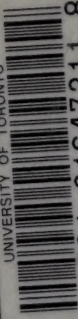


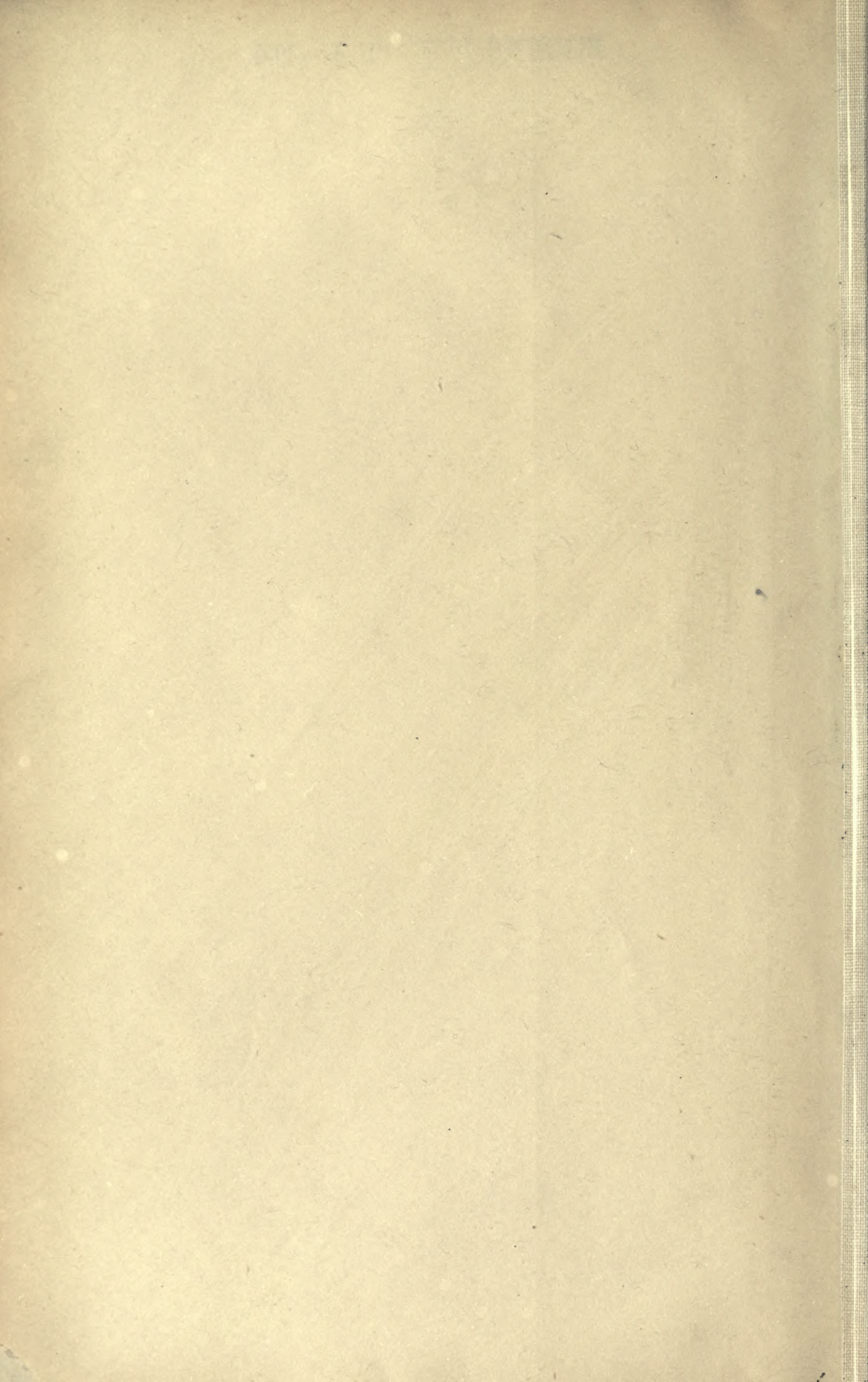
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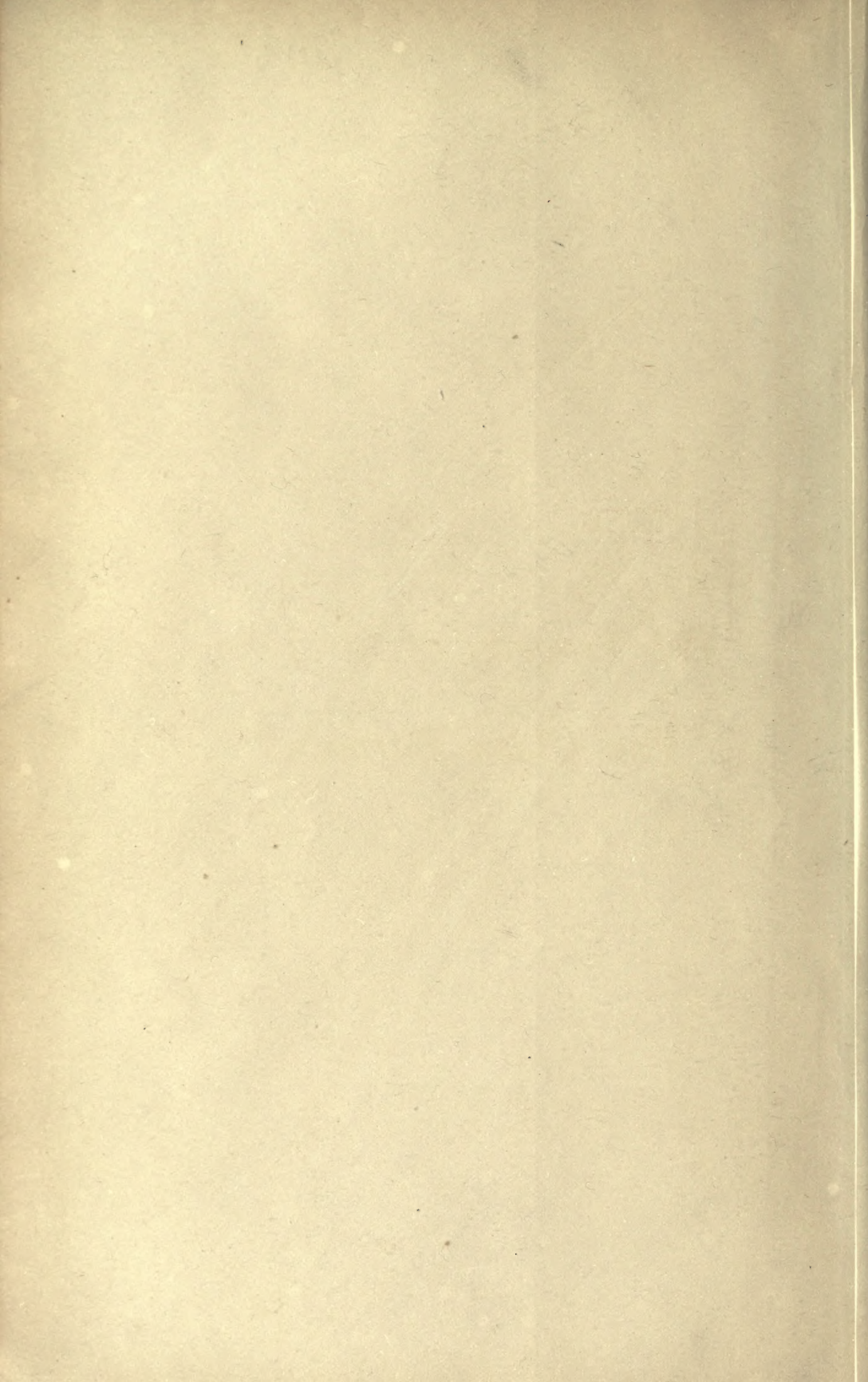


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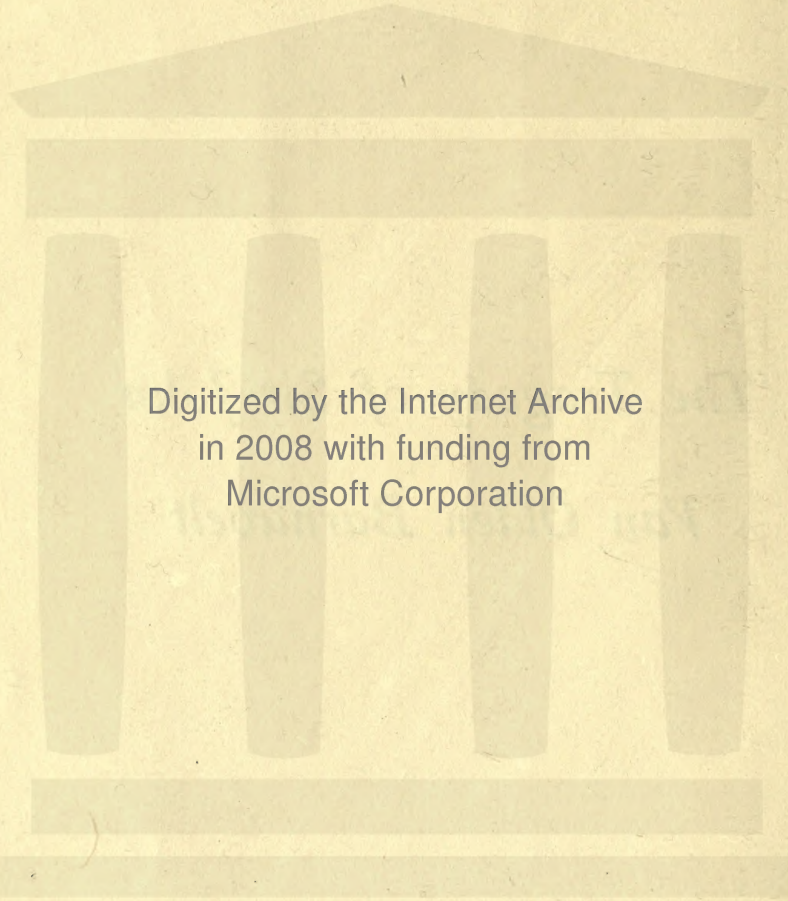




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*The Tragedy of Sir John
Van Olden Barnavelt*

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4765

THE TRAGEDY OF SIR JOHN VAN OLDEN BARNAVELT

ANONYMOUS ELIZABETHAN PLAY
EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
WILHELMINA P. FRIJLINCK

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN
DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE
AAN DE UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM, OP GEZAG
VAN DEN RECTOR-MAGNIFICUS DR. P. ZEEMAN, HOOG-
LEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER WIS- EN NATUURKUNDE,
IN HET OPENBAAR TE VERDEDIGEN OP MAANDAG
9 OCTOBER 1922 DES NAMIDDAGS TE 3 UUR (*precies*)


IN DE AULA DER UNIVERSITEIT DOOR
WILHELMINA PAULINA FRIJLINCK,
GEBOREN TE AMERSFOORT

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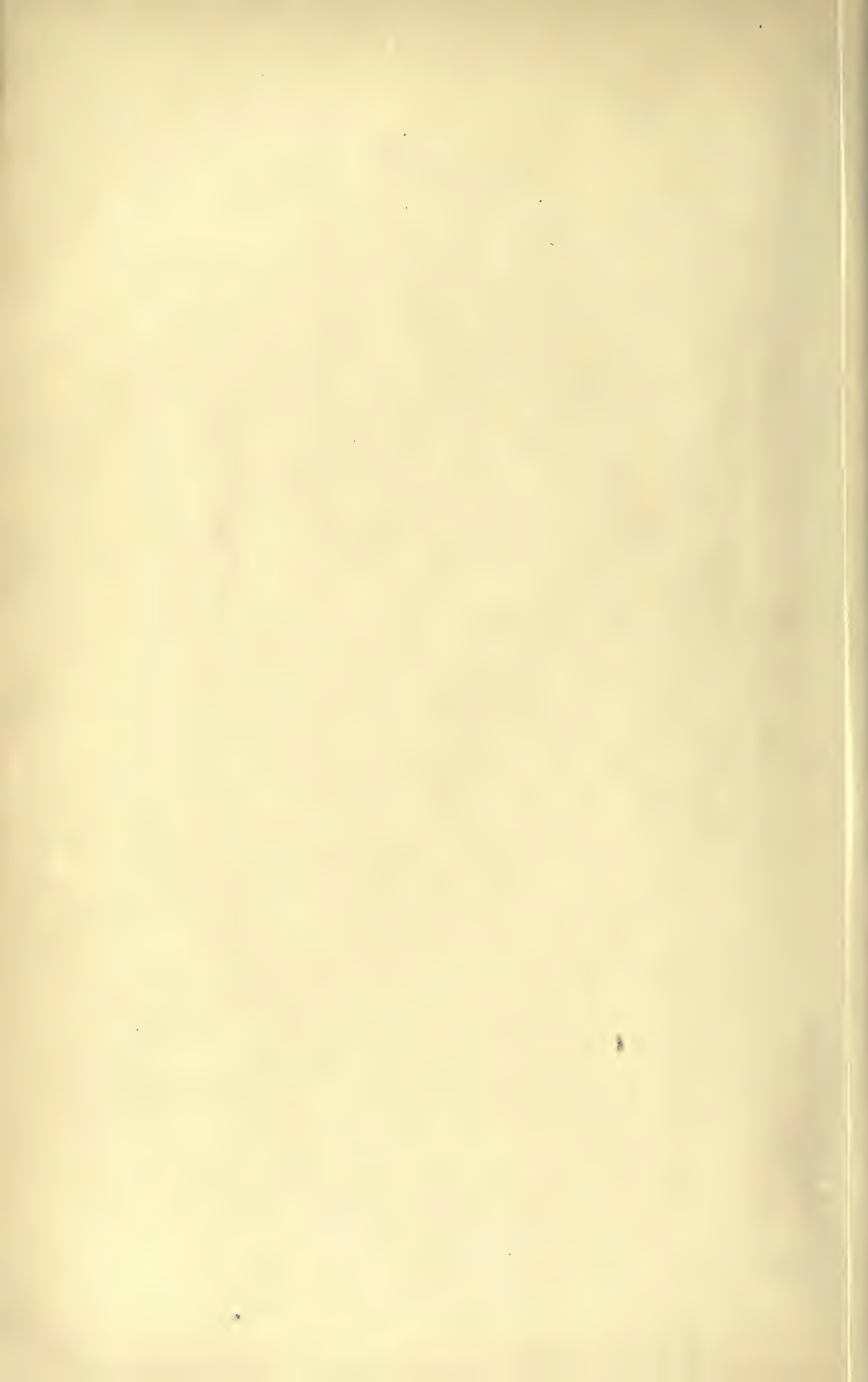
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PREFACE.

My purpose in giving a new edition of *the Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* was in the first place to compare Bullen's edition with the manuscript. I have restored, but for half a dozen words, the passages scored through in the manuscript, which are of interest from a censorship point of view; I also considered that passages, deleted on account of their being too long for the stage, would be interesting to the reader of the play. I have attempted a thorough investigation into the sources of the play, which has not been done before, testing the indebtedness of the dramatists to their sources, and the influence which the sources had on the composition of the play. I hope that I have succeeded in throwing some light on the question of the authorship, and that I have made it clear, why the authorship is assigned to Fletcher and Massinger. My other reason for giving a new edition is that I want to remove the difficulty which students of English literature have had so far in obtaining the play, as there exist but few copies of Bullen's *Collection of Old English Plays*, and I think myself justified in giving a separate edition of a play which, on account of its literary value and historical interest, deserves more attention from students of English literature than it has yet received. I was agreeably surprised to see my opinion confirmed by a remark in the *Modern Language Notes* for May 1921, vol. XXXVI. S.C.C.'s review of Fr. Schoel's edition of the play *Charlemagne (the Distracted Emperor)* ends with the words "Students look forward to the forthcoming edition of Heywood's *The Captives* announced by the Yale Press, and drawn from Bullen's rare volumes. But when shall we have an edition of the greatest of Bullen's 'finds' *Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt*?"

As the language offers no particular difficulties, I have only sparsely annotated the text; uncommon and obsolete words are explained and illustrated by quotations from contemporary authors.

This study was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. A. E. H. SWAEN Professor of English Philology in the University of Amsterdam. It is

a pleasant duty to me to express my deep gratitude and heartiest thanks for the stimulating advice and valuable assistance which he has always with the utmost readiness and kindness afforded to me during the preparation of this study.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. W. W. GREG the learned editor of the Malone Society's texts for his helpful suggestions in my study of the manuscript of the play, and his invaluable information concerning many words in the deletions. I am glad of this opportunity to return my sincerest thanks for his unceasing kindness in checking the proofsheets with the manuscript, and going through all the deleted passages again. I also thank Miss M. St. CLARE BYRNE for carefully going through the deleted passages confirming my reading.

It is also a pleasure to me to acknowledge my thanks to Dr. J. HOOPS Professor of English Philology in the University of Heidelberg for his ready approval of this study. I am very grateful for much valuable advice and encouragement received from him during my studies in Heidelberg.

I also want to express my special thanks to Dr. J. H. KERN Professor of English philology in the University of Groningen for the guidance in my previous studies. I shall always hold his highly interesting lectures in grateful remembrance.

My thanks are also due to the Professors Dr. BACHMANN, Dr. VETTER and Dr. LIPPS for the instructive lectures which I had the privilege of hearing at the University of Zürich.

I thank Dr. W. VAN DER GAAF lecturer of English philology in the University of Amsterdam for reading through part of the Introduction when Professor SWAEN was away.

I want here to acknowledge the unceasing kindness and courtesy of the officials of the libraries in Amsterdam, Zürich and Heidelberg in procuring me all the books I wanted, and to the members of the staff of the British Museum for their bibliographical help; I express my best thanks for the courteous aid rendered me during my study of the manuscript in the manuscript room of the British Museum. Especial thanks are also due to the Librarian of the University Library in Groningen for sending me the Dutch books I needed during my studies abroad, and to the 'Koninklijke Bibliotheek' in the Hague for the prolonged use I had of the rare volumes of Bullen's *Collection of Old English Plays*.

AMSTERDAM, October 1922.

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INTRODUCTION

A. EDITION AND MANUSCRIPT

The first edition of *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* appeared in 1883 in Bullen's *Collection of Old English Plays*, after it had remained in manuscript for over two hundred and sixty years. It is printed in the second volume of the Collection, occupying pages 201 to 314. All the plays in the volume are anonymous, and printed for the first time, namely *Dick of Devonshire*, *The Lady Mother*, probably by Glapthorne, and *Captain Underwit*, of which it is almost certain that Shirley is the author. At the end are two appendices; the first gives a description of the manuscript, a folio volume numbered Eg. M. S. 1994, and the plays contained in it; the second offers an interesting analysis of *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* written by R. Boyle, who has attempted a distribution of the scenes between the two authors Fletcher and Massinger.

Bullen prefixes an Introduction to the play discussing the authorship; he gives some foot-notes, principally on stage directions, names of actors, and one on a marginal note by the censor; he also indicates where passages have been scored through. The editor has not attempted to restore any deleted passages. Mr. Bullen has retained the old spelling, except for a few misreadings, but modernised the old spelling of "v" and "i" and the punctuation.

In 1884 there appeared a reprint of *The Tragedy Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* at the Hague, published by M. Nijhoff with an introduction by Professor Fruin.

Professor Fruin's motive for giving a reprint of the play was a desire to make the Dutch public acquainted with a fine historical play which had an important event in Dutch history for its subject. In the introduction he mentions the probable authors, gives an analysis of the play, and discusses the characterization especially of Barnavelt, whose character he describes as improbable and unhistorical. Professor Fruin regrets that Bullen has not attempted to restore the deleted passages, as these would be of interest to us, and ends with some

remarks on the historical characters, and the names of some minor figures.

The present edition aims at reproducing the original with strict fidelity on the principles followed in the publications of the Malone Society. The lines have been numbered throughout and necessary textual notes added at the foot of the page ; all readings by Bullen different from my readings of the text, are recorded in the foot-notes.

The manuscript of *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* is in the British Museum, Add. M.S. 18,653. It was purchased from the Earl of Denbigh in 1851, and nothing is known about its earlier history. In the right-hand corner of the first folio *N. 45* is written in different ink; it is apparently a shelf-mark, and not older than the eighteenth century. The manuscript consists of thirty-one folio leaves, bound in red Russia leather ; the leaves, with the exception of the inserted leaves, are of a uniform height of 11¼ inches, and width of 7½ inches. The title is written on the front cover, in the same large script as is used for the stage directions, and by the same hand. The text is written on both sides of the leaves, including the last, with the exception of the inserted leaves. There are two watermarks ; folios 1, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 28 have the watermark of a pot, the other mark is a bunch of grapes. The original pagination is in ink ; all the leaves have been numbered in pencil in the British museum, including the title-page and the inserted leaves, consequently the pencil pagination counts up to thirty-one leaves, instead of the original twenty-eight marked in ink. The manuscript is preserved in a very good state ; the leaf inserted between fols 27 and 28 has been torn ; two words and some letters are missing. The bottom edge of fol. 19 is cut off, probably by the binder, and three words cannot be read with certainty.

The leaf between fols 7 and 9 is a short one, written on the recto only, and is evidently substituted for the original fol. 8, which has been cancelled; the pagination is not marked in ink, probably by an oversight of the scribe. The speech of the 2 *Duch w.* originally began with line 796, as fol. 9^a is older than the present fol. 8. The fact that two speeches by the same speaker follow one another is an accident of revision ; either the attribution in line 791 2 *Duch w.* is wrong, or the scribe has forgotten to delete the speaker's name in line 796.

Between fols. 14 and 15 a short leaf is inserted, on the recto of which the short third scene is written. At the end of the second scene on fol. 14^b

a hand is drawn, which is repeated on the inserted leaf before scene 3. The inserted leaf is not numbered in the pagination, I have called it Fol. 14* in the text. I have indicated the point where I returned to fol. 14^b again by printing [Fol. 14^b]. The leaf has the same watermark as fols. 20 *etc.* It is interesting to note that this short third scene is the one on which there has been much disagreement among the critics as to the authorship; it is quite possible that the scene is an interpolation. Fol. 16 is evidently an insertion replacing a cancelled leaf, the writing is much lower than usual. Another leaf is inserted between fols. 27 and 28; on the recto the conversation between the two Lords is continued from fol. 28, denoted by a mark; it is not marked in the pagination, and is damaged, as I described above; I have numbered it Fol. 27*, and indicated the point, where I returned to fol. 28^a by [Fol. 28^a].

The manuscript is written in a clear hand in the usual style of the time; it is the hand of a professional type and is certain to belong to a scribe. I compared the handwriting with the facsimile photo of the tripartite letter, written to Henslowe by Field, Massinger and Daborne, kindly lent me by Dr. W. W. Greg, and noted that the handwriting shows no resemblance to any of these.

There are few errors or corrections. English and Italian script are pretty clearly distinguished; the proper names and stage directions are in Italian script, which is also used to distinguish or emphasize a word, as in line 2548, which is entirely in Italian characters. The distinction between majuscule and minuscule forms sometimes offer difficulties, in particular in the case of 'L' and 'l'. Sometimes the majuscule is curly and with flourishes, as frequently in 'Lordships,' but in other cases 'L' is quite questionable. Wherever the majuscule is clear, I printed 'L', in other cases I have retained the minuscule. The majuscule, 'M' and 'N' are not very clearly distinguished either; I have let an initial curl mark a capital. In the case of 'w' and 'y' the initial curls occur quite as often in the middle of a word, so I have marked them all for small letters 'w' and 'y'.

The pointing is careful, though full points at the end of a line are sometimes not marked; in this case I did not print them. The scribe uses full points, commas, colons, semicolons and points of interrogation. The use of marks of exclamation is doubtful; they seem not to have a shape different from the queries. The scribe uses a query several times, where we should use an exclamation; only in line 2532 'ha!' the form is quite different from the usual interrogation mark. I have noted the others as doubtful.

The stage directions have been added in darker ink, and I have little doubt, by the same hand.¹ The interlineations of the deleted lines are also in darker ink, but in a different hand; the ink is probably the same as that of the overwriting of the cancelled passages. The actors' names seem to be added in a different hand from the text and directions; this is always recorded in the footnotes. The alterations in the directions seem to be by the original hand. It is a matter of special interest that another hand appears in the manuscript. There is a marginal note signed "G B" on Fol. 4^b, in the handwriting of Sir George Buc. Mr. Bullen compared the marginal note with an autograph letter and found the handwriting to correspond exactly; he states in a note: "The initials are unquestionably those of Sir George Buc".²

We recognise this hand again in the substitutions of the deleted lines in the fourth act, namely line 2436 "cutt of his opposites," and line 2445 "to another forme". The censor seems to have read the manuscript very carefully; all through the play lines are marked for deletion by crosses in ink before the lines; they generally contain disrespectful utterances about the Prince of Orange; the objectionable words are deleted, and others interlined or added. In this edition the deleted words are indicated by square brackets; the interlineations have been printed after the original reading; they are always recorded in the notes. All mutilations are indicated by pointed brackets; of the letters printed within the pointed brackets insufficient traces remain to make the reading certain. There are quite a considerable number of passages deleted; the lines marked for omission, but not actually cancelled, amount to 54; there are 104 whole lines deleted; besides these there are seven half lines, and fifteen words, cancelled, where other words are interlined. Sometimes the lines substituted for the deleted ones are written in the margin³; on Fol. 23^a the lines in the margin, substituted for the deleted ones, were even cancelled subsequently, which renders the complication of substitution and deletion very interesting.

There is no list of *dramatis personae*; the names of actors are sometimes added in full, or in initials, usually in the right-hand margin.

¹ Mr. Greg is of the same opinion. Professor Cruickshank considers the stage-directions⁵ to be in another hand, *cf. Phil. Massinger*, Appendix VII, n.: "The stage directions are in a bolder hand and deep black ink, they are plainly part of the MS. and not later insertions."

² Page 204 in the Introduction to the Tragedy of Barnavelt.

³ Fol. 7^b.

In the introduction to *the Welsh Ambassador*, edited by the Malone Society, April 1921, the editor calls attention to a technical point, which is common to many manuscripts of the time, and being also particularly marked in the play of *Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt*, deserves notice here.

"In order to obtain alignment for the speeches and to provide a suitable margin, the folio leaf was folded first down the middle and then each half folded again. When flattened out the whole leaf was thus divided into four equal columns. The lines of the text were begun at the left hand fold, thus leaving one column for speakers' names and stage directions and three for the text: of these a normal line of verse occupies about two; each column is just under two inches wide." In our play the marginal directions are usually written in the last column.

The colotype facsimiles reproduce the upper half of Fol. 1^a, and the whole of Fol. 23^a showing the deletions and censor's marks.

B. SUMMARY OF THE PLAY

I will now give a summary of the plot of the play. As is usual with Massinger he makes the audience at once acquainted with the purpose of the plot; the opening of the play is the conversation of Barnavelt with his partisans about the Prince of Orange, in which Barnavelt's ambition and plans to defy the Prince are exposed. The people say that they owe victory and peace to the Prince, this makes him proud. Barnavelt enumerates in an indignant speech what the ungrateful people owe to himself and to his statesmanship. He threatens that having made the State to what it is now, he can undo his work again and bring back Spain's tyranny. Modesbargen warns him against taking this course of action to gain glory and popular applause, telling him that he has the greatest power in the state, adding "let this suffice your ambition". The others promise to stand by Barnavelt. Two captains enter with a petition. Barnavelt knows them for having railed at the States and tells them in angry words that their company is dismissed.

In the second scene Barnavelt openly professes himself of the Arminian sect; in defiance of the Prince, who is a sworn enemy to this creed. Barnavelt advises the Arminian leaders to win over the burghers to their party, and enroll new companies to defend them against the old soldiers.

The other Lords of the State come in order to be present at the meeting, where a discussion will be held on the oath which the Prince is to take. Barnavelt argues that the Prince is only a servant to the State, and not higher

in rank than any of them ; he will explain his views, meanwhile the Prince shall have to wait outside.

Scene 3. The Prince of Orange comes with his officers, but access is denied to him ; the indignant officers are about to force the door, but the Prince, in a magnanimous speech prevents this, saying "they are the masters to whom we owe obedience."

The council breaks up, the Prince humbly asks in what way he has offended. Barnavelt tells him he has grown too haughty and insolent. The Prince accuses Barnavelt of spreading rebellion by religious dissent and of having raised new forces, threatening "to shake of his head."

The Prince tells the officers it is necessary to quell this rebellion ; they commission him to take the towns, where Barnavelt has enlisted mercenaries.

Act II.

Barnavelt tells Leidenberch and Modesbargen that their plot against the Prince is discovered and that Van Dort and Bredero are going to force the towns. Roch-Giles comes with captains and a lieutenant of the old companies ; they try to win the officers over to their party. The Captain tells them in a bold speech that they are loyal to the Prince and will not be persuaded to do anything dishonest, asserting that the States enrich themselves by the war, and get money from the foreign officers coming to the country. They serve only for honour and not for gain, and refuse to rebel against the Prince, but will defend him against the rebels. Barnavelt has overheard the conversation, and in his anger decides to raise a revolt against this tyrant and to assert the superior power of the States.

Then follow some short scenes in which Dutch women talk to an English lady, probably the wife of an English officer. They speak of women's rights, and are proud of calling their husbands servants and not masters. Van der Mitten, a burgher, brings the news that the Prince has disarmed the towns and that the old companies remain faithful to him. The Prince comes and desires to enter the town, whereupon the English guards open the gate declaring they will fight for him. The Prince has entered the town to the great alarm of the burghers' wives, the English lady looking on and laughing at their fear. The Prince orders his officers to disarm the town, tells Leidenberch, who wants to defend his behaviour, that he will be tried at the Hague.

Act III.

Bredero and Van Dort speak about the rumour that the Advocate

is suspected. Barnavelt appears, and they tell him of the rumours. Barnavelt's indignation is great ; he speaks in bitter words of the ingratitude of the people and says he will die free, as he lived ; if the Prince wants to bring him to submission, he shall have to draw his sword. Barnavelt's son brings the news that the mercenaries in Utrecht are disbanded; Leidenberch has been taken prisoner, and Modesbargen has fled. Barnavelt starts at the news, but does not lose courage ; he is resolved fight to the last. In the next scene the Prince resumes his seat in the council, and in a generous speech begs the Lords to admit Barnavelt again, as he still loves him, but the others refuse to do so. The Prince tells the Lords that he has disarmed the towns, and offers mediation for the suspected persons, but the others decide that they ought to be punished. Leidenberch has already confessed some secrets. The Prince sends a captain to Germany to find Modesbargen, and try to capture him. Leidenberch is brought in; he promises to tell what he knows about the plot. He is sent back to prison where his little son is allowed to stay with him.

Barnavelt visits Leidenberch in prison, where the latter confesses that he has betrayed their secrets. Barnavelt shows great anger, and overwhelms him with reproaches ; he points out that the only way to save their honour is committing suicide. He assures Leidenberch that he will do the same ; then their secrets will be safe.

A pathetic scene follows when Leidenberch takes leave of his son, and kills himself with a penknife.

Act IV.

This scene is laid in the neighbouring country on Modesbargen's estate. While Modesbargen is hunting, he is detected by Maurice's soldiers; they have laid a plan to bar his way back to the castle, by breaking the axle tree of a haycart, which is standing on the drawbridge. Modesbargen finds out that he is betrayed ; he hurries home, but cannot enter the castle as the haycart is still in the way, and is taken prisoner.

In the second scene the Prince hears the news that Leidenberch has committed suicide ; he fears that the prisoner's guilt is greater than was suspected, and is going to have the best companies sent to the town to be secured against hostile attempts. The next scene presents Barnavelt in his study looking over State papers, and enumerating all his services to the country ; he speaks of his doubts and betrays great fear, but takes courage, when his son comes to tell him that Leidenberch is dead. A Captain of the Prince's guard enters, and takes him prisoner.

In the next scene the burghers and women are decorating the houses

with flowers, because it is the annual fair. They come to Barnavelt's house with flowers, and sing a song to Barnavelt's wife. The Prince overhears their conversation in praise of Barnavelt noticing that the advocate is still much loved. The next scene is Barnavelt's trial; here he shows his undaunted courage defying his accusers. Modesbargen is brought in and pleads guilty. The Lords bring proofs against Barnavelt, but he denies all guilt warning them, in a last bold speech, against unjust proceedings, as this will ruin a State.
Act V.

Barnavelt's wife and daughter bring a basket of pears to the prison. The servant gives it to the provost who tries one, and discovers a scroll of paper in it, with these words: "you have friends left and therefore despair not." He shows it the Prince; who now resolves to take severer measures against Barnavelt. The French ambassadors come to the Prince to mediate for Barnavelt. The Prince will explain the affair to the King of France, who is sure to approve of their proceedings.

Barnavelt is sent for, and receives his sentence of death. Then follows a rough comic scene of three executioners, who throw dice to decide which of them shall be allowed to behead the advocate. The last scene presents the execution. Leidenberch's coffin is hung up on the gallows; in Barnavelt's last speech he again sets forth his services to his ungrateful country, and dies with a prayer for the Prince. Two Lords watching the execution point the moral:

"farwell, great hart; full low thy strength now lyes:
he that would purge ambition this way dies."

C. DATE AND STAGE-HISTORY

With regard to the date of the play we can, by a stroke of good fortune, give almost the exact date of the performance. Sidney Lee published in the *Athenaeum* for Jan. 19th 1884 a letter, found among the State Papers, from Thomas Locke to Carlton the English Ambassador at the Hague, dated August 14th 1619, running as follows:

"The Players heere were bringing of Barnavelt upon the stage, and had bestowed a great deale of money to prepare all things for the purpose, but at the instant were prohibited by my Lo. of London."¹

¹ Domestic State Papers James I vol. CX No. 18.

Mr. Lee remarks : "The play was thus ready on August 14th 1619 and its performance was hindered by John King Bishop of London. But he did not persist in his obstruction. On August 27th following Locke writes: "Our players have found the meanes to goe through with the play of Barnavelt and it hath had many spectators and receaved applause."¹ We may thus assign the first performance to a day immediately preceding August 27th 1619."

The time of the composition of the play can be more precisely defined, when we note the two references to the dismissal of Barnavelt's son as governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, cf. :

"wher 's my son William ? his Government is gon too,"²

and :

"Thou hast lost thy Charge, wee 'll haue another, Will."³

The news of the dismissal of the governor of Bergen-op-Zoom was communicated to England by Sir Dudley Carlton on July 14th saying that it happened last week. So, if these lines are not later additions, the play was composed between July 14th and August 14th.

Fleay remarks : "the play was forbidden by the Lord Mayor of London. Mr. Bullen assigns the power of prohibitions to the Bishop of London, but gives no authority for this remarkable innovation in stage-history"⁴.

Professor Creizenach⁵ also states that the Lord Mayor would not give permission for the performance, which is undoubtedly correct.

We may ask why was the performance prohibited, and what was the reason that the play disappeared from the repertory and was not printed in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647? It was lost sight of altogether, till it was brought to light at the end of the nineteenth century. It is surely not wonderful that the performance should have been forbidden; the excitement in England about the Arminian controversy in Holland, and the interest taken in the trial and execution of the great statesman, is shown by the pamphlets and libels which were translated into English, and a ballad, to which I shall revert later on. King James, who had not given up his favourite project of a Spanish marriage for his son, was

¹ Dom. State Papers James I vol. CX No. 37.

² line 1951.

³ line 2020.

⁴ *History of the Stage* Chapt. V.

⁵ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* Bd. IV.

anxious to gain favour with Spain, so he could not approve of a play directed against Spain; he surely did not want to have Barnavelt brought upon the stage in London as a hero, as he had perpetually tried to bring about his fall.

Professor Schelling expresses the same opinion, when he writes: "the openly expressed hatred which King James bore the fallen Dutch statesman gives credibility to the surmise of a prohibition, and accounts for the singular circumstance that so extraordinary a work should have remained unknown and unpublished until our own day."¹

Prohibitions of plays were no matter of unusual occurrence on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage. As early as 1559 Queen Elizabeth had issued a proclamation as to licenses for interludes not touching religion or politics. It runs:

"No play shal be permitted to be played wherein either matter of religion or of gouernance of the estate of common weal shal be handled or treated on danger of arrest and imprisonment."

The dramatist Nash tells us in a tract *The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England* 1589 that the performance in the nature of an old moral "Vetus Comoedia" bringing Martin Marprelate on the stage, occasioned the temporary inhibition of plays in the City by the Chief Magistrate "because it had ventured to represent upon the stage a matter of state and religion."

But at that time, when an author wanted to express his political opinion or his ambition prompted him to aim at success, he was almost obliged to address the people from the stage, for in this case he was sure to get a hearing. "The theatre was at once the newspaper, the review, the magazine and the novel of the seventeenth century; all popular literary interest centred in the stage."² We need only think of Hamlet's words: "Let the players be well used, for they are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time; after your death you were better have a bad epitaph than their ill report, while you live."³ So in spite of the prohibition the players persisted in introducing political events and bringing public persons on the stage with the result that actors and authors frequently got into trouble. In 1603 Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* brought the King's men into difficulties.

¹ *The Elizabethan Drama.*

² W. Donne. *Essays on the Drama.*

³ II 2.

Ben was accused of papacy and treason by the Earl of Northampton and imprisoned; at the intervention of the Earl of Suffolk he was set at liberty again. Collier states with respect to the prohibition of a tragedy on the conspiracy of Gowry against King James that John Chamberlain wrote a letter to Winwood dated 18th Dec. 1604 :¹

The Tragedy of Gowry with all the action and actors hath been twice represented by the King's Players with exceeding concourse of all sorts of people. But whether the matter or manner be not well handled, or that it be thought that Princes should not be played on the stage in their life-time, I hear that some great counsellors are much displeas'd with it, and so it is thought, it shall be forbidden."²

Whether it was prohibited or not is uncertain, but no such play has survived to our day. Collier tells us that in the play *Eastward Hoe!* by Marston, Jonson and Chapman, and probably acted by the Children of the Revels in 1604, some passages on the Scotch had given offence to Sir James Murray, who represented this in so strong a light to the King that orders were given to arrest the authors. A report was spread that the poets would be punished by having their ears cut off, but they were soon set at liberty, presumably at the intercession of Camden and Selden.³

Another play: Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* raised difficulties. In a letter dated April 5, 1608 Beaumont, the French ambassador in London, writes :⁴

"I caused certain Players to be forbid from acting *the History of Biron*, when however they saw that the whole court had left the town they persisted in acting it; nay they brought upon the stage the Queen of France and Mademoiselle de Verneuil. The former having first accosted the latter with very hard words, gave her a box on the ear. At my suit three of them were arrested, but the principal person, the author escaped."

Before the performance of Barnavelt's catastrophe there is another striking instance of the readiness of the playwrights to bring a contemporary historical event on the stage, in a play concerning the Marquis d'Ancre, who was killed in April 1617. The Privy Council writes to the Master of the Revels Sir George Buc in June 1617 :

¹ *The History of English dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage*, I.

² Winwood memorials of State 1725.

³ *op. cit.*

⁴ 1608 misprinted 1605 in the English translation, see Bertram Dobell *New discovered Documents of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Period*.

"Wee are informed that there are certeyne Players, or Comedians, wee know not of what company, that goe about to play some enterlude concerning the late Mar-quesse d' Ancre, which for many respects wee think not fitt to be suffered. Wee doe therefore require you, upon your perill, to take order that the same be not represented or played in any place about the Citty, or elsewhere where you have authoritie. And hereof have you a speciall care."

Some years after the performance of Barnavelte, in August 1624, there was a great commotion about Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, which attacked Gondomar the Spanish ambassador. As it gave expression to the popular indignation against Spain, the play was an enormous success. The ambassador lodged a complaint with the Priory Council 'of bringing a modern Christian King upon the stage', as this was forbidden. After three days of overflowing houses the players were summoned and reproved, but Middleton had 'shifted out of the way.' The performance was forbidden, but nobody punished: 'the King being unwilling for one's sake and only fault to punish the innocent and utterly ruin the company.'¹

Massinger had all through his career been known for his unflagging interest in contemporary history, and his plays are remarkable for the social and political allusions, especially those written alone after Fletcher's death. In *Believe as You List* he reproduces under fictitious names the refusal of Charles to give assistance to his brother-in-law, and describes the wandering exile of the Elector Palatine; he denounces the policy of Weston, whom he considers bribed by Spain. The comparison between Bithynia and Rome refers to England and Spain. Collier tells us that Massinger seems to have had some difficulty in getting the play licensed. It appears that the license was refused in 1630 from an entry in Sir H. Herbert's Office Book which runs:

"11st Jan. 1630/31. I did refuse to license a play by Massinger because it did contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian King of Portugal by Philip the [2nd] and there being a peace sworn twixt the Kings of England and Spain."

Massinger seems to have made alterations in the play, and it was licensed as *Believe as You List*.

Sir Henry Herbert speaks of another incident connected with the license of a play by Massinger, now lost, entitled *The King and the Subject*. In the speech of Don Pedro King of Spain to his subjects, there is a passage about the King's difficulties in raising supplies by shipmoney. King Charles

¹ Collier *Op. cit.*

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Page XXIII the 4th line from bottom Barbadge read Burbadge

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saw it, and remarked: this is too insolent and to be changed. A result of these prohibitions was that a play was suppressed, and that it disappeared from the repertory; it was often not printed, and even got lost altogether. I think it almost certain that this is the reason why the *Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* does not occur in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647.

A play that had been forbidden, was often printed in a mutilated form. Bertram Dobell¹ describes the difficulty Chapman had to get his play *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* printed. The author wrote a spirited letter of indignation, expressing his deep sense of the wrong done to him. Afterwards he got leave to publish the play but with omissions and changes; he complains about "these sadly maimed and disfigured members".

Professor Delius² expresses a different opinion as to the cause why the play disappeared from the stage. He thinks that a play having for its subject an historical event happening in another country, would have been of no interest to an English audience, who were used to plays full of action, lively plots and stage effects. So he considers it no wonder that the public should have been bored, and that the play should have been withdrawn and left to oblivion. After what I have said about the interest taken in England in the Dutch political questions and Thomas Locke's statement that the play 'had many spectators and received applause' this theory is easily refuted.

Collier states "The latest date that Burbadge's name occurs on any list is in the license dated March 1619 granted by the King to the King's Men to play not only at the Globe on the Bankside, but also at their private house situated in the precincts of Blackfriars", and adds "we should not be surprised if the character of Barnavelt had been the last sustained by Burbadge. The death of Burbadge may possibly have put a stop to the performance of the play of Barnavelt."³

This theory is wrong, as we know that Richard Burbadge died March 13 1619⁴.

¹ *New discovered Documents of the Elis. and Jac. Period.*

² *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft, Bd. XIX, 1884.*

³ *Op cit.* I.

⁴ *Fleay Chronicle of the English Drama* and *The Dictionary of National Biography* both state: 'R. Burbadge died according to the registers of St. Leonard's Shoreditch on 13 March 1618/19.'

D. SOURCES

In the Introduction to his edition of *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* Bullen mentions as the sources which the authors have been able to use:

Barnavel's Apologie, or Holland's Mysteria: with marginall Castigations, 1618.

Newes out of Holland: concerning Barnavelt and his fellow-Prisoners, their Conspiracy against their Native Country with the enemies thereof, 1619.

The Arraignment of John Van Olden Barnavelt, late Advocate of Holland and West Freisland. Containing the articles alleadged against him and the reasons of his execution, 1619.

Professor Koepfel remarks "Bullen hat sich leider nicht die Mühe genommen das ihm vorliegende Quellenmaterial mit dem Drama zu vergleichen."¹

Bullen had already given his reason for not comparing the play with the sources: "To discover the materials from which the playwrights worked up their solid and elaborate tragedy would require a more extensive investigation than I care to undertake."²

Professor Koepfel has compared Barnavelt's soliloquy in his study, with the Latin translation of *The Apology* and points out the very close relation of this scene to the original; he arrives at the same conclusion in comparing Barnavelt's enumeration of his services to the State with the same source.³ He also makes mention of a tract *Linea Vitae: A Line of Life Oct. 10 1620* by the dramatist John Ford, in which the Dutch Statesman is cited as an example of greatness brought to destruction by ambition.

Motley mentions other pamphlets, which may have been known in England at that time, as:

The Golden Legend of the New St. John.

The Arminian Road to Spain.

Declarations of the Golden Bellows.

The historian remarks: "It was an age of pamphleteering, of venomous, virulent, unscrupulous libels. And never even in that age had there

¹ *Quellen-studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's and John Ford's.*

² Introduction to *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt. (Old Plays), Vol. II.*

³ *op. cit.*

been anything to equal the savage attacks upon this great statesman. It moves the gall of an honest man, even after the lapse of two centuries and a half, to turn over those long forgotten pages, and mark the depths to which political and theological party spirit could descend. Day by day appeared pamphlets, each more poisonous than its predecessors." ¹

There exists a letter from Barneveld to Caron, the States' ambassador to England, dated '26 March 1618' in which he writes "we are tortured more and more with religious differences; the factious libels become daily more numerous and more impudent, and no man comes undamaged from the field. I, as a reward for all my troubles, labours, and sorrows, have three double portions of them." ²

In the play Barneveldt remarks:

"openly I will profes myself
of the Arminian sect alreadie
'tis known I fauour you, and that hath drawne
libells against me:" ³

Besides those mentioned I was fortunate to find in the British Museum in London the following pamphlets:

Ledenberch his Confessions, both at Vtrecht and the Hague: also the death of Taurinus, and how the said Ledenberch murthered himself. Printed according to the Dutch Original. London 1618.

A Proclamation given by the Discreet Lords and States of the Duke-dome of Gelderlandt and County of Zutphen. London 1618.

Sententia lata et pronunciata adversus ad Ledenbergium et in cadaver ejus executioni mandata. Hagae Comitiss 1619.

A ballad: *Murther vnmasked, or Barneviles base Conspiracie against his owne Country, discovered: who vnnaturally complotted to surrender into the Arch-dukes power, these foure Townes, Vtrecht, Nimmingham, Bergen-op-zome, and Brill: Together with his horrible intent to murther Graue Maurice, and others.* Pepys, I, 108. The ballad is printed in: *A Pepysian Garland* ed. by Hyder E. Rollins. 1922.

The English translations of other pamphlets seem to have perished; Motley mentions in another place: *The Necessary and Living Discourse*

¹ *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld II.*

² The Hague Archives, Manuscript.

³ lines 236 ff.

of a Spanish Counsellor, 1618. This pamphlet is referred to by Barnavelt himself in *The Apology* and is probably lost. Gifford supposes that the dramatists of that time were indebted for Spanish and Italian plots to many loose pamphlets which lay heaps upon heaps in the vaults below St. Paul's, and perished in the fire of London. The pamphlets mentioned by Motley may have suffered the same fate, but I have been able to read the Dutch originals, and shall revert to them again.

Of the pamphlets, mentioned above, four are referred to in our play, namely *the Apology*; compare:

"th' Apollogie he wroat, so poorely raild at," ¹

Ledenberch his Confessions; compare:

"read the Confessions
of Leidenberch, and Taurinus." ²

The Proclamation of Gelderlandt and Zutphen, compare:

"looke vpon this
signd by the Gouernor, Chauncellor, and Counsell
of Gilderland, and Zutphen;" ³

The Arraignment of John Van Olden Barnavelt, to which there is a clear reference, and which consists of thirty-four articles, compare:

"yf hauing the Conspirators in our powre
we sentence none of them being conuincd too
of fowre and thirtie articles," ⁴

When we ask ourselves the question: are the dramatists indebted to these sources, and have they been influenced by them, we can safely answer in the affirmative. In the composition of the plot and in the conception of Barnavelt's character they were decidedly under the influence of their sources. They considered the Advocate to be a statesman of great abilities, who had rendered the country invaluable service, but who deservedly fell through his ambition, which made him a conspirator against the Prince of Orange and his own country. This view is certainly suggested by the sources, where ambition is often mentioned as Barnavelt's greatest sin; cf. the title *Newes out of Holland, concerning Barnavelt and his fellow Prisoners their Conspiracy against their native country* and the following passage in this pamphlet "The contentions which oftentimes arise and are made in the management of affaires, the iealousies of power and authority, and ambition

¹ line 1589.

² lines 2190-91.

³ lines 2394 ff.

⁴ lines 2561 ff.

which alwaies drawes and drives men to enterprize and take more upon them than they should, are euills in all states."

The *Proclamation* belonging to the *Arraignement* begins: "Forasmuch as it is fallen out that some ambitious persons, for the furtherance of their particular designes and ambition"

In the *marginall Castigations* of Petrus Holderus to *Barnavel's Apology* we read: "I know moreover, that your ambition gapes for great employment, and an impotent, and vnrestrained desire of praise makes you adventure your selfe blindfolded in pursuit thereof," and on page 12: "but your ambition is apparent and your vaunts prove you to be as vaine as vanity itself."

In the tract *Linea Vitae* the author expresses the same view. He treats of the danger of sins besetting men in high offices, whom he calls 'publicke men'. He gives three instances in three famous countries of 'publicke men' fallen victims to the dangers of pride, envy and flattery, 'all chancing within the compasse of twentie years.' In England, Robert, Earl of Essex; in France, Charles, Duke of Byron; in the Netherlands, Sir John Van Olden Barneuelte.

The passage quoted by Koeppele in his above-mentioned *Quellenstudien* is remarkable for the public opinion prevailing in England about the Dutch statesman's life and death:

"Sir Iohn Van Olden Barneuelte, in the Netherlands (whose ashes are scarce colde) is and will bee, a lively president of the mutabilitie of greatness. Hee was the only one that traffiqued in the counsels of foreine princes, had factors in all Courts, Intelligencers amongst all Christian nations; stood as the Oracle of the Prouinces, and was euen the Moderator of Policies of all sorts: was reputed to bee second to none on earth for soundness and designes; was indeed his Countreyes both Minion, Mirror and Wonder: yet, enforcing his publicke authoritie too much to bee servant to his private ambition, hee left the tongue of Iustice to proclayme, that long life and a peacefull death are not granted or held by the Charters of Honour, except vertuous Resolution renew the patent, at a daily expence of proficiencie in goodnesse."

It is interesting to notice that this is the same verdict our dramatists give of Barnavelte; as I have noted above, they admit his great fame and power as a Statesman, but judge that he deservedly fell as a victim to his private ambition.

The dramatists make Barnavelte resort to religion as his instrument to attain his bad purpose; his revolt and conspiracy are to be covered by the cloak of religious convictions. In the first scene he hears of the growing popularity and power of the Prince; in order to excel and

ruin him, he lays a treacherous plot and in the second scene confesses himself openly of the Arminian sect.

This view is expressed in the tract mentioned before: "that there was neuer any publique mischief attempted in a State by even Atheists, or very incarnate Deuils, but Religion was their colour to effect it."

In our play we find:

"who blew new fires,
even fires of fowle rebellion, I must tell ye,
the bellowes to it, Religion." ¹

These words recall a passage in *the Castigations*:

"as for your Arminians, they are the Deuils instruments, and
the bellows to blow the fire of contention"

This view is again expressed in the last scene of the play:

"Examine all men
branded with such fowle syns as you now dye for,
and you shall find their first stepp still, Religion:
Gowrie in Scotland, 't was his maine pretention;
was not he honest, too? his Cuntries father?
those fyery speritts next that hatchd in England
that bloody Powder Plot: and thought like meteors
to haue flashd their Cuntries peace out in a moment:
were not their Barrells loden with Religion?" ²

The pamphlets of the time must have equally influenced the dramatists in their conception of the Prince of Orange; over against the plotting, ambitious statesman, stands the generous, noble and virtuous warrior. The opinion of the King of England, who hated Barnavelt and whose feelings, though not his political opinions, were in the Prince's favour, may also have added to this influence, for the renowned General was greatly admired in England. I have seen several pamphlets singing the praise of the Victor of Flanders, as:

The honorable Victory obtained by Graue Maurice his Excellencie against the cittie of Rhyneberg, translated of the Dutch copie. London, 1597.

A discourse more at large of the late ouerthrowe giuen to the King of Spaines armie at Turnehaut by Count Morris of Nassawe 1597.

The Battaile fought betweene Count Maurice of Nassaux and Albertus Archduke of Austria nere Newport in Flaunders the XXII day of June 1600.

¹ lines 521—23.

² lines 2938 ff.

A short report of the honourable Journey into Brabant by Graue Mauris Governour of the Vnited Netherlandish Provinces from the 26 day of Iune to the 19 day of Iuly 1602.

In the *Legend of New St. John* the Prince is praised in the same terms. We read here:

“Now if hee (*i. e.* Barnavelt) haue done the Country such great service as he vaunts of, what service hath his Excellency done, that hath led our Armies into the field, and tooke all cares upon him, that hath many times encountred his enemies with small forces, and yet by his prowesse and wisdome hath so ordered his proceedings, that he hath returned Victor, and both stopt and disgraced the designes of his enemies, putting his noble body into most assured danger, for the safeguard and welfare of his Country?”

and page 28:

“The valiant and renowned Prince of Orange following his father's steps”

The Castigations also abound in flattering epithets as:

“but your worth, most excellent Prince secures you.”¹

and,

“Noble Prince, let him feele and haue experiment of your power and valour: cleere your selfe, and your honour.”²

It is only natural that it should be so; Motley remarks “The sword is usually an overmatch for the long robe in political struggles. The contest to which the Advocate was called had become mainly a personal and a political one; it was an unequal contest and the chances were singularly against Barneveld. On the one side stood the aged but still vigorous statesman, ripe with half a century of political lore, on the other the son of William the Silent, the high-born, brilliant, and scientific soldier, with the laurels of Turnhout and Nieuwpoort and of a hundred famous sieges upon his helmet. All history shows that the brilliant soldier of a republic is apt to have the advantage in a struggle for popular affection and popular applause over the statesman however consummate. The general imagination is more excited by the triumphs of the field than by those of the tribunal, for national enthusiasm is universally excited by splendid military service. The great battles and sieges of the Prince had been on a world's theatre and on their issue seemed to depend, and had frequently depended, the very existence of the nation. The labour of the Statesman, on the contrary, had been comparatively secret. His noble orations and arguments had been spoken

¹ page 8.

² page 44.

with closed doors, were never printed or even reported, while his vast labours especially in directing the foreign affairs of the Commonwealth had been by their very nature as secret as they were perpetual and enormous." ¹ It is therefore not surprising that the dramatists were influenced in the same way in their conception of the two characters.

We find this view expressed in the play:

"you are the arme oth' war:
the Soldiers sperit:
the other but dead stories; you the doer" ².

and,

"too late ye find, Sir
how naked and vnsafe it is for a long Gowne
to buckle with the violence of an Army." ³

Compare the answer given by 'a young man challenged by the Emperor Traian':

"it was not safe nor fitt, to hold contention
with any man comaunded thirtie legions" ⁴

It must strike all readers of our play that Barnavelt's weak point is the vaunting of his own merits; before the tribunal this may only be natural, but he does so to the Lords of the States, even to the Captain of the Guard, who has come to take him prisoner, and also on the scaffold. In the play he is often blamed for his bragging; the Prince of Orange remarks in the trial scene:

"pawse I beseech you
and while you gather breath to fill the trumpet
of your deserts, give me leave to deliuer
a litle for the States, and mine owne honour," ⁵

In the execution scene one Lord remarks:

"'tis strange how this man brags; 'tis a strange impudence" ⁶

Unluckily the manuscript is damaged here, but I think Mr. Bullen substituted the right words.

This trait of character was undoubtedly suggested by *the Apology*, of which the dramatists have even copied some parts literally, as I shall show later on. *The Apology* was Barnavelt's defence, so as a matter of course he put the services he had rendered his country,

¹ *op. cit.* II.

² lines 370—73.

³ lines 1080—82.

⁴ lines 1086—87.

⁵ lines 2312 ff.

⁶ line 2919.

which were indeed invaluable, in the clearest light; there was certainly no need for him to be modest. Professor Fruin, who has done full justice to Barnavelt in his historical studies, writes on Barnavelt's bragging about his designs and the successful expeditions of the Prince: "this weakness sounds disagreeable to us, when we read *the Apology*; it is true he wrote a defence, but he might have acknowledged some of the remarkable military qualities of the Prince." ¹

The Apology consists of fifty-three pages with the marginal notes by Holderus, and is preceded by an: 'Epistle Dedicatorie' "to the Right Worshipful and worthy David Pareus Doctor of Divinity and chief Professor of the same in the most famous and princely University of Heidelberg, all tranquility of life."

The Apology was originally written in Dutch, had been translated into Latin, and thence into English. Motley remarks "The Remonstrance to the States contained a summary review of the political events of his life, which was indeed nothing more or less than the history of his country and almost of Europe itself during that period, broadly and vividly sketched with the hand of a master." ²

Bullen remarks about the Castigations:

The Castigations by 'Robert Holderus, Minister of the Word of God' are remarkable, even in the annals of theological controversy, for gross blackguardism. After indulging in the most loathsome displays of foul brutality this 'minister of the Word of God' ends with a cheerful prayer: that 'they whom Thou hast predestined to salvation may always have the upper hand and triumph in the certainty of their salvation: but they whom Thou hast created unto confusion, and as vessels of Thy just wrath, may tumble and be thrust headlong thither whereto from all eternitie Thou didst predestinate them, even before they had done any good or evil.' ³

In *the Apology* Barnavelt begins by stating that he has always employed his pen in writing for the good of the Commonwealth, but now he is obliged to take it up in his own behalf. He speaks of the place and function he occupied in the Commonwealth as Advocate General, and explains in what his office consisted. He tells of his opposition to the Earl of Leicester, till the latter was obliged to leave the country, and describes how painful those years, when the country was in great danger, had been to him. He states that Grave Maurice was made governor and tells of the expedition into Flanders and the victory on the Prince of Parma. He continues speaking of his Embassies to

¹ *Verspreide Geschriften* VII.

² *op. cit.* II.

³ Introduction to the Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt.

England and France, and the services rendered to his country, how he settled the debts and money matters in a satisfactory way. He then answers the charges of the abusive pamphlets of the people who say that they do not know, who he is and what he is. He explains his lineage and his wife's, and shows that they are of noble birth. He speaks of his studies in Holland and abroad, his service in the army as a volunteer in the sieges of Harlem and Leiden. He proceeds to speak about his religious faith, entering into the description of the religious controversies, and asserting that he has always preached tolerance. He again refers to his services to the country during the thirty-two years when he was Advocate of the country, and his relations to foreign kings and queens, and explains how he brought matters from confusion into order. He denies the charges of bribery made in the pamphlets, giving a detailed account of the way in which he acquired his fortune and wealth by his rents. He denies that he ever sowed sedition in religious matters, giving as his opinion that the determination ought to be reserved to each Province, recommends the union between the cities and provinces, and ends by praying God to open his judges' eyes, and strengthen them in their prosperous and happy government.

Professor Koepfel has already drawn our attention to the close resemblance between the third scene of the fourth act of the play (Fletcher's share) and the source. He has compared this speech with the Latin translation of the Dutch pamphlet.¹ I will print this part again by the side of the English translation.

The Apology:

"I was often intreated by the King of France, by Elizabeth Queene of England both of famous and immortal memorie

I was often intreated by the King of great Brittain, and the King of Sweden, the Elector Palatine of Brandenburg, the Elector of Colen in divers occurrences to do unto them acceptable offices and services.

lines 1884 ff:

"This from the King of Fraunce, of much importance and this from Englands Queene, both mightie Princes and of imortall memories: here the Rewards sett:

they lou'd me both: the King of Swethland, this, about a Truyc: his bounty, too: what's this? from the Elector Palatine of Brandenburge to doe him faire, and acceptable offices, I did so: a rich iewell, and a Chaine he sent me:

¹ *op. cit.*

The Count and Countess of Solmes: even to the finishing and compounding of maters

And finally with the Count of Benthem for restitution of speciall Offices of the Arch-bishoprick of Colen. For which services hee thanked me by Letters.

In like manner I helped other Princes, Counts, and foraine Cities earnestly requesting mee thereto".

Professor Koepfel proceeds to point out the use the dramatists may have made of this source in Barnavel't's second speech before the tribunal.

The Apology page 33:

"Five times I performed a Regall Embassage and in foure Embassages, the management and direction of all things was committed unto me. I myself spake to Kings face to face. The first was in the yeere '85 wherin we first obtained of the Queene of England the ayde of foure thousand armed men.

The second Embassage was to the King of France In my Embassage to the King of England at this day

By reason of these five Regall Embassies and tractates, it happened that the forenamed Kings afforded to the States more than two hundred¹ and five hundred thousand pounds from the payment wherof the confederated Prouinces (I having a principall hand therein) were discharged, and their Obligations surrendered, as also their Citties and strongholds laid to pledge."

¹ *hundred* must be an error in the pamphlet, the dramatist rightly changed it into *millions*.

the Count of Solems; And this from his faire Countess about compounding of a busines:

I did it, and I had their thancks, Count Bentham, the Archbishop of Cullen, Duke of Brunswick, Graue Embden; theis from Citties, haue I held correspondence with theis Princes and had their loves, the molding of their busines,"

lines 2259. ff:

"I haue five times in regall Embassies byn sent the principall Agent for theis Cuntries, and for your good, haue spoken, face to face with mightie Kings: twyce with that virgin Queene our Patronesse of happie memory Elizabeth of England.

twyce in Fraunce with that invincible King Once with the King of Britaine that now is,

two Millions, and five hundred thousand pounds for which the Prouinces stood bound, I wrought freely to be discharged: the Townes they pawnd to be deliuerd vp."

Barnavelt's first speech before the tribunal also shows a close relation to the source, compare:

The Apology page 32:

"Grave Maurice and Count William received instructions for their government of the Earle of Leicester. The Companies of the Grand Prouinciall Assemblies were so animated against the States of Holland that both by words and writings they called into doubt, whether the States of Holland and West-Frisland had so much authoritie left them, as might warrant them to enioine the performance of the tribute imposed.

Many also of the Gouvernours of the free cities were sinisterly affected towards the State, The garrisons had bound themselves by oath to the Earl of Leicester. The promiscuous multitude was an enemy to the States.

And not long after the cities of Graues and Vendloe were possessed, Nimeghen was violently assaulted.

the Earl returns, looses Sluse, the communalitie of Middleborough makes an vprore in the Abbey.

I cannot express in what paine I passed those yeares, with what courage and alacritie most grieuous distresses were vanquished."

The passage which is deleted in the manuscript, has also largely been borrowed from the source. Barnavelt's speech, enumerating what the country owes to him, passing over the Prince's merits, of which I have spoken before, is a close copy of *the Apology*.

cf. page 12:

"How an expedition was vndertaken against the town of Breda, after what manner the fortress of Terheide and Steinberch was taken

lines .2222 ff:

"Your Excellence, Graue William and Count Henrie taking Instructions for your Comaunds from one that then ruld all; the Prouinces refusing to bring in their Contributions and arguing whether the West-Frizelander and Hollander had powre to raise such Tribut.

when many of the Governours stood ill affected to you; all our Garrisons not sworne then to the Generall States but others, which the promiscuous multitude gladly followed:

when Graues and Vendloe, were held by the Spaniard and Nimweghen with violence assaulted,

then, when the Sluice was lost and all in muteny at Midleborough:

who then laboured more then the now suspected Barnauelt t'appease seditions, and compound all Quarrells?"

lines 2301—2311:

"nor can you but remember 'twas my Counsaile when in one yeere you did besige Breda tooke in the fortress of Terheide and Steinberch

the expedition of the yeere 91 when we wonne Zutphen, Deunter and Delfs-Ile and other adiacent forts and lands, when we fortunately wonne Hulst and Nymegen in the same yeere.

and how the Prince of Parma, to his great losse and damage was enforced to leave the fort beyond Nimeghen.

By what meanes all things were prepared, directed, and successfully effected.

page 13:

"From the yeare 1588 unto the yeere 1606 I went thirtie-six several times to Prince Maurice in his Campe"

There are no other parts in the play bearing such close resemblance to *the Apology*, but very often the words of Barnavelt and others express the same ideas as some passages of the pamphlet, and may have been suggested by them. Examples are:

Apology page 16:

"afterwards I was chiefe instrument, and procurer of uniting the Provinces."

page 35:

"when I entered my offices, fourscore hundred thousand Florens could scarce be raised in the generalitie for maintaining the charges of warre: but at present they pay more at the least then two and fortie hundred thousand pounds. I was implioied also in diverse Treaties with the Embassadors of the Queen Mother in France, and with the Embassadors in England."

wan Nimweghen, Deunter, Zutphen, Hulst, Delfs-Isle

and forcd the Prince of Parma, to retire back with disgrace to Antwerpe, all his works razd downe, or standing for our vse, made ours.

with what care, Cost, direction and successe I saw all things prepard: and made faire way to perfect your designes.

how oft then in your Campe I visited you,"

lines 2215—2217:

"'tis strange that man should labour to devide those Generall States that had no weak hand in vnyting them."

lines 38—40:

"Money, the strength and fortune of the war the help of England, and the aide of Franunce I onely can call mine."

page 17:

"Then after so many, so great, so singular offices and services for so long a time continually performed,

having sustained more then 32 yeares the office of the disposer of the affaires of the country and in another place and office nine yeares before."

page 11:

"By what meanes the gouernement of Gelderland, Vtricke was conferred vpon Prince Maurice was furthered and effected by me."

page 21:

"Another thing yet is this that I for the most part, was a speciall ouerseer in our resolutions, expeditions and war-like attempts"

page 19:

"I haue continued in this mind through Gods grace now 50 yeeres; and being welnie 71 yeeres old at this present, I hope I shall live and die therin".

page 53:

My good Lords, I haue been more tedious then I was aware of.

At the end of the last scene Barnauelt wishes the Lords happy success to all their undertakings, in the same way as *the Apology* ends:

"I beseech Almighty God in mercie to open your eyes, and with the blessings of his heavenly grace to strengthen and confirme you in your prosperous and happy gouernment."

The speech of Barnauelt "I come to dye: bethinck you of your Iustice"¹ in the last scene, is an epitome of all that the authors had read in *The Apology*; the answer of the two Lords is in the same

lines 75—78:

"whatsoever the good succes of forty yeeres employment

in the most serious affaires of State haue raisd vp to his memory."

and line 1075:

"my forty yeares endeauours write in dust?"

line 31:

"When I gaue him the first place"

and line 37:

"his stile of Excellencie, was my guift;"

lines 109—112:

"this Grave Maurice, this now Prince of Orange

whose popularitie you weakely envy, was still by you comaunded, for when did he

enter the feild but 'twas by your allowance?"

lines 2441, 42:

And here I prophecie I, that haue lyvd and dye a free man"

line 2429:

"you rise and I grow tedious.

lines 2969, 70:

"farwell, my lords: To all your Countsailes, fortune, happie succes and proffit:"

¹ lines 2894 ff.

way influenced by the 'marginal Castigations'. It must be admitted to the credit of the dramatists that they are very little influenced by the slanderous personal remarks in the 'Castigations' and *the Golden Legend*; in silence they passed over the libels on the Advocate's wife and children, and the slanderous imputations of his enriching himself by Spanish gold.

The next pamphlet I will now treat of is *The Golden Legend*. The full title is:

Barnevelt displayed or the Golden Legend of New St. Iohn found out in the united Prouinces of the Low Countries comprehending A short Rehearsall of the Nobleness, Vertues, and Actions of mr. Iohn of Barnevelt, late Advocate and Speaker for the Prouinces of Holland and West Friesland Written for the instruction of all men, but especially the foolish Brownist, and the blinde Papist.

On the title page of the Dutch pamphlet is drawn a bust of Barnevelt on an altar with tapers, with a halo round his head; holding in his left hand a sceptre, and in his right hand a money-bag; round it some men kneel in prayer.

The pamphlet is addressed to the impartial Reader and faithful Patriot; it surpasses in violence and scurrility any other libel of the time, so that the States of Holland decided to have it 'taken in'. It was supposed that Barnevelt's arch-enemy François van Aerssen, the former Dutch ambassador to France, or one of the latter's friends, was the author, but this assumption is not accepted by modern historians.

The paper begins with the usual charges of Barnevelt's¹ ambition and his plotting to bring his native country to ruin; a parallel is found in the conspiracy of the Marquise d'Ancre in France. It describes how Barnevelt rose from a base descent to the very height of honour, mentions as the cause of his fall his insatiable desire of wealth and honour, and accuses him of trying to alter the Religion of his country. Then follow the most villainous imputations about a base descent, and scurrilous tales about the bad lives of his wife, sons and daughters. The author accuses Barnevelt of inciting the magistrates against the Reformed Church, and of dismissing the preachers. It is told that he was master of the whole nation, commanded the Prince in his military exploits, slandering and humiliating him in public. He is described as being full of pride and always bragging of his great deeds; as having an insatiable desire of riches, which he acquired by Spanish bribes.

¹ I have kept the spelling of the pamphlet here.

Other crimes are that he slandered the King of Great Britain, raised new soldiers, opposed the Earl of Leicester, the defender of this Republic; estranged the garrison of Gertruidenberg from the Commander Lord Willoughby, and suffered Spanish prisoners to be ransomed for little or nothing.

