', p.179.
- 43 John Ford and the Caroline Drama, p.83.
- 44 'The Language of Process in Ford's The Broken Heart', pp.399-400.
- 45 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart', p.185.
- 46 Tragic Patterns in Jacobean and Caroline Drama (Tennessee, 1977), p. 183. The two protagonists of The Broken Heart are considered to be Orgilus and Ithocles.
- 47 Fredson Bowers, Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy, p.213, note 16.
- 48 Dorothy M. Farr, John Ford and the Caroline Drama, p.22.
- 49 Michael Neill, '"Anticke Pageantrie": The Mannerist Art of Perkin Warbeck', Renaissance Drama, 7 (1976), 117-50 (p.135).
- 50 Neill, '"AntickePageantrie"', p.135.
- 51 Joseph Candido, 'The "Strange Truth" of Perkin Warbeck', Philological Quarterly, 59 (1980), 300-15 (p.308).
- 52 Anthony Harris, Night's Black Agents: Witchcraft and Magic in Seventeenth-Century English Drama (Manchester, 1980), p.94.
- 53 John Ford, p.130.
- 54 Joan Sargeaunt, John Ford, p.104.
- 55 J. Kaufmann, 'Ford's Tragic Perspective', p.367.
- 56 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart', p.184.
- 57 'Ford's Unbroken Art: The Moral Design of The Broken Heart', Modern Language Review, 75 (1980), 249-68 (p.249).
- 58 Coburn Freer, The Poetics of Jacobean Drama, p.171.
- 59 The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama (London, 1985), p.209.
- 60 John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist, p.91.
- 61 John Ford and the Drama of his Time, p.78.
- 62 *ibid.*, p.50.
- 63 Ronald Huebert, John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist, p.94.
- 64 The Golden Age of English Drama, p.175.
- 65 Le Drame de John Ford, p.222.
- 66 John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist, p.98.
- 67 *ibid.*, pp.136-7.
- 68 Catherine Belsey, The Subject of Tragedy, p.209.

- 69 'The Language of Process in Ford's The Broken Heart', p.398.
- 70 John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order, pp.146-7.
- 71 Robert Davril, Le Drame de John Ford, pp.284-3.
- 72 Lawrence Babb, The Elizabethan Malady, p.10.
- 73 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart' , p.184.
- 74 'The Broken Heart and The Second Maiden's Tragedy: Ford's Main Source for the Corpse's Coronation', Notes and Queries, 229 (1984), 236-7 (p. 237).
- 75 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart', p.171.
- 76 Le Drame de John Ford, p.386.
- 77 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights (New York, 1939;reprinted 1964), p.127.
- 78 Death and Elizabethan Tragedy: A Study of Convention and Opinion in the Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1960), p.236.
- 79 Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne, edited by Pierre Villey and revised by V.-L. Saulnier, 3 vols (Paris, 1963). It xix, p.80.
- 80 The Tempest, edited by Anne Barton (Harmondsworth, 1968), I.2.398-9.
- 81 'The Speech of Ithocles on Ambition in Ford's The Broken Heart', English Miscellany, 20 (1969), 93-99 (p.93).

#### THE BROKEN HEART ON THE STAGE.

- 1 John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order, p.143.
- 2 John Ford, p.74.
- 3 'Ford's Unbroken Art: The Moral Design of The Broken Heart', pp.231-2.
- 4 'The Language of Process in Ford's The Broken Heart', pp.403-4.
- 5 'Ford's Unbroken Art: The Moral Design of The Broken Heart', p.249.
- 6 John Ford: Three Plays, edited by Keith Sturgess (Harmondsworth, 1970), introduction, pp.17-8.
- 7 'Holy Theatre: Ritual and the Avant Garde (Cambridge, 1981), p.38.
- 8 The Empty Space (London, 1968), p.43.
- 9 (New York, 1920), p.149.
- 10 All editors are agreed that Ford's stage directions are almost certainly his own; see for instance T.J.B. Spencer's introduction to his Revels edition of The Broken Heart, where he cites this very example in support of the view that 'the descriptive nature of some of the stage-directions suggest that the manuscript copy! was fairly close to the author's own manuscript' (p.3). Sturgess, in his edition



of *The Broken Heart*, Perkin Warbeck and 'Tis Pity, also feels that 'the descriptive stage directions and a special and heavy use of italics make it likely that author's manuscript served as copy-text for all three' (introduction, p.20).

11 *The Broken Heart*, edited by T.J.B. Spencer, introduction, p.83.

12 *ibid.*, p.161, note on 29.1.

13 For the implications of these corrupted sacrifices in *The Oresteia*, see Froma Zeitlin, 'The Motif of the Corrupted Sacrifice in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 96 (1965). 463-508. Dorothy M. Farr draws attention to several parallels between Ford's work and those of Aeschylus in *John Ford and the Caroline Drama*, pp.80-2. Although it would be difficult to prove a direct debt, there are some interesting similarities (and *The Broken Heart* is of course set in Sparta) which seem to me to make it useful to bear in mind the *Oresteia* when considering *The Broken Heart*.

14 Michael Neill, 'Ford's Unbroken Art: The Moral Design of *The Broken Heart*', p.266.

15 Moody E. Prior, *The Language of Tragedy* (Gloucester, Mass., 1964), p.150.

16 pp.xxiv-xxv.

17 'Ford's Unbroken Art: The Moral Design of *The Broken Heart*', pp.251-2.

18 *ibid.*, p.251.

19 *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London, 1943), pp.94-5.

20 John Milton, *Comus*, in *The Literature of Renaissance England*, edited by John Hollander and Frank Kermode (Oxford, 1973), P.750, 11.970-6.

21 *Shakespeare's Universe of Discourse*, p.237.

22 'Oxymoron and the Structure of Ford's *The Broken Heart*', pp.89-90.

23 *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London, 1979), p.123.

24 See *The Malcontent*, edited by G.K. Hunter (Manchester, 1975). note on IV.ii.2-3.

25 It should perhaps be remarked that Ford's dedicatee the Earl of Arundel owned the original drawings for Holbein's *Dance of Death*, and that he was always fond of showing his drawings to anyone who wanted to see them (see David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven and London, 1985), p.210). Ford could well, therefore, have been familiar with them.

26 See 'The "impure art" of John Webster', in *Elizabethan Drama: Modern Essays in Criticism*, edited by R.J. Kaufmann (Oxford, 1961).

