

*How were the anonymous Castle Ashby play manuscripts
created, and why?*

Submitted by Luke Timothy Beattie, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Drama, August 2011.

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(signature).....

Abstract

In 1977, a long-lost collection of manuscripts of plays, poems, and non-fiction texts from the 17th century was re-discovered in the library of Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire. Most of the items are not signed by an author, and have no known record of publication or performance.

These technically anonymous items have received minimal scholarly attention in the three-plus decades since their recovery, and what comment there has been has not entirely agreed upon the collection's authorship, purpose, or even era of composition. This thesis takes a confident position on those debates by investigating the unsigned manuscripts and their contents through a variety of techniques.

This study reviews the collection's known history, past commentators' findings and conclusions, and the physical and textual properties, and comes to an authorial conclusion based on a fresh palaeographic investigation; it then offers a biography of the proposed writer. It statistically analyses the collection's material, palaeographic, and metrical traits, in search of trends that might show a development over time. It applies modern electronic resources to investigate the collection's textual interrelationships and plausible literary sources, and uses contemporary history and the proposed author's biography to suggest conjectural allusions in the writing. Together, those avenues of analysis allow for a best-guess ordering and dating to be proposed for the collection's contents. Turning specifically to the dramatic texts, the thesis then considers the proposed author's potential theatrical resources, searches the manuscripts for evidence of possible professional theatrical use, and gathers dramaturgical information from the texts themselves to form an opinion about how plausible contemporary performances would have been; this is supplemented with the findings from the first modern stagings of all of the dramatic texts, which establish what minimum physical needs the plays would demand in performance, and identify where there are dramaturgical issues that could limit the plays' theatrical practicality. The study's findings up to that point then allow for the collection to be positioned within their period's larger context of authorial and theatrical activity, conclude whether the writer achieved anything unique, and, identifying the collection's major recurring thematic elements, propose a rationale for the writer's authorial activity.

In summary, this thesis sets out to determine the conditions that brought the unsigned Castle Ashby texts into existence, and to suggest why they were written at all.

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Introduction

The Castle Ashby manuscripts are a collection of plays and a few related texts, most of whose authorship is only conjecturally attributed. This unclaimed majority of the collection has not been given more than journal article-length investigation previously; the present study aims to illuminate them (with a focus on the plays) in much greater detail, pursuing the major who/what/when/where/why/how questions in order to establish more clearly the texts' place in the history of English drama. Essentially, the goal is to investigate how the texts came into being, and then propose why.

I begin by reviewing the collection's brief known history and the modest sum of scholarly literature that has previously been written about it; this establishes (for my research as well as for the reader) where the study of the Castle Ashby manuscripts presently stands, where experts and other reliable scholars' opinions converge, and what has not been investigated or is still in some doubt. As there has been relatively little written about the texts, it is unavoidable that certain scholars' names will come up over and over again throughout this study, and there is a risk that I could simply trust the findings of too small a group of past researchers. I attempt to offset this danger of a limited reading in several ways: by applying the work of scholars in related fields to ground my own work in a wider scholarly landscape; by consulting relevant texts contemporary to the manuscripts in order to contextualise the collection in their era's textual trends; and of course by carrying out my own analyses of the manuscripts and their contents in various ways to check past scholars' findings and assumptions and to explore new territory.

In Chapter 2, I briefly describe the manuscripts' physical condition to give the reader a sense of what is being handled, before moving on to basic synopses of the texts' plots to help the reader grasp the textual content of what is being treated in this study (extensive plot synopses are provided in Appendix 1).

Chapter 3 joins the authorial debate in order to resolve it. It will be noted that this study uses authorial biography in several avenues of investigation and interpretation, so a few words about the benefits and pitfalls of biographical study would be fitting at this point. In W.K. Wimsatt and M.C. Beardsley's essay *The Intentional Fallacy* (1946), they acknowledge value in literary biography as its own school of study, but condemn the pursuit of knowledge about an author's biography and authorial intention as irrelevant to literary criticism, in part because an author's intention can never be entirely determined, and in part because they reject any authorial ownership of a text after the

act of writing is complete. As such, for literary criticism they reject facts and assumptions found outside the text, and favour internal evidence consisting of the form and content of the text. In particular, they see danger in the pursuit of identifying allusions and debts to specific sources within a text (1946: 468-487). The rejection of the author from literary analysis is taken further by Roland Barthes in *The Death of the Author*, where Barthes seeks to shift the focus from the author—arguing that such a focus imposes an unnecessary limit on a text's meaning—to the reader (1977: 143-148); other critics continue to make such arguments. However, Leon Edel takes something of an opposing view in *Literary Biography* (1973): while acknowledging that refocusing on the texts themselves has been useful (xiii), Edel asks, 'When we have listened to the writer as he verbalizes feeling in poem after poem or have read him as he brings together his world in novel after novel, is it not possible to risk certain observations about that writer' (xv), and states that a biographer relates a text

to the consciousness that gave it birth and to the world in which that consciousness functioned. He discovers recurrent images and recurrent modes of thought; patterns have a way of repeating themselves, for each writer has his own images and his own language and his own chain of fantasy...every comma, every period, every inflection, every word has been placed on the page by the living, glowing, creating consciousness (53)

while taking note of Yeats' claim that 'There is always a living face behind the mask' of a text, which argues that a layer of meaning is lost when a full separation is made between author and text (62). In this study, I am comfortable to side cautiously with Edel. This is neither primarily a work of the literary criticism that interests Wimsatt and Beardsley—concerned with the effectiveness of poetic devices in the texts, for instance—nor a reader-response commentary that might excite Barthes, but rather is an investigation of the conditions of the collection's physical genesis, including a plausible dating for contextual purposes, and an interrogation of whether they appear to have served a practical purpose in their own time (theatrical, political, etc.). A biographical understanding of the author is valuable in this sort of work, and it will be shown in Chapters 1 to 3 how an authorial misattribution made by a previous researcher severely distorted all of his further understanding of the texts. Furthermore, it will be shown that the collection's author was a highly politically involved individual writing in a tumultuous period where the practice of writing thinly veiled contemporary social allusion was undeniable and widespread; the texts under investigation give all appearances of also being work of this kind, in line with the known politics and experiences of the author, probably written for a purpose other than commercial entertainment and possibly actually for propagandistic purposes, so knowledge of the

period and the author's background is useful in understanding the textual content and context. A consideration of the dramatic texts as potential theatrical pieces benefits from a knowledge of the author's potential access to particular theatrical venues, resources, and personnel. Finally, it is much easier to distance an author from a printed text, which has passed through multiple hands to reach a reader, than from a manuscript that still bears the marks directly from the author's hand, and often reveals much about the process of writing and revision. The manuscripts at the core of this study constantly return the investigator to an interaction with the creating consciousness of Edel's imagined author. Therefore, a knowledge of the author is unapologetically pursued and applied through this study, though always tempered with the understanding that claims of authorial intention are ultimately conjectural, which is why I pursue several other types of analysis as well, including the internal sorts that reassure Wimsatt and Beardsley. Returning to Chapter 3, in that chapter I provide short biographical sketches of those individuals previously proposed as potential authors, then draw authorial conclusions from a handwriting comparison supported by the findings of palaeographic experts, and finally explain what the handwriting suggests about each manuscript's composition.

In Chapter 4, I offer an extensive biography of the writer identified in Chapter 3. As I have explained, the biography will ground the manuscripts in a human reality that will be used in the later chapters concerned with contemporary allusions, textual dating, dramaturgy and theatricality, and overall artistic context.

Chapter 5 gathers data about the manuscripts' material condition, presentational trends in the handwriting, and metrical forms, in an attempt to detect meaningful patterns; this begins to address more precisely the questions of when the texts were written and how they relate to one another, so that their context can be better understood. The strength of statistical analysis is that it is more dispassionate than the biographical work, and therefore is less vulnerable to accusations of subjectivity; furthermore, the large number of texts under investigation here allows for quite a good statistical sampling. A weakness, of course, is that there is no guarantee that a writer will progress steadily along any sort of statistical trend over a writing career, so perceived patterns could be misleading, and therefore need to be compared to the findings of other analyses in the hopes of some sort of convergence. So once again caution is demanded, and the data collected must be seen as simply one more element in the greater investigation.

Chapter 6 begins by offering a study of the texts' language interrelationships, using computer software and careful reading; this again has the strength of being a fairly objective process of comparison and tabulation, though it must be treated with caution since it is vulnerable to the influence of common or famous phrases that do not necessarily indicate a close relationship between texts, as such phrases could be mentally or culturally accessed by the writer at any time. The chapter then looks beyond the collection for potential literary sources for the various texts, relying in particular in the developing electronic resource, *Early English Books Online*, for detection of plausible textual debts in the Castle Ashby items. When a particularly persuasive match is identified, such literary source identification can be excellent for revealing how the author developed his own texts, and for establishing an earliest potential date of composition (*i.e.*, the borrowing text must be written after the source became available). There are weaknesses as well, however: the *EEBO* database is still growing, and is nowhere near an exhaustive library of searchable early texts yet, so it is possible and indeed probable that potential source texts are missed at times; as with the analysis of the collection's textual interrelationships there is a risk of minor, coincidental parallels causing a false positive match and distorting the findings; and identifying a source does nothing to limit the upper dating range of the indebted text (a writer can still reference *Hamlet* now, for instance). Finally, Chapter 6 investigates the texts for potential historical and biographical allusions through an understanding of the author's life and the contemporary social context. The risks of this work have already been noted in the reference to Wimsatt and Beardsley, but the risks appear to be worth taking, as the author will be shown to be far more knowable biographically than one like Shakespeare (a typical example of an author whose intentions are seemingly impossible to recover confidently) and whose affiliations and actions are largely known and highly political in nature (indeed as a participant in the political events that appear to be referenced); also, the overwhelmingly and overtly political nature of the era's writing, the other known examples of the author's politically relevant writing, and the sheer bulk of often recurring plausible allusions in the collection (which are sometimes blatantly clear, undisguised references to contemporary politics) show that allusions are fairly persuasive in this instance. Taken together, the chapter's findings shed light on the texts' genesis, and continue the attempt to order and date them. While the findings are indeed often conjectural, they are considered alongside all of the other forms of evidence, so once again are only one avenue of approach to the collection, though quite a compelling one.

The previous chapters' findings are then interpreted in Chapter 7 to generate a proposed ordering and dating for the unsigned Castle Ashby texts, so that their potential purpose may be considered in the most accurate context possible. As I have discussed, much of the data collected particularly in Chapters 4 to 6—upon which Chapter 7's ordering depends—has associated risks of subjective interpretation, but the danger is lessened by comparing the results of such a variety of analyses in order to develop a consistent impression. Still, Chapter 7's conjectural proposal is never implied to be more than a best-guess theory based upon the most information presently available.

Concentrating on the plays in Chapter 8, I search for evidence of their being intended for theatrical performance. I note the general theatrical resources most plausibly available to the writer, before investigating the texts for signs of professional theatrical use. I then describe my methodology for searching the texts for dramaturgical clues, and for conducting experimental stagings (including the process of preparing actor-friendly scripts, illustrated by an example from one of the items); finally I discuss the frequency and variety of probable dramaturgical cues in each dramatic text, as well as the most theatrically significant findings exposed by my experimental stagings of the ten involved plays. Those investigations interrogate the dramatic texts' theatrical viability, and identify the minimum theatrical resources that would have been needed if original stagings had indeed occurred. Much work has been done in the field of practice-as-research in the study of early modern drama, particularly in venues built in the image of early modern ones, such as Shakespeare's Globe in London, the Blackfriars in Virginia, and the indoor playhouse in the University of Bristol's Wickham Theatre, where texts particularly of plays known or believed to have been originally performed in the venues' early modern counterparts are staged in an attempt to learn things about original theatrical practices, the original venues, and the plays themselves. While Bristol's Martin White's work with *The Spanish Tragedy* and the Rose shows that a dramaturgically sensitive reading can illuminate some theatre practices and material needs, identifying props, set pieces, and probable architectural features in the intended original theatre (2004: 307-310), in publications on his many experimental stagings he repeatedly shows how the slow work of live rehearsal picks up issues that can easily be skimmed over, missed entirely, or simply misinterpreted by a reader (1998: 1); in an interview on White's DVD *The Chamber of Demonstrations*, Andrew Gurr adds that audience response cannot be examined by reading alone (White 2009: np). In the chapter 'Staging the Past' on the same DVD, White also suggests that the combination of reconstructions and practical experimentation is particularly good at illuminating the

relationship between architecture and physical performance (2009: np), a view shared by Christie Carson and Farah Karim-Cooper particularly concerning how texts of plays written for the original Globes directly relate to the architecture as seen in the Globe's reconstruction (2008: 8). This is perhaps unsurprising since, as White explains, Elizabethan and Jacobean plays became increasingly written to fit the resources and regular venues of the particular commissioning companies (2008: 169). As such, he lists many specific issues that can be interrogated through practical research: spatial relationships between actors and with the audience; the use of lighting and music; blocking, gestural conventions, and staging elements like swordplay and dumb-shows; sightlines; and potential use of architectural elements like the Globe's yard, or its onstage pillars, which White points out have been a major point of debate in performance, but whose ramifications were somewhat overlooked in scholarly discussion prior to their modern physical presence (2008: 170). White's discussion of his experiments with *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* at the Wickham Theatre blends an understanding drawn from careful dramaturgical reading with the findings from staging; the information from that staging seems particularly good for noting matters of stage-timing—like how a soliloquy by one actor can give others time to make their way down from a balcony, or when the level of candles potentially would be changed—and onstage traffic control, such as how the several available doors are likely to be used for entrances and exits (1998: 156-76).

However, White acknowledges a few limitations and areas of potential danger in practical research, such as the risk of misinterpretation of language that has changed in meaning over the centuries, or of now-obscure emblems (1998: 10). Also, taking the reconstructed Globe as an example, its architecture relies on very little source data, and is therefore speculative in various ways (White 2008: 166). The written records about other original playhouses seem at times to contradict the surviving archaeological information, which White notes 'inevitably complicates any attempt to draw generalized conclusions about the buildings themselves from the explicit and implicit clues within plays', though he still asserts that the growing body of data from investigative stagings, taken with caution, is developing an image about early modern theatre practice in those venues (1998: 113), and the broad characteristics of indoor and outdoor playhouses are quite well known (1998: 109-176). Still, there is a danger that such physical spaces (even if containing some conjectural attributes) and the performances that occur within them can suggest that a singular, authoritative solution has been discovered and established for a given staging issue, when there could be alternatives; nevertheless,

while acknowledging the dangers of speculation, White believes that the findings can be taken with more confidence than those drawn from reading alone (2009: np). Alan Dessen, however, expresses concern specifically in the case of modern Globe directors who add elements to their productions for which no historical evidence has been found, such as actors crossing through the groundlings (2008: 47-49), as this can cloud original practice issues for audience and academics alike. Finally, White gives the opinion that reconstructing an authentic early modern acting style is probably beyond the scope of practical research (2008: 170), though at least 'movement and gesture are frequently guided to some extent by the spoken lines' (1998: 42).

While the theatrical experimentation portion of this present study falls within the greater field of practice-as-research work, it differs from most of such work in a significant way that diminishes the role of some of the strengths and negates the risks of some of the limitations mentioned above. Generally, a study at the previously noted venues involves a known professional playwright's work—itsself a product created for commercial and/or professional consumption—with a known or at least highly suspected original performance history at an identified, usually commercial, venue. As such, the modern investigator is not faced with the question, 'Does this play work theatrically?' for it is already known that it did at least at one time, and the modern investigator's efforts will not polish or tarnish that historical achievement in any substantial way. Instead, the investigator can move on to questions like, 'What can we learn about the play, the original venue, and the period's staging practices by staging this play in an approximate recreation of the original venue?' However, the present study enters the discussion at an earlier point. As will be explained in the course of this thesis, the writer was not a professional playwright, and the plays were almost certainly not commercial or professional. There is no evidence of their being written for or staged in a particular commercial venue, and while it is almost certain that some of the plays were not originally staged or even intended for staging, it is at least faintly possible that none of them were. No concrete evidence of an original theatrical life for them is known. As such, it would be grossly irresponsible to use any observations from practical experimentation on the plays to make claims about matters like original audience response, the acting style, specific blocking, the effects of sightlines, or the use of specific or general theatrical venues' architectural features in the texts' own era. All of those elements could be a fiction in relation to the texts under investigation, so original theatrical practice cannot actually be directly interrogated in this study. The limiting questions being asked in this study's practical experimentation are, 'Is anything revealed

by staging these plays that argues substantially that they could or could not have been originally staged in their surviving textual condition?' and 'If staging seems to be implied, what are the specific material features apparently demanded?' Such a context retains the practice-as-research strength of avoiding glossing over challenging textual issues from reading alone (though the risk of misinterpretation remains, particularly due to the variable human and material resources available to an unfunded student project such as this). With the potential playing space being anything or nothing, comments can still be made about architecture and design elements, and conjecturally about human spatial relationships, blocking, and timing, while avoiding the dangers of a not-quite-accurate reconstructed venue with its potentially misleading hints of authority. The only things brought into the initially empty playing space in this experiment are what the texts demand, and the findings are limited to suggesting whether or not the texts seem entirely able to function theatrically (thereby enhancing or diminishing the perception of them as originally being written for staging), and if they seem to be stage-worthy, what their basic theatrical requirements would be (thereby potentially indicating what sort of venue could have been intended, if any).

By the end of Chapter 8, the questions of what the texts are, who wrote them, when and where, and how, will have been answered to the best of my ability from the research that I have conducted, and the focus turns to suggesting why they were written at all.

In Chapter 9, I contextualise the collection's forms and content within the larger view of the era's writing activity in order to determine whether or not the writer's work was in keeping with broad trends, or was somehow unique. I then propose a possible explanation for the writer's efforts, and look more closely at the writer's most frequently repeated story elements to suggest the major preoccupations and why they might have been of interest. The thesis then has a short Conclusion, summing up the study's findings.

It seems to me that theatrical study is excellent at interrogating play-texts by illuminating different possible interpretations and resolving apparent textual problems through the creative vitality of live experimentation, but in its enthusiasm for action, it can be guilty of lacking the patience to establish factual data first, in order to ground and focus its efforts; this can lead to much energy being spent on findings that are not necessarily meaningful outside the conditions of the particular studio where they were generated. On the other hand, I suspect that while traditional literary scholarship at its best can be truly excellent at teasing out each thread of physical, historical, and textual data to establish what can fairly safely be considered facts, it is perhaps guilty at times

of neglecting to look up from the pages being studied to see that dramatic texts have layers of meaning that cannot be appreciated fully without the benefit of live staging. As I will discuss in the next few chapters in terms of recent debate in the *Times Literary Supplement*, neglecting the facts can lead one to misinterpret a text's original context catastrophically, and that can render all further assumptions about the text—theatrical or otherwise—meaningless. This study's approach of combining theatrical experimentation with more traditional techniques of literary scholarship is intended to bring together the strengths of both schools, with each compensating for the other's potential vulnerabilities, in order to avoid such pitfalls; the resulting conclusions, therefore, will hopefully be taken with more confidence than might be the case from a monodisciplinary study. The structural result is that the analysis of the dramatic texts as potential theatrical texts comes later in this study than might be expected in a Drama thesis (not properly until Chapter 8), as there is much careful material and textual work that must be dealt with first, in order to establish as much fact as possible; this in turn hopefully makes the theatrical experimentation findings as universally meaningful as can be. Similarly, discussion of the collection's place within a larger historical and dramatic context does not happen in detail until the final chapter; the collection's contents cannot be reliably contextualised until it is appreciated as fully as possible what those contents actually are.

Chapter 1: Review of Previous Commentary

Early References

Thomas Percy (1729-1811) is best known as the author of the 1765 anthology *The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, and for serving as Bishop of Dromore from 1782 (Palmer 2006: np). Prior to becoming Bishop, however, Percy was a priest in Northamptonshire, and in 1767, he visited the 8th Earl of Northampton's library¹ at Castle Ashby in that county. Percy then annotated his copy of Gerard Langbaine's *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691) with the following description of play manuscripts that Percy had seen in the Castle Ashby library and had associated with the minor mid-17th-century-playwright Cosmo Manuche:²

He is reputed author of *The Bastard* a Tragedy.4°.1652. See p. 527.0. In Lord Northampton's Library at Castle=Ashby in Northamptonshire are 7 or 8 MS Plays of this Cosmo Manuche. They usually lie on ye shelf over the Door. They are as follows. I. The Banished Shepherdesse (in blank verse) with a dedication inserted. To the Right Hon^{ble} The Earle of Northampton, subscribed *Cos. Manuche*. II. The Feast a Comedy in blank verse Dedicated to James Earl of Northampton by *Cos. Manuche*. III. The Mandrake a Comedy in Prose in the same handwriting (no Dedication & seemingly unfinished). IV. Agamemnon, a Tragedy unfinished. V. Leontius, King of Ciprus: a Tragedy in blank verse: but this I am not sure is the Title. VI. The Captives a Comedy in prose unfinished. (I am not sure whether this is not a Comedy of Plautus.) VII. Mariamne a Tragedy in blank verse. The Copy is very much torn. VIII. another Tragedy in blank verse without a Title.

Act I. begins thus,

"Macrinus, Papinianus & Ardentius."

"*Pap.* Severus then is numbered with the Gods." &c.

[All the above are in folio. The following is in Quarto, but query whether by the same Author: A play in prose & therefore I suppose a Comedy without Title or Prologue but the first name that occurs in Act I. is *Hermenigildus*. # viz. I thought by the same Author when I saw them all together vid. acct. of Sam. HOLLAND.

vol. 2.

TP/1767

[pp.338-39]³

¹ The Old Library, c.1625-30, is located in the south-eastern corner of the second floor (Pevsner and Cherry 1973: 143).

² Within this study, quoted text (printed or handwritten) is given in the original spelling unless specifically noted. Text within '[]' indicates a conjectural reading of unclear material. Text within '< >' indicates apparently deleted text in the original. The '\$' symbol denotes a long-s in the original.

³ While Williams, from whom I quote Percy's note, believes this Langbaine copy to be the most authentically linked to Percy (1980: 392n), there is another copy in the British Library less confidently attributed to Percy that also contains his notes. Wagner reprinted the BL version of the note in question in 1934 (675), and a comparison shows no significant difference between the two in content.