The author speaks of Barnevelt's reckless undertaking to send the Prince's forces into Flanders, an advice which only a Spanish brain could devise, and mentions how Barnevelt betrayed the Prince's enterprises several times. He is accused of having 'erected' the Arminian faction, of having spread sedition, and tried to raise civil war in order to betray the country to Spain, so that the Pope could get the upper hand. He had made a league with eight cities against the Prince, union, justice and religion, and had employed the services of Uytenbogaert, Grotius and Hogerbeets for his evil purposes. There had been secret meetings in which Hogerbeets and Grotius were presidents; they were in league with the Province of Utrecht, and had accepted the help of Spain.

Some parts of the play have been copied verbally from this source; the following passage is of special interest:

"He, *i.e.* Barnevelt hath maliciously rayled upon and slandered his Excellency, onely to make the commons hate him; when he put him from all Colleagues and Negotiations, especially out of the Councell of the State of Holland, at such a time as waighty and serious matters were treated concernin'g the place and oath of his Excellency, then was he banished the council-chamber and might not be admitted, although many of the best rancke did earnestly intreate it." ¹

We find this incident described in the play in the passage, where the censor objects to the disgrace done to the Prince. ²

Koepfel remarks "The incident that admittance to the council is refused to the Prince, has been compared to the part in *Henry VIII* V. 2, where Cranmer has to wait outside the council-chamber. The similarity of the situation is apparent; we have often found traces of Shakespeare in Massinger." ³

In the play Barnavel, after giving order not to admit the Prince to the council, goes on:

"in this disgrace I haue one foot on his neck
ere long Ile set the other on his head
and sinck him to the Center" ⁴

¹ page 14.

² lines 385 ff.

³ *op. cit.*

⁴ lines 329—331.

cf. the *Golden Legend*:

"boasting that now he had one foot upon the neck of his Excellency, hee would soone haue the other on his head and crush him".

As this passage follows the preceding one immediately in the pamphlet, I think it beyond doubt that the author was acquainted with the pamphlet and followed his source closely here. So there is no need for assuming an imitation of *Henry VIII*; we must remember that when Koeppel made the above remark he did not know the pamphlet.

There are again passages of some length copied literally from this source, namely the accusations laid to Barnavelt's charge in the trial scene, and the Advocate's answer, compare:

page 41:

"Yet all this is nothing to what he has done of late, when he erected the Arminian faction, sought the alteration and subversion of Religion, turned the Country topsie turvy, defaced Iustice, and brake the Vnion and blessed league between Prouinces and Cities;"

"to take sharpe resolutions against the Protestants; nay to publish most bitter Proclamations against those of the true Religion."

"to dispose of his Excellence according to his power."

"to take all the old Soldiers from the Commandement of the States, to make them serve in a civill war

to raise up stranger against stranger, Cittizen against Cittizen, Soldiour against Soldier, and Magistrate against magistrate; utterly to consume and waste the Land within, that the forraigne enemy might with lesse danger take them in such a confusion.

lines 2402 ff.:

"to subvert Religion to deface Iustice, and to break the vnion and holly League between the Prouinces"

"the Proclamations are allowd by you sent forth against the Protestants"

"your resolution to degrade my brother and then dispose of him as you thought fitt"

"Your plott here to withdraw all the Soldiers from the Co^mmandement of the States, and wyn them to serve for your ends in a Civill war.

to raise vp Cittizen against Cittizen, stranger against stranger, Soldier against Soldier, and Maiestrates against the Maiestrates to waste the Land within that with lesse danger the forraigne Enemy might make his entrance",

If this bee not treachery after the highest example”

In the answer by the Prince to the source is also literally followed:

“Whose man was that, which gaue intelligence to those of Antwerpe that his Excellency would come thither? the man was known and so was the wo'man, that carried the letters to Antwerpe for him to his good friend. But out of whom could this man know the exploit but out of Mr. Iohn?

Who was the cause that his Excellencie did not rescue Reinberke in the last siege? Who writ the letter whereby the Gouvernour was forced to deliver it up to the enemy, without any necessity?

Who was the cause there were no more forces sent against the enemy, when he came ouer the Rheine, and tooke the townes of Lingen, Groll, Oldenseel and many others?

Those who haue cleare eyes and untainted understandings know this vainglory of his is but a windy bladder of vanity.”

The next lines:

“your Insolence to me before the Battaile
of Flaunders I forget”

and the following deleted lines refer to the expedition into Flanders, which was recommended by Barnavelt and the States against Orange's will, though the Prince submitted to their wishes and fought a hazardous battle, in which he gained the victory. This difference of opinion is described in *the Golden Legend*:

“What service he meant to do the King by the Voyage into Flanders, those that place their spectacles well, may easily see, for all things are now come to light. Was it not hee that caused his Excellency with all his power to goe into the enemies Countrey in a most visible and palpable danger, as all experience approued? insomuch that all men of understanding cryed out and said that it was a Spaniard,

yf then, this be not treacherie beyond all presidents of Traitors”

Barnavelt's defence (see *Apology*)

lines 2318 ff: “who was he that gave intelligence of my sodaine coming to surprize Antwerpe? they that brought the Letters were knowne, and but from you could haue no notice of any such design:

who hinderd me from rescuing of Rhinberch in the last Seige?
who warranted the yeilding of it vp without necessitie to¹ the Governor?

who was the cause no greater powre was sent against the Enemy, when he past the Rhine, and tooke the Townes of Oldensell, Lingen, Groll?

To think of this would give a little vent to the windy bladder of your vanitie,”

¹ The dramatist misunderstood this passage; 'to' ought to be 'by'.

or he had a Spaniards heart in his belly that had first giuen counsell; yea his Excellency himselfe being a man of great prudence, high action and unspeakable knowledge, perceiving the eminent dangers and insupportable difficulties which attended the journey, said openly at the Counsell Table, that the honour of his countrey was put to the rapiers point. Mr. Iohn out of the wonted extremity of his old pride replied, that if his Excellency were afraid to goe thither, he would goe himselfe, but his magnanimity was tempered with such wisdome, that as long as the battaile endured, he with all his band staid at Ostend."

The influence of the source is clearly visible in Barnavelt's speech, which is deleted in the manuscript and restored but for a couple of words, in this edition; compare lines 2335 ff.:

Bar. 't was when your Hignes too much prouidence
 (for willingly I would not say your feare)
 led you to doubt the hazard of a Battaile,
 and said the fortune of the Prouinces
 was put vpon the rapiers point, how I
 (for since you vrge me, I will speak it boldly)
 stood vp, and offerd if that you refusd
 to take the Charge myself.

Bred. and for all the boast
 staid, till the day was won, safe at Oostend'

The lines 1444, 14445:

"I make no doubt but once more, like a comet
 to shine out faire and blaze prodigiously"

recall the passage in *the Golden Legend*:

"Further he hath shewed his pride in his undeserved greatnesse, wherewith he hath made himself shine in the world, aboue any blazing Comet

It may be accidental that this metaphor is used in the play as well as in *the Golden Legend*, for we meet with frequent allusions to the comet of 1619 in the plays of that time. Mr. Boyle¹ has already drawn attention to the reference in Dekker's and Massinger's *Virgin Martyr*

"From such a star
 Blazing with fires of hate, what can be looked for
 But tragical events?"²

In *The Unnatural Combat* a contemporary play by Massinger alone, the same metaphor occurs:

"when my sword
 Advanced thus, to my enemies appear'd
 A hairy Comet, threatening death and ruin"³

¹ *Englische Studien* X.

² II. 3. 110.

³ I. 1, 230.

Though not taken literally from the pamphlet many passages in our play show the influence of the source, namely:

"When first his policie had made him Advocate, how did he abuse the young yeeres of his Excellency, gouerning the warres so at his will and pleasure"

lines 109 ff:
This Prince of Orange
was still by you comãunded: for when
did he
enter the feild but 'twas by your allow-
waunce?
wat seruisse vndertake, which you ap-
proud not?

.
what Action of his renownd, in which
your Counsaile was forgotten?"

"that all the offices were given or commanded by him: by which meanes he tyed all men to his service, at last he was almost master of the whole nation, so far he stretcht and ouer stretcht his authority that onely he held correspondency with the Embassadors of forraine Princes, as if the Country had bin his owne, and hee the absolute Monarch"

lines 100 ff:
"for thirtie yeeres (onely the name of
king
you haue not had, and yet your abso-
lute powre
hath ben as ample) who hath ben em-
ployed
in office, gouernment, or Embassie,
who raisd to wealth or honour that
was not
brought in by your allowaunce? who
hath held
his place without your lycence?"

"by foule meanes he gained great riches, they came rather from that corner from whence the Pistolets were shot."

lines 106—8: "your Estate is
beyond a privat mans:

"he made himself shine in the world, which he hath especially showne to some of his owne kindred, as to his owne Brother whom he made Pensioner of Rotterdam, then Embassador for England, his other Brother gouernour of Vorne and Baily of Putten.

your Brothers, Sonnes
frendes, famylies, made rich in trust
and honours."

to his owne sonnes: one of the office of Hountmaster, being one of the chiefest offices of the Land; the other hee made Mintmaster and afterwards Gouernour of Bergen-op-Zoome. His brother-in law was made President in the high Court and sent on an Embassage for Sweden.

Van der Mitten¹ was to be employed in the greatest Embassage."

¹ Van der Myle Barnevelt's son-in-law is meant here.

"His heart was full of pride, his very gesture, carriage and countenance showed as much".

This is also stated in the 'Castigations': "Boldly say, I was α and ω , the beginning and the ending, the first and last of honourable and mighty States, of all the Councils and Assemblies, of all Statutes and Decrees."

The accusations in the trial scene taken from this pamphlet are stated here at some length.

page 41:

"this is all nothing to what he hath done of late, when he erected the Arminian faction, sought the alteration and subversion of Religion, turned the country topsie turvy and brake the Vnion and blessed league between the Prouinces and Citties"

"to take all the old Soldiers from the Commandement of the States and new Soldiers without leave of the Generall States to fight against the Vnion"

"to dispose of his Excellence according to his power."

page 44:

"What could but follow from this (making the soldiers withstand his Excellencie) but murther and bloodshed, not only in Vtrecht but generally throughout the whole nation. Could anything issue but the effusion of blood and civill massacre?"

"Mr. Iohn saw well enough that of necessitie hee must seeke ayde from some where else; which done, the rule and government of the Country must consequently fall into the hands of strangers. But vpon what stranger his eye was fixt, that let others judge, for mine owne part, I hope the Lords will make him say, it was the Aragonian heaven he stared at."

lines 537, 8:

"We doe not like his carriage
he do's all, speakes all, all disposes"

lines 2193 ff.:

"First, that the Arminians faction (of which Sir Iohn Van Olden Barnauelt, late Advocate of Holland and West Frizeland and Counsellor of State, was without contradiction the head) had resolved and agreed to renounce and break the generality and vnitie of the State."

"Secondly, Change and alter the Religion, and to that end, without the Consent of the Generall States, had rayseed vp and dispersed 3000 Arminian Soldiers,"

"Thirdly, to degrade the Prince of Orange"

"Fourthly, to massacre the people of the townes which were their greatest Enemies; or offered resistance."

"Fiftly, yf that failed, take in assistance of some forreigne Potentates, as Spaine or Brabant, delivering vnto them Vtrecht, Nimweghen, Bergen op Zone, and the Brill."

In the pamphlet *Ledenberch his Confessions both at Vtrecht and the Hague* we find "fiftly, that they have communicated the same with some of the *Councell of France* and therunto desired aduice and counsell."

The charge that Barnavelt planned 'to take in assistance of some forreigne Potentates as Spaine or Brabant' occurs in *the Golden Legend* in "a letter written by the generall of the English Forces, Lord Willoughby at Bergen op Zone", published in print:

"For it is said Barneult hath written and promised the President Richard (one of the counsell of State to the Duke of Parma) that he will mannage all affayres in such order, that the united Provinces shall come again into the hands of the King of Spayne."

But the fifth charge is undoubtedly taken from the ballad mentioned above, which states that Barnavelt 'complotted to surrender the townes *Vtreicht, Nimmingham, Bergen-op-zome* and *Brill* to the Archduke.'

The Confessions of Ledenberch differ in some parts from the play; they run:

"First, to breake the Vnion and to ordaine another forme or kind of Gouernment, and that throw the helpe and assistance of the Prouinces of Holland, Vtrecht and Ouerysell.

Secondly, to depose his Princely Excellencie.

Thirdly, to make the Religion common.

Fourthly, to maintaine and assist one another therein with life and goods."

The fifth confession has been mentioned before.

The description of Leidenberch's suicide is given in the same pamphlet *Examination and Confessions (at Vtrecht and the Hage) on one Leydenberg, Pentioner of Leyden, and Taurinus; with their sodaine and fearful ends.*

"The 27th of September Ledenberch was examined, acknowledged the abouesaid, and thereafter said to his Son, I haue confessed that which will cost life and goods;
betweene one and two of the clocke in the night hee rose," and taking a pen-knife out of his penner, hee thrust it into his belly; feeling that he was not sped, he took the table-knife and therewith cut his throate: and stabd him selfe with the same knife into his short ribs and lastly into the brest: his sonne awaking, it was alas too late for his poore soule."

When we compare this short account with the fine suicide scene in our play by Fletcher, we cannot but admire this dramatist's poetic imagination.

Lines 2394—97 are based on the pamphlet mentioned before:

"Look vpon this
signd by the *Gouernor, Chauncellor. and Counsell*
of Gilderland and Zutphen, who here name thee
the roote and head of the late Schisme."

I have consulted *the Proclamation* in English, which is printed with the *Confessions of Leydenberg*; the full title is:

A Proclamation given by the Discreet Lords and States, against the slanders laid upon the Evangelicall and Reformed Religion, by the Arminians and Separists, Containing all the Points, Accusations, Declarations and Confessions taken out of the last Provinciaall Synode holden at Arnhem the 15 day of September last past 1618. Printed according to the Dutch Originals at London 1618.

The pamphlet begins as follows:

"The Gouvernour, Chancellor and Councell in the name of the Lords and Estates of the Dukedome of Gelderlandt and County of Zutphen doe give to understand: that the Remonstrants or Arminians are the authors of the objected points; the Teachers of the Evangelical Reformed Churches are slandered as having held these tenets."

The Governour, Chancellor, and Councell publish the points and accusations so that others may continue in the truth of the Evangelical Reformed Religion. Then follows: 'an Extract of the Acts of the Synod of Gelderlandt held at Arnhem July 1618'.

An important difference with the source is that in the pamphlet Barnavelt is not mentioned at all, whereas in the play, he is named as: "the roote and head of the late Schisme".

The Arraignement of John Van Olden Barneuelts is certainly of great interest in regard to the plot of the play; the dramatists based the plot chiefly on this material, which will be evident when I have compared some articles of *the Arraignement* with some parts of the play.

The title runs:

Arraignement of Iohn van Olden Barneuelts, late Advocate of Holland and West Friesland.

Containing the Articles, alleadged against him, and the reasons of his execution, being performed upon the 13 of May Anno 1619 Stilo Nuovo.

In the inner Court of the Grauen Hage in Holland.

Together with a letter written by the Generall States unto the particular Vnited Provinces, concerning the aforesaid action.

Published by authoritie, and with priuiledge of the States Generall Printed by Edward Griffin for Ralph Rounthwait at the sign of the Golden Lion in Pauls Church-yard. London 1619.

The first two pages contain 'the priuiledge or the allowance from the States generall to Hillebrant Jacobson to print the sentence and judgment with the licence for two years'. *The Arraignement* is preceded by 'the Copie of a Letter, written by the generall States unto the

particular united Prouinces in the Netherlands', informing them that the judges had knowledge of certain points, not mentioned in the sentence, which gave great suspicion that he had 'intelligence' with the enemy, but that no definite sentence could have been given without further inquisition, 'which was not thought convenient in respect to his great age and other considerations concerning the service of the Land'.

Then follows 'the Iudgement given and pronounced' containing thirty-four Articles and occupying thirty-one pages; to this is added 'the Proclamation made by the generall States of the united Netherland Provinces, for the holding of a generall Fast and day of Praier for the good successe of the Synode, and peace and preservation of the Land'.

The beginning of 'the Proclamation' is very instructive in connection with the plot of our play. It runs as follows:

"Forasmuch as it is so fallen out that some ambitious persons for the furtherance of their particular designs and ambitions, to the great hinderance of the reformed religion, and speciall disadvantage of the service of the Land, stirred up, sought to haue reversed and annihilated the true religion, and together at one time, wholly to haue ruined and subverted the State of the Land,"

Motley remarks indignantly on the Arraignment: "Barneveld's defence was called by the commissioners his 'confession' with an effrontery which did not lack ingenuity".¹

Barnavelts was accused of a long list of crimes in *the Arraignment*, viz: of having perturbed religion, of having opposed the national Synod, of having despised the salutary advice of many princes and notable personages, of having brought to pass private assemblies, and of having caused the Deputies of eight towns in Holland to hold divers secret meetings. It is stated that he had confessed to having obtained from the King of Great Britain certain letters furthering his own opinions, the draft of which he had himself suggested, corrected and sent over to the States' Ambassador in London, and when written out, signed, and addressed by the King to the States-general, had delivered them without stating how they had been procured;² he had confessed to having placed in the Churches divers heretical Teachers, and to not having prevented vigorous decrees from being enforced in several places against those of the true religion. He was besides accused of having

¹ *op. cit.* II.

² This is one of the reasons, why James I hated Olden Barneveld, he found out too late that he had been outwitted by the Advocate.

instigated the magistrates to disobedience, of having suggested new-fangled oaths for the soldiers authorizing them to refuse obedience to the States-General and his Excellency, of having especially encouraged the proceedings at Utrecht, and of having interfered with the cashiering of the mercenaries in that town. The Advocate was also charged with having calumniated the Prince of Orange by saying that his Excellency had aspired to the sovereignty of the Provinces; with having of his own accord rejected a certain proposed alliance of the utmost importance and of having received from foreign potentates various large sums of money and other presents.

Article 29 of *the Arraignment* accuses Barnavelt of usurping the authority over the Army

“that also to withdraw the ordinary souldiers from the obedience of the Generall States and of his Excellencie, he had laboured by all the meanes he could make them understand, that they were by oath bound, before all others to obey the States of the particular Provinces (their pay-masters) though it were against the Generall States and his Excellence”.

Barnavelt had expressed his view on the relation of the army to the States in *the Apology*:

“A sixth thing is that all the heads, Admiralls, Commanders, Administers of the principall Office of Warre, Gouvernours of horsemen, Captaines, Officers, Souldiers which earned pay either by sea or by land, all these I say acknowledged the Lords the States of Holland and West-Frisland, as paymasters of their stipends, swore faith and obedience unto them, and honoured his Excellence as Captain Generall in commanding the execution of such things as the Lords the States determined.”¹

Barnavelt's and Leidenberch's views are the same in the play, compare Barnavelt's speech to the Captain:

. “but you shall know, sir
 they are not such, but Potentates and Princes
 from whom you take pay.
 but I will make that tongue give him the lye
 that said so.
 your Companie is cast.”²

and lines 679—81:

“I know you love the vallant Prince, and yet
 you must graunt him a Servant to the States
 as you are, Gentlemen.

the Prince himself admits this:

“they are your masters, your best masters, noblest,
 those that protect your states, hold vp your fortunes;

¹ page 34.

² lines 169 ff.

I and all Soldiers els that strike with their armes,
and draw from them the meanes of life and honour,
are doble tyde in faith to obserue their pleasures"¹

When we compare the conversation between Leidenberch and the Captains refusing to fight for Barnavelt and his party against the Prince, with article 31 of *the Arraignment* we find that it was suggested by the source.²

Article 31. "Whereupon it followed that the aforesaid Hoogerbeets, Grotius and other Deputies secretly and in private assemblies, advised with some of the States of Vtrecht and the Secretary Ledenberch, made proposition touching present resistance, and how to moue the new companies thereunto, as also to procure the ordinary souldiers not to be obedient to the commandement of his Excellencie"

It is especially on the articles 14, 16, 19, 23, 27 that the plot of the conspiracy, of the resistance to the Prince and of the incidents at Utrecht are based; they mention the raising of new companies and the guarding of the gates against the Prince, and describe the meetings of Barnavelt's accomplices.

Article 14. "The Magistrates of the townes were warranted, for their defences to raise new companies of soldiers, and to give them another oath, whereby it followed that diuers townes in Holland began to raise a great number of soldiers, giuing them a particular oath with special charge to be obedient only to their commandements against all men whatsoever, and particularly against the generalitie, and his Excellencie."

Article 16. That he (*i. e.* Barnavelt) within a few dayes went to Vtrecht and councelled some of the States there likewise to raise new companies of souldiers contrary to the common oath of the generalitie and his Excellencie".

Article 19. "And as in Vtrecht newes was brought that his Excellencie the Prince of Orange, was to come into, and pass through the said towne, he (*i. e.* Barnavelt) not many dayes before, aduertised the Secretarie Ledenberch by private letters, that it was fit and expedient for them, to keep a strong watch at their gates, desiring Ledenberch when he had read the letters to burne them"

cf. lines 2004—2006 of the play

"killd himself: nor left behind him
one peece of paper to dishonour ye:

Article 23. "That he had intelligence given him that the said Ledenberch together with the pentionary Hoogerbet and Grotius, in the house of Iohn Vtenbogaert did consult upon the reasons and motives to dissuade the Deputie of Vtrecht not to put their commission in effect (about the discharging of the new souldiers);

¹ lines 448 ff.

² lines 626 ff.

and also that the same deliberation holden and required by Ledenbergh should be kept secret; whereupon it followed that the said Hoogerbets and his complices, in the house of Daniel Trefel meeting together, with many sharp and pernicious speeches and motions used by Grotius, dissuaded the Deputies of Vtrecht to show their authoritie."

Article 27. "That he by certaine persons expressly sent out in the night-time, advertised the Magistrate of Leyden, that his Excellencie was to goe from the Hage, and that apparently he would goe thither, that they therefore should stand upon their guard. Vpon which his advice it followed, that the watchbell being rung, the new soldiers and shot ran to armes at midnight, as also that the gates of the said towne were kept shut the next day after, vntill he gaue them other advice that his Excellencie was gone another way."

The articles 12, 13, 14, 26, the end of 27, and 34 contain the accusations read to Barnavelt in the trial scene.

Article 12. "That he sought by the meanes of his complices and adherents to pertube and trouble the politique State, deuising to invent and finde the meanes to reduce and bring the government thereof into disorder and confusion, by meanes thereof the better to effect his mischievous pretence against the security and prosperity of the State."

Article 13. "That he had taken upon him, to trouble the State of the Religion and thereby to bring the Church of God into great trouble and extremitie. To that end he had maintained and put in pratise most exorbitant and pernicious maximes against the state of the Land."

Article 14. "the Magistrates of the towns were warranted, for their defences, to raise new companies of soldiers, and give them another oath. It followed that diuers townes in Holland began to raise a great number of soldiers, giving them a particular oath with speciall charge to be obedient only to their Commandements against all men whatsoever, and particularly against the generalitie, and his Excellencie."

Article 26. "That to make the service and councill of his Excellencie in all places unprofitable and of no force, he sought to disgrace and scandalize his said Excellencie by diuers calumniationes and utterly to dishonour him."

Article 27¹. "All which his proceedings tending to the end not only to make the towne of Vtrecht a slaughter-house, but also to bring the State of the Land, and the person of the Prince of Orange into utter subversion."

Article 34. "whereby and by meanes of all his other machinations and conspiracies, it is fallen out, that generall perturbation in the Land as well spiritual as temporall is risen up. . . . the union broken, the Countrie brought into danger; these wrongs are to be punished, for an example to all others"

the last line may have suggested the Lord's speech:

"we are to consider what's the offence
and how it should be punishd, to deter
others by the example²"

¹ the end of the article.

² lines 1268—70.

The ambassadors' speeches and Orange's answer in the first scene of the last act can be traced back to another source, namely *Newes out of Holland* from which they are in some places literally taken.

The full title is:

Newes out of Holland, Concerning Barnevelt and his Fellow-Prisoners their Conspiracy against their Native Country, with the Enemies thereof: the Oration and Propositions made in their behalfe unto the Generall States of the united Prouinces at the Hague by the Ambassadors of the French King. With their Answere thereunto, largely and truly set downe. London 1619.

The visit of the ambassadors is an historical fact. Motley writes about this incident: "On the 12th December 1618 both de Boississe Seignior de Thumérie and du Maurier came before the States-General and urged a speedy and impartial trial for the illustrious prisoners. If they had committed acts of treason and rebellion they deserved to be punished, but the ambassadors warned against confounding acts dictated by violence of party spirit at an excited period with the crime of high treason against the sovereignty of the State"¹ The States-General were greatly troubled and treated the affair with great secrecy; they returned their answer, after long deliberation with the Prince and his counsellors. They replied on the 19th of January assuring the ambassadors that the delay in the trial was in order to make the evidence of the great conspiracy complete; they promised that the sentence upon the prisoners, when pronounced, would give entire satisfaction to all the allies and to the King of France in particular, of whom they spoke throughout the document in terms of profound respect.

After Barnavelt's execution the sentence was sent to France accompanied by a Statement that Barnavelt had been guilty of unpardonable crimes which had not been set down in the Act of Condemnation. Complaints were also made of the conduct of du Maurier (who had been unwearied in his efforts to save Barnavelt even on the morning of the execution) for thrusting himself into the internal affairs of the States, taking sides so ostentatiously against the government.

'The Oration occupies six pages of press print and is signed: 'de Thumérie' and 'du Morier.'

I will print the ambassadors' speeches by the side of some parts of the source to show the occasional close resemblance.

¹ *Op cit* II.

the Oration:

"My Lords, the King our Master commanded us, to recommend unto you the same which we have heretofore at other times motioned, touching the good and peace of your estate; his Maiestie will not cease to witness unto you, that he hath no lesse care thereof, then of the peace and tranquillity of his owne Kingdome"

"We will therefore proceede to exhort you, to continue stedfast in the vnion of your Prouinces, as the principall foundation of your estate, and to be carefull that the changing of Magistrates and Counsellors which hath bin made in diuers of your Townes, do not breede enmities and dissensions among your Citizens, instead of ceasing them"

Then the letter goes on warning against unnecessary changes in the government which should only be made upon great necessity. The hope is expressed that the Synod will be a means to procure peace and concord in regard to the religious troubles. Here, as everywhere in the play, the dramatists omit details about the religious controversies and the National Synod.

"We are likewise to tell you somewhat from the King, touching your Prisoners, and to shew you, how much it concerneth the honour and reputation of your affaires, to administer unto them good and speedy Iustice. They are accused of the most inorme and detestable crimes that can be If they be culpable of these disloyalties the King our Master giveth you counsell and advise to exercise the rigour of your Lawes against them."

lines 2587:

"My good Lords,
we are comāunded by the King
our Master
(who ever hath respected your affaires
as the tranquillity of his own
Kingdoms)
to let you thus far vnderstand his
pleasure,

he do's exhort you, as the best
foundation
of your estate, with all care to preserve
the vnion of your prouinces, and
wishes
the changes that you haue made
of Maiestrates
the Advocate and Counsellors of
State
in many of your Townes, breed
not dissentions
in stead of ceasing them:"

"Touching your Prisoners
that stand accusd of detestable
Crymes,
his counsaile is, if they be
culpable
that you vse speedy Iustice and
with rigour,"

Morier's speech, which follows, shows the same or even a closer relation to the source.

. . . . "To the contrary diuers Princes haue shewed themselves ready to pardon, euensuch enterprises as haue bin done against their owne persons: and the freest Common-Wealths, alwaies used to spare the blood of their Cittizens; and that in the greatest malefactors; it being one of the principallest signes of liberty and freedome, not easily or lightly to touch the life of Cittizens."

"Ever remembering that the greatest Princes haue sometimes to their glory byn most apt to pardon what was enterprizd against their Governments, nay their lives; and that the freest and the best Comon-wealthes, haue alwaies vsd to spare the blood of their owne Cittizens and that in great offenders — it still being the principall signe of libertie and freedom not easely, but with mature advice, to touch the lives of Cittizens."

Then follows a definition of the term treason by which "jealousy of power and authority", and "ambition" are not to be understood. The pamphlet goes on:

"We doubt not my Lords, but that in your integrities and wisdomes you make distinction as you should, of the faith and actions whereof men are accused,

question being made of the lives of your officers and subjects placed in authority wherof one is the auncientest Councillor of your state, which is Monsieur Barneuel, so much commended for the good and notable services by him done for these countries, whereof the Princes and States and allies unto the same are witnesses, that it is hardly to be thought or beleaved, that he should haue conspired treason against his native Countrie, for the which you your selves know hee hath taken so great paines."

"and the rather when question is made of such as are your officers placd in authoritie of whom the ancientst Mounseieur Barnauelt so much comended for so many good and notable services don for theis Cuntries, deserves most serious regard. My Master and other Kings and Princes, your Allyes, lyving yet witnesses of his great meritts and with such admiration that they can be hardly brought to thinck he should conspire against those States for which your selues best know what travayles he hath vndergon;"

The oration continues to point out that it is necessary that the truth should be brought to light, and advises the States-General to appoint unsuspected and impartial judges, who ought to give judgment only upon clear proofs. It mentions the affection which Barnaveit always bore to France, speaks of the testimonies of his loyalty and fidelity, which seem to exclude all suspicion of treason, ending:

“The Counsel which the King giueth you touching these Prisoners is, not to use rigour against them, but rather fauour and clemency. His Maiesty shall haue sufficient glory and satisfaction, to haue, like a true friend and allie, giuen you wholesome and sound counsels, whereof the use and event will be as happy and profitable for your State, as the contrary is hurtful and dangerous: and his Majestie cannot chuse but be much offended at the small respect which you still make of his Counsels, requests and amitie, which thereby may procure as much slacknesse, as in times past you haue found promptness and fauourableness in your neede.”

“and therefore
once more he do's advice you to
vse mercy:
which if you doe, he then shall thinck
you merit
the many fauours you haue tasted
from him,
yf not, he having given you wholl-
som Counsaile,
yf you refuse it, he must think himself
slighted in his requests: and
then perhaps
hereafter you may misse that prompt-
nes in him
which you haue found when your
wants most requird it.”

Though here the source is not so closely followed, the ideas expressed in the two speeches are similar.

The second part of the pamphlet: “the Generall State's answere to the Propositions, made unto them, by the French King's Ambassadors” occupyes seven pages of press print. The States-General of the United Provinces express their gratitude for the advice given them by the King of France; they consider themselves justified in their measures to appoint new magistrates and express the hope that by the conuocation of a Synod peace will be restored with regard to the differences on religious matters. They will collect all the evidence concerning the prisoners and pronounce judgment as soon as possible.

In the Prince of Orange's answer to the French Ambassadors the dramatists are not so much indebted to their source as in the first part of this scene. I will compare some passages with the Prince's speech to show that only few lines have been copied from ‘the Answer’, though the tendency of the two is the same.

The States generall of the united Prouinces, hauing in open assembly, heard, and deliberately perused the Propositions of Messieurs de Boisis and du Morier, Ambassadors of the most Christian King of France..... declare to give all good meanes and occasions vpon his Maiestie, to moue him to continue his royal fauours vnto them for the which they are obliged to give and yeeld all kind of thanks, they are no less desirous to shew the continuance of the most strict bond thereof.

So they are exceeding much grieued to perceiue themselves to be mistaken and taxed not to haue resolved vpon the affaires touching the good of the State.

They are perswaded that judgement shall not be long deferred, and such without doubt, that at the publication therof, all their Allies and his Maiestie will commend their vpriht dealing.

hoping that his Maiestie. will find it more expedient for his service and the good of the said Provinces, to referre the same to the said States gouernment and iudgement, which they will take paines to conclude and finish with so much equitie and clemencie among themselves that the obedience of their subjects shall by their authority be confirmed".

Of the lost pamphlets mentioned by Motley, the only one that may have affected the dramatists materially is:

The Necessary and Living Discourse of a Spanish Counsellor 1618.

In a dignified and conciliatory¹ letter to the Prince written by Barneveld on 24 April 1618 concerning the alienation from the Prince, which he had observed to his great sorrow, the Advocate writes with regard to this pamphlet:

lines 2635 ff.:
 willingly,
 for I must still be glad to take occasion
 to speak how much your Lordships, and myself
 ever stand bound to that most christian King
 whose fauours, with all thancks, we must acknowledge
 as with all care preserve;

Onely we hope his Maiestie will give vs leave to say we greiue that he is misinformd of vs
 and our proceedings,

of which we hereafter will give him certaine and vnanswerable proofes.
 to iustefie our Actions, which we will make knowne to all the world,

till when, we wish he will be pleasd, to give way to the States
 to finish what they haue begon, with Iustice
 temperd with mercy":

¹ The epithets are Motley's.

“Especially it was I that was thus made the object of hatred and contempt. Hundreds of lies and calumnies, circulating in the form of libels, seditious pamphlets and lampoons, compelled me to return from Utrecht to the Haghe”. He then alludes to *the Necessary and Living Discourse of a Spanish Counsellor* which was attributed to his greatest foe François van Aerssen and goes on: “therefore I most respectfully beg your Excellency not to believe these fellows, but to reject their counsels.”¹

The Discourse begins with a warning to the people to open their eyes to the danger threatening their country. The country was governed by the excellent Stadholder Prince Maurice, who protected it from Spanish violence, till some proud and ambitious person came, to make the country an oligarchy. Then follows a warning against Barneveld, who with sly craftiness had usurped the government of all affairs in Holland. He had enlisted soldiers whom he obliged to swear a new oath against the Prince, and had tried to degrade his Excellence the most courageous and victorious prince, by whose powerful hand the country was saved, ‘the awe and fear of our neighbours.’ The pamphlet ends by an appeal to the Prince and to all faithful Patriots and lovers of religion to protect the true religion and the safety of the country.

I consulted the Dutch originals of the other pamphlets mentioned by Motley to see if they might have had any influence on the dramatists.

The Declaration of the Golden Bellows, in Dutch: *De Verclaringhe van den Gouden Blaesbalck*.

The Arminian Road to Spain, in Dutch: *De Arminiaensche Vaert naer Spaegniën*.

A little Window by peeping through which we can see the great Masters rolling down to the gates of Hell, in Dutch: *Een Cleyn Vensterken, waer door gekeecken werdt, hoe die groote Meesters haer tot de poorten der helle wentelden*.

In the last pamphlet Barnavelt is compared to Lucifer, who also wanted to rise higher. The Advocate betrayed his country for Spanish ducats, and is thrown into hell with Grotius, Hoogerbeets and Uytenbogaert.

The pamphlets unanimously praise the Prince of Orange, who saved the country, and commend his conduct in Utrecht, where he disbanded the mercenaries. They condemn Barnavelt for his enlisting

¹ *Waaragtige Historie van Oldenbarneveld*.

the new soldiers, for accepting bribes from Spain, and for his treason to the country.

The undignified, libellous tone of these pamphlets makes the perusal disagreeable to us, and fortunately the dramatists did not allow themselves to be influenced by them, if they knew them, which is very likely the case.

A Dutch pamphlet the English translation of which seems no longer to exist is of some interest to us. The title of this pamphlet is:

*Cort Verhael van al 't gene binnen Utrecht gepasseerd is, de Aenkomst van syn Princelicke Excellentie en 't afdancken der Waertgelders.*¹

It was printed in Amsterdam in 1618 and a picture, probably of Maurice, is on the title page. I have translated part of it into English for comparison with the play. 'A short Account of all that passed in Utrecht, the arrival of his Excellency and the disbanding of the mercenaries'.

"matters had come to such a pass that his Excellency told Count Earnest of Nassau the renowned warrior to ride through the town and establish good order. Three companies came from Aernhem and Vyanden in the morning. His Excellency Prince Maurice of Orange rose at daybreak on the last of July, and after praying God that everything might pass without bloodshed, he ordered the mercenaries to lay down their arms. His Excellency was busy all day to arrange everything in proper order, as a wise and prudent Prince, who with God's help had settled matters in such a way that not a drop of blood was shed. The Delegates of the States of Holland seeing that things were thus arranged, took their seats in their coaches and rode off, the chief Delegate among them being H. Grotius.

There is another pamphlet giving an account of the events in almost the same words. The title of the Dutch pamphlet is: *Oranje's Cloeck*

¹ The Dutch original is as follows:

De Sake is so verre gekomen, dat syne Princelicke Excellentie dien vermaerden krijchshelt Graef Ernst van Nassau door de stad heeft laten rijden, die op alles goede orde stelde. Drie vaendelen quamen 's morghens van buiten van Aernhem ende van Vyanden. Syn Prinelycke Excellentie Mauritius van Oraignien is 's morghens den laetsten July vroeg opgestaen ende nae aenroeping van God's heyligen name, dat alles sonder bloet vergieten mocht afoopen, gebood hy de Waertgelders 't gheweef af te leggen. Syn Princelicke Excellentie was dien gantschen dag besich om in alles orde te stellen als een wys en voorsichtich Prince toekomt, die de sake door Gods hulpe so verre gebracht heeft, datter niet een druppel bloed's vergoten is gheworden. Ende dat ghingh met zulke goede orde te werk, dat yder hem bewonderde. De Ghecommitteerden van de E. Heeren Staten van Holland ziende, dat het zoo te werk gingh, ginghen in haer koetsen sitten, ende reden deur, daer onder de voornaemste was H. Grotius."

Beleydt in 't Afdancken der Waert-ghelders binnen de Stadt Utrecht.
In English 'Orange's brave conduct in disbanding the Waertgelders within the town of Utrecht'.

Lines 984 ff. and 1223 ff. seem to have been suggested by this pamphlet:

"how many Townes, hath he (and sodainely)
disarmd againe and setled in obedience,
and without bloodshed, Lords, without the sword
and those Calamities that shake a kingdom"

and,

"my grave Lords
that it hath byn my happines to take in,
and with so litle blood, so many Townes
that were falne of, is a large recompence
for all my travell."

compare also lines 1864—67:

"*Orange* I haue sent patents out for the choicest Companies
hether to be remou'd: first Collonell Veres
from Dort, next Sir Charles Morgans, a stowt Company
and last my Cosens, the Count Ernests Company!"

There are some old prints, which are also of interest in connection with our play, as they may have been known in England. There exists an old print bearing the inscription: 'The corpse of Ledenberg secretary of Vtrecht'. It represents the place of execution, where the coffin with Ledenberg's corpse is hanging on the gallows.

There is another old print which bears relation to the same subject; the scene represents a gallows on which the coffin of Ledenberg hangs; in the distance the dunes; the inscription is 'The corpse of Gillis van Ledenberg.'

An old print called: "D'Arminiaensche uytvaert"¹ gives a picture of the Hague; by the side of the town stand three gibbets, on one of which hangs Ledenberg's coffin.

A very interesting old print to which Vondel has written some verse lines, commemorates the victory of the Contra-Remonstrants.

In a hall hangs an enormous pair of scales; in the right scale, which is higher than the other, the gown of the Advocate and the cushion of council lie; by the side of this Barneveld and two others stand, probably Grotius and Hogerbeets. Through the open window the square in Utrecht is seen, with the picture of the Prince disbanding the

¹ The Arminian obsequies.

mercenaries. Maurice comes, and puts his sword in the left scale, so that it goes down. Brandt thinks that the print and Vondel's lines date from the time of Barneveld's imprisonment; if it had been drawn after Barneveld's execution, we might have expected a picture of Barneveld's execution in the background, instead of the disarming of the soldiers.

The dramatists may also have had information from the English soldiers who had been to Holland, which is confirmed by the use of corrupted forms of Dutch words and expressions, as 'shellain', for 'schelm', 'keramis-time' for 'kermis', 'the Bree' for 'de brui'. English companies of actors travelled much on the Continent passing through Holland on their way to Germany, and may have brought news and particulars concerning the Arminian controversies and the execution of the Dutch Statesman.

I hope I have succeeded in showing that the dramatists were decidedly under the influence of their sources, though there is some difference in the way they were affected by them. Massinger's scenes have been copied more literally from the sources than Fletcher's, for example Barnavelt's speeches before the Tribunal¹, Orange's accusations in his answer to him,² the Ambassadors' speeches and the Prince's answer.³ The only passage taken verbally from the source by Fletcher, is Barnavelt's soliloquy in his study.⁴ All the other scenes by Fletcher as Barnavelt's conversation with Bredero and Vandort,⁵ with his son,⁶ and his speech in the execution scene⁷ are original. I shall speak of Barnavelt's character later, but want to make one remark here. When we read the sources, and compare the picture drawn of Barnavelt in them with that in the play, taking into consideration the scant material at the dramatists' disposal, we must acknowledge that they succeeded remarkably well in doing justice to the figure of the great statesman, even though it may rank far below the representation modern history has been able to put before our eyes. If Barnavelt's figure in the play is not true to history, the sources are to blame for it; we must remember that the pamphlets were written in a time of confusion, intense hatred and blind-eyed prejudice.

¹ 2223 ff, 2259 ff.

² 2318 ff.

³ 2587 ff.

⁴ 1884 ff.

⁵ 1064 ff.

⁶ 1170 ff.

⁷ 2894 ff.

E. AUTHORSHIP AND DISTRIBUTION OF SCENES

I now proceed to the difficult and interesting problem of the authorship of the play, which has been much discussed by several scholars.

A simple reading of the text shows unmistakably the hands of two different authors in the changes of style and dramatic treatment. Most critics are agreed in assigning the play to Massinger and Fletcher. Bullen writes in the Introduction to his edition of the play "On a first rapid inspection I assumed with most uncritical recklessness that Chapman was the author, but when I came to transcribe the piece I soon became convinced that it was the production of Fletcher. But in other passages we find a second hand at work. I think we may speak with tolerable certainty if we credit Massinger with these scenes." Boyle expresses his opinion with greater conviction. He published the results of his investigation based on metrical tests, and especially parallel passages in the case of Massinger, and concluded that "the play indubitably belongs to the Massinger and Fletcher series."¹ Fleay had arrived at the conclusion of assigning the play to Massinger, Fletcher and Field, but afterwards dropped Field. The poet Swinburne, who has written a warm and appreciative criticism of the play, admits that he had first thought of Chapman, but now accepts Bullen's statement, and declares himself quite convinced that the play is by Massinger and Fletcher.² Mr. Oliphant also concurs with this view, but professor Cruickshank detects a third hand in some scenes.³

We have heard of the collaboration of Massinger and Fletcher before 1619. In fact, the first mention of Massinger as a dramatist was, as a collaborator with Fletcher and others in a letter to Henslowe asking for the loan of £ 5. The letter runs as follows

"To our most loving friend Mr. Phillip Hinchlow, Esquire, these : —
"Mr. Hinchlow, — You understand our unfortunate extremitie and I doe not think

¹ Bullen's *Collection of Old English Plays II*, Appendix II. See also *Englische Studien X* and the Introduction to Gelbcke's translation of the play in: *Die Englische Bühne zu Shakespeare's Zeit*.

² *The Fortnightly Review*, July 1889, Vol. XLVI *Philip Massinger*.

³ *Philip Massinger*, Appendix III.

you so void of christianitie, but that you would throw so much money into the Thames as wee request now of you, rather than endanger so many innocent lives. You know there is ten pound more at least to be receaved of you for the play. We desire you to lend us five pound of that, which shall be allowed to you, without which we cannot be bayled, nor I play any more till this be dispatch'd. It will loose you twenty pound ere the end of the next weeke, beside the hinderance of the next new play. Pray, sir, consider our cases with humanity, and now give us cause to acknowledge you our true friend in time of neede. Wee have entreated Mr. Davison to deliver this note as well to witness your love as our promises, and always acknowledgment to be ever

your most thanckfull; and loving friends,

NAT. FIELD''.

“The money shall be abated out of the mony remayns for the play of Mr. Fletcher and ours.

ROB. DABORNE.”

“I have ever founde you a true lovinge friende to mee, and in soe small a suite, it beeing honest, I hope you will not faile us.

PHILIP MASSINGER.”¹

The letter is undated, but is with tolerable certainty assigned to the year 1613 or 1614; we know that Henslowe died in January 1615/16.

It is assumed by Fleay and Bullen that this letters refers to *the Honest Man's Fortune*, but Boyle thinks it may just as well refer to *The Bloody Brother* or *Thierry and Theodoret*, or to a play now lost, which is also Mr. Oliphant's opinion.²

It is proved by internal evidence that Fletcher and Massinger collaborated in many plays written for the King's Men after Henslowe's death, except for two years, when Massinger wrote for the Queen's Men playing at the Cockpit, also called the Phoenix, from 1623 till Fletcher's death in 1625.

The plays were printed in the Folio edition of 1647 containing *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* edited by Humphrey Moseley and Humphrey Robinson with a preface by the dramatist Shirley. About ten years after in 1658 Sir Aston Cokaine, Massinger's patron and friend, wrote to his cousin Mr. Charles Cotton that Massinger had collaborated in many plays of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio. He addressed a remonstrance to the publishers in a sonnet in his *Small Poems of Divers Sorts*:

¹ Malone-Archives of Dulwich College and printed by Gifford in the introduction to Massinger's Works.

² *Englische Studien* XIV.

"In the large book of plays you late did print
 In Beaumont and in Fletcher's name, why in 't
 Did you not justice, give to each his due?
 For Beaumont of those many writ but few:
 And Massinger in other few; the main
 Being sweet issues of sweet Fletcher's brain.
 But how came I, you ask, so much to know?
 Fletcher's chief bosom friend informed me so."

There has been some difference among critics who this bosom friend was, but it is pretty sure that he meant his cousin the elder Cotton.

Sir Aston Cokaine also wrote an epitaph on Fletcher and Massinger making the same statement :

"In the same grave Fletcher was buried here
 Lies the Stage Poet Philip Massinger;
 Plays they did write together, were great friends
 And now one grave includes them in their ends:
 So whom on earth nothing did part beneath
 Here, in their fames, they lie in spight of death".

At that time no attention was paid to these assertions, but of late years, many scholars have occupied themselves with investigations on the respective shares of Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger in these plays, and Massinger has at last come to his own again.

The result of these researches is that Massinger, whose collection of works consists of fourteen plays, had collaborated with others, according to Schelling¹, in fifty-four plays, namely with Field, Tourneur, Fletcher, Daborne and Dekker, and revised a play by Middleton and Rowley. This may sound surprising, but to explain this way of composing plays I will say a few words on Elizabethan collaboration.

On the whole playwrights were not very well off at that time; with a few exceptions, as Shakespeare and Beaumont, they had to write uninterruptedly for their living. When they were yet unknown, they usually began their career by revising or adapting plays, and often entered the service of Henslowe or other stage managers, who had many authors in their pay to furnish contributions for their companies. When the authors were in pecuniary difficulties the manager often advanced a sum of money on a play which was not yet finished, and it frequently happened that playwrights were continually in their manager's debt.

¹ *The Elizabethan Drama.*

It is melancholy to think how playwrights like Chettle and Daborne worked in unbroken slavery for Henslowe. One of the causes was the bad salary paid for a play; the price seems to have fluctuated between 10 and 20 £, sometimes only £6. Daborne desires in 1613 £ 12 for the *She Saint* and £ 12 for *the Bellman of London* and the overplus of the performance for two days. We see that Daborne and Massinger had been in money difficulties, from a bond to Henslowe for £ 3, dated July 4th 1615 running as follows :¹

“The condition of this obligation is such, that if the above bounden Robert Daborne and Philip Massinger or either of them, should pay or cause to be paid unto the above-named Philip Henslowe, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the full and entire sum of three pounds of lawful money of England, at or upon the first day of August next ensuing the date of these presents, at the now dwelling-house of the said Philip Henslowe, situate on the Bankside, without fraud or farther delay, then and from thenceforth this present obligation to be null and void and of no effect, or else to remain and abide in full power, strength and virtue.

ROB. DABORNE.

PHILIP MASSINGER.”

Plays were constantly revised under new names, even Shakespeare began his career working in such revisions. We read in Henslowe's Diary for the 22nd of November 1602 “Lent unto the companye to pay unto Wm. Birde and Samuel Rowley, for ther adicyones in Docter Fostes the some of iiijll. Middleton received five shillings for preparing Green's *Friar Bacon* for presentation at Court adding a prologue and epilogue.

Collaboration was often the result of stage-rivalry; when one company had a play that drew a large audience, the other company ordered some dramatists to write a play to rival it in the shortest possible time. It was on the whole the result of the constant demand for theatrical novelty. The exacting manager sometimes wanted to ensure a quick dramatization of some temporary topic and set two or three, even four or five authors at work, as is seen in the above mentioned letter to Henslowe.

We can safely say that the system of collaboration was quite usual among the Elizabethan dramatists; all engaged in it, even Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, whom we might certainly expect to work alone. The drawback of this system was that the managers, who sought more their own profit than to serve artistic ends, appreciated it only, if their

¹ Found among the archives of Dulwich College. W. W. Greg, *Henslowe Papers*.

employees pleased the audience. The dramatists were often obliged to work with great haste, and the lack of unity in many plays of the time was often due to this collaboration. The characterization was not always consistent, as in the case of the play of *Barnavelt*, a fault which is to be attributed to the joint authorship.

Professor Cruickshank¹ tells us : opinions of critics differ as regards collaboration. Euripides says in *Andromache*, lines 476-477 :

“τόνων θ' ὕμνου συνεργάταιν δυοῖν
ἔριν Μοῦσαι φιλοῦσι κραίνειν.”

Diderot, on the other hand, writes in a passage quoted by Twining, in his edition of *Aristotle's Poetics* : “On serait tenté de croire qu'un drame devrait être l'ouvrage de deux hommes de génie, l'un qui arrangeât et l'autre qui fit parler.”²

I think this kind of collaboration is meant by Professor Brander Matthews when he remarks : “If the collaboration has been a true collaboration, if the two partners have combined to invent, to elaborate, to construct a plot, and to fit it with characters proper to its complete conduct, then there has been a chemical union of their several qualities, and not a merely mechanical mixture, thereafter separable into its constituent elements. Every scene and every act of Froufrou, for example, is the joint work of Meilhac and Halévy. When there is a true collaboration of this sort, it is really of no great importance which of the two held the pen in the writing of any given scene.”

I am afraid that Fletcher and Massinger's collaboration was not such an ideal one. As I have noted above, the dramatists often resorted to collaboration to fulfil the demand for a quick dramatization of a temporary event, as in the case of our play, which shows signs of hasty workmanship in the inconsistency of characterization and also in some contradictions. Compare for example Barnavelt's words :

“The valiant Soldier
shall weep for me, because I fed, and nursd him”⁴

with his remark in the scene where he cashiers the company :

¹ *Philip Massinger*.

² *De la Poésie Dramatique*.

³ A critical essay on Philip Massinger in C. M. Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*.

⁴ lines 1176-78.

"your Companie is cast: you had best complaine
to your great General,"¹

Yet Massinger and Fletcher worked in continual collaboration drawn together by personal friendship. This kind of collaboration contrasts favourably with the practice of the fertile and ingenious Spanish playwrights contemporary with these English dramatists, who, as Professor Brander Matthews tells us, wrote each two of the five acts of a play, dividing the third act between them.²

Much has been written on the probable method of collaboration; there is often much agreement among the critics, but the differences are also significant. Professor E. N. S. Thompson offers among others two theories with relation to the authorship of the Fletcher-Massinger plays to which I cannot subscribe. He states "Massinger customarily takes the first and last acts, and Fletcher the major part of the three intervening acts," and again "In the continuous co-operation of Fletcher with Massinger a fixed method of collaboration, based on structural division (*i.e.*, one by acts and scenes) rather than on a division of subject matter, was held to pretty consistently."³

I quite agree that in many of the joint plays by Fletcher and Massinger the first act must be assigned to Massinger, as in *The False One*, *The Spanish Curate* and *The Double Marriage*. This is probably the outcome of a difference in dramatic genius. Massinger's mastery of construction is evident in the excellent expositions of his plays, whereas Fletcher may have been conscious of his lack of constructive power, and have left the first act to Massinger. But there are many plays in which the first act is attributed to Fletcher, namely: *The Prophetess*, *The Captain*, *The Custom of the Country* and *The Sea-voyage*. Critical assignment does not bear out the theory that Massinger wrote the last act of the plays, as in a good many plays Fletcher wrote the last act or scene. In *The Tragedy of Barnavelti* Fletcher has brought the action to a close; the first scene of the fifth act is divided between the two authors and the two last scenes are by Fletcher.

Miss Hatcher also expresses her doubts about the correctness of Professor Thompson's theory. She remarks "It is hard to believe that in the collaboration with Massinger the dramatist of larger genius, larger fame and higher social distinction would have accepted any habit of

¹ lines 179, 80.

² *op. cit.*

³ *Englische Studien* XL.

collaboration which thrust him in so unflattering and subordinate a background." Miss Hatcher thinks that the paramount difficulty in accepting the second theory lies in the necessity for believing that men of the fine calibre of Beaumont, Fletcher and even Massinger, would have adopted with any of the permanence of habit so mechanical a division of parts, as that which deals out acts and scenes, regardless of subject matter or relation of parts. At the beginning of such partnerships, this experimental division of labour might have been adopted temporarily, but it seems inconceivable that the dramatists should not have left behind them so dull and wooden a device. The division by subject matter has every advantage over the other more mechanical method.¹ I quite agree with this remark, and I think the method of collaboration to be too much a thing of conjecture so far, to assume any fixed method with safety. I think that the dramatists adopted a division of subject matter which assigned to each of them such parts as best suited their temperament and genius. When discussing the distribution of the different scenes between the two authors of our play, I shall illustrate this by examples. Massinger generally lays down the lines of the plot and the essential features, Fletcher may often bring it to completion, but both share in developing the story. Massinger seems to have been conscious of his want of humour, and leaves the comical parts to Fletcher, who certainly had a real vein of humour. I do not quite agree with Mr. L. Wann's remark "to Fletcher fell the production of the comic action; Beaumont and Massinger confined themselves to the serious action."² In many plays Fletcher also occupied himself with the serious action; in the play of *Barnavel* the pathetic scene of Leidenberch's suicide is Fletcher's share. In opposition to Diderot's recommendation of collaboration I consider the plays which Massinger wrote alone after Fletcher's death, of a higher literary value than those written in collaboration with Fletcher, which lack the self-concentration necessary for creating a higher work of art.

There are several ways of determining the authorship of a play; in the first place the authorship can be based on considerations of an aesthetic nature, namely the impression we gain from the evidence of construction, characterization, dramatic fitness, style and expressions. Another way of establishing the authorship is by the application of metrical tests. The

¹ *Anglia* 33, 1910.

² The Collaboration of Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger. *Shakespeare Studies*, University of Wisconsin.

scholars Boyle and Fleay have published many interesting papers on the results obtained by this method of criticism of the non-aesthetic kind.

When the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio appeared in 1647, nobody cared to make an investigation into the authorship of the different parts of the plays. It is interesting to read Langbaine's remark in regard to this question :

„I wish I were able to give the reader a more perfect account of what plays Fletcher writ in alone, in what plays he was assisted by the judicious Beaumont, and which were the plays in which old Phil Massinger had a hand, but Mr. Charles Cotton being dead, I know none but Sir Aston Cockain (if he be yet alive) that can satisfy the world in this particular.”¹

In the edition of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher of 1812 by Weber the editor states his opinion on Massinger's collaboration in many of the plays. The assignment of the plays to the different authors was based so far on chronological and external evidence and on literary proofs. Darley, in his edition of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays of 1839, departed from the usual criticism by following a new method. Miss Hatcher remarks that Darley was the first to draw attention to the metrical qualities of the plays; he further attempted to distinguish Massinger's versification, and may in this way, have struck out the path for the later critics who applied metrical tests.²

The first attempt to assign the shares to the authors of a play by establishing a characteristic method of versification for each author, was made by Fleay in 1874. His investigations were based on metrical tests, in particular on the double ending test, rhyme- and prose tests. In the discussion of Fleay's paper read before the New Shakespeare Society 1874 Mr. Spedding remarked that metrical tests must be controlled and checked by higher criticism. Some critics think that Fleay goes too far in his claims for his tests; verse tests have in fact been unduly overpraised, but on the other hand also undervalued. Prof. Elze granted the value of metrical tests as a "gleichberechtigtes Kriterium" by the side of the others. R. Boyle writes "One great condition of applying the metrical tests with success is to saturate the ear with the verse of the author to be investigated. There are infinite little peculiarities which cannot be tabulated, but which contribute still more strongly to form the opinions, than those coarser traits capable of being put into a table." He published his investigations on the plays of Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger in *Eng-*

¹ *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets.*

² *John Fletcher. A Study in dramatic Method.*

lische Studien, printing tabular schemes of several plays ; he thinks Fleay's tests inadequate and adds the tests of double-endings, run-on lines, and light and weak endings, giving the percentages of each group. In Massinger's case this metrical evidence is corroborated by the presence of characteristic repetitions of phrase and sentiment, and he has drawn up a list of parallel passages occurring in this author's plays.¹ Mr. Oliphant continued the investigations based on verse tests, but also added tests of an aesthetic kind based on literary criticism.²

Before attempting to ascertain the authorship of various parts of a work, one has to learn the methods and peculiarities of style and metre of the authors in question from their undoubted plays. I shall point out the characteristics in which Fletcher's metre is distinguished from Massinger's, the authors in question here. The plays which are unanimously assigned by critics to Fletcher, and to Massinger alone, have been taken as a basis for the investigation of the author's metre. Fletcher's verse is chiefly characterized by the combination of the double ending with the end-stopt line ; this peculiarity is found in no other Elizabethan author. He often begins his line with a trochee going on afterwards with the iamb ; there is in his verse an abundance of trisyllabic feet, in his comedies there are sometimes fifteen syllables in a line. A characteristic feature of Fletcher's verse is the pause after an unaccented syllable ; it occurs after the third, fifth and seventh syllables, cf. line 451 :

"your thancks and duties, not your threats, and angers."

He often supplants one long syllable by three or four short ones pronounced rapidly. Dr. Abbott remarks³ The first word of Fletcher's verse is often a monosyllable, generally unemphatic, so that it may be easily taken away, and the result is a verse that does not read like a dramatic verse, but like a trochaic verse. Shakespeare uses this peculiar Fletcherian trochaic line often to express indignation. Cf. *Hamlet I*, 5, 106

"O villain, villain, smiling damned villain"

An example in our play is :

"o you delt coldly, Sir, and too, too poorely,"⁴

He carries the use of double endings to an excessive extent ; in some works,

¹ *Englische Studien*, V, VII, VIII, IX, X 1881—87.

² *Englische Studien*, XIV, XV, XVI 1890—92.

³ *New Shakespeare Society Transactions* 1874.

⁴ line 1458.

especially in his later plays, they amount even to 76 per cent as for example in *A Very Woman*. In *The Tragedy of Barnavel* the percentage of double endings in Fletcher's scene in the first act¹ amounts to 74; in Massinger's first scene the number is 43,2 per cent. A very characteristic feature of Fletcher's verse is the accented female ending, that is the emphasizing of the extra or eleventh syllable; it is often done on purpose, as words quite unnecessary in the sentence like "still", "too", "sir", "now", are dragged in.

Massinger makes a larger use of run-on lines, has fewer double endings, and often light and weak endings, that is he ends his line with words that cannot be grammatically separated from the next line. His free distribution of pauses in the verse is in striking contrast with Fletcher's method. Mr. Oliphant has drawn attention to the middle-ending speech test; Massinger's percentage of speeches that end where the verse ends is sometimes as low as 15 per cent, whereas Fletcher's pauses at the end of the line amount to 85 or even 90 per cent. Mr. Oliphant remarks "Fletcher remained bound by, even strengthened the bonds of the curse of final pauses".² In the first scene of the first act of *The Tragedy of Barnavel* Massinger's end-stopt lines are 33 per cent, whereas in Fletcher's scene the percentage is 81.7 per cent.³

Boyle gives the use of double endings, run-on lines and light and weak endings by Fletcher and Massinger in tables and comes to the following percentages:

	double endings	run-on lines	light, weak endings
Massinger:	41 to 46 %	32 to 39 %	1.7 to 4.25
Fletcher:	50 %	15 to 20 %	very few ⁴

Fletcher's style is easily distinguished from that of his co-adjutors, it has a soft melodious flow, but is lax, effusive and exuberant; his speeches are often too fluent and facile to be forcible; the principles on which his verse is built present no variety, the result is that it becomes monotonous. The end-stopt lines give the verse clearness, but also discontinuity of thought, his object was to achieve an effect of ease.

Massinger's verse is more like Shakespeare's, it is musical, flowing, and dignified; there is a great evenness of verse, and no changes from iamb to trochee; there are few inharmonious lines. His weak endings make the

¹ Scene 3.

² *Englische Studien* XIV. The works of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger.

³ I., 3.

⁴ *Englische Studien* V.

lines run on, and render his verse almost indistinguishable from prose.

Leslie Stephen remarks: "Fletcher's metre is too prominent, it is a sing-song that tires by its monotony"; and regarding Massinger's metre: "the contrast is just enough to give a stately step to florid prose."¹

Fleay gives some examples of Fletcher's and Massinger's metre, which I copy here to illustrate what I have said above ²:

Fletcher *Bonduca* v 2.

"What should I do there then? You are brave captains
Most valiant men: go up yourselves: use virtue:
See what will come on 't: pray the gentleman
To come down and be taken? Ye all know him:
I think, ye've felt him too: there ye shall find him,
His sword by his side: plumes of a pound weight by him
Will make your chops ache: you'll find it a more labour
To win him living than climbing of a crow's nest."

Massinger *Bondman* I 3.

"To all posterity may that act be crowned
With a deserved applause, or branded with
The mark of infamy! stay yet ere I take
This seat of justice or engage myself
To fight for you abroad or to reform
Your state at home, swear all upon my sword
And call the gods of Sicily to witness
The oath you take, that whatsoever I shall
Propound for safety of your commonwealth,
Not circumscribed or bound in, shall by you
Be willingly obeyed!"

I now add two passages from the play of *Barnavelte* by Fletcher and Massinger respectively, which show the same characteristics.

Fletcher, lines 993 ff:

"he has run through a busines, will much add to him,
and sett his vertues of with greater lustre:
But that a man so wise as Mounseieur *Barnauelt*,
so trusted, so rewarded for his Service,
and one that built the ladder to his honour
of open, honest actions, strong, and straight still,
should now be doubted.
I know not nor I wish it not,
But if he haue a fowle hart, 't has byn hid long,
And cunningly that poison has byn carried."

¹ *Hours in a Library*.

² *New Shakespeare Society Transactions* 1874.

Note also the alliteration of which Fletcher made a much greater use than Massinger.

Massinger, lines 2419 ff.

“give me leave,
onely to smile: then say all theis are falce,
your wittnesses subornd, your testimonies
and wrytings forgd: and this elaborate forme
of Iustice to delude the world a cover
for future practises: this I affirme
vpon my soule: Now, when you please Condepne me,
I will not vse one sillable for your mercy,
to haue mine age renewd, and once againe
to see a second triumph of my glories:
you rise: and I grow tedious: let me take
my farwell of you yet: and at the place
where I haue oft byn heard; and as my life
was ever fertile of good counsell for you,
it shall not be in the last moment barren.”

In Fletcher's and Massinger's plays the authors seldom resort to rhyme, and only in few cases prose is used; in our play they have employed rhyme very sparingly; there occurs now and then a couplet at the end of a scene or a speech. Prose is used only in the accusations read by the officer in the trial scene. Bullen prints the first part of the second scene in the last act as prose, but I consider this incorrect; it is quite possible to scan the lines as blank verse making allowance for the license which Fletcher frequently indulged in, as for instance, in his treatment of trisyllabic feet, and in the way he slurs unaccented syllables. There is a difference between the authors in their way of using short lines. Fletcher does not scruple to use short lines, and a good many occur in our play. Massinger seldom resorts to the use of hemistichs; when cut up between two or even three speakers the lines are still regular cf. lines 67-69:

“*Modesbargen* againe have made you,
Barnavelt this to me?
Modesbargen to you Sir.”

or lines 159-61:

“1. *Captain* we must stand to it
Barnavelt you, Sir, you
2. *Captain* my lord.”

A sure way of tracing Massinger's hand, is the investigation of

parallel passages in his plays. In the *Quarterly Review*¹ in a criticism on Dyce's and Darley's Editions of Beaumont and Fletcher's works we read "Poets, especially those who write a great deal, and are not of the highest genius and first-rate power, are apt to repeat themselves in a certain way, that is they fall into the same general strain of thought as on former occasions. But we seldom find that poets repeat their own marked phrases." Massinger is really remarkable for his way of repeating himself and others, especially Shakespeare. R. Boyle thinks this was due to his profession of an actor, and that he borrowed unconsciously from others in whose plays he had acted. I do not consider it an ascertained fact that Massinger was an actor; we find nowhere any certain proof for this assertion. There is only one allusion to it in a poem found in manuscript in Trinity College by A. B. Grosart. The poem is a verse-letter addressed to a new-sought patron, William Herbert 3rd Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, frequently mentioned in biographies of Shakespeare. I copy the lines in question :

.....

 "lett them write well that doo this, and in grace
 I would not for a pension or a place
 Part soe with mine owne candor: lett me rather
 Live poorely on those toys I would not father
 Not knowne beyond a player or a man
 That does pursue the course that I have ran
 Ere soe grow famous."²

Sir A. Ward writes "Massinger's habit of self-repetition in phraseology may be due to the rhetorical bent of his genius; it accords with other signs of studious self-training."³

Professor Koeppel remarks "It is a great pity that the straitened circumstances of Massinger's life obliged him to work rapidly; his colourless phrases remind us of the haste of the dramatist, sacrificing one of the greatest charms of any poem, its freshness of expression, to the wish to have done with his work⁴." I think Massinger's self-repetition to be also due to haste. Expressions like: 'this I foresaw', 'be ne'er

¹ LXXXIII, Sept. 1848.
² *Englische Studien* XXVI, Literary finds in Trinity College, Dublin and elsewhere'
³ *A History of English Dramatic Literature.*
⁴ *Cambridge History of English Literature.*

remembered', 'at all parts', 'The freedom I was born to', abound in many of his plays.

Some repetitions, which occur in many plays, are :

- line 7 : "I speake the peoples Language"
cf. *The Sea Voyage* : "You speak the language
Which I should use to you."¹
- line 42 : "When I should passe with glory to my rest"
cf. : *The Virgin Martyr* : "And now in the evining
When thou shouldst pass with honour to thy rest."²
- lines 130-32 : "And you shall find that the desire of glory
Was the last frailety wisemen ere putt of."
cf. *A Very Woman* : "Though the desire of fame be the last weakness
Wise men put off."³
- line 134 : "Like *Barnauelt* and in that all is spoken."
cf. *Custom of the Country* : "In that alone all miseries are spoken."⁴

A striking metaphor, taken from animal life, which Massinger repeats in *The Parliament of Love* is :

- lines 655, 56 : "when the hot Lyons breath
burnes vp the feilds :"

Compare *The Parliament of Love* :

"When the hot lion's breath singeth the fields."⁵

Another characteristic feature of Massinger is his habit of showing his characters in uncertainty before taking a resolution, passages like : 'I am much troubled', 'I will do something but what I am not yet determined' occur in many of his plays. In our play we find :

lines 1396, 97 :

"I haue lost myself
But something I shall doe."

and lines 746, 47 :

"and something there ile doe, that shall divert
the torrent."

In Fletcher's share in *Barnauelt*, there is a reminiscence of his part in *Henry VIII*, compare lines 1575, 76

¹ II, 1, 2.

² V., 2., 318.

³ V, 4, 10.

⁴ II, 3.

⁵ I, 4.

“farwell: my last farwell.
a long farwell, Sir.”

and *Henry VIII*:

“So farwell to the little good you bear me!
Farewell! a long farwell! to all my greatness!”¹

The same phrase occurs also in Fletcher’s part in the *Little French Lawyer*

“Farewell wench,
a long farwell from all that ever knew thee.”²

Cupid’s Revenge: (Fletcher’s part)

“Farewell!”
To all our happines a long farwell.”³

Bonduca:

“That steels me
a long farwell to this world.”⁴

Another characteristic feature of Massinger’s style is his fondness of the absolute construction and his use of parentheses, the two often used in combination. His way of putting in parentheses is detrimental to the unity of his verse and wearisome to the reader. Swinburne remarks: „Massinger’s curious and vexatious addiction to the use of the ablative absolute, a Latinizing habit peculiar to him, and suggestive of a recurrent stutter or twitch or accent — is no less obvious than objectionable.”⁵ He quotes the passage

„who, when there was Combustion in the State,
your Excellence, *Graue William*, and *Count Henrie*,
taking Instructions for your Comaunds
from one that then ruuld all: the *Prouinces*
refusing to bring in their Contributions
and arguing whether the West Frizelander
and Hollander had powre to raise such Tribut,⁶

and remarks: “this unhappy relative (who) has no verb to support it, and is left hanging over a howling wilderness of ablatives absolute and parenthetical propositions!”⁷

¹ III, 2, 350.

² III, 1, 105.

³ IV, 3, 4.

⁴ IV, 4.

⁵ *Contemporaries of Shakespeare*. Philip Massinger.