27 C.J. Norman notes that in Ford's early prose work *The Golden Mean* the argument 'is formally constructed in the pattern of the dance of death' ('A Critical Edition of *The Golden Mean* and *A Line of Life*', p.38).

28 Thelma N. Greenfield, 'The Language of Process in Ford's The Broken Heart', p.404.

29 Michael Neill, 'Ford's Unbroken Art: The Moral Design of The Broken Heart', p.266.

30 The Second Maiden's Tragedy, edited by Anne Lancashire, introduction, p.43.

31 *ibid.*, p.44.

32 *ibid.*, Appendix A, p.278.

33 It was later to become a practice that Laud tried hard to reinstate in the face of much Puritan opposition. Sir Nathaniel Brent, surveying church practice in 1634, found that there was often 'a failure to bow at the name of Mary or Jesus. Indeed, one minister was so anxious to avoid this practice that he contrived to omit the names from his service' (Pauline Gregg, King Charles I, p.272). That this opposition to genuflection was not recent is illustrated by the fact that in 1550 Lady Jane Grey, on a visit to her cousin Mary Tudor, was horrified to see Princess Mary's attendant Lady Anne Wharton curtsy to the Host on the altar. '"Why do you do so? Is the Lady Mary in the chapel?" She rather disingenuously inquired' (Hester W. Chapman, Lady Jane Grey (London, 1902; reprinted 1985), p.79). And in 1616 Laud, appointed Dean of Gloucester, horrified his bishop by

having the communion-table removed from its place in the body of the church and fixed altarwise in the chancel, and by ordering those who entered the church to bow to it. To the Puritan the communion-table was only a table, and the communion a commemorative meal: to set the table up in the east, bedizened with trappings, was to convert it into an altar, as the Papists did, and to show it reverence was idolatry.

(H.R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645 (London, 1965), p.45).

34 The Broken Heart, edited by T.J.B. Spencer, introduction, p.33.

35 John Ford, p.139.

36 John Ford: Baroque English Dramatist, p.42.

37 *ibid.*, pp.138-9.

38 Christina Hole, The English Housewife in the Seventeenth Century, p.21.

39 A.L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society (London, 1951), p. 477.

40 'Ford's "Waste Land": The Broken Heart', p.174, note 3.

41 It was in connection with religious rites at meals that a particularly violent quarrel arose between Charles I and Henrietta Maria in the stormy early years of their marriage: 'at grace at meal times her chaplain refused to give way to English customs. There was one occasion when he actually competed with the King's own chaplain who was saying grace and there was such confusion that Charles, in a great passion rose from the table, took the Queen by the hand, and retired into his bedchamber' (Pauline Gregg, King Charles I, p.156).

Hester Chapman also comments that

the ritual of service at meals was as solemn and complicated as the celebration of Mass. Each course appeared to the sound of trumpets, and all the servants uncovered when the meat was brought in, laying their caps on the sideboards in neat rows. Even in the kitchens anyone found standing with his back to the roast was punished for disrespect to this symbol of bounty and privilege.

(Lady Jane Grey, p.27).

42 Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (Harmondsworth, 1980), p.15.

43 *ibid.*, p.32.

44 *ibid.*, p.46.

45 *ibid.*, p. 110.

46 *ibid.*, p.82.

47 *ibid.*, p.47.

48 *ibid.*, p.47.

49 *ibid.*, p.88.

50 *ibid.*, p.38.

51 The Theatre in the Middle Ages: Western European Stage Conditions, c.800-1576 (Cambridge, 1978), p.80.

52 *ibid.*, p.33.

53 Food and Cooking in 16th Century Britain: History and Recipes (London, 1983), p.16.

54 'Marriage and the Domestic Drama in Heywood and Ford', English Studies, 32 (1931), 200-16 (p.216).

55 English Catholicism 1338-1642: Continuity and Change (Harlow, Essex, 1983), p.37.

56 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', in Crisis in Europe 1360-1660: Essays from 'Past and Present', edited by Trevor Aston (London, 1963), p.223.

57 *ibid.*, p.223.

58 *ibid.*, p.242.

59 *ibid.*, p.223.

60 *ibid.*, p.226.

61 *ibid.*, p.243.

62 Marina Warner, Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary (London, 1976), p.100.

- 63 *ibid.*, p.296.
- 64 *ibid.*, p.330.
- 65 *ibid.*, p.326.
- 66 Le Drame de John Ford, p.16.
- 67 The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1300-1800, abridged edition (London, 1982), p.103.
- 68 Lisa Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, p.30.
- 69 See E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols (Oxford, 1923), 3, p.116.
- 70 C.V. Wedgwood, The King's Peace 1637-1641 (London, 1955), p.90.
- 71 Alan Dures, English Catholicism 1338-1642, p.77.
- 72 Eugene M. Waith, 'Struggle for Calm: the Dramatic Structure of The Broken Heart', in English Renaissance Drama: Essays in Honor of Madeleine Doran and Mark Eccles, edited by Standish Henning, Robert Kimbrough and Richard Knowles (Illinois, 1976), p.165.
- 73 Roger T. Burbridge, 'The Moral Vision of Ford's The Broken Heart', Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, 10 (1970), 397-407 (p.403).

#### FORD AND HIS DEDICATEES

- 1 We do not know whether his lost work on the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury carried a dedication, and we cannot be absolutely certain that the manuscript of A Line of Life in the British Museum carrying the dedication to Viscount Doncaster was the only presentation copy. There could have been others, and they might have been dedicated to different people; but in view of Doncaster's connection with Northumberland, the dedicatee of The Golden Mean, and the mention of The Golden Mean in the printed dedication to A Line of Life, it seems highly probable that he was the sole dedicatee.
- 2 This has been shown by Mary Hobbs in her article 'Robert and Thomas Ellice, Friends of Ford and Davenant', Notes and Queries, 219 (1974), 292-3.
- 3 C.J. Sisson, Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age (Cambridge, 1936), p.81.
- 4 It seems probable that he was the John Ford of Devon whomatriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on March 26th, 1601, at the age of sixteen.
- 5 When his father, Sir William Craven the elder, died in 1618, 'his was the largest fortune known at the time from a will - at least £123,000. In turn Lady Craven at her death was reputed by John Chamberlain to be "the richest widow (perhaps) that ever died, of London lady"; she was said to have left an income derived from land worth £13,000 a year between her two sons' (Antonia Fraser, The Weaker Vessel: Woman's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England (London, 1984), p.98).
- 6 Pembroke was also the dedicatee of Christ's Bloody Sweat (1613).