Through the next two centuries, these play manuscripts faded from view. In 1812, David Erskine Baker included an entry for Manuche (known mainly for three other extant plays) in the *Biographia Dramatica*, where he mentions 'two or three MS. plays by this author' at Castle Ashby (490). J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps repeated this scant information in his 1860 *Dictionary of Old English Plays* (1968 edn: 28; 136; 157). In 1901, Sir Sidney Lee encountered Percy's description, but his own contact with Castle Ashby yielded little, and all he could report was that only *The Feast* and an unsigned poem in a different hand were still known to reside at Castle Ashby at that time (1901: np). Frank Ristine in 1910 mentioned Manuche's 'two plays' (155), and in March 1913, Watson Nicholson referred briefly only to his other 'three dramas' as not very dramatically interesting but significant as belonging to the 'minor dramatists who were the real harbingers of the Restoration Drama' (92). Bernard Wagner repeated Lee's information in 1934 (675). A. Watkin-Jones mentioned the collection later that year, but only over a minor quibble about Wagner's source, and to reprint Percy's primary entry about Samuel Holland, a major who had dedicated the two quarto manuscript parts of his masque, *The Enchanted Grove*, to James, Earl of Northampton; Percy had encountered these Holland manuscripts at Castle Ashby (Watkin-Jones 1934: 795), but they have not been seen since. In 1936, Alfred Harbage could not get further information from Castle Ashby for his *Cavalier Drama* and seemingly assigned all of the roughly dozen misplaced texts to Manuche (1964 edn: 226-8). G.E. Bentley added nothing new in *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, simply repeating that eight or nine manuscripts were once at Castle Ashby, and listing those mentioned by Percy as presumed to be by Manuche (1956b: 728-32); Harbage and Samuel Schoenbaum continued that trend in the *Annals of English Drama* (1964: 164-5; 313).

Rediscovery

It seemed that the Castle Ashby play manuscripts had been lost. However, progress was finally made in June 1977, when American scholar William Proctor Williams, in the midst of research into a different extant Manuche manuscript of *The Banished Shepherdess*, decided to enquire after the Castle Ashby manuscripts once more. An account of what followed is given by Altick in *The Art of Literary Research*: Williams contacted Castle Ashby with little hope of success. The ninety-two-year-old Marquess of Northampton responded, but his letter was lost in the post. Then his son, the Earl Compton (the present-day 7th Marquess), contacted Williams again to inform him that

Lord Compton had accidentally found *The Banished Shepherdess*' manuscript at the back of a drawer in an old desk in the Library. Williams went to Castle Ashby that September to examine the manuscript before taking it away to be microfilmed:

'After I had examined the manuscript for about thirty minutes,' says Williams, 'Lord Compton came back to see how I was getting on, and after a few minutes of conversation I framed the crucial question. "Have you", I asked, "found any other manuscripts along with this one?" He replied that he had found these other "things"-indicating a pile of manuscript volumes-in the same drawer. "Why, would they be of interest to you?" I indicated that they would, and we began to work through the pile.' One by one, each of the plays in Percy's list turned up in these volumes, some of which also contained plays that were *not* in the list.
(Altick 1981: 9)

Indeed, all of Percy's items were found in the drawer except for the two that had been noted by Lee, which apparently had been rebound in the early nineteenth century, and had remained above the door as Percy had described them. Williams realised that Percy had only mentioned the first text in each volume, and that other texts were also contained in the manuscripts, raising Percy's nine titles to ten separate play titles, with three in two drafts each, bringing the total to thirteen dramatic texts, along with two short poems; the long poem that Lee had reported turned out to be a translation of Book Four of the *Aeneid*, dated to roughly 1600 and initially attributed to Sir John Harington (Williams 1980: 391-395). Williams reported the discovery in the 9 December *Times Literary Supplement*, writing that 'all but one appear to be in versions of the same hand', which he attributed at that time to Manuche (1448). Williams returned to examine other items in the Castle Ashby library between January and March 1978. The collection was sold at auction by Christie's on 8 March and 5 July 1978, and was purchased in its entirety by the British Library, where the items remain to this day (Williams 1980: 391-395).

Word of the recovery seems to have spread slowly, as in the winter of 1978 Aggeler did not mention the new discoveries while commenting in the *Western Humanities Review* on themes in Manuche's previously known plays (62-5). Then in March 1979, Wayne H. Phelps wrote in an article about Manuche in *English Language Notes* that the Castle Ashby plays were still lost (208-9). This changed in the spring of 1979, when Hilton Kelliher of the British Library published an article in the *British Library Journal* discussing the probable authorship of the collection's unsigned items. Kelliher noted that the Christie's cataloguer had attributed the anonymous items to an 'unidentified Cavalier Dramatist, circa 1640 to 1650' while admitting the possibility of the Samuel Holland mentioned in Percy's note as the writer, but Kelliher's own comparison of the

manuscripts to letters held at the BL convinced him that the Castle Ashby manuscripts are mostly in the hand of James Compton, 3rd Earl of Northampton (1622-1681) and dedicatee of the signed Manuche items, and that it would therefore appear that Compton and his first Countess Isabella were at the centre of some form of dramatic activity that Kelliher dated between the end of the Civil War and the Restoration, either at Castle Ashby or in London (158-9).

Williams published a longer article in 1980 in *The Library*, in which he gave extensive physical descriptions of the manuscripts at their time of discovery, and in which he deferred to Kelliher's view of Compton as the probable writer of most of the unsigned items (481). Later in 1980, William Wolf wrote about the authorship question, noting the three plays established as Manuche's from the signatures, but suggesting that questions still remained about the rest; however, he ultimately agreed with Kelliher's view about *The Mandrake* and *Leontius* being Compton's work (456-7).

In June 1981, Wolf wrote a short article about Samuel Holland (mentioned in Percy's original note), showing that he may well have served Compton and later lived near him (272-274); in a spring 1983 article, Wolf dug deeper into the possibility that Compton's primary London home, Canonbury House in Islington, could have been suited to performances, and Wolf traced links between the Compton family and contemporary theatre people, and credited Compton with at least some authorship in the collection (17-22).

In 1987, Williams wrote about his investigation into watermarks in the collection, while attributing the signed plays to Manuche, suggesting a possible attribution to Compton of the rough drafts of *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Furens*, *Mariamne*, and the two short satirical poems, but writing that the author and translator are unknown for the good *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens*, as well as *The Mandrake*, *Don Sancho*, and *Leontius*, and the untitled tragedy (195); he suggested that Compton's involvement may not indicate original authorship but instead just suggest that Compton copied and revised the items in question (198).

In June 1990, William Nelles wrote about the potential for the accepted Manuche plays as theatrical pieces, and the potential of Castle Ashby as a playing space, though again only cautiously mentioning Compton as the probable author of some of the items (39-51). This was followed in September 1992 by Williams, who added a few more textual clues for performance from the accepted Manuche plays, but did not discuss the rest of the manuscripts (11-15).

Dale B.J. Randall in 1995 accepted the orthodox view of Compton's authorship, and briefly placed all of the plays in the context of mid-17th-century dramatic genres in his major period survey *Winter Fruit: English Drama 1642-1660*, but besides another glancing mention by Susan Wiseman in 1998 in a discussion of mid-17th-century tragicomedy (206), conversation seems to have ceased for quite a few years.

Recent Debate

The manuscripts returned to view in the 'Commentary' section of the 31 March 2006 edition of the *TLS*, for which American postgraduate Brandon Centerwall wrote a curious essay on the collection's 'Tragedy in blank verse without a Title', dubbing it 'Caracalla' (referring to the historical nickname of the Roman Emperor at the centre of the play, but acknowledging that the name is never used in the manuscript, where the character is called Bassianus throughout) and attributing it to 'George Chapman, in his hand'; Centerwall attributed it to Chapman based on Centerwall's perception of 'knotted syntax' in the play resembling Chapman's 'famously contorted syntax', though he also somewhat contradictorily acknowledged Williams' judgement that 'the verse is very good'. He cited the scant extant Chapman handwriting examples and claimed a match, also suggesting that the 'Caracalla' and Chapman examples show signs of mild dyslexia in their errors, such as what Centerwall sees as occasional characteristic reversals and inversions like 'w' for 'm', 'y' for 'p', 'd' for 'o', and 'L' for 'd'. Centerwall wrote that this supposed shared similar hand and dyslexia cannot simply be coincidence. He judged the dramaturgy as inferior to Chapman's earliest work, suggesting 'Caracalla' to be an even earlier creation from before 1594 when Chapman's first play appeared (14). This brought a reply from Grace Ioppolo on 12 May in the *TLS*, condemning the Chapman theory. Ioppolo took Centerwall to task for ignoring Kelliher's 1979 article and expert attribution to Compton of both play and hand, failing to discuss the play in the context of the whole Castle Ashby collection containing many plays in the same hand, showing questionable palaeographical judgement in finding Chapman's and the 'Caracalla' hand to match,¹ failing to appreciate that writers commonly corrected misformed letters,² failing to understand that all spellings were acceptable by early modern standards (even for a single writer and text in any state of development), calling the play 'Caracalla'

¹ Ioppolo noted major differences in the forms of 'a', 'd', 'f', 'h', 'i', 'l', 's', 't', 'H', 'I/J', 'N', 'R', and 'T' in particular.

² For instance in the case of minim errors, where vertical pen strokes had not initially been connected, causing familiar 'm'/'w' and 'u'/'n' problems.

when it would be far more logical to name it 'Bassianus'¹ as Kelliher had, and neglecting to realise that the primary source material (Herodian's *History*) is still at Castle Ashby in a 1629 edition, which would provide the most sensible access to the material considering the collection's place of discovery (np).

Centerwall attempted a retaliatory salvo in the 14 July *TLS*, arguing that the Chapman attribution lies in the textual merit of the writing; he quoted a passage from *Leontius* and one from 'Bassianus'/'Caracalla', and without further explanation or analysis stated that clearly they are not the same individual's work. Centerwall said that one character, the good Princess Zelinda, is entirely Chapman's invention and an indisputable anagram for (Queen) Elizabeth, and suggested that a George Peele reference from 1591 to 'Eliza' and 'Zabeta' (accepted references to Elizabeth in that case) imply that Peele was helping Chapman promote his new play by hinting at 'Zelinda'; ergo, 'Caracalla' was being performed in 1591, and if the surviving draft is in Compton's hand, that just means that Compton made a copy of Chapman's play. Centerwall concluded by misunderstanding Ioppolo's explanation about corrected minor errors (17).

Ioppolo's next response on 21 July in the *TLS* highlighted that Centerwall had abandoned his theory that 'Caracalla'/'Bassianus' is in Chapman's hand, thereby eliminating his attribution, which was in substantial part based on a supposed match of handwriting and dyslexia, leaving only the indefensible claim of inherent merits in the writing and some unconvincing topical allusions. Ioppolo wrote that Centerwall continued to ignore the play's context within the collection, and sarcastically pointed out that his dyslexia theory would mean that 'an extraordinary number of writers of early modern manuscripts' were dyslexic (np).

Having encountered Centerwall's first article but not the rest of the literature on the subject prior to commencing my master's education in 2006, I made contact with him and secured his permission to use his diplomatic transcript for the modern world-premiere staging of the play in June 2007 in Roborough Studios at the University of Exeter as part of my MFA work.² Shortly thereafter, the recent activity in the *TLS* led to a 'Bassianus' conference on 20 July 2008 at Shakespeare's Globe in London. Globe Education Director Patrick Spottiswoode welcomed the attendees, then-Warburg-Institute-and-now-Cambridge postgraduate Jaspreet Singh Boparai gave the introduction, Williams delivered a keynote paper on the collection's discovery, Boparai

¹ To make the history of the play's name even more complicated, Christie's called it 'Macrinus' after the first major speaker (Kelliher 1979: 177).

² The 2007 project was undertaken for purposes unrelated to the present study, and with a distorted understanding of the play due to Centerwall's influence, and does not directly contribute to the research at hand.

read a Compton biography prepared by Dr. Robin Eagles of the History of Parliament Trust, I presented a paper on some preliminary research into Herodian as a primary source for the play, Ioppolo discussed some physical evidence about the manuscript, James Wallace facilitated a staged reading of the play from a fresh diplomatic transcript prepared by Boparai, and Spottiswoode chaired a feedback session to finish the event.

With the potential for confusion over the texts' authorship still active, I began the present doctoral study in October 2008 with an interest in illuminating the texts in the Castle Ashby collection not definitively attributed to Manuche from his signatures and already discussed in detail by other commentators. I have found no relevant concurrent studies larger than the brief mention of the plays in Linda Woodbridge's *English Revenge Drama* (2010: 212n).

Chapter 2: Item Descriptions

Most of this study's readers will not be overly familiar with the physical or textual contents of the collection of manuscript volumes from Castle Ashby now owned by the British Library. However, since the rest of this study will constantly refer to those contents, it is necessary to provide a description now of what those contents are. In this chapter, I will briefly describe the physical manuscripts, and will then supply basic plot synopses (more extensive synopses are provided in Appendix 1) of the items that I identify as the focus of this study, to help the reader grasp the collection's content.

Physical Descriptions

The manuscripts' physical traits will be handled in extensive detail in Chapter 5, where I compare the items' material characteristics as part of my attempt to suggest a probable order of writing. However, a general description at this early stage may help the reader to visualise what the collection physically contains.¹

The volumes now held by the British Library that came from Castle Ashby carry shelfmarks *BL MS ADD 60273* to *BL MS ADD 60285*, inclusive. These thirteen volumes are all manuscripts, in a variety of hands and written with different degrees of care and completeness. All are folio volumes² except for *60276*, *60284*, and *60285*, which are quartos. While the British Library has given them protection in modern covers and boxes, most lack evidence of original covers, with these exceptions: *60278* has a vellum wrapper complete with thong ties, *60276* retains a back vellum wrapper, and Williams reports that *60280* had a vellum wrapper when discovered (1980: 407), though there is now no sign of it; *60273* and *60275* have marbled wrappers, and *60274* and *60283* were bound in the 19th century, bearing the marks of the 1st Marquess of Northampton. The number of leaves varies greatly from volume to volume, from as few as fifteen in *60285* to as many as eighty-five in *60276*. Their physical condition also shows variety, with most of the collection in fair-to-good condition, but there is damage to several, particularly with significant damp-staining in *60276*, and tearing and lost pages in *60278* (the fifth leaf had been almost entirely removed), *60279* (much of the

¹ For physical descriptions more extensive than can fit in this study, the reader is advised to consult Williams' central discussion of the collection after its discovery in 1980, 'The Castle Ashby Manuscripts: A Description of the Volumes in Bishop Percy's List' (391-412).

² Kelliher describes most of the collection as 'large quarto' volumes (1979: 185-6), but having considered the positioning of watermarks on the pages, I am inclined to agree with Williams' view that they are generally folio volumes (1980: 395-410).

first surviving leaf is torn away, along with at least one final leaf, and possibly one or more outer sheets) and 60280 (the first eight leaves are lacking a section of their tops, the first twelve are separated from the rest of the volume, and presumably the twelve final leaves corresponding with them are lost entirely). 60281 combines one large folio with two shorter fragments that are in very poor condition with damp-staining and other forms of wear. 60282 is of thirty-nine leaves and also combines a larger and a smaller text.

In other words, these thirteen manuscripts come down through history to us in varying superficial conditions, and therefore, it cannot simply be assumed that they had a shared genesis in place, time, and other original circumstances.

Essential Synopses

In this section I provide synopses of the key items in the collection while explaining why other items are being dismissed from this study. If the reader desires fuller action-to-action plot summaries, these can be found in Appendix 1, but the following synopses will allow for an essential understanding of the collection's textual content.

BL MS ADD 60273: This volume is dedicated to the Earl of Northampton by 'Cos: Manuche', and the central text, a pastoral play titled *The Banished Shepherdesse*, is in the same hand as the dedication and Manuche's signature, making a convincing case that the text, for which Manuche in his dedication claims authorial ownership, is Cosmo Manuche's work in its entirety. As its authorship is not under debate, the volume will not be central to this study; however, I will briefly note that its plot is an obvious allegory to the English Court-in-exile on the eve of the 1660 Restoration, with thinly veiled representations of the widowed Henrietta Maria as the banished shepherdess-queen, and the future Charles II as the shepherdess' son. The main plot revolves around the gulling of some servants of the English Protectorate, while the royals await their coming Restoration. Williams suggests a 1659-1661 date for the manuscript's time of writing (1980: 397-8).

BL MS ADD 60274: The dominant item in this volume is another play dedicated to James, Earl of Northampton by 'Cos: Manuche' in Manuche's hand, this one titled *The Feast*. It too can therefore be separated from the unsigned items in the collection and laid aside from the present study. In brief, this comedy follows a gentleman who went

into exile after supposedly killing his rival for the hand of his beloved. The gentleman has returned to England in disguise and is now employed by his love's father. His noble nature inevitably shines through, the lovers are reunited, and even the supposedly dead rival returns unscathed. Williams proposes dating the manuscript 1664-1666 based on textual references to other dateable plays (1980: 399-400). This is the play that upon discovery was found apart from most of the collection, still above the Castle Ashby library door (Williams 2010: np).

After the play comes a small note added to the volume made up by the British Library, which reads as follows:

My Lord
 The inclosed lines most humbly
 present themselves to your accept[ance]
 as they were written with the Sincerest
 Zeal by
 My Lord
 2^d July. Your Lordships most
 Obedient & most
 Dutifull humble
 Servant—————
 Cha\$emore Teeton (iir)

Williams reports that this Teeton note was actually found laid in *ADD 60278*, so presumably the BL moved it prior to putting the volumes in their present modern covers. Williams suggests that it comes from a much later period, however, so it will not be considered further within this study.¹

There are also included two notes from Sidney Lee to the Marquess of Northampton in 1901, enquiring about the manuscripts, but those need not be discussed further, obviously.

BL MS ADD 60275: Once again, this volume holds a play dedicated to James, Earl of Northampton by 'Cos: Manuche', all in Manuche's hand, thereby allowing it to be separated from the items of primary curiosity for this study. Briefly, the play is *Loue: in Trauell*, set after a civil war. In the main plot, a wealthy father has recently been rescued from robbers by a mystery man, but has other problems in a lost daughter. The rescuer turns out to be Colonel Allworth, a Royalist now suffering under his old foes' rule.

¹ Williams bases his dating judgement on what he sees as the note's absence of long-s (1980: 404). Perhaps more convincingly, the closest name match that has been found is a record of a 'Cheasmore Teeton' in St. James Clerkenwell, London (which will be shown repeatedly to be a significant location for this study), born 1 May and baptised 14 May 1702 (thegenealogist.co.uk). This will be shown to be too late a date to be of direct relevance to the present study, increasing the likelihood that the note should not be considered an original part of the collection. Furthermore, the hand does not appear to match any others in the collection closely.

Allworth comes to the inn where the wealthy father resides, eventually revealing himself and reuniting with his lost love, one and the same as the father's lost daughter. The play is heavily laden with Royalist-slanted Interregnum political references. Williams finds textual issues supporting dating it around 1655-1656 (1980: 400-1).

BL MS ADD 60276: This quarto volume's contents are unsigned, and therefore will be central to this study. It begins with an untitled play about *Hermenigildus*, a Visigoth prince who, prior to the play, has converted from Arianism to Catholicism by his French wife's persuasion, leading to persecution instigated by his vicious stepmother. It has a blank page before the start of each Act, and is followed by three blank pages before the Prologue, another blank page, and the 'Chorus to y^e first act'. The play begins with Hermenigildus fortified in self-defence against his father King Levigildus' army. His friends advise caution, but a visit from his brother Recaredus persuades Hermenigildus to go in peace to his father. The angry King is convinced by Recaredus to receive Hermenigildus, and they are soon reconciled. However, plotters working for the Queen (Hermenigildus' stepmother) persuade the King that Hermenigildus' conversion from Arianism to Catholicism is a threat, while showing him letters supposedly implying that Hermenigildus is plotting against the King. He is persuaded by corrupt advisors that Hermenigildus still poses a threat. Confronted, Hermenigildus claims only love for his father, though he acknowledges that he has converted to Roman Catholicism. His father demands that he recant, but having done no wrong, Hermenigildus will not, and is imprisoned, while his friends seek a remedy. Recaredus pleads with the King to be merciful, but though the King hears Hermenigildus' appeal, he returns him to prison. The King is given conflicting advice from counsellors, and decides to order Hermenigildus' execution. Hermenigildus meets his fate with a martyr's patience, and though the King repents and rushes to stay the execution, he is too late. He is informed that miraculous music and light appeared around the body, and after much lamentation, the King orders the body to be carried off and given the respects due to a martyred king. A textual quirk is that the Prologue and the Chorus for Act 1 are written after the rest of the play.

After seventeen blank pages comes a three-and-a-half-page poem titled 'The Cavalier'.¹ The poem bemoans the cheapening of the title 'Cavalier', once in the

¹ It appears that the original title is 'The Cavalier', but it had letters added to make it 'The Cavaliers progress', and then had the addition removed. The striking-out line extends to the 's' of 'Cavaliers' and while there is some ambiguity, considering the title of the next poem, and the original form of this one, the 's' too is probably meant to be deleted.

possession of the gallant, but now used by many undeserving people, and those who supported the King at the outbreak of war but quickly lost heart and would not risk themselves for their cause. It then criticises those who did stay with the King, but descended into petty factions and paralysis, with no taste for military engagement. Next the poem condemns towns that surrendered easily, or without terms to protect the King and Church, and then it turns on the noblemen and gentry who made their compositions to regain what they could of their lost power and property. Next it sneers at those who slipped away abroad, and those who stayed to waste time in taverns, reminiscing about their glories, gossiping, toasting the King, and discussing plots of uprisings in the city, with the unreliable Scots, in the army, and in Kent, but without these men doing anything to help. Warmed with drink, however, they decide to support Lord Holland's uprising, but then run away. The Scots likewise come and then dissolve without effect. The King and Lord Capel can fall, but the unreliable Cavaliers protect only themselves and what they rescued of their fortunes. Scotland's King is delayed in his entrance because of these very men whose pay supports the King's enemies. The poem ends by noting that while kings have been conquered, the so-called Cavaliers are the cause of their own enslavement.