⁶ lines 2221 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*

This is a sign comparative immaturity in the art of composition. Barnavelt's speech was probably one of Massinger's earliest attempts at displaying his rhetorical talents. Other examples of the absolute construction are:

"th' Appologie he wroat, so poorely raild at,"¹

and,

"then the Prouinces
haue lost their liberties, Iustice hir Sword,"²

Fletcher's style shows a peculiarity of repeating words several times in order to produce an effect of pathos, often by accumulating his epithets, as for instance in *The Maid's Tragedy*:

"I do appear the same, the same Evadne,
Drest in the shames I lived in, the same monster!"³

Mr. Oliphant gives an example from "*Women Pleased*:"

"But through the world, the wide world, thus to wander,
The wretched world alone, no comfort with me."

He criticizes Fletcher's senseless repetitions as "intentional and irritating; they show a grotesque attempt to be pathetic."⁴ In Barnavelt there are some of these repetitions, which are an evidence of dramatic incapacity; in greater poets the effect is reached by a single happy touch, cf. lines 2982-84,

the Sun he shot at, is now setting,
setting this night, that he may rise to-morrow,
for ever setting."

and lines 1541-43,

Leidenberch "dye, did you say? dye willfully?
Barnavelt dye any way
dye in a dreame;"

Sir A. Ward remarks in regard to the authorship of Fletcher's and Massinger's plays "The metrical peculiarities of Fletcher and Massinger respectively are only relatively characteristic, and very far from infallible marks. The mental and moral qualities of Massinger's work are less easily mistaken."⁵

¹ line 1589.

² line 1258.

³ IV, 1, 231.

⁴ *Englische Studien* XIV.

⁵ *History of English Dramatic Literature* II.

We shall see that by the side of the evidence of style and diction the authorship can be distinguished by further considerations of an aesthetic nature. Massinger constructed his plays well, the opening is usually clear and effective, and built on broad lines. This is also the case in the play of *Barnavelt*; in the first scene of the first act the chief characters are introduced and the object of the plot is revealed; we hear of Orange's growing popularity and the rivalry between the Prince and Barnavelt; we are made acquainted with the latter's ambitious designs so that our interest is awakened. Fletcher's plays suffer from looseness of construction, he delights in sudden and unexpected turns of the action. In the construction of Barnavelt's tragedy two hands are visible, there are short and lively scenes which do not tend to develop the action or lead up to the catastrophe. I refer to the short animated scenes 2-6 in the second act, which are evidently by Fletcher, and the humorous scene in the fifth act, which is undoubtedly the latter poet's share. It is also discernible in the characterization that two authors were at work drawing Barnavelt's character. Massinger modelled his characters carefully; his great characters Paris, Charalois, Antiochus are consistent, though he lacks the power to paint growth of character. Fletcher's heroes, on the other hand, are marked by a superficiality of character. Fletcher was careless and inconsistent in painting his characters, they are not living beings and deficient in depth. He did not only fail to develop consistently the characters, conceived by his coadjutor, but it even happened that he spoiled the conception of other authors. Boyle has remarked that in *the Honest Man's Fortune* he made a despicable figure of Montague, who was painted by Tourneur and Massinger as a gentleman. Barnavelt suffers the same fate; the conception of the character laid down by Massinger in the first act is not sustained. Fletcher seems not to be able to portray true loftiness of character. The fearless, undaunted Advocate depicted in the first scene of the play and also in the fifth scene of the fourth act, which is Massinger's conception, is represented by Fletcher in the third scene of the fourth act sitting in his study, miserable and down-hearted. Boyle considers this inconsistency to be a certain proof of the joint authorship of the play. He compares Shakespeare's way of painting his characters in adversity, which is quite "distinct from the Fletcherian shrivelling up of everything manly in Buckingham's and Wolsey's nature in the presence of death."¹

¹ *New Shakespeare Society Transactions* 1885.

Political View.

There is a great difference between the two authors in their political view, which can also be traced in our play. Fletcher was in favour at court. "It appears", says Malone, "from Sir Henry Herbert's manuscript that the new plays which Fletcher had brought out in the course of the year were generally presented at court at Christmas." S.T. Coleridge describes Beaumont and Fletcher as high flying, obedient Tories and Massinger as a decided Whig."¹ This is not quite right. Massinger was a lover of liberty, but he belonged to the party of conservative opposition like his patron Philip, the fourth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. In many of his plays we find speeches in which he utters his honest indignation at oppression. We need only read Marullo's speech in *The Bondman* :

„Happy those times
When lords were stiled fathers of families
And not imperious masters! when they number'd
Their servants almost equal with their sons,
Or one degree beneath them! when their labours
Were cherish'd and rewarded and a period
Set to their sufferings; when they did not press
Their duties or their wills, beyond the power
And strength of their performance! all things order'd
With such decorum, as wise lawmakers,
From each well-governed private house deriv'd
The perfect model of a Commonwealth
Humanity then lodged in the hearts of men,
And thankful masters carefully provided
For creatures wanting reason. The noble horse
That in his fiery youth, from his wide nostrils
Neigh'd courage to his rider, and brake through
Groves of opposed pikes, bearing his lord
Safe to triumphant victory, old and wounded,
Was set at liberty and freed from service.
The Athenian mules, that from the quarry drew
Marble, hew'd for the temples of the gods,
The great work ended, were dismissed, and fed
At public cost, nay faithful dogs have found
Their sepulchres; but man to man more cruel,
Appoints no end to the suffering of his slave.”²

His plays were also acted at Court, but all through his life he was known

¹ *Literary Remains* II.

² IV, 1, 136.

for the outspokenness of his political opinions, and freedom of speech. Examples are :¹

The Emperor of the East :

„How I abuse
This precious time ! Projector I treat first
Of you and your disciples ; you roar out,
All is the king's, his will above his laws ;
And that fit tributes are too gentle yokes
For his poor subjects ; whispering in his ear,
If he would have their fear, no man should dare
To bring a salad from his country garden,
Without the paying gabel.”²

The Maid of Honour :

“With your leave, I must not kneel, sir,
While I reply to this : but thus rise up
In my defence, and tell you, as a man,
(Since, when you are unjust, the deity,
Which you may challenge as a king, parts from you)
't Was never read in holy writ, or moral,
That subjects on their loyalty were obliged
To love their sovereign's vices ; your grace, Sir,
To such an undeserver is no virtue.”³

Compare also :

Maid of Honour III., 3., 135 and *The Great Duke of Florence I*, 1., 73.

In the same way Barnavelt encounters his accusers in Massinger's scenes with undaunted courage ; he denies the charges, brought against him⁴ and he boldly utters his defiance of the Prince whom he considers his equal, as it was he “who set him in the first place.”⁵ We get quite a different impression from some scenes in which Barnavelt's views are painted by Fletcher. In the last scene of the play Barnavelt is described dying with a prayer for the Prince :

“May he protect with honour, fight with fortune,
and dye with generall love, an old and good Prince.”⁶

Fletcher, who loves describing such scenes of sentimental pathos, shows that this humble servility is his conception of loyalty, as is also evident in

¹ Quoted by Professor Cruickshank *Philip Massinger*.

² I, 2, 236.

³ IV, 5, 52.

⁴ IV, 5.

⁵ I, 1.

⁶ lines 2986—87.

Valentinian. S. T. Coleridge greatly objects to the third scene of the first act of *Valentinian* and remarks: "it is a real trial of charity to read this scene with tolerable temper towards Fletcher. So very slavish, so reptile, are the feelings and sentiments represented as duties."¹ Hallam is of the same opinion when he writes: "If Fletcher meant, which he very probably did, to inculcate a moral, that the worst of tyrants are to be obeyed with unflinching submission, he may have gained applause at court, at the expense of his reputation with posterity."²

G. Macaulay³ contradicts Coleridge's remark, which he calls superficial; Beaumont and Fletcher gave expression to the feelings of the playgoers, who were anti-puritans. Besides, few sovereigns are represented in their plays as true, noble sovereigns, many of them were objects of contempt and hatred as in the case of *Valentinian*.

Massinger's rhetoric.

Massinger's hand is also recognisable in our play from the rhetorical nature of the language. Massinger's eloquence is a striking feature; we can say that his genius is more rhetorical than dramatic, and almost every play furnishes some evidence of his remarkable flow of genuine eloquence; instances are: Charalois' earnest pleading in *The Fatal Dowry*⁴ Lidia's suit to the Duke to forgive her lover in *The Great Duke of Florence*⁵; Luke's soliloquy on examining his newly acquired treasure.⁶

Massinger's works show even a tendency to a form of composition that contains pleading both for and against a given thesis; he often directs his story to trial scenes, where he finds an opportunity for his love of argument. He may have written these scenes under the influence of Euripides' plays; Professor Cruickshank remarks "in the same way he makes character argue against character, and loves displaying his rhetorical talents as a pleader in a trial at law, or a debate in the senate." He is a born pleader and never misses an opportunity of venting his rhetoric, with the result that he often indulges in long speeches to the detriment of the action; there is often too much arguing, or a rhetorical speech is superfluous from a dramatic point of view, as for instance, Paris' eloquent apology for the stage.⁷

¹ *Notes and Lectures*.

² *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*.

³ *Francis Beaumont*.

⁴ I, 2. and IV, 4.

⁵ IV, 2.

⁶ *City Madam* III, 3.

⁷ *The Roman Actor*. I, 3.

Massinger's rhetoric is certainly earnest and impressive, the genuine sentiment gives dignity to his speeches, as for example, the bold speech of Sforza before the Emperor¹, which is eloquent and full of power, Marullo's denunciation of slavery² and Malefort's pleading before the council of war.³ I suppose these splendid effusions of eloquence, of which there are so many in Massinger's works, elicited Swinburne's criticism "Massinger has no superior in purity and lucidity of dignified eloquence."⁴

In our play Massinger may have found his first occasion for the display of rhetoric. The features of *The Tragedy of Barnavelt* show a more oratorical style than the earlier plays of this period. The arguing between the Captain and Leidenberch is vigorous and effective⁵; in a smaller degree the debate in the States⁶, but above all Barnavelt's speech in the great trial scene⁷, which shows Massinger's mastery in debate.

In tragedy Massinger is eloquent, rather than pathetic; this proves that he was more a rhetorician than a poet; R. Boyle remarks "Massinger's love of rhetorical effects betrays his want of passion; his claims to honour are more intellectual than imaginative". Gifford is of the same opinion, when he writes "Massinger is as powerful a ruler of the understanding as Shakespeare is of the passion"⁸; Sir Leslie Stephen expresses the same view as follows "A single touch in Shakespeare often reveals more depth of feeling than a whole scene of Massinger's forensic eloquence; there is something hollow under all this stately rhetoric."⁹ Professor Morris remarks: "The more passionate Massinger's characters become, the longer and more declamatory their speeches; thought does not answer thought, and feeling flash out into lasting phrase, even as vitally as they do in real life. This makes these passionate speeches unnatural. Naturalness of expression, the inevitable word for the particular situation, is rare in Massinger."¹⁰

It is true that Massinger's rhetoric does not appeal to the heart; we

¹ *The Duke of Milan* III, 1.

² *The Bondman* IV, 2.

³ *Unnatural Combat* I, 1.

⁴ *Op. cit.*

⁵ lines 626 ff.

⁶ lines 1223 ff.

⁷ lines 2212 ff.

⁸ Introduction to the edition of Massinger's Works.

⁹ *Hours in a Library*.

¹⁰ *On the Date and Composition of The Old Law*, reprinted from *The Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XVII, no. 1.

find in his works more passages of splendid eloquence than impassioned poetry, and seldom if ever does he move his audience to tears. In the Tragedy of *Barnavel* the Advocate's speech fails to affect us very powerfully; this may also be due to the representation of the hero by what has preceded; his ambitious plotting does not seem to warrant this powerful appeal. Sir A. Ward, speaking about the tendency to rhetorical superficiality in the drama of the first half of the 17th century, accounts for it in the following words "The rapidity of production accounts for the rhetorical note which is characteristic of the tragic and comic drama; declamation for declamation's sake takes the place of attempts to stir profounder depths of emotion."¹

My opinion is that in Massinger's case the rhetoric is more the outcome of his rhetorical genius, and due to want of passion, than a tendency to rapidity and superficiality.

Fletcher's eloquence is different from Massinger's, which strikes us at once in reading *Barnavel*'s tragedy. The Advocate's eloquence in the scenes composed by Massinger, is calm and dignified rather than passionate, whereas the hero's speeches written by Fletcher display more poetic fire; they are in an impulsive and impetuous strain. *Barnavel*'s answer to Vandort's persuasion to submit to the Prince in the third act written by Fletcher is remarkable for the vehemence of effusion; especially the last part from:

"When I am a Sycophant
and a base gleaner from an others fauour"²

to the end.

Fletcher's Pathos.

As a poet Fletcher is superior to Massinger; his hand is discernible in many scenes which exhibit true poetic feeling. He possesses sweet delicacy of pathos and especially in isolated scenes, he succeeds to a high degree in exciting emotion.

Schlegel remarks "Beaumont and Fletcher succeeded better in those scenes and pathetic pictures which occupy a middle place between comedy and tragedy."³ Massinger's works, on the other hand, give on the whole an impression of hardness, there are few really poetic scenes of emotion. In our play the pathetic scene, by Fletcher, describing *Leidenberch* bidding

¹ *History of English Dramatic Literature.*

² lines 1095 ff.

³ *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur.*

farewell to life, and the conversation with his little son is painted with true poetic feeling and natural sweetness ; the picture of the boy reminds us of the fine creation of the affectionate Hengo in *Bonduca* and the splendid death scene in this play.

The beautiful image :

“thy teares are dew-drops : sweet as those on roses,
but mine the faint and yron sweatt of sorrow”¹

is an example of Fletcher's command of poetical diction ; the first line is perhaps the only one in the play that clings to the memory. Fletcher has more poetic fervour, whereas Massinger seldom rises above his usual even flow of language. His hand is distinctly visible in the third act, in which Barnavelt upbraids Leidenberch with having betrayed his secrets, and urges him to commit suicide as the only way to save his honour and keep their secrets safe.² The headlong violence and impetuosity of the language is quite different from Massinger's style. This passage is also remarkable for the abundant use of alliteration, which Massinger uses on the whole more sparingly.

Fletcher's humour.

Fletcher has moreover a real vein of humour and a brighter imagination; he delights in painting lively scenes. The spirited incidents in our play describing the chattering Dutch burghers' wives,³ in fact interrupting the action, are by most critics assigned to Fletcher's hand, though Swinburne declares that the scenes remind him more of the style of *The City Madam* than of *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*. I shall have occasion to return to this when speaking of the distribution of scenes between the two authors.

The description of the crowd awaiting Barnavelt's appearance for his execution⁴ is a sure instance of Fletcher's realistic humour ; the scene of the three executioners⁵ gambling for the privilege of beheading the Advocate, offensive to modern taste, is an instance of his comic vein.

Massinger has a weak device of making his characters describe what is happening before the eyes of the audience ; these remarks are weak and unnatural, and indicate a lack of dramatic genius, as for example in our play :

¹ lines 1639, 40.

² lines 1494 ff.

³ II, 2.

⁴ V, 3.

⁵ V, 2.

"I never sawe
the Advocate so mov'd."

which has a parallel in *The Emperor of the East*:

"I never saw him moved thus."

and in *The Sea Voyage*:

"'t Is strange to see her moved thus"

Professor Delius¹ is the only critic who does not assume a double authorship, but declares the play to be written by an anonymous author, imitating alternately the style of Fletcher and of Massinger. The author has studied the poets well and adopts Massinger's verse for the conversation of the calm, calculating Prince of Orange, whereas Fletcher's metre is more fit for the passionate character of the Advocate; he thinks it also possible that the author may have used a style prevailing on the English stage at that time.

This theory is not to the point, because Orange's and Barnavelt's speeches are in Fletcher's as well as in Massinger's style. Barnavelt's defence² is undoubtedly in Massinger's style, whereas the Prince's conversation³ with William and the officers is written in Fletcher's metre. Swinburne, who is naturally a better critic of style remarks "Massinger's style is as apparently easy as it is really difficult to reproduce; as tempting to imitators as it is inimitable by parasites." The assertion of an author adopting another poet's style and metre is dangerous. Ward's opinion "metre asserts the individuality of a writer" is without any doubt a better point of view.

Professor Delius considers the faulty characterization a proof against Massinger's and Fletcher's authorship. He writes: "these authors would have been able to draw fine and consistent figures, even if the material of the sources had been insufficient, and the description tainted by prejudiced party spirit. Besides, the action does not develop in a regular progress, there is no climax bringing on the inevitable catastrophe". Boyle has refuted Professor Delius' arguments in a very able criticism,

¹ lines 311, 12.

² IV, 4.

³ II, 2.

⁴ *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft* XIX 1884.

⁵ IV, 5.

⁶ I, 3.

⁷ *Op cit.*

and considers the faults in the character-painting and the discontinuity of action a proof for the double authorship; these faults are repeatedly to be detected in the joint work of Massinger and Fletcher.

Another argument against the authorship of Fletcher and Massinger is according to Professor Delius the choice of subject. He remarks "these authors have never taken an historical event from contemporary history for a theme of their plots; besides, Massinger and Fletcher were too loyal and 'unpolitisch' to have to fear any prohibition of their plays." Professor Delius concludes that other proofs would be needed than those of metrical tests and parallel passages, to allow us to assign this play to the two famous dramatists of the period of James I.

It is true that Massinger never brings a political event directly on the stage as Chapman did in *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron*; he always adopts an allegorical treatment of events and characters as for example in *Believe as You List*, but on the other hand, we know that Massinger and Fletcher together with Field had already composed a play, referring to the murder on John van Wely in the household of Prince Maurice in 1616. The title of the play is *the Jeweller of Amsterdam or the Hague*; it was entered on the Stationers' Registers April 1654 and probably acted before 1619. The play was never printed, and is now lost.

It is a great mistake to call Massinger "unpolitisch," we need only think of the many political allusions in his plays; among others in *The Maid of Honour* the allusion of the King's hesitation to help his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, mirrored in Robert King of Sicily¹ and in *The Bondman* where Buckingham is referred to as Gisco, and where the state of the Fleet is alluded to.² In *Believe as You List* Weston, King Charles's Lord high treasurer, is represented as Philoxenus.

In our play the allusion to Raleigh's execution:

"for the Cato's

and all free speritts slaine, or else proscribd
that durst have stird against him",³

is typical of Massinger's veiled criticism directed against the king's friendly policy to Spain.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCENES BETWEEN THE AUTHORS

I now offer a critical discussion of the separate shares of the two authors of our play.

¹ I, 1.

² I, 3, 205.

³ lines 2437—39.

Act I. All scholars are unanimous in assigning the first two scenes of the play to Massinger. I have already spoken about the clear, effective exposition which is a characteristic feature of the works of this author. The statement is also corroborated by parallel passages from Massinger's plays as "I speak the people's language" and "when I should pass with glory to my rest" already mentioned before.

A line like

„your Brothers, sonnes,
friends, famylies made rich, in trust and honours.”¹

often occurs in his plays. Professor Cruickshank² designs them as catalogue lines and gives more instances, among others from *The City Madam* :

„Tissue, gold, silver, velvets, satins, taffetas”.³

and from *Believe as You List* :

„All circumstances,
Answers, despatches, doubts and difficulties.”⁴

The metaphor in the lines 297, 98

“we need not add this wind by our observaunce,
to sailes too full already :”

is taken from sailing; Massinger often uses similar ones, compare *City Madam* I, 3 :

“When your ships are at sea, their prayers will swell
The sails with prosperous winds.”

The third scene of the first act is Fletcher's share, a view on which all critics agree, only Professor Cruickshank detects a third hand here. I think the metre of this scene is characteristic of Fletcher; the large number of double endings and end-stopt lines renders the Prince's speeches monotonous to a degree; besides, the substitution of 'ye' for you is a practice of which Fletcher is very fond. There is an abundance of alliteration, if we compare some lines of this scene with about the same number in *Valentinian* we shall see that this abundant use of alliteration is common in Fletcher's plays. I copy a number of lines from each play to illustrate this statement.

¹ line 107, 8.

² *Op. cit.*

³ II, 1, 72.

⁴ II, 2, 312.

"he that put's forward first to this wild action
 has lost my love, and is becom mine Enemy,
 my mortall enemie; put vp your weapons,
 you draw'em against order, duty, faith,
 and let me die, ere render such examples.
 the men you make so meane, so slight account of
 and in your angers prise, not in your honours,
 are Princes, powerfull Princesse, mightie Princes,
 that daylie feed more men of your great fashion
 and noble ranck, pay and maintaine their fortunes,
 then any Monarch Europe ha's: and for this bountie
 if ye consider truly, Gentlemen,
 and honestly, with thankfull harts remember,
 you are to pay them back againe your service:
 they are your Masters, your best masters, noblest
 those that protect your states, hold vp your fortunes"¹

The repetitions in the eighth line and in the last line but one, are a typical mannerism of Fletcher, as I have pointed out before.

Valentinian :

"There where our swords may make us meat and danger
 Digest our well-got viands: here our weapons
 and bodies that were made for shining brass,
 Are both unedged, and old with ease and women.
 And then they cry again: "Where are the Germans,
 Lined with hot Spain, or Gallia? Bring 'em on
 And let the son of war, steeled Mithridates,
 Lead up his winged Parthians like a storm
 Hiding the face of Heaven with showers of arrows:
 Yet we dare fight like Romans"! Then as soldiers
 Tired with a weary march, they tell their wounds.
 Even weeping-ripe they were no more, nor deeper,
 And glory in those scars that make 'em lovely
 And, sitting where a camp was, like sad pilgrims
 They reckon up the times, and living labours
 Of Julius or Germanicus; and wonder
 That Rome, whose, turrets once were topt with honours,
 Can now forget the custom of her conquests:
 And then they blame your grace and say: "Who leads us?
 Shall we stand here like statues?"²

Act II. On the first scene of the second act all scholars hold a unanimous view; this scene is undoubtedly by Massinger. In the arguments of the

¹ lines 434 ff.

² I, 3.

Captain of the English mercenary troops refusing to take part in the rebellion against the Prince, Massinger displays his abilities as a pleader; in the same way Barnaveit's eloquent speech beginning "Oh I am lost with anger,"¹ is typical of Massinger's indignant rhetorical effusions. There are, moreover many of Massinger's favourite expressions, namely:

'This I foresaw' compare *Maid of Honour*, 'This I foresaw and feared'.² 'at all parts' cf. *Unnatural Combat II* 1. 269. 'play their parts' and 'their most certaine ruyn' cf. *The Guardian II.*, 4. ending in 'certain ruyn'.

A favourite phrase is: 'be nere remembered', cf. *The Renegado I* 3 'by poets ne'er remember'd'. The phrases 'we are lost for ever', and 'something there I'll do' occur frequently in his plays. The phrase 'that trailes a pike' is a favourite expression with Massinger cf. *Maid of Honour III*, 1, 'trailing the puissant pike', in line 2525 the phrase occurs again in our play. The metaphor 'when the hot lion's breath burns up the fields' occurring again in *Parliament of Love I* have mentioned before.

The following short and spirited scenes of this act present some difficulty; all critics state their views with caution. Boyle remarks "the second scene is Fletcher's and the scenes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 are probably his."³

Mr. Oliphant assigns the scenes to Fletcher, and Mr. Cruickshank detects a third hand. It is true that it is not easy to assign the scenes with absolute certainty to either Fletcher or Massinger, but I do not think there is any need to introduce the supposition of a third hand here. I regret I cannot agree with Mr. Swinburne's criticism "the satire on feminine pretension and its cackling cry for women's rights remind us rather of *The City Madam* than of *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* ⁴; the vivacity and animation of the whole act, the short scenes, which are lively incidents rather than links necessary in the chain for developing and furthering the action, speak for the authorship of Fletcher, whose plays suffer too often from a similar loose construction.

The repetitions in: "We can make him thinck, what we list, say what we list, print what we list, whom we list abuse in it"⁵ remind us of Flet-

¹ lines 718 ff.

²II, 3.

³ Bullen's *Collection II*. Appendix II.

⁴ *Englische Studien XVI*.

⁵ *op. cit.*

⁶ lines 801, 2.

cher's hand. Mr. Beck notes these repetitions as characteristic of Massinger; he gives examples from Massinger's works:

"you have a cause, a cause so just"

and,

"has made me worthy, worthy of",¹

Mr. Oliphant calls these repetitions Fletcherian², which I think, is more correct. It is true that repetitions occur in Massinger's works, but I think more frequently in Fletcher's; in our play the repetitions occur nearly always in Fletcher's scenes; compare lines 1103,4; 1163,64; 1530-33; 1541-43; 2070,71, these lines are typically Fletcherian; and 2918.

The view that Dutchmen are ruled by their wives is again expressed by Fletcher in *The Little French Lawyer* cf.

"Nor would I be a Dutchman
To have my wife my sovereign, to command me."³

The lines

„fy, doe not run for shame;
how their feare outstincks their garlick:"

remind us certainly of *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*.

"Fie, how she belches the spirit of garlic"

In this scene "ye" is used again for "you".

All these marks of Fletcher's hand are to me sufficient proof to assign the scenes to this poet.

Act III. Bullen remarks with regard to the first scene of the next act:⁴ "this scene shows us Fletcher at his highest."

Barnavel's speeches in this scene are an instance of Fletcher's passionate rhetoric, of which I have spoken before. It reaches a climax in the brilliant effusion of sublime indignation in answer to Vandort's persuasions⁵. Note also Barnavel's speech expressing courage and deep scorn, when his son advises him to submit to the Prince, beginning:

"art thou my Son? thou lvest"⁶

Mr. Cruickshank detects a third hand in this scene, as far as "will ripen the imposture." I cannot agree with this statement as lines with

¹ *Philip Massinger The Fatall Dowry* dissertation.

² *Englische Studien* XIV.

³ III, 1, 105. Fletcher's part according to Boyle, *Englische Studien* X.

⁴ Introduction to the play.

⁵ lines 1095 ff.

⁶ lines 1169 ff.

emphatic double endings are typical of Fletcher's metre, they are never used in such number by any other Elizabethan dramatist. They are of frequent occurrence in this part, namely

"and a faire fortunate Soldier: I hold the State, Sir"

"so gently, and without noyce he has performd this."

"of open, honest actions, strong and straight still,

"but if he haue a fowle hart 't has byn hid long"

"more equall, and more honorable step in",

The second scene is characteristic of Massinger on account of the Prince's oratorical speeches and arguments, which are in Massinger's style. There are again some parallel passages occurring in many of his plays, as: "T'll instantly about it", and the lines:

"I haue lost myself,
but something I shall doe."

In the first twenty-one lines there occur three weak endings, which is a characteristic mark of Massinger's hand.¹

Here again we find examples of Massinger's addiction to parentheses in combination with the absolute construction viz:

"I would advise
(that since all now sing the sweet tunes of Concord,
No sword vnsheathd, the meanes to hurt cut off,
and all their stings pluckd out that would have vsd them
against the publique peace) we should end here"²

and,

"then the Prouinces
haue lost their liberties, Iustice hir Sword,
And we prepard a way for our owne ruyn"³

A phrase like line 1306: "since you approve it, leave that to me" is surely familiar to all students of Massinger. Boyle has drawn attention to the political maxim expressed in Vandort's speech, which occurs again in *The Virgin Martyr*, written at about the same time:

¹ lines 1191, 1196, 1206.

² lines 1227 ff.

³ lines 1258—60.

“such mild proceedings in a Government
 new settled, whose main strength had it's dependance
 vpon the powre of some perticuler men,
 might be given way to, but in ours it were
 vnsafe and scandalous.”¹

The Virgin Martyr :

“In all growing empires
 Even cruelty is useful; some must suffer
 And be set up examples to strike terror
 In others, though far off; but, when a state
 Is raised to her perfections, and her bases
 Too firm to shrink, or yield, we may use mercy
 And do 't with safety.”²

The next scene is a very short one, and the most difficult scene to account for. Most critics have stated their views with diffidence. Mr. Boyle writes that this scene seems to be Massinger's ³; Mr. Oliphant remarks “the scene has no certain signs of either Fletcher or Massinger, it may be the work of neither.” ⁴ Professor Cruickshank also assigns it to a third hand. ⁵ Mr. Swinburne's statement that the third and fourth scenes are unmistakably Fletcher's ⁶, is certainly correct in regard to the fourth scene, but I think the remark is a slip; the critic has overlooked the difficulty about the third scene. It is certainly not ‘unmistakably’ Fletcher's, though it may be assigned to Fletcher's hand. The only thing to suggest Massinger's hand is the simile in the first lines:

“1. *Cap.* this is a strange cutting time
 2. let 'em cutt deep enough
 they will doe no great cure els :”⁷

Massinger often used similes taken from surgery; in *The Bondman* we find a similar one

“*Timol.* Old fester'd sores
 Must be lanced to the quick and cauterized;
 Timag. This bites sore
 Cleon. The cure is worse than the disease.”⁸

¹ lines 1254 ff.

² I, 1, 236 ff.

³ Bullen's *Collection*. Appendix II.

⁴ *Englische Studien* XVI.

⁵ *op. cit.*

⁶ *op. cit.*

⁷ lines 1405—7.

⁸ I, 3, 220.

Apart from this I do not consider the style or metre to be like Massinger's. I am more inclined to regard the scene as an interpolation by somebody else; it serves to give the information that Leidenberch has confessed Barnavelt's secrets, and that he is allowed to receive visitors, as a preparation for the next scene, when Barnavelt visits Leidenberch to instigate him to commit suicide. The fact that the scene is written on a separate short leaf, which is inserted, also confirms my opinion to assume an interpolation.

I have already spoken of the passionate flow of language in Barnavelt's reproaches to Leidenberch in the next scene, in connection with Fletcher's more emotional rhetorical genius, and drawn attention to his repetition of one word to achieve a dramatic effect, also occurring in this scene.¹

The lines :

"he that first gaue vs honours
allowes vs also saffe waies to preserve 'em,
to scape the hands of Infamy, and tirrany
we may be our owne Iustice :"²

are certainly Fletcher's, and in direct opposition to Massinger's morality. In *The Fatal Dowry* Charalois is acquitted by the judges, but he dies, because he has taken justice in his own hands; the moral is spoken by himself :

"what's fallen on me
Is by Heaven's will, because I made myself
A judge in my own cause, without their warrant."³

Professor Cruickshank rightly remarks : "as a good moralist, Massinger dislikes suicide", and gives examples from his plays, among others : *Believe as you List IV*, 2, 58 *The Guardian II.*, 4., 11.

The next short scene is by all critics assigned to Massinger, but Professor Cruickshank considers the scene unworthy of this poet. The passage with absolute construction and parentheses :

"th' Appollogie he wroat so poorely raild at
(for answeard at no part, a man can call it)
and all his life and Actions so detracted,
that he, as I am certenly informd,
lookes every howre for worse."⁴

is characteristic of Massinger's hand.

¹ the word 'dye' in lines 1528, 30, 31, 32; 1541, 42.

² 1543—46.

³ V. 2.

⁴ lines 1589 ff.

Moreover we again meet with some of his favourite phrases as: 'at no part' and 'the freedom I was borne to' a phrase which occurs again in *The Renegado*:

„and robs me of the fierceness I was born with”¹

and *The Great Duke of Florence*:

For I must use the freedom I was born with”²

The sixth scene of this act has been treated of before, the pathos is undeniably due to Fletcher's genius. Bullen assigns Leidenberch's soliloquy to Massinger; the only signs in favour of this view are the classical allusions, to the use of which Massinger was indeed too much given, but the sweet picture of the child is indisputably drawn by Fletcher's pen. In Massinger's works the only place, where children occur is in *The Unnatural Combat*,³ and here, as Professor Cruickshank rightly remarks, in an unpleasing context,⁴ whereas Fletcher's tender love for children, with which we are already acquainted from the little figure in *Bonduca*, is set forth in a lovely and pleasing light.

I must not omit Swinburne's criticism running as follows "this scene is in my opinion the most beautiful ever written by Fletcher. That we owe the recovery of such a jewel of dramatic poetry to Mr. Bullen is a matter of eternal gratitude."⁵

Act IV. In turning to the fourth act, we come to the animated description of Modesbargen with his huntsmen; the Captain and soldiers detecting them, and the exciting scene, when Modesbargen is taken prisoner. These episodes are of lively interest, and depicted in Fletcher's spirited manner; we have here the same kaleidoscopic shifting of figures we know from other scenes in the plays by Fletcher. Miss Hatcher has noted this in *The Woman's Prize III.*, 4. The scene is assigned to Fletcher by all critics.

The evidence of metre and diction justifies us to consider the second scene of this act with confidence to be Fletcher's share.

I have already pointed out, when speaking of Fletcher's inconsistency of characterization that the third scene of this act is to be assigned to Fletcher's hand.

¹ II, 5.

² I, 1.

³ IV, 2, 87.

⁴ *op cit.*

⁵ *op cit.*

The next scene is again a short one, which is in all probability Massinger's, followed by the greatest scene in the play, Barnavelt's defence before the tribunal. I have already had occasion to speak about the brilliant rhetoric, which is unquestionably to be assigned to Massinger, the pleader. Professor Cruickshank's remark that Act. IV sc 5 is 'unworthy of Massinger'¹ is incomprehensible to me, for assuredly, if anything in the play, this scene, on account of the rhetoric, bears the impress of Massinger's hand.

Some lines in this act bear a remarkable similarity to a passage in *The Unnatural Combat*, a play by Massinger alone, probably written in the same year. Compare :

"And if ever
'twere lawfull th'vnthackfull men t' vpbraid
vnequalld benefitts, let it not in me
be now held glorious, if I speake myself."²

and,

"who then rose vp, or durst step in before me,
to doe theis Cuntries service ? who then labourd
more then the now suspected Barnauelt
t'appease seditions, and compound all Quarrells?
who pacified the Malcontents ? who taught you
to stand vpon your Guards, and trust your selves ?
ð you forgettfull, all this I performd."³

with *The Unnatural Combat* :

"I would not boast my actions, yet 'tis lawfull
To upbraid my benefits to unthackfull men.
Who sunk the Turkish gallies in the streights
But Malefort ? Who rescued the French merchants
When they were boarded, and stow'd under hatches
By the pirates of Argiers, when every minute
They did expect to be chain'd to the oar,
But your now doubted admiral ?"⁴

¹ V. 2. I suppose there must be some error here. In *Philip Massinger*, Appendix XII, Professor Cruickshank writes: "Mr. Bullen thinks that Massinger wrote III. 2 ; II. 6 ; IV (the trial scene). These ascriptions seem to me correct". And in Appendix III, 6 : "Act III, 5, and Act IV, 5 seem to me unworthy of Massinger."

² lines 2255—58.

³ lines 2237 ff.

⁴ I, 1.

The authorship of the first scene of the last act seems to be divided between our two poets; Bullen assigns the whole scene to Massinger; Boyle and Swinburne as far as "Enter Provost" and Professor Cruickshank assigns the scene as far as "Exeunt Wife and Daughter"¹ to a third hand. Mr. Oliphant considers the scene to belong to Massinger, but the incident of Barnavelt's appearance, as quite detached from the rest of the scene to be an insertion of Fletcher's. I consider this the most plausible view, but I think Fletcher's part begins after 'Ext Embassadors'²; the first part of the scene and the ambassadors' speeches with Orange's answer are clearly in Massinger's style; this assumption is confirmed by an image which occurs several times in Massinger's other plays; compare:

"but such shall find their flattring breath but makes
the fire, our Cuntries safetie byds vs cherish,
to burne with greater heate"³

and *The Virgin Martyr*:

"You pour oil
On fire that burns already at the height."⁴

and again in the same play:

"Do not blow
The furnace of a wrath thrice hot already."⁵

Maid of Honour:

"'t Is far
From me Sir, to add fuel to your anger
That in your ill opinion of him, burns
Too hot already."⁶

The Duke of Milan:

"And yet, in this, you but pour oil on fire."⁷

The next part betrays Fletcher's style, but in the speeches of Orange

¹ line 2583.

² line 2657.

³ lines 2553-55.

⁴ I, 1, 84.

⁵ III, 2, 101.

⁶ II, 1.

⁷ V, 1.

and Vandort we detect Massinger's hand again, especially in the laying down of the moral lesson ; nothing could be more like Massinger than this moralizing vein. He was fond of tagging short moral lessons to the end of scenes. Sir Leslie Stephen calls him 'a moralizer by temperament.' His plays always have a moral tendency generally set forth in a few lines at the end, as for instance in *The Unnatural Combat* :

"There cannot be a want of power above
To punish murder and unlawful love!"

and *The Roman Actor* :

"and such as governed only by their will
and not their reason, unlamented fall".

In *Barnavelt* the moral pointed at the end of the play occurs in Fletcher's part.

The two following scenes are assigned by all critics to Fletcher. I have noted before that the comic scene representing the gambling executioners, and the last scene describing the crowd, are characteristic of Fletcher's humour. In almost all the joint plays by Massinger and Fletcher the comic parts, and the scenes describing people of lower social standing must be assigned to Fletcher's hand ; in the tragedy of *Barnavelt* these scenes are all attributed to Fletcher. The conclusion of the play is Fletcher's share, which is evident from the style and the fervent eloquence of Barnavelt's protestations ; also from the inconsistency in the characterization, for Barnavelt's last speech is not in keeping with Massinger's conception of the Advocate's character. The elegiac note of this speech reminds us of Buckingham's speech in *Henry VIII* which is Fletcher's part. See Aesthetic value.

The lines :

"and then turn back, and blush, blush my ruyne"

and,

"blush in thine age, (bad man) thy grave blush for thee"

remind us of the lines in *The City Madam* :

"I blush for you,
"Blush at your poverty of spirit."

¹ l. 2918.

² l. 2924.

³ II, 1, 58.

Professor Cruickshank remarks "the characters in Massinger are very fond of blushing", but I do not think that this similarity proves anything in regard to the authorship, for both Fletcher and Massinger showed a partiality to making their characters blush ; Professor Cruickshank adds to his note : "it is true that blushing plays a great part in all our old dramatists."

This analysis of the play illustrates my view that the main body was framed by Massinger, who probably planned the play as a whole, and laid down the lines of the plot and principal features, though a considerable part of it may be assigned to Fletcher. The construction, characterization and the dignified rhetorical parts are mainly Massinger's, but the scenes of passion and emotion are Fletcher's. This poet also contributed the comical and humourous elements. That the action is lively and that there are scenes of great poetic and pathetic beauty we owe to Fletcher's genius.

The following tabular scheme represents the different views of the critics, concerning the distribution of scenes between the authors of the play, to which I have added my view.

I beg leave to correct Mr. L. Wann's statement in his contribution to the *Shakespeare Studies*, University of Wisconsin 1916, The Collaboration of Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger. Mr. Wann remarks with regard to the play under discussion that all critics agree as to the apportionment of scenes with the exception of Act V, sc. 1. It will be clear from this scheme that there are other scenes, besides the one mentioned by Mr. Wann, on which all critics do not agree.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCENES.

FLEAY BOYLE	BULLEN ¹	SWINBURNE	CRUICKSHANK	OLIPHANT	FRIJLINCK
Act. I.					
Scene 1. Massinger		Massinger		Massinger	Massinger
Scene 2. Massinger		Massinger		Massinger	Massinger
Scene 3. Fletcher		Fletcher	a third hand	Fletcher	Fletcher
Act. II.					
Scene 1. Massinger		Massinger		Massinger	Massinger
Scene 2. } Scene 3. } Scene 4. } Scene 5. } Scene 6. }	probably Fletcher	Massinger rather than Fletcher	a third hand	Fletcher	Fletcher
Act. III.					
Scene 1. Fletcher	Fletcher	Fletcher	a. a third hand as far as "will ripen" b. Fletcher	Fletcher	Fletcher
Scene 2. Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger
Scene 3. it seems Massinger		unmistakably Fletcher	a third hand	neither Fletcher nor Massinger	doubtful, per- haps an inter- polation by a third hand
Scene 4. Fletcher				Fletcher	Fletcher
Scene 5. Massinger		Massinger	unworthy of Massinger	Massinger	Massinger
Scene 6. Fletcher	MassingerLei- denberch's soliloquy	Fletcher	Massinger	Fletcher	Fletcher
Act. IV.					
Scene 1. Fletcher		Fletcher		Fletcher	Fletcher
Scene 2. Fletcher		Fletcher		Fletcher	Fletcher
Scene 3. Fletcher		Fletcher		Fletcher	Fletcher
Scene 4. apparently Massinger				Massinger	Massinger
Scene 5. Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	unworthy of Massinger ²	Massinger	Massinger
Act. V.					
Scene 1. a. Massinger as far as "Enter Provost" b. Fletcher	Massinger	a. Massinger as far as "Ex- eunt Em- bassadors" b. Fletcher	a third hand as far as Exeunt Wife and Daughter	a. Massinger b. Fletcher ³ c. Massinger	a. Massinger as far as line 2658 b. Fletcher as far as line 2700 c. Massinger
Scene 2. Fletcher		Fletcher		Fletcher	Fletcher
Scene 3. Fletcher	Fletcher	Fletcher		Fletcher	Fletcher

When the critic has offered no opinion on the authorship of a scene, there is a blank.

¹ Mr. Bullen states his opinion only on a few scenes.

² See Note Distribution of Scenes.

³ When Barnvelt is on the stage.

F. PLACE IN DRAMATIC HISTORY

If we want to form a just appreciation of our play, we shall have to consider the position of the tragedy in the history of the drama of the seventeenth century. The play of *Barnavelti* belongs to the group of historical dramas dealing with the contemporary history of foreign countries. I will just attempt a short sketch of the history of this species of drama, as treated by the dramatists of the Elizabethan era.

Sir A. Ward remarks, speaking of the drama in the first half of the seventeenth century, "The historical drama proper was dead. The dramatists, under influences, partly no doubt beyond their control, abandoned creative effort in the field of the national historical drama. Shakespeare's immortal achievements had indeed made rivalry difficult, but had not closed the field itself against his successors. They left this noble province of their art, with few exceptions, empty and deserted. Some ventured upon efforts akin to the endeavours of the national historical drama, in treating themes derived from the history of nations in moral and intellectual sympathy with our own. Even here the mantle of the author of *Bussy d'Ambois* and *Byron* remained almost unclaimed, except now and then by Fletcher and Massinger."

Mr. Tucker Brooke regards *Tamburlaine*, produced in 1587, more than any other drama, the source and original of the Elizabethan history play; Bale's *King John* is rather a controversial morality, reinforced by historical application, than a history play. The earliest example of a play dealing with recent foreign history is Marlowe's *Massacre of Paris*; it contains an allusion to the Spanish Armada, the date is probably 1593. It is a hasty production and has little dramatic interest; the character of the Duke of Guise is satisfactorily drawn. *The Tragical Reign of Selimus* which may have been written by R. Greene has incidents of Turkish history for its subject. The influence of *Tamburlaine* can be traced in Peele's play *The Battle of Alcazar*, produced in 1592 or before. The tragedy of *Dido Queen of Carthage*, of which the date of 1591 assigned to it, is doubtful, deserves already more the name of an historical tragedy. Before 1600 *A Larum for London or the Siege of Ant-*

¹ *A History of English Dramatic Literature.*

² *The Tudor Drama.*

werp was produced, dealing with the capture of Antwerp by the Spanish in 1576. Mr. Tucker Brooke remarks that the earliest English play to treat the material of history with conscious reverence for the established rules of dramatic composition is Marlowe's *Edward II*, composed in 1592; here more regard is paid to characterization than in the other plays. Then follows the period of Shakespeare's splendid history plays; Professor Parrott rightly remarks "from 1590 to 1600 Shakespeare ruled; it was the time when the historical drama rose into life, and under his hands reached its complete development." In this period *King John*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *Henry V* were produced.

Mr. Tucker Brooke mentions three plays of Shakespeare's full power; the historical tragedies *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, and remarks "each of these plays exemplifies tragedy in its purest and highest form, and the tragic effect depends in each case upon the wise interpretation of actual character and historic fact." In a similar manner Massinger and Fletcher have attempted, though on a more modest scale, to paint, in combination with historic fact, the ruin of a great and noble nature by a single besetting and overwhelming weakness, namely ambition, but the difference with *Macbeth* is that in our play the historical material is taken from contemporary history.

Ben Jonson's *Catiline* and *Sejanus* are historical tragedies written under classical influence; the theme is taken from classical sources.

We soon note a difference in the treatment of historical matter. Professor Schelling remarks "a romantic spirit swept over the drama."

We come to the class of plays, in which history serves only as a background for romantic fiction, as for example in Shakespeare's *King Lear* and *Cymbeline* and Fletcher's *Bonduca*. Mr. Tucker Brooke remarks "after 1600 the real history play declined rapidly; henceforth the historical title practically vanishes, and the chronicles are searched only for purely romantic matter."

I will now return to the class of plays to which our tragedy belongs, namely the historical plays relating to contemporary events. Swinburne, treating the tragedies of *Bussy d'Ambois*, *Charles Duke of Byron* and *Chabot Admiral of France* speaks of "the stately line of tragic poems dealing with recent or immediate history of foreign countries." I think we are certainly justified in adding the play of *Barnavel* to this 'stately line of tragic poems.'

Professor Schelling notes that a feature of King James's time was the allusiveness of the historical drama to affairs abroad, or even at home.

Though it was forbidden by the authorities, the dramatists persisted in bringing political persons and events upon the stage. Massinger in particular, has always taken a lively interest in contemporary politics which brought him in collision with the censor, as I have noted before ¹.

Of the tragedies belonging to this class Chapman's *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* shows a close relation to our play in some respects. Byron's execution had taken place in 1602, and had drawn great attention so that the dramatization of this event was of lively interest to the audience, which was also the case with our play. The following remark by Professor Parrott, referring to Chapman's tragedies, is also applicable to our play. "Chapman's tragedies are not tragedies of fate like those of the Greek drama, nor tragedies of character like those of Shakespeare. The peculiar tragic theme of *Byron* is the conflict of the individual with his environment, and the inevitable issue of that conflict in the individual's defeat." The figure of the hero in our play reminds us of the Duke of Byron in his overbearing ambition and pride, his indomitable spirit and inevitable overthrow. I shall have occasion to point out the similarity, which the dying speech of Barnavelt bears to Byron's, in regard to the elegiac note². Professor Schelling has noted a parallel in the relation of King Henry to Byron, and of the Prince of Orange to Barnavelt. Granting this, we can however not speak of any direct influence. Chapman's tragedies are tedious and undramatic; they are rather dramatic poems than plays. In style and versification our play shows a marked difference; instead of Massinger's lucidity we struggle with Chapman's forced obscurity, but are rewarded for our labour by an abundance of brilliant passages and splendid poetic images, which the play of Barnavelt lacks.

The Tragedy of Barnavelt stands alone as an historical tragedy of this period in which regard is paid to the truth of history. Fletcher had dealt with historical themes before, but as Miss Hatcher remarks "he felt no obligation to either the letter or the spirit, and dealt with history in a fashion romantic in its freedom of handling, if not in its inclusion of all the so-called romantic features."³ Fletcher's *Bonduca* and *Valentinian* confirm this statement. *Thierry and Theodoret*, in which both Fletcher and Massinger had a hand with

¹ See Stage history.

² See Aesthetic value.

³ *op cit.*

others, represents historical incidents happening in the French Court, but the treatment of the play is romantic. In *Believe as You List* Massinger described the wandering exile of the Elector Palatine under fictitious names, transferring the scene to another country. In *The Unnatural Combat* a play contemporary with *Barnavelti*, Massinger dramatized the events occurring in the Cenci family in Rome, taking Francesco Cenci for his model of Malefort. Works on history, pamphlets, tracts and contemporary information were of greater interest to Massinger as subject matter for his plots than works of fiction.

Sir A. Ward considers the regard paid to historical truth an objection to assigning the play to Massinger's hand. He writes "The extremely interesting tragedy of *Sir John Van Olden Barnavelti* bears on the face of it every mark of having been produced soon after the catastrophe of the great Advocate of Holland. The play in question is of its kind almost without parallel in the literature of the great age of our drama. So far as the choice of theme and the essentials of its treatment are concerned, they point to the collaboration of some other mind with Fletcher's, and are fairly though not closely consistent with what is known to us of Massinger's attitude as a dramatist towards contemporary history. For while he repeatedly adopts an allegorical treatment of political events, situations and character, I am not aware that any play known with certainty to be his, brings an actual chapter of recent political history directly on the stage, after the manner of Chapman's *Byron* or Glapthorne's *Albertus Wallenstein*."

Sir A. Ward speaks of the plays by Massinger which are extant, but we must not forget that not long before Barnavelti's execution a play was produced by Field, Fletcher and Massinger, called *The Jeweller of Amsterdam* relating a contemporary event, which occurred in 1616, namely the murder of John van Wely, Prince Maurice's confidential groom.¹

Professor Schelling notes that historically viewed "*The Tragedy of Barnavelti* is one of an interesting group of dramas which touch on contemporary political occurrences; in its freedom from ulterior satirical or political purposes, it stands practically alone."

As the play was forbidden after the first performance, and remained in manuscript till the nineteenth century, it can hardly have exerted any direct influence on other dramas of the age.

¹ See Authorship.

G. AESTHETIC AND LITERARY VALUE

Characterization.

The Rev. F. G. Fleay remarks, speaking of the period in which the tragedy of Barnavelt was written "It was the Silver Age of the drama. The Golden Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Chapman, Webster and Beaumont had passed away. It was the age of Fletcher, but of Fletcher supreme, aided by Field, Jonson and Massinger"¹.

A. L. Casserley, speaking of the decline of the drama in his essay on Massinger and Ford, is of the same opinion when he remarks "It is a glorious decline, our lament for the departing day is lost in our wonder of the splendour of the evening."²

The remark that our play belongs to the Silver Age of the drama is quite correct. The decline is in the first place evident in the characterization. In the play we have too much description of character, whereas in Shakespeare's plays the characters reveal themselves by their actions. S. T. Coleridge remarks "the characters of the *dramatis personae* like those in real life are to be inferred by the reader, they are not to be told to him."³ In Barnavelt's play there is never a touch of delicate characterization, or any sudden revelation of character by a few words, as in Shakespeare. We are too often told what qualities the persons possess, not only by others but even by themselves. The Prince of Orange is praised by the Lords, on account of his courage, his nobility and virtue, his modesty, discretion and wisdom; he himself speaks of his courage and great deeds. Barnavelt, in particular is always singing his own praises, and speaking of his honourable past; the Lords, the people, his servant, all inform us, how much he was respected, and how great his authority was. Even the Prince admits that he was "great in authority and matchless in his worldly policy."

In Shakespeare's plays there is growth and a harmonious development of character; the actions arise out of previous circumstances. In the play of Barnavelt there is no growth; the characters remain as they are in spite of circumstances; they are represented in a series of various

¹ *Chronicle History of the London Stage* Chapter V.

² *Westminster Review* 1899, vol. 152.

³ *Literary Remains* II.

moods. It is true that Barnavelt, who defies and abuses the Prince in the first scene, ends in the last by uttering a prayer for the Prince's happiness, but this demeanour is unconvincing and not warranted in any way by what has happened in the intermediate acts, so that there is nothing to account for Barnavelt's repentance. This is a serious inconsistency in the character-drawing, and in this case due to the joint authorship, as I have pointed out before. But neither Fletcher, nor Massinger can be acquitted of this fault of characterization in the plays which they composed alone. Though Massinger is a more careful painter of character than Fletcher, the conversion of his villains is sometimes quite unconvincing as, for example, of the cruel villain Flaminius; he has most unscrupulously tried all through the play to accomplish Antiochus' ruin, and remarks when he is convicted and sent to prison :

"I prove too late
as heaven is merciful, man's cruelty
never escapes unpunished."

We also miss in the play the delicate shades of character we admire in Shakespeare; the characters in Fletcher's and Massinger's plays are contrasted as much as possible; for example the Prince, who is noble magnanimous and modest is sharply contrasted to Barnavelt, who is unscrupulous and ambitious and who has a thirst of glory. This absence of delicate characterization is considered by some critics, due to the fact that this delicacy was not appreciated any more by the audience, but I think the truth is that the dramatists, making action rather than characterization their aim, had accustomed the audience to intricate plots of incident and adventure, so that they had lost the taste of careful delineation of character and philosophic soliloquies. The Stage had become more the amusement of the idle; the age of lofty imagination had passed away. Shakespeare had always tried to teach and lead the audience, but his successors were anxious to please them.

The character of the hero is not a study of the soul; neither Fletcher nor Massinger had studied the depths of human nature, and both continually fail in describing conflicts and complications of feeling; they lack the insight into the soul that Shakespeare had. Schlegel truly remarks about Beaumont's and Fletcher's character-drawing: "they enter little into the secret history of the heart."¹ Barnavelt and Orange possess no individuality; the latter is the conventional type of the virtuous prince.

¹ *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur.*

The Character of Barnavelt.

Barnavelt's figure is not a heroic conception. In some scenes the hero is powerfully drawn, but there is no fixity of character; very often there is a decided falling off instead of development. When Barnavelt is first introduced, the interest of the spectators is awakened in him by the manifestations of a heroic cast of mind. His overbearing ambition and thirst of glory cannot suffer the Prince to rise higher than himself in the eyes and the love of the people. Though warned by his friends, he is going to put every thing to the stake to defy the Prince. To these warnings he answers :

"read but ore the Stories
of men most fam'd for courage, or for counsaile
and you shall find that the desire of glory
was the last frailety wise men ere putt of."

His indisputable authority in the State is illustrated by his cashiering the captain who "had railed at the Lords of the States and had called them merchants, apothecaries and physitians," he remarks ironically "you had best complain to your great general, and see if he can of himself maintain you."

In the interview with Bredero and Vandort, Barnavelt hears that he is suspected of disloyalty. His indignation either feigned or real is great; in a glowing speech he accuses the people of being ungrateful for the services he has rendered to his country for forty years. He declares passionately that he will never bow to the Prince, even if the others are slavish enough to do so. When his son enters, and advises him to submit to the Prince, adding "you are at your last," he scorns the thought and we cannot but admire his undaunted courage and fiery indignation, when he declares "that he will seek his grave first." This intrepid character is consistently sustained in the trial scene, when he boldly denies all the accusations; his speech is not so passionate here, but his demeanour is dignified. At the end the undaunted hero denies the Prince's charges with a smile :

"give me leave
onely to smile, then say all theis are falce."

adding loftily :

"now when you please Condempne me
I will not vse one sillable for your mercy
to have mine age renewd and once againe
to see a second triumph of my glories."

Before taking leave he will not omit warning the Lords against the course they are going to take, which, history teaches us, has proved the extinction of political liberties in a republic.

It is possible for us to sympathize with the hero as he is depicted in these scenes. His character, though mistaken, forces us to sympathy, if not admiration by the overmastering passion. He is painted as a great statesman and a powerful character, who considers the first place in the Republic to be his due. If the character of Barnavelt had been sustained at this height, the play might have ranked very high in English dramatic literature; but in some scenes there is a decided falling off. We might have expected a character drawn in this style to preserve a dignified demeanour under misfortune; but Barnavelt's character is painted with lamentable inconsistency when he is described sitting in his study. Here the hero betrays an incredible weakness, looking over testimonials from Kings and letters from Princes, consoling himself with the thought that the States have nobody to fill his place to treat with great Princes and manage the affairs of state. He sits moaning and wailing like a weak creature deficient in all moral courage:

"what help? & miserable man, none left thee:
what constant friends? 't is now a cryme to know thee."

In Shakespeare's characters we notice a softening influence of adversity, for example, Leontes in *A Winter's Tale* becomes mild under misfortune.

There is again a falling off in characterization in the last scene, when Barnavelt is sent to his execution. In a long conversation with two Lords, he boasts again of his merits, blames his ungrateful country and begs the people to forget him. So far his demeanour is dignified, in the way he faces death. When begged to ascend the scaffold, he boldly answers:

"feareles I will my lords:
and what you can inflict, as feareles suffer."

But his farewell message to the Prince, and the good wishes for the latter's happiness are unconvincing after his words to the Prince in the trial scene, and on the whole, quite out of keeping with his former abuses and haughty defiance of the Prince, as I have noted before.

I have the same objection to the conception of Barnavelt's character

which Professor Fruin expressed in the Introduction to his reprint of Bullen's edition of the play. The motive to Barnavel's conspiracy is unconvincing; this renders both the conception of his character and his actions highly incredible. The Statesman's power is "as absolute as a monarch's" and he need not fear that he is going to lose his power or his position as the first great statesman in the republic; the Prince is very modest and content with the place he occupies in the country as the first soldier and a servant to the States. But he weakly envies the Prince's popularity as a renowned warrior; to quote his own words:

"shall I then suffer
the peoples thancks and praies,
 to haue an other obiect?"

This motive is futile, and we can only agree with Modesbargen, who frankly expresses his opinion:

"and for what?
 Glory, the popular applause, fine purchase
 for a gray beard to deale in."

The suggestion that he will rather bring back the country under Spain's vassalage, and destroy his own achievements than see the Prince rise to the first place, is highly improbable; cf.:

"he that could defeat the Spanish counsailes
 and made the State what 't is,
 will change it once again
 ere fall with such dishonour."

He even says so himself before the tribunal:

"after all
 theis meritorious and prosperous travells
 t' vnyte theis States, can Barnauelt be suspected
 to be the author to vndooe that knot
 which with such toyle he fastend?"

In consequence his course of action, when he joins the Arminians is also highly improbable. This would be an unwise course for him to take if his object was to regain his popularity, because this sect was very unpopular. The printing presses could hardly print the number of libels, pamphlets and prints directed against the Arminians; all these and the ballads of the time illustrate how much they were hated by the people.

The advocate lays the foundation of his conspiracy with care, showing his sly, plotting and unprincipled nature in the words :

"we live not now with Saincts, but wicked men,
and any thriving way, we can make vse of,
what shape soere it weares, to crosse their arts
we must embrace and cherish; and this course
(carrying a zealous face) will countenance
our other actions ;"

His next action does not inspire us with much sympathy either; he commands the guard at the door not to admit the Prince to the council-chamber, but to keep him waiting before the closed door, adding :

"in this disgrace I haue one foote on his neck,
ere long ile set the other on his head,
and sinck him to the Center:"

After the meeting of the council he upbraids the Prince in undignified language with having grown too haughty; a rather poor excuse for such a disgrace. We can but agree with the Prince when he remarks "to what a monster this man's growne."

In the next act when the English captains have refused to fight against the Prince, Barnavelt exhorts his friends to stand firm in order that "this government, your wives, your lives, and liberties be safe" adding :

"rise vp against this Tirant, and defend
with rigour, what too gentle lenitie
hath almost lost."

Barnavelt himself must know that this is a falsehood, only inspired by jealousy and hate, for in the play there is no foundation whatever for calling the Prince a tyrant. Another objection to the conception of Barnavelt's character is his unscrupulous conduct in instigating Leidenberch to suicide. This scene is an original composition of Fletcher's invention, as not the slightest suggestion of it occurs in the sources. Here Barnavelt's figure is painted in the darkest colours, and an indelible stain is thrown on his character. Till now he has tried to ruin his enemies, but in this scene he does not scruple to get rid of his former friend, whose misfortune is due to Barnavelt's advice and influence. He is depicted as an unscrupulous, wily schemer, telling lies to gain his ends, and he seems to be fully aware himself of the treacherous course he is going to take; cf.

"Now Barnauelt, thou treadst the subtlest path
the hardest, and the thorniest, most concernes thee,
that ere thy carefull course of life run through,"

He steadily keeps his purpose in view ; this is not self-preservation, which might be excused, but only thirst of glory ; he expects "once more like a Comet, to shine out faire and blaze prodigiously".

In his interview with Leidenberch he feigns a justified indignation when the latter confesses that he has betrayed the secrets concerning the conspiracy. Barnavelt suggests suicide as the only honourable way left to escape disgrace and shame, of :

"but one way left
but that thy base feare dares not let thee look on :
and that way will I take, though it seeme steepe
.....,
yet on the end hangs smyling peace, and honour,
and I will on."

knowing in his heart all the time that he does not at all intend to commit suicide himself.

The inconsistency in the characterization of the hero is largely due to the dual authorship, as I have pointed out before ; see Authorship. In the play Barnavelt is not a really tragic character presented before our eyes in harmonious development.

The Character of the Prince of Orange.

As I remarked before, we are expected to sympathize with the Prince. His great actions are chiefly described ; we hear of his growing popularity as a great soldier "that he is the army's soul, by which it moves to victory"; his friends remark to him : "you are the arme of the war, the soldier's spirit". The popular opinion is that he has saved the country from foreign usurpation, and Grotius remarks that this 'has swelled his pride' beyond the limits of his habitual modesty. But this proves to be calummy ; in the Prince's first speech his modesty is illustrated in the words :

"What I haue don, I looke not back, to magnifie
my Cuntry calld me to it."

He speaks with great forbearance about the slanders that expose his name and even his person to danger, and shows his magnanimity in the words :

"Nor can the bitter and bold toungue of mallice
make me forsake my dutie.....
or gaine so much vpon me as an anger
.....so the State suffer not
I am as easie to forget."

But then follows a speech by the Prince, which shakes our belief as to his magnanimous forbearance. I refer to the lines :

"I pray ye no more ;.....
stupid I neuer was nor so secure yet
to lend my patience to mine owne betraying:
I shall find time and riper cause."

This is not the speech of a high-minded noble warrior who does not care to meddle with politics, but rather of a consummate politician, who has feigned his former forbearance, and is little more than a downright hypocrite. Professor Fruin thinks we should not attach any deeper sense to these lines, and I certainly think that they are a slip only, due to hasty composition. In fact, this scene is composed by Fletcher, who is not very careful in delineation of character.

When access to the council-chamber is denied to the Prince, and this disgrace excites the indignation of his brother and the officers, he appeases their anger by a magnanimous speech, which elicits the Colonel's praise "a prince of rare humanity and temper". Meeting the Lords coming from the council, he addresses them without anger, begging them with great humility to tell him in what he has offended ; only, after being accused by Barnavelt of pride and insolence does he vent his justified wrath ; he charges Barnavelt with rebellious designs, and threatens that if he perseveres in this course of action, he shall have to pay for it with his head.

But the Prince is to be the victim of a worse insult. When he comes to Utrecht, and desires to enter the town, the guard at the gate have received the command from Leidenberch to stop his passage ; but as they are loyal to the Prince they invite him to enter. The Prince is more sad than angry ; instead of uttering words of anger, he only remarks reproachfully :

"None of our friends vpon the Portt ? Is this the welcom
of such a Towne, so bound in preservation
to vs and ours ?"

The author is anxious that we should understand this, and adds one of those annoying undramatic remarks of a spectator :

"the Prince is sadly angry".

When he meets Leidenberch he vents his rightful indignation, orders the officers to disband the companies of new soldiers, and tells Leidenberch in great scorn that he is a prisoner, and may justify his deeds at the Hague. Then follows a conversation between Vandort and Bredero describing the

Prince's character; they remark that in disbanding many companies of mercenaries in different towns, he has borne himself like a noble Gentleman, and a fair Soldier, and that all his actions have been wise and constant. I have already pointed out that this character-drawing by description is a weakness in the play.

cf. "like a true noble Gentleman, he had borne himself
and a fair fortunate Soldier: I hold the State Sir
most happie in his care, and this torn Cuntry
.....most bound to his deliuerance."

Bredero's answer is a long eulogy on the Prince about the disbanding of the mercenary troops; Vandort remarks in reply:

"he has run through a business, will much add to him,
"and sett his vertues of with greater lustre."

When Barnavelt enters, Vandort tells him he is suspected, and remarks

"you know the Prince, and know his noble nature."

In the meeting of the council, where the Prince has taken his place again, he shows his habitual magnanimous temper. He begs the Lords that Barnevelt may be admitted to their assembly, for as long as the Advocate continues loyal to the State, he loves him, otherwise he will pity him. The Prince is not going to boast of his deeds; in a long speech he assures the Lords that he is happy to have won back, without shedding a drop of blood, so many towns that were led astray. He pleads that the leaders of the revolt may not be punished, as this may breed new dissensions; his advice is "let us leave them to the scourge of their owne consciences." But the others persuade him to mention the leaders of the revolt; he does so, but begs the Lords to allow him to leave out Barnavelt.

When the Prince hears of Leidenberch's suicide, he is convinced that the danger must be greater than he suspected, and assures the Lords that he "that has never feared an army in the field" will send for the choicest companies to guard the country against rebellion, if necessary. The Lords authorize him "to proceed as he thinks fit." So the Prince thinks he will hardly be justified any longer, if he does not order Barnavelt to be arrested. He gives the order for Barnavelt's arrest, which is promptly executed.

Soon after he overhears the conversation of the Burghers and women at the fair; this confirms him in the belief that the love of the people

grows dangerous, and he determines that justice must have its course.

In the great trial scene Barnavelt's imposing figure and his glowing rhetorical speeches put the Prince in the background; the latter interrupts the Advocate once or twice to accuse him of treacherous attempts to frustrate his own designs of beating the Spanish armies. The Prince appears again on the stage to answer the French ambassadors in a frank, but dignified way, to show that the States are not the King's servants, but his friends. He is also present, when Barnavelt receives his inevitable sentence of death, and avails himself of the opportunity to point the moral that "punishment is always in store for those that plot against the general good, even though they are the greatest of men." My conclusion as to the Prince of Orange's character is, that it lacks originality and force. If through the lack of sufficient subject matter the dramatists were unable to draw true historical portraits of the Prince and the Advocate, they might have presented living persons to us, whose actions are consistent all through the play, which they have failed to do.

Minor characters.

The minor characters serve to give a background and historical realism to the story. They are not vividly drawn, and not with consistency either; like the Prince of Orange they have no individuality of their own. This is probably due to hasty workmanship. Neither Fletcher nor Massinger took the trouble to draw their minor characters with care, they worked too rapidly to give much thought to them. The figure of Leidenberch stands out most vividly; he is a beautiful and pathetic character in the play. He is conspicuous for his weakness of character and unreliable nature; in the first scene the captain describes him as one of the Lords, who will "promise anything, no suitor ever departed discontented from him; he does prefer to all an outward pity, but he never did man good"; it once happened that after talking for a long time to a beggar, "he gave him not a doyt." He is a flatterer and a beautiful talker; he flatters the Advocate, and also the Prince. He has consented to prevent the latter from gaining access to the council-chamber, but soon after he appeals to the Prince's excellent judgment, declares that rumours are not to be trusted, and assures him that he was ever noble. He tries by flattery to persuade the captains to take up arms against the Prince, using beautiful phrases like "we all stand far indebted to your service"; he calls them "the worthiest, the faithfullest, and strongest that protect us", assuring them "I

know you love the valiant Prince and yet you must graunt him a servant to the States". The Captain answers "we know your oild tongue; and your rethorique will hardly work on us, that are acquainted with what faire language your ill purposes are ever cloathd." The picture of his dismay whenever he hears the name of 'the English' is rather overdone and only a device, I suppose, to flatter the national pride of the audience, to show how formidable the sound of their name was in the foreign country. When Vandermitten tells him that the lady walking about is an English woman, he irrevelantly answers "Would they were all shipt well for the other part of the world." The news that the English command the gate elicits an imprecation: "Ten towsand devills. . . . those English are the men borne to undoe us." Again, when he hears that the English make a stand, he exclaims: "oh mischeif all our designes are crackt, layed open, ruynd."

When he has been taken prisoner, we hear from Barnavelt's son that he has 'revealed much', and brought before the Prince and the other Lords for trial, he assures them at once "all that I know I will deliuer to you." When Barnavelt visits him in prison he confesses his weakness, and is impelled by the headlong violence and fervour of Barnavelt's power of persuasion and passionate reasoning to promise to commit suicide. When he performs this tragic deed, he is presented as a truly pathetic figure, his farewell to the little boy is painted with delicate feeling; his effort to pluck up courage by the meditation that death is 'but fabled out terrable to fright us from it' stirs our pity. Barnavelt is right, when he remarks, hearing of Leidenberch's suicide "he was a weak man indeed, but he has redeemd it."

Of the other minor characters only the figures of Modesbargen and Grotius can assert any claim to characterization. In the first scene Modesbargen is distinguished from the others by speaking frankly to the Advocate; he does not flatter him as Grotius does, but censures his foolish desire of glory, and warns him not to spoil his honourable career by ambition. He hopes heaven may frustrate the Advocate's evil purpose of bringing back Spain's tyranny. In this eloquent speech he is drawn as a very frank, outspoken friend. In the next scene he warns Barnavelt again that "where Religion is made a cloke to our bad purposes, they seldom haue succes", but assures him that as long as Barnavelt's proceedings "do not preiudice the State, he will goe as far as any." He is prudent in his promises, which elicits the unjust remark from Barnavelt: "you are governd more by your feare then reason."

After the catastrophe in Utrecht he has escaped to Germany, and feels quite relieved to be exempted from all political cares ; he exclaims :

“I was a boy, a foole, to follow Barnauelt,
to step into his attempts, to wedd my freedom
to his most dangerous faction.”

While hunting he is taken prisoner by Orange’s men and shows himself a valiant soldier when he asks the Captain to do him one favour “doe but shoot me, clap both your Pistolls into me.”