7 We would be better placed to decide the answer to this question if we knew more about the relationship between Ford's pamphlet and the tournament which took place on March 24th, 1606, where the same four peers defended more or less the same four positions as in *Honour Triumphant*. D.C. Merchant considers it unlikely that Ford wrote the original challenge, but remarks that 'it is interesting to speculate whether Ford wrote...*Honour Triumphant*, as Jonson wrote *Hymenaei*, as an entertainment with some of the same courtly performers in mind, and requiring the same capacity to perform adequately both in the lists and upon the court stage. My view is that he did' ('An Edition of *Honour Triumphant* and "The Monarchs' Meeting"' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1970), introduction, pp.xix-xxii). If this were indeed so, then Ford might well have come into closer contact with the four noblemen that might have been assumed from a dedication alone; and this is a possibility that is strengthened by the fact that in 1613 Ford was to offer another dedication to Pembroke, that of Christ's Bloody Sweat.

8 See *The Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)*, edited by G.R. Batho (Camden Society Publications, Third Series, Volume 93, 1962), p.166.

9 Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge, 1921; reprinted New York, 1969). p.309.

10 Quoted by Patrick Morrah, *Prince Rupert of the Rhine* (London, 1976), p. 21.

11 Lytton Strachey, *Elizabeth and Essex: A Tragic History* (London, 1928; reprinted Oxford, 1981), pp.3-4.

12 See Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope: Lady Penelope Rich, an Elizabethan Woman* (Bourne End, Bucks., 1983), pp.20-1, for an account of the quarrels between the two.

13 Hugh Trevor-Roper, foreword to *The Lisle Letters*, edited by Muriel St Clare Byrne and abridged by Bridget Boland (Harmondsworth, 1985), p. 12.

14 Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, p.49.

15 Quoted in Maud Stepney Rawson, *Penelope Rich and her Circle* (London, 1911), p.176.

16 See Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, p.79.

17 *English Drama* (London, 1926), p.215.

18 In the second book of his *Civil Wars*; see the DNB article on Daniel.

19 Brents Stirling, 'Daniel's Philotas and the Essex Case', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 3 (1942), 583-94 (p.583).

20 Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (London, 1691; reprinted Hildesheim, 1968), p.219.

21 Quoted in Robert Davril, *Le Drame de John Ford*, p.152.

22 *The Lover's Melancholy*, edited by R.F. Hill, pp.9-10 and p.40, note 28.

23 Le Drame de John Ford, p.16.

24 Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility (Michigan, 1939), p.136.

25 Quoted in A Portrait of Elizabeth I in the words of the Queen and her contemporaries, edited by Roger Pringle (London, no date given), p.94.

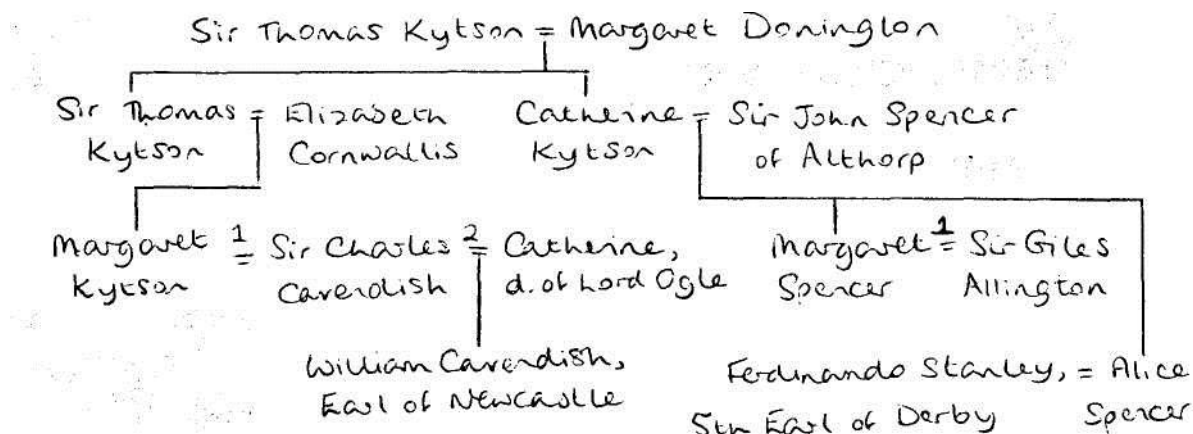
26 Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, p.93.

27 *ibid.*, p.97. Ford's Middle Temple contemporary John Manningham seems to have known Markham, and cites in his Diary a couplet of which he gives Markham as the author (p.324). Interestingly, the couplet ran as follows :

Laetus doth keep his sister and his whore.  
Laetus doth keep his sister and no more.

Was there a real scandal, involving an incestuous brother and sister, which occasioned talk at the Middle Temple? Manningham's editor notes that 'Thomas Bastard in *Chrestoleros*, 1.598, has the following line: "Laetus did in his mistress' quarrel die"'. Neither Laetus nor his sister, however, seems likely to be identified, and we shall probably never know the true story of the couplet.

It should perhaps be noted that there were also rumours of incest involving the Lake family, into which Penelope Devèreux' daughter Lettice married (see *The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford*, pp.87-8, and Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, pp.300-1); and that Sir Giles Allington, whose incestuous marriage with the daughter of his half-sister has been suggested as a source for 'Tis Pity, was related by marriage to the father of the Earl of Newcastle, dedicatee of *Perkin Warbeck* (see the family tree below).



28 David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1981), p.94.

29 'A Note on John Ford', p.249.

30 Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, p.194.

31 Quoted in Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, p. 133.

32 *ibid.*, pp.109-10.