The end of 'The Cavalier' is underlined, and immediately followed mid-page by 'Presbyterian', which ends mid-line, high on a page. This incomplete nineteen-and-a-half-line poem derides Presbyterians: first they support those who should be their foes rather than their friends, then they wrongly condemn someone for treason, next they endanger the King while claiming to be protecting him; they are cowardly in battle but proclaim themselves victorious back in Parliament. The text cuts off in a description of their thanks-giving sermon, where they distort their religious source and deliver a grotesque speech.

After seven blank pages comes an untitled play identified at the collection's discovery as *Agamemnon*, followed immediately by a list of the play's male speaking roles. The ghost of Thyestes predicts that Agamemnon, returning from victory at Troy, will be murdered by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus. Clytemnestra attempts to steel herself for the act, but wavers between anger at Agamemnon for his sacrificing of their daughter, and for his own infidelity, and a desire to return to loyalty to her husband. She argues with Aegisthus and insults his incestuous conception, but he offers to die by his sword on her order and she repents. A messenger tells Clytemnestra of the Greek fleet's disastrous sea voyage, and of Agamemnon's approach. She orders celebrations, but retires to the palace to plot with Aegisthus. Cassandra (Agamemnon's

captive and mistress) and other captive Trojan women arrive, lamenting their tragedy. Cassandra has a vision of the impending murder, but when Agamemnon arrives, he does not understand her prophecies and goes into the palace. Cassandra gives a vision-account of the actions in the palace, with Clytemnestra and Aegisthus beheading Agamemnon. The royal daughter Electra helps her young brother Orestes escape the kingdom, but then is sent to prison by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, who also send Cassandra to her execution as she warns them that the Furies will punish them for their deeds.

After one blank page comes the play *Hercules Furens*. The goddess Juno is jealous that Hercules' mother has taken her place in Jove's bed, and decides to punish Hercules. In Thebes, Hercules' wife Megara and earth-father Amphitryon suffer under the tyranny of the low-born usurper Lycus, who reigns with force and wickedness. They long for Hercules' return. Lycus attempts to legitimise his reign by taking the royal Megara to his bed, but she resists him. He spitefully prepares to burn the temple and Hercules' family. Hercules then arrives from a quest in Hell in which he rescued his friend Theseus and brought the Hell-hound Cerberus to the surface of the world. Discovering Lycus' usurpation, he kills Lycus. As he begins to celebrate with his family, Hercules is overwhelmed by a madness brought on by Juno. Believing his family to be Lycus', he kills his children and wife before fainting. When he wakes, he discovers what he has done, and after being dissuaded from killing himself by his father, accepts Theseus' offer to allow Hercules sanctuary in Theseus' kingdom.

Following two blank pages comes a short list in four columns: languages, parts of the Bible, numbers, and books of the Bible.

BL MS ADD 60277: This volume's contents are also unsigned, so will be central to this study. It begins with a better draft of *Agamemnon* (titled in this version) than that found in *ADD 60276*. The plot content does not differ substantially.

After three blank pages comes a better draft of *Hercules Furens* than the *ADD 60276* draft. However, it cuts off in the middle of Act 2 one line onto a new page, though plenty of space remained in the volume to complete it, suggesting either that it was abandoned for some reason, or that only the first part of it was wanted.

After thirty-eight blank pages are several smaller pages including some basic geometric sketches, and a sketch of a human face (probably male, though slightly ambiguous due to long hair and soft features).

BL MS ADD 60278: This volume's contents are also unsigned, so will be studied in detail. After a few blank pages comes what may be a centred title, 'Moleons Ghost' (4r); it is not clearly associated with anything else in the manuscript.

On the otherwise blank reverse-side of the previous leaf is the title *The Mandrake*. The next leaf has been torn or cut away, leaving only a thin stub down the spine; however, a few letters remain on the stub that suggest that there was something originally written on it.¹ The next surviving page has a character list, and on the next leaf begins the body of the play. In *The Mandrake*, an Englishman, Leaveland, raised in Paris during the Civil War, has returned to London with his servant Trusty, in order to pursue the proper and married Mrs. Soonewrought, with whom he has fallen in love simply by her description. With help from the wily parasite Lackwealth, they go about convincing the foolish lawyer Mr. Soonewrought that Leaveland is actually a doctor who can help Soonewrought and his wife conceive the child he so desperately wants, if Soonewrought will give her a potion of mandrakes. The danger is that the potion will cause the first man who lies with her to die; the solution is to allow a disposable man to lie with Mrs. Soonewrought before Soonewrought himself does. Soonewrought is persuaded, and also enlists Mrs. Soonewrought's mother, Lady Horner. The group then persuades the greedy local parson Renchetext to help, and he pressures Mrs. Soonewrought to accept her husband's will. Soonewrought is tricked into selecting a disguised Leaveland as the individual to kidnap, and they deliver him to Mrs. Soonewrought's bed. Offstage, Leaveland reveals the situation and his love to Mrs. Soonewrought, who agrees to take him as a lover indefinitely, with Mr. Soonewrought oblivious. The play ends with everyone getting what they believe they want, and exiting to a feast.

On the page opposing the previous text begins the play *Don Sancho*, which cuts off mid-scene four pages into the first Act at the bottom of a page even though twenty-three blank pages follow it where it could have been continued. The plot of the fragment is as follows. Away from their kingdom, the dowager Queen Leonora tells her daughter, Princess Elvira, that their home kingdom of Aragon has defeated a tyrant who had usurped their title, and they are about to be restored after a period in exile. The Castile kingdom, where they are presently harboured, likewise is celebrating, as the Castilian

¹ On the facing page (4v), it appears that some ink has transferred. It is too faint to read unaided or with basic computer adjustment of a digital image, though perhaps more advanced technology would be able to illuminate enough of it to determine something of the content of the missing leaf. It could come from the removed page, or the next surviving page. The removed page itself could have contained text relating to the apparently abandoned 'Moleons Ghost', or something like a dedication, or even an abandoned version of the first page of *The Mandrake*.

Queen is soon to wed. Leonora advises Elvira to wed as well, as a husband will help her stabilise her waiting throne. Leonora suggests that of Elvira's suitors, Alvarez is the best choice for a match. Elvira notes that Alvarez is a contender for the Queen of Castile's hand as well, and is wary of bringing a foreign king to fickle Aragon. She intends to return to her throne before making any decision about a husband. They comment that Carlos, another of Elvira's suitors, is noble in deed but seemingly low in birth. Elvira claims that she and Carlos have been nothing but proper with each other. Queen Isabella of Castile joins them, lamenting that marriage will diminish her since she will lose power to her husband, but that she must marry to appease her people. She questions whether her wooers want her love or her throne. The wooers (Lopez, Manrique, and Alvarez) enter, along with Carlos. They make speeches to woo Isabella; she notes that ambivalence in Alvarez's probably means he loves another. She then commands everyone to sit. Carlos, silent until now, attempts to sit, but Manrique stops him and accuses him of acting out of his place. Carlos defends his reputation as a good soldier, and Isabella asks him to tell her his story. He begins telling of his past deeds in battle, including repeatedly rescuing the Castilian standard in a battle with Moors. The text ends there.

After quite a few blank pages comes a partial text written upside-down relative to the previously described items in the volume, starting at the opposite end. It is untitled, beginning with the *dramatis personae*, with the first character named Leontius, King of Cyprus, also apparently the first speaker, as well as the highest ranking character (as such, titling the play *Leontius, King of Cyprus* as Percy first tentatively proposed seems more reasonable than anything else). It cuts off mid-scene after seven pages of Act 1. As a more complete draft of this play exists in *ADD 60279*, I will include the synopsis in that volume's description.

BL MS ADD 60279: This volume begins with an almost-complete draft of *Leontius*. It lacks a title, but there is major damage to the first surviving page obliterating the top, so there may have been one originally. It is missing at least one leaf at the end,¹ leaving us without the play's ending, though this may only amount to a few lines. The plot is as follows. King Leontius' kingdom of Cyprus is in a state of civil war, and he is garrisoned in his final loyal town, which is under siege. Fresh from a small victory, he rewards the responsible commander Lucius by giving him the good Princess Olinda as

¹ The lost page or pages probably would have been halves of sheets also providing leaves at the start of the volume, so a title page, *dramatis personae*, dedication, or prologue could all have been present initially.

his wife. This infuriates another commander, the foreign mercenary Garamantus, who also wanted Olinda. Garamantus and his henchman Phorbus secretly defect to the rebels. Melantius, the unhappy leader of a force from Sicily that is supporting the rebels, meets Hianisbe, a Sardinian Princess disguised as a man and pursuing Garamantus for jilting her after wooing her. Melantius accepts her as an attendant (assuming that she is a young man). He accepts her request that if they ever take the town, he will give her custody of one particular inhabitant that she seeks. Garamantus and Phorbus come to Melantius and offer to help him capture the town by revealing its weaknesses. Melantius summons the other rebel commanders, including the power-hungry Cyprian Phylanax, and gives out battle orders. Back in town late at night, newlywed Lucius is awake, troubled by premonitions. Olinda tries to comfort him, when an alarm sounds. The rebels attack, and Garamantus attempts to kidnap Olinda, but Lucius appears (fighting Phylanax, whom he mortally wounds), and Lucius and Garamantus then fight their way offstage. Garamantus returns and collapses from his wounds, and is found by Hianisbe, who taunts him. Phorbus rescues him. Lucius enters and collapses, and Hianisbe and some rebel soldiers take him prisoner. Olinda voluntarily goes with him. Back in the rebel camp, Melantius becomes infatuated with Olinda. Phorbus worries that this will stop Garamantus from getting her, so he persuades the rebel sub-commanders that Melantius is disloyal, and to take Garamantus as their new leader in place of the dead Phylanax. Phorbus informs a bed-ridden Garamantus of his new status as general, and the potential for him to become King if they succeed. Meanwhile, Melantius masters his lust for Olinda and chooses noble virtue instead. A letter arrives with news that the Sicilian King has died, and his son, the new King, has ordered Melantius to defect to Leontius' side. Melantius celebrates with Lucius and Olinda, whom he sends back to Leontius. In the town, Leontius is lamenting his situation, when Leontius and Olinda return to him. The Cyprian rebels refuse to lay down their arms, so both camps prepare for battle, and engage. The rebels lose, and a wounded Garamantus is brought before the loyalists. He kills himself to avoid Hianisbe's torments. Hianisbe reveals her identity and grievance with Garamantus, prompting Melantius to propose to her. Hianisbe banishes Phorbus as the text cuts off due to damage.

BL MS ADD 60280: This is another volume of unsigned work, so will be studied in detail. The first item in this volume is a play, written only on the recto pages, lacking a title, though with damage to the tops of the first eight leaves, a title may originally have been in place. Percy names it after the protagonist *Mariamne*, and that seems as good a

working title as any. The plot is as follows. King Herod recounts a nightmare about his family's questionable rise to power and the blood on their hands. His siblings Salome and Pheroras come and calm him, then advise him to kill his proud but good wife Mariamne, who has just cause to resent him for past wrongs to her family, the rightful royal line. Herod is indecisive. Meanwhile, Mariamne is deciding to shun Herod's bed for his crimes. Salome appears, and advises her to be kind to Herod, without success. Mariamne is put on trial, accused of plotting against Herod, and is imprisoned ahead of execution. Herod is troubled, but Salome persuades him to follow through with the verdict. Imprisoned, Mariamne recites her woes with some stoicism, until a jailer leads her to her execution. Later, Herod encounters a horrified messenger fresh from the execution, and Herod hears of Mariamne's martyr-like end. His siblings appear and he drives them away, and then swoons. They return, and he wakes up not remembering what has happened. When he is reminded, he banishes his siblings. Herod sees a shooting star in the sky that he imagines is Mariamne looking down on him and offering forgiveness. Herod vows to live to repent of his crime. Between the acts are Choruses containing personifications of forces like Innocence and Calumny, who battle to control humanity's behaviour and fate for good or evil in alignment with the fortunes of the play's characters.

After one blank page begins a page-and-a-half-long list in two columns of stars and constellations, and Judeo-Christian religious references.

BL MS ADD 60281: This volume's contents are also unsigned, so will be examined in detail. After several blank pages begins the untitled blank verse tragedy mentioned by Percy, variously named 'Caracalla' and 'Bassianus'; the latter is the name of the most central character throughout the text, so the most reasonable title for the play is *Bassianus*. In the plot, military commanders Macrinus and Audentius speak with the jurist Papinianus about the extravagant funeral for the tyrannical Emperor Severus, the return to Rome of his half-brother sons Bassianus and Geta as co-Emperors, and the oppressed state of Rome. The half-brothers make a show of intending to rule together peacefully, but Bassianus immediately begins plotting with his henchman Martinianus to kill his brother. First, however, he has his wife Plautilla, whom he detests, poisoned. Geta's mother (and Bassianus' step-mother) Julia encourages Geta to strike Bassianus before Bassianus has an opportunity to harm him. Geta is fairly good and innocent, and will not commit to harming his brother, though he is also advised by the wise legal mind Papinianus to defend himself for Rome's sake. Bassianus arranges a meeting with Geta

in Julia's quarters, where he murders his trusting brother. Julia fends him off with Geta's sword and screams for help, but when guards and courtiers burst in, Bassianus claims that he acted in self-defence, and Julia is confined to her quarters. Papinianus confronts Bassianus, and is sent to execution for it, leaving Audentius and Macrinus to wonder how to proceed safely. Afterwards, Bassianus has become infatuated with his stepmother Julia due to her courage after Geta's murder, but is tormented by the apparent hopelessness of his lust. His henchman Martinianus goes to Julia to lay the groundwork for Bassianus. Julia is horrified, but sees an opportunity to get revenge on Bassianus, so she allows him to come to her. He woos her, and to show that he is genuine, he gives Julia his sword and lays bare his breast. She breaks, unable to kill him, and seduced by the opportunity to rise in power again as his Empress. A revitalised Bassianus arranges for an invasion of Rome's rival neighbour, Parthia, under the guise of marrying the Parthian Princess Zelinda. Meeting the Parthians in the field, they begin the wedding ceremony only for Bassianus to spring a trap on the Parthian King Artabanus. The Roman army attacks the unprepared Parthians. The Parthian leaders escape, and Bassianus accuses his own commanders of cowardice. Macrinus and Papinianus' younger brother Martialis decide to kill Bassianus and free Rome from tyranny. Back in the Parthian kingdom, Artabanus regrets having trusted the Romans, and Zelinda speaks bravely about how the Parthians may still be able to have their revenge, led by their general Phraates, who conducted a valiant fighting retreat from the Roman trap. The text cuts off during this scene,¹ though there are many blank pages available after the text where it could have been completed.

Following *Bassianus* in the modern volume though not part of the same original manuscript are two fragments found slightly later by Williams (2010: np). First is a two-and-a-half-page fragment from Act 2 of *The Captives*. It seems possible that there were originally more pages preceding what remains, though it cuts off mid-page, so it is difficult to imagine that more followed the present fragment. In what survives, as guards look on, 'Phi' reminds his servant 'Tin' that they are pretending to be one another now that they are prisoners of war, in a plan to let Phi escape. Their new owner Hegio enters, and quizzes Phi (assuming that he is the servant) about his supposed master's fortunes. Hegio reveals that his own son is a prisoner in their country of Elis. Phi tells Hegio that his master comes from a wealthy family with a miserly father, as Tin looks on admiring

¹ Kelliher suggests that this could be a heavily revised fair copy, and perhaps another earlier draft was completed (1979: 179). However, the structural revisions in Act 1 are so massive that it is difficult to imagine the play being at a very advanced stage prior to this draft. If there was an earlier draft, the surviving one must have departed from it early and substantially.

the wit of Phi. Hegio then summons Tin to compare their stories, and as that interview begins, the text cuts off.

Next in the modern volume but of yet another original physical source comes a six-page fragment of an untitled play. It seems probable that both earlier and later pages have been lost, so it is entirely possible that this was once a complete play. What survives appears to be parts of Acts 1 and 2. Not enough of the play survives to allow a determination of the full plot or even who the main character is, but the previously used titling of *Sophius* after a character who is absent in what survives but is of central importance to the discussion seems worth following at the present time for the sake of consistency. The surviving plot, classically set, is as follows. The politician 'Pro' schemes to rise to domination by Machiavellian plots, learning from the mistakes of others before him. He tells his apparent henchman Pseudolon to be patient so that they may rise discretely by others' efforts: some in power are jealous that they do not have more, and others are unhappy with Church and State, and dislike King Calophilus' favourite Sophius, so it is therefore likely that Sophius is about to fall, inevitably taking the King with him, and leading to war. Pro will then have an opportunity to climb in power, engaging in military efforts himself while retaining his political office. He tells Pseudolon to preach what Pro tells him to say as if it comes via revelations from God. The first surviving scene cuts off mid-discussion. The second scene, from Act 2, has a noble young Royalist 'Tim' meeting a disaffected politician 'Mega'. Tim has been abroad, but both are now serving in the 'grand councill'. Mega warns him that he has taken an unpopular side by supporting Sophius, but Tim insists that he must follow his own conscience. They debate what Mega sees as corruption in Church and State, and Mega and his party taking more and more power away from the King. Tim warns that Mega is being used by others who will later cast him aside, and defends the traditional Church and State, saying that eroding that power structure will lead to the just being punished and the guilty going free. Mega claims to love the King, and only hate his vices. The two part ways in civil disagreement, with Tim lamenting man's ignorance. The text cuts off in his soliloquy at the bottom of a page.

BL MS ADD 60282: This volume's contents are unsigned, so will be examined in detail. It begins with a title page for *THE MARTIRD MONARCH*. This non-dramatic text is a prose account of Charles I's life to the time of his execution, with the writer implying his own participation in the events. It follows Charles from his Scottish birth to the English throne, through his loyalty to the Church of England and his attempt to force it

on the Scots, the tensions between Charles and the Scots and his own Parliaments, the execution for treason on dubious evidence of his favourite the Earl of Strafford, Parliament's increasing seizure of authority, his disastrous attempt to charge five members of the Commons and one lord with treason, Charles raising his standard at Nottingham, the battles of Edgehill, the taking of Banbury, the King's headquarters becoming Oxford, the 2nd Earl of Northampton's death near Stafford, many other battles, the rise of the Independents and the New Model Army, the collapse of the King's forces and his disguised journey to the Scots, the fall of the remaining Royalist strongholds, Parliament paying off the Scots to leave and to hand over the King, his abduction by the Independent-controlled Army, his escape and imprisonment on the Isle of Wight, further failed Royalist uprisings, the Independents' ousting the Presbyterians from Parliament and condemning Charles to death, and his execution as a Royalist martyr. Many blank pages follow the text, and it appears to be complete.

Now included in the volume but apparently of a different origin is a one-leaf (two-page) 'treatise' of political content. It may be complete, though it is possible that more was originally written on lost pages at the beginning or end, or both. In the treatise, the writer lays aside past differences with the government in order to give advice on the best course of action now. He discusses a rumour of a potential new representative, and warns the present authorities not to give up their hard-earned seats at helm to it, or to entrust the rudder to less able pilots. Next, he mentions a proposed Act of Oblivion for Cavaliers, which would lay certain spirits beyond being resurrected again, by forgiving past delinquents who have already been punished heavily anyway, and discouraging new troubles. He writes that this is for the mutual benefit of both Cavalier and Commonwealth, since chaos in State can be caused by a lack of clear laws, but also the lack of forgiveness of past enemies since they will then never feel secure and accepted, even after composition. He notes that lately such people have been much persecuted by the government, and that such a pardon will put them to rest.

BL MS ADD 60283: After several blank pages, this volume contains the poem that Lee reported in 1901 and attributed to Manuche. It turned out to be a translation of Book IV of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Williams 1980: 410).¹ It is of an earlier date than the rest of the

¹After Manuche, it was attributed in the Christie's sale catalogue to Sir John Harington (1561-1621) of Kelston (Williams 1980: 410). The Harington theory was then called brash and unfounded by Cauchi, who stated that while it is a late Elizabethan or Jacobean item (c.1600 based on watermark evidence), comparing the handwriting with Harington's and his scribes' gives no clear similarities; furthermore the style does not match or live up to Harington's known translation of Book VI of the *Aeneid*, about which

collection,¹ was not mentioned by Percy, was not particularly physically associated with the rest, is not dramatic, and does not share its clearly older-fashioned handwriting with any of them, so there is little reason to discuss it further in this study.

BL MS ADD 60284: In this volume is a non-dramatic prose work, *A Short View of y^e Life of King Henry y^e Third*, 'Written by S^r Ro: Cotton'. It is dated 1622 on the back page. As indicated, it is an account of Henry III's life. As it is clearly associated with Cotton in the generation prior to that of the items of central interest, is in a scribal hand not seen elsewhere in the collection, and was not actually found by Williams (2010: np), there is little to link it to the rest of the collection, and it will not be considered further in this study.

BL MS ADD 60285: This volume is made up of a geometry text titled *The Description and some uses of a Spheare*.² As the item is non-dramatic, the hand does not appear to match that of any of the other items in the collection, and like *ADD 60285* was not found with the other manuscripts, it will not be examined in detail in this study.

This chapter has briefly described the thirteen British Library manuscript volumes that are associated with Castle Ashby, and has explained that seven, *BL MSS ADD 60276-60282*, are selected to be studied here in detail because they are unsigned (unlike *BL MSS ADD 60273-60275* that are signed by Manuche), and were found more or less together in Williams' investigation (unlike *BL MSS ADD 60283-60285*). These remaining seven manuscripts contain a variety of texts, ranging from incomplete and

Harington wrote that he was dissatisfied with translating the *Aeneid* into unaccommodating English, and he 'never durst meddle with eny more of yt' (Cauchi 1989: 242-8).

¹ Williams notes that it contains a watermark that has a latest recorded use in 1602 (1980: 411).