His reproaches to Barnavelt at the Advocate’s trial make a less favourable impression ; this speech is again an example of the inconsistency with which the characters are painted in the play, cf.

“o, Mounsieur Barnauelt, now you perceive
to what a desperate state your headlong Counsell
and rash designes haue brought vs.”

This is the speech of a brow-beaten, disloyal coward. The inconsistency in the character delineation is usually due to Fletcher’s authorship, but here Massinger’s hand can clearly be traced. It is possible that Massinger wanted in this way to throw Barnavelt’s intrepid demeanour into greater relief. When forsaken on all sides, and even accused of rash designs by his former partisan, he never thinks of pleading guilty, but answers :

“you that feele
the horror of fowle guilt in your falce bosom
confes yourself soe ; my strong Inocence
to the death stands constant.”

Grotius’ character is painted with a few strokes ; in the first scene he flatters the Advocate, and promises to follow him blindly, declaring :

“ile nere enquire
what ’tis you goe about but trust your Counsailes
as the Auncients did their Oracles.”

He is of a bolder nature than the other partisans ; he never tries to back out, but remains faithful to the Advocate to the last. When Leidenberch is arrested and Modesbargen has fled, he threatens that if they dare imprison Barnavelt he will set the court, where the States meet, on fire and quench it with the blood of the Prince and his Lords ; he is going back to Rotterdam, and says “ile nere repent, what ever can fall on me.” There would have been greater consistency if the part of the flatterer in the first scene had been assigned to Modesbargen, and Grotius had been painted as the brave, frank friend, which he remained to the last.

The characters of Bredero and Vandort are also drawn with great

inconsistency. In the second scene they are depicted as Barnavel't's friends. When Barnavel't says that the Prince is but a Servant to the States and ought to be refused admittance to the council-chamber, for they need not "wayt his prow'd pleasure" Vandort readily agrees to this "'tis most requisite, goe on, you haue my voice", and Bredero joins in "and mine." To our surprise they side with the Prince against Barnavel't in the next scene. Bredero declares "we doe not like his carriage" and Vandort remarks "He do's all, speakes all: all disposes." They even authorize the Prince to frustrate Barnavel't's designs :

"you shall haue new Commission from vs all
to take in all those Townes he has thrust his men in :
when you haue that, proceed as likes your Excellence."

In the other parts of the play they are the principal agents against Barnavel't ; in the third act they utter long eulogies on the Prince's noble conduct, and regret that Barnavel't is suspected ; they try to persuade him to submit to the Prince and not to persevere in his struggle for the ascendancy. In Barnavel't's soliloquy in his study he says "Vandort is fleshd vpon me, and Bredero, though he be of noble nature dare not step in."

In the trial scene they prove to be Barnavel't's most implacable judges ; Vandort advises not to delay the verdict, and when Barnavel't is brought in, pronounces the sentence of death.

The female characters in the play are introduced by the dramatists to brighten the political story, which only offered them male characters. Though the figures of Barnavel't's wife and daughter are of subordinate importance and hardly enter into the action, they heighten the human interest.

The introduction of Leidenberch's little boy, keeping his father company in prison, is a distinctly artistic touch ; it relieves the gloom of the prison scene, where Leidenberch commits suicide. The little figure is truly pathetic ; especially the words, uttered in firm confidence,

"Come father, now I must goe too, I care not.
while I am with you, you shall haue no hurt
ile be your warrant"

touch our inmost feelings, when we think of what is going to follow. Leidenberch's suicide in the presence of the sleeping boy, deepens the pathos of the tragic deed.

I wish to note here that Leidenberch's pathetic soliloquy before

death is surely a reminiscence of Cato's speech in Chapman's *The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey*. There is a clear reference to Cato in the speech :

„Thou soule of Cato
and you brave Romaine speritts, famous more
for your true resolutions on yourselues
then Conquest of the world, behold and see me”

Leidenberch and Cato both take as examples the Romans, who never hesitated, but met death bravely ; compare Cato's words :

“the Consuls' souls
That slew themselves so nobly, scorning life
Led under tyrants' sceptres, mine would see.”

The ideas expressed in the two soliloquies are the same 'death is no worse than sleep' and 'the pain is short, illness is worse'. This had also been Barnavelt's argument in pe-suading Leidenberch to kill himself :

“*Leid.* 'tis no great paine
Barn. 'tis nothing :
Imagination onely makes it monstrous
when we are sick we endure a hundred fitts
this is but one.”

For clearness' sake I will quote Cato's soliloquy :

“Poor slaves, how terrible this death is to them !
If men would sleep they would be wroth with all
That interrupt them, physic take, to take
The golden rest it brings, both pay and pray
For good and soundest naps, all friends consenting
In those kind invocations, praying all
'Good rest the gods vouchsafe you', but when Death,
Sleep's natural brother, comes (that's nothing worse,
But better, being more rich, and keeps the store ;
Sleep ever fickle, wayward still, and poor),
O how men grudge, and shake, and fear, and fly
His stern approaches ; all their comforts taken
In faith and knowledge of the bliss and beauties
That watch their wakings in an endless life,
Drown'd in the pains and horrors of their sense
Sustain'd but for an hour !”¹

When the sword is brought to Cato, he continues

“Unsheathe ! Is 't sharp ? 'Tis sweet ! Now I am safe ;
Come Caesar, quickly now, or lose your vassal,

¹ V. 2.

Now wing thee, dear soul, and receive her, heaven.
The earth, the air, and seas I know, and all
The joys and horrors of their peace and wars,
And now will see the gods' state, and the stars,"¹

Here we notice again some similarities; Leidenberch and Cato are both anxious to feel the sharpness of the sword. Cato calls it 'sweet', and Leidenberch 'meets it with the gladness of a longing lover.' Both feel safe after the deed, compare Cato's words 'Now I am safe' and Leidenberch's

"Now shoot your spightes.....
here is a constant frend will not betray me."²

A weakness in the play is the introduction of the English lady 'walking about to see the sport', and preaching obedience to the Dutch women. She is not a very plausible figure and not in any organic connexion with the action. She does not appear in the play again, and seems to be only meant to serve as a favourable contrast to the cackling Dutch wives to flatter the national pride of the audience. The episode has some historical interest, but does not contribute in any way to the catastrophe, which is a flaw in the development of the action.

There are other short episodes in the play, namely Modesbargen's hunt and his capture; they are of lively interest and depicted with effective animation.

The realistic description of the citizens crowding to see the execution and coming into collision with the soldiers, 'who won't let them see their friends hanged in peace' is drawn with great spirit. Swinburne remarks on this scene "the tragically humourous realism is effective." Fletcher has caught with wonderful spirit the humours of the crowd. He had great sympathy with the lower classes; in many of his plays there is a group of people of lower birth, as here the common people in the street. In all these scenes in our play Fletcher's hand can be traced. Massinger is less at home on the humbler levels of humanity; he is generally concerned with people of gentle birth. His principal characters nearly always belong to the nobility, or are persons of high social standing.

Fletcher's stagecraft.

Fletcher is incomparable as a master of stagecraft. In our play there are happy stage devices, which he made frequent use of in his other

¹ *ibid.*

² lines 1681, 82.

plays. The balcony or the window is a very important stage adjunct in his plays; it contributes to the picturesqueness of the scene. In our play the window is made use of in the fourth scene of the fourth act, when Barnavelt's wife appears 'aboue', and talks to the Burghers and women coming with flowers to decorate Barnavelt's house. In this way an effective background is formed for the people who are praising Barnavelt, and abusing the Prince; it serves at the same time as a device for Orange's overhearing the conversation. In this way he learns that Barnavelt is still honoured and loved by the people and this confirms him in his determination to bring about the conviction of Barnavelt, as the love of the people is growing too dangerous. This overhearing of a conversation, and making use of it, is a well-known and favourite device of the Elizabethan stage; compare Fletcher *Monsieur Thomas*¹, Massinger *The Virgin Martyr*² and Shakespeare *Much Ado about Nothing*³, though here the device is arranged as a trick to induce Beatrice to accept Benedict's love.

Fletcher liked introducing music and songs in his plays. In *Barnavelt* there are two songs, and a dance in the scenes composed by Fletcher.⁴

Dramatic Irony.

An effective use is made of dramatic irony in the scene of Modesbargen's hunting. Thirwall in his essay *On the Irony of Sophocles* calls dramatic irony 'the mockery of fate which excites a melancholy smile.' G. C. Macaulay remarks "the dramatic irony is no mere playwright's device; it is the scenic representation of the practical contrast in human life between the show and the reality; the practical irony of life. The tragic interest is heightened more artificially by the utterances of the character concerned than by the arrangements of the incidents; his words convey a meaning other than he is conscious of."⁵ There is a good deal of tragic irony in Shakespeare's plays, one case among many is Duncan's comment on the castle, where he is to be murdered that very night:

"This castle hath a pleasant seat, the air
Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle senses."⁶

¹ III. 1.

² II. 3.

³ III. 1.

⁴ IV. 4; V. 2.

⁵ *Francis Beaumont.*

⁶ I 6.

The Prince of Orange has sent the Captain to Germany to take all measures for Modesbargen's capture. Modesbargen goes hunting, and feels safe from care and persecution after his escape; he is now enjoying life in innocent pleasures. At the very moment, when the soldiers stand ready to capture him he exclaims :

“how sweetly do I live, and laugh vpon
the perrills I haue past, the plotts and traynes
and now (methinks) I dare securely looke on
the steepe and desprat follyes, my indiscretion
like a blind careles foole had almost cast me on,
Here I stand saffe, 'gainst all their strenghts and Stratagemes :
I was a boy, a foole to follow Barnauelt
.....
but I haue scapd their clawes ¹.

To the audience these words are of deep dramatic significance. At this moment a huntsman comes telling the news that he has discovered armed soldiers, and soon after Modesbargen is arrested.

If we had expected a powerful scene depicting Barnavelt's execution, we are disappointed. The scene has not the solemnity worthy of the fall of a great figure; we are not filled with pity and terror at the hero's overthrow. This is again the result of the faults in the composition noted before, as the dramatists had failed to depict a great figure. Swinburne remarks “the stately and fervent eloquence of Barnavelt's last appeals and protestations are fine and effective; the pathos, if not profound, is genuine, and the grasp of character more firm and serious than usual with Fletcher.” ² I consider the value of this scene overrated by this criticism. It is true that the language is stately and eloquent, but I think this eloquence is out of place and undramatic. The conversation between the two Lords and Barnavelt is drawn out too long; Barnavelt's appeals and protestations might be effective, but we have heard so much before of his former services to the country, and of his ungrateful people, that they have no dramatic interest, and we are not moved by them any more. There is a lack of dramatic force and deep tragic pathos in Barnavelt's farewell to life and glory. We may feel pity for the hero in his fall, but it is certainly not mixed with terror. If we compare Barnavelt to King Lear standing on the heath, exposed to hail and rain, blind and forsaken by all except the fool, there is sublime pathos in Lear's remark :

¹ lines 1741 ff.

² *Op. cit.*

"I tax not you, you elements with unkindness."¹ These words touch the heart more intensely than Barnavelt's long and eloquent speeches. J. R. Lowell rightly remarks "here we are in the awful presence of unexampled woes."²

Barnavelt's last words are more elegiac than pathetic. Professor Th. Parrott thinks that the elegiac note is imitated from Byron's farewell speech in *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron*.³ This speech seems to have made a special impression on Fletcher, as he imitated it again in Buckingham's farewell in *Henry VIII*.

Professor Parrott mentions lines 245-61, but I am inclined to include lines 224-28 and 231-34 for comparison as well. The passage runs as follows :

"This is some poor witness
 That my desert might have outweigh'd my forfeit:
 But danger haunts desert when he is greatest;

 And kings' suspicions needs no balances;

 Commend my love, I charge you, to my brothers,
 And by my love and misery command them
 To keep their faiths that bind them to the King,

 And so farewell for ever! Never more
 Shall any hope of my revival see me;
 Such is the endless exile of dead men.
 Summer succeeds the Spring; Autumn the Summer;
 The frosts of Winter the fall'n leaves of Autumn:
 All these and all fruits in them yearly fade,
 And every year return: but cursed man
 Shall never more renew his vanish'd face.
 Fall on your knees then, statists, ere ye fall,
 That you may rise again: knees bent too late,
 Stick you in earth like statues: see in me
 How you are pour'd down from your clearest heavens;
 Fall lower yet, mix'd with th'unmoved centre,
 That your own shadows may no longer mock ye.
 Strike, strike, O strike; fly, fly, commanding soul,
 And on thy wings for this thy body's breath,
 Bear the eternal victory of Death!"⁴

¹ III. 2.

² *The Old English Dramatists*.

³ *Chapman's Tragedies* edited by Th. Parrott.

⁴ V. 4.

In Buckingham's speech there are some lines which offer a striking parallel to Barnavelt's namely :

"Commend me to his grace;.....
..... may he live
Longer than I have time to tell his years!
Ever belo'vd and loving may his rule be!"¹

Some critics, as Professor Creizenach, Professor Fruin and Professor Delius object to the comic scene of the gambling executioners. It is true that our modern taste objects to comic scenes in tragedy as we consider them painful in serious plays ; we readily admit that the vulgar jokes of the executioners jar upon the tone and dignity of the play, but we ought to judge the dramatists by their own standard and to take the taste of the time into consideration. Dr. Bradley remarks "the mass of the audience liked the intermixture of seriousness and mirth."²

The comic element served as an interlude or as a relief to tragic matter, and at the same time for the relaxing of great tension or overwrought emotion. Dr. Johnson justifies the mixing of tragic and comic parts by saying that in life, the vulgar is often near the sublime ; serious things happen with comic situations.

The practice of interweaving tragedy with comic parts is characteristic of the English drama in the seventeenth century. It was an inheritance from the mystery plays, and survived from the moralities, where the Vice alternates the solemnity of the plot with laughter. *Cambises* 'the lamentable tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth' had still great affinity in this respect with the old moralities. In the Elizabethan plays we meet with a variety of treatment. There are no touches of humour in *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron*, nor in *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, neither are there any in Jonson's tragedies *Sejanus* and *Catiline*. In *Faustus* and numerous other plays a great license prevails. Mr. Tucker Brooke remarks "the mingling of comic burlesque with the serious business of tragedy was a special vice of the time, which Shakespeare's practice only later transmuted into a virtue."³

There is a great difference in the treatment of mixing comic and tragic scenes. The comic scenes may be in harmony with the serious tenor of the whole ; they are so closely interwoven with the tragic part as to produce a

¹ *Henry VIII*, II. 1. 87.
² *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*.
³ *The Tudor Drama*.

unity of the tragic scenes, or to heighten the tragic effect, as in *King Lear*, where the fool contributes greatly to the tragic desolation of the scene. Mr. Hadow remarks "we laugh at the home-thrusts and the absurd stories and the snatches of biting verse, but it is with a laughter on the further side of tears."¹

There is the same close connexion in *The Virgin Martyr*, where the apprentices throw Dorothea's great virtues into relief; but when the comic scenes do not harmonize with the tragic parts, they have no dramatic interest, and are a fault, as is the case in our play. Professor Creizenach remarks that in this respect Shakespeare was also a child of his time, but very often we get the impression that he did not compose these parts *con amore* as the part of the clown in *Antony and Cleopatra*, or Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet*.² Mr. W. H. Hadow is of a different opinion as to Shakespeare's practice. He remarks "In all Shakespeare's tragedies the element of comedy appears, though under different forms, as pathetic in *Lear*, or gallant as Mercutio's part in *Romeo and Juliet*. Even *Macbeth* has the scene of the Porter, and *Hamlet* has the players and the gravediggers. The comic scenes fall under two divisions. One kind is that in which the comic scenes are necessary to give circumstance to the plot or to prepare for some climax. No tragic scene could carry us so well, as do the brawling servants, into the heart of the feud between Montagues and Capulets; the drinking scene in *Othello* is a feast on the crater's edge: one feels through it all the ominous trembling of the earth. The other kind as for example the gravediggers in *Hamlet* and the Porter in *Macbeth* appears at first sight to be the least organic which any dramatist could device. The gravediggers were severely censured by Voltaire and the scene of the Porter was violently attacked by Coleridge."³ Mr. Hadow considers the physical effect of the knocking in itself a masterpiece of stagecraft. He remarks "this is not a mere contrast of colour, mere relief and breathing-space, 'a stopping to bait' as Dryden says, on the tragic journey. We notice that all these cases stand on one common ground: that the character momentarily introduced understands no whit of the tragedy which is gathering around him. The comic character enters for a single moment, touches the outermost fringe of the story, and then disappears entirely from the stage. It never occurs to these people that they are witnessing the crisis of a tragedy, still less that they have borne any part in bringing it about." An example is the Egyptian

¹ *The Use of comic Episodes in Tragedy.*

² *Op. Cit.*

³ *Op. Cit.*

peasant who brings the asp to Cleopatra. Mr. Hadow thinks that here Shakespeare lifts the veil and shows us for an instant one of the most tremendous truths which even he has revealed. "In the world of human life we are constantly touching the fringe of great issues, great events, great tragedies; we catch a glimpse of the conflict, we may even, for good or ill, take an unwitting part in it, and then the scene closes and we go on our way and know no more."¹

I think Mr. Hadow has successfully vindicated the much censured practice of interweaving these comic scenes in tragedy, and much of it can be applied to the comic scene of the gambling executioners in our play. The executioners gamble and sing quite unconscious of the tragedy of Barnavelt's conflict and fall, in the same way as the gravedigger, to whom death is equally commonplace, can sing at his work. But in our play the connexion is much looser, the rough jokes of the executioners, cannot bear comparison with the wise arguing of the gravedigger; the vulgarity of Fletcher's scene jars upon our feelings.

Style and Versification.

When discussing the authorship of the play, I have already spoken at some length of Massinger's and Fletcher's versification. Massinger's style is marked by a great fluency; a characteristic feature of his works is the easy, even flow of language. In a contemporary poem *On the Time Poets* we find the lines on Massinger :

"Massinger, whose easy Pegasus will amble o'er
some threescore miles of Fancy in an hour."²

His style is always stately, harmonious and dignified, we seldom meet with a harsh construction, but on the other hand there are hardly any passages of great brilliancy. On the whole Massinger's style is very lucid; it is more perspicuous than that of any other dramatic poet of the age; this lucidity gives the impression that he is more mature and modern than the other Elizabethan dramatists. He avoids Shakespeare's obscurity and this is the reason why Coleridge calls Massinger's style "a better model for dramatists than Shakespeare's."

Sir Leslie Stephen remarks "Massinger's writing is pitched in too low a key."³ It is true that very often his versification can scarcely be distinguished from prose, it is never highly poetical or brilliant, but his

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Choyce Drollery* 1656.

³ *Op. cit.*

verse has a majestic march and a musical fluency in the rhetorical passages. Massinger can rise to a high dignity, which he often does in *Barnavello*, but he does not mount to the sublime.

Massinger's imagery also proves that he is not a poet of high imagination. I have noted before that our play belongs to the Silver Age of the drama, or to the period of the decline. In the first place this is evident in the characterization and in the second place in the loss of intensity and power of the imagery. In our play we seldom meet with a picturesque, striking image, and if we do, it generally occurs in Fletcher's part. Massinger's metaphors make the impression that they are composed in the study rather than inspired directly by nature.

I have already noted the striking image illustrating the destruction caused by the war which occurs again in Massinger's *The Parliament of Love*,

"when the hot Lyon's breath
burnes vp the feilds."¹

A poetical image is found in the lines :

"I bound vp those strenghtes
in the golden fagot of faire Concord."²

There are poetical, but not very imaginative metaphors in the lines :

"now in the sun-set of my daie of honour
when I should passe with glory to my rest
shall I sitt downe and suffer the choice fruites
of my deepe proiects, grace anothers Banquet?"³

and in the lines :

"the labourinthes of pollicie, I haue trod
to find the clew of saffetie for my Cuntrie"⁴

There are some poetical phrases as

"all now sing the sweet tunes of Concord."⁵

I have already noted that Massinger made a discreet use of alliteration ; there are some passages in which the alliteration is very successfully used, namely :

¹ lines 655, 56.

² line 2244, 45.

³ lines 40 ff.

⁴ lines 33, 34.

⁵ line 1228.

"confusion with one greedy grip being ready¹

and in the line quoted above :

"and in the golden fagot of faire Concord"

Professor Cruickshank notes that Massinger has some notable compound epithets as for instance: 'brass-leaved'; 'full-sailed'. An example of this usage in *Barnavelt* is: 'full-wingd.'²

Fletcher's versification and style are quite different from Massinger's. There prevailed a greater freedom of style than in Shakespeare's time, and Fletcher especially aimed at careless ease; there is a conversational looseness in his style which gives the effect of unpremeditated speech and is more dramatic than Massinger's; his blank verse is for this reason the best substitute for prose. Fletcher was a greater poet than Massinger, and his diction has more colour and splendour. His versification is exquisitely musical; it is true that he is never sublime, but his diction is marked by a fanciful charm of expression and graceful melody. His imagery is more poetical and picturesque than Massinger's; but though his metaphors are vivid, they are often forced. Metaphors taken from the sea and sailing are favourites with Fletcher. In *Barnavelt* a powerful image is :

"who
vnbard the Havens that the floating Merchant
might clap his lynnens wings vp to the windes
and back the raging waves to bring you proffit?"³

The following comparison of a sailor in the dangerous waters is very imaginative.

"yet, what so confident Sailor that heares the Sea rore,
the winds sing lowd, and dreadfull, the day darkend
but he will cry a storme : downe with his Canvas
and hull, expecting of that horrid feauour".⁴

Other images taken from sailing occurring in the play are :

"we need not add this wind by our observaunce
to sailes too full alreedy".⁵

¹ line 2234.

² line 983.

³ lines 2912 ff.

⁴ lines 1994 ff.

⁵ lines 297, 98.

and,

“our comendations are too light gales,
too slack and emptie windes, to move your worthes,
and tempests of your owne tongue, and the Soldiers
now onely fill your sailes”.¹

and,

“must we
blow all we can to fill his sailes with greatnes?”²

Massinger has imitated this image in *The City Madam*

“when your ships are at sea, their prayers will swell
The sailes with properous winds.”³

A fine image taken from navigation again is :

“and we exposd, like bruizd, and totterd vessels
to merciles and cruell Seas to sinck vs”.⁴

There is a very imaginative metaphor by Fletcher in *Barnavelte*, which is also imitated by Massinger :

“just like a strong demolishd Towre ile totter
and fright the neighbour Cuntries with my marmor:
my ruyns shall reach all:”⁵

compare *The Guardian* :

“Like to a tottering tower
not to be underpropped: yet in my fall
I'll crush thee with my ruins.”⁶

When Barnavelte persuades Leidenberch to seek death, he says :

“the narrowest dore of death I would work through first.”⁷

this image of a door of life or death is found again in Massinger's *The Parliament of Love* :

“There are a thousand doors to let out life.”⁸

Barnavelte's remark on receiving his sentence of death :

“I shall not play my last Act worst”⁹

¹ lines 478-81.

² line 1133.

³ I. 3.

⁴ lines 1454, 55.

⁵ lines 1174 ff.

⁶ III. 6.

⁷ line 1539.

⁸ IV. 2.

⁹ line 2694.

remind us of Juliet's words :

"my dismal scene I needs must act alone.¹

Fletcher has many images in which persons or things are compared to meteors; they are common in the plays of the time. In *Barnavelt* we find :

"I make no doubt but once more like a Comet
to shine out faire and blaze prodigiously."²

and,

"must Barnauelt passe with 'em, and glide away
like a spent Exhalation"³

Compare to this in *Henry VIII*, Fletcher's part,

"I shall fall like a bright exhalation in the evening."⁴

and in *Barnavelt* :

"those fyery Speritts next.....
..... that thought like meteors
to haue flashd their Cuntrys peace out in a Moment."⁵

Compare *the Guardian* :

"or like meteors
blaze forth prodigious terrors."⁶

I have already given an example of Fletcher's abundance of alliteration ;⁷ sometimes he crowds his lines with alliteration and even double alliteration, as for example :

"and when they slept, watcht to secure their slombers ?
subiect to slights, to scornes, to taynts, to tortures ?"⁸

It is very remarkable that in the last line there is no word that does not alliterate.

On the whole our play cannot lay claim to any brilliancy of diction ; there are few passages of high poetical beauty, never any surprisingly brilliant passages, nor individual lines that are truly sublime ; we do not meet with lines that cling to the memory, which so often strike us in Shakespeare's plays.

¹ *Romeo and Juliet* IV. 3.

² lines 1444, 45.

³ lines 1904, 5.

⁴ III. 2. 225.

⁵ lines 2943, 44.

⁶ II. 4.

⁷ see Authorship.

⁸ lines 2083, 84.

H. TREATMENT OF THE SUBJECT AND HISTORICAL VALUE

Professor Delius criticizes, as a blemish of the play, the deficiency in true historical colour, which is indispensable in a play of essentially political interest, especially to an audience of a foreign nation.¹ I quite agree with this criticism; there is a notable deficiency in the clear exposition of the political situation of the period. The dissensions between the different parties are not put in a clear light, and no attempt is made to throw light on the historical problems. The cause is, in my opinion, that the dramatists had not sufficiently entered into the spirit of the historical events, which is evident all through the play.

Professor Gardiner gives an instructive exposition of the controversies in the Republic in his *History of England*, which deserves to be quoted as a whole, and to be compared with the treatment of the subject in the play.

"Arminianism in Holland. An example was given in the Dutch Republic, of the violence with which the flames of religious factions may rage, when they are fanned by the well-meant, but injudicious attempts of a Government to interfere with the natural current of opinion. A protest had been raised by Arminius and his followers against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. In the province of Holland the teaching had been welcomed by Barnaveld. He obtained from the States of Holland an order that the rival theologians should abstain from controversy.

Intolerance of the Calvinists. The proceedings of Barnaveld were distasteful to Maurice. He cared little for theology,² but he saw that the unwise course which Barnaveld was pursuing was weakening the military strength of the Republic. If Barnaveld could have been brought to grant a real toleration, instead of one which was one-sided and unjust, the catastrophe might have been averted. When the States ordered their contingent in the federal army to transfer its allegiance from the common government to themselves, and began to raise new levies in their own

¹ *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, XIX.

² Motley states: "Maurice was no theologian; he was a steady churchgoer and his favourite divine, the preacher at his court-chapel was none other than Uytenbogaert, the very man who was to be the champion of the Arminians. He was wont to say he knew nothing of predestination, whether it was green, or whether it was blue."

name, Maurice interfered. The overthrow of Barnaveld's power was easy; in a few days the leaders of the Arminians were in prison, and their places occupied by the devoted followers of the House of Nassau. Maurice, by the death of his elder brother, now Prince of Orange, might have organized the Republic, but he was not qualified for such a task, he had done soldier's work and could do no more; he stood aside whilst under the shadow of his great name, violent and unscrupulous partisans committed acts by which his memory has been blackened for ever.

Spring 1619. The synod of Dort. The Arminians were summoned as culprits; they were deprived of their offices. The States-General banished those who refused to abstain from preaching. Barnaveld was tried before a tribunal specially appointed for the purpose of trying him, and was accused of treason of which he was absolutely innocent. Maurice, who had been led to believe that his antagonist was too dangerous to be spared, refused to interfere in his behalf; in his seventy-third year the aged Statesman was hurried to the scaffold as a traitor to the Republic which he had done so much to save."¹

I will now quote an exposition of the historical facts, given by a Dutch historian. Professor Wijnne writes in his "History of our Country":

"During the period of the Truce peace did not reign in the Republic; instead of order and tranquillity the country was torn by intestine disturbances. In 1603 Arminius was appointed to the professorship of theology at Leiden; his belief disagreed with the prevailing creed on the important point of predestination, one of the principal tenets of Calvinism. He had soon many adherents, Uytenbogaart, Maurice's court chaplain, being foremost among them. Arminius differed on another point with the views of the Calvinists; he advocated civic authority over the church, which was also Barneveldt's view, whereas the Calvinists maintained to supremacy of the Church over the State. The Arminians drew up a "Remonstrance" in which their views were formulated in five points. The opposite party answered by a Contra-Remonstrance, from which the parties received the names of 'Remonstrants' and 'Contra-Remonstrants.' The States of Holland with the Advocate as their leader took the side of the Remonstrants. In 1611 the discords grew more violent; a Contra-Remonstrant preacher at Rotterdam was forbidden to preach on account of disobedience. The schism in the Reformed Church became wider; the Contra-Remonstrants preached in separate places, and in many

¹ *History of England.*

towns serious disturbances took place. The seceders insisted that a separate church should be assigned to them, and in March 1617 they took possession of the Cloister Church in the Hague, situated next door to Barnevelt's house. It was clear to the Magistrates that in the disturbances they could not rely on the troops garrisoned in the towns. This was, to a great extent, owing to the attitude of Prince Maurice, who was very popular with the soldiers. The Stadholder was no theologian, and did not know much about predestination. He had abstained from taking part in the religious controversies up to now, but on July 23 of this year he went in solemn state, with a brilliant cavalcade, to the Cloister Church.

François van Aerssen and others were unceasing in their efforts to excite Maurice's animosity against Barnevelt, which was not difficult taking the Prince's suspicious nature into consideration. They planned to bring the Arminians to destruction, and to this effect desired to convoke a national synod. The States of Holland voted against it, but proposed to call a provincial synod. They tried to put a stop to the confusion by a measure called 'the Sharp Resolve'. The resolution authorized the magistrates of the cities to enlist troops for their security; the officers and soldiers received the command to be loyal and obedient to the magistrates of the cities, where they lay in garrison. It is an indisputable fact that the provinces and cities had always had the right to enlist troops, the so-called 'Waartgelders'. Some towns enlisted three or four hundred men, the province of Holland had no more than eighteen hundred, the State of Utrecht had six hundred. Some towns decided to enlist troops in order to prevent violence, others because they could not rely on the garrisons, and up to June 1618 there was nobody who had ever disputed the right of the magistrates to enlist troops. The party that attacked first, was not Barnevelt's party; the Contra-Remonstrants refused to listen to the offers of mediation of the Arminians, let alone to act up to them. In these days the crisis was approaching fast. The party in the States-General, bent upon gaining the victory, resolved to decide matters by violence. The States-General determined to send a deputation to Utrecht to persuade the States of that province to disband the mercenaries, and to demand their consent to the convocation of a national synod. This course of action was a violation of every privilege, law and custom. On July 25th 1618 Prince Maurice accompanied by a committee of the States-General arrived at Utrecht. They held a meeting with Grotius, pensionary of Rotterdam, and some other members of the States of Holland, and proposed to the States to disband the mercenaries. It was clear from

Maurice's speech that, if necessary, he would not shrink from using violence.

The Commanders of the garrisons were reminded of their duty, and early in the morning of the 31th July Maurice disarmed the mercenary troops. He changed the magistrates of the town, and Gillis van Ledenberg, the soul of the States of Utrecht, was dismissed from his office. The majority of the States of Holland tried to restore peace and order; but also in their province, the mercenaries were ordered to lay down their arms. In the meeting of the States-General two resolutions were passed. The first authorized the Prince to take all measures which he considered necessary to the welfare of the country; the second contained the arrest of Barnevelt, Grotius and Hoogerbeets.

On the 29th August Barnevelt was arrested in the name of the States-General by a lieutenant of the Prince's guard. In September Maurice travelled through Holland and a general change of magistracies was effected.

A special commission of twenty-four judges was appointed for Barnevelt's trial. Some were the Advocate's personal enemies, and a great many were political adversaries. Barnevelt was not allowed any proper means of defence, he was not even permitted the help of a lawyer; the interrogatories were strictly secret. In April it was still doubtful whether the majority of the judges should vote for a sentence of death, but Aerssen and other personal enemies of Barnevelt seem to have urged that such a verdict was inevitable, and that Prince Maurice would not be displeased with it. The verdict was that Barnevelt was to be executed with the sword, and his property confiscated. The protests that can be alledged against the proceedings of the tribunal are innumerable. The whole thing was a political, and not a judicial affair.

The French ambassadors had come before the States-General, and had offered mediation in behalf of the prisoners, but in vain. On the 13th of May the Advocate of Holland was executed at the Hague. In this way the blinded party spirit of contemporaries succeeded in casting a stain on the Advocate's steadfast attachment to his country, and cut off a life which had been uninterruptedly devoted to the welfare of the Republic. The history of the Republic from 1586 to 1618 is his history."¹

The dramatists have not succeeded in sifting their material sufficiently to bring out the truth clearly, which is not surprising, when we take into consideration, how blinded by party spirit the authors of the political

¹ *Geschiedenis van het Vaderland.*

pamphlets were at that time ; it must have been almost impossible for them to have a clear, unprejudiced conception of the figure of the great Statesman, but they might have given a readier ear to Barneveld's defence in *The Apology* ; in that case they might have known that the Advocate had always had the welfare of his country in view. We are now better informed about Barneveld's person by our modern historians, among whom Motley has studied Barneveld's character with great zeal and warm love. Sir A. Ward remarks concerning Motley's work *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld* "it is a work of great warmth of feeling and colour, if not altogether of judicial impartiality."¹

Barnavelt,² whose greatest sin in the play is his ambition, is drawn as a shrewd, plotting conspirator, as I have pointed out before.³ To secure himself against the threatening loss of his popularity he lays a plot against the Prince and to gain his ends he calls in the aid of Spain, under whose power he intends to bring back the Provinces. This point of view is not in keeping with the historical facts ; all through Barneveld's career he can never be accused of conspiracy against Maurice's person, and Barneveld and Maurice had certainly each in their own way the welfare of the State in view. Motley observes : "Shallow creatures considered the struggle as a personal one. There could be no doubt of the bitter animosity between the two men ; there could be no doubt that jealousy was playing the part which that master passion will ever play in all the affairs of life. But it was with the aged statesman a matter of principle, not of policy. The principles, by which his political life had been guided, had been the supremacy of the civil authority over the clerical and military. His character, his personal pride, the dignity of opinion and office, his respect for constitutional law were all at stake."⁴ Groen van Prinsterer, a staunch admirer of Prince Maurice, admits that in this conflict, the two great men of a small republic both acted in good faith.⁵ It was plain that in the Commonwealth there was no room for the Advocate and the Stadholder. Motley draws an interesting picture of the figure of the Advocate in the great conflict ; in some scenes of the play the portrayal of the hero bears a great similarity to it. He writes :

¹ *History of English dramatic Literature*. II.

² Barneveld's name. In this part I have used Motley's spelling, except when referring to the play, in that case the spelling of the play is retained.

³ See Aesthetic value.

⁴ Motley, *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld*.

⁵ *Maurice et Barneveld*.

"Doubtless Barneveld loved power, and the more danger he found on every side, the less inclined he was to succumb. Arrogant, overbearing, self-concentrated, accustomed to lead senates, and to guide the councils, and share the secrets of king, of unmatched industry, full of years and experience, he accepted the great fight which was forced upon him. Irascible, courageous, austere, contemptuous, he saw the Republic, whose cradle he had rocked, grown to be one of the most powerful and prosperous among the States of the world, and could with difficulty imagine that she was ready to rend the man whom she was bound to cherish and to revere."

The imputations against Barneveld of purposing to betray the country to Spain, have since been stigmatized as falsehoods by historical investigations, but were firmly believed by all the Calvinists at that time. Even Maurice, who was suspicious by nature, was easily led to consider the Advocate to be a conspirator; he readily believed the instigations of Barneveld's enemies, who insinuated that he held secret communications with France, and endeavoured to bring back the Provinces under the vassalage of Spain. Maurice had told his stepmother Louise de Coligny, the fourth wife of William the Silent, that those dissensions would never be decided except by the use of weapons, and he mentioned to her that he had received information from Brussels, which he in part believed, that the Advocate was a stipendiary of Spain.¹

After Barneveld's arrest there was a deluge of the most villainous pamphlets and the result was that people, not only his enemies, were aghast as they heard how the Advocate had for years been the hireling of Spain, whose government had bribed him largely, and how his plot to sell the country to the ancient tyrant had just in time been discovered.² The people believed it, and hated him accordingly.

The conception of Barneveld's character as extremely ambitious is not true to history either, which can be proved by a letter written by the Advocate to the Prince, when he became aware of their alienation. He wrote a dignified letter, dated 24 April 1618, in which he declared that he had always tried to promote the service of the country and had, ten years ago, not only offered to resign all his functions, but to leave the country rather than remain in office to the dissatisfaction of his Excellency. A year ago he had again offered to resign all his offices rather than find himself in perpetual opposition to his Excellency.³

The figure of Maurice cannot lay claim to historical truth either. He

¹ Uytenbogaert, *Leven*, chapter X. Uytenbogaert adds, referring to the first part "whether it were a prophecy or a design is to me unknown."

² Baudartius, *Memorien I.*

³ *Waaragtige Historie van J. van Oldenbarneveldt.*

is painted as a noble, generous Prince, magnanimous and forbearing, until the safety of his country and his person make it inevitable for him to pronounce the deserved doom on the Advocate. This is the description of the virtuous Prince we know from the *Golden Legend of the New St. John*, and merely the usual type of a noble prince, a well-known figure on the stage at Beaumont and Fletcher's time.

The plot gives a representation of the facts which is not at all in keeping with the historical truth. In the play Barnavelt's motive for the conspiracy is that he hears that his popularity is waning before the rising glory of the Prince; he need not fear that he shall lose his place as the first statesman of the Republic for the Prince is depicted as modest and contented with the place assigned to him in the Republic as a servant of the States, and with the rank of Captain General of the army. Barnavelt's conduct is improbable and a wrong representation of the historical facts is given in this way. In order to regain his popularity Barnavelt tries to raise a rebellion and places himself at the head of the Arminians. This action makes the plot more improbable still, for this would never restore his popularity. The Arminians were hated by the greater part of the people; they were considered heretics and reviled as such. Besides, Barneveld was surely not a friend of the people; this representation of the Advocate in our play is incorrect. He was an aristocrat, and an advocate of an oligarchic form of government. The eminent statesman might easily have led the people as he wanted, but he had never taken the trouble to consider their wishes; they had to obey as long as he ruled according to the form of government he had instituted. As he had ruled of late in direct opposition to the will of the people, his ruin was undoubtedly the wish of the common people, who considered themselves offended in their deepest religious conviction, whereas the Prince was the idol of the soldiers, and also of the common people. The general approbation of Barneveld's arrest by the common people is an indisputable proof, and this also strengthened Maurice in his proceedings against Barneveld. So the lines :

“the peoples loves grow dangerous
the lowd and common voice of his deservings
is floong abroad”

are in direct contradiction to the historical truth. It is an historical fact that Barneveld's house was decorated on May-day, but by Barneveld's family and aristocrat friends, and not by the common people. The representation in the play of the people praising Barnavelt, and abusing the

Prince is not true to history. Baudartius tells us that the relatives of the fallen Statesman could not appear in the streets without being exposed to insult, without hearing scurrilous and obscene verses against the prisoners and themselves howled in their ears by all the ballad-mongers of the town.¹

In the second scene of the first act Barnaveld, in order to find a pretext for his revolutionary proceedings, says :

“and openly I will profes myself
of the Arminian sect”.

This representation of the facts is in direct opposition to the historical truth. In *the Apology* Barneveld has explained that he had studied abroad, and that he had been in Heidelberg till the year 1570, where he had become acquainted with the doctrine that disputed the truth of predestination. He had studied it there and adopted it, and “had lived in that faith since, by the grace of God for fifty years, and hoped to die therein.” The Prince had not taken sides in the controversies till 1616, when Barneveld had long been an adherent of Arminius’ doctrine. Arminius was appointed Professor of theology in Leyden in 1603 and as Gardiner remarks “the new teaching of Arminius had been welcomed in Holland by Barneveld.” Besides, Barneveld’s profession of faith was what we should expect. The magistrates throughout Holland with the exception of a few cities, were Arminians, the preachers Gomarians, for Arminius ascribed to civil authority the right to decide upon church matters ; the religious controversies were also the controversies “whether priests shall govern the state, or the state the priest”. Motley remarks “in those days, and in that land especially, theology and politics were one”, and Barneveld naturally advocated the latter principle.

There seems to be a germ of historical truth in Barnaveld’s objection to admit the Prince to the council chamber, when the Lords of the States of Holland were going to meet, and in the altercation between Barnaveld and the Prince afterwards, though the Prince was never actually shut out. Van der Kemp describes the scene as follows : “The States of Holland met in full assembly ; sixty delegates being present. It was proposed to invite his Excellency to take part in the deliberations. A committee which had waited upon him the day before, had reported him to be in favour of moderate rather than harsh measures in the church affairs. Barneveld stoutly opposed the motion. “What need had the sovereign

¹ op. cit. I.

States of Holland of advice from a Stadholder, from their servant, their functionary?" he cried. But the majority, for once, thought otherwise and the Prince was invited to come. Barneveld and other eloquent speakers recommended mutual toleration; Grotius exhausted learning and rhetoric. The Stadholder grew impatient at last, and clapped his hand on his rapier. "No need here", he said, "of flowery orations and learned arguments. With this good sword I will defend the religion which my father planted in the Provinces, and I should like to see the man who is going to prevent me."¹

The scene, depicting Barnavelt sitting disconsolate in his study,² has an interesting parallel in history. Uytendogaert tells us about a visit he paid the Advocate on August 28 1618, the day of Barneveld's arrest. He did not find his friend as usual at his desk busily occupied with writing. The Advocate had pushed his chair away from the table encumbered with books and papers, and sat with his back leaning against it, lost in thought. His stern, stoical face was like that of a lion at bay. Uytendogaert saw that the statesman needed cheering up and comfort; he tried to arouse him from his gloom, consoling him by reflections on the innumerable instances in all countries and ages, of patriotic statesmen who for faithful service had reaped nothing but ingratitude. Soon afterwards he took his leave, feeling a presentiment of evil within him, which it was impossible for him to shake off, as he pressed Barneveld's hand at parting.³ It is rather interesting to speculate whether Fletcher had heard of this visit; if so, he had quite misunderstood Barneveld's mood. The contents of Barnavelt's first soliloquy, which as I have pointed out, is verbally taken from the *Apology* is true to history; the letters from the King of France and the Queen of England were sent to the Advocate, and that he had held correspondence with the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Brunswick is an historical fact. But the dramatist's conception of Barnavelt wailing and talking incoherent nonsense to his daughter and servant is in flat opposition to the historical truth, for everybody admired Barneveld's stoic calm, and heroic spirit, displayed all through the trial, the condemnation to death and at the execution; even his enemies have admitted this. In the play Barnavelt does surely not remind us of

¹ van der Kemp, *Maurits van Nassau*.

² IV. 3.

³ Uytendogaert, *Kerkelijke Historie*, IV and Wynne, *Geschiedenis van het Vaderland*, translation by Motley.

'a lion at bay.' Sir A. Ward remarks "in this scene the hero appears as a sort of baffled Macchiavel."¹

Two hours after Uytenbogaert's visit Barneveld went in his coach to the session of the States of Holland in the Inner Court. As he alighted he was accosted by a chamberlain of the Prince, and informed that his Highness desired to speak with him. Barneveld followed the chamberlain and was met in the antechamber by a lieutenant of the Prince's body-guard who arrested him in the name of the States-General. The Advocate demanded an interview with the Prince, which was absolutely refused. He was carried off a prisoner, and locked up in a room belonging to Maurice's apartments. The dramatists seem not to have been acquainted with the details of the arrest, but they apparently knew that he was arrested by an officer of the Prince's guard. After some time the Advocate was transferred to a room in the Inner Court, and was not allowed to see anybody; only his servant stayed with him. The lines :

"his rude Guard,
for prooffe that they contempne all such as ayme
or hope for his release (as if he were
some prodigie or Monster), each night show him
to such as greive his fortune, which must be
to him worse then ten thousand deaths made horrid
with all the artes of Crueltie."²

are in opposition to the historical facts, and only a lamentable invention of Fletcher's brain. Motley remarks "The Advocate was in prison and the earth seemed to have closed over him."

I have already spoken of Barnavelt's intrepid and dignified demeanour before the tribunal; here the dramatist (Massinger) seems instinctively to have caught the true political colour, which becomes evident, when we compare this scene with the description and the interesting details given in the *Waaragtige Historie* as follows :

"There had been an inclination at first on the part of Barneveld's judges to treat the prisoner as a criminal, and to require him to answer standing to the interrogatories. But as the terrible old man advanced into the room, leaning on his staff, and surveying them with an air of haughty command habitual to him, they shrank before his glance ; several involuntarily rising uncovered to salute him, and making way for him

¹ *History of English dramatic Literature.*

² lines 2482 ff.

to the fire-place, about which they were standing that wintry morning.¹

We read about the interrogatories: "Moved occasionally from his austere simplicity in which he set forth his defence, the majestic old man rose to a strain of indignant eloquence which might have shaken the hall of a vast assembly, and found echo in the hearts of a thousand hearers, as he denounced their petty insults; glaring like a caged lion at his tormentors, who had often shrunk before him, when he was free, and now attempted to drown his voice by contradictions, interruptions and threats."² It must fill us with gratitude that the representation of a scene like this was entrusted to the pen of a dramatist that proved to be worthy of this task, and whose fiery dramatic eloquence insures to this scene a high rank in English dramatic poetry.

The execution scene, describing the soldiers and the crowd, is painted with true realism, and does not materially differ from the description which the modern historians give. Motley's interesting description follows here "It was a bright morning in May. In the beautiful village capital of the "Count's Park" commonly called the Hague, the soldiers were marching and the citizens thronging eagerly towards the castle. By four o'clock the Outer and Inner Courts had been lined with detachments of the Prince's guard and companies of the other regiments to the number of twelve hundred men. In front of the lower window of the ancient hall with its Gothic archway hastily converted into a door, a shapeless platform of rough, unhewn planks had that night been rudely patched together. This was the scaffold. A slight railing around it served to protect it from the crowd. The great mass of spectators had forced their way by daybreak into the hall to hear the sentence. At last at half past nine o'clock, a shout arose: "There he comes, there he comes", and the populace flowed out from the hall of judgment into the courtyard like a tidal wave."³

cf. lines 2838, 39:

Enter Boyes and Burgers

"He comes, he comes, he comes; ô for a place now."

In an instant the Inner Court was filled with more than three thousand spectators.

cf. lines 2852, 53

"Prouost:

Cleere all the Skaffold

let no more into th' Court; we are choakd with people."

¹ Translation by Motley, *op. cit.*

² Motley *op. cit.*

³ *op. cit.*

⁴ *Waaragtige Historie van J. van Oldenbarneveldt.*

The old statesman leaning on his staff accompanied by his faithful valet and the provost, and escorted by a file of soldiers appeared. He walked out upon the scaffold and calmly surveyed the scene. Lifting his eyes to heaven, he was heard to murmur, "O God! what does man come to!" Then he said bitterly once more: "This, then, is the reward of forty years' service to the State!"
cf. lines 2859, 60:

"for all my Cares, for my most faithfull service
for you, and for the State, thus ye promote me."

and line 1075 :

my forty yeares endeauors, write in dust,

La Motte, the preacher who attended him, said fervently "It is no longer time to think of this. Let us prepare your coming before God". It is of interest to compare these words with line 2893 of the play, when Barnaveit has spoken of his service to the country and one of the Lords remarks:

"will ye bethinck ye Sir, of what ye come for?"

Motley's description continues "After the prayer when the valet had helped him take off his doublet, Barneveld came forward and said in a loud, firm voice to the people: "Men, do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally as a good patriot, and as such I shall die".

The crowd was perfectly silent. He then took his cap from his servant, drew it over his eyes, and went forward towards the sand, saying: "Christ shall be my guide. O Lord, my heavenly Father, receive my spirit!"

As he was about to kneel with his face to the south, the provost said "My Lord will be pleased to move to the other side, not where the sun is in his face." He knelt accordingly with his face towards his own house. The servant took farewell of him and Barneveld said to the executioner "Be quick about it. Be quick!"

The executioner then struck his head off at a single blow."¹

Wagenaar tells us that the Advocate expecting the sword said: "be quick, be quick", and praying lifted his hands so high that the executioner cut off some bits of his fingers at the stroke".² It is remarkable that this detail is also referred to in the play, compare :

¹ *op. cit.*

² *Vaderlandsche Historie.*

"*Exec.* is it wel don mine Heeres ?

Lord. somewhat too much: you haue strooke his fingers too"¹,

In reading this description we notice that in the play Barnavelt's conduct on the scaffold, boasting his services, and blaming the people for base ingratitude and malice, is not confirmed by the historical facts.

The good wishes uttered by Barnavelt for the Prince's happiness are inconsistent with the conception of Barnavelt's character in the play, but may have been suggested by the last message sent by Barneveld to the Prince through his preacher. "Tell his Excellency that I have always served him with upright affection so far as my office, duties and principles permitted. If I in the discharge of my oath and official functions, I have ever done anything contrary to his views, I hope that he will forgive it, and that he will hold my children in his gracious favour."

cf. lines 2975 ff. :

"I haue a wiffe, my lords, and wretched Children
vnles it please his Grace to looke vpon 'em,
and your good honours with your eies of fauour
'twill be a litle happines in my death
that they partake not with their fathers ruyns."

The dramatists may have heard it rumoured that Barnavelt had sent a farewell message to the Prince before the execution; I suppose many rumours of the trial and execution had found their way to England by soldiers and merchants; moreover a broadsheet account of an eye-witness was published the day after the execution. In W. C. Hazlitt's *Biographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature 1474—1700* is mentioned an old print 'The picture of Barnaueldes execucion. Licensed to Nathaniel Newbery 17 May 1619,' which our dramatists are sure to have seen; again a proof of the lively interest taken in England in the events in the Netherlands.

It cannot escape notice that the Prince is drawn in the most favourable light in the play, his slightest proceedings against Barnavelt being justified; it is with reluctance that the noble and virtuous Prince is persuaded by undeniable proofs of the Advocate's guilt, and is obliged for the sake of the safety of his country and his person to have the conspiring statesman led to his just punishment and deserved doom. This conception is the reflection of the popular feeling of the time. If the dramatist tried seriously

¹ lines 2996, 97.

² lines 2981 ff.

to impress the real meaning of the catastrophe upon an English audience, the attempt must be considered a failure. Modern historians are unanimous in their verdict that the execution of the Advocate, which could only be justified if the prisoner was convicted of treason, remains a stain on the history of the great Republic ; also a stain on the memory of the famous Commander, Prince Maurice. Macaulay even stigmatizes the execution as 'a judicial murder.'¹

There are many historical touches in the play, which are of interest. The events happening in Utrecht are based on historical facts. The enlisting of new soldiers by Barnavelt plays an important part in our tragedy and is considered one of Barnavelt's most grievous crimes. These troops, in the play called the 'new companies', were local forces, the so-called 'Waartgelders'. They were enlisted for temporary purposes, in contrast with the standing army. Their primary task was the guarding of the gates and the maintaining of order in the towns, when the regular troops were fighting with a foreign enemy. They were mercenaries, and the difference between them and the regular soldiers was that they had usually half the pay of a regular soldier, but when they did active service for the magistracy, they got higher pay. They had to obey the magistrates and States of the provinces to which they belonged.

It is true to history that this raising of the Waartgelders was considered a capital crime by the court of justice, and it is also a fact that the proceedings in the town of Utrecht had excited the Prince's great displeasure. In a letter to his cousin William he writes "The States of Utrecht have enlisted six companies of soldiers by their own authority, without giving notice of it, neither to the Lords of the States-General, neither to us, nor to the Council of State, in such a way that one cannot know to what end this is done ; so that it is presumed that it has been done by the Advocate Barnevelt, who of late has been present there." The Prince had always remained resentful on account of these proceedings.

History informs us that the Prince came to the gates of Utrecht, and entered the town ; the feeble plans for shutting the gates upon him had not been carried into effect. Three nights afterwards on 31 July 1618 Maurice quietly ordered a force of regular troops to be under arms at three o'clock. At break of day the Prince himself appeared on horse-back surrounded by his staff on the Neude, a large square adorned by handsome public buildings. Each of the entrances to the square had been securely

¹ *The History of England* I.

guarded by Maurice's orders, and cannon planted to command all the streets. A single company of the 'Waartgelders' was stationed in the Neude. The Prince rode calmly towards them and ordered them to lay down their arms. They obeyed without a murmur. He then sent to summon all the other companies of Waartgelders to the Neude. This was done with perfect promptness, and in a short space of time the whole body of mercenaries, nearly 1000 in number had laid down their arms at the feet of the Prince. The Stadholder with the consummate art which characterized all his military manoeuvres had so admirably carried out his measures that not a shot was fired, not a blow given, not a single burgher disturbed in his peaceful slumbers. The Prince was overwhelmed with praises by the States-General in their next meeting.¹ We find a reference to his incident in our play in the lines :

'tis certaine his proceedings in this busines
 as in all els, haue byn most wise and constant,
 how many Townes, armd with theis new Pretenders
 hath he (and sodainely)
 disarmd againe and setled in obedience,
 and without bloodshed, Lords, without the Sword,

 so gently, and without noyce he has performd this
 as if he had don it in a dreame"²

In Barneveld's defence before the tribunal he vindicated the right of the towns to enlist 'Waartgelders'. He explained that the magistrates of cities had of old had the right to protect their own citizens by enlisting paid troops, illustrating this by innumerable instances under William the Silent, Leicester, and the actual government.³ Maurice had legally not been justified in disbanding the mercenary troops, and in performing this deed had exceeded the commission of the States-General.

Motley gives an interesting description of the interview between the Advocate and the Stadholder, not long after the incidents at Utrecht ; Barneveld wanted to speak to the Prince about some means for settling the religious difficulties.

"The Advocate with long grey beard and stern blue eye, haggard with illness and anxiety, tall but bent with age, leaning on his staff and wrapped in a black velvet cloak, an imposing magisterial figure ; the florid, plethoric Prince in brown doublet, big russet boots, and felt hat with its string of diamonds, with hand clutched on swordhilt

¹ Motley op. cit.
² 981 ff. see also Sources.
³ *Verhooren van Johan van Oldenbarneveld.*

and eyes full of angry menace, the very type of the high-born, imperious soldier — thus they surveyed each other as men, once friends, between whom a gulf had opened. Barneveld sought to convince the Prince that in the proceedings at Utrecht no disrespect had been intended to him and repeated his arguments against the Synod. The Prince sternly replied in very few words that the National Synod was a settled matter. His brow grew black, when he spoke of the proceedings at Utrecht, which he denounced as a conspiracy against his own person and the constitution of the country. Barneveld used in vain the powers of argument by which he had guided kings and republics, cabinets and assemblies, during so many years. His eloquence fell powerless upon the iron taciturnity of the Stadholder. Maurice had expressed his determination, and had no other argument to sustain it, but his usual exasperating silence. The interview ended hopelessly, and the Prince and the Advocate separated to meet no more on earth”.

As to the place and time of action of the scene the dramatists have mixed up two events. When the Prince came to Utrecht it was the time of the annual fair, ‘kermis’ in Dutch. Motley draws a lively and attractive picture of the aspect of the town as follows :

„Meantime all looked merry enough in the old episcopal city. There were few towns in Lower or in Upper Germany more elegant and imposing than Utrecht. Situate on the slender and feeble channel of the ancient Rhine as it falters languidly to the sea, surrounded by trim gardens and orchards, and embowered in groves of beeches and lime-trees, with busy canals fringed with poplars, lined with solid quays, and crossed by innumerable bridges ; with the stately brick tower of St. Martin’s rising to a daring height above one of the most magnificent Gothic cathedrals in the Netherlands, this seat of the Anglo-Saxon Willebrord was still worthy of its history and position. It was the annual fair and all the world was keeping holiday in Utrecht. The pedlars and itinerant merchants from all the cities and provinces had brought their wares—jewelry and crockery, ribbons and laces, ploughs and harrows, carriages and horses, cows and sheep, cheeses and butter-firkins, doublets and petticoats, guns and pistols — and displayed them in temporary booths or on the ground, in every street and along every canal. The town was one vast bazaar. In the shop-windows and on the bookstalls of Contra-Remonstrant tradesmen, now becoming more and more defiant as the last allies of Holland, the States of Utrecht, were gradually losing courage, were seen the freshest ballads and caricatures against the Advocate. In the midst of this scene of jollity and confusion, that midsummer night entered the renowned stadholder whose name was magic to every soldier’s heart, not only in his own land but throughout Christendom, with his fellow commissioners.”¹

In the play when the Burgers and women enter with boughs and flowers, the captain remarks to the Prince “‘t is Keramis-time”²; ¹ this is historically incorrect, for this scene is laid in the Hague ; the people came to decorate the houses, because it was the first of May. The fact

¹ *op cit.* II p. 259.

² line 2117

that Barneveld's house was decorated on May-day is true to history; the deed had excited Maurice's disgust and anger, which is shown in a letter written to his cousin William Lewis after Barneveld's execution "They (*i.e.* Barneveld's wife and sons or other friends) also planted a may-pole before their house adorned with garlands and ribbands, and practised other jollities, while they ought to have conducted themselves in a humble fashion."¹

There is a reference to an important historical fact in lines 2332, 33 :

"your Insolence to me, before the Battaile
of Flaunders, I forget."

In the year 1600 a difference had risen between the Advocate and the Stadholder about the expedition to Flanders. Barneveld advocated the expedition, whereas Maurice strongly advised against it. The difference of opinion was a natural result of the point of view from which each looked at the matter. The warrior saw the great military dangers of the risky encounter with the superior forces of the enemy in a foreign country; the Statesman considered the danger slight compared to the great advantages a possible success offered to the country. Though unwilling, Maurice complied with the wishes of the States-General, who always wanted to prescribe his movements down to the minutest details, and embarked accompanied by Barneveld and the Lords of the States-General with 15000 men for Dunkirk. Barneveld and the States-General stayed at Ostend. The battle was won with great risk, and Maurice with his cavalry gained the victory, after a terrible struggle in the open field, so that Maurice's joy at the glorious victory was mixed with bitterness. He returned home, without having quite fulfilled his commission. After the battle a sharp discussion had taken place between Maurice and Barneveld; from this moment there was an alineation between the two greatest men of the republic, and this dispute was the germ of the coming disagreement. The passage following these lines was deleted by the censor; it contains ridiculous charges of cowardice directed against the Prince by Barnvelt, awarding the glory of the victory to the brothers Vere. The dramatist probably invented this speech to illustrate in brighter colours the animosity between the Advocate and the Prince, but overshot his mark. The charges are without any historical foundation, for Barneveld undoubtedly admired the warlike qualities of the great Commander. It is an historical fact that Sir Horace Vere and his brother Sir Francis Vere fought in the battle

¹ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives de la Maison d'Orange*.

of Nieuwpoort commanding the English forces. Sir Francis Vere was wounded and Prince Maurice highly praised his courage shown on that occasion¹.

It is interesting for readers of the play to have the figures of Maurice and Barneveld before them as they are described by a modern historian. Motley writes in his study of Barneveld :

“The Advocate was tall and majestic of presence, with large quadrangular face, austere blue eyes looking authority and command, a vast forehead, and a grizzled beard. With great love of power, which he was conscious of exerting with ease to himself and for the good of the public, he had little personal vanity, and not the smallest ambition of authorship; of fluent and convincing eloquence with tongue and pen, his ambition was to do his work thoroughly according to his view of duty, and to ask God’s blessing upon it without craving overmuch the applause of men.

The Prince, in the full flower of his strength and his fame, was of a noble and martial presence. The face although unquestionably handsome, offered a sharp contrast within itself; the upper half, all intellect, the lower quite sensual. Fair hair growing thin, but hardly tinged with grey, a bright, cheerful, and thoughtful forehead, large hazel eyes within a singularly large orbit of brow. It was a face which gave the world assurance of a man and a commander of men. Power and intelligence were stamped upon him from his birth. He was plain, but not shabby in attire; the only ornaments he indulged in, except, of course, on state occasions, were a golden hilt to his famous sword, and a rope of diamonds tied around his felt hat.”

Of the minor characters the figure of Leidenberch, his functions as secretary of Utrecht, his arrest and suicide are all true to history, making allowance for some slight deviations from the historical truth.

The conception of Leidenberch’s character is not confirmed by history; we do not find anywhere that he was weak and unreliable by nature. Motley gives the following description of him in his proceedings as the leader of Barneveld’s party in Utrecht, “a tall, handsome, bald headed, well featured mild gentleman-like man was this secretary of the Utrecht assembly, and certainly not aware, while passing to and fro on half-diplomatic missions that he was committing high-treason.”

Two days after the Prince’s disbanding of the Waartgelders, Leidenberch was dismissed from his office after a service of over thirty years. He fled to Gouda but returned to Utrecht after some weeks, where he was arrested and kept a prisoner in his own house; on the 29th of August he was transferred to the Inner Court in the Hague, on the same day when Barneveld was arrested. He was the first of the prisoners subjected to examination

¹ See Notes.

on Sept. 27th. He was much depressed and is said to have exclaimed with many sighs: "Oh Barneveld, Barneveld, what have you brought us to!"¹ These words remind us of Modesbargen's reproach to Barnavelt before the tribunal :

"Mounseieur Barnauelt.... Now you perceive
to what a desperate state your headling Counsell
and rash designes haue brought vs."²

His son Joost, a boy of eighteen had been allowed to keep his father company in his confinement. In the night after the interrogation he committed suicide in the presence of his son, leaving a letter for him written in French. He expressed his fear that the judges should intend to torture him in order to pronounce an ignominious sentence upon trifles to justify the arrest. To escape this he was "going to God by the shortest road", as he expressed it ; "against a dead man there can be pronounced no sentence of confiscation of property". At that time suicide was considered to be a proof of guilt. His corpse was embalmed, till a verdict should be pronounced. This was done after seven months ; his property was confiscated and his corpse condemned to the gallows. In the play there are some deviations from the historical truth. It would have been impossible for Barneveld to visit Leidenberch in prison and instigate him to suicide, as he was a prisoner himself. The plausibility of this scene was doubted even by Fletcher's contemporaries. Thomas Locke writes in the letter mentioned before ³: "some say that (according to the proverbe) the diuill is not so bad as he is painted and that Barnauelt should perswade Ledenberg to make away himself (when he came to see him after he was prisoner) to prevent the discovrie of the plott, and to tell him that when they were both dead (as though he meant to do the like) they might sift it out of their ashes, was thought to be a point strayned."⁴

Motley shows us Barneveld's character in another light, when he informs us that the Advocate hearing of his own condemnation to death remarked "and must my Grotius die too?" adding with a sigh of relief when assured of the contrary: "I should deeply grieve for that ; he is so young, and may live to do the State much service."

The coffin with Leidenberch's remains was not hung up in the Inner Court, where Barnaveld was beheaded, but hung on a gibbet for twenty-

¹ Baudartius, *Memorien* I, chapter X.

² lines 2379 ff.

³ See Stage history.

⁴ *Domestic State Papers, James I, vol. CX, No. 37*

one days on 'the Golgotha' outside the Hague on the road to Ryswyk not till two days after Barneveld's execution.

The behaviour of the other prisoners is not confirmed by the historical facts. Motley tells us that they all preserved a haughty demeanour under their misfortunes, and stoutly refused all confession of guilt. Grotius only had a moment of weakness; it is told that towards the end of his trial he showed a faltering in his faith as to Barneveld's innocence, and declared that he held many acts of the Advocate suspected.

Three of the judges went in person to the prison-chamber of Hoogerbeets urging him to ask forgiveness, or allow his friends to do so for him. He stoutly refused to do either. "If my wife and children do ask", he said "I will protest against it. I need no pardon. Let justice take its course. Think not, gentlemen, that I mean by asking for pardon to justify your proceedings".¹

The flight of Modesbargen in the play is true to history. The historical facts are that Moersbergen² had fled to Germany to the castle of Mersfeld in Munster; he was captured by some horsemen and brought first to Zutphen and from there to the Hague, where he was tried, and in a moment of weakness sued for pardon.

Another incident which is true to history is the altercation between Leidenberch and the Captain in the first scene of the second act; we hear that the Captain refuses to take up arms against the Prince. The historical facts are: on July 30th the Lords of the States summoned Colonel Ogle governor of the town of Utrecht, Count Earnest of Nassau, Sir Horatio Vere and other commanders, reminding them of the possibility that the province of Holland should not pay them, if they did not promise to stand aside at the coming events. Sir John Ogle flatly refused to act in opposition to the Stadholder and the States-General, whom he recognised as his lawful superiors and masters, and he warned Ledenberg and his companions as to the perilous nature of the course which they were pursuing. Great was in consequence the indignation of the Utrecht and Holland commissioners.³

The episode in the play, describing the French ambassadors de Boisise and du Maurier offering mediation on behalf of the prisoners, and especially of Barnavelte, is based on the historical facts. I have already spoken

¹ Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche Historie*, vol. X, pag. 369. G. Brandt, *Historie van de Rechtspleging van Oldenbarnevelt*. blz. 264.

² Moersbergen is erroneously called Modesbargen in the play.

³ Baudartius, *op. cit.* I.

of this visit when discussing the sources of the play ; the difference with the historical truth is that here the Prince answers the ambassadors immediately, whereas the States-General replied after a week's delay.

The incident of the sending of pears to Barnavelt in prison is also historically true. Motley tells us "Barneveld's wife was allowed to send him fruit from their garden. One day a basket of fine saffron pears was brought to him. On slicing one with a knife he found a portion of a quill inside it. Within the quill was a letter on thinnest paper in minutest handwriting in Latin "Don't rely upon the States of Holland, for the Prince of Orange has changed the magistrates in many cities. Dudley Carlton is not your friend." A sergeant of the guard however, before bringing in these pears, had put a couple of them in his pocket to take home to his wife. The letter, copies of which perhaps had been inserted for safety in several of the pears, was thus discovered, and the use of this ingenious device prevented for the future."¹

The gambling scene of the three executioners to which some critics have objected has a remote historical foundation. An eye-witness has recorded the following incident, supposed to have happened on the morning of the execution "A squalid, unclean box, originally prepared as a coffin for a Frenschman, lay on the scaffold. Upon the coffin sat two common soldiers of ruffianly aspect playing at dice, betting whether the Lord or the Devil would get the soul of Barneveld. Many a foul and ribald jest at the expense of the prisoner was exchanged between these gamblers and some of their comrades, who were grouped about at that early hour."² It is remarkable in regard to the gambling scene of the three executioners to note Motley's information : "There was every reason for both Grotius and Hoogerbeets to expect a similar doom ; the scaffold on which the Advocate had suffered was left standing ; *three executioners* were still in the town."

The line spoken bij Barnavelt's son William :

"my government of Barghen is disposd of."³

is historically correct. William of Stoutenburg was dismissed from his post as governor of the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom in July 1619. Sir Dudley Carlton had communicated the news in a message of July 14th,

¹ *op cit.*

² *Waaragtige Historie* 433. Letter written 13 May 1619 by an eye-witness P. Hanneman, to his cousin Abraham van der Bruggen, student at Leyden, Translation by Motley.

³ line 1157.

saying that it had happened last week; this date is confirmed by 'the Resolutions' of the States-General of the 5th, 9th, 11th, 17th of July 1619. But we see from this that the dismissal happened after Barneveld's execution, and not before his arrest.

There are some minor historical touches, which are interesting to note. Motley informs us that Maurice continued to place himself before the world as the servant of the States-General, which he never was, either theoretically or in fact. We find this expressed in the play in lines 304—6 :

"*Barnauelt* the Prince of Orange
is but as Barnauelt, a Servant to
your Lordships, and the State :"

and lines 452—54 :

"*Orange* I, and all Soldiers els.....
are doble tyde in faith to obserue their pleasures"

We are informed by Motley that, when the Stadholderate of the provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht and Overysseel became vacant, it was again Barneveld's potent influence and sincere attachment to the House of Nassau that procured the election of Maurice to that post. Barnauelt refers to this in his answer to Grotius' words "you scarce holding the second place"; compare :

"when I gave him the first".....¹

and,

"his stile of Excellencie, was my guift."²

Another historical touch is the part which Maurice's cousin William Lewis takes in the conflict. The Stadholder of Friesland was a staunch Calvinist and continually urging the Prince, openly to take the side of the Calvinists, but the Prince was irresolute by nature, and hesitated for a long time. In the play William tries to persuade Maurice not to hesitate any longer in taking measures for his safety ; cf lines 380, 81 :

"yf you would see it: but take through the mallice
the evill intended now, now bent vpon ye,"

But Count William was not relentless as Maurice was, he had a more reconciliatory nature and wrote a letter to the Prince before Barneveld's condemnation advising him to use moderation, and "to beware of torture and particularly of bloodshed as that is sure to lead to greater

¹ line 31.

² line 37.

confusion."¹ Of this moderation we find nothing recorded in the play, but on the whole, Count William takes a very subordinate part.