33 Lytton Strachey, *Elizabeth and Essex*, pp.66-7.

34 David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, p172.

- 35 Quoted in Lily B. Campbell, 'The Use of Historical Patterns in the Reign of Elizabeth', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, I (1937-8), 135-67 (p.134).
- 36 J.P. Kenyon, *The Stuarts: A Study in English Kingship* (London, 1958; reprinted 1966), p.19.
- 37 Lytton Strachey, *Elizabeth and Essex*, p.113.
- 38 David Mathew, *The Age of Charles-. I* (London, 1931), p.135.
- 39 A.L. Rowse, *Shakespeare's Sonnets: The Problems Solved* (London, 1964), introduction, p.xxii.
- 40 Adrian Morey, *The Catholic Subjects-, of Elizabeth I* (London, 1978), p.134.
- 41 Vernon F. Snow, *Ess-ex the Rebel: The Life of Robert Devereux, The Third Earl of Essex, 1591-1646* (Nebraska, 1970), p.486.
- 42 Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, p.66.
- 43 David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, p.157.
- 44 *ibid.*, p.158.
- 45 *ibid.*, p.159.
- 46 See Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London, 1972), pp.25-6, for a discussion of his Catholicism.
- 47 Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collection', in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1968), 51-69 (p.52).
- 48 *ibid.*, p.54.
- 49 Cyril Falls, 'Penelope Rich and the Poets: Philip Sidney to John Ford', *Essays by Divers Hands-(New Series)*, 28 (1956), 125-37 (p.130)
- 50 *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London, 1954), p.217.
- 51 See Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, p.81.
- 52 Quoted in Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, p.82.
- 53 DNB, article on Samuel Daniel.
- 54 DNB, article on Nicholas Breton.
- 55 DNB, article on John Davies of Hereford.
- 56 Austin Warren, *Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility*, p.136.
- 57 Phoebe Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, revised by J.W. Saunders (Manchester, 1967), p.14.

58 John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, p.243.

59 Maud Stepney Rawson, Penelope Rich and her Circle, p.195.



- 60 Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p.44.
- 61 Maud Stepney Rawson, *Penelope Rich and her Circle*, p.306.
- 62 Phoebe Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p.14.
- 63 G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 3, p.253.
- 64 Quoted in Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1374-1642* (Cambridge, 1970), p.64.
- 65 Vernon F. Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, p.II.
- 66 David C. Price, *Patrons', and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, p. 98.
- 67 *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama Under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1980), p.168.
- 68 David Nichol Smith, *Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1920), p.34.
- 69 E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the 'lost years'* (Manchester, 1985), p.119.
- 70 David Mathew, *Catholicism in England 1335-1935: Portrait of a Minority: its Culture and Tradition* (London, 1938), p.80.
- 71 Donald S. Lawless, 'The Parents of Philip Massinger', *Notes and Queries*, 213 (1968), 256-8.
- 72 Philip Edwards, 'Society and the Theatre', in *The Revels History of Drama in English, Volume IV: 1613-1660* (London and New York, 1981), pp. 24-5.
- 73 *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-1673*, edited by J.Q. Adams (Yale, 1917), P-58.
- 74 J.P. Kenyon, *The Stuarts*, p.28.
- 75 David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, p.163.
- 76 *ibid.*, p.107.
- 77 Quoted in David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven and London, 1985), p.114.
- 78 *The Lisle Letters*, edited by Muriel St Clare Byrne and abridged by Bridget Boland, introduction, p.32.
- 79 Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p.I3.
- 80 'Early Music Network', BBC Radio 3, 1.5-2.0, Saturday, 22nd March, 1986.
- 81 Ford's hostility to the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, in his 'A memorial offered to that man of virtue, Sir Thomas Overbury', does not, of course, reflect in any way on Arundel, who 'was probably involved with his brother-in-law the Earl of Pembroke and Southampton in the machinations that led to the fall of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, for unlike his uncles, he was not tainted by suspicion of involvement in the

Overbury murder' (John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk: A Quincentennial History* (Oxford, 1982), p.101).

**82** It has not previously been remarked that Ford's *Love's Sacrifice* appears to derive at least in part from the life story of the Italian princeling and musician Duke Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa. In 1386, Gesualdo married his first cousin, Maria D'Avalos. (D'Avolos, it will be remembered, is the name of the Iago-like secretary in *Love's Sacrifice*). Although there are many differences between the events of the play and those of the real-life story, Maria D'Avalos had many things in common with Ford's Bianca. For one thing, 'all contemporary chroniclers are agreed on one point, namely, the "surprising beauty" of Donna Maria, one of them even going so far as to say that she was reputed to be the most beautiful woman in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies' (Cecil Gray and Philip Heseltine, *Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, Musician and Murderer* (London, 1926), p.11). Like Bianca, too, Maria D'Avalos fell in love with a man other than her husband: Fabrizio Carafa, Duke of Andria. Here again we have a name familiar from *Love's Sacrifice*, although here, again, it has been applied to a different character, since in the play Caraffa is the name not of Bianca's lover but of her husband. Confusingly enough, however, Carafa had also been the name of Donna Maria's first husband (she was a widow twice over when, at the age of twenty-five, she married Gesualdo); and her daughter from that first marriage later became the wife of Marcantonio Carafa. If Ford had heard only a garbled version of the story, and had not had access to the Italian manuscript account of the affair, that might explain the transferring of the name Caraffa to Bianca's husband, while D'Avolos, with its echo of 'devil', was clearly a name more fitted to the diabolic secretary than to Ford's virtuous heroine. If he knew the story in detail these switchings of names are not so easily accounted for, but it may be that Ford, who, as we shall see, was fond of obscuring his meaning, was deliberately disguising the source of his play from all but the very well informed.

However that may be, the resemblances between *Love's Sacrifice* and the Gesualdo story do not stop with the names. We have seen that, like Bianca, Maria D'Avalos was famous for her beauty, and that, also like Bianca, she fell in love with a man other than her husband. Like Fernando in *Love's Sacrifice*, Maria's lover Fabrizio Carafa was a very handsome man: indeed, 'the contemporary account known as the MS. Corona refers to the Duke of Andria as "of appearance so exquisite that from his features one would say that he was an Adonis"' (Cecil Gray and Philip Heseltine, *Carlo Gesualdo*, p.12). Gray wryly comments on this that 'it will be noted that the only person in the whole account who is not lovely beyond words is our poor Carlo'; in this, Gesualdo resembles the Caraffa of Ford's play. The MS. Corona goes on to say that 'the equality of age in the two lovers, the similarity of their tastes, the numerous occasions presented by balls and feasts, the equal desire of both parties to take pleasure in each other, were all tinder to the fire which burnt in their breasts' (translated by Cecil Gray, *Carlo Gesualdo*, pp.13-4). Like Bianca and Fernando, then, the two lovers were both younger than the husband (Gesualdo had been about thirty at the time of the marriage, Maria twenty-five). But unlike Bianca and Fernando, they consummated their relationship. The affair went on for some time before it was finally revealed to Gesualdo:

This practice, having become frequent and familiar, came to the ears of relations and friends of the Prince, amongst others to those of Don Giulio Gesualdo, uncle of the Prince Don Carlo. This Don Giulio had himself been fiercely enamoured of the charms of Donna Maria, and had left no stone unturned in order to attain his desire; but, having been

several times reproached by her for his foolish frenzy and warned that if he persisted in such thoughts and intentions she would divulge all to the Prince her husband, the unhappy Don Giulio, seeing that neither by gifts nor entreaties nor by tears could he hope to win her to his desires-, did cease to importune her, believing her to be a chaste Penelope. But when whispers came to his ears concerning the loves and pleasures of Donna Maria and the Duke, and after that he had assured himself of their truth with his own eyes from more than one certain sign, such was the wrath and fury which assailed him on finding that the strumpet did lie with others, that, without losing one moment of time, he straightway revealed all to the prince.

(Translated by Cecil Gray, Carlo Gesualdo, pp.14-5). This account contains two parallels to Ford's play: Maria D'Avalos' threat to tell her husband if she is again importuned is like Bianca's threat to Fernando; and the loves of Bianca and Fernando are revealed to the Duke by his sister, Fiormonda, who has herself made advances to Fernando and has been rebuffed.

The Duke of Andria, realising that their love had been discovered, at once attempted to break off the relationship; but Maria would have none of it. The MS. Corona quotes her as saying to the Duke that 'I have courage enough and strength enough to endure the cold steel, but not the bitter frost of your absence' (Gray, p.17). In Love's Sacrifice, too, Bianca is more willing to risk all for love than Fernando. She says to him in an aside 'Speak, shall I steal a kiss? believe me, my lord, I long' (ill.ii.p.62), to which he replies 'Not for the worldj'; and Bianca deliberately incites her husband to murder her once she realises that he has discovered their love. She, like Maria D'Avalos, appears to have something of a death-wish. And death, of course, was what they both suffered. On being told of his wife's infidelity, Carlo Gesualdo 'left Naples to go hunting, saying he would be away overnight. But at midnight he returned to the palace with an armed troop and found his wife naked in bed with the Duke. They were both shot and stabbed, the lady's wounds being "in her belly and especially in those parts which most ought to be kept honest"' (Denis Arnold, Gesualdo (London, 1984), p.8). Caraffa, in Love's Sacrifice, also said that he would be away overnight, but he unexpectedly returns; and he tells Bianca that he will

Rip up the cradle of thy cursed womb,  
In which the mixture of that traitor's lust  
Imposthumes for a birth of bastardy.

(V.i.p.91). Here too there is the threat of injury to the private parts. Moreover, so far as we know Bianca is not pregnant, and there are no other references in the play to an actual pregnancy, although Fiormonda and the Duke taunt D'Avolos with the possibility of one. Maria D'Avalos, however, had had a baby shortly before her death, and the child, in some versions of the story, was also murdered by Gesualdo. Perhaps the 'phantom pregnancy' of Bianca has wandered in from Ford's source.

There are, of course, differences between the two stories. Gesualdo killed not only his wife but her lover as well; Fernando, in Love's Sacrifice, kills himself, and so, too, does the Gesualdo-figure in the play, Caraffa, whereas the real Gesualdo married again and died twenty-three years after the murder. Gesualdo, however, had something else in common with Ford's Caraffa besides their relative personal unattractiveness. They were both racked with guilt. Gesualdo was unusual in this. We have already seen that he married again. One might have imagined that a man who had murdered his first wife might have

experienced difficulty in finding a second, but this was by no means the case, for, like the nobles of Pavy in the play, most people accepted Gesualdo's action. The legal authorities looked into the case but decided not to pursue it, the families of the dead lovers mounted no vendetta, and when a marriage was proposed between Gesualdo and Eleonora d'Esté 'no doubt the murder of Carlo's first wife weighed little on the hearts of the Estensi: it was no more than Maria had deserved' (Denis Arnold, *Gesualdo*, p.44). Gesualdo alone, like Caraffa in Ford's play, seems to have felt the need to make atonement: 'that guilt and repentance was Carlo's future lot is not in doubt. The grave, elongated face in the picture of himself with Christ and interceding saints^ and, as we shall see, his music convey the same feelings of sin and expiation' (Arnold, p.9). And other people, although not influential ones, also blamed Gesualdo:

all the poets of Naples, from the great Tasso down to the obscurest rhymester of the age, seem to have burst out into a simultaneous howl of anguish over the fate of the two unfortunate lovers...In all of them, without a single exception, the sympathies are entirely on the side of the lovers; even Tasso, whose close friendship with Gesualdo, one would have thought, might have inclined him to take a different view, mourns the sad fate of the two unhappy lovers without seeming to reprove their conduct.

(Gray, p.38). Could it be this mixture of sympathy and guilt which inspired Ford's most important departure from the Gesualdo story, his decision to make Bianca and Fernando stop short of actual adultery? If not, this major difference between play and life seems hard to account for. There are still, however, sufficient correspondences between the two to make it seem beyond doubt that Love's Sacrifice was influenced by the Gesualdo story.

The question therefore arises of where Ford, came across it. We have already seen that it immediately became a popular theme for Italian poets, including Tasso and Giambattista Marino. We have also seen that some of the details in the manuscript account, the MS. Corona, seem to be closely echoed in Ford, but since we do not know how many copies of it there were or where they may have travelled to, it seems dangerous to speculate on whether or not he may have had direct access to it. Brantôme gave an account of the affair 'with many inaccuracies' (Gray, p.32), in his *Vies des Dames Galantes* (Discours premier, sur les dames qui font l'amour et leurs maris cocus), but he makes no mention of the name Carafa. We also know that John Dowland visited Ferrara, the home of Gesualdo's second wife, in the 1590s, though we do not know whether it was while Gesualdo himself was there. But perhaps most interesting of all is the fact that the first reference to Gesualdo in English comes in Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*. This was published in 1622, and it was dedicated to the youngest son of the Earl of Arundel, for Peacham was tutor to Arundel's children. In *The Compleat Gentleman* 'the author, after referring to the musical accomplishments of King Henry the Eighth, says: "The Duke of Venosa, an Italian prince, in like manner, of late yeares, hath given excellent prooffe of his knowledge and love to Musicke, having himselfe composed many rare songs, which I have seene'" (Gray, p.89). It is tempting to speculate that here we have another piece of evidence linking Ford with Arundel.