² Searching *Early English Books Online*, I have discovered that this manuscript copies the content of part of a longer 1671 printed book by a John Brown, titled *Horologiographia, or, The art of dyalling being the second book of the use of the trainguler-quadrant : shewing the natural, artificial, and instrumental way, of making of sun-dials, on any flat superficies, with plain and easie directions, to discover their nature and affections, by the horizontal projection : with the way of drawing the usual ornaments on any plain : also, a familiar easie way to draw those lines on the ceiling of a room, by the trainguler quadrant: also, the use of the same instrument in navigation, both for observation, and operation : performing the use of several sea-instruments still in use*. There are minor changes such as paraphrasing, but it is essentially Brown's text starting from his p.170 in the chapter titled 'The Description and some Uses of the Sphear for Dialling, and for the better understanding of the general and particular Scheams'. It stays close to the source until Brown's p.197, where the manuscript then copies p.73-76 for a two-page diversion, before returning to copying from p.197. Diagrams are not perfect matches to the source, but are of a similar nature. The final page of the manuscript's text contains material that I have not found in Brown's source text, though it is of a similar style and tone. Of the seventeen *EEBO* hits for Brown between 1656 and 1700 (some reprints of the same titles), all relate to geometric techniques for solving problems such as those in this text.

complete plays to short poems, to an historical account, to a political treatise. In the following chapters, I will attempt to identify how these texts were written, and why.

Chapter 3: Authorship

Since debate has been possible regarding authorship in the collection even recently, it is worth re-visiting in order to position this study relative to that discussion. A confident conclusion about authorship will help to resolve other issues such as the time of writing, and will add authority to theories about potentially intended purposes of—and meanings in—the texts. In this chapter I give a summary of the various previous theories of authorship for *BL MSS ADD 60276-60282*, then use a comparison of the handwriting in the texts in a manuscript-by-manuscript discussion to resolve the authorship question as conclusively as possible.

Previous Authorial Theories

Besides the manuscripts themselves, no contemporary information about the collection has been found at Castle Ashby (Williams 1987: 195), so there is no help there in determining the conditions of authorship. The first known critical proposal was Percy's in 1767, when he guessed that Cosmo Manuche was the full collection's author. Williams happens to be the modern expert on Manuche (it was his interest in the supposedly lost signed Manuche manuscripts that led him to Castle Ashby in the first place), and he is the author of the *ODNB* entry for Manuche, from which I now summarise. Manuche was born in Holborn in October 1613, the grandson of an Italian who came to England and was prominently involved with Walsingham's spy network. Manuche joined the King's forces during the Civil War and served as an officer of foot, achieving the rank of Major. He was taken prisoner by Fairfax's army on 19 October 1645 at the siege of Tiverton, though it seems that he was soon fighting again, and continued in Ireland and the Scilly Isles until the end of the first war. Afterwards, Manuche received dramatic patronage from James Compton, 3rd Earl of Northampton, in the 1650s and 1660s, dedicating plays (as has been seen) to the Earl and repeatedly expressing his gratitude for Compton's kindness to him in his time of financial and mental distress. Three of his plays were published in 1652, and three known others exist only in manuscript form (one of his Castle Ashby manuscripts is unique). He appears to have spent periods in prison in the post-war years, and at times boarded scholars. Desperation may have led to his service as an apparent informant for Cromwell on one occasion in 1656. Nevertheless, he was financially rewarded by Charles II after the

Restoration for his loyal service during the Civil War. Manuche disappears from the known records in 1664, though it is possible that he was buried in Westminster Abbey in November 1673 (2004: np).

Also mentioned by Percy is Samuel Holland. Wolf describes him in the most detail so far. Holland was also a Major who may have served under the 3rd Earl of Northampton during the Civil War, which would have made Northampton's 'a very poetical *Corps*'. He appears to have been a gentleman, who wrote the 1656 mock-romance book *Wit and Fancy in a Maze*, also published in 1660 as *Romancio-Mastix*—which is how it exists in a copy at Castle Ashby. Percy had reported seeing Holland's two-part masque *The Enchanted Grove* at Castle Ashby (presumably a manuscript), though it has not been seen since and is not otherwise known. A Samuel Holland was taken prisoner at Worcester in July 1646, and another reference to the name comes in July 1674 for a father of a buried child in St. James Clerkenwell, London. These could all be the same individual (1981: 272-4). Percy never actually directly suggests that Holland was responsible for the manuscripts in question, though, and unlike Manuche, no examples of his handwriting have been found.

Kelliher's attribution of most of the collection to James Compton, 3rd Earl of Northampton, has been followed by a majority of the later commentators with varying degrees of confidence. Compton sat in the Commons during the Long Parliament prior to the Civil War, and later served as a Royalist commander until the King's cause was essentially lost. He then struggled for years to regain his lost properties, while serving several spells in prison for difficulties with the government. At the Restoration, he regained a distinguished position. Among his properties was Castle Ashby, which the Compton family still retains (1979: 161-168). Therefore, there is much to support putting Compton forward as a potential author of at least some of the items in the manuscript collection.

Centerwall's attribution of *Bassianus* to George Chapman has already been destroyed by Ioppolo, a manuscript expert. To put the issue to rest, I examined facsimiles of Chapman's handwriting (Cummings 1989: 190-229) along with the *Bassianus* manuscript, and agree with Ioppolo that there are undeniable major differences between the two.¹ As Ioppolo indicated, without the physical similarity between hands, there rest of Centerwall's attribution to Chapman crumbles and there is no reason to consider Chapman further in this study. The difficulty in starting an attribution with gut-feelings as Centerwall did is that it can lure one into the arbitrary selection of circumstantial

¹ The most glaring differences that I note are in the formation of 't', 'l', and 'ff'.

evidence that seems to support the theory.¹ As I implied in the Introduction, Centerwall's major failure was apparently in moving straight from superficial observations to contextual conclusions, and only after that point moving back to analysis that was by then hopelessly distorted and blinkered by his already-set assumptions; this in turn tainted the theatrical experimentation that I conducted in my master's work as it was based on Centerwall's misinterpretation. My process in this study of carefully building the body of evidence before making a judgement about the collection's place in history is the result of the lesson that I learned from Centerwall's error.

This leaves Manuche, Holland, Compton, or an unidentified writer or writers as potential authors for the manuscripts still under examination in this study, and seems to support a 17th-century dating for the collection.

Handwriting Comparison

In the absence of documents explicitly identifying the author, signatures or other indisputable identifying marks on the manuscripts, or undeniable self-reference in the texts, the most obvious method of attempting to establish authorship that I identified was to follow Kelliher's strategy of looking for a matching hand in known examples. In order to familiarise myself with 17th-century handwriting, initially I studied the examples, descriptions, transcriptions and alphabets in Jean F. Preston and Laetitia Yeandle's *English Handwriting 1400-1650* (1992); Ioppolo also provides a very helpful study of play manuscripts in particular (2006: 80-94), and Peter Beal (2008) offers an education in manuscript terminology. Having equipped myself with a fundamental understanding of palaeography and manuscript analysis from those texts, I then spent a great deal of time simply examining letters and similar documents from the period held at the British Library. This research gave me a reasonable grasp of normal variation within a given individual's handwriting, and of the range of styles and letter forms in use at the time. Handwriting of the period was often a mixture of forms, and individualistic in nature, with the older Secretary hand regularly blended with the newer Italic form (Preston & Yeandle 1992: vii-viii). Almost all of the collection is mercifully in a predominantly Italic hand, which has much in common with our familiar modern forms, though some related items are at least partially in the less familiar Secretary. As

¹ This is the familiar logical flaw underlying anti-Stratfordian theories in Shakespeare studies, too, where the adherents overlook the most logical solutions. Halliday offers an excellent summary of the flaws in the major anti-Stratfordian theories (1957: 171-203).

a result, most of the difficulties in interpreting the manuscripts' contents are not caused by the handwriting style, but rather by messy parts of the text, and by physical damage and fading of the manuscripts themselves.

Very little effort was required to confirm that Kelliher—himself a manuscript and palaeography expert—was correct in naming James Compton, 3rd Earl of Northampton, as the writer of most of the items in the collection, as the hand in Compton's surviving letters is a match for most of the items. However, there are a few texts that do not match Compton's hand. In the chart below, I briefly illustrate this point using nine short common words, examples of which I have copied freehand from the items in question. Descending the chart, the samples come from a signed Compton letter from 22 July 1645,¹ the rough copy of *Hercules Furens*,² the better draft of *Hercules Furens*,³ the shorter *Leontius*,⁴ and the longer *Leontius*.⁵

	a	be	do	for	I	my	no	of	y ^r
signed letter (22 July 1645)	a	bee	do	for	I	my	no	of	y ^r
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i>	a	bee	do	for	I	my	no	of	y ^r
better <i>Hercules Furens</i>	a	be	doe	for	I	my	no	of	your
short <i>Leontius</i>	a	be	doe	for	I	my	no	of	your
long <i>Leontius</i>	a	be	do	for	I	my	no	of	y ^r

The handwriting in the first row is consistent with that found throughout the surviving personal letters that are signed by Compton, where the signatures are in the same hand as the letter bodies, allowing confident attribution to Compton. It should be easy to see that this first row is a close match to the second row, which is the hand found throughout the unsigned Castle Ashby texts with the only exceptions being the items in the final three rows. The few minor variations between the first two rows are dismissible as instances of some letters not being completely formed. As such, the first two rows—and the majority of the collection—can be taken as Compton's writing. Kelliher describes Compton's hand as careful and precise in terms of the shape of individual letters, but poorly controlled in the broader context where it slants through

¹ All examples come from 22r of *BL MS ADD 29570*.

² *BL MS ADD 60276*: 64r ('bee', 'for', 'my', 'no'), 64v ('I'), 65r ('of'), and 65v ('a', 'do', 'y^r').

³ *BL MS ADD 60277*: 19r ('a', 'be', 'for', 'I', 'my', 'no', 'of'), 19v ('doe'), and 20v ('your').

⁴ *BL MS ADD 60278*: 38r ('yo^r'), and 38v ('a', 'be', 'doe', 'for', 'I', 'my', 'no', 'of').

⁵ *BL MS ADD 60279*: 1r ('a', 'be', 'for', 'I', 'my', 'no', 'of'), 2r ('y^r'), and 3r ('do').

multiple angles (1979: 169), as can be seen in the second row's 'bee', which curves up to the right. Williams adds that it is an 'everyday', primarily Italic mid-17th century hand, with major identifying traits being the dominant use of the Greek minuscule 'ε' in medial and final positions, and the broad use of thorn abbreviations (1980: 401); an example of the 'ε' is seen above in 'bee', unlike in the other examples, and the thorn can be seen in the 'y^ε', with Compton's characteristic underlining of the superscript letter, which is not seen in the other hands.

The third row differs in several ways. Kelliher suggests that the *60277 Hercules Furens* hand is probably a scribe's work and is characterised by being large and old-fashioned (1979: 169). Williams agrees that it is probably scribal, and describes the hand as very careful and fine, primarily Italic though with some Secretary forms in terminal *e*, and *h* (1980: 403). In the sample above, the significantly different forms should be noted in the 'e' of 'be' and 'do', the 'r' forms in 'for' and 'your', the 'f' in 'of', and the fact that the writer does not use the thorn forms favoured by Compton in 'your'. I agree that it is not Compton's hand in the third row.

Williams describes the hand found in the fourth row (the *60278 Leontius*) as finer and more elaborate than Compton's, with noteworthy differentiating characteristics such as no miniscule 'ε', and some not seen in the example above such as long elaborated terminals, a different form of the right diagonal in 'A', and a modern form of '&' rather than Compton's usual 'ε' ampersand (1980: 405). Kelliher adds that it is similar to the hand in the other *Leontius* draft (possibly even imitating that hand), but is not an exact match (1979: 169). While there does appear to be some similarity between Compton's and the fourth line, I agree with the previous experts in suspecting that the latter is not close enough a match to attribute it to Compton, and I draw attention in particular to the different 'e' forms in 'be' and 'doe', the 'f' in 'for' and 'of', and the unusual form 'yo^ε', to support that.

Kelliher calls the *60279 Leontius* hand, represented in the final line above, very neat and possibly the work of a professional scribe (1979: 169). Again the 'e' in 'be', and the 'f' in 'for' and 'of' are quite different from Compton's, and I agree that this is not an example of his hand.

In Appendix 2, I provide an alphabetical chart of the relevant hands¹ for further comparison, and even a brief consideration of it will support the conclusions above by

¹ The first example ('Northampton') is primarily from Compton's earliest confirmed handwriting sample, his post-19 March 1643 signed letter in *BL MS ADD 18980*, and matches the hand of most of the texts under examination. The rest of the samples are from the better partial *Hercules Furens* (60277), the long *Leontius* (60279), and the short *Leontius* (60278). Also included are samples from two letters dated 22

with 'youthful', which is then also crossed out, leaving the line short as 'His years did scarcely yet begin'. The sixth line initially starts as 'With', but that word is then moved to a later place in the line to give 'To cover with their golden fleece his chin'. Replacing individual words, moving them within lines, changing rhymes, and even altering full line structures should show conclusively that this is not simply the work of a scribe tidying a messy source text. Creative effort is obvious in all but the final item (the Biblical list)—and possibly it too—suggesting first or at least extremely early drafts with heavy re-wording and striking out. The importance of this apparent creative ownership is critical, as it links the writing to Compton's life and mind, which will be shown in the coming chapters to be of central interest to this study.

In 60277, the good *Agamemnon* is in Compton's hand, incorporating corrections from the rough *Agamemnon* and surely depending upon it to make this somewhat neater draft. Williams observes that there are still corrections, with a few missed lines written into the left margin, showing a certain care for faithful transmission, if not ideal discipline, and also that speech headings are centred here (1980: 403), which is not seen elsewhere in the collection. As such, it seems safe to assume that Compton had some reason to want to preserve the content of his rough draft in a better form. The partial good *Hercules Furens* is surely not in Compton's hand, and varies from the rough *Hercules Furens* in many places in terms of spelling, lineation, punctuation, etc.; still, it favours the same wording more often than not, and the departures are never radical. It is similar enough to the rough draft to suggest a relationship, and considering the relationship between the *Agamemnon* drafts in the same two volumes, it seems perfectly reasonable to accept this *Hercules Furens* as possibly a scribal copy of a lost Compton intermediary, or a case of a scribe being permitted to tweak Compton's original and include the new draft with Compton's good *Agamemnon* in one volume. The geometric and facial sketches at the end of the volume may be in the Compton hand, but there is not enough of a sample to judge conclusively.

60278's abandoned title ('Moleons Ghost'), *The Mandrake*, and the abandoned fragment *Don Sancho* are all in the Compton hand, and show enough of the usual signs of being early drafts¹ to suggest confidently that they contain creative work on Compton's part, as was the case for 60276. Williams notes that the *Don Sancho* hand looks slightly smaller and neater than the hand elsewhere (1980: 405), though the differences are very minor. However, the upside-down partial *Leontius* at the other end

¹ Kelliher theorises that *The Mandrake* was copied quickly from an earlier draft, which would explain certain traits like omitted or run-together words (1979: 173).

of the manuscript is in a different, unidentified hand. Still, its inclusion in a volume of Compton's drafts teases at a relationship. That it contains almost all of what has been lost from the damaged 60279 *Leontius* draft—and very little more, even though many blank pages are available between it and the Compton items in the volume—may suggest an intentional effort to preserve the otherwise lost *Leontius* material,¹ and in a volume linked to Compton. Even if the handwriting itself does not associate the 60278 *Leontius* draft with Compton,² its placement in this volume privileges it with further discussion.

ADD 60279's long *Leontius* is also not in Compton's hand—at least, not primarily. Kelliher first suggested that Compton seems to have made a few corrections to this long draft, filling some gaps, adding negatives for sense, and upgrading punctuation (1979: 180). Williams suggests that the main hand may be a less elaborate version of the shorter *Leontius* hand, with less care and clarity and more y-thorn use, but he also notes what may be a second more 'artfully italic' hand adding the words 'some largesse' in a textual gap on 9v and possibly most of the scattered corrections; he also sees what may be the Compton hand adding 'Enter Phorbus' on 25r (1980: 406). Wolf pursues this further, and identifies what he too believes are three different hands: the main unidentified fine italic one with many different traits from the Compton hand (though also seeing similarities to the short *Leontius* draft's hand), a second unidentified hand that adds just a few words to the text where the first hand has left blank spaces or missed negatives, and a third hand that appears to be Compton's, adding a few entrances and other very minor matters. There are also several instances of what may just be doodles, and it appears that punctuation has been strengthened after the initial writing, but it does not seem possible to link these latter matters with confidence to any of the three hands previously described (1980: 457-9). To summarise, the primary writer of this *Leontius* draft—authorial, scribal, or both—cannot be concretely determined, but Compton appears to have taken an interest in some minor revision;³ combined with the partial copy of *Leontius* in 60278 with rough Compton drafts, it suggests at least the

¹ Perhaps the missing ending of the play was not likewise copied into 60278 because it still survived at the time of the 60278 copying. If the outer sheet or few sheets from 60279 were torn, the front may have been damaged while the back was retained for a time as loose leaves, only to be lost at a later date.

² The possibility that the surviving draft is scribal is increased by the fact that the 60278 draft misses many theatrical elements like speech headings, entrances, and exits, which do not seem like probable mistakes for a playwright to make. It also has few copying errors, which might suggest professionalism.

³ If it were a scribal copy, it may explain why Compton would oversee it and add a few missed entrances in his own hand. Edward Alleyn is known to have filled in some gaps left by the scribe in his *Orlando Furioso* part, so there is a precedent for scribes leaving gaps rather than inventing solutions when they are unsure of their source's intended wording (Ioppolo 2006: 56). Beal agrees that lacunae are often found when a scribe cannot decipher the original wording (2008: 220). That could be the case in this text.

possibility of Compton's creative input, warranting the cautious inclusion of *Leontius* in the collection of Compton plays unless a more probable primary creator is proposed.

In 60280, *Mariamne* is in Compton's hand. Williams feels that it is a very early draft, based on the sorts of blemishes and corrections, and while he sees some sections that look slightly different with varying fineness and neatness, he assumes that these are the result of changes in writing instrument condition or breaks in the process, rather than indications of an additional writer (1980: 407). I observe the varying appearance, but have no doubt that the writer's identity is consistent throughout; I would also suggest that it is not a first draft, and at least is a more advanced draft than those plays in 60276, as the corrections are usually matters of replacing one or two words, or inverting a few within lines, and the line-ending rhymes (only one line in the entire play is not part of a rhyming pair) show nearly no evidence of the sort of second-guessing revision that would be expected in a text that was being created anew. The list of constellations and religious references following the play appears to be in Compton's hand as well. This volume's items show Compton revising while he works, and he can claim creative ownership, which is significant to this study's aims.

ADD 60281's various contents—the near-complete but abandoned *Bassianus*, the abandoned fragment of *The Captives*, and the *Sophius* fragment—are all in the Compton hand, and show the usual telltale signs of revision to confirm his creative investment in them. Williams initially questioned if *Bassianus* might be a different (fine, clear, largely italic) hand's work, as it often shows more care than Compton's usual effort, with well-formed tails and loops, and more instances of secretary *h* than are usually seen in Compton's writing; as with *Mariamne*, however, Williams acknowledges that the variations may be the result of changes in writing conditions (1980: 409). I believe this to be the case, and see no particular reason to suggest that the play is not entirely Compton's work. The second scene of the play shows a massive (and incomplete) structural revision, with a major character written out of the text and his lines mostly (and sometimes awkwardly) reassigned to another. As such, I do not believe that it is a very late draft. The fragment of *The Captives* has quite a few corrections and is often awkwardly worded, so may be a first or at least very early draft. The *Sophius* fragment is confident enough in its iambic pentameter for me to guess that it is not a first draft, but there are enough revisions within lines to suggest that it is only at a medium state of development.

In ADD 60282, both *The Martird Monarch* and the political treatise are in the Compton hand and show significant signs of revising, so can be assumed to be

Compton's original work. As prose, they are less revealing in terms of their state of preparation (not showing struggles with rhyme or metre, for instance), but *The Martird Monarch* seems confident enough to be potentially a relatively final draft, with most of the major excisions relating to individuals' names rather than the telling of the story itself. Likewise, the treatise communicates with confidence and only lacks tidiness to be a presentation-quality draft.

In summary, 60276-60282 contain plays, poems, an historical account and a political treatise in conditions varying from partial to complete, and presumably first drafts to very good drafts. The collection's primary hand can be seen to be Compton's,¹ and those items that are not still offer reasons to include them in the Compton collection, particularly when it is clear from certain items (for instance, Compton's signed but otherwise scribal letters of 22 January 1664 and 24 May 16[73]) that Compton allowed his words to be filtered through scribes or secretaries at other times in his life. As Wolf writes, this reveals 'a new figure in English literary history. His place, importance, and contribution to that history remain to be explained' (1980: 460). In the next chapter, I will give the reader an account of Compton's life, to begin to position him—and therefore his works—within a social and political historical context.

¹ For the sake of completeness, I also examined handwriting samples from the following relevant individuals: the 2nd Earl of Northampton in a possibly scribal Italic letter (*BL MS ADD 18980*: 12) and a probable scribal Secretary (*BL MS ADD 18979*: 23); Compton's second wife Mary in a letter dated 31 July [1680] in a less confident Italic hand (*BL MS ADD 29558*: 64-65); Compton's close servant Phillip Willughby in Italic letters (*BL MS ADD 18980*: 57; *BL MS ADD 29570*: 1, 17, 32); his servant Edward Landisdale in Italic letters faintly similar to the *Leontius* drafts but not identically so (*BL MS ADD 18980*: 129; *BL MS ADD 29570*: 13); Compton's younger brother William's messy Italic (*BL MS ADD 29570*: 15-16; 54-56; possibly scribal 100-101); younger brother Charles' signed but probably otherwise scribal response to allegations from Compton of misconduct (*BL MS ADD 29570*: 99); younger brother Sir Spencer (*BL MS ADD 29550*); younger brother Sir Francis (*BL MS Egerton 2539*); younger brother Henry, Bishop of London (*BL MS ADD 27997*: 55-93); and for good measure, even Charles I (*BL MS ADD 18980*: 151; *BL MS ADD 34253*: 70). Kelliher observes similarities in the Compton family's handwriting that he suspects might be the result of a common writing instructor (1979: 169); nevertheless, they can be differentiated.