Swinburne, in his criticism of *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt*, remarks when speaking of the noble rhetorical scenes, which show a mastery of dramatic debate "we lament a radical defect, we ask ourselves in perplexity, if not with irritation, whether we are expected to sympathise with the calm and patriotic moderation of the Prince, or with the fiery and intemperate enthusiasm of the Advocate. To hold the balance equally and fairly between the extreme pretensions of principle or opinion on a historical question is the aim of a historian, it cannot be the object of a dramatic poet; cf. *Coriolanus*, which is a perfect work of art. In the play of *Barnavelt* we listen to two equally eloquent pleaders; beyond the effect of their eloquence we are shown no reason, given no hint, where our sympathies should be enlisted."² Professor Cruickshank seems to subscribe to this view, when he remarks "We do not know, if we are intended to sympathise with Orange or *Barnavelt*. Such a specimen of the historical drama pure and simple makes us feel that more than a mere narrative of events is needed in a play; we look to the author to guide our sympathies, and have a view of his own about this theme."³

I beg leave to differ in opinion from this criticism; I have already pointed out before that all through the play we are conscious of the virtue and magnanimity of the noble prince, who has to be on his guard against being ruined by an ambitious, plotting statesman. I quite agree with Professor Creizenach, who remarks "das Andenken des edlen Greises, der sein Haupt auf das Block niederlegte, wird mit Schmutz beworfen, alles Licht fällt auf Moritz von Oranien, der die Sympathien der englischen Regierung besass."⁴ Professor Schelling apparently holds the same view judging from a sentence in his review of the play "The character of *Barnavelt* is conceived in a fine heroic vein, in which justifiable pride in his honourable past, almost wins us to forgetfulness of his later ill-judged practices against the prince. The noble forbearance and reluctance on the part of Maurice remind us of the relation between Henry of Navarre and Charles Duke of Byron in Chapman's play, and give an artistic inevitability to the

¹ Groen van Prinsterer, *Maurice et Barnevelt*.

² *The Fortnightly Review*, July 1889.

³ *Philip Massinger*, Appendix XII.

⁴ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*.

catastrophe."¹ Sir A. Ward's view is more emphatically expressed: "The issue of the conflict is represented in the play as a just chastisement inflicted upon a wily schemer by a courageous prince."²

It is quite true that Barnavel't's speeches are masterpieces of dramatic rhetoric, but they are not convincing; we are conscious all the time that they are uttered by a 'wily schemer', for example, Barnavel't's fine speech before the tribunal cannot move our hearts, as it is not warranted by what has gone before. We admire the hero's intrepid heroic demeanour, but we cannot be filled with intense pity at the overthrow of a sly, crafty conspirator. I think the audience were not 'in perplexity', but quite assured that the Prince of Orange deserved their sympathies in this tragic conflict, that however the inevitable ruin of so eminent, and otherwise so admirable a statesman was certainly to be regretted. This view is quite in accordance with the popular feeling of the time in Holland and also in England, where the Prince was greatly admired. King James's attitude also strongly influenced the dramatists. The King had openly ordered his ambassador Sir Dudley Carlton to support the Contra-Remonstrants, and tried as much as possible, both publicly and privately, to accomplish the ruin of Barneveld, whom he hated as a too clever antagonist. His attitude with regard to the religious controversies was remarkable enough, for, as Motley observes, in the sovereign's eye a Puritan in England was an obnoxious vermin to be hunted with dogs; in the Netherlands he was the governing power. Through his ambassador Carlton he never ceased in his efforts to bring the opposing party to destruction.

Professor Gardiner attributes James's remarkable attitude rather to personal causes when he remarks "James had not been an unconcerned spectator of the events in the Dutch republic. He had been profuse of advice, but not a word of the slightest practical use to either party had crossed his lips. His theological sympathies were on the side of the Calvinists. If his political sympathies were on the side of Barneveld and the supporters of the claim of the civil government to control the clergy, they were neutralized by the recollection of frequent collisions with that statesman."³

I do not think that the dramatists were aware of their partiality in the play to the Calvinistic cause, for usually in England the stage was unfavourably, if not inimically disposed to the Puritans, who were implacable

¹ *the Elizabethan Drama* II.

² *A History of English dramatic Literature.*

³ *op. cit.*

enemies of the stage; the dramatists were favoured and protected by the higher classes, who thought Puritanism among the lower classes a danger to the country and to themselves, which it soon proved to be.

The authors of our play seem to have been acquainted with the social situations in the Dutch republic, they may have gained this knowledge from merchants, soldiers or actors, who had been to the Netherlands. The remarkable relation between the soldiers and the citizens, and between the officers and the magistrates is illustrated in the play in true colours.

The discussion about women's rights between the English lady and the Dutch burghers' wives is of interest, as it illustrates the difference between the English and the Dutch character. The independent position of the Dutch woman had been noted before in history and dramatic history. Fletcher had remarked in *The Little French Lawyer*

“Nor would I be a Dutchman
To have my wife, my sovereign, to command me.”¹

In *Othello* Shakespeare had already expressed his view on women's rights:

“Let husbands know
Their wives have sense like them.”

Guicciardini has told us something about the Dutch women in his interesting description of the Netherlands.² He writes:

“The Women of this country, besides being as a rule good-looking, as is said before, are also very modest, kind and gentle: for they begin from a child, after the custom of the country, to have free intercourse with every one, therefore they are in conduct,

¹ III. 1. 105.

² Lod. Guicciardini. *Descrittione de Tutti I Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore*. Antwerp. 1567. The book is remarkable for completeness and carefulness, and gives abundant information of the country at that time. It was translated into French in the same year and in 1612 a Dutch translation appeared by Cornelius Kilianus.

Lodovico Guicciardini 1523—1589 was a Florentine nobleman, who travelled in the Netherlands; he lived in Amsterdam and in Antwerp, where he died; in 1565 he was imprisoned by Alva.

Nederlandt ofte Beschrijvinge derselwiger Provincien ende Steden.

De Vrouwen van desen lande boven heur ghemeynlijke schoonheydt, so voorseyt is, syn oock seer gesedig, vriendelijck ende liefelijck want sy beginnen van joncks kindts af, na des landts gebruyck vryelijck te verkeerem met eenen yegelijcken: deshalven sy in handel, spraeck ende alle dingen veerdig, behendigh ende koen worden; houden haer niet te min in sulcke vryheydt seer eerlijc ende deugdelijc: ende gaen niet alleenlijc over ende weder in de stadt om haer saken te beschicken: maer reysen oock over landt van den eenen ten anderen, met luttel gheselschaps, sonder eenige berispinge. Zy syn seer

speech and all things able, handy and brave; they remain, however, in such liberty very honest and virtuous, and they not only go about in the town to manage their affairs: but also travel without blame in the country to one another, with little company. They are very frugal, busy and always doing something, not only the house-work and the house-keeping, as the men little mind those things, but also occupy themselves with trade, buying and selling: and are busy with hands and tongue in affairs that, as a matter of fact, only concern the men, with such skill and industry that in many places, as in Holland and Zealand, the men suffer the women to manage all, to which is added that the men are much away, occupied in trade, navigation or fishing, through which, making allowance for the natural desire of women of mastery, they undoubtedly become too much the mistress, and are sometimes exceedingly proud, haughty and spiteful.”¹

The English lady is horrified at the views uttered by the Dutch women, and answers that in England the women are obedient, compare:

“our country brings vs vp to faire obedience
to know our husbands for our Governours
so to obey, and serve 'em, two heads make monsters.”²

This view is confirmed by passages from other plays, compare:
The Picture:

„You have been an obedient wife, a right one.”³

and *the Emperor of the East*:

“Do you thinck
Such arrogance, or usurpation rather,
Of what is proper and peculiar
In every private husband, and much more
To him, an emperor, can ranck with the obedience
And duty of a wife?”⁴

¹ translated from the Dutch version by W.P.F.

² lines 814 ff.

³ I 1.

⁴ III, 2.

sober, besich ende altijd wat doende, beschickende met alleenlijck huyswerck ende huysshou-
dinge, daer de mans hen luttel met becommeren maer onderwinden haer ooc met coopman-
schap, in 't koopen, ende verkoopen: ende syn neerstig in de weere, met hant ende tonge
in hanteringen die den mans eygentlijck aengaen, met alsulcke behendigheydt ende
vlijtigheydt, dat te veel plaetsen, als in Hollandt ende Zeelant, de mans den vrouwen
alle dingen laten beschicken (het welcke by komt, dat de mans veel buyten huys syn
in Coophandel, Zeevaert ofte Visscherye). Waerdoer, midts oock de natuerlijke be-
geerlijckheydt der vrouwen tot heerschappye, sy sonder twyfel veel te seer de mesterse
maken, ende somtijds boven maten fier, grootsch ende spijgh worden.

I suppose the dramatist had for a moment lost sight of the fact that the Provost's wife is a Dutch woman ; when the Provost commands her to go home, she answers

"you know my obedience and I must practise it."¹

She may be meant to illustrate the truth that exceptions prove the rule, or the dual authorship may account for the inconsistency.

But we also meet with other views in the plays of the time, I need only mention *the Renegado* :

Donusa Thou Carazie,
Wert born in England ; what's the custom there
Among your women ?

Car. Your city dame
Without leave, wears the breeches, has her husband
At as much command as her 'prentice.

Don. But your court lady ?

Car. She, I assure you madam,
Knows nothing but her will ; must be allow'd
Her footmen, her caroch, her ushers, pages
Her doctor, chaplains, and, as I have heard,
They're grown of late so learn'd that they maintain
A strange position, which their lords, with all
Their wit cannot confute."²

The scenes in question also illustrate a sad lack of authority in the Dutch republic ; there is no respect for order ; the citizens rule their superiors in the same way as the wives rule their husbands. They are led by an Arminian Preacher, who exclaims on hearing that the Prince is drawing up "they shall defie him and to his face". This view seems correct, for Motley also tells us of an incident that happened in Schoonhoven one of those days. "The authorities attempted one Sunday by main force to induct a Contræ-Remonstrant into the pulpit from which a Remonstrant had just been expelled. The women of the place turned out with their distaffs and beat them from the field. The garrison was called out, and there was a pitched battle in the streets between soldiers, police, officers and women ; the victory remaining with the ladies !" Motley remarks : "the respect for authority which had so long been a characteristic of the Netherlanders seemed to have disappeared." I am glad to be able to quote this authority for, being Dutch, I regret to say that I am not so convinced of this 'love of authority' ; the scene described above reminds me of the spectacles

¹ lines 2536.

² I, 2.

witnessed during the European war, when the women of the town marched up to the Town Hall clamouring for higher rations of food, but fortunately there were never 'pitched battles.'

These scenes and others, where the English soldiers are mentioned as loyal to their oath to the Prince are painted with a strong patriotic flavour. This was undoubtedly done to flatter the national pride of the audience; the noble prince conquers the revolutionary spirits, and restores peace and order, at the head of brave loyal English soldiers. They are depicted as inaccessible to the persuasions of Leidenberch and the threats of Rock-Giles, and scorn to fight against their lawful commander. Whenever Leidenberch only hears the name of "the English": he is utterly dismayed and sees no other help but uttering imprecations; even when he hears that the lady is English he breaks forth without rhyme or reason: "would they were all shipt well for th' other part oth' world: theis stubborne English we onely feare."

This patriotic flavour occurs repeatedly in the Elizabethan plays. Professor Creizenach cites the following cases: in Heywood's *A Challenge for Beauty* a Portuguese knight trying to find the noblest and most beautiful woman in the world, meets her in England. In Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr*, when a slave is called to take Dorothea he refuses, as he scorns doing so mean a deed; it turns out that he is a Briton. In the play of Barnavelt this patriotic flavour is very marked; we are led to believe that it is only owing to the aid of the brave and loyal English troops that the courageous Prince quelled a dangerous rebellion.

There are no English historical persons among the *dramatis personae*. Sir John Ogle, the commander of the English troops in Utrecht is represented as 'a captain'. There is a reference in the play to Queen Elizabeth as 'that virgin Queene our Patronesse of happie memory Elizabeth of England'.¹ Leicester's name is not mentioned, but he is referred to as 'one that then ruld all'.² King James is only mentioned as 'the King of Britaine that now is'.³

The dramatists have been mistaken in some of the Dutch names, owing to the sources. Van der Myle, Barnavelt's son-in-law, is called Vandermitten, and is presented as a Burgher; the dramatists found this name in the pamphlet *The Golden Legend of the New St. John*. As to the name of Van Dort, I notice that 'the Copy of the letter written by the

¹ line 2262.

² line 2224.

³ line 2267.

Generall States vnto the particular Vnited Prouinces in the Netherlands' is signed by Van Dort, which must have suggested this name for one of the Lords to the dramatists. Professor Fruin remarks "I cannot understand why one of the Utrecht Burghers is called Rock-Giles, I have never met with the name of Rock anywhere." This name is also taken from *The Golden Legend*; in this pamphlet Rock-Giles is mentioned as 'Barneuel's dear brother in villany.' The name of Modesbargen is a mistake for Moersbergen; the name occurs incorrect like this in the English translation of *The Arraignment*. Holderus is the name of the 'Minister of the Word of God' who wrote the libellous *Castigations* in the margin of *Barneuel's Apology*. Professor Fruin thinks it a stroke of the dramatist's humour to give the name of a zealous Calvinistic preacher to a rebellious Arminian agitator.

I. TRANSLATIONS

The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt has been translated into Dutch and German. In 1885 Professor C. W. Opzoomer gave an excellent Dutch translation of the play, bearing the title *Johan Van Oldenbarnevelt*. The translator has caught with wonderful spirit the stately and dignified tone of the rhetorical passages, and the language is marked on the whole by the harmony and dignity of the original. There are a few incorrect translations, as for instance, line 2429

"you rise and I grow tedious"

is rendered by

„gij rijst en ik ga onder"

I take the meaning to be "you get up and I am talking too long", or "I bore you"; in the pamphlet we also find this use of tedious': "good Lords I am more tedious than I was aware of"¹; here the meaning is again "I am talking longer than I was aware of."

A funny error occurs in the translation of line 2835

"the Prince strickes iust ith' nick"

The meaning is "in the nick of time" *i.e.*, "the exact moment when something should be done". Professor Opzoomer has probably read "neck" and translates

„De Prins treft juist den nek."

¹ *The Apology*. See Sources.

Professor Opzoomer neglected the pun in the lines 172, 73

"this indeed is stately,
Statesmen do you call 'em?"

The Dutch translation is

"'t Is rijk gesierd
Hen noemt gij staatslui?"

I see no objection to rendering this by

"een statig woord
Hen noemt gij staatslui?"

Line 2026 "he was a weak man indeed" translated by "week was hij, ja" is better rendered by "zwak was hij, ja."

I consider the line "laat ons zwijgen gaan, en zijn gepeins niet storen"¹ a very feeble line indeed, but the occurrence of a line like this is exceptional. Professor Opzoomer has omitted line 2770 in which a mutilated word occurs :

"now the Graves head.... he goose giblitts"

In 1890 there appeared a German translation of the play by F. A. Gelbcke in a collection of twelve plays *Die Englische Bühne zu Shakespeare's Zeit*. R. Boyle contributed a general introduction, and an introduction to each play. Gelbcke had already published a translation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* in 1867. The translation of our play bearing the title *Mynheer Jan van Olden Barneveld* is in every respect careful and excellent, and the blank verse deserves high praise. I have already noted some errors of slight importance as the translation of "this Grave Maurice" by "der strenge Moritz" and line 2429 mentioned above by „Ihr steigt und ich bin müde", which is incorrect.

J. CRITICAL ESTIMATE

When Bullen had edited his 'newly recovered treasure' the play of *Barnavelt* was on the whole very favourably received, its merits were indeed overrated. The critics were exuberant in their praises. Bullen remarks in his Introduction "I have no hesitation in predicting that *Barnavelt's* Tragedy, for its splendid command of fiery dramatic rhetoric, will rank among the masterpieces of English dramatic literature."

Fleay follows Bullen in his criticism ; he writes "This magnificent play is mainly the production of Fletcher and Massinger" and, "The

¹ line 1028 "Salute, and counsell: Let's leaue him to his thoughts."

play of Barnavelt is worth a small library of ordinary reprints ; it is one of Fletcher's and Massinger's masterpieces."

R. Boyle has extolled the value higher still. He writes "even a cursory glance will convince the reader that the play is one of the greatest treasures of our dramatic literature." He thinks it a matter of regret that such a gem should have remained in manuscript for over 200 years ; and remarks "the conclusion weakens the dramatic power of the close, but it does not prevent the play from occupying a high place among our dramatic treasures." The poet Swinburne hailed the appearance of our play with delight. In *the Athenaeum* for March 10th 1883 he writes "All students of English dramatic literature owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Bullen for the gift of this newly unearthed treasure." Afterwards in his review of the play he remarks "we must consider the claims of this noble tragic poem which ought henceforward to be printed at the head of Massinger's works."

Sir A. Ward remarks "the extremely interesting tragedy of Barnavelt was fortunately recovered and made known by Mr. Bullen."

In Germany Professor Leo announced the new collection of plays and remarked about the tragedy of Barnavelt : "Das Stück ist eine bisher unbekannte Tragödie von Massinger und Fletcher ; die Veröffentlichung ist für alle Kenner der dramatischen Litteratur von grossem Interesse."¹

Other critics are less favourable in their criticism. Professor Cruickshank calls the play a "pièce d'occasion" written shortly after the tragic death of Barnavelt, in such a way, however, that it would not interest a later generation, who had forgotten the sensation of the time. In the second place, it has no unity, a fact no doubt partly due to the dual authorship. There is much fine poetry in the play, but Fleay goes too far when he calls the play 'magnificent'."

Professor Fruin gives as his opinion that the tragedy of Barnavelt fully merits the praises of the critics (Bullen, Boyle and Swinburne) as regards style and diction, but that, as a dramatic composition, it cannot rank among the masterpieces of English literature.

Professor Delius' criticism is much less favourable, in fact, he has a great deal to find fault with in the play, and his opinion is that Massinger and Fletcher are authors of too great standing to be regarded as the com-

² *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, XIX, 1884.

¹ *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. XLVI, July 1889.

posers of the play. The only merits of the play he considers to be "der charakterisch lebendig gefärbte Stil und Vers, der ein feines Studium der späteren historischen Dramen Shakespeare's verrät." ¹

When a summary is offered of the beauties and the blemishes of the play, we shall notice that there is much to praise and much to blame. The exposition is faultless; at the close of the first act we have had before our eyes all the important figures of the play, and we are made acquainted with all the facts necessary for the comprehension of the events about to take place. The construction is excellent, and excites our admiration when we take into consideration the scant subject matter at the dramatists' disposal, but the development is not as rapid as it should be; the action is interrupted by episodes that do not lead up to the catastrophe. There are in the play happy devices which show great mastery of stagecraft; the vivacity and realism of some scenes, painted with spirited humour, are effective. There is no consistency of character-drawing, and we are never struck with a touch of delicate characterization. The characters leave no permanent impression, as the dramatists failed to paint living beings of our own flesh and blood. There is no depth of conception in the hero's character, his motives are unconvincing and this renders the plot improbable. Some scenes are masterpieces of dramatic rhetoric, but there is no great intensity of emotion. Sir Leslie Stephen's criticism of Massinger's plays also holds good for Massinger's share in our tragedy "his plays are apt to be a continuous declamation cut into fragments, and assigned to the different actors."² The nobility of diction and dignity of tone in the greater part of the play are among the chief merits of the tragedy. There is fine poetry and effective pathos in some scenes.

The catastrophe wants tragic depth; the scene is too long drawn out, and Barnavelts farewell is more elegiac than pathetic. As a historical play the composition shows a deficiency in the exposition of the political events; the historical problems are not put in a clear light, and the whole lacks true historic colour. I do not think the excessive praises of the critics justified. I agree with Professor Cruickshank when he thinks that Fleay goes too far when he calls the play 'magnificent'. It is also going too far to call it 'a jewel,' and I do not consider it worthy to rank among the masterpieces of English dramatic literature, but I think Pro-

¹ *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft* vol. XIX.

² *Op. cit.*

fessor Delius might have paid more attention to the good qualities of the play.

I regret that I cannot agree with Professor Cruishshank's criticism ; the play is certainly more than a hasty production got up for a temporary purpose, but on account of the want of depth, it cannot be called a forcibly conceived tragedy.

The story of the life and death of Barnavelt, as told by Motley, is one of the most tragic in an important era of history. The dramatists have failed to catch the pathos of his fate ; there is a lack of the solemnity and the grandeur worthy of the fall of a great figure. Though there are splendid rhetorical speeches, there is no great intensity of emotion ; the whole lacks depth and intensity of feeling. The dramatists wanted the philosophic insight of Shakespeare to depict the conflict of emotions and the fall of a proud, ambitious character of dauntless courage, guided in the wrong direction by a strong will. Are we allowed to conjecture whether a consummate master in the delineation of character like Shakespeare would have inspired the spectators with pity and also awe at the fall of the greatest Statesman of the age ? I certainly think he would, and it is due to the want of vital force in the conception, to the inconsistency of characterization and to the lack of depth of interest that the tragedy cannot rank as a masterpiece of English dramatic literature, though we cannot deny its claim to a high place in the second rank of the English Elizabethan plays.

I shall consider myself happy, if I have succeeded in bringing *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* to the notice of students of English literature, and if I have contributed to procuring the play a wider circle of readers than it has had till now .

**T⟨he⟩ Tragedy of S^r Iohn
Van Olden Barnauelt. /**

PERSONS OF THE PLAY.¹

GRAVE MAURICE, Prince of Orange, Captain-General of the Army.
 GRAVE WILLIAM, his cousin.
 GRAVE HENRY,²
 SIR JOHN VAN OLDEN BARNAVELT, Advocate of Holland and West-Friesland.
 WILLIAM VAN OLDEN BARNAVELT, Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, his son.
 LEIDENBERCH, Secretary of the States of Utrecht.
 GROTIUS, Pensionary of Rotterdam.
 HOGEBEETS, Pensionary of Leiden.
 MODESBARGEN, }
 BREDERO, } Lords of the States.
 VANDORT, }
 BOISISE, }
 MORIER, } French ambassadors.
 TAURINUS,³ }
 UTENBOGART,⁴ } Arminian divines.
 HOLDERUS, an Arminian preacher.
 ROCK-GILES, }
 VANDERMITTEN, } Burghers.
 LEIDENBERCH'S SON, a boy.
 2 CAPTAINS.
 2 LORDS.
 2 BURGHERS.
 A LIEUTENANT.
 PROVOST.
 BARNAVELT'S SERVANT.
 THREE EXECUTIONERS of Harlem, Leyden and Utrecht.
 A MESSENGER.
 BARNAVELT'S WIFE.
 BARNAVELT'S DAUGHTER.
 PROVOST'S WIFE.
 AN ENGLISH GENTLEWOMAN.
 4 DUTCH WOMEN.
 A DUTCH WIDOW,⁵
 Lords, Colonels, Captains, Officers, Soldiers, Guard, Arminians, Burghers,
 Women, Boys, Huntsmen, Servants.

COMPANY BY WHOM THE PLAY WAS ACTED.

LEIDENBERCH	}	Robert Gough
HOLDERUS	}	Thomas Pollard
SERVANT		
MORIER	}	George Birch
BOISISE		
A CAPTAIN	}	Robert Benfield
A CAPTAIN		
BARNAVELT'S SERVANT	}	Jo Rice
A CAPTAIN		
HUNTSMAN	}	Mighel
OFFICER		
PROVOST	}	R. T.
SERVANT		
HUNTSMAN		
A MESSENGER	}	Nicholas Tooley
BARNAVELT'S WIFE		
BARNAVELT'S DAUGHTER		
PROVOST'S WIFE	}	Thomas Holcombe

¹ The list of *dramatis personae* and the list of actors' names do not occur in the manuscript.

² Probably Frederic Henry, Maurice's youngest brother was meant here; the name is frequently deleted in the manuscript.

³ ⁴ ⁵ deleted in the manuscript.

Actus pri: dea^m pri:
Enter Barnauelt, Modus & Bergen Saichenberch,
Danckwriten. Ortus

No. 45.

Bar. Prince of Orange now, all names dei. So I see
that Egg's about the Plater of Egg's Church,
and we not be

Said.

Bar. I should go peopled Language
I eat to Egg's Armit & Snood by Crommets own
I've flour going pound, that Egg's Egg Dringos seeds
I've got it more to bintoric.

Bar.

Mod. So, he said, E.

Mod.

Said. was, used: I eat not put Egg's
I eat on all, and writ I link our
I eat Egg's not Egg in Art, OTHA, O. Drum subbe

Said.

And in Egg's Deposition by team of
all we designed Egg's son but as a table
forgot as bond as rod.

And
Um.

Said.

and not say's sale
Egg's is delivered, I eat Egg's Prince believed it.
I eat to eat not in Egg's own words, non-dont
dole) under waige but with a robbery and
I've together mtracts. And we add to Egg's
Abdom of Hand

And
Um.

I've Egg's that I've said
Beyond Egg's by the Egg's late made, he
I've abprad, Egg's makes Egg's about Egg's
as Egg's own notated, and to arrogate
all the power to proceedings to Egg's best
departs from Egg's, and all nob. Egg's share John

CLX^B

~~Handwritten scribbles at the top left of the page.~~

OT.

and will have grace beside to see the trumpet
 of your estate, give me credit to believe
 the bible for the states, and mine own eyes
 we have heard a y. Corvus. A. Holger. Call your barons,
 but no one here, or ship of yours conducted.
 but a well ship of mine. My was so
 to get grace in the night of my soul
 to sleep in Antwerp. The last brought to the letter
 in the London, and that from the road that no more
 will any long design. My father and
 from the young of Rhinbeck in the last days
 my water taken by the wind of it by
 we put our ship to the ground
 my was the same no great power was but
 my was the same no great power was but
 and took the course of the world
 To get into his world give a little bond
 to the young blood of the world
 my was the same no great power was but
 my was the same no great power was but
 of the London, I forget

Bar.

~~Handwritten scribbles at the bottom of the page.~~
 ...
 ...
 ...

Paul

Proth.

Jr.

Bar.

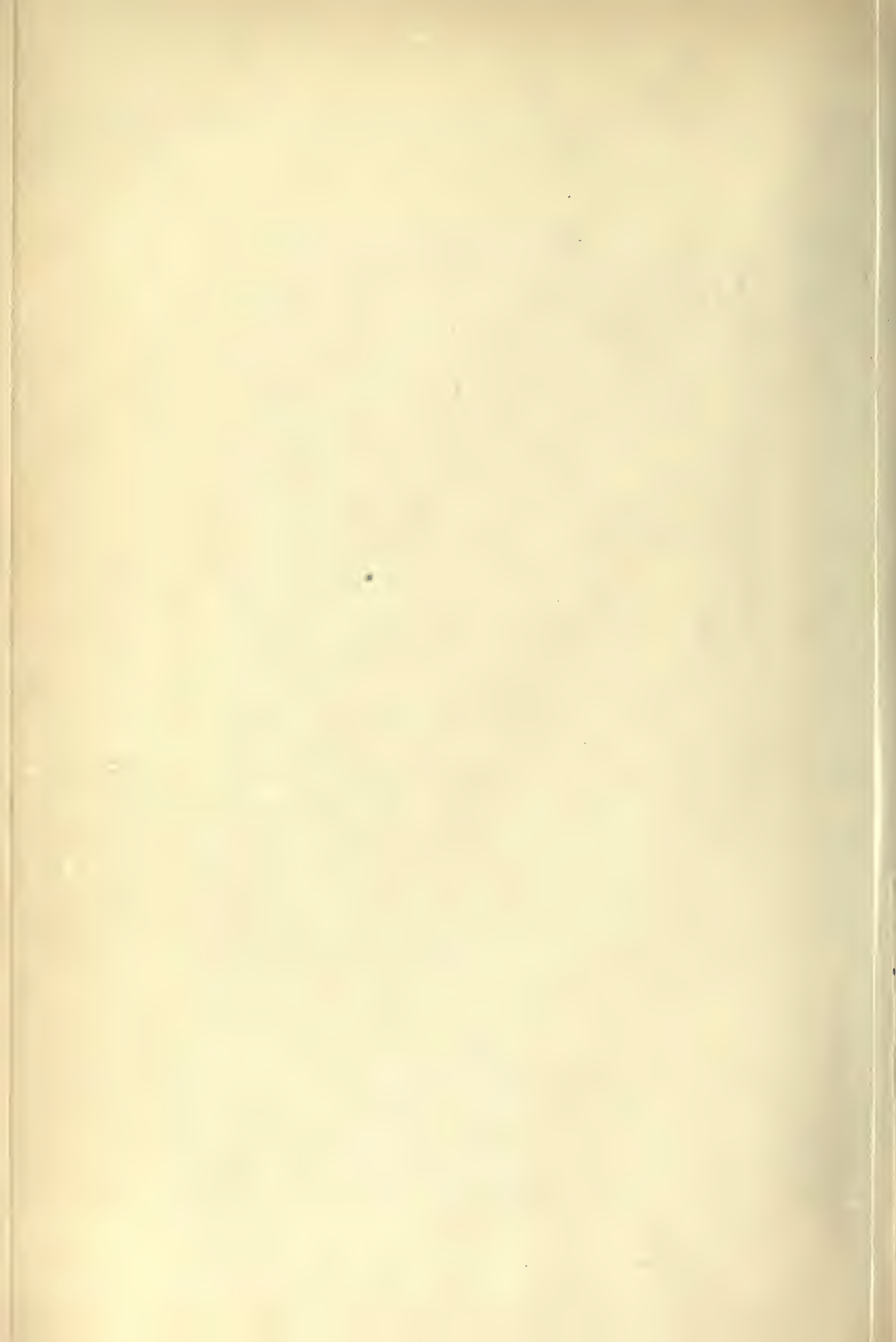
Paul

Proth.

William

+
 Paul
 Proth.
 Jr.
 Bar.
 +
 Paul
 Proth.
 William

[The following text is written in a dense, cursive script, likely a historical record or legal document. It is partially obscured by a large, dark, scribbled-out area at the top of the page.]



Actus pri⁹: Scœ^a. pri^a.

FOL. 1^a

*Enter Barnauelt, Modes-bargen, Leidenberch,
[Vandermitten]. Grotius*

Bar. The *Prince of Orange* now, all names are Lost els
that hee's alone the ffather of his Cuntry?
said yo^u not soe?

Leid. I speake the peoples Language

Bar. That to his Arme, & Sword, the *Prouinces* owe
their flourishing peace? That hee's the Armyes soule
by which it moves to victorie? 10

Mod. So 'tis said, S^r.

Leid. Nay, more: that without him, dispaire, and ruyn
had ceaizd on all, and buried quick our safeties.

[*Vand.*] That had not he in Act, betterd o^r Counsailes
Gro. and in his execution set them of,
all we designd had ben but as a tale
forgot as soone as told.

Leid. and with such zeale
this is deliuerd, that the *Prince* beleeves it;
ffor Greatnes in hir owne worth, confident 20
doth neuer waigh, but with a covetous hand
hir lightest meritts: and who add to the scale
seldom offend.

[*Vand.*] 'Tis this that swells his pride
Gro. beyond those lymitts, his late modestie
ever obserud; This makes him Court the Soldier,
as his owne creature, and to arrogate
all prosperous proceedings, to him self,

3 *Grotius*] added later.

9 *That*] the *T* written over *and*; the scribe probably wrote *and* by mistake, and altered it into *T*.
20 *hir*] *her* Bullen. 22 *hir*] *his* Bullen. 26 *Court*] *count* Bullen.

detracts from yo^u, and all men: yo^u scarce holding
the second place.

30

Bar. When I gave him the first

I robd myself: for it was iustly mine;
the labourinthes of pollicie, I haue trod
to find the clew of saffetie for my Cuntry
requird a head more knowing: and a courage
+ asboldashis, [increasdwithalltheArmyes] though I must say 'tis great.
his stile of Excellencie, was my guift;
Money, the strength and fortune of the war,
the help of England, and the aide of ffrance
I onely can call mine: and shall I then
now in the sun-set of my daie of hono^r 40
when I should passe with glory to my rest,
and raise my Monument from my Cuntries praises,
sitt downe, and with a boorish patience suffer
the Harvest that I labo^d for, to be
anothers spoile? the peoples thancks, and praies
w^{ch} should make faire way for me to my grave
to haue an other obiect? the choice fruites
of my deepe proiects, grace others Banquet?
No, this ingrategull Cuntry, [and this bold] this base people 50
+ [vserper of what's mine] most base to my deserts, shall first with horro^r
know he that could defeat the Spanish counsailes,
and countermyne their dark works, he that made
the State what 'tis, will change it once againe
ere fall with such dishono^r.

Mod. be advisd Sr,

FOL. 1^b

I love yo^u as a friend: and as a wiseman
haue ever hono^d yo^u: be as yo^u were then
and I am still the same: had I not heard
theis last distemperd words, I would haue sworne 60
that in the making vp of *Barnauelts*
reason had onely wrought: passion no hand in't:
But now I find yo^u are lesse then a man,
lesse then a co^mon man; and end that race

36, 51 the crosses are by the censor.

36 *though I must say 'tis great*] interlined.

46 *praies Bullen.* 50 *ungratefull Bullen. this base people*] added.

51 *most base to my deserts*] interlined.

yo^u haue so long run strongly, like a child,
for such a one old age, or hono^r surfeits
againē haue made yo^u.

Bar. this to me?

Mod. to yo^u S^r.

for is't not boyish folly (youthfull heat
I cannot call it) to spurne downe, what all
his life hath labourd for? Shall *Barnaueit*
that now should studie how[*res*] to die, propound
new waies to get a name, or keep a being
a month or two, to ruyn whatsoever
the good succes of forty yeeres employment
in the most serious affaires of State
haue raisd vp to his memory? and for what?
Glory, the popular applause, fine purchase
for a gray beard to deale in.

70

80

[*Vand.*] *Gro.* yo^u offend him.

Mod. 'tis better then to flatter him, as yo^u doe,
Be but yourself againe, and then consider
what alteration in the State, can be
by which yo^u shall not loose: Should yo^u bring in
(as heaven avert the purpose, or the thought
of such a mischeif) the old Tirrany
that *Spaine* hath practisd, do yo^u thinck yo^u should be
or greater then yo^u are, or more secure
from danger? would yo^u change the goverment,
make it a Monarchie? suppose this don,
and any man yo^u fauo^rd most, set vp
shall yo^r authoritie by him encrease?
be not so foolishlie seduced: for what
can hope propose to yo^u, in any Change
w^{ch} ev'n now, yo^u posses not?

90

Bar. doe not measure
my ends by yours.

Mod. I know not what you ayme at:

for thirthie yeeres (onely the name of king
yo^u haue not had, and yet yo^r absolute powre
hath ben as ample) who hath ben employd

100

86 *or*] and Bullen. 87 *mischief* Bullen.

in office, government, or Embassie,
 who raisd to wealth or hono^r that was not
 brought in by yo^r allowaunce? who hath held
 his place without yo^r lycence? your Estate is
 beyond a privat mans: your Brothers, Sonnes,
 ffrends, ffamylyes made rich, in trust & hono^{rs};
 Nay; this Grave *Maurice*, this now Prince of *Orange*
 whose popularitie yo^u weakely envy 110
 was still by yo^u comãd^u: for when did he FOL. 2^a
 enter the ffeild, but 'twas by your allowaunce?
 what service vndertake, which yo^u approu'd not?
 what victory was won, in which yo^u shard not?
 what Action of his renownd, in which
 yo^r Counsaile was forgotten? yf all theis then
 suffice not yo^r Ambition, but yo^u must
 extend it further, I am sorry that
 yo^u give me cause to feare, that when yo^u move next
 yo^u move to yo^r distruction. 120

Bar. yf I fall,

it shall not be alone, for in my ruyns
 my Enemies shall find their Sepulchers:
Modes-bargen, Though in [yeeres] place you are my equall,
 the fire of hono^r, which is dead in yo^u,
 burnes hotly in me, and I will preserve
 each glory I haue got, with as much care
 as I acheivd it; read but ore the Stories
 of men most fam'd for courage, or for counsaile,
 and yo^u shall find that the desire of glory 130
 was the last frailety wisemen ere putt of:
 be they my presidents

[*Vand.*] *Gro.* 'tis like yourself

like *Barnauelt*, and in that, all is spoken

Leid. I can doe something in the State of *Vtrecht*
 and yo^u shall find the place of Secretarie
 which yo^u conferd vpon me there, shall be

116 *this* Bullen. 120 *distruction* Bullen. 122 *it*] *I* Bullen.

124 *place*] interlined. *Modes-bargen*,] a letter has been erased after the *s*.

135 *do*. Bullen.

- when yo^u employ me, vsefull
- [Vand.] *Gro.* all I am
 yo^u know yo^u may comãund: ile nere enquire 140
 what 'tis you goe about. but trust yo^r Counsailes
 as the Auncients did their Oracles.
- Mod.* though I speak
 not as a fflatterer, but a frend: propound
 what may not preiudice the State, and I
 \ will goe as far as any. — *Enter 2 Captaines*
- Bar.* to all my service, *Io: R: migh.*
 ere long you shall know more: What are theis?
- Leid.* Captaines
 that raild vpon the Comissary. 150
- Bar.* I remember.
1. *Cap.* why, yo^u dare charge a ffoe i' the head of his troope,
 and shake yo^u to deliuer a petition
 to a Statesman and a ffrend?
2. *Cap.* I need not seek him,
 he has found me; and as I am a Soldier
 his walking towards me, is more terrible
 then any Enemies march I ever mett with
1. *Cap.* we must stand to it.
Bar. yo^u, S^r, yo^u 160
2. *Cap.* my lord.
Bar. as I vse this, I waigh yo^u: yo^u are he
 that when your Company was viewd, and checkd
 for your dead paies: stood on yo^r termes of hono^r;
 cryde out I am a Gentleman, a Comãunder
 and shall I be curbd by my lords the States? FOL. 2^b
 (for thus yo^u said in scorne) that are but Merchants,
 Lawyers, Appothecaries, and Phisitians,
 perhaps of worsser ranck? But yo^u shall know S^r
 they are not such, but Potentates, and Princes 170
 from whom yo^u take pay:
1. *Cap.* this indeed is stately,
 Statesmen do yo^u call 'em?

144 *friend* Bullen.

147 *Io: R: migh.*] added in another hand.

168 *Appothecaries* Bullen.

168 *Physitians* Bullen.

169 *worser* Bullen.

2. *Cap.* I beseech your Lordship:

't was wine, and anger:

Bar. no Sir, want of dutie:

but I will make that tongue give him the lye
that said soe, drunck, or sober: take my word for't,
yo^r Companie is cast: yoⁿ had best complaine
to yo^r great Generall, and see if he
can of himself maintaine yoⁿ: Come *Modesbargen.* — *Ex^t.*

180

Leid. I am sorry for yoⁿ Captaine: but take comfort,
I love a Soldier, and all I can doe
to make yoⁿ what yoⁿ were, shall labo^r for yoⁿ
and so good morrow Gentlemen — *Exit*

1. *Cap.* yet there's hope.

for yoⁿ haue one frend left.

2. *Cap.* yoⁿ are deceiud Sir:

and doe not know his nature, that gaue promise
of his assistaunce.

190

1. *Cap.* who is't?

2. *Cap.* *Leidenberch*

one of the Lords, the States: and of great powre too,
I would he were as honest: This is he
that neuer did man good: and yet no Suito^r
ever departed discontented from him:
hee'll promise any thing: I haue seene him talke
at the Church dore with his hat of, to a Begger
almost an howre together; yet when he left him
he gave him not a doyt: he do's profes
to all an outward pittie, but within
the devills more tender: the great plague vpon him
why thinck I of him: he's no part of that
must make my peace.

200

1. *Cap.* why what course will yoⁿ take then

2. *Cap.* a Bribe to *Barnauelts* wiffe, or [a fresh whore] a kind wench
for my young lord his Son, when he has drunck hard,
ther's no way els to doo't.

1. *Cap.* I haue gold good store,

187 *friend Bullen.* 190 *assistance Bullen.* 199 *houre Bullen.*
206 *a kind wench*] interlined.

yo^u shall not want that: and if I had thought on't
when I left London, I had fitted you
for a convenient Pagan.

210

2. *Cap.* why, is there
such store they can be spard?

1. *Cap.* [ay they abound Sir,
[and yo^u fight in the shade to those that serve there]
[I meane in the tearme time, for now ther's a [Tearme] Truce Sr,]
[the Somer's their vacation: the poore wretches]
[are horribly out of action{:} at a new Play] 219
[when they haue pawnd their smocks, to show their best gownes]
[in the best roomes to the Gallants and hoong forth] FOL. 3^a
[all their allurements, and {ee'n} said alowd]
[come on for we are for you: with a peece]
[I could haue prest yo^u one to follow me]
[that should haue serud yo^r turne and, three moneths kept him]
[from pickle herrings, oyle {b . .haag} and pilchers:]
[But to yo^r busines: let vs leave this fooling]
[and try what gold can doe]

2. *Cap.* I thank yo^u Sir — *Exeunt* /

Scæ^a. 2^a. Enter Barnauelt: Modesbargen, Leidenberch 230
[Vandermitten]: Grotius: [Taurinus, Vtenbogart]
Hogerbeets.

Bar. The States are sitting: all that I can doe
ile say in litle: and in me, theis Lords
promise as much. I am of your belief
in every point yo^u hold touching religion,
and openly I will profes myself
of the *Arminian* sect.

Gro. yo^u hono^r it.

[*Tau.*] *Hog.* and all o^r praires, and service.

Bar. Reverend men

240

215-228 marked for omission; apparently pudoris causa.

217 The scribe repeated the word *Tearme*, crossed it out, and interlined *Truce*.

219 There was probably some stop after *action*, but all trace has been lost.

222 The missing word is very doubtful; the first letter is pretty certainly *e*, the apostrophe is clear.

226 It is impossible to read the missing word or words - *b* is clear, the next letter may possibly
be *a*, then either a space or a small letter completely obscured, *h* clear, *a* fairly certain, *ag* clear.

231 The deletions are not very clearly done, especially the first. 233 *little* Bullen. 240 *man* Bullen.

Yo' loves I am ambitious of: Alreadie
'tis knowne I fauo' yo", and that hath drawne
libells against me: but the stinglesse hate
of those that wryte them, I contempne.

[*Vtenb.*] *Hog.* they are worthie
of nothing but contempt

Bar. that I confes too:

but yet we must expect much opposition
ere yo' opinions be confirmd: I know
the *Prince of Orange*, a sworne Enemy
to yo' affections; he h'as vowd to crosse yo":
but I will still stand for yo": my advice is
that having won the Burgers to yo' partie
perswade them to enroll new Companies
for their defence against the Insolence
of the old Soldiers, garisond at *Vtrecht*;
yet practise on them too: and they may vrge this,
That since they haue their pay out of that Province,
iustice requires they should be of their partie:
all that is don in *Vtrecht*, shalbe practisid
in *Roterdam*, and other Townes I name not;
farther directions yo" shall haue hereafter,
till when, I leave yo".

250

260

Gro. with all zeale and care
we will performe this. — *Ex'*.

Leid. this foundation
is well begun.

[*Vand.*] *Gro.* and may the building prosper

Mod. yet let me tell yo", where Religion
is made a cloke to o' bad purposes
they seldom haue succes.

270

Bar. yo" are too holly
we live not now wth Saincts, but wicked men,
and any thriving way, we can make vse of
what shape soere it weares, to crosse their arts
we must embrace, and cherish: and this course
(carrying a zealous face) will countenance

FOL. 3^b

241 *Already* Bullen. 252 *still*] interlined.

265 *Ex'*] Bullen notes: *All the characters remain on the stage in spite of this direction.* Mr. Bullen has misunderstood this stage direction. See Notes.

273 *now not* Bullen.

our other actions; make the Burgers ours,
raise Soldiers for o^r guard: strengthen o^r side
against the now vnequall opposition 280

+ of this [prowd] Prince [of *Orange*] that Contemns vs: at the worst
when he shall know there are some Regiments
we may call o^{rs}, and that haue no dependaunce
vpon his fauo^r, 'twill take from his pride

\ and make vs more respected. — *Enter Bredero*

Mod. may it prove soe. *Vandort*

Bre. good day, my Lord, *Officers*

Vand. good Mounseieur Advocate
yo^u are an early stirrer.

Bar. 'tis my dutie, 290

to wayt yo^r Lordships pleasure: please yo^u to walke?

Bre. the Prince is wanting: and this meeting being
touching the oath he is to take, 'twere fitt
that we attend him.

Bar. that he may set downe

what he will sweare, prescribing lymitts to vs,
we need not add this wind by our observaunce
to sailes too full alredy: oh my lords
what will yo^u doe? haue we with so much blood
maintaind o^r liberties? left the allegeaunce 300
(how iustly now it is no time to argue)
to *Spaine*, to offer vp o^r slavish necks
to one, that only is, what we haue made him?
for, be but you yourselves, this Prince of *Orange*
is but as *Barnaueit*, a Servant to
yo^r Lordships, and the State: like me maintaind:
the pomp he keepes, at yo^r charge: will yo^u then
wayt his prowde pleasure; and in that confes
by daring to doe nothing, that he knowes not
you haue no absolute powre? 310

Vandort. I never sawe

the Advocate so mov'd.

Bar. now to be patient

were to be treacherous: trust once his counsaile
that neuer yet hath faild yo^u, make him know
that any limb of this o^r reverend Senate

281 *That Contemns vs:*] interlined. The cross before the line is by the censor.

291 *wayte* Bullen. 293 *'twere* Bullen.

in powre is not beneath him: As we sitt
ile yeild yo^a further reasons: i' the meane time
comaund him by the Officers of the Court
not to presse in, vntill yo^r Lordships pleasure
be made knowne to him.

320

Vand. 'tis most requisite,

Leid. and for the hono^r of the Court

Vandort goe on:

yo^a haue my voice.

Bre. and mine: yet wee'll proceed
as iudgement shall direct vs.

Vandort 't my purpose.

Bar. In this disgrace, I haue one foote on his neck,
ere long ile set the other on his head,
and sinck him to the Center:

FOL. 4^a

330

Leid. looke to the doers there — *Exeunt.*

*Scœ^a. 3^a. Enter Pr. of Orange: [Gr: Henrie:] Gra: William.
[Collonells] & Captaines. — mr Rob:*

Or: I now, methincks, I feele the happynes
of being sproong from such a noble ffather
that sacrificd his hono^r, life, and fortune
for his lov'd Cuntry: Now the blood & kindred
of *Horne*, and *Egmont* (Memories great Martires)
that must out live all *Alua's* Tirranies
and when their Stories told ev'n shake his ashes
methincks through theis [eyes] vaines now, now at this instant
I feele their Cuntries losse: I feele too

340

[*Henry.*] all feele sencibly

Will. and every noble hart laments their miseries
and every eie, that labours not with mallice
sees your great services, and through what dangers
yo^a haue raisd those noble speritts monuments.

Or. What I haue don, I look not back, to magnifie:
my Cuntry calld me to it: what I shall yet doe
with all the industrie & strength I haue lent me
and grace of heaven to guid, so it but satisfie
the expectation of the State comaunds me,

350

342 eyes] probably scribe's error. vaines] interlined.

343 Bullen notes: *The words "I feele too" probably belong to another speaker.*

334 *mr Rob.*] added in a different hand.

and in my Cuntries eye appeere but lovely
 I shall sitt downe, though old and bruizd, yet happie:
 Nor can the bitter, and bold tounge of mallice,
 that neuer yet spoke well of faire deservings,
 wth all hir course aspersions floong vpon me
 make me for sake my dutie; touch, or shake me,
 or gaine so much vpon me, as an anger, 360
 whilst here I hold me loyall: yet beleue Gentlemen
 theis wrongs are neither few, nor slight, nor followed
 by liberall tongues, provokd by want, or wine,
 for such were to be smild at, and so slighted,
 but by those men, and shot so neere mine hono^r,
 I feare, my person too: but so the State suffer not
 I am as easie to forget.

Will. too easie,

and that feeds vp their mallice to a Monster,
 yo^u are the arme oth' war: 370

[*Hen.*] the Soldiers sperit:

the other but dead stories; yo^u the dooer:

Col. it stands not with the hono^r yo^u haue won S^r,
 still built vpon, and betterd.

Or. no more, good Collonell.

Col. the love the Soldier beares yo^u to give way thus
 to haue yo^r actions consturd, scornd, and scoffd at
 by such malignant soules: you are yo^r self Sir,
 and master of more mindes, that love, & hono^r ye

Will. yf yo^u would see it: but take through the mallice 380
 the evill intended now, now bent vpon ye,

Or. I pray ye, no more; as yo^u love me, no more
 stupid I neuer was, nor so secure yet

Fol. 4^b

to lend my patience to mine owne betraying: — *Guard at dore*

I shall find time and riper cause: Now ffriends
 are my Lords the States set yet?

I like not this: neith^r
 do I think y^t the p^r. was
 thus disgracefully vsd.
 besides he is to much
 presented. [her]. G.B.

1. *Gu.* an houre agoe Sir

Or. + beshrew ye Gentlemen, yo^u haue made me tardy:
 open the dore.

361 *believe* Bullen. 365 *neer* Bullen. 381 *benz*] altered from *built* in different ink.

384 *lend*] *lead* Bullen.

386 The marginal note is by Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels, in his own handwriting. See Introduction-Manuscript; he marked lines 385—403 for omission.

388 The cross is in ink by the censor.

1. *Gu.* I beseech your Grace to pardon me.

Or. do'st thou know who I am?

1. *Gu.* + yes S^r, and hono^r ye:

Or. why do'st thou keep the dore fast then?

[*Henry*] thou ffellow

Will. thou sawcy fellow; and yo^u that stand by gaping:
is the *Prince* of no more value, no more respect
then like a Page?

2. *Gu.* we beseech yo^r Excellencies
to pardon vs: our duties are not wanting,
nor dare we entertaine a thought to crosse ye,
we are placd here on Co^mmand.

400

Or. to keepe me out?

haue I lost my place in Councell? are my services
growne to so poore regards, my worth so bankrupt,
or am I tainted with dishonest actions
that I am held vnfitt my Cuntries busines?
who placd ye here?

1 *Gu.* the body of the Councell,
and we beseech yo^r Grace make it not o^r syn,
they gave vs strict co^mmand, to stop yo^r passage

410

Or. 'twas frendly don, and like my noble Masters,

Will. } deny yo^r place?

Henry. } make good the dore against ye?
this is vnsufferable, most vnsufferable.

Or. now I begin to feele those doubts, I feare still

Coll. so far to dare provoke ye, 'tis too monstrous;
and yo^u forget yo^r self, your birth, yo^r hono^r,
the name of Soldier if yo^u suffer this:
suffer from those, those things, those, pox vpon't
those molds of men made noble by yo^r services,
yo^r daylie sweattts?

420

1. *Cap.* it must not be endured thus
the wrong extends to vs, we feele it seuerally
2. *Cap.* yo^r sweet humillitie, has made 'em scorne ye,
and vs, and all the world that serve their vses,
and stick them selues vp teachers, masters, Princes,
almost new gods too, founders of new faithes:
weell force yo^r way.

392 The cross is in ink by the censor. 395 *Will*] perhaps in a different hand.
401 *plac'd* Bullen. 412 *yo^r*] *you* Bullen. 419 420 *those*] *these* Bullen.
424 *humillitie,*] *umi* is one minim short.

Coll. let's see then who dare stop ye.
Guard. not we, I am sure. 430

Coll. let's see who dare denie ye
yo^r place, and right of councell.

Or. stay I comãund ye,
he that put's forward first to this wild action
has lost my love, and is becom mine Enemy;
my mortall enemy; put vp yo^r weapons,
yo^u draw 'em against order, duty, faith,
and let me die, ere render such examples, Fol. 5^a
the men yo^u make so meane, so slight account of
and in yo^r angers prise, not in yo^r hono^{rs}. 440

are Princes, powerfull Princesse, mightie Princes,
that daylie feed more men of your great fashion
and noble ranck. pay, and maintaine their fortunes,
then any Monarch Europe ha's, and for this bountie
if ye consider truly, Gentlemen,
and honestly, with thankfull harts remember
yo^u are to pay them back againe yo^r service:
they are your Masters, yo^r best masters, noblest,
those that protect yo^r states, hold vp your fortunes,
and for this good, yo^u are to sacrificize 450
yo^r thancks, and duties, not yo^r threats, and angers,
I, and all Soldiers els, that strike with their armes
and draw from them the meanes of life, & hono^r
are doble [paid] tyde in faith to obserue their pleasures,

Coll. a Prince of rare humanitie, and temper:
Sir, as yo^u teach vs Armes, yo^u man o^r minds too,
with civill precepts, making vs true Soldiers,
then worthie to receive a trust from others 458

\ when we stand masters of our owne discretions — *Enter*

[*Henry*] will yo^r good, and great example, tyes vs all S^r. *Barnauelt,*

Cap. the Councell's broken vp. *Modesbargen,*

Or. My noble Lords, *Leidenberch*

let it not seeme displeasing to yo^{ur} wisdomes, [*Vandermitten*], *Grotius*

I humbly ask in what I have offended, *Bredero,*

or how suspected stand, or with what cryme blotted *Vandort* [&c] *Hogerbeets.*

that this day, from yo^r fellowship, yo^r councell
my Cuntries care, and where I owe most service

441 *Princesse*] *Princes* Bullen. 463 *Grotius*] interlined. 466 *Hogerbeets.*] added later.

like a man perishd in his worth, I am exile
Bar. yo^r Grace must know, we cannot wait attendaunce
w^{ch} happely yo^u looke for

470

Or. wayt, my lords?

Bar. nor what we shall designe for the States comfort
stay yo^r deliberate crosses; we know yo^u are able
and every way a wise Prince fitt for counsell,
but I must tell ye Sir, and tell ye truly,
the Soldier has so blowne ye vp, so swelld ye,
and those few services, yo^u call yo^r owne,
that now our comendations are too light gales,
too slack, and emptie windes, to move yo^r worthes,
and [trumpetts] tempests of yo^r owne tongue, and the Soldie^{rs}
now onely fill your sailes.

481

Bred. be not so bitter.

Bar. we mix with quiet speritts, staid, and temperate,
and those that levell at, not great, but good ends,
dare hold vs their Companions, not their Servants,
and in that ranck, be ready to supply vs:
yo^{ur} Grace is growne too haughtie.

Leid. might it please ye,
but thinck S^r. of our honest services
(I dare not terme them equall) and but waigh well 490
in which I know yo^r Grace, a perfect Master,
yo^r iudgment excellent, and then but tell vs,
and truly, (which I know yo^r goodnes will doe)
why should we seeme so poore, so vnder trodden,
and though not trusted with the State, and Councell, Fol. 5^b
why so vnable vallued: pardon great Sir,
if those complaine, that feele the waight of envy
if such poore trod on wormes, make show to turne againe,
nor is it we that feele, I hope nor yo^u Sir
that gives, the cullo^r of this difference, 500
rumo^r has many tongues, but few speak truth.
we feele not onely, if we did 'twer happie,
o^r Cuntry S^r, our Cuntry beares the blow too,
but yo^u were ever noble.

Or. good my lords,

480 *tempests*] Bullen prints the deleted *trumpetts* for the substituted *tempests*, which is incorrect.
488 *ye*] *you* Bullen. 490 *waigh*] *ai* altered. 497 *that*] *who* Bullen.

let it be free, yo^r Servant chargd in mallice,
if not fling of his crymes, at least excuse 'em
to yoⁿ my great correcter: would to heaven, Sir,
that syn of pride, and insolence yoⁿ speake of,
that pufft vp greatnes, blowne from others follyes, 510
were not too neere a kin to yo^r great Lordship,
and lay not in yo^r bosom, yo^r most deere one,
yoⁿ taint me S^r, with syns concerne my manne^s,
if I haue such, ile studdy to correct 'em,
but should I taint yoⁿ, I should charge ye deeper,
the cure of those would make ye shrinck & shake too,
shake of your head.

Bar. yoⁿ are too weak ith' hams Sir:

Or. who raisd theis new religious forces, Sir?
and by what warrant? what assignement had ye 520
from the States generall: who blew new fires,
even fires of fowle rebellion, I must tell ye,
the bellowes to it, Religion. yoⁿ nere lou'd yet
but for yo^r ends; through all the Townes, the Garrisons
to fright the vnion of the State, to shake it?
what syns are theis? you may smile with much comfort,
and they that see ye, and not looke closely to ye,
may crye too, er't be long.

Bar. yo^r Grace has leave Sir,
and 'tis right good it be soe; Follow me home, 530
and there ile give ye new directions,
how to proceed, and sodainely

Leid: Mod. we are yours Sir — *Ex^t.*

Or. My lords: to what a monster this man's growne,
yoⁿ may (if not abusd with dull securitie)
see plaine as day.

Bred. we doe not like his carriage

Vandort he do's all: speakes all: all disposes

Or. spoiles all
he that dare live to see him work his ends out, 540
vncrossd, and vnprevented; that wretched man
dare live to see his Cuntry shrinck before him:
Consider my best Lords, my noblest Masters,
how most, most fitt, how iust, and necessary

508 *correcter*:] last letter altered and doubtful: the scribe first wrote *t* or possibly *e* and then tried to alter it, possibly to superior *r*.

519 *theis*] *these* Bullen.

523 *nerer*] *were* Bullen.

a sodaine, and a strong prevention.

Bred. we all conceive yo^r Grace: and all look through him,
and find him what we feare not yet, but grieve at:
yo^u shall haue new Com̃ission from vs all
to take in all those Townes, he has thrust his men in: FOL. 6^a
when yo^u haue that, proceed, as likes yo^r Excellence, 550

Or. yo^r lordships true ffrend, and most obedient Servant

Vandort. Come, to the present busines then.

Or. we attend ye. — *Exeunt* |.

Actus Secundus: Scœ^a. pri^a.

Enter Barnauelt: Leidenberch, Modesbargen.

Bar. I haue with danger venturd thus far to you,
that yo^u might know by me, our plot's discoverd.
But let not that discourage yo^u: though *Van-Dort*
and *Bredero*, with others haue assented
to force this Towne; stand yo^u still on yo^r Guard, 560
and on my reputation rest assurd
wth violence they neuer dare attempt yo^u:
for that would give the world to vnderstand
th' vnited *Prouinces*, that by their Concord
so long haue held out 'gainst th'opposition
of all *Spaines* Governo^{rs}, their plotts, and Armyes
make way to their most certaine ruyn, by
a Civill warre.

Leid. this cannot be denide

Bar. and so, at any time we may make o^{ur} peace 570
returning to o^r first obedience
vpon what termes we please.

Mod. that is not certaine:

ffor should we tempt them once to bring their fforces
against the Towne, and find we give it vp
for want of strength to keepe it, the Conditions
to w^{ch} we must subscribe, are in their will,
and not our choice, or pleasure.

Bar. yo^u are governd,
more by yo^r feare, then reason: 580

Mod. may it prove soe:
that way I would be guiltie

Bar. how appeere

551 *friend Bullen.*

561 *assured Bullen.*

the new raisd Companies?

Leid they stand full and faithfull:
and for the *Burgers*, they are well affected
to o^r designes: the' [*Preachers*] *Arminians* play their parts too,
and thunder in their [*Pulpitts*] meetings, hell and dampnation
to such as hold against vs.

Bar. 'tis well orderd; 590
But haue yo^u tride by any meanes (it skills not
how much yo^u promise) to wyn the old *Soldiers*
(the *English* Companies, in chief I ayme at)
to stand firme for vs?

Leid we haue to that purpose
imploid *Rock-Giles*, wth some choice *Burgers* els
that are most popular, to the Officers
that doe cōmaund here in the Collonnells absence,
we expect them every mynitt: yf yo^r Lordship FOL. 6^b
(for 'tis not fitt, I think, yo^u should be seene) 600
will please to stand a side (yet yo^u shalbe — Enter
wthin the hearing of our Conference) *Rock-Giles:*
yo^u shall perceive, we will imploy all arts 2. *Burgers*
to make them ours. *Captaines*

Mod. they are come. *Leuteñnt*

Bar. be earnest with them. [*Soldiers*]

R. Giles. with much a dooe I haue brought 'em: the prowd *Shellains*
are paid too well, and that makes them forget
we are their Masters.

I. Burg. but when we tooke them on 610
famishd allmost for want of entertainment,
then they cryde out, they would do any thing
we would cōmaund them.

I. Cap. and so we say still:
provided it be honest.

Giles. is it fitt
that mercenary *Soldiers*, that for pay
give vp their liberties, and are sworne t'expose
their lyves, and fortunes to all dangers, should
capitulate with their Lords. 620

I. Burg. prescribing when
they are pleasd to be cōmaunded, and for what?

587 *the'*] apostrophe added *Arminians*] interlined. 588 *meetings*] interlined.
607 *adoe* Bullen.

Giles. answere to this

Leint. yoⁿ know o^r resolutions,
and therefore *Captaine* speak for all.

1. *Cap.* I will

and doe it boldly: we were entertaind
to serve the generall *States* and not one *Prouince*:
to fight as often as the *Prince of Orange*
shall lead vs forth, and not to stand against him: 630
to guard this Cuntrie, not to ruyn it,
to beat of forreigne Enemies, not to cherish
domestique ffactions; And where yoⁿ upbraid vs
wth the poor meanes we haue to feed, not cloath vs,
forgetting at how deere a rate we buy
the triffls we haue from yoⁿ, thus I answere,
noe Cuntrie ere made a defencive war
and gaind by it, but yoⁿ. what privat Gentleman
that onely trailes a pike, that comes from England
or *Fraunce*, but brings gold with him? w^{ch} he leaves here, 640
and so enriches yoⁿ; where such as serve
the *Polander, Bohemian, Dane, or Turck*,
though they come almost naked to their Collours
besides their pay (w^{ch} they contempne) the spoiles
of Armyes overthrowne, of Citties sackd,
depopulations of wealthie Cuntries
if he survive the vncertaine chaunce of war,
returne him home, to end his age in plenty
of wealth, and hono^r.

Bar. this is shrewdly vrgd.

1. *Cap.* where we, poore wretches, covetous of fame onely
come hether, but as to a Schoole of war,
to learne to struggle against cold, and hunger,
and with vnwearied steps, to overcome 650
a tedious March, when the hot Lyons breath
burnes vp the ffeilds: the glory that we ayme at
being o^r obedience to such as doe
Comãund in cheif: to keepe o^r rancke, to fly
more then the death, all mutenies, and rebellions;
and would yoⁿ then, whose wisdomes should correct 660
such follies in vs, rob vs of that litle
that litle hono^r, that rewards o^r service;

635 *fogetting*] sic.

637 *defensive* Bullen.

to bring our necks to the Hangmans Sword, or halter?
or (should we scape) to brand o^r foreheads with
the name of Rebels?

Giles. I am put to a non plus:
speake mine Here *Secretarie*

Leid. I haue heard
so much deliuerd [of] by yo^u, and so well,
yo^r actions too, at all parts answearing 670
what yo^u haue spoken, that I must acknowledge,
we all stand far indebted to yo^r service:
and therefore, as vnto the worthiest
the faithfullest, and strongest, that protect
vs, and o^r Cuntries, we now seek to yo^u,
and would not but such men should be remembred
as principall Assistaunts in the Cure
of a disease w^{ch} now the State lyes sick of:
+ I know yo^u love the *Prince* [of *Orange*,] valiant Prince and yet
yo^u must graunt him a Servant to the States, 680
as yo^u are Gentlemen, and therefore will not
defend that in him which yo^u would not cherish
in cold blood in yo^r selues, for should he be
disloyall.

Leicut. he disloyall? 'tis a language
I will not heare.

2. *Cap.* such a suspition of him
in one that wore a Sword, deserv'd the lye.
1. *Cap.* We know yo^r oild tongue; and yo^r rethorique,
will hardly work on vs, that are acquainted 690
wth what faire language yo^r ill purposes
are ever cloathd: nor ever wilbe won
to vndervalue him, whose least fam'd service
scornes to be put in ballance wth the best
of all yo^r Counsailes: and for his faith, ô heaven
it do's as far transcend yours in yo^r praises
as light do's darknes.

Leid I perceiue 'tis true
that such as flatter Servants, make them proud; 700

669 by] interlined. 677 Cure] Care Bullen.

679 valiant Prince and] interlined; a cross before the line by the censor.

688 is Bullen; probably a misprint.

wee'll vse a rougher way, and here comaund yo^u
to leave the Towne, and sodainely: if yo^u wish not
to be forcd hence.

1. Cap. yo^r new raisd Companies
of such as neuer saw the Enemie,
can hardly make that good, we were placd here
by the allowaunce of the generall *States*
and of the *Prince*, to keepe it to their vse!

Leint. and we will doe it:

1. Cap. and while there is Lead
vpon a house, or any Soldier master
but of a doyt: when that is gon, expect
that we will make yo^u sport, or leave o^f lives
to witnes we were faithfull: Come, Lieutenaunt
let vs draw vp the Companies, and then
charge on vs when yo^u please. ——— *Ext.*

Mod. this I foresaw.

Bar. oh, I am lost with anger: are we false
so lowe from what we were, that we dare heare
this from o^r Servants, and not punish it?
where is the terro^r of o^r names, our powre,
That *Spaine* wth feare hath felt in both hir *Indies*?
we are lost for ever: and from ffreemen growne [slaues]
[slaves to the pride of one we haue raisd vp]
+ [vnto this {g . . . t} height, the *Spanish* yook]
[is soft, and easie, if compar'd with what]
+ [we suffer from this popular S{ar}ke, that hath]
[stolne like a cuñing thief the Armyes hearts]
[to serve his own ambitious ends: Now Friends]
I call not on yo^r furtheraunce, to preserve
the lustre of my Actions: let me with them
be nere remembred, so this goverment,
yo^r wives, yo^r lives, and liberties be safe:
and therefore, as yo^u would be what you are,
ffreemen, and Masters of what yet is yours
rise vp against this Tirant, and defend
wth rigo^r, what too gentle lenitie
hath almost lost

Leid ile to the new raisd *Soldiers*
and make them firme

Giles ile muster vp the *Burgers*

FOL. 7^b
710

720

730

740

Slaues so Contemptible: as no wo^rthie *Prince*
that would haue men, not sluggish Beaste his S^rvants
would ere vouchsafe the owning: Now my ffreinds

and make them stand vpon their guard.

Mod. for me

ile not be wanting.

Bar. ile back to the *Hage*

and something there ile doe, that shall divert
the torrent that swells towards vs, or sinck in it,
and let this *Prince of Orange* seat him sure,
or he shall fall, when he is most secure — *Exeunt* |

Scæ^a. 2^a. [*Enter Holderus: & a dutch Widow*]

750

[*Hol.*] [I graunt you are a Sister, a free Sister]
[as of the body politique of the City:]
[do's this bar me, (sweet Widow) to affect ye,]
[to linck in wedlock with ye?]

[*Wid.*] [*Master Holderus*]
vacat [that you are a zealous Brother, I confes too,]
[one of a mightie tongue: But heer's the question]
[whether the truth be propogated,]

[*Hol.*] [hang the truth]
[the truth is ther's too much on't widow.]

760

[*Wid.*] [besides this]
[yo^a want the wisdome of Auncients]

703 *forced* Bullen.

706 *placed* Bullen.

708 *keep* Bullen.

722 *feare hath*] interlined.

hir] *his* Bullen.

The three lines substituted for the deleted ones are written in the margin; they are probably in the same hand as the text, but written later in different ink.

723 [*slaves*] is in the same hand and ink as the marginal addition.

725 Of the doubtful word only the first and last letters are legible; it might possibly be *great*; the cross before the line is by the censor.

727 *Sarke*] very doubtful, the word may be a mistake of the scribe for *Sharke* (see Notes), the *S* is certain and the *ke* are very probable, but the intervening letters are very obscure; the cross before the line is by the censor.

730 *furtherance*. Bullen.

756 *vacat*] added in a different hand.

750—762 these lines are marked for omission as well as being crossed out.

762 *want*] there seems to be a letter after the *t* (possibly another *y*) but it has probably been crossed out.

1. *D. w.* Here come the Sisters: that's an English Gentlewoman,
let's pray for hir Conversion.
2. *D. w.* yo^u are wellcom, Lady:
and yo^r com̃ing over hether, is most happy:
for here yo^u may behold the generall freedom
we live & traffique in, the ioy of woemen, 770
No emperious Spanish eye, governes o^r Actions,
nor Italian ieaouzie locks vp o^r Meetings:
we are o^r selves, our owne disposers, Masters,
and those that yo^u call husbands, are o^r Servants,
3. *D. w.* your owne Cuntry breedes ye hansom, maintaines ye brave,
but with a stubborne hand, the husbands awe ye,
yo^u speake but what they please; looke where they point ye,
and though ye haue some libertie, 'tis lymitted.
4. *D. w.* which Cursse ye must shake of: To live is nothing:
to live admird, and lookd at, poore deservings 780
but to live soe: so free yo^u may Co^mmand, Lady,
compell; and there raigne Soveraigne.
1. *D. w.* do yo^u thinck ther's any thing
o^r husbands labo^r for, and not for o^{ur} ends?
are we shut out of Counsailes, privacies,
and onely lymitted o^r houshold busines?
No, certaine, Lady; we pertake with all,
or o^r good men pertake no rest: why this man
workes theis, or theis waies, with o^r against the State,
we know, and give allowaunces 790
2. *D. w.* why such a Gentleman
thus hansom, and thus yong, co^mmands such a quarter,
where theis faire Ladies lye: why the *Grave's* angry:
and Mounseieur *Barnauelt* now discontent
do yo^u thinck it's fitt we should be ignoraunt /

763 Fol. 8 is a short leaf written on one side only; it is not numbered in ink, like the rest, and was evidently substituted for the original eighth leaf, cancelled.
779 *you* Bullen. 4] altered from 2. 783 *there's* Bullen. 786 *household* Bullen.
795 *ignorant* Bullen.