**83** Quoted in Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope*, p. 117.

**84** Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p.190.

- 85 See R.C. Bald, 'A Manuscript Work by Sir George Buc', *Modern Language Review*, 30 (1935), 1-12.
- 86 Alan Dures, *English Catholicism 1538-1642*, p.53.
- 87 David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, p.93.
- 88 Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Francis Bacon: The Temper of a Man* (London, 1963), p.II.
- 89 David Mathew, *Catholicism in England 1335-1935*, p.60.
- 90 See A.L. Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and His Lives of the Saints', in *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G.M. Trevelyan*, edited by J.H. Plumb (London, 1955).
- 91 David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p.12.
- 92 David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, p.137.
- 93 Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p.14.
- 94 *ibid.*, p.29.
- 95 *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple*, edited by R.P. Sorlien, p.235.
- 96 John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, p.I09.
- 97 David Nichol Smith, *Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century*, p.32.
- 98 *Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645*, p.307.
- 99 M.J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Stanford and London, 1962), p.157. It is interesting to speculate that it was Arundel's connection with the expedition that prompted Ford to revise *The Sun's Darling* to include anti-Scottish propaganda (if it was indeed Ford who was responsible for the revisions).
- 100 *The Life of the Venerable Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey* (London, 1926), p.175.
- 101 DNB, article on Ludovick Stuart, 2nd Duke of Lennox.  
102.
- 102 Phoebe Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p.18.
- 103 David Walter, *James I* (Hove, 1975), P.2I.
- 104 M.J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England*, p.135.
- 105 Maud Stepney Rawson, *Penelope Rich and her Circle*, p.I50.
- 106 *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple*, edited by R.P. Sorlien, p.120.
- 107 Maud Stepney Rawson, *Penelope Rich and her Circle*, p.133.
- 108 Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Francis Bacon*, p.78.

- 109 Phoebe Sheavyn, The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age, p.16.
- 110 Mary F.S. Hervey, The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, p.193.
- 111 David C. Price, Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance, p.162.
- 112 H.G.R. Batho, 'The Wizard Earl in the Tower 1605-1621', History Today, 6 (1936), 344-31 (p.343).
- 113 Mary F.S. Hervey, The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, p.338.
- 114 David Howarth, Lord Arundel and his Circle, p.197.
- 115 Martin Butler, Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642 (Cambridge, 1984), p.28.
- 116 David Howarth, Lord Arundel and his Circle, p.99.
- 117 M.J. Havran, The Catholics in Caroline England, p.83.
- 118 *ibid.*, p.64.
- 119 John Cornforth, 'The Backward Look', in The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting, edited by Gervase Jackson-Stops (New Haven and London, 1983), p.64?
- This Earl's daughter, Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, married into the families of both Lennox and Arundel, her husband being Alexander, 2nd Duke of Gordon, whose mother Elizabeth Howard was the daughter of Arundel's grandson the 6th Duke of Norfolk.
- 120 Margaret Cavendish, The Lives of William Cavendishe, Duke of Newcastle, and of his wife..., edited by M.A. Lower (London, 1872), p.204
- 121 *ibid.*, preface, p.xxxviii.
- 122 *ibid.*, p.121.
- 123 Mary F.S. Hervey, The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, p.287.
- 124 *ibid.*, p.340.
- 125 Margaret Cavendish, The Lives of William Cavendishe, Duke of Newcastle, and of his wife..., p.121.
- 126 David N. Durant, Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast (London, 1977), p.211.
- 127 Vernon F. Snow, Essex the Rebel, p.190.
- 128 Not to be confused with Hertford's second wife, also called Frances Howard.
- 129 The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, edited by R.P. Sorlien, p.69.
- 130 Antonia Fraser, King James. VI of Scotland and I of England (London, 1974), p.78.

- 131 Maud Stepney Rawson, Penelope Rich and her Circle, p.150.
- 132 David C. Price, Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance, p.98.
- 133 In 1649 he declared himself a good Protestant (see Douglas Grant, Margaret the First: A Biography of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, 1623-1673 (London, 1957), p.107).
- 134 Douglas Grant, Margaret the First, p.29.
- 135 Philip Caraman, The Years of Siege: Catholic Life from James I to Cromwell (London, 1966), p.141.
- 136 Murray Lefkowitz, William Lawes (London, 1960), p.196.
- 137 See James P. Cutts, 'British Museum Additional MS.31432: William Lawes' Writing for the Theatre and the Court', The Library (Fifth Series), 7 (1952), 225-34.
- 138 N.C. Starr, 'The Concealed Fansyes: A Play by Lady Jane Cavendish and Lady Elizabeth Brackley', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 46 (1931), 802-38.
- 139 William Hemminge, Elegy on Randolph's Finger, quoted in The Broken Heart, edited by Brian Morris, introduction, p.ix.
- 140 Edwin J. Nunzeger, A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642 (New York, 1968), p.38 and p.40.
- 141 Joan Sargeaunt, John Ford, p.2.
- 142 Where the society which funds student theatrical productions is still named after him.
- 143 'Nicholas Roscarrock and His Lives of the Saints', p.4.
- 144 W.R. Trimble, The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England 1558-1603 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 91.
- 145 Edmund H. Fellowes, William Byrd (Oxford, 1936), pp.93-4.
- 146 P.J. Finkelpearl, John Marston and the Middle Temple: An Elizabethan Dramatist in His Social Setting (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p.63.
- 147 The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, edited by R.P. Sorlien, p.100 and pp.153-4.
- 148 Alan Dures, English Catholicism, p.31.
- 149 Quoted in Sylvia Freedman, Poor Penelope, p.140.
- 150 It does not seem to have been remarked upon, though, that Hall's prefatory verses to The Cardinal (printed in 1653) are addressed to 'the surviving honour and ornament of the English scene, James Shirley'. The use of the word 'surviving' appears to me to suggest that Ford was certainly dead before 1653 - which is hardly surprising, since if he were still alive he would be sixty-seven, a fairly advanced age for the time.

**151** Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, Elizabethan Popish Recusancy in the Inns of Court, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Special Supplement no. II* (London, 1976), p.42.