Chapter 4: The Writer's Biography

With Compton established as the collection's primary author, I will now provide a biography in order to give the reader an understanding of Compton's historical significance, political affiliations, and personality, which will offer context in the later process of analysing the texts themselves, and positioning them relative to other writers' activity in the period; most critically, the biography will make it more reasonable to propose biographical and social allusions in Chapter 6. Kelliher's article provides a good core biography and all facts in this chapter not directly credited to another source come from him (1979: 161-168), but I also provide valuable details gathered from many other sources.

Family Background

The Compton family had long been based at Compton Wynyates in Warwickshire, and had enjoyed conspicuous royal favour since Compton's great-great-great-grandfather William's time in the reign of Henry VIII, steadily acquiring wealth, property, and power. In Elizabethan times, Compton's great-grandfather Henry, 1st Baron Compton (1538-89), began building Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire; the family's theatrical links appear with Henry, who was patron to a company of players¹ (Somerset 2009: 354).

Compton's grandfather William (1572-1630) rose to become 1st Earl of Northampton during James I's reign. William too was patron to various entertainments, including bear-baiting, musicians, and players; the latter's performances are recorded in 1605 and 1608—even though non-royal player patronage was made 'illegal' in 1604—in Coventry, which was centre of William's power (Somerset 2009: 350). William himself was a tilter in Sir Henry Lee's 17 November 1590 *Tilt Yard Entertainment*, he performed in a Campion masque and a Jonson tilt at the Earl of Somerset's 1613 wedding, and for the Court at Salisbury in August 1620 commemorating the failure of the Gowrie conspiracy (Kelliher 1979: 159-67), in 'a show or play of twelve parts' as 'a cobbler and teacher of Birds to whistle', while Compton's father played 'a tailor' (CSP Ven 1620: 382-395).

¹ 1573-1578. They then disappear from the records, though Henry continued to have bearwards until his death (Somerset 2009: 354).

Compton's father Spencer, 2nd Earl, studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where on 8 March 1615¹ he performed three roles in George Ruggle's Latin comedy *Ignoramus* for King James and Prince Charles (Smith 1923: 79-80), with one of the roles that of a female servant, which he took after his Puritan tutor refused to wear a woman's costume. Spencer was known for his expansive learning and mastery of languages: 'it was as much as four several Tutors, at Home, at *Cambridge*, and in *France*, and *Italy*, each taking his respective hour for the Art and Science he professed, to keep pace with his great proficiency' (Lloyd 1668: 353). He often handled foreign ambassadors, and spent time on the Continent between December 1619 and October 1621, when he returned to marry Mary Beaumont, a distant relation of the dramatist Francis Beaumont. In other words, Compton was born into an establishment family with an interest in language and culture.

The Early Years

James Compton was born on 19 August 1622, the eldest of six brothers and two sisters.² His early life was one of privilege. Compton was styled 'Lord Compton' from 24 June 1630 (Roberts 2010: np),³ and attended Eton c.1633-1636. In August 1634, King Charles and his Court stayed at Castle Ashby for four nights while on a progress,⁴ and Prince Charles' company of actors may have accompanied them, so Compton may have seen them during a summer holiday. He received a Cambridge M.A. as *filius nobilis* in February 1636, and was formally admitted to Queen's College on 21 January 1637 (Keeler 1954: 139). While at Cambridge, he contributed a four-line Latin epigram (his earliest preserved writing) to the University's *Synoidia, sive Musarum*

¹ England adopted the modern calendar in 1752. Prior to then, the year began on 25 March. This means that dates earlier than 1752 between 1 January and 24 March need to have one year added to them to be consistent with our modern reckoning (Preston and Yeandle 1992: 2). I adjust dates to the modern system in this study.

² All of the brothers attained some level of historical prominence: the four eldest distinguished themselves during the Civil War in the Royalist cause, the fifth had an extensive later military career, and the youngest became Bishop of London after the Restoration. The eldest five all received knighthoods (Brydges 1812: 242). The youngest, Bishop Henry Compton, was a colourful individual, and lived in the Bishop's Rooms at Castle Ashby for two years after being suspended from his duties by James II, with whom he had great conflict. In November 1688 when William of Orange was landing in England, Henry helped Princess Anne escape from London in a coach that he had waiting, and he led the Princess to Castle Ashby on horseback, in a buff coat and jackboots, armed with sword and pistols, and from there led her to William's army at Nottingham at the head of a horse guard (Castle Ashby: 10).

³ History of Parliament Trust, London, unpublished article on James Compton, Lord Compton for 1640-60 section by S.K. Roberts. I am grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see this article in draft.

⁴ James I had also visited Castle Ashby in 1605, 1612, and 1616 (Pevsner and Cherry 1973: 141), and Elizabeth had visited as well (Nelles 1990: 45).

Cantabrigiensium concentus et congratulatio, a volume to King Charles commemorating the birth of his daughter Princess Anne on 17 March. Kelliher translates Compton's lines¹ as follows: 'You safeguard your people, Charles, both with your fleet and offspring, though the safety that comes from childbirth is the sweeter. Do not ask which is more pleasing to your subjects, however: while the one injures their purse, the other costs them nothing'. This contains a politically charged reference to Charles' attempts to collect the unpopular Ship Money tax,² which was first introduced in 1635 (Compton 1930: 81). As such, Kelliher notes that the verse shows a young Compton with an awareness of contemporary politics, and already disdainful of those who hesitate to support the King.

Compton's father was involved in fighting against the Spanish at Breda in 1637 and the Austrians at Vlotho in 1638 (Bennett 2006: np), and after Compton's short period at Cambridge, he may have joined his father at The Hague in July 1637, and plausibly in France, Spain, and Italy; as there is no record of any other time Compton spent abroad,³ Kelliher suggests that Compton could have gained a taste for foreign writing in this period.

The Prelude to Civil War

Compton certainly spent some time abroad, because in September 1640, his father wrote to him in the Low Countries, where he may have been in military service (Keeler 1954: 139), recalling him to England to stand for Parliament as a candidate for Warwickshire against the man supported by Lord Brooke—a rival of the Comptons representing Parliamentary and Puritan interests. Compton won on 2 November (Keeler 1954: 139). On the 30th, he was named to a committee to discuss with the Lords accusations of treason facing the Earl of Strafford (a favourite of the King), but his election result was voided on 2 December after some question of its accuracy. A new election was held between the 28th and 1 January 1641, which Compton won handily,

¹ *Ad Regem.*

CLa\$\$e tuam gentem, munis tu Carole prole;
 Quæ tamen ex partu e\$t, dulcior illa \$alus.
 Grata magis populo quæ \$it, non quære; crumenam
 Altera cùm pul\$et, con\$tat at hæc nihilo.

*Jacobus Compton, Baro de Compton, filius &
 hares Comit. Northampt. Coll. Regin.*

(Compton 1637: np).

² The tax was particularly unpopular in Northamptonshire, which was heavily Parliamentary in its sympathies (Keeler 1954: 11, 57).

³ The probability of his travelling in this period is increased by the fact that his younger brother William also studied and travelled before the war (Brydges 1812: 243).

despite a rumour spread by his opponent that Compton was a recusant (Roberts 2010: np), and Compton took his seat in the Long Parliament Commons as Lord Compton.

In the next few months he had some modest responsibilities on government committees, notably on 1 March as the teller for the yeas for sending a minister to the Tower' for calling for deliverance from lay Parliaments and Puritans', and on 9 April as teller for the noes on a motion to continue the cessation of arms with the Scots (Roberts 2010: np). When the Bill of Attainder condemning the Earl of Strafford for treason on questionable grounds was debated on 21 April 1641, Compton voted against the motion (Keeler 1954: 139) with over a quarter of the Commons, leading to his name being included (along with that of his father in the Lords) on a list of 'Straffordians, betrayers of their country...enemies of justice' that was posted in public view in Westminster, leading to those named being targeted by 'overflowing popular indignation' (Verney 1845: 57). On 3 May Compton took the protestation 'To defend the true Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the church of England, against all Popery and Popish innovations within this realm' (Roberts 2010: np; Brydges 1812: 237). Strafford was executed on 12 May; Compton acted as a messenger between the Commons and Lords on 14 and 15 July, but on 13 August he received permission to go into the country, having served on only four committees since the Strafford vote. He may then have gone to Scotland with the King, but returned to the Commons on 2 November to be nominated to a joint committee with the Lords to request a loan from the City, apparently working in the King's interests (Roberts 2010: np).

On 25 January 1642, Compton was on a Commons committee that petitioned the King to put the Kingdom in a defensive state, which was actually a Parliament attempt to take from the King the right to nominate militia officers. On 12 February he introduced a Warwickshire petition 'denouncing popery and innovation in the church, "evil counsellors" and popish lords', and on 19 February he was selected to accompany the Earl of Leicester to the King with Lord Digby's self-incriminating letters encouraging the King's recent infamous attempt to seize five members of Parliament who had earned Charles' wrath. Compton was teller for the noes on 7 March, opposing the appointment of the 'fiery spirit' Thomas Coleman as lecturer in St. Giles-in-the-Fields; Oliver Cromwell was a teller for the yeas. On 19 March, Compton unwillingly presented to the King at York a message from the Commons regarding their accusations that the King had encouraged rebellion in Ireland, and on 24 March he returned the King's unwavering response, in Compton's last known participation in the Commons

(Roberts 2010: np). In May 1642, Compton was one of sixty-three MPs to join the King at York (Compton 1930: 82).

It can be seen from these examples of Compton's activity during his time in the Commons that he was not necessarily a political leader, but he was regularly aligned with conservative attempts to support the status quo of Church and State in opposition to radical reform, and was willing to suffer public disapproval for standing on his principles. Still, he was clearly not seen as an extremist by his opponents, as they found him palatable as a messenger to the Lords and the King as well. He would perhaps be well characterised as a staunch but moderate Royalist in this period. In terms of theatrical exposure, the commercial theatre closure would strike that September, and it is uncertain how much theatre Compton had seen before that—though in his youth he probably saw some plays at Eton and Cambridge, possibly at home, in London, at Court, abroad (Kelliher 1979: 159-67), and back in London while participating in politics.

The War Years

The latter part of 1642 saw England erupt into full-blown civil war. Compton's father and his rival Lord Brooke had several skirmishes that summer,¹ starting at Kineton three weeks before the war formally began; this continued as they moved around the Midlands attempting to secure arms, ammunition, and men (Page 1908: 449-50). As July turned to August, what was considered the war's real 'first brush occurred between the Earl of Northampton and Lord Brooke, near Banbury'² (Aubrey 1960: xxx). Spencer then attacked and took Warwick, though its castle held out. Compton had been made a Captain of Foot under his father a few days earlier, and was involved with mounting weaponry on the church tower with which to assault the castle. However, the first shot broke the weapon, killing seven gunners and knocking out Compton, 'taking off a piece of his cheek and beat[ing] his nose flat to his face'; the first return shot from the castle obliterated the top of the church tower (Roberts 2010: np). Nevertheless, when the King raised his standard at Nottingham in August, Compton was able to be present, along with his father and the next three eldest brothers, Charles, William, and Spencer

¹ Brooke's biographer suggested that Brooke had offered to meet Spencer in single combat prior to the war to settle matters, but that Spencer declined due to Brooke being strong and bold and Spencer being fat (Kupperman 1993: 209).

² Both tried to claim the Banbury ordinance, but Spencer managed to take it to Warwick (Pugh 1972: 9-10).

(Kelliher 1979: 162). In the next couple of months, Compton was involved in a few minor conflicts. Then, at the 23 October battle of Edgehill, he was present in his father's troop, along with brothers Charles (the cornet), William, and Spencer; the eldest three sons were knighted for their actions at the battle (Compton 1930: 84).¹ On 26 October, the King (with Compton and his father in attendance) summoned Banbury Castle to surrender; it did so on the 27th, with about half of the thousand men in the garrison defecting to the Royalist side. Compton's father was made Governor of the Banbury garrison² (Brydges 1812: 238-9; 254). On the 28th, the King marched to Oxford, which would be his winter quarters through the war, and the Comptons probably spent much of the winter in Banbury, improving its defences³ (Compton 1930: 85); however, Compton was at Oxford on 1 November, when he was made Doctor of Laws (Brydges 1812: 254).

Though only twenty years old at the start of 1643, the year would raise Compton into a far more prominent role, in which at first he would be quite successful. It would also bring on financial problems that would plague him for many years to come. On 16 February, Parliament stripped Compton of his seat in the Commons due to his military actions against them (Kelliher 1979: 163). On 19 March, at the Battle of Hopton Heath, Compton was shot in the leg and was removed from the field. While he was absent, his father overextended himself in a near-rout of the enemy, and, refusing quarter from 'such base rogues and rebels', was killed by a blow to the head from a halberd. Compton wrote to his mother about the incident in a letter that was also published⁴ in an account of the battle:

Dear Mother,
 On Sunday last we got the day of the Rebels, but our loss (especially Your Honour's and mine) is not to be expressed. For though it be a general loss to the Kingdom, yet it toucheth us nearest. But Madam, casualties in this world will happen, & in such a cause who would not have ventured both life and fortune? Pray'e Madam, let this be your comfort, that it was impossible for any to do braver than he did, as appears by their own relation. I sent a trumpeter to know what was become of my father; he brought me a letter from Sir John Gell and Sir William Brereton, assuring me of my father's death, making strange

¹ However, Roberts questions the assertion that this was when Compton was knighted (2010: np). Spencer junior indignantly cried because he was too young to 'grasp a pistol' and was not allowed to participate (Brydges 1812: 242).

² It appears that Spencer's son William served as Lieutenant Governor under his father, and later under Compton, before becoming the Banbury Governor himself near the end of the war. He was reputed to have worked hard to win the affections of the town for the King, and to have been an energetic commander who shared in the duties of the common soldiers (Brydges 1812: 243).

³ Deepest winter was fairly quiet, though on 21 December a Parliamentary army entered Banbury; it retreated on 23 December as a relieving force from Oxford drew near (Pugh 1972: 9-10).

⁴ I modernise this letter's spelling and tidy the grammar as its printed state distances it from Compton's personal writing idiosyncrasies.

demand for his body (such as were never before heard of in any war, as all their ammunition, prisoners, and cannon which we had taken). I sent them word back, that their demands were unreasonable, and against laws of arms, but desired them to give free passage to some chirurgeons to embalm him, or to let their chirurgeons do it, and I would satisfy them for their pains. Their last answer I have sent in Philip Willoughby's letter, which is that they will neither send the body nor suffer our chirurgeons to come to embalm it, but will see their own chirurgeons do it. Their relation was, that he was assaulted by many together, and with his own hand killed the Colonel and others also, but was unhorsed by the multitude, his horse being shot; but his armour was so good that they could not hurt him, 'til he was down, and had undone his head-piece.

'Pray'e Madam, be comforted, and think no man could more honourably have ended this life (fighting for his religion, his King, and his country) to be partaker of heavenly joys. We must certainly follow him, but can hardly hope for so brave a death. Thus humbly craving your blessing, I shall remain 'til death,

STAFFORD
March, 22,
1642.¹

Your obedient Son

NORTHAMPTON.

(Northampton 1643: 6-7)

The rebel commanders carried off the body to Derby where it was then buried (Brydges 1812: 240-1). Thus, Compton became the 3rd Earl of Northampton at the age of twenty, inheriting both his father's title, and his huge debts.² Shortly thereafter, Compton wrote to Prince Rupert, updating him on the present condition his late father's forces, including those at Banbury, and asking Rupert and the King to grant Compton his father's old commands³ (*BL ADD MS 18980*: 28), which they did: on 23 March he became Colonel of a horse regiment and a foot regiment, Governor of Banbury, and Colonel, General, and Commander of all forces in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Coventry and Peterborough (Roberts 2010: np).

Within Compton's regiment was a Major Holland, who may be the Samuel Holland whose lost two-part masque, *The Enchanted Grove*, was noted by Percy as being at Castle Ashby, and whose *Romancio-mastix*⁴ remains there in a 1660 edition. There was a rumour that Peter Hausted, sometimes a dramatic writer, served as Compton's chaplain.⁵ If this was true, 'it was a very poetical *Corps*'¹ (Kelliher 1979: 165-7).

¹ 1643 in modern dating.

² Compton estimated the debts at £30,000, and his annual income at no more than £3,000.

³ Much like the surviving play manuscripts, Compton's letters are riddled with corrections and revisions. Even when writing to a Prince, he was seemingly content to send a letter that was anything but tidy. The present letter's corrections perhaps reveal an emotional struggle, as Compton changes his initial impulse to describe the death of 'my father' to the less personal 'y^c Earle of Northampton' (*BL ADD MS 18980*: 28).

⁴ Previously published as *Wit and Fancy in a Maze, a Mock Romance* (1656), and *Don Zara del Fogo*.

⁵ Hausted may have died during the siege of 1644. However, most evidence links him to Hatton instead (Bentley 1959iv: 533-4).

Among Compton's surviving correspondence² is a letter he wrote to family friend Sir Christopher Hatton on 18 April, thanking Hatton for a compassionate letter about the 2nd Earl's death. In it, Compton compliments Hatton's language, and puts down his own: 'I am poore in complements realitie having allwaies been my studie, but were I indued with y^e eloquence of Cicero it would exceed my rhetoricke fully to express thanks' (BL MS ADD 29570: 3v); while the self-deprecation could be modesty, when combined with Compton's difficulty controlling the pen, and the large number of corrections he usually had to make, it does make me wonder if Compton did have genuine difficulty expressing himself in writing in this period.

He participated in various war-related actions through the year:³ on 7 May, Compton's associate Phillip Willughby⁴ wrote to Prince Rupert from Oxford, telling him that on the 6th, Compton had intercepted 'four troops of horse, six or seven hundred foot, one piece of cannon of six-pound bullet' half a mile from Banbury; Compton led thirteen troops of horse against them, taking three hundred prisoners, killing around a hundred, seizing the cannon and four cartloads of arms, and capturing or killing all of the foot officers⁵ (BL ADD MS 18980: 57). His financial situation was less fruitful, however. On 7 September, Parliament seized and sold his household goods at Crosby House in London (Randall 1995: 211). Compton and his mother purchased land at Grendon (near Castle Ashby) from Willughby, and on the 24th, settled it on Compton's brother Charles,⁶ but it was immediately sequestered by Parliament (Compton 1930: 104). Compton also created trusts of several manors to pay his father's debts (Roberts 2010: np). That December, Compton was a signatory on a letter from the Royalist peers

¹ Holland might be the Esquire who was taken with the Worcester garrison in July 1646. Wolf points out that Compton was at Banbury preparing for his surrender at this time, so Holland could not have been both places at once; a 'John s. of Samuell Holland' was buried in St. James Clerkenwell on 3 July 1674 (1981: 273), which could be relevant since Compton became connected to that parish.

² On 8 May, Compton wrote from Banbury to Rupert requesting official protection for his tenants in Brailes and Long-Compton from plunder (BL ADD 18980: 58).

³ On 8 April Compton was with Rupert at the taking of Lichfield, and at the surrender of Lichfield Close on the 21st (Brydges 1812: 254-5). Compton received Queen Henrietta Maria's delivery of arms from Holland at Banbury on 13 May, conveying them to Woodstock (Compton 1930: 86). Among his other roles in the waning months of the year, on 20 September he commanded the horse at the first Battle of Newbury (Brydges 1812: 254-5). In September, forces under Essex entered Banbury but again did not attack the castle (Pugh 1972: 9-10).

⁴ Willughby has already been mentioned by Compton in his letter to his mother concerning his father's death. It will be seen that Willughby remains very important in Compton's life. His letter is modernised here for the reader's convenience.

⁵ I believe that this is the same engagement that Brydges dates on 12 May as the routing of 5 troops of enemy horse and 700 foot-soldiers at Middleton Cheyney during an attempt by the Parliamentarians to move against Banbury (1812: 254-5).

⁶ Charles probably lived here for a time in the Commonwealth with his mother and sisters, though he also spent a period in exile on the Continent (Compton 1930: 104).

to the Scottish privy councillors, appealing to them not to send the Scottish army into England in support of Parliament (Roberts 2010: np).

1644 was filled with the business of war for Compton. His power was great,¹ and his brigade formed one fifth of the King's Cavalry (Compton 1930: 89-98). However, Banbury² suffered badly, as from March to November, it was struck with an 'appalling' bout of the plague (Morgan 1966: ix). To make matters worse, on 9 June, Parliament captured Compton Wynnyates (where Compton's mother and one of the youngest brothers were), and did much damage and plundering;³ Compton blamed his brothers for the loss of the house (Roberts 2010: np), and it is possible that this fed into tensions that erupted between them later. With better fortune, on 29 June at the Battle of Cropredy Bridge, Compton charged and drove off Sir William Waller's horse, then marched into Cornwall with the King (Compton 1930: 90). However, Parliamentary forces moved against Banbury on 19 July, with William Compton leading the defence (Compton 1930: 89-98). The attackers spent a month setting up batteries and constructing siege works (Pugh 1972: 9-10), on 17 September Cromwell arrived with reinforcements (Compton 1930: 89-98), and on 23 September they made a failed attempt to storm the castle (Pugh 1972: 9-10). Compton was still in the west at this time, with his horse performing rearguard duties for the Royalist army as far afield as Plymouth (Compton 1930: 89-98). Local Royalists tried but failed to relieve Banbury castle on the 20th of October (Pugh 1972: 9-10), but finally on the 22nd, the King sent Compton and three regiments of horse from Newbury to help Banbury (Compton 1930: 89-98); on the 25th Compton defeated eight hundred rebels between Adderbury and Banbury, causing the rest of the Banbury besiegers to flee and get routed near Hanwell, which lifted the siege⁴ (Compton 1930: 89-98). The Compton brothers possibly spent the next several winter months repairing the damage to Banbury (Compton 1930: 89-98). Meanwhile, on 8 November, Parliament designated Northampton House by the Savoy for use receiving wounded Parliamentary troops (Randall 1995: 211).

¹ On 3 January he was responsible for impressment in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire (Roberts 2010: np).

² Banbury was yet again entered by the enemy—this time led by Cromwell—in March, but again they did not attack the Castle (Pugh 1972: 9-10).

³ However, a family tradition holds that Compton's mother hid wounded Cavaliers in the roofs and nursed them back to health, then helped them to escape (Compton 1930: 89-98).