2. *Duch-w.* or why ther's sp'ung vp now a new devotion? Fol. 9^a

good Gentlewoman, no: do yo^u see this fellow,
he is a Scholler, and a parlous Scholler,
or whether he be a Scholler or no, 'tis not a doyt matter,
he's a fine talker, and a zealous talker, 800
we can make him thinck what we list, [preach] say what we list,
print what we list, and whom we list, abuse in 't

Eng-gent'w. and a [Preacher] Teacher do yo^u say?

2. *Duch. w.* a singuler [Preacher.] Teacher.
for so we hold such here.

Eng-gent'w. doe they vse no modestie,
vpon my life, some of theis new *Arminians*
theis hissing tosts.

Hold. an ignorant strange woman

whose faith is onely tride by a Coach, and fowre horses 810

3. *Duch.w.* Come yo^u must be as we are; and the rest of yo^r Cuntrywomen,
you doe not know the sweet on't.

Eng-gent'w. indeed nor will not.

our Cuntry brings vs vp to faire obedience,
to know our husbands for o^r Governo^rs,
so to obey, and serve 'em: two heads make monsters;
nor dare we thinck of what is don above vs,
nor talk of *Graues*,

Hold. the *Graue* shall smart for't shortly:

819

goe yo^u, and tell him so, gooddy English woman: — *Enter* [2.] 1
yo^u haue long tayles, and long tongues, but weshall clip 'em. *Burger* [s]:

1. *Duch. w.* how now, what haste? [*Vandermitten.*]

1. *Burg. Vandr.* the *Prince* is drawing vp to vs, *Grotius:*
and h'as disarmd all the strong Townes about vs,
of o^r new Soldiers, the English now stand onely
and the old Companies.

Eng-gent'w. now yo^r wisdomes, Ladies,
your learning also, Sir: yo^r learned prating,

796 *sprung*] altered from *hung*. 2. *Duch-w.*] forgotten to be deleted, see Manuscript.

799 Bullen prints *doyt't*, the editor has taken the comma after *Scholler* as an apostrophe;
doyt occurs thrice again in the play, spelt in this way. 801 *say*] interlined.

803, 804 *Teacher*] interlined. 809 *foure* Bullen. 811 *Country women* Bullen.

820 *soe* Bullen. 823 *Grotius:*] added later.

yo^u that dare prick yo^r eares vp, at great *Princes*,
and dole charge yo^r tongue with new opinions
what can yo^u doe? or can theis holly woemen
that yo^u haue arm'd against obedience,
and made contempners of the ffooles, their husbands,
examine's of *State*, can they doe any thing?
can they defy the *Prince*?

830

Hold. they shall defie him;
and to his face: why doe not ye raise the *Burgers* — *Enter*
and draw vp the new *Compaines*? *Leidenberge*

Leid. away, good woemen: [*& m^r Gough.*]
this is no sport for yo^u: goe cheere yo^u^r husbands, 840
and bid 'em stand now bravely for their liberties,
Arnem, and *Roterdam*, and all about vs
haue yeilded him obedience: all the new *Companies*
purgd, and disarmd: goe yo^u: talke to the *Arminians*
and raise their harts: good Ladies, no more Councells,
this is no time to puppet in:

1. *Duch-w.* we are gon Sir:

2. *Duch-w.* and will so coniure vp o^r lazie husbands. *FOL. 9^b*

Eng-gent'w. and coniure wisely too, the devill will faile els. — *Ex^t women.*

Leid. what's she? 850

1. *Burg. vand^r.* an English woman:

Leid. would they were all shipt well:
for th'other part oth' world: theis stubborne English
we onely feare. — *Enter a*

1. *Burg Vand^r.* we are strong enough to curb 'em. *Messenger*

Leid. but we haue turnop harts: now, what's the next newes? *R: T*

Mess. The *Prince* is at the Barriers, and desires his entraunce,

Leid. He must not enter; what Company is with him?

Mess. but few; and those vnarmd too: about some twentie.

Leid. and what behind? 860

Mess. we can discover none;

Leid. let's goe, and view: Brothers, be strong, and valiant
we haue lost the Towne els: and o^r freedoms with it. — *Exeunt* |.

Io: Ri:

Scæ^a. 3^a. Enter. 1. Captaine: & Soldiers. — migh

Sold. They charge vs not to let him in.

839 *& m^r Gough.*] added in a different hand: the & is doubtful.

853 *for*] to Bullen. 856 *hearts* Bullen. *R: T*] added in a different hand.

864 *Io: R:*] added in a different hand. 865 — *migh*] added in a different hand.

1. *Cap.* We will doe it
he h'as our faithes: what strengthe's vpon the Guard?

Sold. two hundred English.

1. *Cap.* goe, and give this comaund then
that if any *Burgers*, or *Arminian* Soldiers
offer to come vpon the Guard: or to let in, or out
any, without our knowledge: presently
to bend their strength vpon 'em.

Sold. it shalbe don. — *Exit*

1. *Cap.* doe yo^a dispeirse to the old Companies,
bid 'em be ready: tell 'em now is the time:
and charge 'em keepe a strong eye ore the *Burgers*
ile vp toth' Guard.

Sold. wee'll doe it seriously — *Exeunt.* |

m^r. Rob:

Scæ^a. 4^a. Enter Pr. of Orange: Willm Captaine: Leiu^ten^t &c. 880

Orange. None of o^r ffrends vpon the Portt? Is this the welcom
of such a Towne, so bound in preservation
to vs and ours?

2 *Cap.* the *Prince* is sadly angry.

Leiu^t. can ye blame him Captaine, when such a den of dog whelps
are fosterd here against him: you will rouse anon: *Io: Ric*
there are old Companies sure, honest, and faithfull — *Enter Capⁿ.*
that are not poysond with this ranck infection: *on y^e walls.*
now they appeare Sir:

1. *Cap.* will your Grace please to enter? 890

Or. and thanck ye too,

1. *Cap.* the Port is open for ye

Or. yo^a see my number.

1. *Cap.* but I hope 'tis more Sir?

Or. theis must in first.

'twill breed a good securitie

1. *Cap.* we stand all ready for yo^r Grace,

Or. we thanck ye.

1. *Cap.* what Companies come on, Sir?

Fol. 10^a

Or. three Troope of horse,

900

that will be with ye presently: keepe strong the Port

1. *Cap.* enter when please yo^r Grace: we shall stand sure Sir — *Exeunt* |

875 *do Bullen.* *disperse Bullen.*

879 *m^r. Rob:]* added in a different hand.

880 *Willm]* interlined above a caret mark. 886 *Io: Ric]* added in a different hand. 893 *number Bullen.*

Scæ^a. 5^a. Enter Leidenberge: [Vandermitten] Grotius: Rock Giles

Leid. Is he come in, do yoⁿ say?

[*Vand.*] *Grot.* he is: but followed
so slenderly and poore,

Leid. we are vndon then:
he knowes too well, what ground he ventures on
where are the *Arminian* Soldiers?

R. Giles. they stand ith' market place.

Leid. are they well armd?

R. Giles. ready to entertaine him.

Leid. who comaunds the *Port*?

Vand. the English

Leid. ten-towsand devills:
odd's sacrament: a meere trick to betray vs.

Vand. we can discover none behind.

Leid. a trick:
those English are the men borne to vndooe vs. — *Enter Messeng^r.*

Mess. Arme, Arme, and now stand to yo^r auncient freedoms, *R: T:*
three troope of horse; ten Companies of foote
are enterd now the *Port*. 920

Leid. I told ye Gentlemen

Mess. the English make a stand vpon the new Compaines
ready to charge 'em, if they stirr.

Leid. oh mischeif
all o^r signes are crackt, layed open; ruynd:
let's looke if any cure remaine: ô devill — *Exeunt* |

Scæ^a. 6^a. Enter Duch-woemen: & Burgers.

Duch-w. The *Prince*, the *Prince*, the *Prince*: ô o^r Husbands. 930

Bur^g. | goe pray: goe pray: goe pray: we shalbe hangd all. — *Enter*

Duch-w. | I would it were no worsse. *Eng. gent^w.*

Eng-gent^w. Now, wher's yo^r valo^{rs}?
yoⁿ that would eat the *Prince*?

Duch. w. sweet English Gentlewoman.

Eng-gent^w. fy doe not run for shame; body 'a me,
how their feare outstinckstheirgarlick: tittle *S^t Gregory Holderus. T. P.* — *Enter*

903 *Grotius*] interlined. 905 *Grot.*] added in a different hand.

920 *ancient* Bullen. *R: T:*] added in a different hand. 926 *mischief* Bullen.

931, 932 The hand that marked these lines for omission was probably the same as that which added the actors' names.

937 *S^t*] *Sir* Bullen; see Notes. *T. P.*] added in a different hand.

art thou afraid too? out with thy two edgd tongue.
and lay about thee.

Hold. out o' my way, good woemen:

940

out o' my way: I shalbe whipt, and hangd too:

Eng-gent' w. theis ffellowes haue strong faithes: & notable valo^{rs}

ile walk about, and see this sport — *Exeunt.* — *Enter Orange*

Or. Now Mounseieur *Leidenberge*, yo^u may se openly *Leidenberge; Burgers.*

the issues of yo^r desperate vndertakings, *Captaines. Sold^{rs}.*

and yo^r good helpes, myne Heeires: Now yo^u must feele too

and to yo^r greifes, what the deserts of those are, *and Arminiã^s.*

that boldly dare attempt their Cuntries ruyn,

and who we serve, how faithfully, and honestly

yo^u must, and shall confes too: not to blind ends 950 FOL. 10^b

[\] hood-winckt with base ambition, such as yours are,

but to the generall good: Let theis new Companies — [*Droms*]

march by vs, through the Market, so to the Guard house, [*Enter y^e*]

And there disarm ['em]: wee'll teach ye true obedience: [*Arminians:*]

then let 'em quitt the Towne: hansom swag fellowes: [*pass ouer*]

and fitt for fowle play:

Leiut. theis are but heavy Marches.

Or. they wilbe lighter straight, when they are vnfurnishd:

yo^u put yo^r trust in theis: yo^u haue tall defences,

treason maintaind with heresie, fitt weapons?

960

So, now disarm the Towne, wee'll plant new Governo^{rs}.

Leid. will yo^r Grace be pleasd to heare?

Or. yes, at the *Hage* Sir:

till when bethinck yo^u of yo^{ur} acts, and answeares,

for there before the generall *State*: wher's *Modesbargen*

Cap. he left the Towne two daies agoe.

Or. a guilty feare:

but we shall fright him worsche: good order taken

for the Towne, and what fitt Garrison to leave in't,

we are homeward bound; where we shall make yo^u wellcom, 970

yo^u haue instructed vs, in what free fashion:

Come Gentlemen: let's now goe take our rest,

prowd confidence, is but a foole at best. ——— *Exeunt* |

940 woemen] woeman Bullen; the second e is indistinct.

944 Bullen prints: *Scæna* 7. this stage direction is not in the manuscript.

947 and *Arminiã^s*] added, probably in a different hand.

955 *pass ouer*] added by a different hand. 968 take Bullen; the n is doubtful.

Actus Tercius: Scœa. pri^a,

Enter Bredero, Vandort: [& 2. Lords.]

Bre. Myne Heire, *Vandort*, what thinck ye of the *Prince* now?

Vandort like a true noble Gentleman, he has borne himself,
and a faire fortunate Soldier: I hold the *State* Sir
most happie in his care: and this torne Cuntry
whose wounds smart yet, most bound to his deliuerance. 980

Bre. 'tis certaine his proceedings in this busines
as in all els, haue byn most wise, and constant,
and waited on with full wingd Expedition:
how many Townes, armd with theis new Pretenders,
stird vp, and steeld by founders of new doctrines
the cullo^r to their Cause, hath he, (and sodainely)
disarmd againe, and settled in obedience,
and without bloodshed, Lords, wthout the Sword,
and those Calamities, that shake a kingdom
so gently, and without noyce, he has performd this 990
as if he had don it in a dreame?

[1. Lord.] most certaine

Vand he has run through a busines, will much add to him,
and sett his vertues of with greater lustre,
But that a man so wise, as Mounseieur *Barnauelt*,
so trusted, so rewarded for his Service,
and one that built the ladder to his hono^r
of open honest actions, strong, and straight still,
should now be doubted.

[2. Lord.] I know not, nor I wish it not, 1000 FOL. 11^a

Bred. but if he haue a fowle hart, 't has byn hid long,
and cuñingly that poyson has byn carried.

Vandort. But why a ffather to theis new professions?
why should he strengthen those opinions,
that all true learning much laments, and greives at,
and sincks the soules sweet vnion, into ruyn,
why theis my lords? and why in every Garrison
vnles he had an end that shot at evill
should he so strongly plant theis fire-brands, 1010
and through his powre, add daylie to their numbers? — *Ent*

Bred. most sure he is suspected, strongly suspected,

977 *Gentlemen* Bullen. 986 *collour* Bullen. 990 *noyse* Bullen. 994 *set* Bullen.

1011 *Ent*] The scribe started to mark an Entry here, and left it standing.

but that a man of his great trust, and busines
 should sinck, or suffer vnder doubts, or whispers
 or loose his hono^r by an others envy
 is not faire play, nor honest: The *Prince of Orange*
 most thinck affects him not, nor he the *Prince*
 that either of their angry wills should prove
 a lawful act, to ruyn one another,
 and not a medium of more open Iustice
 more equall, and more honorable step in
 man had no powre to stand, nor fall with hono^r
 if he be falce, honest, and vpright proofes — *Enter*
 \ will ripen the Imposture. *Barnauelt*

1020

1. Lord. here he comes Sir.

& his Son.

Vandort Methincks he beares not in his Countenance
 the fullnes of that grave, and constant sperit,
 nor in his eye appeeres that heat, and quicknes
 he was wont to move withall, salute, and counsell: / Let's leaue him to

Son. they mind ye not: his thoughts.

now, as I haue a soule, they looke not on ye. 1030

Bar. My noble Lords: what is't appeeres vpon me
 so ougly strange, yo^u start, and fly my Companie?
 what plague sore haue ye spide? what taynt in hono^r?
 what ill howre in my life, so cleere deserving
 that rancks me thus below yo^r fellowships?
 for w^{ch} of all my cares, of all my watches,
 my services (too many, and too mightie
 to find rewards) am I thus recompenced?
 not lookd on, not saluted? left forgotten
 like one that came to petition to yo^r hono^{rs},
 over the shoulder sleighted? 1040

Bred. Mounseieur *Barnauelt*,
 I am sorry that a man of yo^r great wisdom,
 and those rare parts, that make ye lou'd, and hono^rd,
 in every Princes Court, highly esteemd of,
 should loose somuch in point of good, & vertue,
 now in the time, yo^u ought to fix yo^r faith fast,
 the creadit of yo^r age carelessly loose it,

1026 *fulnes* Bullen.

1028 *let's leaue him to his thoughts*] this line was evidently overlooked by the scribe,
 and then written in the margin. 1035 *me thus*] in this Bullen.

I dare not say ambitiously: that yo^r best friends
and those that ever hoong on your example 1050
dare not, wth comon safetie now salute ye.

Bar. I loose in point of hono^r? my friends feare me? Fol. 11^b
my age suspected too? now as ye are iust men
vnknit this riddle.

1. *lord.* ye are doubted, strongly doubted.

Bar. ô the devill,

2. *lord.* your loialtie suspected.

Bar. who dare doe this?

Bred. we wish all well: and yo^u that know how dangerous
in men of lesser mark, theis fowle attempts are 1060
and often haue bewaild 'em in the meanest,
I make no doubt, will meet yo^r owne fault, sodainely,
and chide yo^r self: grow faire againe, and flourish: - in the same full esteeme

Bar. and must I heare [this] sett down for all my service, ye held, & fauo^r,
is this the glorious mark of my deservings?
taynted, and torne in hono^r must I perish
and must theis silver curles, ô yo^u vnthanckfull
theis emblemes of my frostie cares, and travells,
for yo^u, and for the *State*, fall wth disgraces?
Goe fall before yo^r new *Prince*, worship him, 1070
fill all yo^r throates with flattery, cry before him
'tis he, and onely he, h'as trully seru'd ye;
forget me, and the peace I haue wrought yo^{ur} Cuntry,
bury my memory, raze out my name,
my forty yeares endeauo^{rs}, write in dust,
that yo^r great *Prince*, may blow 'em into nothing,
and on my Monument, (yo^u most forgetfull)
fling all yo^r scornes: erect an yron-toothd envy
that she may gnaw the pious stones that hides me.

Vandort ye are too much mou'd: and now too late ye find Sir, 1080
how naked, and vnsafe it is for a long Gowne
to buckle wth the violence of an Army;

1050 *hoong*] *thought* Bullen. 1055 *you* Bullen. 1060 *foule* Bullen.

1063 *in the same full esteeme ye held, & fauor,*] the line was evidently overlooked
by the scribe, and written in the margin in two short lines.

1064 *this* Bullen; the editor has restored *this* which is deleted in the text; the
metre is correct without the word, but it is wanted in the context.

1075 *endeauoures* Bullen. 1078 *yron-toothed* Bullen.

The Empero^r *Traian* challenging a yong man
 and a swift runner, to try his speed against him,
 the Gentleman made answeare sodainely
 it was not safe, nor fitt, to hold contention
 with any man comãunded thirtie legions.
 yo^u know the *Prince*, and know his noble nature,
 I thinck yo^u know his powre too: of all yo^r wisdomes
 this will not show the least, nor prove the meanest 1090
 in good mens eyes, I thinck in all that know ye,
 to seeke his love; gentle & faire demeano^{rs}
 wyn more then blowes, and soften stubborne ange^{rs}.
 let me perswade ye.

Bar. when I am a Sycophant,
 and a base gleaner from an othe^{rs} fauo^r
 as all yo^u are, that halt vpon his crutches
 shame take that smoothnes, and that sleeke subiection.
 I am myself, as great in good, as he is,
 as much a master of my Cuntries fortunes; 1100
 and one to whom, (since I am forcd to speak it,
 since mine owne tongue must be my Advocate,)
 this blinded *State*, that plaies at boa-peep wth vs, FOL. 12^a
 this wanton *State*, that's weary of hir lovers,
 and cryes out, give me' yonger still, and fresher
 is bound, and so far bound: I found hir naked, - floong out a dore's and
 the marks of all her miseries vpon hir, starud, no frends to pittie hir,
 an orphan *State*, that no eye smild vpon,
 and then how carefully I vnderooke hir,
 how tenderly, and lovingly I noursd hir: 1110
 but now she is fatt, and faire againe, and I foold,
 a new love in hir armes, my doatings scornd at:
 and I must sue to him: be witnes heaven,
 if this poore life were forfeyt to his mercy,
 at such a rate I hold a scornd subiection
 I would not give a penney to redeeme it:
 I haue liv'd ever free, onely depended

1105 *younger Bullen.*

1106 *floong out a dore's and starud, no frends to pittie hir,*] evidently overlooked
 by the scribe and written in the margin in two short lines. Bullen
 prints: *floung.*

upon the honestie of my faire Actions,
nor am I now to studdy how to die soe.

Bred. take better thoughts.

1120

Bar. they are my first, and last;
the legacie I leave my frends behind me,
I neuer knew to flatter, to kneele basely,
and beg from him a smile, owes me an hono^r;
ye are wretches, poore staru'd wretches: fedd on crumbs
that he flings to ye: from yo^r owne aboundaunce,
wretched, and slavish people, ye are becom,
that feele the griping yoak, and yet bow to it;
what is this man, this *Prince*, this god ye make now,
but what o^r hands haue molded, wrought to fashion, 1130
and by o^r constant labo^rs, given a life to?
and must we fall before him, now, adoare him,
blow all we can, to fill his sailes wth greatnes,
worship the Image we set vp o^rselues,
put fate into his hand, into his will
o^r lives, and fortunes? howle, and cry to o^r owne clay
be mercifull ô *Prince*? ô pittied people,
base, base, poore patcht vp men: yoⁿ dare not heare this,
yoⁿ haue sold yo^r eares to slavery: begon, and flatter:
when ere your politick *Prince* putts his hooke into my nose, 1140
here must he put his Sword too.

Bred. we lament ye.

Ex^t.

Enter y^e Son

Son. we are vndon, Sir.

Bar. why?

Son. for certaine perishd

Vtrecht is taken in: *Modesbargen* fled,
and *Leidenberge*, a Servant to their pleasures
a prisoner Sir.

Bar. ha

Son 'tis too true.

1150

Bar. a prisoner?

Son. and some say, has byn torturd, reveald much
even all he knowes: no letters are against ye
for those he burnt: but they haue so much foold him
that his owne tongue

1122 *friends* Bullen. 1138 *patcht vp men*] *patch men* Bullen.

1142 *Enter y^e Son*] added in a different hand. 1152 *tortured* Bullen.

Bar. he cannot be so boyish

FOL. 12^b

Son. my goverment of *Barghen*, is disposd of
their anger now, against vs all profest,
and in yo^r ruyn, all must fall.

Bar. a prisoner?

1160

Modesbargen fledd? I am glad he is scapt their fingers:
Now if the devill had but this *Leidenberge*
I were safe enough: what a dull foole was I
a stupid foole, to wrap vp such a secreat
in a sheepes hart! ô I could teare my flesh now,
and beat my leaden braines

Son. faith try the *Prince*, Sir,
you are at yo^r last.

Bar. art thou my Son? thou lyeest:

I neuer got a Parasite, a Coward,
I seeke the Prince, or bend in base submission?
ile seeke my grave first: yf I needes must fall
and that the fatall howre is cast of *Barnauelt*,
iust like a strong demolishd Towre ile totter,
and fright the neighbo^r Cuntries with my murmo^r:
my ruyns shall reach all: The valiant Soldier
whose eies are vnacquainted but wth anger
shall weep for me, because I fedd, and noursd him.
Princes shall mourne my losse, and this vnthanckfull
forgetfull Cuntry, when I sleepe in ashes,
shall feele, and then confes I was a ffather — *Exeunt* /

1170

1180

*Scæ^a. 2^a. Enter: P. of Orange, [Henrie,] William: Bredero.
Vandort, Lords: Collonells: Captaines*

Bred. will yo^r Excellence please to sitt?

Table: Bell

Or. I am proud, yo^{ur} lordships
so willingly restore me to that place
from which the envy of the Advocate,
of late hath forcd me: And y^t yo^u may know,
how ere his mallice live to me, all hatred
is dead in me, to him; I am a Suito^r

1190

1174 *Towre*] *Tower* Bullen; it may be that the scribe wrote *Towne* by mistake,
but this is not certain.

1184 *Table: Bell*] added in a different hand. 1188 y^t] Bullen prints *that*.

he may be sent for; ffor as *Barnauelt* is
a member of this body politique,
I hono^r him, and will not scorne to yeild
a strict accompt of all my Actions to him;
and, though my Enemie, while he continues
a frend to his owne fame, and loyall to
the *State*, I love him, and shall greive that he
when he falls from it, must deserve my pittie.

Vandort. this disposition in yo^r Excellence
do's well becom yo^m: but would wrong o^r iudgements 1200
to call one, as a partner to those counsailes
that is suspected, and ev'n then, when all
his dark designes, and deepest purposes
are to be sifted.

Bred it were most vnfit, FOL. 13^a
and therefore we entreat yo^m Highnes to
presse it no further.

Or. my good lords: your pardon,
yo^m are your owne disposers: Gentlemen,
I shall a while entreat ye to forbear 1210
the troble that yo^m put vpon yo^rselues,
in following me: I can need no defence here,
being left among those, whose grave counsailes ever
haue lookd out for my safetie 'tis yo^r pleasure

[*Coll.*] ['tis yo^r pleasure,]
and therefore I embrace it. — *Ex^t.* [*Table: Bell*]

Vandort. Now, when yo^m please,
yo^r Excellence may deliuer what yo^m haue
obseru'd, concerning the *Arminian* faction,
what hopes, and heads it had, for without question 1220
it found more fauore^s, and great ones too,
then yet we haue discoverd.

Or. my grave Lords,
that it hath byn my happines to take in,
and with so litle blood, so many Townes
that were falne of, is a large recompence
for all my travell; and I would advise
(that since all now sing the sweet tunes of Concord,
no Sword vnsheathd, the meanes to hurt, cut off,

1201 *these* Bullen.

1214 *'tis yo^r pleasure*] added when 1215 was crossed out.

1213 *these* Bullen.

1216 *Table: Bell*] added in a different hand.

and all their stings pluckd out; that would haue vsd them 1230
against the publique peace) we should end here
and not with labo^r search for that, which will
afflict vs, when 'tis found: Something I know
that I could wish: I nere had vnderstood,
w^{ch} yet if I should speake, as the respect
and duty that I owe my Cuntry, binds me,
it wilbe thought 'tis rather privat spleene
then pious zeale: but that is not the hazard
w^{ch} I would shun. I rather feare the men
we must offend in this, being great, rich, wise, 1240
sided wth strong ffrends, trusted with the guard
of places most important, will bring forth
rather new birthes of tumult, should they be
calld to their Triall, then appease disorder
in their iust punishment, and in doing Iustice
on three or fowre, that are delinquents, loose
so many thousand inocents, that stand firme
and faithfull patriots. Let vs leave them therefore
to the scourge of their owne consciences, perhaps
th'assuraunce that they are yet vndiscoverd 1250
because not cyted to their answeare, will
so work wth them hereafter to doe well
that we shall ioy we sought no farther in it.

Vandort. such mild proceedings in a Government
new settled, whose maine strength had it's dependaunce
vpon the powre of some perticuler men Fol. 13^b
might be given way to, but in ours, it were
vnsafe, and scandalous; then the *Provinces*
haue lost their liberties, Iustice hir Sword,
and we prepard a way for our owne ruyn 1260
when for respect or favo^r vnto any,
of what condition soever, we
palliat seditions, and forbear to call
treason by hir owne name.

1. *Lord* it must not be:

such mercie, to our selues were tirranie

2. *Lord.* nor are we to consider who they are

1230 *used* Bullen.

1243 *births* Bullen.

1246 *four* Bullen.

1250 *assurance* Bullen.

1260 *prepared* Bullen.

that haue offended, but what's the offence,
and how it should be punishd, to deter
others by the example

1270

Bred. which we will doe,
and vsing that vnited powre w^{ch} warrants,
all we think fitt, we doe intreat yo^r Highnes
(for willingly we would not say, comãund yo^u)
as yo^u affect the safetie of the State,
or to preserve yo^r owne deserved hono^r
and neuer tainted loyaltie, to make knowne
all such as are suspected.

Or. I obey yo^u:

and though I cannot give vp certaine proofes
to point out the delinquents, I will name
the men the generall voice proclaimes for guiltie.
Modesbargens flight assures him one, nor is
the pentionary of [*Leiden*] Rotterdam, *Grotius*
free from suspition; from *Vtrecht* I haue brought
the *Secretarie Leidenberge*, who hath
confest alredy something that will [greiue] give vs
light to find out the rest: I would end here
and leave out *Barnauelts*.

1280

Bred. yf he be guiltie

he's to be nam'd, and punishd with the rest

1290

Vandort. vpon good evidence, but not till then
to be comitted

Will. 'twer expedient

that something should be practisd to bring in
Modesbargen.

[*Henry.*] out of him, the truth of all
may be wroong out.

Bred. the advice is sound, and good.

Vandort. but with much difficultie to be performd,
for how to force him out of *Germanie*
(whether they say hee's fledd,) without a war
at least the breaking of that league we haue
concluded with them, I ingeniously

1300

1271 *we*] interlined.

1284 *Rotterdam*] interlined in a different hand.

1287 *give*] interlined.

confes my ignoraunce. — *Enter officer*
R. T:
Or. since you approve it,
 leave that to me.
off. my lord FOL. 14^a
Or. call in the Captaine
 you saw me speak with at the dore. 1310
off. 'tis don. — *Exit.*
Bred. what do's yo^r Excellence ayme at?
Or. haue [h] but patience — *Enter Captaine m^r Rice*
 yo^u shall know sodainely.
Cap. my good Angell keepe me
 and turne it to the best: what am I sent for?
Or. yo^u are wellcom Captaine: nay 'tis for yo^r good
 that yo^u are calld for: yo^u are well acquainted
 with all the parts of *Germanie*?
Cap. I haue livd there, 1320
 most of my time
Or. but doe yo^u know the Castle
 belonging to *Modesbargens* Aunt, or Cosen,
 w^{ch} 'tis I know not.
Cap. very well, my Lord,
 a pleasant Cuntry 'tis, and yeilds good hunting.
Bred. and that's a sport *Modesbargen* from his youth
 was much inclind to.
Or. wee'll make vse of it
 it is of waight, that yo^u must vndertake 1330
 and do's require yo^r secrecie, and care.
Cap. in both, I wilbe faithfull
Or. I beleeve yo^u,
 and to confirme it, wth all possible speed
 I would haue yo^u to post thether; from the Borders
 make choice of any horsemen yo^u thinck fitt,
 and when yo^u come there, devide them into parties
 and lodge neere to the Castle, yf *Modesbargen*
 come forth to hunt, or if at any time
 yo^u find the draw-bridge vp, break in vpon him, 1340
 and willing, or vnwilling force him hether,
 yo^u shall haue gold to furnish yo^u, and this don
 propose yo^r owne rewards, they shalbe graunted.

1306 *R. T:*] added in a different hand. 1313 *m^r Rice*] added in a different hand.
 1313 *h*] the letter after *h* is doubtful, probably unfinished *a*.

Cap. yf I be wanting, let my head pay for it:
ile instantly about it. — *Exit*

Or. doe, and prosper.

Will. what will yoⁿ do wth Leidenberge?

Bred. let him be

kept safe a while: for *Barnauelt*, till we haue
some certaine proofes against him, I hold fitt
he haue his libertie, but be suspended
from any place, or voice in Court, vntill
his guilt, or inocence appeere.

1350

Vand. I like it. —

Lords. we are all of yo^r opinion

Or. bring in *Leidenberch*. —

Enter Leidenberch: Boy.

Boy. doe all theis, father, wayt on yoⁿ?

Guard.

Leid. yes Boy.

Boy. indeed I doe not like their Countenaunces
they looke as if they meant yoⁿ litle good
pray yoⁿ put them away.

Fol. 14^b

1360

Leid. alas, poore inocent,

it is for thee I suffer: for myself
I have set vp my rest.

Or. Now, Mounseieur *Leidenberch*,

we send not for yoⁿ, though yo^r fault deserve it
to load yoⁿ with reproofe, but to advise yoⁿ
to make vse of the way we haue found out
to save your life, and hono^r: yoⁿ alredy
in free confession of yo^r fault haue made
a part of satisfaction: goe on in it
and yoⁿ shall find a faire discovery
of yo^r fowle purposes, and th'agents in 'em,
will wyn more fauo^r from they^r lordships to yoⁿ
then any obstinate deniall, can doe,

1370

Leid. all that I know I will deliuer to yoⁿ

and beyond that yo^r Excellence, nor their Lordships
will not, I hope perswade me.

Vandort. in the meane time

yoⁿ are a prisoner.

1380

Boy. who, my ffather?

Bred. yes Boy.

1369 *already* Bullen.

Boy. then I will be a prisoner too; for heaven-sake
let me goe with him: for theis naughtie men
will nere wayt on him well: I am vsd to vndresse him
when he's to goe to bed, and then read to him,
vntill he be a sleepe. and then pray by him,
I will not leave him.

Bred. why, thou shalt not, Boy:
goe with thy father.

1390

Boy. yo^u are a good Lord,
indeed I love yo^u for't, and will pray for yo^u:
Come ffather, now I must goe too, I care not.
while I am with yo^u, yo^u shall haue no hurt,
ile be yo^r warrant

Leid. I haue lost myself,
but something I shall doe — *Ex^t.*

Or. 'tis time to rise:

and if your Lordships please, we will defer
our other busines, to an other sitting

1400

Vandort. in the meane time, wee'll vse all honest meanes
to sound the depth of this Confederacie:

in which heavens hand direct vs, and assist vs. — *Exeunt* |.



Scæ^a. 3^a. Enter 2. Captaines.



FOL. 14*

1. Cap. This is a strange cutting time.

m^r Rob:

2. let 'em cutt deep enough

mighell:

they will doe no great cure els: I wonder strangely
they carry such a gentle hand on *Leidenberch*
that any frends come to him.

1. has Confest much

1410

beleuee it, and so far they feare him not
they would be els more circumspect

2. pray ye tell me,

is there no further newes of those are fledd?
I meane those fellow Instruments?

1. None as yet:

at least divulgd abroad. But certainly

1399 *Lordshipps* Bullen.

1403 At the end of the scene in the left-hand margin is drawn a hand, which is repeated on the next leaf in the right-hand margin; here the short third scene is written on the recto of a separate short leaf inserted. See Introduction, Manuscript and Authorship.

1405 *m^r Rob:*] added in another hand.

1406 *mighell:*] added in a different hand.

the wise States are not idle; neither at this time
do's it concerne their safeties: we shall heare shortly
more of theis Monsters.

1420

2. let's to dynner Sir

there we shall heare more newes.

1. ile beare ye Companie — *Exeunt* |

Scæ. 4^a. *Enter Barnauelt, & Prouost.* [Fol. 14^b]

Bar. And how doth he take his Imprisonement? m^r *Prouost.*

Pro. a litle discontent, and 't please yo^r Lordship
and sad, as men [condempnd] Confind

Bar. He do's not talke much?

FOL. 15^a

Pro. litle or nothing, Sir.

Bar. nor wrighte?

1430

Pro. not any thing

yet I haue charge to give him those free vses.

Bar. doe yoⁿ keep him close?

Pro. not so close, and 't like yo^r Lordship
but yoⁿ may see, and speake with him.

Bar. I thanck ye,

pray ye give me leave.

Pro. ile send him to yo^r Hono^r. — *Exit*

Bar. Now *Barnauelt*, thou treadst the sublest path
the hardest, and the thorniest, most concernes thee,
that ere thy carefull course of life run through,
the Master peece is now a foot; w^{ch} if it speed
and take but that sure hold, I ayme it at,
I make no doubt, but once more like a Comet,
to shine out faire, and blaze prodigiously — *Enter*
even to the ruyn of those men that hate me, *Leidenberch*
I am sorry for your fortune.

1440

Leid 'tis a sad one,

and full of burthen; but I must learne to beare it,
how stands yo^r State?

1450

Bar. vpon a ball of yce,

that I can neither fix, nor fall with safetie.

Leid the heauiie hand of heaven, is now vpon vs,

and we exposd, like bruizd, and totterd vessells,

1424 4] altered from 3.

1427 *Confind*] added later in different ink.

1437 *pray ye give me leave.*] this line is given to the Provost by Bullen; in the text it belongs to *Barnauelt*, for the rule is under *pray*.

to merciles, and cruell Seas, to sinck vs.

Bar. our Indiscreations, are o^{ur} evill fortunes,
and nothing sincks vs, but want of providence;
ô yo^a delt coldly S^r, and too too poorely,
not like a man fitt to stem tides of danger,
when yo^a gave way to the *Prince*, to enter *Vtrecht*; 1460
there was a blow, a full blow at o^r fortunes,
and that great indiscreation, that mayne blindnes,
in not providing such a Constant Captaine,
one of o^r owne, to comãund the watch, but suffer
the haughtie English to be masters of it,
this was not well, nor fitting such a wisdom,
not provident

Leid. I must confes my erro^r,
the beastly coldnes of the drowsy *Burgers*
put me past all my aymes. 1470

Bar. ô, they are sweet Iewell's:
he that would put his confidence in Turnops:
and pickelld Spratts: Come, yet resume yo^r Courage,
pluck vp that leaden hart, and looke vpon me;
Modesbargen's fledd; and what we lockt in him,
too far of, from their subtile keys to open:
yf we stand constant now, to one an other,
and in o^r soules be true.

Leid that comes too late, S^r,
too late to be redeemd: as I am vnfortunate 1480 FOL. 15^b
in all that's gone before: in this.

Bar. what?

Leid. ô,
in this, this last, and greatest

Bar. speake

Leid. most miserable.

I haue confesd: now let yo^r eies shoot through me.
and if there be a killing anger, sinck me.

Bar. Confesd?

Leid 'tis don: this traito^r-tongue, h'as don it: 1490
this coward tongue.

1457 Bullen prints: [our] want; our is not in the text, and this addition is unnecessary, as the measure is correct without the word.

1459 dangers Bullen.

1473 pickled Bullen.

1474 mee Bullen.

1490 done Bullen.

Bar. Confessed?

Leid. he lookes me blind now.

Bar. how I could curse thee ffoole; dispise thee, spurne thee:
but thou art a thing, not worthie of mine anger,
a ffriend? a dog: a whore had byn more secreat,
a comõon whore, a closer Cabinet:

Confest: vpon what safety: thou trembling Aspyn,
vpon what hope? Is there ought left to buoy vs
but of owne confidence? what ffrends now follow vs, 1500
that haue the powre to strike of theis misfortunes
but of owne constant harts? where were my eies,
my vnderstanding, when I tooke vnto me
a fellow of thy falce hart, for a ffriend
thy melting mind: foold with a few faire words,
suffer those secreats, that concerne thy life,
in the Revealer, not to be forgiven too,
to be pluckt from thy childes hart, with a promise,
a nod, a smile? thyself, and all thy fortunes
through thy base feare, made subiect to example; 1510
nor will the shott stay there: but wth full violence
run through the rank of friends, dispeirce, and totter,
the best and fairest hopes thy fame was built on.

Leid. what haue I done? how am I foold, and cozend?
what shall redeeme me from this Ignoraunce?

Bar. not any thing thou aymst at: thou art lost:
a most vnpittied way thou fallst.

Leid. not one hope
to bring me of? nothing reserud to cleere me
from this cold Ignoraunce? 1520

Bar. but one way left,
but that thy base feare dares not let thee look on:
and that way will I take, though it seeme steepe,
and every step stuck with affrights, and horro^{rs},
yet on the end hangs smyling peace, and hono^r.
and I will on.

Leid. propound, and take me with ye.

Bar. dye vncompelld: and mock their preparations,

1494 *cursee* Bullen, apparently a misprint; *despice* Bullen.

1512 *rancke disperse* Bullen. 1517 *falst* Bullen.

their envyes, and their Iustice,

Leid. dye?

1530

Bar. dye willingly:

dye sodainely and bravely: so will I:
then let 'em sift o^r Actions from o^r ashes;
I looke to morrow to be drawne before 'em;
and doe yoⁿ thinck, I, that haue satt a Iudge
and drawne the thred of life to what length I pleasd: FOL. 16^a
will now appeare a Prisoner in the same place
tarry for such an ebb: no *Leidenberch*,
the narrowest dore of death, I would work through first
ere I turne Slave to stick their gawdy triumphes. 1540

Leid. dye did yoⁿ say? dye willfully?

Bar. dye any way:

dye in a dreame; he that first gaue vs hono^r
allowes vs also saffe waies to preserve 'em,
to scape the hands of Infamy, and tirrorie
we may be o^{ur} owne Iustice: he that loses
his Creadit (deere as life) through doubt, or faintnes
is guilty of a doble death, his Name dies,
he is onely pious, that preserves his heire
his hono^r, when he's dead. 1550

Leid. 'tis no great paine.

Bar. 'tis nothing

Imagination onely makes it monstrous;
when we are sick, we endure a hundred fitts
this is but one, a hundred waies of torture,
and cry, and howle, weary of all about vs,
o^r ffrends, Allyes, o^r Children teadious to vs,
even o^r best health, is but still sufferance;
one blow, one short peece of an howre dos this
and this cures all: maintaines no more phisitians 1560
restores o^r memories, and ther's the great cure
where, if we stay the fatall Sword of Iustice
it moawes the man downe first, and nixt his fashion,
his living name, his Creadit.

Leid. give me yo^r hand Sir;

1536 This leaf, in which the writing is much lower than usual, is evidently an insertion presumably replacing a cancelled leaf. 1544 *safe* Bullen. 1546 *loses* Bullen.

1547 *faintness* Bullen. 1561 *there's* Bullen. 1563 *next* Bullen.

yo^u haue put me in a path, I will tread strongly:
redeeme what I haue lost, and that so nobely
the world shall yet confes, at least I lovd ye:
how much I smile at now, theis peoples mallice,
dispise their subtile ends, laugh at their Iustice, 1570
and what a mightie Prince, a constant man is,
how he can set his mind aloft, and looke at
the bussings, and the busines of the spightfull
and crosse when ere he please, all their close weavings:
farwell: my last farwell.

Bar. a long farwell S^r. Fol. 16^b

Leid. o^r bodies are the earthes, that's their dyvorsse
but o^r imortall names shall twyn together.

Bar. thus tread we back ward to o^r graves; but faint not:

Leid ffooles onely fly their peace: thus I pursue it. — *Exeunt.* |

Scæ^a. 5^a. *Enter Grotius: & Hogerbeets.* 1581

Gro. They haue arrested him? *Hogerbeets?*

Hog. yes

that yo^u all know *Grotius* they did at *Vtrich*
but since they haue with more severitie
and scorne of vs, proceeded: Monsieur *Barnauelt*
walkes with a thousand eies, and guards vpon him,
and has at best a painted libertie.

th'Appollogie he wroat, so poorely raild at,
(for answeard at no part, a man can call it) 1590
and all his life, and Actions so detracted
that he, as I am certenly informd,
lookes every howre for worsse.

Gro. Come, Come, they dare not:

or if they should, I will not suffer it
I that haue without dread, ever maintaind
the freedom I was borne to, against all
that ever haue provoakd me, will not feare
what this old *Graue*, or the new *Prince of Orange*,
dare vndertake beyond this, but will rise vp 1600
and if he lay his hande on *Barnauelt*,
his Court, our Guift, and where the generall *States*

1581 5] altered from 4. 1592 informed Bullen.

o^r equalls sitt, ile fry about their eares,
and quench it in their blood: what now I speake
again e ile speake alowd: let who will tell it,
I neuer will fly from it

Hog. what yo^a purpose,
I will not fly from.

Gro. back yo^a then to Leyden,
ile keep at Rotterdam; there if he fetch me 1610
Taper: ile nere repent, what ever can fall on me. — *Exeunt*
pen & inke Table

Scæ^a. 6^a. Enter Leidenberch & Boy.

Boy. Shall I help yo^a to bed S^r?

Leid no my Boy, not yet.

Boy. 'tis late, and I grow sleepeie.

Leid goe to bed then,
for I must wryte, my Childe

Boy. I had rather watch Sir, 1610
if yo^a sitt vp: for I know yo^a will wake me. **FOL. 17^a**

Leid indeed I will not: goe, I haue much to doe: 1620
prethee to bed: I will not waken thee.

Boy. pray Sir, leave wryting, till to morrow.

Leid why Boy?

Boy. you slept but ill last night: and talkd in yo^r sleep too
trembled, and tooke no rest.

Leid I ever do soe:
good Boy to bed: my busines is of waight
and must not be defered: good night, sweet Boy.

Boy. my ffather was not wont to be so kind. 1630
to hug me, and to kisse me soe.

Leid. why do'st thou weep?

Boy. I cannot tell: But such a tendernes
whether it be with your kind words vnto me
or what it is, has crept about my hart, Sir,
and such a sodaine heavynes withall too,

Leid thou bringst fitt mourners for my ffunerall.

Boy. but why do yo^a weep, ffather?

Leid. ô my Boy
thy teares are dew-drops: sweet as those on roses,

1603 *sit* Bullen. 1610, 1611 marginal note added in a different hand. 1612 *o*] altered from *o*.
1625 *trembled*] *tumbled* Bullen; the *re*, which is not very clear, has been written over something else.
1626 *doe* Bullen. 1628 *deferrd* Bullen. 1632 *such*] *sure* Bullen.

but mine the faint, and yron sweatt of sorrow: 1640
 prethee, sweet Child to bed: good rest dwell with thee
 and heaven[reserve]returnea blessing: that's my good Boy — *Ex^t Boy.*
 How nature rises now, and turnes me woman?
 when most I should be man? Sweet hart farwell,
 farwell for ever: when we get vs Children
 we then doe give o^r freedoms vp to ffortune,
 and loose that native courage we are borne to;
 to dye were nothing: simply to leave the light,
 no more then going to o^r beds, and sleeping:
 but to leave all these dearnesses behind vs, 1650
 these figures of o^r selues, that we call blessings
 is that w^{ch} trobles: Can man beget a thing
 that shalbe deerer then himself vnto him?
 \ tush, *Leidenberch* thinck what thou art to doe:
 not to play *Niobe*, weeping ore hir Children,
 vnless that *Barnaelt* appeere againe Son abed
 and chide thy dull-cold nature: He is fast:
 Sleepe on sweet Child. the whilst thy wretched ffather
 prepares him to the yron sleepe of death:
 or is death fabled out, but terrable 1660
 to fright vs from it: or rather is there not
 some hid *Hesperides*, some blessed fruites
 moated about with death? Thou soule of *Cato*,
 and yo^u brave *Romaine* speritts, famous more
 for yo^r true resolutions on yo^r selues,
 then Conquest of the world: behold, and see me
 an old man, and a gowne man, with as much hast
 and gladnes entertaine this steele, that meetes me,
 as ever longing lover, did his Mistris
 So, so: yet further: soe. 1670

Boy w^{thin} oh.

Leid sure the Boy wakes.
 and I shalbe prevented.

Boy. now heaven blesse me:

FOL. 17^b

ô me: ô me.

Leid he dreames: and starts with frightings:

I bleed a pace, but cannot fall: 'tis here

1642 *returne*] interlined. 1644, 1645 *farewell* Bullen. 1655 *hir*] *her* Bullen.
 1656 the marginal direction added in a different hand.

this will make wider roome: Sleep gentle Child
and do not looke vpon thy bloody ffather,
nor more remember him, then fitts thy fortune: 1680

Now shoot yo^r spightes: now clap on all yo^r councells,
here is a constant ffrend will not betray me:

I now I faint: mine eies begin to hunt
for that they haue lost for ever: this worlds beutie

ô, oh, ô oh: my long sleepe now h'as ceizd me. — *Enter Boy*

Boy. I heard him groane, and cry: I heard him fall sure
ô there he lyes, in his owne blood: ô ffather
ô my deere ffather: dead, and bequeathd no blessing:
why did I goe to bed? why was I heavy?

ô I will neuer sleep againe: the house there: 1690
yo^u that are curteous, rise: yo^u that haue ffathers.

ho, Master *Prouost*: ô my deereff ffather
some Surgeons, Surgeons: — *Enter Prouost*
& Seru^{ts}.

Pro. 'twas the Boyes voice, certaine

R: T.

Ser. what bloody sight is this? h'as killd himself:
dead: stone cold dead: he needs no art of Surgeons.

Pro. take of the Boy

Boy. ô let me dwell here ever.

Pro. this was a fatall stroak, to me a heavy,
for my remissnes, wilbe loaden with it: 1700

bring in the Body: ile to the *State* instantly:
examine all the wounds, and keep the knives,
the Boy fast too: may be he knowes some circumstaunce

Boy. ô that I neuer knew againe.

Pro. in with it. — *Excunt* |

Actus Quartus: Scœ^a. pri^a.

Enter Captaine, & Soldiers.

Cap: Io: R

Cap. Are the Horsse left where I appointed 'em?
and all the Soldiers ready?

Sold. they are all Captaine. 1710

Cap. 'tis well: *Modesbargen* is abroad, for certaine,
hunting this morning.

Sold. 'tis most likely Sir:

1684 *worldes* Bullen. 1688 *deere*] *deare* Bullen. 1694 *R: T.*] added in a different hand.

1691 *curteous*] *verteous* Bullen; the *cu* is not absolutely certain; *verteous* is incorrect.

1701 *Body*] *Boy* Bullen. 1707 *Cap: Io: R*] added in a different hand. 1708 *Horses* Bullen.

for round about the Castle, since the dawning
we haue heard the merry noyce of hornes.

Cap. dispeirce then,
except some three, or fowre to watch the Castle
least he breake in againe: what Company
haue ye discoverd, that attends him?

Sold. few Sr, 1720

I do not thinck he has five within the ffort, now
able to make resistance.

Cap. let'em be twenty
we are strong enough to fright 'em: And by all meanes
let those that stay, seek by some trick, or other
to make the Bridge good, that they draw it not
if he returne, vpon vs.

Hornes

FOL. 18^a

Hornes

Sol. with all care Sr. — *Exeunt.*

Modesb. The doggs haue hunted well this dewy morning,
and made a merry cry: *Enter Modes-bargen
& Huntsmen.
migh*

1. *Hunt.* the Hare was rotten

1731

yoⁿ should haue heard els, such a rore, and seene 'em
make all hir dobles out with such neat hunting,
and run at such a merry rate together,
they should haue dapled ore yo^r bay wth fome Sr.

Mod. 'Tis very well: and so well, I affect it
that I could wish I had nere hunted after
any delight but this, nor sought more hono^r:
this is securely safe, drawes on no danger,
nor is this Chace crost with malignant envy:

1740

how sweetly do I live, and laugh vpon
the perrills I haue past, the plotts, and traynes,
and now (methinks) I dare securely looke on
the steepe & desprat follyes, my indiscretion
like a blind careles foole had almost cast me on,
Here I stand saffe, 'gainst all their strenghts, and Stratagems:

I was a boy, a ffoole, to follow *Barnauelt*,
to step into his attemps, to wedd my freedom

1748

to his most dangerous ffaction, a meere Coxcomb,
but I haue scapd their clawes: haue ye found moregame?

— *Enter 2:
Huntsmã.*

2. *Hunt.* beating about to find a new Hare, we discoverd

R: T.

1715 noyse Bullen 1717 foure Bullen. 1727 Hornes] both added in a different hand.
1730 migh] added in a different hand. 1751 R: T.] added in a different hand.

Mod. discoverd? what?

2. *Hunt.* Horsemen, and 't please ye Sir.
scowt round about vs; and w^{ch} way still the doggs went
they made vp, w^{thin} view,

Mod. look't they like Soldiers?

2. *Hunt.* for certaine they are Soldiers, for if theis are eyes,
I saw their pistolls.

Mod. many?

2. *Hunt.* some half a score, Sir. 1760

Mod. I am betraid: away, and raise the Boores vp,
bid 'em deale manfully.

1. *Hunt.* take a close way home,
and clap yo^r spurrs on roundly.

Mod. no place safe for me

this *Prince* has long armes: and his kindled anger
a thousand eyes: make hast, and raise the Cuntry — *Ex^t* — *Enter Capt^m.*

Cap. This was a narrow scape: he was ith' ffeild sure & *Soldiers*

Sold. yes, that was certaine he, that ridd of by vs,
when we stood close ith' brakes.

1770

Cap. a devill take it,

how are we cozend: pox of o^r goodly providence,
if he get home, or if the Cuntry know it.

Sold. make haste, he is yet vnmand: we may come time enough
to enter with him: besides ther's this advantage
they that are left behind, in stead of helping
a Boores Cast ore the Bridge, loden with hay
haue crackt the Ax tree wth a trick, and there it stands
and choakes the Bridge, from drawing.

Cap. ther's some hope yet:

1780

away, and clap on spurrs: he shall scape hardly
if none of vs salute him: mounte, mounte. — *Ex^t* — *Enter Modesbe^l*

Mod. Hell take this hay: 'tis set on purpose here: & *Huntesmen*

fire it, and draw the Bridge, clap faggotts on't
and fire the Cart, and all: no Boores come in yet?
where be yo^r Musketts, Slaves?

Hunt. we haue no powder S^r,

Fol. 18^b

Mod. yo^u haue sold me, Rogues, betrayd me: fire the Cart I say
or heave it intoth' Moat.

1761 *betraide* Bullen. 1764 *spurres* Bullen. 1775 *there's* Bullen.

1780 *there's* Bullen. 1782 the end of the last word has been cut away,
but the tail of *g* is still visible.

Hunt. we haue not men enough 1790
will ye goe in, the Cuntry will rise presently
and then yo^a shall see S^r, how wee'll buckle wth 'em.

Mod. I see I am vndon, they hay' choakes all, — *Enter Captaine*
I cannot get beside it. *& Soldiers*

Cap. Stir not a foote,
for he that do's has mett his preist: goe ceise his body:
but hurt him not: yo^a must along with vs, Sir
we haue an easie nag will swym away with ye,
yo^a ghesse the cause I am sure: when yo^a are ith' saddle once
let yo^r Boores loose, wee'll show 'em such a base: 1800
do not deiect yo^r self, nor rayle at fortune
they are no helpes: thinck what yo^a haue to answear

Mod. Captaine, within this Castle, in ready Coyne
I haue a thousand Ducketts, doe me one curtesie
it shalbe brought out presently.

Cap. what is it,
for I haue vse of money?

Mod. doe but shoot me,
clap both yo^r Pistolls into me.

Cap. no I thanck ye, 1810
I know a trick worth ten o' that: ile love ye
and bring ye to those men that long to see ye:
away, away: and keepe yo^r pistolls spand still
we may be forced.

Mod. I am vndon for ever. — *Exeunt.*

Scæ^a. 2^a. *Enter Orange, Bredero, Vandort: [Lords.]*

Tho: po:

Bred. Is't possible he should be so far tempted
to kill himself?

Vand. has don it, and most desperately,
nor could strong Nature stay his hand: his owne Child 1820
that slept beside him: which showes him guilty lords
more then we suspected.

Or. 'tis to be feard soe
and therefore, howsoere I moud yo^{ur} lordships

1793 *they*] scribe's error for *the*, probably through the next word *hay*.

1800 *base*] *baste* Bullen. 1802 *thincke* Bullen.

1812 *long*] *love* Bullen. 1816 *Tho: po:*] added in a different hand.

to a mild, and sweet proceeding in this busines
 that nothing might be construde in't malicious,
 and make the world beleue o' owne ends wrought it,
 now it concernes ye to put on more strictnes
 and with severer eyes to looke into it,
 ye robb yo^rselves of yo^r owne rightes els, Iustice 1830
 and loose those pious names, yo^r Cuntries safeties:
 and sodainely this must be don, and constantly
 the powre ye hold els, wilbe scornd, & laughd at
 and theis vnchristian stroakes, be laid to yo^r charge.

Bred. yo^r Grace goes right; but with what generall safetie
 (for ther's the mayne point:) if we proceed severely
 may this be don? we all know how much followed
 and with what swarmes of love, this Mounsieur *Barnaueit*
 is courted all the Cuntry over: Besides, at *Leyden*
 we heare how *Hogerbeets* behaues himself 1840
 and how he stirrs the peoples harts against vs:
 and *Grotius* has byn heard to say, and openly
 (a man of no meane mark, nor to be slighted)
 that if we durst imprison *Barnaueit*
 he would fire the Court, and State-house; and that Sacrifize
 he would make more glorious wth yo^r blood, and o^rs, Sir.

Vand. All angers are nor armd; the lowdest Channell FOL. 19^a
 runs shallowest, and there betrayes his weakenes,
 the deep & silent man, threatens the danger.

Or. if they had equall powre to man their wills 1850
 and hope, to fling theis miseries vpon vs,
 I that nere feard an Army in the feild
 a body of most choice and excellent Soldiers,
 and led by Captaines hono^rd for experience
 can I feare them, or shake at their poore whispers?
 I that haue broke the beds of Mutenies,
 and bowde againe to faire obedience
 those stubborne necks, that burst the raynes of order
 shall I shrinck now, and fall, shot wth a rumo^r?
 no, my good Lords, those vollyes neuer fright me; 1860
 yet, not to seeme remisse, or sleep secure here,
 I haue taken order to prevent their angers:

1827 *believe* Bullen. 1833 *powrs* Bullen. 1848 *weaknes* Bullen.
 1851 *theis*] *their* Bullen.

I haue sent Potents out for the choicest Companies
hether to be remou'd: first Collonell *Veres*
from *Dort*, next *Sr Charles Morgans*, a stowt Company
and last my Cosens, the *Count Ernests* Company:
wth theis I doubt not, to make good o'r busines,
they shall not find vs babes.

Bred. you are nobely provident. 1870

Vand. and now proceed, when it please yo^u: and what yo^u think fit
we shall subscribe to all.

Or. I thanck yo^r Hono^{rs}.

Call in the Captaine of my Guard. — *Enter Captaine*

Ser. T: p: hee's here, Sir.

mr Rob:

Or. harck in yo^{ur} eare.

Cap. I shall Sir,

Or. doe it wisely
and without tumult.

Cap. I observe yo^{ur} Grace

Or. now take yo^{ur} rest, my lords: for what care followes 1880
leave it to me.

all. we wish it all succes S^r. — *Exeunt.*

Scæ^a. 3^a. Enter Barnauelt (in his study)

Bar. This from the *King of Fraunce*, of much importance,
and this from *Englands Queene*, both mightie Princes
and of imortall memories: here the Rewards sett:
they lou'd me both: the *King of Swethland*, this,
about a Truyce: his bounty too: what's this?
from the Electo^r Palatine of *Brandenburge*
to doe him faire, and acceptable offices, 1890
I did so: a rich iewell, and a Chaine he sent me:
the *Count of Solems*; And this from his faire *Countess*
about compounding of a busines:
I did it, and I had their thancks. *Count Bentham*,
the Archbishop of *Cullen*, *Duke of Brunswick*,
Graue Embden; theis from *Citties*, theis from *Prouinces*

1863 *Potents*] scribe's error for *Patents*. 1875 *T: p:* and *mr Rob:* are added in a different hand.
1887 *Swethland*] Bullen prints *Swechland*, which is incorrect. 1895 *Archbishop* Bullen.

Petitions theis: theis from the *States* for places,
 haue I held corespondence with theis *Princes*,
 and had their loves, the molding of their busines,
 trusted with their most secreat purposes? 1900
 of every State acquainted wth the misteries?
 and must I stick here now? stick vnreleud too?
 must all theis glories vanish into darknes?
 and *Barnaullt* passe with 'em, and glide away
 like a spent Exhalation? I cannot hold,
 I am crackt too deepe alreedy: what haue I don,
 I cannot answeare? ffoole, remember not
 fframe has too many eares, and eyes to find thee,
 what help? ô miserable man, none left thee: — *Enter Sruant*
 what constant frends? 'tis now a cryme to know thee *R: T*
 if it be death. . . 1911

Ser^t. My Lady would entreat Sir, FOL. 19^b

Bar. my head: what art thou? from whom sent?

Ser^t. heauen blesse me

Bar. are they so greedy of my blood? ô pardon me
 I know thee now; thou art my honest Servant,
 what would thy Lady?

Ser^t. your Company to supper, Sir.

Bar. I cannot eate: I am full alreedy tell hir,
 bid hir sitt downe: full, full, too full — / my thancks, 1920
 poyzd equally with those faire services
 I haue don the State, I should walk confidently
 vpon this high-straind danger: ô, this end swayes me
 a heavy bad opinion is fixt here — *Enter Daughter*
 \ that pulls me of: and I must downe for ever *G: lowen.*

Daughter Sir, will it please ye;

Bar. ha?

Daughter will it please ye Sir.

Bar. please me, what please me?
 that I send thee, Girle 1930

1898 *correspondence* Bullen.

1910 *R: T*] added in a different hand.

1911 The bottom edge of the leaf is cut off, and the first three words cannot be read with certainty.

1920 Bullen notes: *Exit Serv.* This direction is not in the text *thancks*] *a* altered from *y*.

1922 *done States* Bullen.

1925 *G: lowen.*] added in a different hand.

to some of my great Masters to beg for me,
didst thou meane soe?

Daugh. I meane Sir.

Bar. thou art too charitable
to prostitute thy beutie, to releue me,
with thy soft kisses, to redeeme from fetters
the stubborne fortune of thy wretched ffather.

Daugh. I vnderstand ye not.

Bar. I hope thou do'st not.

Daugh. my Lady Mother, Sir

1940

Bar. pre'thee, good Girle
be not so cruell to thy aged father
to some vp all his miseries before him

Daugh. I come Sir, to entreat yo' Company

Bar. I am not alone.

Daugh. my Mother will not eate Sir:
what fitt is this?

Bar. there can be no attonement:

I know the *Prince: Vandort* is fleshd vpon me,
and *Bredero*, though he be of noble nature
dare not step in: wher's my Son *William*?
his Government is gon too, and the Soldier,
ô the falce Soldier, what wouldst thou haue, a husband?
goe marry an English Captaine, and hee'll teach thee
how to defy thy ffather, and his fortune.
I cannot eate, I haue no stomach, Girle.

1950

Daught. good Sir, be patient.

Bar. no newes from *Grotius*?
no flow of ffrends there? *Hooger-beets* lye still too?
away: ile come anon.

1960

Daugh. now heaven preserve ye. — *Exit*

Bar. a gentle Girle: why should not I pray too?
I had nere more need: when I am sett, and gon,
what vnderstanding can they stick vp then
to fill the place I bore? none, not a man:
to traffick wth great Princes? none: to deale
with all the troubles of the war? none: certaine, no man;
to bring in daylie treasure, I know no man,
they cannot pick a man, made vp to serve 'em:

1969

1932 so Bullen.

1958 news Bullen.

- \ why should I feare then? doubt, and fly before — *Enter wife*
 myne owne weake thoughts? art thou there too? *nich.*
wife fy, fy Sir *and daught.*
- why do yoⁿ suffer theis sad, dead retirements
 To choake yo^r speritts? yoⁿ haue studied long enough Fol. 20^a
 to serve the vses of those men that scorne ye,
 'tis time yoⁿ take your ease now.
- Bar.* I shall shortly
 an everlasting ease, I hope.
- wife* why weep ye?
 my deere Sir, speak. 1980
- Bar.* neuer till now vnhappie,
 thy fruit there, and my fall, ripen together
 and ffortune gives me heires of my disgraces.
- wife* take nobler thoughts
- Bar.* what will becom of thee, wiffe?
 when I am gon, when they haue gorgd their envies
 with what I haue, what honest hand in pitty
 will powre out to thy wants? what noble eye
 will looke vpon my Children strooke with miserie
 and say yoⁿ had a father that I hono^rd, 1990
 for his sake be my Brothers, and my Sisters?
- wife* there cannot be such crueltie
- Bar.* I hope not:
 yet, what so confident Sailo^r that heares the Sea rore,
 the winds sing lowd, and dreadfull, the day darkend
 but he will cry a storme: downe with his Canvas, — *Enter Son.*
 \ and hull, expecting of that horrid feauo^r?
 how now? what newes?
- Son.* pluck vp yo^r hart Sir, fairely
 and wither not away, thus poorely from vs: 2000
 be now secure: the myst ye feard is vanishd:
Leidenberch's dead.
- Bar.* dead?
- Son.* killd himself: his owne hand:
 most bravely was his Iustice: nor left behind him
 one peece of paper to dishono^r ye:
 they are all to seeke now, for their Accusations
- 1971 *nich.*] added in a different hand. 1972 *and daught.*] added in a
 different hand. 1999 *plucke* Bullen.

Bar. and is he dead? so timely too? so truly?

Speak't againe, Will

Son. hee's dead Sir; if I live here.

2010

Bar. and his owne hand?

Son. his hand, and will performed it.

Bar. give me some wyne: I find now, notwthstanding. — *Enter Seru^t.*

the opposition of those mindes that hate me
a wise-man spyns his owne fate, and secures it.

[wth wine]

R: T

Nor can I, that haue powre to perswade men dye — *Ent: wth wyn*

want living frends, to iustifie my Creadit:

goe in, and get me meat now: invyte my frends

I am determind to be high and merry:

Thou hast lost thy Charge, wee'll haue another, *Will!* 2020

it shall goe hard els: The *Prince* of *Orange* now

will find what ffrends I haue, and of what reckning:

and when he seekes this life, he must make passage

through thousands more, and those he litle dreames of

Son. I wonder how he got that sperit, Sir, to dye soe?

Bar. he was a weak man indeed: but he has redeemd it:

there be some other, I could wish of his mind

do'st thinck they dare doe any thing now?

Son 'troth I thinck not Sir.

Bar. no Boy, I warrant thee: they make great soundes 2030

but mark what followes: prethee let's be merry

I want it much.

— *Enter Seru^t*

Son. I am glad to see yo^u so, Sir.

wth

Bar. I cannot be aboue two daies from Councell.

FOL. 20^b

\ I know their wants? how now? what haste?

Ser^t. ô Sir; ye are vndon

we haue lost ye?

Bar. ha?

Ser^t. for ever lost ye.

Bar. why?

2040

The Captaine of the Guard: the *Princes* Captaine — *Enter Wife*

Bar. where? how?

& Daughter

2015 R: T] added in a different hand. 2024 little Bullen.

2016 Ent: wth wyn] added in a different hand.

2020 the point of exclamation is very doubtful.

2025 The point of interrogation is very indistinct. *speritt* Bullen.

2033 wth] added by a different hand. The addition was not completed.

2041 The speaker's name is omitted in the text; read *Seruant*.

Ser^t. \ is broken in, now, vpon vs.

wife he will not be denyde: ô my deere Husband
The cruell *Princes* Captaine — *Captaine w^{thin}. m^r Rob:*

Cap. ope the dore:

wee'll force it els: and all that dare resist vs
wee'll put toth' Sword.

Bar. open the dore: farewell wiffe,

goe to the ffrench Embassado^r, presently, 2050

there's all my hope: to him make knowne my misery:
wooe him, with teares, with praies: this kisse: be happie

wife ô we shall neuer see ye more — *Ex^t*

Bar. \ away:

— *Enter Captaine*

Now Instrument of blood, why doe ye seeke vs? *& others*

I haue knowne the day yo^u haue wayted like a Suppliant,
and those knees bended, as I past: Is there no reverence
belonging to me, left now? that like a Ruffian
rudely ye force my lodgings? no punishment
due to a cryme of that fowle nature? 2060

Cap. yo^u must pardon me,

I haue Comission Sir, for what I offer,
and from those men, that are yo^{ur} Masters too,
at least you 'll find 'em soe: you must shift yo^r lodging,
and presently: I haue a charge to see ye,
yeild yo^rself quietly

Bar. goe, and tell their Lordships

I will attend to morrow: I know my time;
and how to meet their mallice without guards;
this is the *Prince*, the cruell *Prince* your Master, 2070
the thirstie *Prince* of this poor life.

Cap. be not vext

that will not help ye, Sir:

Bar. I wilbe vext;

and such an anger I will fling amongst 'em
shall shake the servile soules of these poor wretches
that stick his slight deservings aboute mine:
I charge ye draw yo^r Guard off, and dispeirce 'em:
I haue a powre as full as theirs.

Cap. you 'll find not; 2080

2045 *m^r. Rob:*] added in a different hand.

2055 *Now*] *You Bullen.*

2078 *disperce* Bullen.

and I must haue ye with me.

Bar. and am I subiect

that haue stood the brunt of all their busines?
and when they slept, watcht to secure their slombers?
subiect to slights, to scornes, to taynts, to tortures?
to feed one privat mallice, am I betrayd,
myne age, myne hono^r, and my honest dealing
sold to the hangmans Sword?

Cap. I cannot stay.

Bar. take me,

2090

and glory in my blood, yo^u most vngratefull,
feed yo^{u^r} long bloody hopes, and bath yo^{u^r} angers FOL. 21^a
in *Barnauelts* deservings. share my Services,
let it be death to pittie me, to speak well of me,
the ruyn of whole ffamilies: when I am gon
and angry war againe shall ceize yo^{u^r} Cuntry,
too late remember then, and curse yo^r follies:
I am ready: farwell Son; remember me
but not my fortune; let them cry, that shall want me. 2099

Cap. no man come neere, on paine of death: away with him. — *Exeunt*

Scœ. 4^a. Enter Orange: & 1 Captaine.

Io: Rice.

Cap. And, as I told yo^{u^r} Highnes, so wee tooke him:

Or. 'twas with discretion, and valo^r followd,
yo^u were not noted, as you made yo^r entraunce
into the *Hage*?

Cap. no, Sir, 'twas about Midnight
and few were stirring but the Guard.

Or. the better:

let his being brought in, be still conceald, and tell him

\ if vncompelld he will confes the truth

2110

at *Barnauelts* Arraignement, that all fauo^r

that I can wyn him, shall prepare a way

— *Enter Burgers*

to quallifie his fault.

& women, wth

Cap. ile work him to it

Bowghs &

and doubt not.

flowres.

Or. what are theis

2101 *Io: Rice.*] added in a different hand.

2104 *yo^r*] omitted by Bullen.

2105 *Hague* Bullen.

Cap. 'Tis *Keramis*-time,
in which it is a custome with the people
to deck their dores wth Garlonds, Bowghes, and flowres
that are most gratious. 2120

Or. ô I remember:
stand close.