**152** Diana Poulton, John Dowland, p.41.

**153** Alan Dures, English Catholicism, p.16.

**154** 'The Unity of John Ford: 'Tis Pity She's A Whore and Christ's Bloody Sweat', *Studies in Philology*, 77 (1980), 247-70 (p.248 and p.251).

**155** *Le Drame de John Ford*, p.85.

**156** M.I. Scott, 'A Critical Edition of *Christes Bloodie Sweat*', introduction, p.x.

**157** *John Ford and the Drama of his Time*, p.23.

**158** p. xli.

**159** p.24.

'MINIONS TO NOBLEST FORTUNES': A POSSIBLE MOTIVE FOR THE INCLUSION OF CERTAIN CHARACTERS IN PERKIN WARBECK

The opening quotation is from *Perkin Warbeck*, III.i.46.

**1** *Jacobean and Caroline Tragedies*, edited by R.G. Lawrence (London, 1975), p.92.

**2** Sharon Hamilton, 'Huntly as Tragic Chorus in Ford's *Perkin Warbeck*', p.230.

**3** See Mildred C. Struble, 'The Indebtedness of Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* to Gainsford', *Anglia*, 49 (192.5-6), 80-91.

**4** See for instance Lily B. Campbell, 'The Use of Historical Patterns in the Reign of Elizabeth'.

**5** Whether it was the Shakespeare play or another on the same subject seems impossible to establish.

**6** See for a full discussion of this E.M. Albright, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 42 (1927), 686-720; Ray Heffner, 'Shakespeare, Hayward and Essex', *PMLA*, 43 (1930), 754-80; Albright, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*, Haywayd's History of Henry IV, and the Essex Conspiracy', *PMLA*, 46 (1931), 695-719; Heffner, 'Shakespeare, Hayward and Essex again', *PMLA*, 47 (1932), 898-9; and Albright, 'Reply to Ray Heffner's "Shakespeare, Haywayd and Essex again"', *PMLA*, 47 (1932), 899-901.

**7** 'See Stuart P. Sherman, 'Stella and The Broken Heart'.

**8** *Richard II*, edited by Stanley Wells, introduction, p.13.

**9** 'Richard II and Perkin Warbeck', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 13 (1962), 260-3 (p.260).



- 10 DNB, article on Samuel Daniel.
- 11 'Daniel's Philotas and the Essex Case', p.583.
- 12 *ibid.*, p.555.
- 13 Laurence Michel and Cecil C. Seronsy, 'Shakespeare's History Plays and Daniel: An Assessment', *Studies in Philology*, 52 (1955)\* 349-77 (p.567).
- 14 See especially Donald K. Anderson, jr, 'Kingship in Ford's Perkin Warbeck', English Literary History, 27 (1960), 177-93.
- 15 'A Critical Edition of The Golden Mean and A Line of Life', p.57.
- 16 See Michael Neill, 'Ford and Gainsford: An Unnoticed Borrowing', Notes and Queries, 213 (1968), 253-255.
- 17 The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare (London, 1957; reprinted 1965), p.302.
- 18 *Jacobean and Caroline Tragedies*, edited by R.G. Lawrence (London, 1975), p.92.
- 19 King James VI of Scotland and I of England, p.124.
- 20 *Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642*, p.25.
- 21 *ibid.*, p.195.
- 22 *ibid.*, p.198. It is notable that whereas *The Lover's Melancholy* looks in some ways like a compliment to Charles and Henrietta Maria on their 1628 reconciliation (which, since it was brought about by the death of Buckingham, seemed to herald a new era of a return to power for the old nobility), the derogatory remark in *Perkin Warbeck* made by Durham of Frion - 'French both in heart and actions' - might well have looked considerably less flattering to the French-born queen. This is perhaps indicative of the shattering of the noblemen's hopes when nothing, after all, was changed by the death of Buckingham.
- 23 David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p.13.
- 24 *ibid.*, p.191.
- 25 *ibid.*, pp.190-1.
- 26 Vernon F. Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, p.180.
- 27 Quoted in David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p.221.
- 28 John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, p.17.
- 29 See David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p.164.
- 30 *The Works of Francis Bacon?* edited by J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis and D.D. Heath, 14 vols (London, 1890), 6, p.169.
- 31 *ibid.*, p.169, note 4.
- 32 Perkin Warbeck, edited by Peter Ure, Appendix I, p.156.

**33** Violet A. Wilson, Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber (London, 1922), pp.250-I.

**34** It is possible that Lady Anne Clifford, like so many of the people with whom Ford is associated, may have numbered Catholics among her close friends. At Hutton-in-the-Forest, in Cumbria, there is still preserved a large doorlock which Lady Anne gave to the Fletcher family, the then owners of the house. Apparently it was her custom to give her friends doorlocks, and always to keep keys to them, so that she could let herself in at any time. There does not seem to be any certain evidence, but it is at least possible that the Fletchers of this period were Catholic. Two generations earlier, they had entertained Mary Queen of Scots during her flight from Scotland, and the family still retains the bodkin with which she gratefully presented them. Two generations later, the heir to the estate entered the seminary at Douai. (Information taken from the guidebook to Hutton-in-the-Forest, written by the Hon. Richard Vane).

**35** The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, edited by Vita Sackville-West (London, 1923), p.46.

**36** *ibid.*, p.12.

**37** Jasper Ridley, *The Life and Times of Mary Tudor* (London, 1973), p.117.

**38** D.M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553-1533* (London, 1979), p.70.

**39** L. Hicks, S.J., *An Elizabethan Problem: Some Aspects of the Careers of Two Exile-Adventurers* (London, 1964), p.230.

**40** David Howarth, Lord Arundel and his Circle, p.209.

**41** See Alan Simpson, The Wealth of the Gentry 1540-1660: East Anglian Studies (Chicago and Cambridge, 1961), for an account of the Howard / Cornwallis. / Bouchier links.

**42** Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1338-1641 (Oxford, 1963), p.666.

**43** 2, p.130, note 16.

**44** John Prebble, The Lion in the North: A Personal View of Scotland's History (London, 1971), P.230.

**45** Joan Beaufort was in fact James VI and I's great-great-great-grandmother, great-great-great-great-grandmother, and great-great-great-great-great-grandmother, not to mention being his great-great-great-great-aunt twice over.