⁴ Sir William rejected calls to surrender on 19 July, 27 August, and 16 September; on the last occasion, the wall was breached and William defended it. By the end of the thirteen-week siege, only two of the defenders' horses remained uneaten, but William's careful leadership prevented any mutiny (Brydges 1812: 244). Compton then rejoined the King, relieved Donnington Castle, and defeated another body of foes (Brydges 1812: 254-5).

1645 was a negative turning point not only for the Royalist cause, but also for Compton himself; in his military career, family relationships, and friendships, loyalties were put under great strain, and he seems to have spent more of the year attempting to quell personal problems than in fighting for the King.¹ Of central significance from February 1645 until October 1646 was that Compton was in a dispute with his mother, concerning who should retain documents referring to the younger siblings' finances (Compton 1930: 102-3). This may at least in part be what is behind an increasingly tense series of letters surviving from Compton to by-then-Lord Hatton from February to October 1645. On 23 February, Compton addressed a misunderstanding with Hatton, noting that Compton understood the value 'of secreisie', a quality that he 'shall never violate, it being, a qualitie so pertinent to a noble mind' (BL MS ADD 29570: 5). On 26 February he wrote² that he had always intended to serve the King 'and in the peace' when peace should come again or when Compton was no longer able to serve in a military capacity. He then claimed that he had not sought out or received preferment (contrasting somewhat to his direct request for his father's commands from Rupert earlier), but had simply tried to live up to the responsibilities the King had given him, and had always looked to Hatton for support (BL MS ADD 29570: 7); I wonder if this shows Compton beginning to reveal waning enthusiasm for military activity. Compton defended his servant Edward Landisdale from growing accusations of wrongdoing coming from Compton's mother and siblings, and Hatton (BL MS ADD 29570: 9). During this family tension, however, the Comptons were still active in the field together. According to a partisan account, in a conflict³ on 18 March near Northampton, Compton had his headpiece beaten off, Charles had a pistol misfire at him, William had a horse killed under him, and Spencer at one point was surrounded by eight enemies; they repeatedly saved each other, and that spring were back to work rebuilding the Banbury castle fortifications (Compton 1930: 89-98). Compton continued to defend Landisdale from accusations, though (BL MS ADD 29570:11), and Landisdale also

¹ On 29 January (though Roberts places this action in November 1644), Compton's brothers Charles and William led around three hundred men from the Banbury garrison in a night-time sneak-attack on Compton Wynyates, but after securing the outlying buildings, they were driven off with bad losses. In February and March, Compton may have been with his horse regiment at Adderbury harrying the enemy forces, possibly keeping the forces holding Compton Wynyates hemmed in, and maybe engaging in some looting, according to petitions complaining of such acts. On 6 March his brother Charles led a raid at Halford, seizing seventy-two pack-horses loaded with broad cloth containing money, plate, fine linen, and rich apparel, for which Compton had to pay compensation after the war. On the 7th Compton accompanied the King when he left his winter quarters and marched on Leicester to plunder it (Compton 1930: 89-98). Compton was responsible for impressment in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire on 17 March (Roberts 2010: np).

² Compton also expresses surprise that an unidentified 'A.M. should haue so little secreisie'.

³ This may be where the brothers routed a large body of enemy horse near Althorpe (Brydges 1812: 254-5).

wrote to Hatton, asking to be returned to Hatton's good favour, acknowledging that he was young and had made mistakes, but that he was innocent of the worst charges of attempting 'Breach, & separation' in 'that most honourable family' (BL MS ADD 29570: 13r-14v), which must be the Comptons. The family breach expanded, with William defending himself from Compton's criticism (BL MS ADD 29570: 15r-16v). In the midst of this apparent unpleasantness, Compton's military forays soured: he was beaten badly by Cromwell¹ at Islip on 24 April, a large number of his men were captured in May (Roberts 2010: np), and he fought in the crushing defeat at Naseby on 14 June, before returning with the King to Oxford² (Compton 1930: 89-98). Compton complained of insubordination in his garrison and from his brothers,³ and trouble with his mother, while defending his associate Phillip Willughby⁴ from accusations of meddling in the garrison (BL MS ADD 29570: 18).⁵ On 22 July, while partially apologising if his last letter was too aggressive, he noted his 'imbecillitie in writing being so well knowne to y^e Lo^p', while still defending his authority and rightness (BL MS ADD 29570: 20r-21v); he acknowledged having had occasional help from Hatton with his writing, which again seems to show a genuine lack of confidence in his ability to write in this period, but stated that he 'must acquitt my selfe of using any pen but my owne' for his correspondence (BL MS ADD 29570: 22-23v), that 'tis not fitt for mee to contradict my hand' (BL MS ADD 29570: 24r-25v),⁶ and that 'the pen is not my weapon, to retort in railing not my vocation'. Compton hoped that his friendship with Hatton was not about to end, but warned that he was reaching the end of his patience in taking abuse. He vowed again that he had always been honourable and listened to advice, but ultimately followed his own judgement (BL MS ADD 29570: 27-29v). Compton also criticised his brother Charles, and wrote to Hatton, 'for y^e Lo^{ps} bing better read then my selfe why should you thinke I jeere you, are not you riper in yeares⁷ then I

¹ This was Cromwell's first successful command in the New Model Army (Fraser 1997: 147).

² Kelliher suggests that Compton led 1500 horse in Wales (1979: 163), but I can find no other suggestion of this, and the timeline does not seem to provide for it when the dates of the letters from Banbury are taken into account.

³ However, Compton notes that his brother Spencer had grown closer in his heart due to Spencer's recent actions.

⁴ Hatton and Willughby had business dealings at least as early as February 1637, when Willughby wrote to Hatton assuring Hatton that his credit and reputation were in no danger on Willughby's account due to the malice of a scrivener named Mr. Wilkinson (BL MS ADD 29570: 1r).

⁵ In the post-script, Compton requests that Thomas Doughtie (the family solicitor) should return speedily to Banbury from Oxford.

⁶ While suggesting that something he perhaps did wrongly was not his fault, due to Landisdale being confined and misplacing Compton's papers, he also mentioned an insult to a Bishop by one of his subordinates, which he did not encourage or reward, and Compton asserted again that he was faithful to Hatton.

⁷ Hatton was seventeen years older than Compton.

I and allwaies applied y^e selfe to y^e study, whiche I haue don but slightly and truantlyke',
and

I contemn not the pen, in any noble way, as those braue men you mentiond used it, but rather not put it to so vile an use as rayling there being braver and more noble waies to vindicate honor, I haue not so muche contemnd it as to shew my selfe illiterate, or that I am not a lover of learning, and count it a vertue necessary to all military actions

He added that Hatton's letters had been far more provocative than his own, using high-flown and offensive language to him, but that he would not reply in kind¹ (BL MS ADD 29570: 30r-31v). Then, a proper falling-out in person between Hatton and Compton took place on 14 August in the presence of Compton's mother (BL MS ADD 29570: 34). The conflict² led to both men (and apparently Willughby) being put 'under restraint' by the Privy Council; the popular judgement on the issue can be seen in that Hatton had his restraint removed on 16 August, but Compton's restraint continued until he would acknowledge that he was in error, and misled through advice of those who only wanted to further their own interests (BL MS ADD 29570: 41). This appears to be quite damning evidence that Compton's party was seen as being in the wrong, and responsible for difficulties around Banbury. Things grew even worse, with Hatton writing to the Secretary of State that Willughby was threatening to inflame the problem between Compton and his family and friends if Willughby himself was not freed immediately; Hatton requested that Willughby be restrained further, suggesting that the 'young lord' (Compton) probably would become better behaved as a result (BL MS ADD 29570: 44r-45v). Compton wrote to the Lords, offering to remove Willughby from any activity at Banbury for three months, during which time Willughby could attempt to clear his name; in exchange, Compton requested all of the letters that had been written condemning Willughby. He mentioned that Willughby's estates were in Compton's and Hatton's hands, so requested that Willughby either be put in Compton's custody so that Compton could maintain him, or that he be brought to a speedy trial, noting that the Royalists were in bad condition by this point, but a proper trial would do much to reassure the people of the rightness of their cause (BL MS ADD 29570: 48). Willughby seems to have formally made extensive and highly unconvincing charges slandering Hatton in various ways concerning the Comptons, Hatton's loyalty to the Royalists, and

¹ Compton was unhappily following Hatton's request that 'Phillip Willughbee' read the letters as an intermediary. Willughby himself wrote to Hatton asking (in grovelling terms) for proof of what he was supposed to have done wrong (BL MS ADD 29570: 32r-33v).

² Hatton's account claims that Hatton had wanted to profit from certain parsonages, and that Compton spoiled the deal for him, and caused offence both to Hatton and to Compton's mother (BL MS ADD 29570: 34r-41v).

so forth; Hatton showed disdain for Willughby ('a broken gamester') and his corrupting influence over Compton, and Hatton mentioning having written letters at times for Compton, such as to his mother, when diplomacy was required, but that Compton generally rewrote and mutilated Hatton's diplomatic suggestions by adding emotional content that led to the very disagreements that Hatton was attempting to help him avoid (BL MS ADD 29570: 50r-53v). Compton also continued to clash with his brother William, now over Compton's desire to cashier an officer without a trial or sound evidence of wrongdoing,¹ and Compton stated that he would ignore any court but the Lords or the King (BL MS ADD 29570: 55r-60). Whether or not Compton was present, it can be assumed that he was associated on 18 October when six troops of Banbury horse escorting Princes Rupert and Maurice to the King were defeated near Belvoir (Compton 1930: 89-98), so the period continued to be an unpleasant one for Compton; on that day, revenues from his Islington and Middlesex properties were granted to Prince Charles Lewis, Count Palatine of the Rhine, the King's nephew who had sided with Parliament (Randall 1995: 211). The Willughby affair had not gone away, either; on 29 October Hatton wrote to the King about it, showing just how serious the matter had become (BL MS ADD 29570: 67r-68v). Hatton also proposed being made prosecutor against Willughby, noting 'the Earle of North^{ton} having threatned to kill the Lord Hatton (as is conceived upon good grounds) by Willughbys instigation' (BL MS ADD 29570: 76r-79v), which may or may not have been true, but still shows what a low point their relationship had reached, and what sort of thing might be believed about Compton at that time.² Hatton drafted questions that he wished to be demanded of Willughby, which represent Willughby as a sort of Machiavellian manipulator working upon Compton. Hatton's list implies that Willughby was the cause of the great dissention between Compton, his mother, and his younger brothers, and had some sort of emotional power over Compton, in that Willughby implied during his captivity that he suffered for Compton like Charles I's impeached, imprisoned, and executed favourite Strafford suffered for the King (BL MS ADD 29570: 81r). Accusations continued

¹ The officer, Tirwhitt, in Compton's view was unfit for command, having a chronically under-strength company, and regularly giving speeches that were critical of Compton. Of the nine overseers, only Sir William Compton opposed the move. Compton wrote that Tirwhitt's petition of appeal to Oxford (supported by William Compton) had no credit. Again on 15 October Compton wrote to the Lords that Tirwhitt was pushing his luck by not simply disappearing after being cashiered rather than appealing Compton's ruling. He said that all of the Council agreed with his charge, 'except one whom I have lately found willing to command all to whom I may justly take dislike', which would have to be his brother William (BL MS ADD 29570: 60).

² Hatton possessed a list of supposed quotations taken from Willughby's letters to Compton from November 1643 to June 1645, basically telling Compton how to manipulate various situations for his benefit. Nothing truly evil is revealed, but there is certainly an uncomfortable sense of mild corruption around it (BL MS ADD 29570: 80r-v).

between Compton and his brothers Charles¹ and William (BL MS ADD 29570: 98-103v), and Compton noted that Willughby, who had served his family since Compton's grandfather's time, was released after seven weeks in prison for suspicion of causing dissent and intrigue among the Comptons, with nothing proved against him (BL MS ADD 29570: 102). Through the fog of time and with only a partial account of the facts, perhaps it is impossible to know exactly what transpired within the Compton family and with Hatton, Willughby, and perhaps Landisdale, but it is clear that the rest of the Compton family, along with their friend Hatton, felt that Compton was negatively influenced by a meddling Willughby, to the detriment of their personal interests and those of the Banbury garrison, and by extension, the Royalist war effort; it seems that the King's advisors at Oxford agreed. However, nothing was proved against Willughby, and it can be seen that even if Compton was imperious and overly emotional, he was also fiercely loyal to someone close to him. Nevertheless, this young lord had alienated most of those around him by the end of 1645, and his brother William replaced him as Governor of Banbury (Brydges 1812: 244-6).

By the start of 1646, the Royalist forces were virtually defeated. Compton's wartime military career was likewise over, with no real successes for almost a year, and he seems to have left Banbury for Oxford. The Castle Ashby archives contain a letter described as a copy² of one from Charles I to Compton's brother William, in which the King mentions Compton having

lately quitted his command of Governor of that our garrison of Banbury...his regiments of Horse & Foot...Yet in regard of his great fidelity, & eminent service which he hath done us, we hold it just that he should receive all such arrears of contribution, as are properly due unto him for those commands [to] the last of December past...We expect & are assured you will yield all due & ready obedience
(FD 1083/25)

I imagine that this undated copy must stem from very early in 1646, since it refers to a past December as a cut-off for payment for Compton's services at Banbury, and he was still properly active there in mid-1645. As such, it appears that Compton remained in charge during his deteriorating situation in 1645. If this is the case, the letter certainly makes it appear that his relationship remained good with the King, who seemingly took Compton's side rather than William's after the interpersonal tensions of 1645. On 23 January 1646, the second Banbury siege began, with William and Spencer defending the

¹ Compton accused Charles of repeatedly contradicting Compton's known orders, looting, and otherwise taking more than was his acknowledged right.

² Modernised here for the reader's convenience.

well-stocked garrison¹ (Compton 1930: 89-98). Nevertheless, on 16 February, Compton was issued a pass from Parliament to go abroad with twenty gentlemen from Oxford, and to leave a deputy in England to negotiate for the return of his estates (Kelliher 1979: 163); while he never actually departed, this may suggest he still had some friends at Oxford who surrendered with him, but also suggests a move away from his siblings in terms of priorities. His squabble with his mother over family financial documents continued, and a 26 February account from Oxford notes that some Lords were seeking permission from the King to approach Compton's mother with the opinion that family documents concerning Compton should be shown to Compton, with copies made so both parties could have a version, and unique items copied and the originals held by an indifferent third party for safety (Castle Ashby FD 1084/11). Compton was clearly in communication with officials on both sides of the fight at this point, without any obvious sign of personal bad blood, except within his family circle; considering the King's supportive letter and the help of the Lords interceding with his mother around this time, I venture a guess that he was indeed given some sort of permission from the Royalist side to surrender and see to his property. On 23 March Compton received Parliamentary permission to approach the committee responsible for compounding in person (Kelliher 1979: 163). He finally left Oxford to compound on 25 April—two days before the King did (Compton 1930: 99). This delay seems to suggest that he did not simply flee at the first opportunity, but completed his business in the Royalist camp before leaving it.

The wartime years show Compton as a young man taking on enormous responsibility, experiencing some success, and displaying some noteworthy traits like loyalty and a sense of honour (and secrecy). However, they also reveal the great strain he faced, and a certain pride and imperiousness that contributed to a massive rift forming between him and most of those close to him. The final stretch of the war may have been an extremely bitter one for him.

The Aftermath of War

Compton's main visible activity in the rest of 1646 was to begin the process of trying to recover his property. As heir to 'one of the largest fortunes in England' with estates in

¹ Sir William rejected a summons to surrender on 18 March (Pugh 1972: 9-10). The defenders dropped stones on the attackers, and there was a constant need to repair the walls, but they held out well (Compton 1930: 89-98).

eleven counties, his fine had almost quadrupled in size¹ after his father's death (Keeler 1954: 139), but he applied to compound for delinquency on 30 April, and on 2 May took the National Covenant and Negative Oath (Compton 1930: 99-101)—a necessity for coming to terms with Parliament, yet something that meant superficially renouncing his allegiance to his Church and King. In the meantime, King Charles surrendered to the Scots at Newark on the 6th, Banbury surrendered after fifteen weeks under siege on 9 May,² and on 16 June, Compton Wynyates had its defences disabled by the vacating Parliamentary forces (Compton 1930: 89-98). Compton, however, made progress with his appeals, gaining permission to borrow money, visit his estates, protect and recover his property, and prosecute those who abused it;³ on 14 November, he applied successfully to regain possession of Castle Ashby and Compton Wynyates, and to repair them so as to make them better suited to repay the composition charges, though due to the damage to Castle Ashby, Compton and his family apparently lived in a lodge or farmhouse⁴ when in the area (Compton 1930: 99-102).

In 1647, Compton's primary residence was apparently Canonbury House, Islington (Wolf 1981: 273), while he had much business in London sorting out his fines and repayments.⁵ Copies survive of the 'Motives humbly offered, for moderation of the Earl of Northampton's fine',⁶ in which Compton outlines why Parliament should treat him mercifully: he was only eighteen at the start of the war and was obliged to follow his father; the State had already profited much from seizure of his estates; he inherited huge debts, mortgaged and jointured properties from his father, but very little income from his estates; he was fined at the highest rate as owner of his estates though he believed that he was simply tenant for life; he had five younger siblings to sustain; he

¹ Initially £5,738, it was raised to £20,820, though it was later reduced to £14,153 (Keeler 1954: 139).

² Brydges dates this on the 8th (1812: 244-6). While the enemy was pressing hard at this time, the garrison was still well supplied, so may only have given up because they heard that the King had surrendered. Banbury surrendered on very honourable terms, which may have been arranged by Charles Compton, who was at Oxford with his mother during the siege. After the surrender, William and Spencer were given two months to leave England (Compton 1930: 89-98).

³ In June he applied to have his estates' timber protected, and in the first few months of 1647, the Committee for Compounding issued orders to stop sales of his woods. On 4 July he was granted a pass to go to his estates, as was Philip Willughby; Compton's papers were to be sent to the Committee for Compounding at this time. In July a Warwickshire committee was ordered to return a large portion of his belongings (including books) that had been seized, though many items from Compton Wynyates were not restored until the Restoration. In August his father's creditors were requesting attention before his settlement. In September his younger siblings requested allowance of their own portions (Green 1890: np).

⁴ He also regained his Chase and Park; the lodge was in Olney Park.

⁵ On 11 May he petitioned to have his fine moderated (Compton 1930: 99-101), and on the 13th he was instructed to compound with the committee at Goldsmith's Hall; the process included a demand from a Mr. Cartwright for £10,000 for damages caused by Compton to Cartwright during the war. According to Brydges, it was finally agreed that Compton was to pay £15,711 18s. 4d. at 270 l. per annum (1812: 256).

⁶ Spelling here is modernised, as the copies are not in Compton's own hand.

surrendered while he still had considerable military power that he chose not to use, and two months before Oxford itself did, leaving him without the protection of the city's terms of surrender; he could not secure documents (due to his conflict with his mother)¹ that could help his case; and his situation was unique, so others would not be able to exploit any mercy shown to him (BL MS ADD 34253: 42r). He argued that he had lain down arms in August 1645 (interesting as that was after his last known military action and in the worst period of his conflict with Hatton, when he was briefly under restraint) and during that November had attempted to get a member of Parliament to 'procure him leave to come in'; while this was not initially successful, he persisted until he was able to come in during April 1646, and promptly applied to compound (BL MS ADD 34253: 44r). While Compton does not appear like a devoted Royalist in these documents, it is plausible that he was simply telling the government what they needed to hear in order to get what he wanted;² the magnitude of Compton's inherited debts does appear quite crippling (Castle Ashby FD 1086), so there may have been a genuine need for Compton to surrender to settle these matters.³

Amidst this financial strain, Compton married Lady Isabella Sackville⁴—daughter of Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke and Cumberland, and Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset—at Clerkenwell on 5 July. Isabella may have brought literary and theatrical links to the family, as her own family had interests along those lines. Her mother penned a famous diary. Isabella's stepfather Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was a patron of the arts, as was his brother William Herbert, who was a patron to Jonson, Massinger, and Philip Browne, and knew Harington and Shakespeare; their kinsman Henry Herbert was Master of the Revels and a critically central man in Caroline drama. Isabella's paternal uncle was Edward Sackville⁵ (4th Earl of Dorset after her father), the

¹ He had appealed to the Lords and Court of Chancery for assistance, however. He claimed that Doughty, his father's solicitor, was responsible for withholding the evidences (BL MS ADD 34253: 44r).

² He was hardly unique in doing so: his mother argued in her own composition that she had not contributed to the Royalist effort and had only taken refuge at Oxford because she was vulnerable as a single mother with four young children in her care (Compton 1930: 102-3).

³ Castle Ashby retired archivist Peter McKay shared the view in conversation that Compton may never have been much of a fighter in his personality, either.

⁴ Isabella supposedly raised £6000 in arms to support the monarchy's restoration (Kelliher 1979: 164). The marriage would produce six children, but only one (Alethea) lived beyond her youth (Kelliher 2009: np).

⁵ Sackville's son Richard, 5th Earl of Dorset, was close to his cousin Isabella. Like Compton he voted against the Strafford attainder and became a Royal Society fellow (Wolf 1983: 22n); he translated Corneille's *Cid* with help from his tutor Joseph Rutter (Harris 1940: 15). His son Charles, 6th Earl of Dorset, took Nell Gwyn as a mistress prior to her involvement with Charles II (De Beer 1955: 466). The relationship appears to have been short-lived, however, with Pepys reporting her departure from the King's Company with Sackville on 13 July 1667 and her return, at which she was initially shunned by the Company, on 26 August (Milhous and Hume 1991: 87-80). Rumours circulated that Charles gave up Gwyn on the King's request so that the King could take her as a mistress, and the Royal favour that

Queen's Lord Chamberlain; he was highly involved in the theatre, particularly by way of renting some of his land to Henry Herbert for the construction of the Salisbury Court theatre,¹ and had a financial interest in all companies that performed there. Sackville also worked with Herbert to create the new Queen Henrietta's Men² in October 1637, which included actors who were associated with the Comptons via dedications in the 1650s, as will be shown shortly. The family ties to the theatre, particularly the Salisbury Court,³ could have brought Isabella into contact with the theatre and its practitioners. Artistic patronage becomes visible at this time, with a presentation copy of Henry Oxinden's 1647 *Religionis Funus* (Kelliher 1979: 167-8).