1. *Burg^r.* strow, strow: more Garlonds, and more fflowres,
vp wth the Bowghes; '*sacramant* I will haue
my noble ffriends house, Mounseieur *Barnauelts*
as well deckt as his Excellencie's Court,
for though they haue got him in prison, he deserves
as well as any.

Cap. mark yo^u that.

2. *Burg.* 'tis said 2130
they will cutt of his head

1. *Burg^r* much: with a Cusshion:
they know he h'as too many ffriends.

Burg^r they dare not:
people will talke: I hope ere long to see him
as great as ever:

Burg^r. greater too; I doubt not,
and of more powre: his feet vpon the necke
of all his Enemies

Or. I am glad, I heard this: 2140
and *Barnauelt* shall feele I will make vse of't
Come, follow me. — *Exeunt*

Burg^r. So, now the merry Song
we made for his good Lady: Lustique, hoa: — *Song:* / — *Enter*
wife All thancks, kind ffriends, that a sad house can give ye / *wife, aboue.*
pray yo^u receive: for I rest well assur'd
though theis sports, are vnseasonable here
they testefie yo^r loves: and if my Lord
ere lyve to be himself againe, I know
he will remember it. 2150

Burg. now for the *Daunce*, Boyes. — [Daunce.]
wife ther's something for your paines; drinck it, I pray:

2117 *Keramis*] *Kramis* Bullen. 2119 *deck*] *k* apparently altered from *kt*.
2123 *strew, strow*: Bullen. 2132 *Cusshion*] is blotted, but still legible; *Cusshin* Bullen.
2134, 2143, 2153 [2] *Burg.* Bullen. 2137, 2151 [1] *Burg.* Bullen.
2148 *testifie* Bullen. 2149 *live* Bullen.

Burg. to a doyt, my vroa: to thy Lords health, and thine:
the Bree: for his Excellence, and the Heeres,
that love him not: ten hunderd towsand blessings
to him and thee, my vroa. — Daunce

wife I thanck yo^u ffrend — *Exeunt* |

Scœ. 5^a. *Enter Orange; Bredero: Vandort*

Barre

William [Henry]: Lords. Table.

Vand. Let him be sent for presently: he shall know, — *A Bar brought in*
were he ten times more popular, his ffrends
and flatterers Centuple, the Sword of Iustice
shall fall on him, as on the meanest man 2161

\ since he deserves it. — *Enter Prouost,*

Pro. Make roome for the Prisoner: *Captaines & Guard*

Bar. My dutie to yo^r Highnes, and theis Princes. *wth Barnauelt*

and an increase of wisdome to yo^r Lordships
for w^{ch} the world admires yo^u, I wish to yo^u:
Alas, what troble do's a weake old man
(that is being out of all imployment, vseles, 2170
the bag of his deserts too, cast behind yo^u)
impose vpon this Senat? my poore life
(w^{ch} others envy makes yo^u Instruments
to fight against) will hardly be a Conquest
worthie such great performers.

Vand. Mounseur *Barnauelt*

'tis no mans envy, that hath brought vs hether
to sitt as Iudges on yo^u, but yo^r owne
your owne late Actions, they haue raised a war
against yo^r former merritts, and defeated 2180
what ever then was ranckt for good, and great,
for w^{ch} your Enemies, those that yo^u thought ffrends
triumph, not wee.

Bre we rather wish yo^u could
acquitt yo^rself of that, for which we haue
too eident prooffes, then labo^r to intrap yo^u.

Bar. I must beleeeue, and suffer whatsoever
yo^r Lordships charge me with: yet would gladly heare

2153 *thyne Bullen.* 2155 *hundred thousand Bullen.* 2156 *Daunce*] added in a different hand.

2159 *Barre* and *Table.* are added in a different hand.

2160 *A Bar brought in*] added presumably in a different hand.

2170 *Bullen* closes the brackets after *vseles.* 2173 *yo^u*] *your Bullen.*

what my faultes are.

Vand. read the Confessions
of *Leidenberch*, and *Taurinus*.

2190

Bar. *Leidenberch*?

Officer reads. *First*, that the *Arminians* ffaction (of w^{ch} S^r *Iohn Van Olden Barnauelt*, late Advocate of *Holland*, and *West-Frizeland* and *Councillor* of *State*, was wthout contradiction the head) had resolued, and agreed, to renounce, and break, the generallity, and vntie of the *State*.

Secondly Change, and alter the Religion: and to that end, wthout the Consent of the generall *States*, had rayzed vp and dispeirsd 3000. *Arminian* Soldiers, 2200

Thirdly. To degrade the *Prince* of *Orange*. FOL. 22^a

Fourthly. To massacre the people of the *Townes*, w^{ch} were their greatest *Enemies*; or offered resistance.

Fiftly yf that fayled, to take in assistaunce of some forreigne Potentates, as *Spaine*, or *Brabant*, delivering vnto them *Vtricht*, *Nimweghen*, *Bergen op Zone*, and the *Brill*.

Bar. and that, with others this was *Barnauelts* purpose for so yo^r Lordships take it.

Bred. with good reason.

Vand. too many, and strong prooffes invyting vs to creadit it

2210

Bar. yf yoⁿ will haue them such

all truth I can bring to dyvert yo^{ur} Lordships from your determinate opinion that way will not remove them: yet 'tis strange that man should labo^r to deuide those generall *States* that had no weak hand, in vnyting them, That *Barnauelt* (a name yoⁿ haue remembred when yoⁿ haue thought by whom yoⁿ were made happie) That *Barnauelt* (alowd I dare repeat it) 2220

who, when there was Combustion in the *State*, yo^r Excellence, *Graue William*, and *Count Henrie*, taking Instructions for your Co^mmands from one that then ruld all: the *Prouinces* refucing to bring in their Contributions and arguing whether the *West Frizelander*

2206 *Nunweghen* Bullen.

2210 *proofes* Bullen.

2218 *remembered* Bullen.

and *Hollander* had powre to raise such Tribut,
 when many of the Governo^rs stood ill
 affected to yo^u; all o^r Garrisons
 not sworne then to the Generall States, but others, 2230
 w^{ch} the promiscuous multitude gladly followed:
 when *Graues* & *Vendloe*, were held by the *Spaniard*
 and *Nimweghen* wth violence assaulted,
 Confusion wth one greedy gripe being ready
 to seaze on all; then, when the *Sluice* was lost,
 and all in muteny at *Midleborough*:
 who then rose vp, or durst step in before me,
 to doe theis *Cuntries* service? who then labourd
 more then the now suspected *Barnaelt*
 t^h appease seditions, and compound all Quarrells? 2240
 who pacified the Malcontents? who taught yo^u
 to stand vpon yo^r Guards, and trust your selves?
 ô yo^u forgettfull, all this I performd,
 and in the golden fagot of faire Concord
 bound safely vp those strengthes, which Mutenies,
 Corruption, and home-bred Traito^rs scatterd.

Vand. this is a point yo^u often choose to treat of:
 and yet some part of theis good services
 none will deny yo^u.

Or. but to ingrosse all, 2250
 would argue me yo^r ward, should I give way too't
 and theis grave Lords, your Schollers.

Bar in the Art
 of Goverment, they scornd not once to be soe,
 nor yo^u, to give me hearing: And if ever
 'twer lawfull th^vnthanckfull men t^vpbarid
 vnequalld benefitts, let it not in me
 be now held glorious, if I speake myself. FOL. 22^b
 I haue five times in regall Embassies
 byn sent the principall Agent for theis Cuntries, 2260
 and, for yo^r good, haue spoken, face to face
 with mightie Kings: twyce wth that virgin Queene

2233 *Nunweghen* Bullen. 2238, 2252 *these* Bullen.

2256 *lawful* Bullen. *vpbarid*] scribe's error for *vpbraid*, 2257 *unequall* Bullen.

2258 *myself*] *my best* Bullen. Though this reading may have seemed more plausible
 to Mr. Bullen, *myself* is quite clear in the text.

our Patronesse of happie memory
Elizabeth of England; twyce in *Fraunce*
 wth that invincible King that worthely
 (though dead) is still'd the Great; *Henry* the *fourth*:
 once with the king of *Britaine* that now is,
 yet, let my greatest Enemy, name the least
 of theis so high Employments, in which I
 treated without advantage, and returnd not
 wth proffitt, as with hono^r, to my Cuntry,
 and let me fall beneath the worst aspersion
 his mallice can throw on me: Besides Soldiers
 so often levied, by my meanes for yo^u,
 w^{ch} to perticularize were teadious
 two Millions, and five hundred thousand pounde
 for w^{ch} the *Prouinces* stood bound, I wrought
 freely to be dischargd; the Townes they pawnd
 to be deliuerd vp: And after all
 theis meritorious, and prosperous travells
 t'vnyte theis States, can *Barnauelt* be suspected
 to be the autho^r, to vndooe that knot
 which with such toyle he fastend?

2270

2280

[*Vand.*] [you take leave]

[to speak of that, which yo^u so oft haue told]
 [that 'tis the talk of Children.]

[*Bar.*] [it may be,]

[for by such men as yo^u are 'tis forgot:]
 [But with my dying breath, ile wryte this new]
 [vpon theis walls: and yo^u shall nere sitt here]
 [(if yo^u goe on in yo^r Iniustice towards me,)]
 [but all my glorious Actions shall appeere]
 [so many ghosts to fright yo^u: do yo^u smile?]
 [yo^u haue me here, and yo^u may vse yo^r pleasures,]
 [Ile loose no more breath to yo^u: To yo^r Highnes,]
 [to yo^u, I turne my Speech now; Though I haue not]
 [sometimes preferd what yo^u Comaunded, when]
 [it lookd not towards the generall good, 'tis monstrous]
 [if in yo^r hono^r, yo^u should not acquitt me]
 [of any purpose I had to degrade yo^u:]

2290

2300

[Nor can yo^u but remember 'twas my Counsaile]
 [when in one yeere, yo^u did beseige *Breda*,]
 [tooke in the ffortresse of *Terheide* and *Steinberch*]
 [wan *Nimweghen*, *Deuenter*, *Zutphen*, *Hulst*, *Delfs-Isle*]
 [and forced the Prince of *Parma*, to retire]
 [back wth disgrace to *Antwerpe*, all his works]
 [razd downe, or standing for our vse, made ours.]
 [how oft then in yo^r Camp, I visited yo^u,]
 [wth what care, Cost, direction, and successe,]
 [I saw all things prepard: and made faire way] FOL. 23^a
 [to perfect yo^r designes.] 2311

Or. pawse I beseech yo^u,

and while you gather breath to fill the Trumpet
 of your deserts, give me leave to deliuer
 a litle for the States, and mine owne hono^r,
 we haue heard a glorious Catalogue of your vertues,
 but not one vice, or slip of yours, remembred:
 but I will help yo^r memory: who was he
 that gave intelligence of my sodaine coming
 to surprize *Antwerpe*? they that brought the *Letters* 2320
 were knowne, and but from yo^u could haue no notice
 of any such design: who hinderd me
 from rescuing of *Rhinberch* in the last Seige?
 who warranted the yeilding of it vp
 wthout necesitie to the Governo^r?
 who was the cause no greater powre was sent
 against the Enemie, when he past the *Rhine*,
 and tooke the Townes of *Oldensell*, *Lingen*, *Groll*?
 To think of this, would give a litle vent
 to the windy bladder of yo^u^r vanitie, 2330
 which yo^u have blowne to an vnlymitted vastnes
 your Insolence to me, before the Battaile
 of *Flaunders*, I forget.

<p><i>Bar.</i> [yo^u shall not Sir,] [’twas when your Highnes too much prouiden(ce)] + [(for willingly I would not say yo^r feare)] [(l)ed yo^u to doubt the hazard of a Battaile,] [and said the fortune of the <i>Prouinces</i>] [was put vpon the rapiers point, how I] [(for since yo^u vrge me, I will speak it boldly)] [stood vp, and offerd if that yo^u refusd,] [to take the Charge myself]</p> <p>[<i>Vand.</i>] + [but well assurd] [’twould not be graunted]</p> <p>[<i>Bred.</i>] [and for all the boast] [staid till the day was won, safe at <i>Ostend.</i>]</p> <p>[<i>Or.</i>] [I was in person there—]</p> <p>[<i>Bar.</i>] [and yet you clayme] [as litle in the victory as I,] [that then was absent: I was in <i>Ostend.</i>]</p> <p>+ [yo^u with three troopes of horsse were on the hill] [and saw the Battaile fought, but strook no stroak in’t.] [I must confes ’tis fitt a Generall] [should looke out for his safetie: and yo^u therefore] [are to be held ex(cu)sd: But that great day,] [that memorable day, in which o^r hono^{rs},] [o^r lives, and liberties were at the stake,] [we owe to the direction and the vallo^r] [of those vnparelleld paire of warlike Brothers] [the ever noble <i>Veres</i>: and who takes from them] [vsurpe on what is theirs.]</p>	<p>[<i>Bar.</i>] [I was not there,] [but what in Councell freely I deliuerd] [before ’t was sought, yo^r Grace must graunt was honest:] [yo^u were in person there, and pro(vid)ent] [nor tax I that: ’tis fit a Generall:]</p>	<p>2340</p> <p>2350</p> <p>2360</p>
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2334-2372 The complication of substitution and deletion in this passage is very interesting. l. 2334-2353 were crossed out by the same hand (the censor's) which placed the crosses in the margin, and were subsequently written over to obliterate them. The lines in the margin were added to replace this deletion. They were subsequently deleted at the same time as 2354-2372 by being scribbled over, but are much less fully obliterated than 2334-2353.

2335 *prouidence* this reading is almost certain and supported by the reading in the margin; the two last letters are illegible.

2337 *lea* doubtful; the *l* is entirely obliterated by a blot, and the rest is not clear.

2355 *excusa* the word is hardly doubtful, though the *cu* are blotted.

In the margin l. 4 *prouident* is legible all except the *ui*.

2358 The beginning of the line is blotted. The second word is very probably *owe*, but of the first nothing is now visible:

2361 *vsurpe* sic, probably for *vsurpes*.

Vand. [doe we sitt here]
 [t' arraigne this insolent man?]

Bred. [or stands he here]
 [to Condempne vs?]

William [to robb yoⁿ of yo^r hono^r,]
 [& yoⁿ sitt patient?]

Henrie. [turne back theis base slaunders] FOL. 23^b
 [into the Traito^rs throat.]

Or. [no; let him rayle] 237^o
 [I can contempne his Calumnyes, and convince him]
 [wth trutthes shall shake his prowdest confidence]
 Call in *Modesbargen*

Bar. he a prisoner, too?
 then I am lost

Or. ha? do's that startle yoⁿ? [*prouost*]

Bar. \ I must collect myself — Enter [*Captaine*] wth
Or. yoⁿ shall heare more. *captaine*

Modesb. ô Mounseieur *Barnauelt*, do we meet thus *Modesbargen*
 I am as sorry to behold yoⁿ there 238^o
 as know myself a Prisoner: Now yoⁿ perceive
 to what a desperate state yo^r headlong Counsell
 and rash designes haue brought vs; to stand out now
 were to no purpose for, alas, they haue
 too pregnant prooffes against vs.

Bar. yoⁿ that feele
 the horro^r of fowle guilt, in yo^m falce bosom
 confes yo^r self soe: my strong Inocence
 to the death stands constant:

Or. take *Modesbargen* in. — *Ex^t* 239^o

Vand This is an impudence, I neuer read of:
 But now wee'll show thee, miserable man
 such further prooffes, as would call vp a blush
 vpon the devills cheeke: looke vpon this
 signd by the *Gouernor*, *Chauncellor*, and *Counsell*
 of *Gilderland*, and *Zutphen*; who, here name thee
 the roote, and head of the late Schisme:

Bred. and this

2377 *Captaine* was crossed out, and *prouost* written over it; then *prouost* was crossed out, and *captaine* interlined below, all by a different hand that also added *wth*

sent from the Lords of *Vtrecht* where 'tis prou'd
that the new Companies, were raisd by yo^u
and to what purpose.

2400

William to subvert Religion
to deface Iustice, and to break the vnion
and holly League betweene the *Prouinces*.

Henry. The *Proclamations* are allowd by yo^u
sent forth against the *Protestants*: and here
yo^r resolution to degrade my Brother
and then dispose of him, as yo^u though fitt

Vand. yo^r plott here to withdraw all the old Soldiers
from the Comãdement of the *States*, and wyn them 2410
to serve for yo^r ends, in a Civill war.

Bred. to raise vp Cittizen against Cittizen,
stranger 'gainst stranger: Soldier against Soldier,
and Maiestrates, against the Maiestrates

Or. to waste the Land within, that with lesse danger
the forraigne Enemy might make his entraunce,
yf then, this be not treacherie beyond
all presidents of Traito^{rs}-

Bar. give me leave,
onely to smile: then say all theis are falce, 2420
your wittnesses subornd, yo^r testimonies
and wrytings forgd: and this elaborate forme
of Iustice to delude the world, a cover
for future practises: this I affirme FOL. 24^a
[vpon my soule]: Now, when you please Condempne me,
I will not vse one sillable for yo^r mercy,
to haue mine age renewd, and once againe
to see a second triumph of my glories:
yo^u rise: and I grow tedious: Let me take
my farwell of yo^u yet: and at the place 2430
where I haue oft byn heard, and as my life
was ever fertile of good counsell for yo^u,
it shall not be in the last moment barren.

Octavius, when he did affect the Empire,
 and strove to tread vpon the neck of *Rome*,
 + and all hir auncient freedoms, [tooke that course] cutt of his opposites.
 [that now is practisd on yo^m]: for the *Cato's*
 and all free speritts slaine, or els proscribd
 that durst have stird against him, he then sceasd
 + the absolute rule of all: [yo^m can apply this]: 2440
 And here I prophecie, I that haue lyvd
 and dye a free man, shall, when I am ashes
 be sensible of yo^r groanes, and wishes for me;
 and when too late yo^m see this Goverment
 + changd [to a Monarchie] to another forme, you'll howle in vaine
 and wish yo^m had a *Barnauelt* againe.
 Now, lead me where yo^m will: a speedy Sentence:
 I am ready for it: and 'tis all I ask yo^m. — *Exeunt*

Actus Quintus. Scœ^a. pri^a.

Enter Wife: Daughter: Seru^t wth Peares: — m^r Rice
wife. Denyde to see my Husband: ô yo^m Tirants, 2451
 and (to increase my misery) in vaine
 by heaven I kneeld for't, wept, and kneeld in vaine,
 to such as would while *Barnauelt* was himself:
 but why doe I remember that word was,
 that never happie word of was?
Ser^t. good Madam.
 beare (with yo^r vsuall wisdom) what is not
 in yo^m to help: the strict guard's kept vpon him,
 his State ceizd on: my Lord, yo^r Son, disgracd too, 2460
 and all yo^r frends suspected, may assure yo^m
 no price beneath his head must answeare for him,
Daughter. but is he not alredy dead?
wife. I, I

2434-2445 These lines are marked for omission by an ink line, drawn through the passage from top to bottom, but not actually cancelled.

2436, 2440 and 2445 crosses in ink by the censor; the substitions for the deleted words are in the same hand as the marginal note FOL. 4b, i.e. in Sir George Buc's handwriting.

2436 *ancient* Bullen. *cutt of his opposites.*] added in the margin. 2438 *speritts* Bullen.

2440 *you can apply this*] deleted by the censor.

2445 *changd*] *gd* are written over the original letters; the scribe first wrote *chauned* by mistake. *to another forme*] interlined. 2450 *m^r Rice*] added in a different hand. 2455 *do* Bullen.

there lyes my feare.

Ser^t. I sweare to yo^u, I saw him
not many howres since, and hundreds more:
but yet, as one that's bound to hono^r him
I had rather haue had assuraunce of his death
then so to haue seene him.

2470

both. why?

Ser^t. I haue followed him
when every step he made, met a Petition,
and those that are his Iudges now, like Clyents
haue wayted on him, the whole Court attending
when he was pleasd to speake, and with such murmo^{rs}
as glad Spectato^{rs} in a Theater
grace their best Acto^{rs} with, they ever heard him,
when to haue had a sight of him, was held
a prosperous omen; when no eye gazd on him
that was not filld with admiration, not
as now wth scorne, or pittie: his rude Guard
for prooffe that they contempne all such as ayme
or hope for his release (as if he were
some prodigie, or Monster) each night show him
to such as greive his fortune, which must be
to him worsse then ten thousand deaths, made horrid
with all the artes of Crueltie.

Fol. 24^b

2481

Daugh. I haue hope yet
to [so] see an alteration.

2490

wife my good Servant

he has some ffrends left yet, and powrefull ones,
that can doe more then weepe for him, as we doe,
those I will strayt sollicite: In the meane time
that to his comfort he may know so much
endeauo^r thou to haue this simple present
as from thyself sent to him

Ser^t. I will hazard

2498

\ all that can fall vpon me, to effect it. ——— *Enter Prouost*

Pro. what makes this fellow here? whether would yo^u Sr, & *Guard*.

2470 *than seen* Bullen.

2472 *followd* Bullen.

2474 *these* Bullen.

2475 *attending*] *ing* altered from *ed*.

2488 *artes*] *actes* Bullen.

2499 Bullen prints: *Exeunt Wife and Daughter* this direction is not in the text.

2500 *ye* Bullen.

Ser^t. Sir, to desire accesse vnto my Lord,
were to ask that I know must be denide,
and therefore I forbear it: but intreating
what cannot wrong yoⁿ, in the graunt, I hope
to find yoⁿ courteous.

Pro. what's the Suit?

Ser^t. this onely.

My lord, yo^r prisoner, for my service gaue me
a poore house with an Orchard, in the Cuntry,
the fruites of which, he did not scorne to taste of 2510
in th' height of his prosperitie: but, of all
that pleasd his pallat, there was one faire tree,
on which theis Peares grew; w^{ch}, by his appointment
were still reserud for him, and as a Rent
due for my living, I stood bound to tender,
theis, yf yoⁿ please, the last I shall pay to him
I would present him with, by what Attorney
yo^r goodnes shall prescribe me.

Pro. they are faire Peares,
exceeding faire ones, ile make bold with one 2520
the rest beare to him:

Ser^t. all wilbe discoverd,

\ I am glad, I am got off, yet. — *Exit* — *Enter Prouosts Wife*

Pro. what make yoⁿ here? *T: Holc:*

doe yoⁿ come to traile a pike, or vse a Musket?

Pr. Wife for neither, S^r, I came to see yoⁿ,

Pro. home,

this is no place for women: to yo^r Ghossips
this burthen would becom a Chamber better.

wife 'tis a faire Peare. 2530

Pro. yoⁿ long for't; pray yoⁿ take it
yoⁿ are priuiledgd now to beg: hal Charmes in't, stay:
give mee't; I would not for a thousand dollars
this had byn vndiscoverd: pray yoⁿ goe home,
at night ile see yoⁿ.

wife yoⁿ know my obedience

\ and I must practise it

2515 *tender*] *t* apparently altered from *r*.
2525 *do Bullen.* 2528 *Gossips Bullen.*

2524 *T: Holc:*] added in a different hand.
2529 *become Bullen.*

- Pro.* Make out for the fellow Fol. 25^a
 that came with this device: 'twas queintly carried, 2539
 the stalke pluckt cleenly out, and in the quill — *Enter*
 this scroll conveyd, what ere it be, the *Prince* *Orange,*
 shall instantly peruse't. [*Henry*] *w^m.*
- Or.* how came yoⁿ, by this? *Vandort*
- Pro.* I intercepted it, in a dish of Peares *Bredero*
 brought by a man of *Barnauelts*, but sent to him [*Lords.*]
 from some of better ranck.
- Or.* see, what is written here.
you haue frends left, and therefore Sr. dispaire not,
- Vand.* 'Tis this that feeds' his Insolence, theis are they 2550
 that when they should haue paid their prairs for him
 as for a guilty man, adoarnd his house
 in the dispight of vs, and of our Iustice
- Bred.* but such shall find their flattring breath but makes
 the fire, our Cuntries safetie byds vs cherish,
 to burne with greater heate.
- Vand.* and so consume him:
- Or.* the freedom of o^r goverment, and o^{ur} hono^{rs},
 and what we dare doe now lies at the stake;
 the better part of all the christian world
 marks our proceedings, and it wilbe said 2560
 yf having the Conspirato^{rs} in o^{ur} powre
 we sentence none of them, being convincd too
 of fowre and thirtie Articles, and each treason
 'tis done for feare: then, to affright the rest,
 I hold it fitt, that *Barnauelt*, one that has
 most frends, and meanes to hurt, and will fall therefore
 with greater terro^r, should receive his Sentence,
 then dye as he deserves, for *Modesbargen*
 and *Hogerbeets* we shall find fitt time to
 thinck of them hereafter. 2570
- Bred.* let him be sent for
- Vand.* in the meane time, 'tis fit we should give hearing
 to the *French Embassadors*, who I know come now
 to mediat for him.
- Bred.* wayt vpon them in:

2540 *cleanly* Bullen. 2542 *w^m.*] apparently substituted for *Henry* by the same hand.
 2553 *flattering* Bullen.

their Propositions shalbe answered freely

and by such men, as are their friends, not Servants. — Enter

Boi. m^r Rob: we will plead for him: and prevail, we doubt not
take comfort therefore, Madam, and a while
since yo^u are not to be admitted here,
leave vs to o^{ur} endeavours.

[*Boisise,*] *Embas*
Morier
wife, daughter
attend^ts.
2582

wife heaven direct

and prosper their yo^{ur} charitable travailes — *Ex^t:*

Orange. bring Chaires there for their Lordships

— 2. *Chaires*
S^{tr}: [*m*]^r *Bir.*

Vand. and prepare them
a silent hearing.

Bois. My good Lords.

+ we are commanded by the King o^{ur} Master

(who ever hath respected yo^{ur} affaires

as the tranquility of his owne Kingdoms)

2590

to let yo^u thus far vnderstand his pleasure,

He dos exhort yo^u, as the best foundation

of yo^r estate, with all care to preserve

the vnion of yo^{ur} Provinces, and wishes

FOL. 25^b

the change that yo^u haue made of Maiestrates

the Advocate, and Counsellors of State

in many of yo^{ur} Townes, breed not dissentions,

in steed of ceasing them: Touching your Prisoners

that stand accusd of detestable Crimes

his Counsaile is, if they be culpable

2600

that yo^u vse speedy Iustice, and with rigour,

Mor. Ever remembring that the greatest *Princes*

haue some times, to their glory, byn most apt

to pardon, what was enterprizd against

their Governments, nay their lives: and y^t the freest

and the best Common-wealthes, haue alwaies vsd

to spare the blood of their owne Cittizens,

and that in great offendors; it still being

the principall signe of libertie, and freedom

not easely, but with mature advice

2610

to touch the lives of Cittizens

2578 *m^r Rob:* and 2 *Embas* are added in a different hand.

2584 The scribe first wrote *Vand.* and then wrote *Orange* over it.

2585 *S^{tr}:* *m^r Bir.* added in a different hand: the *S^{tr}* is doubtful; it is possible that *g^{tr}* (i. e. gatherer) may be meant. 2605 *y^t* *that Bullen.* 2610 *easily Bullen.*

Bois. and the rather

when question is made of such as are
yo^r officers, placd in authoritie
of whom the ancientst Mounsieur *Barnauelt*
so much comended, for so many good
and notable services don for theis Cuntries
deserves most serious regard; My Master
and other Kings & Princes, yo^r Allyes
lyving, yet witnesses of his great meritts, 2620
and with such admiration that they can
be hardly brought to thinck he should conspire
against those States, for w^{ch} yourselues best know
what travayles he hath vndergon: and therefore
once more he do's advice yo^u, to vse mercy:
which if yo^u doe, he then shall thinck yo^u merit
the many fauo^{rs}, yo^u haue tasted from him,
yf not, he having given yo^u whollsom Counsaile
yf you refuse it, he must thinck himself
slighted in his requests: and then perhaps 2630
hereafter yo^u may misse that promptnes in him
w^{ch} yo^u haue found, when yo^r wants, most requird it.

Vand. may it please yo^r Highnes, in the names of all
to make their Lordships answeare.

Or. willingly

for I must still be glad to take occasion
to speak how much yo^r Lordships, & myself
ever stand bound to that most christian King
whose fauo^{rs}, with all thancks, we must acknowledge,
as with all care preserve; Onely we hope 2640
his Maiestie will give vs leave to say
we greive that he is misinformd of vs
and o^r proceedings, of which we hereafter
will give him certaine, and vnanswerable proofes
to iustefie our Actions, which we will
make knowne to all the world, till when, we wish
he will be pleasd, to give way to the States
to finish what they haue begon, with Iustice
temperd with mercy: and that yo^r good Lordships

2614 *placed* Bullen.

2620 *witnesses* Bullen.

2623 *these* Bullen.

will give his Grace to vnderstand thus much, 2650
 if with the generall voice yo^u doe approve it.

Bred. we will confirme it, with o^{ur} generall Seale, Fol. 26^a
 and send our answeare to his Propositions
 with o^r respect, and duties

Mor this we shall
 make knowne vnto him:

Or. roome there for their Lordships. — *Ex^t Emb^s.*

Bred. what thinck you now, my Lords?

Vand. in my opinion
 'tis time he had his Sentence. 2660

Hen. is it drawne?

Vand yes, here it is: The peoples loves grow daungerous,
 in every place the whispers of his rescue;
 the lowd, and co^mon voice of his deservings
 is floong abroad: nor doe they handle theis things
 by rules of truth & reason, but their owne wills,
 their headstrong hott affections

Bred is he sent for?

Or. yes, and will presently be here:

Bred. Sit downe then 2670
 and now with speedy Iustice, let's prepare
 to cutt of this Imposthume: — *Enter Prouost*
& Guard, wth
Barnauelet

Vand. \ 'tis high time Sir:

Pro. roome for the Prisoner.

Vand bring him in: Sit downe Sir,
 and take yo^{ur} last place with vs:

Bar. 'tis yo^r forme,
 and I infringe no order

Bred. Mounseieur *Barnauelet* 2680
 will ye confes yet freely yo^r bad practises
 and lay those Instruments open to the world
 those bloody, and bold Instruments yo^u wrought by:
 mercy may sleepe awhile, but neuer dyes. Sir,

Bar. I haue spoake all I can: and seald that all
 with all I haue, to care for now; my Conscience,
 more I beseech yo^r hono^{rs}.

2652 *Bred*] *B* altered from *M*. 2661 *Hen*] *Wm.* Bullen.
 2672 *off* Bullen.

Or. take yo^r pleasure.

Vand yo^u will give vs no more lights: what this world gives yo^u
to morrow thus we take away: receive it,

Bar. my Sentence.

2690

Vand. yes: Consider for yo^{ur} soule now:
and so farewell.

Bar. I humbly thanck yo^r hono^{rs},
I shall not play my last Act worst.

Bred. heavens mercy:

Or. and a still consience wayt vpon yo^r end S^r,
now guard him back againe: by th' break of day
yo^u shall haue order from vs.

Pro. room for the Prisoner — *Ext*

Or. the world shall know, that what's iust we dare doe 2700

Vand nor shall the desperate act of *Leidenberch*
delude what we determind; let his Coffin
be therefore hangd vp on the publique Gallowes.
th' Executioners, like hungry vulturs
haue smeld out their imployment.

Or. let them haue it:

and all that plot against the generall good
learne from this mans example, great in age, FOL. 26^b
greater in wealth, and in authoritie,
but matchles in his worldly pollicie, 2710
that there is one aboue, that do's deride
the wisest counsailes, that are misaplide — *Exeunt* |

Scæ^a. 2^a. *Enter, Harlem, Leyden, & Vtricht Executio^{rs}*

Har. Now hard, and sharpe, for a wager, who shall do it?
here's a Sword would doe a mans head good to be cut of wth it
Cures all rhumes, all Catharres, Megrooms, verteegoes,
presto, be gon.

Leyd. yo^u must not carry it, *Harlem*,
yo^u are a pretty fellow, and lop the lynce of life well,

2696 is given by Bullen to *Bredero*. *Orange* is placed before 2696, though it seems more plausible not to divide the lines 2695 and 2696 the words are meant for *Orange* as the rule is under *heavens mercy*:

2699 Bullen notes: *Ext. Provost and Guard, with Barnavelt*; this direction is not in the text.

2713 *Utrecht* Bullen. 2704 *vultures* Bullen.

but weake to *Balthazar*; give roome for *Leyden*, 2720
heer's an old Cutter; heer's one has polld more pates
and neater then a dicker of yo^r Barbers,
they nere need washing after: do's not thy neck itch now
to be scratchd a litle with this?

Harl. no in truth do's it not

but if you'll try first: yf I doe not whip yo^r Edipoll
as clenly of, and set it on againe
as handsomely as it stands now, that yoⁿ may blow yo^m nose
and pledge me two Cans after.

Ley. I was afraid

2730

the rogue had don't indeed.

Vir. yoⁿ two imagine now

yoⁿ are excellent workmen: and that yoⁿ can doe wonde^r
and *Vtricht* but an Asse: let's feele yo^r Raizo^r:
handsawes, meere handsawes: do yoⁿ put yo^r knees to 'em too,
and take mens necks for timber? yoⁿ cutt a feather?
cut butter when yo^r tooles are hot: looke here puppies
heer's the Sword that cutt of *Pompeis* head,

Har. the head of a Pumpion

Vir. looke on't, but come not neere it: the very wind on't

2740

will borrow a leg, or an arme; heer's touch & take, boyes,
and this shall moaw the head of Mousieur *Barnauelt*:
man is but grasse, and hay: I haue him here,
and here I haue him: I would vndertake with this Sword
to cutt the devills head of, hornes, and all
and give it to a Burger for his breakfast.

Ley. we know yoⁿ haue byn the headman of the parish

a great while *Vtrich*, and ministerd much Iustice,
nickt many a worthie gamster: and that yoⁿ *Harlem*,
haue shortend many a hanging cause, to your Comẽdation:
yet for all this, who shall trym Mousieur *Barnauelt* 2751
must run by fortune; yoⁿ are proper men, both.
but why before me? that haue studied the true trick on't
theis twenty yeeres, and run through all the theorims

2726 *dodipoll* Bullen. This is probably the correct word, the scribe must have misread his
copy, for the word is clearly *Edipoll* in the text.

2729 *two* too Bullen.

2734 *Utrecht* Bullen.

2742 *Mounsieur* Bullen.

2748 *Utricht* Bullen.

2749 *gamester* Bullen.

2754 *theorems* Bullen.

Harl. let's fling for't then.

Ley I am content:

Vtr and I.

Harl. Sit round then: here are dyce: and ile begin to ye
haue at your head, S^r *Iohn*: dewce ace: a doggs head,
the devill turnd this ace vp: farwell veluet gowne 2760
thou hast mist the luckiest hand to scratch thy Coxcomb.

Ley. no, no S^r.

now for my part: heigh, fight aloft, for the head, boyes.
how? Cater-trey? /

Vtr. will yoⁿ take a sleeve for yo^r share Sir? FOL. 27^a

Ley. 'tis but a desperat cast, and so hee'l find it,
if it fall to me: Cast for yo^r game:

Vtr. haue at it.

stay, let me swing my Sword thrice round first: now
now the *Graues* head { he } goose giblitts: 2770
two sixes boyes: I knew I should performe it

Har. ye haue it: thanck your fortune.

Vtr. I could not misse it:

I neuer lost so faire a stake yet: how ile doe it
and in what posture: first, how ile take my leave of him:
wth a few teares to draw more money from him:
then fold vp his braunchd gowne, his hat, his doblet,
and like the devill, cry mine owne: lye there boyes:
then bind his eyes: last, stir myself vp bravely
and, in the midle of a whollsom praire 2780
whip: and *hic iacet Barnauelt*: Come, let's sing o^r old Song
and then come view me how I doe my busines
Boy: come, sing yoⁿ for me. — *Song.* — *Ex^t* /

Sca^e. 3^a. Enter 2. Captaines: & y^r Soldiers, severally
m^r Rob: m^r Rice

1. *Cap.* Here stand we fast:

2. *Cap.* Cock all yo^r Musketts, Soldiers

2770 it is impossible to read more than the last two letters of the damaged word; probably three letters are lost.

2784 *m^r Rob: m^r Rice*] added in a different hand.

2786 Bullen prints *now* after *Soldiers*. The editor has mistaken the superior *ur* of *your* of the next line for *now*: the scribe often writes the superior *r* quite high on a level with the preceding line, and *now* is certainly incorrect.

and gentlemen, be ready to bend yo^{ur} pikes
the prisoner's coming out.

1. but doe yo^u think

they meane to take his head of? or to fright him?

2790

2. heaven keep me from such frights: why are theis Guards
comāounded to make good the Execution?
if they intend not death?

1. but dare they doe it?

2. what dare not Iustice doe, that's right, and honest?
is he not proou'd a guilty man? what bugs
should publick safety be a fraid to looke on?
do yo^u hold the vnitied States so tame to feare him?
feare him a Traito^r too?

1. yo^u know hee's much lou'd,

2800

and every where they stir in his Compassion

2. they'll stir so long, till some of 'em will sinck for't
some of the best I feare, that glewd his ffaction,
their building lyes discoverd, and their bases broken,

1. there is much money laid, in every place too
hundreds, and thousands, that they dare not strike him.

2. give loosers leave to play the fooles: 'tis lost all:
secure yo^rself, he dyes: nor is it wisdom

2808

to goe an ace lesse with him: he is monstrous

— Enter Prouost

\ the people hurry now: stand fast, he is coming

Sold^r. & Execut^r

Pro. make roome before: cleere all theis gaping people
and stop their passage.

wth a Coffin
& a Gibbet!

1. *Cap.* how now, what wonder's this.

Pro. stay, or ile make ye stay: I charge ye stir not.

2. *Cap.* what thinck yo^u now? dare not theis men do iustice
this is the body of *Leidenberg*: that killd himself
to free his Cause; his shame has found him yet.

FOL. 27^b

Pro. vp with him, come; set all yo^r hands, and heave him.

Exe. a plaguy heavy lubber: sure this fellow

has a bussell of plot in's belly, he waighes so massy:
heigh: now againe: he stincks, like a hung poll cat
this rotten treason has a vengauce savo^r.
this venison wants pepper, and salt abhominably.

2820

2795 *do Bullen.* 2809 *go Bullen.* 2811 *wth a Coffin*] added in a different hand.
2812 *& a Gibbett*] added in a different hand. 2820 *bushel weighes Bullen.*
2822 *vengeance Bullen.*

Pro. pyn him aloft, and pin him sure.

Exec. I warrant ye

if ere he run away againe, ile swing for him

this would make a rare signe for a Cookes shop: the Christmas pie.

Pro. Come, now about the rest: keepe the Court cleere still — *Ex^t*

2. *Cap.* what thinck yo^u now?

1. *Cap.* now I am a fraid of him.

2830

this prologue should portend a fatal Tragedie:

theis examples will make 'em shake.

2. 'tis well they haue 'em,

their stubbornenes, and pride requires 'em greater:

the Prince stricke iust ith' nick, and stricke home nobely

this new pretending ffaction, had fird all els:

they had flong a generall ruyn on the Cuntry: — *Enter Boyes*

Boy. he comes, he comes, he comes; ô for a place now:

boy. let's climb the Battlements.

Burgers.

Cap. away wth theis rogues:

2840

1. *Bur.* I saw the Guard goe for him: where shall we be now

2. *Burg.* he will make a notable Speech I warrant him

3. *Bur.* let's get vs neere the Skaffold.

1. *Cap.* keep of Turnops:

ye come vpon o^r pikes els

Burg. pox o^r theis Soldiers

we cannot see o^r frends hand in quiet for 'em:

come, come toth' top oth' hall.

2848

2. *Cap.* away good pilchers

Now blow yo^r matches, and stand fast, he comes here.

— *Enter Prouost
Barnauelt:*

1. *Cap.* and now bend all your pikes.

Scaffold

Lords: Guard.

Pro. cleere all the Skaffold.

(*a Scaffold put out*)

let no more into th' Court: we are choakd wth people.

Execution^r.

Bar. yo^u are curteous in yo^{ur} preparations, gentlemen:

Lord. yo^u must ascend S^t.

Bar. feareles I will my lords:

and what yo^u can inflict, as feareles suffer.

Thus high yo^u raise me, a most glorious kindnes

2827 Bullen notes: *Ex^t. Executioners*, this direction is not in the text.

2828 Bullen notes: *Execunt Provost and Soldiers*; this is not in the text.

2835 The *c* has been inserted in *strickes* and *stricke*; Bullen prints *strikes* for both.

stricke] the scribe seems first to have written some indecipherable letter after the *e* and then to have crossed it out, forgetting apparently to add an *s*.

2838-49 are marked for omission, but not crossed out. 2851 *Scaffold*] added in a different hand.

for all my Cares, for my most faithfull service
for yoⁿ, and for the State, thus ye promote me:
I thanck ye, Cuntry men, most nobely thanck ye
pull of my Gowne: of what place are yoⁿ, ffriend?

286o

Exec. of *Vtrich* S^r.

Bar. of *Vtrich*? wherefore prethee?
art thou appointed here?

Exec. to tell yoⁿ true Sir,

I won this place at dyce; we were three appointed

Bar. Am I becom a generall game? a Rest

for every Slave to pull at? thanck ye still

FOL. 28^a

yoⁿ are growne the noblest in yo^r fauo^{rs}, gentlemen,

287o

what's that hangs there? what Coffin?

Lord. how it stirrs him!

2. *lord* the body Sir, of *Leidenberch* the Traito^r

Bar. the Traito^r?

Lord. I the Traito^r: the fowle Traito^r

who though he killd himself, to cleere his cause,

Iustice has found him ou(t), and so proclaimed him.

Bar. haue mercy, on his soule: I dare behold him,

Lord. beleue me, he's much moved:

2 *Lord.* he has much reason.

288o

Bar. Are theis the holly praies ye prepare for me,
the comforts to a parting soule? still I thanck ye:

most hartely, and lovingly I thanck ye;

will not a single death give satisfaction,

ô yoⁿ most greedy men, and most vngratefull

the quiet sleep of him yoⁿ gape to swallow

but yoⁿ must trym vp death in all his terro^{rs},

and add to soules departing frights and feauo^{rs}?

hang vp a hundred Coffins, I dare view 'em,

and on their heads subscribe a hundred treasons

it shakes not me: thus dare I smile vpon 'em

and strongly thus out looke yo^r fellest Iustice

289o

Lord. will ye bethinck ye S^r, of what ye come for?

Bar. I come to dye: bethinck yoⁿ of your Iustice;

and wth what Sword ye strike, the edge of mallice:

bethinck ye of the travells I had for ye,

the throaes, and grones: to bring faire peace amongst ye:

2862 yoⁿ] ye Bullen.

2877 ou^t] the t is no longer visible.

bethinck ye of the dangers I haue plundgd through,
 and almost gripes of death to make you glorious.
 Thinck, when the Cuntry, like a wildernes
 brought nothing forth but desolation,
 fire, Sword, and ffamine: when the earth sweatt vnder ye,
 cold dewes of blood, and Spanish flames hoong ore ye,
 and every man stood markt the child of murder,
 and women wanted wombes to feed theis cruelties,
 thinck then who stept in to you: gently tooke ye
 and bound your bleeding wounds vp: from yo^r faces
 wipd of the sweatts of sorrow; fedd, and nurssd ye,
 who brought the plowgh againe, to crowne yo^r plenty;
 yo^r goodly meadowes who protected (Cuntrymen)
 from the armd Soldiers furious marches? who
 vnbard the Havens, that the floating Merchant
 might clap his lynnens wings vp to the windes
 and back the raging waves to bring yo^u proffit?
 thinck through whose care, yo^u are a Nation
 and haue a name yet left, a fruitfull Nation,
 (would I could say as thanckfull,) bethinck ye of theis things
 — and then turn back, and blush, blush my ruyne.

2900

2910

1. *Lord.* 'Tis strange how this <man b>rags; 'tis a strange impudence FOL. 27*
 not to be pittied in hs <Case> not sufferd;
 yo^u breed the peace? yo^u
ing the plowgh againe?
 yo^u wipe the fire, and blood of from this Cuntry?
 and yo^u restore hir to hir former Beuty?
 blush in thine age, (bad man) thy grave blush for thee,
 and scorne to hide that man that holds no Credit:
 Beare witnes all the world, y^t knowes o^r Trobles,
 or ever greiu'd o^r plagues, what we haue sufferd,
 and, vnder heaven, by what armes we haue cur'd theis:
 Councells, and ffrends; in w^{ch} I tell thee (*Barnauelt*)
 and through thy Impudence, I here proclaime it,

2920

2930

2908 *fed* Bullen.

2918 There is a word wanting in this line, Bullen prints *for* after the second *blush*.

2919 FOL. 27* is a short leaf, written on the recto only, and inserted between fols. 27 and 28.

It contains an addition of 32 lines, the intended position of which after 2918 is indicated by a double reference mark.

2920 *hs*] sic, apparently; the word does not seem to be mutilated. Bullen prints *his*.

2919—21. The page is torn here, and some words are missing. Bullen prints: *man brags*, and *case* and *bring*. This reading is probably correct. 2926 *y^t* *that* Bullen.

thou hadst the least, and last share: 'Tis not yo' face S',
the greatnes of yo' frends, corruptly purchast,
the Crying vp of yo' manie Services,
wth lookd into wither away like Mushrumps
shall scandall vs.

2. *Lord* yo' Romaine end, to make men
imagine yo' stung conscience fortefide,
no, nor yo' ground Religion: Examine all men
branded wth such fowle syns as yoⁿ now dye for,
and yoⁿ shall find their first stepp still, Religion: 2940
Gowrie in *Scotland*, 'twas his maine pretention:
was not he honest too? his Cuntries ffather?
those fyery Speritts next, that hatchd in England
that bloody Powder-Plot; and thought like meteors
to haue flashd their Cuntries peace out in a Moment
were not their Barrells loden wth Religion?
were not they pious, iust, and zealous Subiects?
humble yo' soule for shame, and seeke not now S'
to tumble from that happines even Angells 2949
were throwne from, for their pride: Confes, and dye well / -

Lord. will ye confes yo' faultes? [Fol. 28^a]

Bar. I come not heather,
to make myself guilty: yet one falt I must vtter 28^b
and 'tis a great one.

Lord the greater mercy.

Bar. I dye for saving this vnthanckfull Cuntry.

Lord play not with heaven:

Bar. my Game's as sure as yoⁿ's is:
and wth more care, and inocence, I play it:
take of my doblet: and I prethee, fellow 2960
strike without feare:

Exec. I warrant ile fitt ye:

I pray forgive me Sir

Bar. most hartely:

and heer's my hand: I love thee too; thy phisick
will quickly purge me from the worldes abuses:
when I speak lowdest, strike

Exec. I shall observe ye.

2937 *stung*] *strong* Bullen. *fortifide* Bullen. 2953 *falt*] *fault* Bullen.
2965 *phisick* Bullen.

Bar. farwell my lords: To all yo^{ur} Counsailes, fortune,
happie succes, and proffit: peace to this Cuntry: 2970
and to yo^u all that I haue bredd like children
not a more faithfull father, but more fortunate.
doe not I stay too long?

Lord. take yo^r owne time Sir.

Bar. I haue a wiffe, my lords, and wretched Children
vnles it please his Grace to looke vpon 'em,
and yo^r good hono^r, wth yo^r eies of fauo^r.
'twill be a litle happines in my death
that they partake not wth their ffathers ruyns,

Lord let not that troble ye, they shall not find it. 2980

Bar. Co^mend my least breath to his Excellence,
tell him the Sun he shot at, is now setting,
setting this night, that he may rise to morrow,
for ever setting: now let him raigne alone,
and wth his rayes, give life, and light to all men,
May he protect with hono^r, fight with fortune,
and dye wth generall love, an old, and good Prince;
my last petition, good Cuntrymen forget me,
yo^r memories wound deeper then yo^r mallice,
and I forgive ye all: a little stay me, - 2990
Hono^r, and world, I fling ye thus behind me,
and thus a naked poore-man, kneele to heaven:
be gracious to me, heare me, strengthen me,
I come, I come: ô gracious heaven: now: now:
now I present — /

Exec. is it well don mine Heeres?

Lord. somewhat too much: yo^u haue strooke his fingers too
but we forgive yo^r haste: draw in the body
and Captaines, we discharge yo^r Companies.

Vandort Make cleere the Court: vaine glory thou art gon: 3000
and thus must all, build on Ambition

2. *Lord* ffarwell, great hart: full low thy strength now lyes,
he that would purge ambition this way dies. — *Exeunt*

2993, 94 *gracious* Bullen.

3000 *Vandort* and the rule under 2999 are added afterwards in a different hand.

NOTES.

NOTES ON THE DELETIONS.

The play seems to have raised many scruples in the censor's mind; I have already noted, when speaking of the manuscript, that a great number of lines have been actually deleted. Many plays of the time suffered the same fate. Swinburne remarks, speaking of Chapman's plays: "In the time of Chapman the Master of the Revels wielded with as fitful a hand as imperious an authority as any court official of later date.

At the time when our play was produced Sir George Buc was Master of the Revels, and had assumed the office as successor to Edmund Tylney, who died in October 1610. For some time previously he had acted as Tylney's deputy, as on November 21st 1606 he licensed Sharpham's 'Fleire'. He was a historian and poet, and is described by Camden in *Britannia* ed. 1607, as a man of distinguished learning 'qui multa in historiis observavit et candide impertiit.' He wrote *The History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third* included in the first volume of Kennet's *Complete History of England*, and some treatises among which *The Art of Revels*, of which no copy is known. In Cal. State Papers, Dom. Series, 1619 we find the Chamberlain writing to Sir Dudley Carlton: "Old Sir George Buc master of the revels, has gone mad." Two years afterwards, 1622, Buc had become too infirm to discharge his duties. Privy Seal May 22nd states: "as Buc by reason of sickness and indisposition of body wherewith it has pleased God to visit him, was become disabled and insufficient to undergo and perform his duties, the office had been conferred on Sir John Ashley." Sir Henry Herbert's Register states that Buc died on September 22nd 1623.

Sir George Buc's office books are lost, but the 'allowances' of plays were endorsed by him on the allowed copies. This is Buc's signature, reprinted from Collier's *History of English dramatic Poetry*

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "G. Buc" in a cursive script. The signature is followed by a long, decorative flourish consisting of several overlapping loops and lines.

The marginal note on fol 4b is in Buc's handwriting and signed G. B.; he objects to lines 385—403 and observes that the prince is too much presented. We remember that there existed a prohibition against bringing a Christian king on the stage. Though the prince of Orange was not a sovereign, Buc had his scruples about it. In line 51 Barnavelt calls the prince 'this bold userper of what 's mine', which was promptly crossed out. In line 281 'this prowd Prince of Orange,' the words 'prowd' and 'of Orange'

are deleted. It is not surprising that lines 724—29 have been crossed out; here the Prince is spoken of in very disrespectful terms as an oppressor, who has won the soldiers' love for his own ambitious ends. Lines 2434—45 are marked for omission; the substitutions for the deleted words are again in the censor's handwriting; the lines contain veiled allusions to contemporary politics as for example 'Octavius (*i. e.* King James) striving to tread upon the neck of his people', and 'the Cato's and all free speritts slaine' which is an allusion to Sir Walter Raleigh's execution. The words 'changed to a Monarchie' are altered into 'changed to another form', because the censor would not suffer the Prince to be accused of aspiring to the sovereignty, even though it was his enemy who uttered the charge.

There are a considerable number of longer passages deleted in the play. Lines 215—28 are cancelled apparently because they were considered indecent, though the passage is no worse than hundreds of others in the plays of the time. Lines 750—62 are probably crossed out by the stage manager or the author himself as they may have been considered of insufficient interest in the context.

In the fourth act a long speech by Barnavelt is crossed out from lines 2284—2311.

It contains an enumeration of his own services to the country. I suppose this speech was deleted through self-criticism on the author's part, there are a considerable number of very long speeches in this act. The next deleted passage is the longest in the play from line 2334—72; even the lines in the margin replacing the deleted ones, were crossed out afterwards. It is again not surprising that they should have attracted the censor's attention and raised scruples, for here the admired victor of the battle of Nieuwpoort is accused of cowardice by Barnavelt. The Advocate asserts that the victory was gained by the Veres, for the Prince looked on, standing safe on a hill with three troops of horse, while the battle was fought.

At the beginning of the second scene of the first act, line 231, the names Vandermitten Taurinus, Vtenbogart are crossed out. In line 239 Taurinus is crossed out and Hogerbeets is substituted, in line 245 Vtenbogart is crossed out and Hogerbeets substituted. In line 265 *Ext.* is left standing, the stage direction refers to Vtenbogart and Taurinus, who leave the stage, but the others remain; by an oversight of the person who crossed out Taurinus and Vtenbogart this stage direction was forgotten to be deleted. Bullen remarks in a note referring to *Exeunt*: "All the characters remain on the stage in spite of this direction." This stage direction was meant for the Arminian preachers in the original reading, before the omission of the names in the stage direction. The plot of the play has suffered much by this omission, which I think, Mr. Bullen has not realised. Professor Fruin has pointed this out in the Introduction to his reprint. Though Taurinus and Vtenbogart had not much to say, and the words could easily be assigned to Hogerbeets and Grotius, the situation illustrates the conspiracy of Barnavelt and the worldly powers, the pensionaries of Leiden and Rotterdam with the clerical powers, and justifies the accusation against Barnavelt of conspiring with the Arminian preachers. Uytenbogaert, Maurice's court-chaplain was well-known, and Taurinus was especially known and denounced in England as the author of the pamphlet *The Balance*, in which an oration of the English ambassador had been criticized. Through this omission the line 2190, 91: "read the Confessions of Leidenberch and Taurinus" are incomprehensible to the reader.

NOTES ON THE NAMES OF ACTORS.

The play was performed by the King's Men in 1619; there is no list of actors, but in some cases the names of actors are added in full, or in other cases the initials are added in the text. Fleay prints a list of actors in his *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, in which some errors occur. He prints the name of John Lowin for the actor taking Barnavel't's part; this is based on pure conjecture; the name of John Lowin does not occur in the manuscript, and it is not known who took the part of Barnavel't. The name of G. Lowen occurs in the manuscript for the actor taking the part of Barnavel't's daughter; in this case J. Lowen may be meant, but anyhow Fleay has confused the names of the actors, or the parts of Barnavel't and his daughter. He prints George Birch taking the part of Vandort; this is an error owing to Bullen's note in his edition. In line 2585 the name Mr. Bir. is added; I am almost certain that the two names of Mr. Rob and Mr. Bir. are added for the French ambassadors, who enter. Bullen prints a foot-note referring to Vandort: "In the right hand margin we find the actor's name Mr. Bir. i.e. Birch." I think it very unlikely that the name of the actor taking Vandort's part should have been added in the last act, taking into consideration that Vandort had been on the stage from the first act. Fleay prints Thomas Pollard for the actor taking Bredero's part. This is again an error due to the addition in line 1816. *Tho: Po* is added here for one of the Lords; when "Lords" was deleted, the name of T. P. was added after *servant*, Thomas Pollard could not have taken the part of Bredero and the *Servant*, as they both appear in the same scene.

Nicholas Tooley taking the part of Barnavel't's wife was a well-known actor; his real name was Nicholas Wilkinson, he probably had this stage name, because he had performed in the play of *Toolie*. In 1610 and 1611 he was one of the chief actors in *The Alchemist* and *Catiline*. Of his later performances we know that he played in *The Prophetess*, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Spanish Curate*, (licensed in 1622).

Robert Goughe or Goffe, taking Leidenberch's part was one of the original actors in Shakespeare's plays, he probably took the female parts. Before 1588 he had played *Aspasia* in Tarlton's Second Part of *The Seven Deadly Sins*; as this is a female part, he was still young then. In 1611 he took the part of the tyrant in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. His name does not appear in the *dramatis personae* of any plays by Beaumont and Fletcher.

It is not known which actors are meant by *migh* or *mighel* and *R.T.*

John Rice. There is very little known about this actor. His name appears last on the list of principal actors in the Folio of 1623. He was first heard of in 1611 being among the twelve actors who engaged with Henslowe to perform at the Fortune; he took the unimportant part of *Pescare* in *The Duchess of Malji*; he played in *The False One*, but in which character is unknown. He was among those to whom Charles I granted a patent in 1625.

Robert Benfield was a very "serviceable" member of the King's Company; he acted in many of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays. Nothing is known about him till 1613; he acted as one of the Children of the Queen's Revels with Field and Taylor. In 1624 his name appears in the submission of the King's Men to the Master of the Revels for having acted *The Spanish Viceroy* without a license. He signed the dedication of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio edition.

NOTES ON THE PERSONS OF THE PLAY.

Maurice, Count of Nassau, Prince of Orange was born at Dillenburg 1567 son of William the Silent and the latter's second wife Anna van Saksen; he studied at Heidelberg, came to the Netherlands in 1577 and studied the classics and mathematics at Leiden. In 1585 he was appointed governor of Holland, Zealand and West Friesland, and received the title of Prince of Orange. He was appointed captain-general of the Army and proved to be a soldier of surpassing military genius. In 1587 he fought many battles against the Duke of Parma in Brabant. He was appointed governor of Overijssel and Utrecht in 1590 and of Gelderland in the next year. From 1590 to 1604 he was a victor in a series of battles against the Spanish armies under Spinola, which made him the first commander of his time. In 1617 he became the leader of the Contra-Remonstrant party. When his eldest brother Prince Philip William died, he inherited the title of Prince of Orange. In 1621 on the death of his cousin William Louis he was appointed governor of Groningen and Drente. He died in 1625.

William Louis Count of Nassau Maurice's cousin and also brother-in-law was born at Dillenburg in 1560, he studied at Heidelberg, and came to the Netherlands in 1577. In 1579 he was appointed Colonel of the Army of the States; he had great warlike capacities and distinguished himself in many battles; he fought by the side of Maurice in the battles of Zutphen, Deventer and Nijmegen. In 1584 he was appointed governor of Friesland, and in 1596 of Groningen and Drente. He was a staunch Calvinist, but advised Maurice against the execution of Oldenbarnevelt. He died in 1620.

Sir John Van Oldenbarnevelt, knight templar, Advocate and keeper of the Great Seal of Holland and West Friesland was born at Amersfoort in 1547; he studied law at Leiden, in 1565 he travelled abroad to continue his studies; he studied law at Louvain and Bourges, went to Basle and Cologne and studied at Heidelberg. He returned to the Hague, in 1570, when he was appointed advocate of the court of Holland; in 1572 in the rebellion he followed the Prince and served as a volunteer in the army; he fought in the campaigns to relieve the siege of Haarlem in 1573, of Leiden in 1574, but had to leave on account of illness. In 1576 he was called to the important post of chief pensionary of Rotterdam; in 1586 he accepted the Advocacy of the States of Holland. The alliance of the Republic with England and France is one of his great achievements. In 1598 he went on an Embassy to France and from there to England. In 1603 he was the head of an Embassy to King James; accomplished the restitution of the cautionary towns for a relatively small sum of money in 1616. He brought about the Truce with Spain and was suspected of planning to bring the Provinces back under the vassalage of Spain. He was a leader of the Arminians, and took an active part in the great struggle between church and civil government. He was arrested in 1618 and accused of having excited civil strife. He was executed on May 13th 1619.

William van Oldenbarnevelt, Lord of Stoutenberg, Sir John's second son, born in 1590, studied at Heidelberg 1606; lived at Henry IV's court; accompanied van der Mijle his brother-in-law on an embassy to Venice, travelled to Rome, Naples and Venice; he chose the army as his career and was appointed governor of Bergen-op-Zoom. After his father's execution, he was dismissed; took part in a conspiracy against the Prince, and fled to Brussels.

Hugo Grotius was born at Delft in 1583; he was a scholar and poet almost from his cradle,

wrote Latin verses at the age of seven ; he matriculated at Leiden at the age of eleven. When fourteen years old, he took his bachelor's degree after a rigorous examination in the classics, astronomy, mathematics, jurisprudence and theology. Possessed of singular beauty, he was athletic of frame and proficient in many exercises. He was attached to the embassy of Barnevelt to the court of Henry IV. The king called him the miracle of Holland, and presented him with a gold chain with a miniature. He studied at Orleans and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Law from the University of Orleans. In 1613 he was appointed Chief Pensionary of Rotterdam, he was a member of the States of Holland and the States-General. He was sent to England to settle the commercial differences. King James called him "a pedant, full of words and without judgment!" He became a leader of the Arminians, preached toleration. He was advocate, poet, historian, editor of Greek and Latin classics, writer of tragedies, law treatises and theological works. In 1619 he was arrested with Barnevelt, and condemned to lifelong imprisonment in the castle of Loevestein. After two years' imprisonment he escaped in a chest of books to Gorcum, and from there to Antwerp, disguised as a bricklayer. Afterwards he resided at the French Court as ambassador of Sweden. On his return from a visit to Sweden, he was shipwrecked, and after landing died at Rostock in 1645.

Gilles van Ledenbergh. The date of his birth is unknown, he was a clerk of the advocate of Utrecht till 1588 ; in this year he became secretary of Utrecht. He was a friend and partisan of Barnevelt ; leader of the Arminians in Utrecht. In 1617 he proposed the enlisting of mercenary troops in Utrecht. When these companies laid down their arms at the Prince's command in 1618, Ledenbergh fled to Gouda, but returned after some days ; he was arrested and brought to the Hague. After the first interrogatory he committed suicide in prison. His corpse was embalmed, and not buried till the sentence should be pronounced. This was done on May 15th, 1619. The verdict was that his corpse was to be hanged, and his property confiscated. The coffin hung on the gallows for 21 days.

Rombout Hogerbouts was born in 1561 ; when he was seven years old, he fled with his parents to Wesel to escape Alva's persecutions, but returned in 1577. He studied law at Leiden, received his degree in 1584. In 1590 he was called to the post of pensionary of this town and secretary of the University. He was sent on an embassy to Sweden in 1611. In 1617 he was a leader of the Arminians at Leiden. He was arrested on the same day as Oldenbarnavelt ; he refused to sue for pardon, and was condemned to life-long imprisonment in the castle of Loevestein, where he remained till 1625. Prince Frederic Henry mediated for him ; he was allowed to return home, but died five weeks after his return. During his imprisonment he wrote memoirs for his children preserved in Brandt's *Historie der Reformatie*. Brandt calls him a loyal Dutchman, a wise lawyer, an eloquent orator, a great theologian, a pious Christian and a conscientious justice.

Moersbergen was a member of the Order of the Knights of Utrecht and the leader of the nobility. He joined the Arminians, and after the catastrophe at Utrecht he fled to the castle of Merfeld in Munster (Germany). He was captured by some horsemen, brought first to Zutphen and then to the Hague. He had many influential friends. He asked pardon, was considered to have acted under the influence of Ledenbergh, and banished for six years.

Uytendogaert a celebrated divine, leader of the Arminians, devoted friend to Barnevelt ; he had been the favourite preacher of Maurice, who listened regularly to his

preaching in the French chapel of the court till 1617. He had studied theology at Geneva and met Arminius there. He was the author of the Remonstrance against the Calvinists. He refused an appointment to the professorship at Leiden on Arminius' death. His name is mentioned in "the Epistle Dedicatorie by Houlderus to *Barnavel's Apology*" as "the Arminian author of a certaine shamelesse Libell, called the Scales or Ballance."

When Barnevelt was arrested Uytenbogaert fled to Antwerp, but he still took an active part in the controversies. In 1619 he was exiled and his property confiscated. He returned to the Hague in 1629 and died in 1644. He edited many books to further the Arminian cause.

Taurinus born in 1576, studied at Leiden; he was one of the most learned preachers of his time; he was a Minister at Utrecht and soon became the leader of the Arminians there. He wrote many pamphlets, the best known being *The Balance* directed against the English ambassador Carlton, who was unceasing in his efforts to accomplish the ruin of the Arminians. Motley calls it: "a stinging and well-merited criticism of a very stupid oration." He fled with Ledenbergh in 1618, and ended his life in exile in Antwerp in the same year.

NOTES.

The New English Dictionary and *The Century Dictionary* have been the chief authorities used in preparing these notes. Considerable aid has been furnished by Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon* and Nares' *Glossary*.

13. buried quick. alive, as used in the Creed. Compare also *Hamlet* V. i. 239 :

"Now pile your dust upon the quick and dead"

and *Winter's Tale* IV. 4. 132

"Not like a corse, or if, not to be buried

But quick and in mine arms."

Massinger repeats this phrase in other plays, compare *The Fatal Dowry* I. 2 :

"After those great defeatures

Which in these dreadful ruins buried quick...."

and *The Duke of Milan* I. 3 :

"In which the memory of all good actions

We can pretend to, shall be buried quick."

our safeties. Early modern English shows a strong tendency to use abstract nouns in the plural. cf. : *The Merchant of Venice* II. 6. 41 :

"must I hold a candle to my shames?"

and *Macbeth* IV. 3. 30 :

"I pray you

Let not my jealousies be your dishonours

But mine own safeties."

Van Dam quotes as an example of the use in modern English : Disraeli *Coningsby* I ch. 2 :

"a family famous for its hatreds."

Examples of this usage abound in our play, viz :

- l. 617 "mercenary Soldiers that for pay
give vp their liberties"
- l. 867 "he has our faithes"
- l. 920 "Arme, Arme, and now stand to your auncient freedoms"
- l. 942 "theis fellowes haue strong faithes and notable valours"
- l. 947 "now you must feele too
and to your greifes"
- l. 959 "you haue tall defences"
- l. 1418 "neither at this time
do's it concerne their safeties"
- l. 2092 "bath your angers in Barnauelt's deservings"

15. in his execution set them off. show them to the best advantage, cf. *Cymbeline* I. 6. 170 :

"he hath a kind of honour sets him off."

56. be advisd. a phrase Massinger is very fond of, cf. *A Very Woman* V. 3 :

"be yet advised."

and *The Fatal Dowry* I. 2 : „be advised, young lord"

73. that now should studie how to die. a parallel passage occurs in *the Fatal Dowry* I. 2 :

"that I may

Employ the small remainder of my life

In living well, and learning how to die so."

74. keep a being a month or two, to ruyn whatsoever the good successe. being *i.e.* existence ; to ruyn is a verb here, the meaning is : to lead an existence for a month or two, so as to bring to destruction all that the good success.

94. be notso foolishlie seduced. beguiled, deluded cf. Hobbes *Leviathan* II. XIX. 96 :

„To be seduced by Orators as a Monarch by Flatterers."

109. this Grave Maurice. Gelbcke translated 'der strenge Moritz', which is wrong ; it is the title, which occurs in the pamphlets and ballads for instance in the ballad *Murther vnmasked, or Barneviles base Conspiracie ; together with his horrible intent to murther Graue Maurice.* In the manuscript the word is written with a capital letter, the translation ought to be 'Graf Moritz'.

130. "And you shall find that the desire of glory" In Bullen's edition this line is followed by the words : "the last infirmity of noble minds" a reminiscence of Milton's *Lycidas*, the line was written in the margin by Bullen, and printed by mistake, it does not belong to the text.

162. as I use this I waigh you. we are to understand that Barnavelt tears up the petition.

I waigh you. regard, esteem cf. *Love's Labours Lost* V. 2. 27 :

"You weigh me not ? O that's you care not for me."

163. Your Companie was checked. rebuked cf. II *Henry IV* III. 1. 68 :

"When Richard, with his eye brimful of tears,

Then checked and rated by Northumberland

Did speak these words,"

164. for your dead paies. Bullen notes : It seems to have been no uncommon thing

for officers to keep the names of soldiers on the list after their death and pocket their pay, cf. Webster's *Appius and Virginia* V 1.

179. your Companie in cast. dismissed cf. *Othello* I. 1. 150 :

"The State cannot with safety cast him"

189. you doe not know his nature, that gaue promise. the nature of him that gave promise. The possessive pronouns as correlatives to relative pronouns were still very often used in Shakespeare's time and in the 17th century in their original functions as genitives.

cf. *Measure for Measure* II. 4. 120 :

"I something do excuse the thing I hate
For his advantage that I dearly love."

A New Way to Pay Old Debts IV. 1 :

"Yet she cannot

With all that she brings with her, fill their mouths
That never will forget who was her father."

This construction occurs again in the play of *Barnavelt*, line 314 :

„trust once his counsaile that never yet hath faild you"

200. doyt. a small Dutch coin, worth half a farthing, so the type of a trifling sum; the word occurs several times in our play, viz : 799 : "'t is not a doyt matter ;" 12153 : "to a doyt, my vrao."

cf. *The Tempest* II. 2. 33 :

"they will not give a doyt to relieve a lame Beggar"

226. pilchers. used for pilchards ; a pilchard is a small sea-fish closely allied to the herring, but smaller and rounder in form ; it is taken in large numbers on the coasts of Cornwall and Devon. *New English Dict.*

243. the stingless hate. cf. *Julius Caesar* V. 1. 35 :

"*Cassius* They rob the Hybla bees, and leave them honeyless
Antony Not stingless too?"

257. yet practise on them. act upon them by artifice so as to induce them to do what we want cf. *Much Ado about Nothing* II. 1. 398 :

"I will so practise on Benedicte,
That hee shall fall in love with Beatrice"

260. shall be practis'd in Rotterdam. accomplished.