**46** Both his and Katherine's wills are reprinted in Rev. J. Montgomery Traherne, Historical Notices of Sir Matthew Cradock, Knt., of Swansea, in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII (Llandoverly, 1840).

**47** *ibid.*, p. 10.

**48** The Works of John Ford, edited by William Gifford, and revised by Alexander Dyce, 2, p.199, note 4.

**49** Margaret Cavendish, The Lives of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and of his Wife, p.310.

- 50 Quoted in *The Works of John Ford*, edited by William Gifford and revised by Alexander Dyce, 2, p.128.
- 51 *The King's Peace 1637-1641*, p.421.
- 52 See Patrick Morrah, *Prince Rupert of the Rhine*, p.185.
- 53 'A Pointer to the Date of Ford's Perkin Warbeck'.
- 54 Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p.89.
- 55 Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, p.53.
- 56 Olive Cook, *The English Country House : an art and a way of life* (London, 1974), p.59.
- 57 Margaret Cavendish, *The Lives of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and of his Wife*, p.195.
- 58 Carola Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (London, 1938; reprinted 1984), p.396.
- 59 *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, p.151.
- 60 Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p.191.
- 61 Olive Cook, *The English Country House*, p.56.
- 62 John Cornforth, 'The Backward Look', p.63.
- 63 John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, p.79.
- 64 *ibid.*, p.99.
- 65 David Nichol Smith, *Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century*, p.30.
- 66 Quoted in Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p.47.
- 67 *ibid.*, p.26.
- 68 Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, p.94.
- 70 *ibid.*, p.70.
- 71 *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple*, edited by R.P. Sorlien, p.86.
- 72 *The Works of Francis Bacon*, p.149.
- 73 David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p.3.
- 74 *ibid.*, p.179.
- 75 *ibid.*, p.69.
- 76 *ibid.*, p.10.

77 *ibid.*, p.78.

78 *ibid.*, p.23.

79 *ibid.*, p.24.

80 *ibid.*, p.84.

81 *ibid.*, p. 187.

82 David Howarth, Lord Arundel and his Circle, pp.166-7.

83 The Broken Heart, edited by T.J.B. Spencer, Appendix A, p.217.

84 The Works of John Ford, edited by William Gifford and revised by Alexander Dyce, I, introduction, p.xviii.

85 'Platonic Love in Ford's The Fancies, Chaste and Noble', Studies in English Literature 1300-1900, 7 (1967), 299-309 (p. 303).

86 David Howarth, Lord Arundel and his Circle, p.36.

#### PERKIN WARBECK ON THE STAGE

1 Quoted in B.L. Joseph, Elizabethan Acting, p.74.

2 The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama (London, 1980), p.93.

3 See John J. O'Connor, 'A Lost Play of Perkin Warbeck', Modern Language Notes, 70 (1933), 366-8 (p.366).

4 '"Anticke Pageantrie": The Mannerist Art of Perkin Warbeck', p.143,  
note 27.

5 *ibid.*, p.133.

6 Henry says 'As if we were a mockery king in state': compare Richard's  
'O that I were a mockery king of snow' (1V.i.239).

7 Gifford's are unreliable, but I have also consulted Bang's reprint of  
the quarto.

8 '"Anticke Pageantrie": The Mannerist Art of Perkin Warbeck', p.139.

9 *ibid.*, p.140.

10 Antony and Cleopatra, edited by Emrys Jones (Harmondsworth, 1977),  
introduction, p.7.

11 Andrew Gurr, The Shakespearean Stage 1374-1642, p.148.

12 Christopher Morris, The Tudors (London, 1933; reprinted 1966), p.36.

13 *ibid.*, p.61.

14 Neville Williams, The Life and Times of Henry VII (London, 1973),  
p.123.

15 After Flodden the Howard coat of arms included a heraldic reference to  
the victory: if strict accuracy were being observed this would, therefore,

be omitted from the arms of Surrey, and there would also be the question of quarterings, for instance of the Fitzalan arms, to consider. Alternatively, it might have presented a nice irony to have had Surrey receive the challenge of James, and at the same time sport a shield which, as it were, foretold the Howard victory at Flodden.

**16** The dynastic elements of the play were certainly emphasised in the 1973 production in *The Other Place* at Stratford-upon-Avon-, directed by Barry Kyle: 'a mildly Brechtian production lined the walls with posters illustrating the various dynastic complications of the plot together with portraits of collateral grandees, and these were frequently referred to by Henry, as peremptory with the spotlight as the axe, as part of his patient and semi-humorous unfolding of the difficulties his reign created' (G.K. Hunter, *Review of Perkin Warbeck at The Other Place, Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 18 (1975) 59-60 (p.60).

#### CONCLUSION

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- 46 p.81.
- 47 p.84.
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- 64 'Seneca and Ford's 'Tis Pity She's A Whore', Notes and Queries, 212 (1967), 215. This is not the only indication that Ford was deliberately likening Giovanni to Nero. Sherman, in the introduction to his edition of 'Tis Pity and The Broken Heart, suggested that Ford may have known and been influenced by Sperone Speroni's 1546 incest play Canace e Macareo (p.xxxvi). Speroni's play in turn derives from the Roman Macaris and Canace, and in at least one production of the latter 'Nero himself, in one of his scandalous exhibitions, did not blush to play the role of the sister, Canace,...although she was confined on the stage and her incestuous bastard was flung to the hounds' (Jerome Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome: The People and The City at the Height of the Empire, edited by Henry T. Rowell and translated by E.O. Lorimer

Harmondsworth, 1956), p.251). The incident is recorded by Suetonius in



his *Life of Nero* (21, 3); and since Suetonius had been imitated by Jerome (R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1934), p.31) and had been translated into French as early as 1381 (Bolgar, p.336), it seems quite possible that Ford could have been aware of the story, and have included the other Nero reference as a deliberate underlining of the parallel.

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95 BBC 2, Sunday, 1st September 1983, 7.15-7.45 p.m.

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12 See Natalie Zemon Davis, The Return of Martin Guerre (Harvard, 1983; reprinted Harmondsworth, 1985), p.81.

13 *ibid.*, p.116.

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**16** We certainly know from Manningham's Diary that at least one Middle Temple contemporary of Ford's was reading Montaigne (p.153, entry dated Dec. 1602). The story from Montaigne which Manningham here relates has some resemblance to that of the marriage of Mauruccio and Morosa in Ford's Love's Sacrifice.

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