Another letter still at Castle Ashby from 17 November⁴ is addressed to 'Phillip', and I do wonder if it might refer to controversial Phillip Willughby. It is interesting that he addresses the letter with a first name, since Compton usually addresses his letters by titles or 'S^r'. While this could point to an underling unworthy of formality, his signing off with 'Y^r assured friend' makes it look like Phillip is an intimate acquaintance (CA

Charles received in the years after makes this seem possible (Harris 1940: 35-6). Charles served as Lord Chamberlain from 1689 to 1697, oversaw the breakup of the United Company of actors with licensing the New Theatre, and was said to have literary pretensions and to spend time carousing with theatre professionals (Downes 1987: 91). In 1685, After Compton's death, Charles married Compton's daughter by his second wife, Lady Mary Compton; both he and Compton's second wife were featured in the patron plates in Dryden's 1697 *Works of Virgil* (Harris 1940: 96; 198).

¹ The plot of ground was let to Richard Gunnell and William Blagrove for 41.5 years from 24 June 1629, and they built the playhouse. Dorset sold the rent and reversion of the property to John Herne. The theatre's interior was wrecked on 24 March 1649. However, the Lords Dorset clearly remained owners as they were still involved with the property's financial issues. The Earl Richard in 1651 quarrelled with Beeston over the property, withholding Beeston's desired 80-year lease while making Beeston carry out improvements on the area. This strain was still continuing in 1657. The theatre was very similar to the Blackfriars and Cockpit (Hotson 1962: 100-106). Henry Herbert later drafted a license for William Beeston c. June 1660 for use of the Salisbury Court Theatre (Downes 1987: 3). It burned down in the 1666 fire of London (Hotson 1962: 112).

² Herbert sent the four core actors to the company himself. They were Richard Perkins, John Sumner, William Sherlock, and the previously noted Anthony Turner. Perkins had been performing since Shakespeare's time and was the best known in the company; he had lived in Clerkenwell at least since 1623 (Wolf 1983: 20-1). He had been one of the chief Revells players at the Red Bull and a chief Phoenix player (Adams 1917: 63). Sumner was an 'eminent actor' who lived with Perkins in Clerkenwell at least as early as 1647 and probably was buried there in 1651 (Wolf 1983: 20-1). Turner was also a chief Phoenix player (Adams 1917: 63); this is the company that had performed Hemings' *Fatal Contract* in the 1630s (Wolf 1983: 20-1).

³ The family ties were very strong at Salisbury Court, as a Sir Henry Compton (possibly a cousin of Compton's) and a Sir John Sackville were among those renting out the plot of ground for the theatre on behalf of Edward, Earl of Dorset in 1629 (Bentley 1941i: 283-4).

⁴ I quote the text due to Willughby's significance to Compton:

Phillip

My removing no le\$ troubles mee y^{en} you, but \$o it is y^t
of two evils I have cho\$en y^o le\$\$, \$ome things are this day
\$et forward thitherward, y^c invitation to Grendon refu\$ed
I wonder what my brother Charles his ground of [u:^c] \$hould
bee, the letter to Bradley by him \$ufficiently expre\$eth my
meaning wherein nothing can bee alluded to y^t purpo\$e
\$o I re\$

Y^r a\$ured friend

Northampton

FD 1083:14). The precise meaning of the letter is unclear, but if it is to Willoughby, for better or worse Compton did not abandon him when all others pressured him to, which implies a strong loyalty on Compton's part.¹

The King was in desperate condition in 1648, and some attempts were made by Royalists to relieve him. However, Compton is curiously quiet in the year's historical records,² though his brother William was not: in May, William (recently returned from two years in exile) became Major General and showed great leadership in the Kentish uprising, but when it failed and Colchester fell to Fairfax's siege on 28 August, he was only imprisoned for a time, though other leaders were executed; Cromwell's description of William as 'The sober young man, and the godly cavalier' (Brydges 1812: 244-6) may show why he was spared. Regardless, Compton was issued a certificate showing his diligence in paying off his composition on 14 December (Green 1890: np), and on 15 January 1649, Oliver Cromwell ordered all officers and soldiers to give the Comptons freedom to travel³ as they wished while pursuing their composition (CA FD 1083: 36), which suggests that Cromwell did not view the Comptons as enemies at that time. Overall, Compton seems to have spent the first few years after his surrender mainly trying to stabilise his property.

Life in the Commonwealth

On 30 January 1649, King Charles was executed in front of Whitehall. The records show no obvious reaction on Compton's part, though a few weeks before the trial, he beat up his old foe Brereton, who then was largely absent from the proceedings that he might otherwise have been expected to attend (Underdown 1971: 189). Otherwise, Compton's financial strains continued,⁴ and he was obliged to sell the manor of Newnham Abbey in Bedfordshire, as well as jewellery, to pay his composition fees;

¹ McKay also mentioned in conversation that a Willoughby family is still residing in the area around Castle Ashby.

² Brydges suggests that Compton and the rest of his family engaged to participate in the Earl of Holland's disastrous July plot to rescue the King, though it is not apparent that they actually took part (1812: 256); I have found no other evidence of their involvement in this adventure, however, and Brydges' inclusion of William in this implication, even though he was busy with the Kentish uprising at the time, casts further doubt on it. At any rate, Compton was home at Canonbury on 3 June, when his mother-in-law visited the family, and in October, the Committee acknowledged that Compton had not neglected his responsibilities concerning the composition (Compton 1930: 99-108), though Green dates this and a July stoppage on his rents in 1647 rather than 1648 (1890: np).

³ They were still residing mainly at Canonbury around then (Compton 1930: 108).

⁴ Compton complained of more than £12,000 of timber and £50,000 of property having been taken from his properties. The family was certainly residing at Canonbury in February (Compton 1930: 105-8).

another negative event occurred on 22 May when the Comptons lost their first child, a boy a few weeks of age (Compton 1930: 102-8).

Compton continued to show outward appearances of coming to terms with the new regime in 1650, and took the Oath of Engagement with the Parliament (Roberts 2010: np) that was required of all adult men—though that could have been nothing more than superficial conformity. On 15 July, his mother-in-law privately wrote that General Cromwell had been kind about Compton's composition, and on 30 August Compton paid its first part, regaining the manors of Canonbury, Clerkenwell, and Highbury¹ (Compton 1930: 99-101). On 3 December his rents in Warwickshire were ordered to be paid to him (Green 1890: np), however, more fines and obligatory mortgages followed.²

In 1651, business matters were still dominant, though in January, Isabella was apparently pregnant again (Kelliher 1979: 163). A major step of stability was achieved on 20 March when Compton made the final payment for his estates (Compton 1930: 99-101), though Court of the Chancery documents from 23 April and 3 May show him still in legal squabbles over various property matters (NA C10/9/75). A 14 May document at Castle Ashby concerning a paid debt is signed by Phillip Willughby (CA FD 1085/22), showing his continuing presence, and a 31 May document concerning a debt remaining from Compton's father's time includes the names of Hatton, Compton's mother, the solicitor Thomas Doughty, and Willughby, showing how this group had been intertwined in the past and continued to be so now (NA C10/9/75).

In October, after Charles II escaped England following his defeat at Worcester, Compton was imprisoned, possibly due to some sort of suspicion about his activities (Compton 1930: 110). However, he must have been out by 9 December, when he finally received income from all of his estates, though the effects of damage and looting remained (Compton 1930: 99-101).

The historical records for Compton are quite minimal for the next few years. In 1652 there were some more financial penalties and property squabbles.³ In terms of patronage, Kelliher notes a Castle Ashby presentation copy of Edward Benlowe's 1652 *Theophila*, Royalist printer Bernard Alsop's 1651-2 reprint of *The Troublesome and Hard Adventures in Love* was dedicated to Compton, and Cosmo Manuche, who may

¹ These were valued at £600 per year.

² Another £500 was levied from Compton in fines in 1650-1651 (Keeler 1954: 139), and from this year through 1661 he was obliged to mortgage Middlesex manors for £8,500 (Roberts 2010: np).

³ On 15 July 1652, the Committee for Compounding threatened to sequester Crosby House if Compton did not pay composition for it (Green 1890: np), and on 17 December, he was again dealing with the Chancery Court in a disagreement with a buyer of some of his properties where Compton's mother (now near the end of her life) was still living as part of her jointure (NA C10/16/21).

have served under Compton before moving to Ireland and the Scilly Islands late in the Royalist resistance, dedicated his *Just General* to the Comptons.¹

On 27 May 1653, a son William was born at Canonbury. In June, Compton was again briefly imprisoned, this time relating to claims for compensation over his wartime activities² (Roberts 2010: np). Brother William had different preoccupations at this time: he was at the centre of the new Sealed Knot³ group tasked with bringing about the return of Charles II, though he was apparently a restraining influence on the group (Compton 1930: 105-8). Another interesting dedication came that year: William Hemings (or Heminges), son of John Heminges (Shakespeare's colleague and one-time leader of the King's Company), had his play *The Fatal Contract* in the 1630s acted by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Drury Lane Cockpit/Phoenix; Hemings died in St. Giles in the Fields in 1653, but several of the actors from the past production lived in the same parish, including Andrew Pennecuick⁴ and Anthony Turner,⁵ plausibly the 'AP' and 'AT' who had Hemings' play printed in 1653-4 with a dedication⁶ to the Comptons (1979: 167-8).

¹ Stationer's Register 29 November 1651. Manuche was imprisoned several times, and curiously petitioned Cromwell for £20 on 4 June 1656 for working as an informer; he received half of the sum, but also was able to get £20 from Charles II on 27 June 1661 'for services and sufferings during all the late wars' (Phelps 1979: 209).

² His debts were reported to be £27,123 at this time. By the 15th he was at Appleby Castle in the north visiting his mother-in-law and nearby friends for a fortnight. On 2 July he started his return journey to Canonbury (Compton 1930: 110-112).

³ Underdown writes that by the end of 1653, there was enough interest in plotting for the Sealed Knot to form, commissioned by Charles II. Sir William was one of only six members, though Underdown dates his joining the group in May 1654. All of the members were younger sons, and of the Old Royalist stock that meant that they were not burdened with entanglements with Presbyterians or other groups that invited suspicion. The Sealed Knot's central purposes were to oversee all plotting in England, to discourage reckless plots that were sure to fail and waste resources, and to prepare for a sanctioned general uprising. It was characterised by a cautious approach that was both a strength and a weakness, for this caution meant that it never managed to spearhead a proper rising, but it also was almost certainly correct in discouraging those attempts that were made by others. This did not spare it from criticism, however. For instance, badly planned plots in 1654 (the Ship Tavern Conspiracy to trigger an apprentice uprising, and the Gerard Plot to assassinate Cromwell) had nothing to do with the Knot, but the fallout led to arrests of many Royalists anyway (100-103). Such ordeals led to infighting, and compromised one of the Knot's members. Competing groups appeared, and the Knot retreated somewhat as a result (1960: 72-105).

⁴ Pennecuick had a tendency of dedicating the same items to multiple potential patrons (Bentley 1956iv: 773). He also dedicated in 1655 Robert Davenport's *King John and Matilda* to Lord Lindsey (Randall 1995: 238), who was presumably referenced in *The Martird Monarch* for unsuccessfully offering himself in place of the King in 1649.

⁵ Turner returned as a Restoration actor in John Rhodes' company at the Cockpit.

⁶ The dedication (modernised) reads as follows: 'This poem was composed by a worthy gentleman at hours of his recess from happier employments. In his life he was above the sphere of common writers, and though at death he left greater monuments of his worth and ability, yet this piece had justly gained an esteem with men of excellent judgement; and having suffered very much by private transcripts, where it passed through many hands as a curiosity of wit and language, it is now emergent from darkness, and appears in a public dress, having shaken off some dust and imperfections that too usually waits upon multiplied copies...And let not our names that attend it, by our lowness and want of ornament, be thought a stain to what we have presented...A.T. A.P.' (Bentley 1956iv: 544-5). Their printer, 'JM', may be John Marriot, whose son registered among twenty-one plays 'the eunuch, a tragedy' on 29 December 1653,

The Commonwealth years broadly show Compton's family more closely under the gaze of the authorities, though Compton himself was not clearly identified as causing trouble. It also reveals them as an increasingly active point of artistic patronage.

The Protectorate Era

On 16 December 1653, Cromwell became Lord Protector, changing the English political landscape once again.¹ A copy of Henry Glapthorne's 1654 *Revenge for Honour, or The Parricide*² has an inserted dedication to the Comptons³ 'in the form of a New Year's presentation', signed by William Cartwright (previously a Queen Henrietta's actor then a bookseller living in St. Giles⁴) and Curtis Greville (a Revels Company actor in 1634⁵). William was in prison again in 1655⁶ (Compton 1930: 105-8), as was Compton that summer for unpaid taxes (Kelliher 1979: 164), though on 5 July he was permitted to go to Canonbury in what appears to be a form of house arrest, possibly

which was an alternate title for Hemings' play in a 1687 edition. The printing may have been a fairly private run (Greg 1951: 830).

¹ There was more activity at the Court of Chancery (C 10/50/6). On 26 May 1654 the Compton family visited his mother-in-law at Skipton along with brother Charles, leaving on the 5th and reaching Castle Ashby on the 17th after visiting friends (Compton 1930: 110-112). Perhaps this is an indication that Compton got over his wartime conflict with his brothers and was on good terms with them by this point. Charles conspicuously named a son James; William was buried in the Compton Wynyates church, and it can be assumed that James could veto that if he so desired, but perhaps it was impossible to remain at odds with a man that Pepys described as follows: 'All of the world said that he was one of the worthiest men and best officers of State now in England; and so in my conscience he was; of the best temper, valour, ability of mind, integrity, worth, fine person, and diligence of any one man he hath left behind him in the three kingdoms' (Compton 1930: 118-20). Charles too was known for 'sobriety, moderation, discipline, conduct, and activity in the field' and was favoured by Charles II for his efforts towards the Restoration (Brydges 1912: 242). Lloyd in 1668 indicated that he wrote his flattery pieces of the brothers from respect 'to the Right Honorable the Earl of *Northampton*' (363).

² *The Parricide* was entered into Herbert's Revels record on 27 May 1624 for the Prince's Company, and the Stationer's Register on 29 November 1653 as Glapthorne's, and as 'revenge for honor' as George Chapman's in 1654; Adams believes that it fits Glapthorne's style better than Chapman's (Adams 1917: 28-9). It was printed in the aforementioned play collection registered by the younger Marriot in 1653.

³ The dedication (modernised) reads in part as follows: 'For this poem...we are at peace in our own judgments, it flowing from the pen of a most able writer, and one whose name may invite an acceptation' (Bentley 1956iv: 493).

⁴ Cartwright became a Restoration star with the King's Company.

⁵ In 1622 'Grevill' is listed among The Palsgrave's Servants, and also among the Phoenix's chief players (Adams 1917: 63).

⁶ Underdown indicates that in 1654, the Action Party formed as an alternative to the Knot. It was more willing to work with old foes like Presbyterians who were willing to return to the King's cause, and consisted of individuals of less renown. However, the climate was again one of caution, even of giving Cromwell a chance to show his intentions, so the Action Party did not inspire widespread interest. It planned Penruddock's Rising of March 1655, though it ran into opposition from the Knot, which in the half-year leading up to the rising warned even the King against the plan, causing conflicting advice for action and caution. On 8 February Sir William agreed to support the action while warning that it was doomed, but he did not in fact rise, and the other Knot members also did not lend real support, so the Knot received significant blame for the rising's failure. William turned himself in to authorities in London that June when word reached him that he was being sought as part of a wider round of arrests (1960: 114-164).

because on 14 July, Isabella gave birth to daughter Anne there; he seems to have been sent back to prison at some point later in the year, as he was released again on 9 October¹ (Compton 1930: 110). It does seem possible that Compton was discretely involved in political plotting, as in a 21 November letter to Isabella,² there is a degree of ambiguity that seems to go beyond casual shorthand and may indicate coded language. Compton wrote that he sent to 'S^f G.' and 'Col: M.', and that M apparently refused to send to 'B.', but that M promised to speak to B shortly. Apparently M's 'scruples are many' and 'if hee do no harme it is all I expect'. Compton heard from 'B. ^{brother}' asking for an account, which Compton delivered 'by word of mouth to y^e messenger'. Compton wrote that 'L.B. is still in'. Compton did not expect to 'have any prejudice', and wished Colonel M had written directly to B. Compton hoped his wife would have 'some resolution' before this letter reached her, 'the sooner it cometh will bee the better', assuring her that 'all heere remember there service to you' and asking her to 'remember mee to all o^r friends you see' (CA FD 1085). This lends itself easily to some sort of plot where details are intentionally left out in case the letter might be intercepted; the uncommitted Colonel 'M' seems to have felt the same in preferring to speak to 'B' than to write to him, and Compton chooses to speak rather than write a message to send to brother-'B'. There is a temptation to assume that since none of Compton's brothers' names start with 'B', and his youngest brother was not yet Bishop, this refers to William, codenamed 'Boutell';³ if Compton was using his brother's Royalist plotter codename of the period, that would seem all the more to imply a plot in the letter.

On 25 December, Compton petitioned Cromwell in complaint against persecution by Major General Butler⁴ (Compton 1930: 110); in 1656, Compton was imprisoned for a period for refusing to pay the decimation (Eagles 2009: 2),⁵ and this seems to be related to the issue with Butler,⁶ who was reported as calling Compton 'Sirrah' and saying that

¹ Compton's mother-in-law wrote to Isabella mentioning that Compton was again 'at liberty' (Castle Ashby FD 1084).

² He calls Isabella 'sweetheart', which is a phrase that his mother-in-law notes was his usual term for her. In a letter to Isabella she recounts how their young son called Isabella 'sweetheart' in imitation of his father, writing, 'I persuade myself he will have his father's wit aright' (Compton 1930: 110-112).

³ William was given the codename 'Boutell' by the King (Compton 1930: 105-8). In September 1654, the King also used the pseudonym 'Mr. William Worth' for William (Underdown 1960: 344).

⁴ The plots of the past couple of years persuaded Cromwell to tighten military control, and in October 1655 he established a dozen Major Generals as regional overseers; this along with taxation of Royalists made substantial rebellion impossible. The Major Generals could be quite oppressive, such as making Royalists register their moves from place to place (Underdown 1960: 159-167).

⁵ History of Parliament Trust, London, unpublished article on James Compton, 3rd Earl of Northampton (1622-81) by Robin Eagles. I am grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see this article in draft.

⁶ Butler's treatment of Compton was widely viewed unfavourably, with even Cromwell's cousin Henry rebuking him (Durstun 1998: 29). The following quotation is modernised.

'he would make him proclaim Charles Stewart... a traitor or eat his sword' (Roots 2004: np). Butler arrested Compton for resisting Butler's order to pay a bond ensuring Compton's future good behaviour (Underdown 1960: 166). On 1 February, Compton's complaint against Butler was found in Compton's favour (Compton 1930: 110).

On 16 December,¹ Isabella had a daughter also named Isabella; though early in 1657 the hated Major Generals were no longer in power, it was not a happy year for Compton, as on 3 March, baby Isabella died, and Compton was also present when his mother died² (Compton 1930: 108-112).

In May 1658, brother William was charged with high treason against Cromwell and was again imprisoned³ (Compton 1930: 105-8). Contrastingly, after Cromwell's 3 September death⁴ (and Richard Cromwell's succession), Compton was at the head of those signing a declaration stating their peaceful intentions (Compton 1930: 110), though once again this could be a superficial gesture.

In April 1659,⁵ Isabella had a son named James (Kelliher 1979: 163). Compton was renting a house in the northwest corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields from this point; the early-1650s play dedications from actors living in St. Giles are potentially significant due to the proximity to this residence,⁶ and Wolf notes that those actors were of Queen Henrietta's company who were performing at the Salisbury Court Theatre from October 1637 (1983: 19), to which the Comptons' relatives had been connected.

Richard Cromwell's Protectorate collapsed in May and an unstable Commonwealth briefly returned, and in July, Compton became a member of principal plotter John

¹ By April 1656 the Knot was somewhat active again, and while Charles II negotiated with the Spanish for a potential invading army, the Knot reached out cautiously to disaffected groups like the Levellers, but nothing came of it, and the Knot was compromised from within by Sir Richard Willys, who was feeding information to Thurloe. Also, smaller-scale plots like assassinating Cromwell once again came into view by July 1656 (Underdown 1960: 171-194). In July the Comptons were at Castle Ashby (Compton 1930: 110-112).

² She died at her London Queen Street house in March; though Roberts dates Mary's death as 18 March 1654 (2010: np). On 9 June, the Comptons left Castle Ashby along with brother Henry to visit Compton's mother-in-law at Skipton, returning on 4 July (Compton 1930: 110-112).

³ In 1657, a new Action Party headed by younger Royalists including John Mordaunt emerged. However, its plots to support a Spanish invading force failed, and as part of the reprisals, William was rounded up and imprisoned again in April 1658. After his release in July, he was threatened by Thurloe, and refrained from more overt plotting (Underdown 1960: 201-231).

⁴ After Cromwell's death, Charles II commissioned a new group, the Great Trust and Commission under Mordaunt, to take over central planning. William was invited to join, but some combination of an illness and Thurloe's threats made him decline (Underdown 1960: 235). The Trust courted a wider range of potential allies than the Knot generally had, including Presbyterians and Parliamentarians, though the Knot still existed, and there was tension between the groups (Coate 1945: xii). Roberts suggests that William opposed an uprising before the Great Trust and the Sealed Knot had been fully integrated (2010: np).

⁵ On the 5th, Compton and the painter Michael Wright visited John Evelyn (Evelyn 1850: 331).

⁶ The Cockpit theatre that was favoured by the upper classes was nearby, though the Fortune in Golden Lane and the Red Bull in Clerkenwell were somewhat closer to Compton's primary Interregnum residence of Canonbury House (Kelliher 1979:165-7).