284. 'twile take from his pride. diminish.

this expression occurs again in our play, cf. line 2361 :

"who takes from them vsurpe on what is theirs"

it occurs repeatedly in other plays by Massinger : cf. *The Duke of Milan* II. 1 :

"You should else take from the dignity of Caesar."

the Guardian IV. 1 :

"Vouchsafe to hear me
With an impartial ear, and il will take from
The rigour of your censure."

The Parliament of Love V, 1 :

"I thought it could not but take from my honour"

289. you are an early stirrer. cf. *II Henry IV* III. 2. 3 :

"give me your Hand, Sir : an early stirrer, by the Rood"

The first scene of the fourth act in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* begins exactly in the same way as this scene, cf.

„*Overreach* A good day to my Lord
Lovall You are an early riser, Sir Giles.”

331. and sinck him to the Center. the middle point of the earth, cf. *Hamlet* II. 2. 159:

“I will find
Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed
within the centre”

E. Dowden annotates in the *Arden Shakespeare* :

“centre, that is of the earth, and so according to Ptolemaic astronomy, of the universe.”

Midsummer Night's Dream. III. 2. 54 :

“I'll believe as soon
This whole earth may be bored and that the moon
May through the centre creep.

Massinger is very fond of this expression, it occurs several times in his works, viz : *the Guardian* III. 6 :

“Some sudden flash of lightning strike me blind
Or cleave the centre of the earth, that I
May find a sepulchre.”

The Renegado II. 5 :

“*Asambeg* Thus I guard me against your further anger
Paulina Which shall reach thee
Though I were in the centre.”

The Emperor of the East V. 3 :

“May lightning cleave the centre of the earth.”

The Maid of Honour IV. 4 :

“*Aurelio* You 'll follow me ?
Bertholdo To the centre, such a Sybilla guiding me.”

335. I now, methincks, I feele the happyness. *I*, the interjection and the pronoun, are written in the same way; here the first '*I*' is meant for *ay*; 'ay' is exceedingly common about 1600, at first it was always written '*I*',

cf. *Every man in his Humour* I. 1 : “I, so I do.”

I occurs again in this meaning in our play, line 1683 :

“I now I faint”

and line 2464 : “I, I there lyes my feare.”

339. Horne and Egmont, Memories great Martires. The Count of Egmond and the Count of Hoorne, both knights of the Golden Fleece were condemned by Alva's court of justice as conspirators against the Spanish government and executed at Brussels on June 5th 1568.

344. all feele sencibly. acutely, intensely, cf. Cary *Dante Inferno* VI. 110 :

“As each thing to more perfection grows
It feels more sensibly both good and pain”

358. with all hir course aspersions. calumny, cf. Fuller *Worthies* III. 120 :

“As false is the aspersion of his being a great usurer.”

377. to haue your actions consturd. interpreted or taken in a specified way, apart

from the real sense. The accent is on the first syllable, as is shown by the metre. cf. *Julius Caesar* I. 3. 34 :

"Indeed, it is a strange-disposed time
But men may construe things after their fashion
Clean from the purpose of the things themselves."

To construe, Latin *construere*, Mid. Eng. *construen*. At an early date the stress was put on the first syllable and the final syllable reduced to 'stre' and 'ster'. Conster continued to be the pronunciation down to the 19th century, even after it had disappeared as a written form. Conster is used in *The Virgin Martyr* II. 2. in the meaning of comprehend, cf :

"*Theophilus* I now conster thee."

380. if you would see it : but take through the mallice, take through is examine, the meaning is : if you would but see it, and examine the malice.

383. nor so secure. confidently careless, unsuspecting, cf. *Hamlet* I. 5. 61 :

"upon thy secure hour thy uncle stole"

and *A Very Woman* :

"to doubt is safer than to be secure."

The words occurs again in our play in this sense cf. 748, 49 :

"And let this Prince of Orange seat him sure
Or he shall fall when he is most secure."

413. make good the dore against ye. hold against, secure against, cf. *Cymbeline* V. 3. 23 :

"made good the passage"

420. those molds of men. forms, frames, cf. *Coriolanus* III. 2. 103 :

"Were there but this single plot to lose,
This mould of Marcus, they to dust should grind it."

388. beshrew ye gentlemen. a mild form of imprecation, it is also frequent in Shakespeare cf. *Hamlet* II. 1. 113. *Merchant of Venice* II. 6. 52.

440. in your angers prise. estimate, cf. *Much Ado about Nothing*. III. 1. 90 :

"Having so soft and excellent a wit
As she is prisde to have."

517. shake of your head. shake off, *of* and *off* were originally identical, and not completely differentiated till after 1600, we often find *of* for *off*, cf. Langland *Piers the Plowman* A. V. 170 :

"Clement the Cobelere caste of his cloke."

'Of' for 'off' occurs many times in *Barnavelte*, cf. line 779 :

"which Curse ye must shake of"

and l. 2672 :

"to cutt of this Imposthume."

518. too weak ith' hams. knee-joints, cf. *Hamlet* II. 2. 203 : "weak hams"

535. if not abusd with dull securitie. the noun has the same meaning as the adjective in lines 383 and 749, carlessness, want of caution, cf. *Macbeth* III. 5. 32 :

"security is mortal's chiefest enemy."

ACT II.

This scene of the second act is laid in Utrecht.

567. make way to their most certaine ruyn. 'certain ruin' is a phrase occurring frequently in Massinger's works, cf. *The Guardian* II. 4 :

"Severino; our whole life a journey
ending in certain ruin"

The Picture II. 1 :

"Sophia I do expect my fall and certain ruin"

The Great Duke of Florence I. 1 :

"That I must either keep my height with danger
Or fall with certain ruin."

The Maid of Honour I. 1 :

"to stay him in his fall
to certain ruin."

561. rest assur'd. remain, to rest is often used with adjectival complement in the sense of remain in a specified condition, cf. I *Henry VI* V. 5. 95 :

"I hold it cowardice to rest mistrustful."

and III *Henry IV* IV. 2. 8 :

"till you return I rest perplexed"

In Massinger and Field *Fatal Dowry* I. 2 :

"I rest content with the honours and estate I now possess"

to rest often occurs with *assured*, cf. *Julius Caesar* V. 3. 17 :

"That I may rest assured

Whether your Troopes are Friend or Enemy."

579. you are govern'd more by fear then reason. swayed, c.f. *Hamlet* III. 2. 372 :

"be governed by your knowledge"

586. they are well affected to our designes. disposed, the effectation is usually indicated by well or ill; earlier affect, Latin affectus; it may be derived from the verb + past participle ending ed, or from the noun affect + the ending ed as, evil-minded, cf. Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress* II. 151 :

"How stands the country affected towards you?"

and *King Lear* II. 1. 100 :

"no marvel, then, though he were ill affected."

587. The Arminians play their parts too again one of Massinger's favourite phrases cf:

Fatal Dowry I, 1 : (Massinger's part)

But do your parts"

The Picture II. 2 :

"I will do my parts"

The Maid of Honour IV. 3 :

"I have done my parts"

The City Madam I. 1 :

"You have done your parts here"

591. it skills not. it does not matter, cf. Lyly *Euphues* 245 : "Whether he be now lyuing, I know not, but whether he be or no, it skilleth not. The expression occurs again in Massinger's works, cf. *The Fatal Dowry* I. 2 :

"but it skills not, you have what you desire."

606. be earnest with them. sincerely zealous, urgent, cf. *Hamlet* V. 2. 38 :

"an earnest conjuration"

and *Richard III* I. 4. 87 :

"I have been an earnest advocate to plead for him"

607. the prow'd Shellains. rogues, a corrupted form of Dutch *schelm*. Bullen.

611. for want of entertainment. provision for the support of persons in service especially soldiers. cf. Sprigge *Anglia Rediviv.* IV. VII. 269 "All officers and soldiers that shall desire to take entertainment from any foreign kingdom"

632. to cherish domestique factions. to support, to encourage, cf. *King Richard II* II. 3. 147 :

"And you that do abet him in this kind
Cherish rebellion and are rebels all."

638. what privat Gentleman that onely trailes a pike. to trail arms is to carry in an oblique forward position with the breech or the butt near the ground, the piece or the pike being held by the right hand near the middle.

The phrase 'to trail a pike' is 'to serve as a soldier', it is a favourite phrase with Massinger, cf. *The Spanish Curate* I. 1 : (Massinger's part) :

"how proud should I be
to trail a pike under your brave command."

and *The Maid of Honour* III. 1 :

"I serv'd two prenticeships, just fourteen years,
Trailing the puissant pike"

the phrase occurs again in Barnavelt's tragedy : line 2525 :

"doe you come to traile a pike or vse a Musket?"

650. shrewdly vrgd. the expression has a parallel in the *Guardian* II. 5 : "aptly urged."

670. at all parts. the expression abounds in Massinger's works; I need only refer to: *the Great Duke of Florence* I. 2 ; *the Duke of Milan* I. 4 ; *the Guardian* I. 1 ; *the Unnatural Combat* II. 2.

689. your oild tongue. the expression is repeated in *the Parliament of Love* V. 1 :

"I have no oil'd tongue, and I hope my bluntness
will not offend."

700. such as flatter Servants make them prwd. Boyle draws attention to the fact that this thought is again expressed in *the Guardian* III. 2. 55 :

"In the discovery of my secrets to her,
I've made my slave my mistress"

and in *the Renegado* II. 1 :

"What poor means
Must I make use of now ; and flatter such,
To whom, till I have betrayed my liberty,
One gracious look of mine would have erected
An altar to my service."¹

717. this I foresaw. one of Massinger's favourite phrases ; it occurs in many of his plays, cf. *The Unnatural Combat* III. 4, *The City Madam* III. 2, *The Maid of Honour*, II. 3, *The Fatal Dowry* I. 2, *A Very Woman* V. 4, *Thierry and Theodoret* I. 2. 116 (Massinger's part.)

718. I am lost with anger. the expression occurs in *The Little French Lawyer* I. 1. 217 :

"I am lost with rage."

¹ *Englische Studien* X 1887.

723. from freemen grown slaues. those who are not slaves; in later use often those who are politically free. cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. 2. 25 :

“Had you rather Caesar were living, and die all slaves; than that Caesar were dead, to live all free-men?”

and *Ibid.*, V. 3. 41:

“Come now, keep thine oath;
Now be a freeman;”

727. this popular Sharke. thief, a shark is a fish known for its voracity; in figurative use: a rapacious person, cf. Jonson *Silent Woman*, IV. 2 :

“*La Foole* a very Sharke, he set me in the nick 't other night at Primero”

730. I call not on your furtherance. assistance, cf. *Henry V*, I. 2. 301 :

“that may give furtherance to your expedition.”

and *Henry VI*, V. 3. 21 :

“Cannot my body nor blood-sacrifice
Entreat you to your wonted furtherance?”

732. let me be nere remembred. a favourite phrase with Massinger, occurring very often in his works, cf. *Maid of Honour* II., 4, *The Renegado* I. 3., *The Roman Actor* I. 4, and III. 1.

737. too gentle lenitie. mildness, cf. *Romeo and Juliet* III. 1. 128 :

“away to heaven, respective lenity
And fire-eyed fury be my conduct now!”

748. and let this Prince of Orange seat him sure. this line is a reminiscence of Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar* I. 2. 236 :

“And after this let Caesar seat him sure
For we will shake him, or worse days endure.”

753. do's this bar me. prevent me, cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. 2. 138 :

“And frame your mind the mirth and merriment
Which bars a thousand harms.”

to affect ye. to love you, cf. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. 1. 82 :

“a lady whom I affect.”

758. propogated. propagated, in the 16th and 17th centuries propogated was used erroneously for propagated. *New Eng. Dict.*

773. we are ourselves, our owne disposers. persons who arrange or direct their own affairs; the word is often used by Massinger in this sense, cf. line 1209 :

“you are your owne disposers :”

801. thinck what we list. please; list is used as a personal verb here, cf. *Hamlet* I, 5. 177 :

“if we list to speak.”

808. theis hissing tosts. toasts; one who drinks to excess, usually *Old toast* cf. Cotton *Voyage to Ireland* III. 128 :

“When, having half din'd, There comes in my Host
A Catholic good, and a rare drunken toast.”

It was formerly the custom to have pieces of toast floating in many kinds of liquor. especially when drunk hot. The meaning in question of the word 'toast' may be referred to this custom.

821. you haue long tailes, but we shall clip'em. cf. long-tailed, applied to a long" winded speech, this sense is obsolete; clip is cut with scissors or shears, hence curtail.

829. you that dare prick your eares vp, at great Princes. show attention to

830. and dole charge your tongue. overcharge cf. II *Henry IV*, V. 3. 129:

"I will double charge thee with dignities."

848. We will coniure vp our lazie husbands. adjure, to conjure up is to constrain a person to some action by putting him upon his oath or by appealing to something sacred cf. Franklin Ess. Works III 369:

"A remonstrance was conjured up from sundry inhabitants."

856. turnop hearts. The New Engl. Dict. quotes this line from the tragedy of *Barnavelt*; turnip is humorously applied to a person, cf. Dickens *Pickwick Papers* "now I find", continued Sam, "what a reg'lar softhearted inkred'lous turnip I must ha been."

Bullen prints a note referring to line 1472: "He that would put his confidence in Turnops" "The Dutch word *knol* signifies both a turnip and a blockhead."

875. do you disperse to the old Companies. send off or cause to go in different directions cf. *Hon. Act. E. Glemham*: "dispersing sundrye Sentronels for watches, far from the Campe, diuers wayes"

881. none of our frends vpon the Portt. gate, Dutch 'poort', cf. *Coriolanus* V. 6. 6:

"Him I accuse:

The City Ports by this hath enter'd."

886. you will rouse anon. excite to vigorous action cf. *Steele Tatler* No. 2:

"The Emperor is rouzed by the Alarm."

888. ranck. foul cf. *Hamlet* III. 3. 36:

"my offence is rank, it smells to heaven."

931. goe pray: goe pray: cf. *Hamlet* I. 5. 132: "go pray;" *ibid* II. 1. 101: "go seek"; *The Merchant of Venice* II. 7. 43: "come view"; *The Tempest* II. 1. 190: "go sleep."

937. litle St. Gregory. Saint Gregory surnamed "the Illuminator" born at Valarshabad, Armenia, about 257 died 332. The founder and patron saint of the Armenian Church. He was consecrated patriarch of Armenia about 302. Bullen prints 'Sir', but the text clearly has 'St'. It is clear why the English Gentlewoman calls Holderus 'litle Saint Gregory.'

945. desperate vndertakings. reckless cf. I *Henry VI*, II, 1. 45: "an enterprise more venturous or desperate than this."

and *Ibid* IV. 4. 7. "unheedful desperate, wild adventure".

950. not to blind ends. purposes that blind or mislead, deceitful, cf. Gower *Confessio Amantis* I. 73:

"He with blinde tales so her ladde

That all his will of her he hadde"

951. hood-winckt with base ambition. blind-folded.

955. swag fellows. *The New Engl. Dictionary* puts big and blustering, with a point of interrogation and quotes this line from the play of *Barnavelt*. As a noun, swag was used for a big, blustering fellow, the word is obsolete. Cf. Nash *Martins Months Minde* 42:

"Kaitives, lewd swagges, ambitious wretches."

959. **tall defenses.** lofty, grand; tall is used ironically here; the figurative use is obsolete, cf. Watts, *Horae Lyr.* III Death T Gunston 187 :

“The tall titles, insolent and proud”

971. **in what free fashion.** open, unreserved, cf. *Julius Caesar* IV. 2. 17 :

“a free and friendly conference.”

ACT III.

983. **with full wingd Expedition.** dispatch, prompt execution, this sense is obsolete, c.f. *Paston Letters* No. 493 II 166 “The King shall shame his good grace and favour in the expedition thereof.”

1015. **The Prince of Orange most thinck affects him not.** the Prince does not love him see line 753

1017. **that either of their angry wills should prove
a lawful act, to ruyn one another,
a not a medium of more open Iustice
more equall, and more honorable step in.**

A difficult passage which may be paraphrased as follows: if either should prove to be a lawful agency to ruyn the other, and not a means of open, honorable Justice should come between.

1022. **honest and vpright proofes will ripen the Imposture.** will prepare the detection of the deceit.

1048. **carelessly loose it.** untie cf. *Comedy of Errors* V. 339 : “I will loose his bonds”

1062. **will meet your owne fault.** encounter as an enemy

cf. *Punch* 22 Nov. 252;1 “Seen my last pamphet. ‘How to meet the Microbe?’” and *King John* V. 1. 60 :

“forage and run

to meet displeasure farther from the doors”

sodainly. presently, immediately

cf. *Merry Wives of Windsor* IV. 1. 6.

“Mistress Ford desires you to come suddenly”

1067. **theis silver curles, theis emblemes of my frostie cares.** the meaning of frostie emblems *i.e.* curles is transferred to cares; the meaning is the cares that have rendered my hair white; frosty is grey cf. II *Henry VI*, V. 1 167.

“where is loyalty

If it be banished from this frosty head”

and *Titus Andronicus* V. 3. 77 :

“But if my frosty signs and chaps of age

Grave witnesses of true experience.”

1078. **erect an yron-toothed envy that she may gnaw the pious stones that hides me.** In Early modern English the number of the predicate is often influenced by the preceding substantive, cf. *King John* II. 1. 217 :

“those sleeping stones

That as a waist doth girdle you about.”

and G. Peele *Edward I* sc XX, b I. 192 :

“Is this the welcome that the clouds affords?”

These forms are especially frequent in the Shakespeare folio editions; they were afterwards treated as printers' errors.

1081. how naked, and vnsafe. without defence, unprotected, cf.

Johnson *Rambler* No. 180 "as a small garrison must leave one part of an extensive fortress naked when an alarm calls them to another".

1098. Shame take that smoothnes. amiability, affability, very often in an unfavourable sense with the implication of insincerity or selfish designs cf. *As You Like It*. I. 3. 79:

"She is too subtle for thee; and her smoothness
Her very silence, and her patience
Speake to the people, and they pity her"

1109. I vndertooke hir. I took charge of her, cf. *Henry VIII*, II. 1. 97:

"Then give my charge up to Sir Nicholas Vaux,
Who undertakes you to your end."

1128. the griping yoak. pinching, cf. *Romeo et Juliet* IV. 5. 128:

"When griping grief the heart doth wound"

1138. patcht vp men. paltry; a patch *i. e.* a fool or a paltry fellow; it was originally the name or rather nickname of Cardinal Wolsey's domestic fool or jester, supposed by some to have been so called from his patched garb, or patched face; but it is perhaps rather an anglicized form of Italian pazzo: fool. It seems however to have been later associated or taken as identical with the sunstantive patch, a piece of cloth or leather to mend a hole, as in Shakespeare's "patched fool" cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream* IV, 1. 215:

"But man is but a patch'd foole."

This means according to some annotators: partly-coloured.

1173. the fatal howre is cast. the hour of death is cast. The expression is taken from the game, to cast dice cf. *Richard II*, 1. 3. 85:

"however God or fortune cast my lot"

1251. not cyted to their answeare. summoned, cf. *Henry VIII*, IV. 1. 29:

"a court at Dunstable... to which

She was often cited by them, but appear'd not"

1263. we palliate seditions. excuse, cover as with a cloak, cf. Tirwhyt tr. *Balsac's Letters* 317

"I need not seeke colours to palliate my actions or words."

1275. as you affect the safetie of the State. aim at, cf. note line 2434 and II *Henry VI* IV. 7. 104:

"have I affected wealth and honour?"

1304. I ingeniously confes my ignorance. frankly, used by confusion for ingenuously, cf. *Timon of Athens* II. 2. 230:

"Thou art true and honest, ingeniously I speak."

1364. I have set vp my rest. A metaphor from the once fashionable and favourite game of primero, meaning, to stand upon the cards you have in your hands, in hopes that they may prove better than those of your adversary. Hence to make up your mind, to be determined. Nares.

The phrase occurs very often in the work of the dramatists of that time cf. *Merchant of Venice* II. 2. 110 "I have fully set up my rest to run away". Ford 't *Is a Pity she's Whore*:

"Despair or tortures of a thousand hells
All's one to me; I have set up my rest."

The *New English Dictionary* gives another meaning namely: to make an end. This usage is rare cf. Pepys' *Diary* 8 Jan.: "So home; with much ado, and now resolving to set up my rest as to plays till Easter."

1396. I have lost myself, but something I shall doe. a phrase which occurs, again and again in Massinger's plays. cf. *Maid of Honour* V. 1. *The Renegado* III. 4. *Great Duke of Florence* II. 3. *the Bondman* V. 2. 103.

1402. this Confederacie. conspiracy cf. Ben Jonson *Bartholomew Fair* I. 1. "Why, this is a confederacy: a meere piece of practice upon her by these impostors."

1417. at least divulg'd abroad. made public cf. *Hamlet* IV. 1. 22. "to keep it from divulging" *i. e.* becoming known.

1433. doe you keep him close. in strict confinement cf. *Richard III.* IV. 2. 53 "The Son of Clarence have I pent up close".

1439. thou treadst the subtlest path. wiliest.

1441. run through. past tense, modern English *ran*.

1444. like a comet to shine out faire and blaze prodigiously. a reference to the comet of 1618/19 see Introduction. Sources.

1449. full of burthen. load, figuratively used for sorrow.

1450. how stands your State. how are the circumstances for the time being. c.f. Shakespeare *Sonnet* 29. 2:

"I all alone bewEEP my outcast state."

1458. you delt coldly Sir. without zeal.

1473. and pickel'd Spratts. often applied to persons as a term of contempt.

1475. what we lockt in him (is) too far of, from their subtle keys to open. a metaphor which recalls Shakespeare's lines in *Hamlet* I. 3. 8:

"'t Is in my memory locked

And you yourself shall keep the key of it."

The whole scene is typical of Fletcher's style, see Introduction Authorship, but this metaphor is repeated in *The Great Duke of Florence*, cf. III. 1:

"What you deliver to me shall be locked up

In a strong Cabinet, of which you yourself

Shall keep the key."

This might be taken as a proof that the scene is composed by Massinger, but there are surer signs to prove that the scene must be Fletcher's; moreover there are other cases, in which Massinger not only repeats himself, but also others.

1515. what shall redeeme me from this Ignorance. stupidity, offence caused by want of knowledge, cf. *King Lear* IV. 5. 9:

"it was a great ignorance to let him live"

1520. cold Ignorance. hopeless cf. *All's Well that Ends Well* II. 1. 147:

"and oft it hits where hope is coldest."

Ignorance is here want of discernment, incapacity of distinguishing between right or wrong, cf. *Richard III.*, III. 7. 113:

"I do suspect I have done some offence.

.....

And that you come to reprehend my ignorance"

1527. take me with ye. i. e. explain to me (a very common expression). Bullen.
1540. to stick their gawdy triumphes. to decorate, usually followed by with or in, cf. *Twelfth Night* II. 4. 56 :

“My shrowd of white stuck all with Ew.”

The usage without preposition seems rare. We find the meaning of decorating with green in Wiltshire Gloss. “We allus sticks th’ Church at Christmas”

1554. We endure a hundred fitts. violent attacks of illness, cf. N. Robinson *Th. Physick* ;

“the fits of intermitten fevers.”

1563. and next his fashion. repute, social standing.

1597. the frædrom I was borne to. a phrase which is often repeated by Massinger, cf. line 1647 : „and loose that native courage we are borne to”

and *The Great Duke of Florence* I. 1. “For I must use the freedom I was born with”
Ibid. III. 1. “it is a duty that I was born with”

1603. ile fry about their ears. Bullen notes : ‘fry’ has here the unusual sense of ‘buzz’, ‘hiss’. Mr. Swinburne remarks on this note : “Mr. Bullen’s note is surely an oversight. Were this the sense I do not see how the passage could be either parsed or construed. Grotius threatens, if the prince lays hands on Barnauvelt, to set on fire the hall of justice or house of parliament”¹. I quite agree with Mr. Swinburne; to fry is here to burn cf. Drayton *Legends* III. 147 “Fuel to that fire, Wherein He fry’d.” B. Jonson *Poetaster* I. 1 “Earth and seas in fire and flame shall fry.” That this is the correct sense is clear from lines 1842 :

“and Grotius has byn heard to say and openly

that if we durst imprison Barnauelt

he would fire the court and State house and that Sacrifize

he would make more glorious with your blood and ours”.

1657. he is fast. fast asleep, this sense is obsolete cf. *Romeo and Juliet* IV. 5. 1 :

“Fast I warrant her.”

and Massinger *The Great Duke of Florence* IV. 5. 1 :

“Is my lord stirring ?

No he ’s fast.”

1663. moated about with death. surrounded by death as with a moat.

1664. Thou soule of Cato and you brave Romaine speritts, famous more for your true resolutions on yourselues. this is a reference to Cato killing himself with his own sword, cf. Chapman *The Tragedy of Caesar of Pompey* V. 2. 134 :

“the Consuls’ souls,

That slew themselves so nobly.....

..... mine would see.”

This reference to the brave Romans dying by their own hands occurs in many works of the dramatists of the time, cf. *Julius Caesar* II. 1. 226 :

“But bear it as our Roman Actors do

With untired spirits and formal constancy.”

Macbeth V. 8. 1. “Why should I play the Roman fool, and die on mine own sword?”

Massinger *Duke of Milan* V. 1. 128 :

¹ *The Fortnightly Review*, July, 1889.

"Why let us then turn Romans,
And falling by our own hands, mock their threats
And dreadful preparations"

1667. a gowne man. gone, dead cf. *Othello* V. 1. 10: "O quick, or I am gone."

1681. Now shoot your spightes. spite, malice, the use of the plural is uncommon in modern English.

now clap on all your councells. impose or lay on, it is used of an action, a liability, writ or duty, cf. *Henry VIII*, V. 4. 84:

"On your heads

(Ille) Clap round Fines for neglect."

1689. why was I heavy. sleepy, cf. *The Tempest* III. 1. 189: „Will you laugh me asleep, for I am very heavy?"

ibid. 198: "Thank you — Wondrous heavy".

ACT IV.

The first scene of this act is laid in Germany.

1716. dispeirce then. spread in scattered order, used intransitively, cf. *Wood Life* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.) 385: "Sir Thomas desired them to disperse and not to accompany him."

1731. the Hare was rotten. Bullen prints the following note: "and bycause some Hares by haunting the lowe watrie places do become foule and mesled, such Hares doe never follow the hard ways nor make such pathes to their formes, but use all their subtleties and pollecies by the sides of the Ryvers, brookes and other waters Turbervilles *Booke of Hunting* (1575) p. 160."

1733. make all hir doubles out. make all her turns to escape pursuit; a double is a sharp turn in the running of a hunted hare. c.f. *Venus and Adonis* 682 "With what care he (*i.e.* the hare) cranks and crosses with a thousand doubles."

Fletcher *Woman's Prize* III. 4.

"All their arch-villanies and all their doubles

Which are more than a hunted Hare ere thought on"

1742 the plotts and traynes. baits, something used to entice, cf. *Macbeth* IV. 3. 118:

"Macbeth

By many of these trains hath sought to win me

Into his power."

1754. scowts round about vs. surround with a watch and play the spy, cf. Fletcher *Bonduca* V. 2:

"Take more men, and scout him round."

1764. Clap your Spurres on. to put on with the indication of energy. cf. line 1784:

"clap faggots on't." and l. 2913: "the Merchant might clap, his lynnens wings vp to the windes."

1800. wee'll show 'em such a base. challenge, usually to bid base *i. e.* to challenge to a chase; the expression is taken from a game among boys, it is played by two sides who occupy contiguous 'bases' or 'homes'; any player running out from his 'base' is chased by one of the opposite side, and, if caught, made a prisoner; in general use to challenge cf. *Venus and Adonis* 51:

"to bid the wind a base he now prepares."

Bullen reads *baste*, which may be right, to baste is to beat soundly, to thrash, so it may have been used for basting, a thrashing.

1801. do not delect yourself. be not dejected cf. Sterne *Tristram Shandy* III, XX
"to deject and contrist myself with so bad and melancholy account."

1826. might be construde in 't malicious. interpreted, see note line 377.

1847. the lowdest Channell runs shallowest. the same idea was first expressed in Purchas *Pilgrimage* VIII. 5. 760:

"Still waters are deepest."

Shakespeare expressed it in II *Henry VI*, III. 1. 53:

"Smooth runs the water where the brook is deep."

1849. the deep and silent man. profoundly cunning.

1887. the King of Swethland, the source has Suealand; the name is usually Suealand O.E. Sweoland; this name does not survive. In a letter from Sir R. Winwood to King James dated 7 April 1612 the name occurs as Sueueland. In the 14th century forms with 'th' appear in English. e. g. Trevisa's *Highden* Swetherlond for Swethelond. From the 16th to the 18th century typical forms are Swethland, Swedeland and Sweedland.

1893. about compounding of a business. arranging cf. *Coriolanus* V. 6. 84:

"and we here deliver..... what
We have compounded on"

1904. And Barnavelt glide away like a spent exhalation. Boyle has drawn attention to the parallel passage in *Henry VIII*, III. 2. 225:

"I shall fall like a bright exhalation in the evening."

1921. poyzd. balanced

1923. high-straind danger. excessive. pushed to an abnormal height, cf. *King Lear* I. 1. 172:

"With strained pride,
To come betwixt our sentence and our power"

1937. stubborne fortune. harsh.

1949. Vandort is fleshd vpon me. fierce and eager for combat cf. *Distracted Emperor VI Bullen Old Plays* III. 242:

"there is no devyll in me
that could have flesht me to thy violent death"

1963. when I am sett and gon. dead, cf. *Henry VIII*, III. 2. 224

"from that full meridian of glory
I haste now to my setting."

1964. what vnderstanding. man of intellect.

1986. when they have gorgd their envies. fed to the full, a metaphor taken from hawking; it was in early use of a bird of prey, but now in common use, to fill full, to satiate, also used figuratively. cf. Shakespeare *Lucrece* 694: "The full-fed Hound, or gorged Hawk." the transferred sense occurs in A. Warren *Poor Mans Pass* E 3

"Some Vsurer,
whose gorged chests surfet with cramming gold."

1999. pluck vp your hart. summon up courage, cheer up; also pluck up your spirits cf. *The Taming of the Shrew* IV, 3. 38:

"pluck up thy spirits; look cheerfully upon me."

2019. to be high. elated, cf. the expression 'in high spirits'

2044. he will not be denyde. refused admittance, this sense is obsolete cf. I *Henry IV* II. 4. 544:

"If you will deny the Sherif, so; if not, let him enter"

2071. the thirstie Prince of this poore Life. the Prince thirsty of this poor Life; this uncommon construction is typically Fletcherian. Boyle quotes two examples from other plays: *the Knight of Malta* II. 3. 67

"Thou naked man of all that we call noble" *i. e.*

thou man naked of all that we call noble, and *the Double Marriage* III. 3.

"Thou barren thing of honesty and honour *i. e.* thou thing barren of honesty and honour."

2084. to secure their slombers. to guard from danger, cf. *The Tempest* II. 1. 310:

"while we stood here securing your repose."

2093. share my Services. have each your share of my services and their reward.

2117. Keramis-time. the annual fair, cf. *Evelyn Diary* 28 July: "It was now Kermas or a fair in this town" and Dryden *Parallel Poetry and Painting* XVII. 305 "The painting of clowns, the representation of a Dutch kermis" and Mrs. Calderwood *Letters and Journals*; "as we came through Harlem, it was Kearmas, which is a great fair."

2130. to quellie his fault. to mitigate cf. *Hamlet* IV. 7. 114:

"time qualifies the spark and fire of it" (*i. e.* love)

2132. much, with a Cusshion. much is an ironical expression (very common) of denial or astonishment, Bullen.

2144. lustique. merrily (Dutch lustig) cf. *All's Well that Ends Well* II. 3. 147:

"Lustick, as the Dutchman says." Bullen

the Globe edition has "lustig"

and Dekker *Sir Thomas Wyatt* III. 103:

"If my old Maister be hanged, why so;

If not, why rusticke and lousticke."

2154. The Bree: for his Excellence. a corruption of Dutch *brui*, the meaning is "A plague on his Excellence!" Bullen.

2147. unseasonable. not being in the proper season or time cf. *Much Ado about Nothing* II. 2. 16 -

"at any unseasonable instant of the night"

2186. to intrap you. to ensnare, to catch in a trap, cf. *The Merchant of Venice* III. 2. 101:

"The seeming truth which cunning times put on

To entrap the wisest."

2200. dispeirsed 3000 Arminian Soldiers. distributed from a main point or centre, here the verb is used transitively, in line 1716 it is used intransitively, see note.

2213. to dyvert your Lordships from your opinion to turn from, cf. Milton *Paradise Lost* IX. 814:

"Other care

May have diverted from continual Watch

Our great Forbidder."

2221. there was Combustion in the State. cf. *Henry VIII*, V. 4. 51: "kindling such a combustion in the state".

2224. one that then ruld all, a reference to Lord Leicester, who was governor of the Provinces during the years 1585—1587.

¹ *Die Englische Bühne zu Shakespeare's Zeit, Einleitung zu Barneveld.*

2232. when Graues and Vendloe were held by the Spaniard. In the governorship of Leicester Parma took Grave and Venlo in 1587.

2235. when the Sluice was lost. in 1587 Sluys surrendered to Parma, who besieged it.

2240. to compound all Quarrells. to settle amicably, see note l. 1893.

2251. to ingrosse all. to collect together from all quarters, to keep exclusive possession of, used figuratively here; this sense is obsolete, cf. I *Henry IV*, III. 3:

“Percy is but my Factor....”

To engrosse vp glorious Deeds on my behalfe.”

2252. your Schollers. pupils, cf. *Antony and Cleopatra* IV. 4. 102:

“thy master dies thy scholar.”

2258. glorious. boastful, vainglorious, this sense is obsolete cf. Bacon *Essay Vaine-glory* Arb. 462: “they that are glorious, must needs be factious.”

2278. freely to be dischargd. paid, cf. *Merchant of Venice* IV. 1. 208:

“Is he not able to discharge the money?”

2297. I haue not preferd what you Comaunded. assisted in bringing about, this sense is obsolete. cf. Rowlands *Four Knaves* (Percy Society) 50:

“Thus fingering money to preferre the case.”

2298. it lookd not towards the generall good. tended to, cf. N. Fairfax *Bullen & Selw.* 188 “The argument drawn from God’s unbounded power, as looking towards the behoof of the Creature.”

2302. when in one yeere you did beseige Breda

tooke in the fortresse of Terheide and Steinberch. In 1590 Prince Maurice surprised and took Breda; in the same year he took Steenberg, north of Bergen-op-Zoom.

2304. wan Nimweghen, Deunter, Zutphen, Hulst, Delfs-Isle. In 1591 Prince Maurice took Zutphen, in the same month Deventer, surprised Delfzyl, and took Hulst and Nymegen in the same year.

2319. who gave intelligence. notice, information cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* III. 5. 85: “As good luck would have it, comes in Mistress Page; gives intelligence of Ford’s approach.” It is especially applied to the communications of spies or secret agents cf. Temple *History of England* 565: “He practis’d private Intelligence in the Danish Court.” This sense is obsolete.

2324. the yeilding of it vp to the Governor .of ought to be by; the town was surrendered by the governor as Maurice failed to relieve it.

2328. tooke the Townes of Oldensell, Lingen, Groll. Oldenzaal and Lingen on the eastern frontier were taken by Spinola in 1605, Groll in 1606.

2332. your Insolence to me before the Battaile of Flaunders, I forget. This is a reference to the battle of Nieuwpoort fought in 1600. see Introduction, Treatment of the subject.

2335. too much providence. foresight, timely care; in the margin the adjective *provident* occurs, having the same meaning, forecasting, prudent in preparing for exigencies.

2348. you clayme as litle in the victory as I. you are entitled to, deserve as little in the victory, cf. *Antony and Cleopatra* II. 2. 130:

“Octavia, whose beauty claimes

No worse a husband then the best of men.”

2359. those vnparaleld paire of warlike Brothers. this is a case of confusion by proximity; it is a not uncommon Shakesperian idiom, the two nouns connected by

'of' seem regarded as a compound noun with plural termination cf. *King Lear* II. 2. 96:

"these kind of knaves I know"

and Fletcher *The Faithful Shepherdess* II. 3:

"These happy pair of lovers meet straightway."

2360. the ever noble Veres. Sir Francis Vere (1560—1609) was appointed commander of the English troops in Holland in 1589. He had fought in the relief of Bergen-op-Zoom in June 1587, and in 1589 in the relief of Rijnberg. He was distinguished for great bravery at Sluys, so that he was spoken of as "young Vere, who fought at Sluys"; he fought bravely in the battle of Nieuwpoort, where he got wounded. Prince Maurice had written a letter to the queen, attributing the victory in a great measure to the judgment and valour of the English general. In honour of the victory, a ballad was published: "A New Ballad of the Great Ouerthrow Sir Francis Vere gaue to the Archduke 1600." In 1601 he was appointed governor of Ostend to defend the town. His brother Sir Horace Vere (1565—1635) also fought in the battle of Nieuwpoort in 1600; he was governor of the cautionary town Brielle, which he surrendered to the States in 1616, he was commander of the English troops in the Netherlands; in 1620 he went to Germany in the aid of the Elector Palatine Frederic.

2403. to deface Iustice. to mar the face of, to disfigure cf. Shakespeare *Sonnets* VI:

"Then let not winter's ragged hand deface

In thee thy summer."

2418. all presidents of Traitors. precedents, examples.

2429. I grow tedious. I bore you, I grow wearisome. Gelbcke translates: "Ich werde müde", this is not correct. Tedious is used especially of a speech or narrative, hence of a speaker or writer, so as to cause weariness.

2434. Octavius when he did affect the Empire, aim at cf. *Coriolanus* IV. 6. 32:

"self-loving and affecting one sole throne without assistance."

see also note line 1275.

2435. and strove to tread vpon the neck of Rome and all hir auncient freedoms. These lines and the preceding one are a political allusion to King James's frequent collisions with Parliament. Soon after in 1621 in answer to the Protestations of the Commons concerning the liberties and privileges of Parliament, he sent for the Journals of the House, and tore out the page containing it with his own hand saying: "I will govern according to the common weal, but not according to the common will."

2437. the Cato's and all free speritts slaine. an allusion to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was executed in 1618 at the instigation of the Duke of Buckingham and the Spanish ambassador Gondomar to please the Spanish king.

ACT. V.

2478. grace their best Actors. favour, cf. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. I. 3. 58:

"How happily he lives, how well beloved,

And daily graced by the Emperor;"

2494. those will I stray sollicite. seek by petition.

2517. by what Attorney. substitute cf. *Comedy of Errors* V. 100:

"I will attend my husband, be his nurse

And will have no attorney but myself."

2532. charmes in it. things with magic power, enchantments.

2539. 't was quaintly carried. neatly cf. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* II. 1. 128:

"the lines are very quaintly writ".

ibid. III. 1. 117 :

“a ladder quaintly made of cords.”

2540. cleanly. neatly see line 2727.

2552. in the dispighte of vs. in defiance of, in defiant opposition of, it usually implies contempt, cf. *Hall Chroni.* 183 b, “and sent all their heddés . . . to be set upon poles, over the gate of the citie of Yorke in despite of them, and their lignage.”

2562. being convinced of fowre and thirtie articles. proved guilty of, cf. *Troilus and Cressida* II. 2. 130 :

“Else might the world convince of levity
As well my undertakings as your counsels.”

2576. shalbe answered freely. frankly, cf. *The Merchant of Venice* III. 2. 257

“I freely told you”

2608. it still being the principall signe of libertie. ever, the usual meaning of ‘still’ in Shakespeare.

cf. *Measure for Measure* II. 1. 298 : “Pardon is still the nurse of second woe.”

2636. to take occasion. to take advantage of the opportunity, cf. *Pepys Diary* 6 Dec.

“I took occasion to go up and to bed in a pet.”

I Henry IV, V. 1. 56 :

“And from this swarm of fair advantages
You took occasion to be quickly woo’d
To gripe the general sway into your hand.”

2644. vnanswerable proofes. proofs not admitting of an answer, indisputable *Berkeley Th. Vision* § 1 “A new and unanswerable proof of the Existence and immediate operation of God”

2672. to cutt of this Imposthume. literally an abscess, figuratively a moral corruption in the individual cf. *Hamlet* IV. 4. 27 :

“This is the imposthume of much wealth and peace
That inward breaks”

and Browning *Pacchiarotto* XXII :

“The imposthume I prick to relieve thee of Vanity”

Fletcher applies the word to a person swollen with pride or insolence, which corresponds to the meaning here, cf. *The Island Princess* I. 4 :

“Dost thou know me, bladder,
Thou insolent impostume.”

I consider this part of the scene after “*Exeunt Embassadors*” to be Fletcher’s share. See Introduction Authorship.

2688. you will give us no more lights. information cf. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* III. 1. 49 :

“Upon mine honour, he shall never know
That I had any light from thee of this”

2702. delude what we determind. frustrate our purpose, this sense is obsolete cf. *Hospital Incurable Fooles* 58 : “Thus he did delude the last blow of this spitefull Foole”

and *I Henry VI* V. 4. 76 : “O give me leave, I have deluded you,”

2711. deride. laugh at in scorn, cf. *King Lear* I. 1. 284 :

"Time shall unfold what plighted cunning hides
Who cover faults, at last shame them derides."

Bible Luke XIII 35: "And the rules also.... derided him."

2716. megrooms. meggrims, nervous head-aches. The French word migraine is now sometimes used by English writers.

verteegoes. vertigo, giddiness

2721. polld more pates. cut off cf. Carew *Cornwall* "Some pilchards are polled, gutted, splitted, powdred and dried in the Sunne."

2722. a dicker. Bullen annotates: "The quantity of ten of any commodity; as a dicker of hides was ten hides, a dicker of iron ten bars. See *Fragment Antiq.* page 192. Probably from decas, Lat." Nares.

2726. Edipoll. scribe's error for dodipoll, a thick head, humourously applied to a stupid person.

2727. clenly. neatly see line 2540.

2739. the head of a Pumpion. Sc. pumpkin French. Bullen a gourd cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* III. 3. 43.

"We 'll use this unwholesome humidity
This gross watery pumpion"

H. C. Hart annotates in *the Arden Shakespeare* water-melon. Ben Jonson uses the word in *Time Vindicated* and it occurs in the early travellers."

Fletcher uses the word in *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* I. 5. as a term of contempt for a big man, cf.

"O here's another pumpion, the cramm'd son of a starv'd usurer."

2741. heers touch and take. cf. *The Two Merry Milke-maids* II. 2.

"Fred. By this hand Wench, Ile keepe touch.

Lady. Touch and take my Lord, else no middling."

and *Ibid.* IV. 1. "I know what the Prouerbe saies, touch and take me."

2743. man is but grass. cf. Psalm 103. 15:

"The days of man are but as grass."

2747. the headman of the parish. executioner, obsolete for headsman cf. *All's well that ends well* IV. 3. 342.

"Come, headman, off with his head."

Byron. *Parisina* XV "The headman feels if the axe be sharp and true" (some editions: *headsman*)

2749. nickt many a worthie gamester. to nick in the game of hazard is to win against the other players by casting a nick *i. e.* a winning throw.

cf. Otway *Atheist* III. 1.. "I ha' not been robb'd, Sir, but I have been nick'd, . . . and that's as bad".

For the figurative use the New English Dictionary quotes this sentence from the *Tragedy of Barnavelt* and the following: G. Daniel *Trinarch Henry V, CCCX*

"France underhand pursues

The Advantage of the Warre to nicke him out

Ere he could prize his Chance; False Dice may do it"

I think the word is meant as a pun in combination with the meaning of to nick, to sever with a snip or single cut, as with shears (Scotch) cf. Burns' *Death and Doctor Hornbook*:

“‘Ay, Ay!’ quoth he (Death) and shook his head,
‘It’s e’en a lang, lang time indeed
Sin I began to nick the thread
And choke the breath.’”

and to break or crack cf. Fletcher *Mad Lover* I. 1.

“You men of wares, the men of wars will nick ye;
For starve nor beg they must not.”

2754. theorims. theorem proposition or statement, theory.

Bowen *Logic* XI 374 “A demonstrable judgment, or one which is announced as needing proof, if theoretical, is called a Theorem.

2760. dewce ace. Deux et az, Cotgrave cf. *Love’s Labours Lost* I. 2.

“I am sure, you know how much the gross sum of deuce-ace amounts to.”

The lowest cast of the dice, two aces was called: aces ace. Bullen.

a doggs-head. Among the Romans the highest cast was called *Venus* and the lowest *canis*, cf. a well-known couplet of Propertius lib. IV el. VIII l. 45:

“Me quoque per talos Venerem quaerente secundos
Semper damnosi subsiluire canes”. Bullen.

2761. thy Coxcomb. jocularly for head cf. *Henry V* V. 1. 57.

“the skin is good for your broken coxcomb.”

2764. Cater-trey. Sc. quatre et trois. Bullen.

2766. ‘t is but a desperate cast, and so hee’l find it, if it fall to me. hopeless, cf.

The Merry Wives of Windsor III. 5. 127: “my suit then is desperate.”

and *Cymbeline* IV. 3. 6. „My queen upon a desperate bed” Dowden annotates: a sick-bed without recovery.

2770. goose giblitts. the portions of a goose that are taken out or cut off before cooking. cf. Middleton and Rowley *the Spanish Gypsy* II. 2:

“It was mine own Goose, and I laid the Jiblets upon another Coxcombs trencher.”

In figurative use, things of little value; applied to a person as a term of contempt.

2777. braunchd gowne. Bullen notes ‘embroidered.’

cf. *Philaster*, V, 4:

“Your branch’d cloth of bodkin, or your tishues,”

2786. Cock your musketts. put in readiness for firing by raising the cock or hammer, cf. Milton *Eikonoklastes* 23 “Pistols cockt and menac’d in the hands of about 300 Ruffians.”

2787. bend your pikes. to bend is used of instruments of war in the meaning of to direct, to aim, cf. *King John* II. 37:

“our cannon shall be bent
Against the brows of this residing town.”

2796. what bugs. bugbears cf. *Hamlet* V. 2. 22.

“such bugs and goblins in my life”

2801. they stir in his Compassion. they are excited, they are agitated in sympathy with him. cf. *Coriolanus* III. 1. 53:

“You show too much of that
For which the people stir.”

2803. that glewd his faction. fixed firmly cf. III *Henry VI* II. 6. 5:

“My Love and Feare, glew’d many Friends to thee”

2819. a heavy lubber. fellow cf. *King Lear* I. 4. 101 :

"If you will measure your lubber's length again, tarry."

2835. the Prince strikes iust ith' nick. the precise or exact moment when something should be done, in modern use more often "in the nick of time"

2836. this pretending faction. plotting faction, this sense is obsolete,

cf. *Hist. Estate Scotland* in *Woodrow Soc. Miscellanies* 1884. 63. "She said That it was against her authoritie that they pretended"

2849. pilchers. a term of contempt, like "poor John". Bullen.

2850. blow your matches. literally: blow the fire of your matches. The matches consisting of a wick or cord were prepared that when lighted at the end they were not easily extinguished; they were used for firing cannon or other fire-arms.

cf. *Encycl. Brit.*: a musket is a fire-arm, formerly fired by the application of a lighted match.

2868. Am I becom a generall game? a Rest for every Slave to pull at. Bullen prints the following note: "To set up one's rest, meant, as has been abundantly shown by Shakespearean commentators, to stand upon one's cards at primero; but the word "pull" in this connexion is not at all easy to explain. The general sense of the present passage is plain:

"Is my life held in such paltry esteem that slaves are allowed to gamble for it as for a stake at cards?"

We have nowhere a plain account of primero. When the *Compleat Gamester* was published (in 1674) the game had been discontinued. The variety of quotations given by Nares, under *Primero* and *Rest* is simply distracting. There are two passages (apud Nares) of Fletcher's bearing on the present difficulty: *Woman's Prize* I. 2.

"My rest is up, wench, and I pull for that
Will make me ever famous."

Monsieur Thomas IV. 9.

"Faith, sir, my rest is up,
And what I now pull shall no more afflict me
Than if I play'd at span-counter."

Dyce accepts Nares' suggestion that pull means *to draw a card*; but if a player is standing on his cards, why should he want to draw a card? There is an old expression to "pull down a side" *i. e.* to ruin one's partner (by bad play); and I am inclined to think that to "pull at a rest" in primero meant to try to pull down (beat, go beyond) the player who was standing on his cards. The first player might say "my rest is up"; the other players might either discard or say: "See it"; then the first player would either "revie" it (cover with a larger sum) or throw up his cards. At length, for some limitation would have been agreed upon — the challenger would play his cards, and the opponents would "pull at his rest" try to break down his hand. I am not at all sure that this is the proper explanation; but *pull* in the text cannot possibly mean *draw a card*." Bull n.

I think Dyce's explanation "to draw a card" is quite correct here. The meaning is: "to pull a card in order to have a chance."

Barnavelt is the rest — the one who says my rest is up — and every slave may pull *i. e.* draw a card, to try his chance; in this case to be allowed to execute him.

2886. you gape to swallow. open the mouth wide with hope and expectation, you long for, cf. *Romeo and Juliet* II. Chor 2.

"young affectation gapes to be his heir"

2892. I out looke your fellest Iustice. face down. cf. to outlook conquest.

2913. clap his lynn wings vp to the windes. put up with the implication of energetic action. see note l. 1764, cf. *Antony and Cleopatra* III. X. 20:

"Antony claps on his sea-wing"

cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* II. 2. 142.

"Clap on more sailes, pursue"

Admiral Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*; "clap on more sail i. e. to make more sail"

2927. greiu'd our plagues. bemoaned cf. *Pericles* I. 2. 100:

"I thought it princely to grieve them"

2936. your Romaine end. the brave way in which you face death as the Romans did, compare note to line 1664 *Julius Caesar* II. 1. 226.

2941. Gowrie in Scotland. an allusion to the conspiracy of Gowrie against the life and personal freedom of James in Scotland by John Ruthven earl of Gowrie and others. It resulted in the death of the leaders in a struggle with the king's followers at Perth in 1600.

2944. bloody Powder Plot. allusion to the Gunpowder Plot to blow up the Parliament House by Guy Fawkes 1605.

2946. loden. archaic for loaded cf. Milton *Samson Agonistes* 1243

"These braveries in Irons loaden on thee"

2966. the worldes abuses. injuries, ill-usage, this sense is obsolete. cf. III. *Henry VI* III. 3. 188. "Did I let pass th' abuse done to my niece?"

2990. a litle stay me. detain me, suffer me to remain, used as a transitive verb. cf. *Julius Caesar* II. 2. 75:

"Calpurnia here, my wife, stays me at home."

to stay as a transitive verb is now only used in literary style: the meaning is to hinder a person from going, to keep in the same place or position cf. *Lisander and Calista* II. 31: "while the rain stays you here."

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The works are arranged according to the dates of publication.

I. PAMPHLETS

1618. BARNEVELS APOLOGY OR HOLLAND'S MYSTERIA: WITH MARGINALL CASTIGATIONS.

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1618. A PROCLAMATION GIVEN BY THE DISCREET LORDS AND STATES OF THE DUKEDOME OF GELDERLANDT AND COUNTY OF ZUTPHEN, London.

1618. CORT VERHAEL VAN AL 'TGENE BINNEN VTRECHT GEPASSEERT IS, DE AENKOMST VAN SYN PRINCELICKE EXCELLENTIE EN 'T AFDANCKEN DER WAERTGELDERS.

1618. ORANGE'S CLOECK BELEYDT IN 'T AFDANCKEN DER WAERTGHELDERS BINNEN DE STADT VTRECHT.

1618. DE VERCLARINGHE VAN DEN GOUDEN BLAESBALCK.

1618. DE ARMINIAENSCH E VAERT NAAR SPAEGNIEN.

1618. EEN CLEYN VENSTERKEN, WAER DOOR GEKEECKEN WERDT, HOE DIE GROOTE MEESTERS HEN TOT DE POORTEN DER HELLEN WENTELDEN.

1619. THE ARRAIGNMENT OF JOHN VAN OLDEN BARNEVELT, LATE ADVOCATE OF HOLLAND AND WEST FRIESLAND.

1619. BARNEVELT DISPLAYED OR THE GOLDEN LEGEND OF NEW ST. JOHN.

1619. NEWES OUT OF HOLLAND: CONCERNING BARNEVELT AND HIS FELLOW-PRISONERS.

1619. SENTENTIA LATA ET PRONUNCIATA ADVERSUS AD LEDENBERGIUM ET IN CADAVER EJUS EXECUTIONI MANDATA, HAGAE COMITIS.

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B. Selections

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1888. A WOMAN IS A WEATHER-COCK and AMENDS FOR LADIES by Nathaniel Field, printed in Nero and other plays. (*Mermaid Series*).

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STELLINGEN

I.

London belonged originally to the East-Saxon dialect region.

II.

Mead and *meadow* are dialectal variants; they are both accusative forms.

III.

The reading of the Folios, *Hamlet* II. 2. 51

“I hold my dutie, as I hold my Soule

Both to my God, *one* to my gracious King”

is correct; the modern emendation

“Both to my God *and* to my gracious King”

is unnecessary and incorrect.

IV.

Trautmann's solution of the Old English riddle 55 of the Exeter Book (57 Wyatt 1912) as “swifts” is quite plausible.

V.

R. Boyle's theory that *Henry VIII* is a play by Fletcher and Massinger cannot be maintained.

VI.

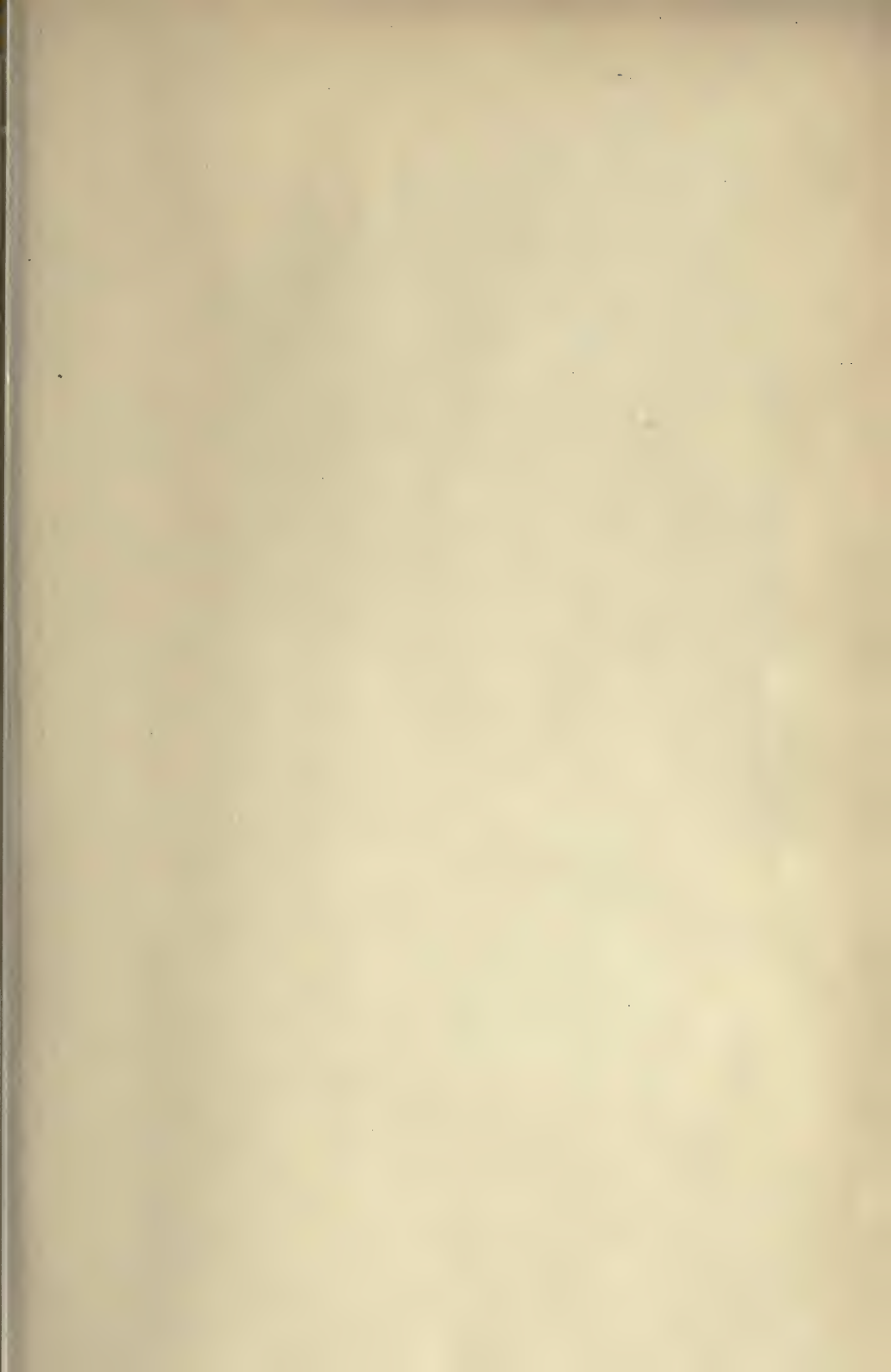
The opening lines of Keats's *Endymion*
"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever :
Its loveliness increases;"
have been written under the influence of Bacon's
Essay Of Gardens.

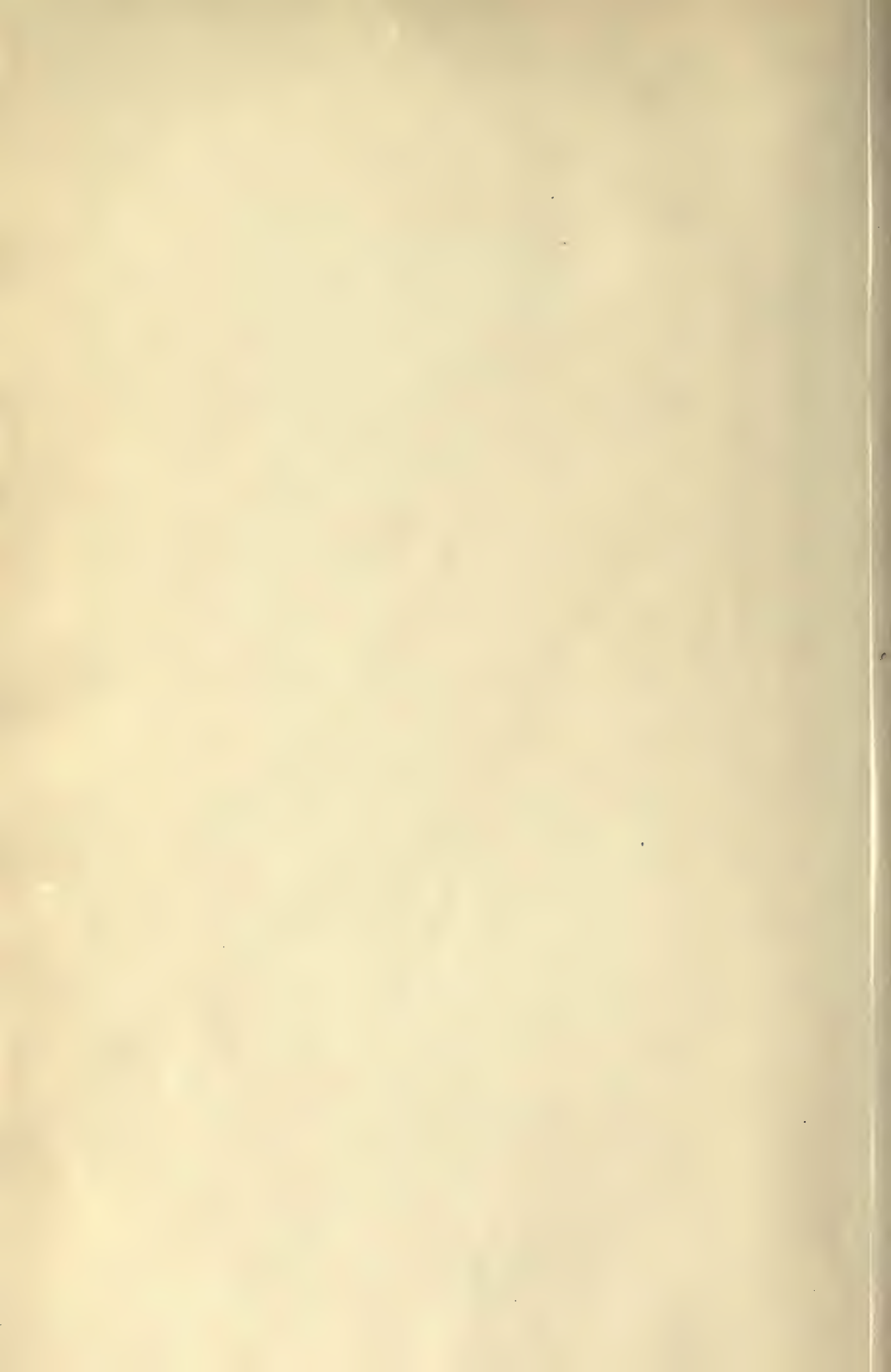
VII.

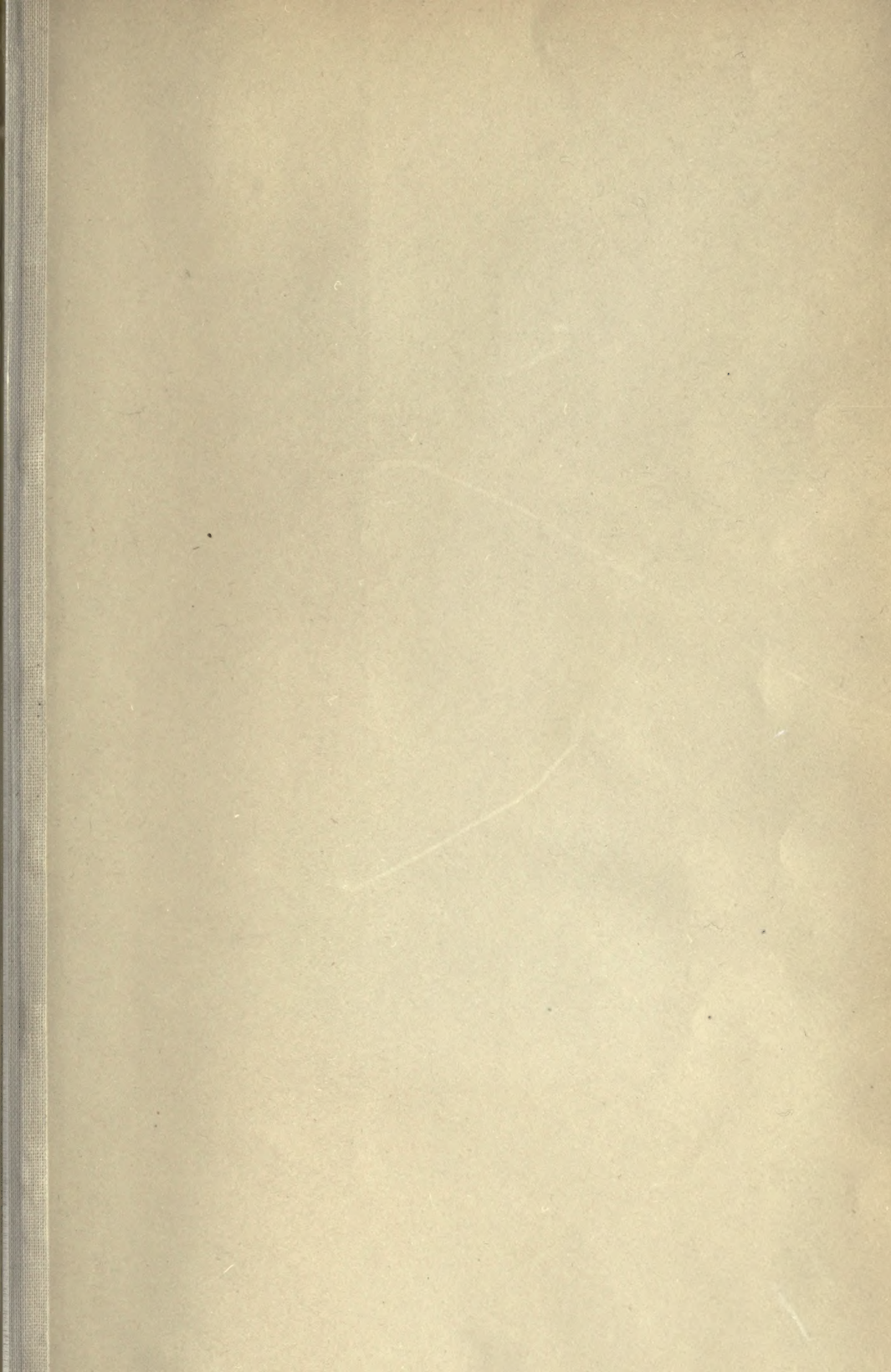
The reading of Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* is
to be recommended for our schools.

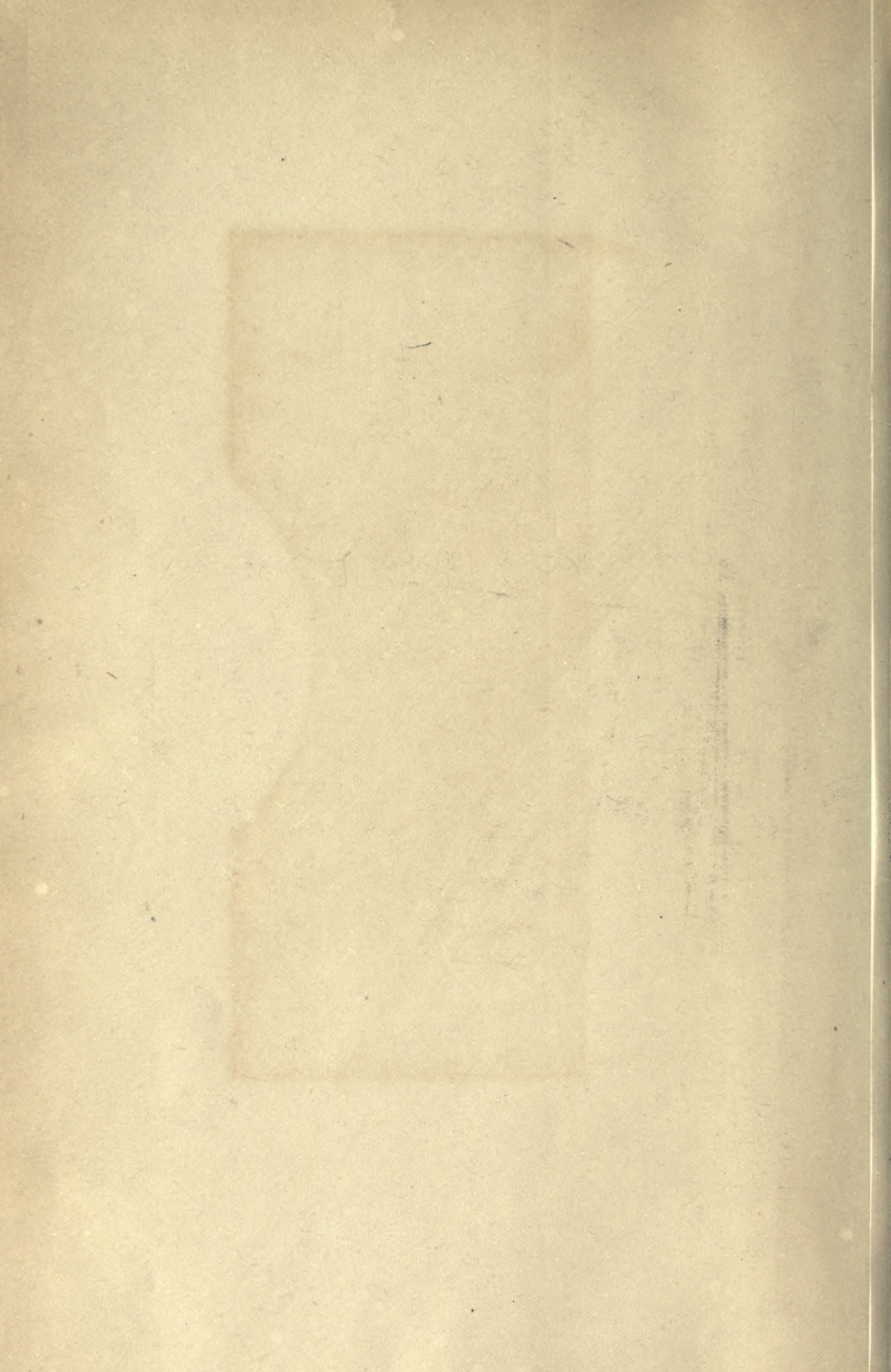
VIII.

Het is te betreuren dat het Grieksch niet is ver-
plicht gesteld in het nieuwe wetsontwerp M. O. art. 75
voor hen, die in een der Moderne Talen wenschen
te studeeren.









PR
2199
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1922

The tragedy of Sir John
Van Olden Barnavelt

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