Mordaunt's 'Great Trust'¹ (Roberts 2010: np), plotting for Charles II's return. Compton may not have had full confidence in the Trust, but he advised the King to give the Knot clear orders to support the Trust's plans so that there would be no confusion (Underdown 1960: 237-249). The Trust's major undertaking, Booth's Uprising, was planned for 1 August. Mordaunt on 6 June reported to the King that he was not confident about William, but that Compton was 'highly diligent', and to Hyde on 16 June he wrote that Compton was still very 'industrious'. He reported that William had rejected an offer to share in the Trust, and contrastingly suggested that Compton deserved a kind letter from the King. To the King on 10 July Mordaunt reported that William was among those blocking the plans, and that Mordaunt had offered to quit his share of the Trust if it would help, but William did not accept; Mordaunt's valid fear was that William and his party were dissuading others from taking action. On the 11th, Mordaunt reported that Compton had approved of the 1 August plan, and on the 19th that he had been with Compton, but the Knot was still proving resistant² (Coate 1945: 18-29). At the Trust's final meeting prior to the rising, on 24 July, Knot member Sir Richard Willys, who had been compromised by the government, passionately attacked the plan, which persuaded several of those present, including William, against it, much to Mordaunt's anguish (Coate 1945: xii). Compton must still have been committed at this point, as he persuaded the regicide Richard Ingoldsby (after about a year of contact) to join with the conspirators, and Hyde wrote to Mordaunt around this time that he wished Compton could persuade William to work with Mordaunt, as that might encourage others to do as well. However, on 26 July Mordaunt wrote to Hartgill Baron that William had persuaded Compton not to rise due to the plan's clash with harvest-time (Coate 1945: 30-34), though Compton and his brother Charles had already done some modest work encouraging support around their power-base of Castle Ashby and Grendon (Underdown 1960: 270-271). Compton had apparently been expected to raise Warwickshire, and some blamed him directly for the failure of the rebellion (Eagles 2009: 2-3), as the Comptons' failure to rise meant that no Midlands support came to assist Booth's success in Cheshire (Coate 1945: xiv). Still, Compton and William³ were implicated, and both were named on a Proclamation issued by Parliament concerning it

¹ In June 1659 William had finally been willing to meet with Mordaunt and the Trust (Underdown 1960: 247).

² The Knot appears to have been correct in their wariness, however, as there was not enough support for the rising to have succeeded, because there was a popular desire for stability, which would not have been accomplished through more civil war (Underdown 1960: 284).

³ There is a suggestion that Sir William on 20 August was in command of one party in an army of 1500 Royalists marching from Holyhead to Chester at the time of Booth's Rebellion (Compton 1930: 105-8), though I do not find confirmation of this.

(Compton 1930: 105-8). William was once again arrested that month (Underdown 1960: 281), and Compton was arrested and sent to the Tower in September¹ (Coate 1945: 18-19). Afterwards, William subscribed to a declaration that they 'cherished no violent thoughts or inclinations against those who reported them enemies to the public peace' (Brydges 1812: 244-6), and Compton signed this or a very similar declaration, 'to appease the minds of such as were ill disposed to the King's restoration' (Brydges 1812: 256-7). Compton's estates were seized again on the 30th, though he was given access to them on security in October (Compton 1930: 110). That month Mordaunt wrote to the King that Compton's failure to rise probably cost him his authority in his own region, and blamed brothers William and Charles in part for ruining the potential in the east and north, and Compton's decision for dissuading Lord Bruce from rising as well (Coate 1945: 66-70). On 25 October John Barwick reported to the King that plans in Northamptonshire were at a standstill in Compton's absence, but likely would not have been much better if he were present² (Coate 1945: 73). After Compton's release on 2 November,³ he returned to his country seat (Underdown 1960: 287). He lost trust from the Royalist circles for his inactivity in the uprising,⁴ and this did not reverse until the spring of 1660, with intervention from Charles II: Mordaunt⁵ suggested expelling Compton from the Trust (Underdown 1960: 296), but the King in January wrote to the commissioners that he wanted Compton involved if he was willing, explaining that some were unable to commit openly and conspire directly due to their own troubles, but should be contacted via people that they trusted, and should still be valued (Coate 1945: 157-158). Compton was not initially willing to meet with Mordaunt, but then joined in January 1660 (Coate 1945: 169), and seems to have become active quickly.⁶

¹ That this imprisonment was related to involvement in the Booth rising is supported by a reference in William Winstanley's *The loyall martyrology, or, Brief catalogues and characters of the most eminent persons who suffered for their conscience during the late times of rebellion either by death, imprisonment, banishment, or sequestration together with those who were slain in the Kings service : as also dregs of treachery* (1665). Winstanley writes (here modernised) of 'The Right Honourable Earls of Oxford and Northampton, the Lord Herbert, &c. who suffered imprisonment in the Tower, upon suspicion of a rising, from which afterwards for want of good proof they were released' (97). I believe that it is associated specifically with the 1659 imprisonment as both Oxford and Herbert were also imprisoned at that time, according to the *ODNB*. This gives clarity to at least one of Compton's imprisonments after his surrender.

² Barwick suggested Sir Henry Yelverton as a replacement leader.

³ Green seems to date the discharge in January 1660 (1890: np).

⁴ William also faced disappointments, as he was horrified to hear the accusations against Willys as a traitor, though he did not obey the King's order to break off contact with Willys until January 1660, and then only with reluctance (Underdown 1960: 290).

⁵ Mordaunt suspected that Compton's wife was responsible for Compton's unreliability (Roberts 2010: np).

⁶ Underdown suggests that Compton made contact with an old foe Lord Manchester, whom he persuaded to come to terms with the idea of a restoration, and Compton even proposed Manchester as Lord Treasurer (Underdown 1960: 307).

Though never too visibly committed to the uprisings, Compton in the Protectorate years clearly came under closer scrutiny from the authorities, and grew increasingly more important to the Royalist underground, though his commitment was cautious and hesitant. It may have been a wise survival strategy, though it did disappoint more headstrong allies.

Life in the Restoration

It is certain that around the time of the Restoration, Compton was embracing the return of Charles II. In January 1660, Compton's recently seized properties were released to him (Compton 1930: 110). On the 8th, he received a warrant from the Lord Chancellor Edward Hyde and others ordering him to disarm all disaffected individuals and make them take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, on the 22nd he was instructed to increase his watchfulness for danger to the King, and on 18 May he took his seat in the restored House of Lords (Eagles 2009: 3). These responsibilities show that the King still trusted Compton, regardless of any possible failing in the uprising of the year before. On 29 May, Compton led two hundred gentlemen to greet the King on his London entry. On 11 June he was made Colonel of a foot regiment and Captain of another, and on 21 June he presented the King at Whitehall with a congratulatory address on his accession, from Warwickshire gentlemen.¹ On 26 June, an order permitted Compton and his officers to search for and seize materials that had been stolen from Castle Ashby during the war (Castle Ashby FD 1083: 38). A 7 July² patent made him Lord Lieutenant of Warwick and Coventry, though he had unofficially been doing the duties of those positions for months. Over the course of the year, various other responsibilities and rewards were conferred³ (Roberts 2010: np; Compton 1930: 114-7), Compton's daughter Anne died at four or five years of age, and a daughter Alatheia was

¹ Eagles reports gossip that Compton's mother was the real force behind his position at the Restoration, though this would conflict with evidence that she was dead by then (2009: 3).

² Brydges dates this as 18 July (1812: 256-7), and Roberts 17 July (2010: np). Compton also quickly put in claims for his past damages for £60,000, and he was given permission to pursue restitution. Further, he sought harsh punishment for Lords Manchester and Saye and Sele for their disloyalty to the Crown (Eagles 2009: 3).

³ Also at Castle Ashby I found a letter addressed to an unnamed lord; in it Compton mentions a 'late act of p^{int} for the \$ettling of the militia' and that he has instructions from the King to report on noble estates in 'y^e countie warwick'. He asks the lord politely to let him know the value of the lord's Warwick estate (CA FD 1088: 23). The item is catalogued with others from the mid-1660s at Castle Ashby, and surely comes from no earlier than 1660 when Compton was given the Lord Lieutenantship of Warwickshire. Compton also received a 50-year lease of crown lands valued at £1,500 per annum, and Henrietta Maria leased him Holdenby, Northamptonshire (Roberts 2010: np).

born¹ (Compton 1930: 108-10). In terms of patronage, Manuche's Castle Ashby manuscript of *The Banished Shepheardesse* was dedicated to Compton. Isabella may have done some writing as well: Williams saw a manuscript in the Castle Ashby library² with 'I N' stamped in gold on the front and back, and on the front endpaper written 'Isabella Northampton her booke 1660' (1980: 396).³

More family sadness came in 1661: in September, Compton's son William died at the age of eight at Castle Ashby, and on 14 October, Compton's wife Isabella died at their Lincoln's Inn Fields house (Compton 1930: 108-112). While his brothers Charles, William,⁴ and Francis all won places in Parliament, another probable source of sadness was Charles' death in November before taking his seat (Compton 1930: 117).

From 1662 onwards, Compton appears to have lived mostly in London and at Compton Wynyates (Compton 1930: 124-7). More official duties followed that year, generally concerning security and the militia,⁵ but in August his toddler son James died at Compton Wynyates, leaving Compton alone with his daughter Alathea.⁶

In January 1663⁷ Compton married a second time, now to Mary Noel, daughter of Viscount Campden, and much younger than Compton⁸ (Compton 1930: 124-7). There were more official duties⁹ (Roberts 2010: np), and in May Compton became a fellow of the new Royal Society¹⁰ (Kelliher 1979: 164).

On 22 January 1664, Compton managed to torment a probable foe: The BL catalogue describes the volume containing the letter in question as letters to 'Captain Adam Baynes, M.P. for Leeds, Parliamentary Commissioner for the Northern Army, Commissioner for bringing in the arrears due to the Commonwealth, and for the excise,

¹ Kelliher believes Alathea's birth year to be 1661 (1979: 163). Isabella with two babies visited her mother at Bardon, and spent time going to and from Compton Wynyates (Compton 1930: 110-112).

² The Castle Ashby archivist could not find this item for me on my visit, unfortunately.

³ Williams noted a similar watermark to Manuche's 60273 (a shield and horn). In electronic correspondence, Williams expressed to me his personal suspicion that Isabella may have participated in the writing of some of the items under study (25 August 2009: np), which makes the misplacing of 'her booke' and the handwriting sample it contains all the more frustrating.

⁴ William also became a Privy Councillor (Brydges 1812: 244-6).

⁵ That May marked Compton's only significant period of absence from the House of Lords in the 1660s. On 1 September he was commissioned to form a regiment of horse and serve as Colonel (Compton 1930: 108-117; Roberts 2010: np).

⁶ Though his wife was dead, that autumn he still visited his mother-in-law at Skipton; he also visited Edinburgh.

⁷ Kelliher believes 1664 (1979: 164).

⁸ In fact, she outlived him by thirty-eight years (Kelliher 1979: 164).

⁹ He also supported the Earl of Bristol's attempts to impeach Clarendon that year (Eagles 2009: 4).

¹⁰ Roberts dates this in 1661 (2010: np). The Society consisted of individuals from across the political spectrum, though noble members were perhaps elected more for their social standing than their scientific interests, and while Compton was on the Society's Council in 1666, he was apparently not a very active member and only paid part of his admission fee. He proposed Richard Sackville, 5th Earl of Dorset (kinsman via his first wife) in May 1665, though he was also not an active member, and Sir William Hayward (Gentleman-in-ordinary to the Privy Chamber) that month as well, though he was apparently never even present (Hunter 1982: 6; 9; 164-5; 194-197).

customs, prize goods, and sequestered estates; 1641-1666'. Considering Compton's past material suffering, it is unsurprising that Compton demands of Baynes payment for Baynes' ploughing of Compton's land at Holdenby, cutting down the woods, and 'other spoiles against reason and Justice', and accuses him of being in arrears for payments due to Compton as Baynes was leaving Compton's land (BL ADD 21415: 259). This shows a turnabout from the post-war Compton who was obliged to attempt to appease individuals like Baynes, to a position of establishment power where he could intimidate such people. On 18 October, Compton and Mary had a son George, the future 4th Earl (Compton 1930: 114-7). More positions were also granted (Roberts 2010: np), and Manuche's manuscripts for *The Feast* and the slightly later *Loue: in Trauell* probably were dedicated around this year (Kelliher 1979: 165-7).

1665 brought more responsibilities,¹ often of an outdoors and recreational nature. On 1 April, rebuilding of the Compton Wynyates church began. A daughter Juliana was born that year, but died young (Compton 1930: 114-27). More posts were granted to Compton in 1666² (Roberts 2010: np), and a daughter Mary was born that year, who grew up to marry the Earl of Dorset (Compton 1930: 114-7).

On 5 December 1667, Compton introduced a bill to the Lords to banish Lord Clarendon amidst accusations of treason; Pepys thought the bill a 'thing of vanity and to insult over him' (Pepys 1974: 565-6), but it became law on 19 December (Kelliher 1979: 164). His desire to punish Clarendon may have arisen from Clarendon's criticism of Compton for his inactivity in 1659 (Roberts 2010: np). At another time, when Danby the Lord Treasurer was being impeached, Compton showed disdain for the Commons, stating, 'for my part I would disallow all impeachments from the Commons till they allow our judicature', earning rebuke from the Earl of Halifax; upon Danby's conviction, Compton added, 'the thickest head of hair may be pulled out hair by hair: if you part with one privilege and another, you may at last lose all...they say vox populi is vox dei but I must tell you that the greatest curs make the greatest noise in a pack of dogs' (Eagles 2009: 5).

More appointments followed in the next several years (Roberts 2010: np; Compton 1930: 128; Brydges 1812: 256-7; Castle Ashby FD 1089: 73). On 7 March 1672

¹ On 5 August, Monk ordered Compton to maintain the trained bands' readiness, and ten days later a royal warrant warned that London was disaffected and watchfulness was required. In October, Compton attended the Duchess of York in Banbury.

² On 2 July he was ordered to raise regiments of horse in case of invasion, and he was to be one of the commanders; his troop was slow to form but was filled by the end of the month. In September he held a muster in Warwick of two days' exercising, and then dismissed them (Compton 1930: 114-7).

Compton was made a Privy Councillor¹, and a son James died young on 20 August (Compton 1930: 114-128). In 1673, a son Spencer was born, who grew up to be Prime Minister². On 25 June 1675, Compton was made Constable of the Tower³ (Compton 1930: 128). In that year, Northampton was almost destroyed by fire, and Compton was highly involved with the rebuilding efforts, even convincing the King to delay proroguing Parliament until a bill for rebuilding had been prepared for royal assent; it surprised the King that Compton would be so generous to Northampton, when it had not treated him or his father with loyalty (Compton 1930: 128; Roberts 2010: np).

In 1678,⁴ Compton's daughter Alatheia died (Compton 1930: 108-128), leaving no offspring from his first marriage.⁵ Always the authoritarian, at one point this year, Compton boxed the ears of Robinson, his deputy at the Tower, and caned him for his negligence—Robinson tended to leave the Tower's gates open at night so prisoners could come and go at will (Eagles 2009: 4).

On 3 June 1681, Compton had a heavy fall down stairs at Compton Wynnyates.⁶ Also suffering from gout, in November he was moved to Castle Ashby, and died there on 15 December.⁷ He was buried at Compton Wynnyates⁸ (Compton 1930: 128).

This summary of James Compton's life shows him having access to vast resources and good education as a youth, developing an early interest in his time's politics, showing loyalty to the Church and State that represented and supported his old privileged position of social elitism, showing courage to go into battle for the cause he supported, and the will to defend an individual who had his loyalty, whether deserved or not. He was emotional and difficult, fighting with family and friends, but had enough practical sense to surrender from a lost cause to protect his own property. He was able

¹ Roberts dates this as 1673 (2010: np). Compton remained one until April 1679 (Kelliher 1979: 164).

² That year, Compton and Mary seem to have been at Compton Wynnyates repairing old damage and rebuilding the church (Compton 1930: 114-7). Also that year, the Earl of Shaftesbury's prolonged attempt to exclude the Catholic Duke of York from the succession properly began, and Compton was supportive of the movement (Eagles 2009: 4).

³ The Earl of Danby was apparently an influential ally who helped Compton secure this post (Eagles 2009: 4). Kelliher indicates that he remained in the post until 1679 (1979: 164); Roberts dates the appointment at 16 July, until 2 December 1678 (2010: np). On 30 July he became Lord Lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets, and on 11 February 1676, he received a £1000 per annum pension (Roberts 2010: np).

⁴ In 1677 he was ploughing up his Compton Wynnyates deer park for more agriculturally productive uses (Stone 1965: 303). Though his primary London house was now in Lincoln's Inn Fields, he was residing in the old manor house of Clerkenwell at the corner of Northampton Square.

⁵ On 18 June, he was told that he could dismiss the troops under his command, though ten days later he was warned of enemies abroad, and was told to push for loans to raise money (Compton 1930 114-7).

⁶ Compton had become a large man and had been unwell. An acquaintance had written to him, 'remember you have a very [full] body and have been many years in filling it, and I doubt the evacuation, which is necessary will require more sewers, to drain it sufficiently, than nature has furnished you with' (Eagles 2009: 5).

⁷ An inventory of his estate valued items at over £12,155 (Eagles 2009: 5).

⁸ His wife Mary was granted the administration of his will on 10 July 1682 (Roberts 2010: np).

to make a cautious peace with the new regime consisting of his old enemies, though eventually showed loyalty to the returning Royalist cause; even so, he never over-committed himself and was not as outwardly dedicated as his younger brother. Still, he faced imprisonments and other hardships for his allegiance, and was rewarded for it at the Restoration. Back in power, he took many positions of responsibility, and was not afraid to express his authoritarian views, to the point of aggressive imperiousness. This biography was extensive, but it is important to understand Compton's life if biographical and social allusion are to be sought with any sort of confidence in Chapter 6. His social context will also be important in Chapter 9 when I position his writing activity relative to his era's major dramatic movements, and propose what may have compelled Compton to write the texts at all.

Most interesting from a theatrical perspective, Compton's ancestors¹ patronised and participated in drama, his first wife's family had strong professional theatre connections, writers and actors continued to look to the Comptons for patronage throughout the Interregnum, and the family spent their London time in close proximity to concentrations of theatre personnel² and surviving theatres. Compton's dramatic writing activity therefore did not take place in a vacuum, and he could have had creative inspiration and support if he desired it.

¹ Compton's son Sir Spencer, Speaker of the House of Commons, was also briefly a patron of the poet James Thomson in 1726 (Sambrook 2008: np).

² Both St. James, Clerkenwell, and St. Giles, Cripplegate, were parishes where many theatre people lived (Kathman 2009: 426), so it is interesting that Compton had properties in these areas.

Chapter 5: Grouping by Statistical Analysis

Attempts to date Compton's texts have ranged from the insupportable (Centerwall's Elizabethan theory), to Kelliher's fairly convincing theory of Compton composing at least some of the items between his 1646 surrender and the 1660 Restoration of the monarchy (1979: 163). However, establishing Compton as the writer still leaves a very large period (perhaps 1630 until his 1681 death), in which the full collection of texts could have been created. That period spans the hugely differing theatrical conditions from Charles I's reign, the official closure of the theatres spanning the Civil Wars, Commonwealth, Protectorates, and confusion in their aftermath, the Restoration, and most of Charles II's reign. The prevailing political and social conditions, and Compton's own situation, vary enormously in that period as well, so it is too broad to allow a workable discussion of the conditions under which the texts plausibly were written, for what purpose, and how they fit within the larger picture of era-specific dramatic activity. That problem needs to be confronted if there is to be any hope of understanding the texts' significance. I begin my attempt to remedy that problem in this chapter, by seeking statistical patterns—physical in the manuscripts and presentational in the writing. Such patterns could potentially indicate a developmental trend in Compton's writing (for example, if it were found that he progressed from using one particular style of indicating character speech headings to another over time), which could offer more dating clarity, or at least information about the ordering or grouping of the texts. This in turn could make analysis of Compton's evolution as a playwright possible, and shed light on his preoccupations in particular periods. Finding relationships between items is work that Centerwall, for instance, apparently neglected to conduct, leaving him vulnerable to making his significant misinterpretation, which invalidated his further efforts to interpret the *Bassianus* manuscript.

Analysis of Physical Evidence

The evidence about the manuscripts begins with the physical materials themselves. Williams discusses the growing appreciation for the value of paper research, which historically has been largely neglected by literary students: the Castle Ashby plays offer an example of the use of this sort of examination, as certain items are bound in the same formats, use similar covers, and share watermarks; these traits are sometimes shared with other documents at the Castle dating from the 1660s, which might suggest that a

large supply of similar empty books was kept there or at Compton's other properties, possibly replenished when Compton regained control of his estates after the war, and individuals like Compton and Manuche had access to them for their writing (1987:191-196). If certain texts conspicuously share physical traits, that could allow for them to be grouped in time and place. Appendix 3¹ consists of tables recording the itemised statistics that I collected, as well as more technical explanations that would be helpful to any reader particularly interested in manuscript properties, but would risk bogging down this chapter's progress in general. What follows is a summary of my findings from examining and comparing the physical manuscripts, building on Williams' original report of their condition in his 1980 article.

Some of the physical traits that I considered did not yield clearly helpful ordering results, namely paper dimensions² and original volume covers.³ The other traits described below may be slightly more helpful.

Watermarks: Stevenson explains that most early books and manuscripts are made up of papers with a variety of watermarks, often from as much as a few decades earlier than the date of use. He proposes the following reason: 17th century English texts were usually written on paper that came from Normandy and Brittany, where the product from a variety of small paper-makers would be purchased regularly, allowing them to be mixed in the process, as well as when waiting at the docks, loaded onto boats, unloaded in London, stored in a warehouse and then on the printer's or writer's shelves (1951: 58-61). This is not to say that there is no way to draw useful details from watermarks; it is just difficult to use them alone for dating a text.⁴ Williams reported the watermarks that he saw in the manuscripts, but did not state how exhaustive his examination was;

¹ Throughout the appendices, items highlighted in yellow are those associated with Compton's creative input, but not in his hand.

² About all that can be said with confidence is that the pages of 60276 are significantly smaller than any others, which results from it being a quarto volume, and that may serve to separate this volume from the others somewhat. See Appendix 3 Table 2 for full details.

³ Most of the items do not have original covers, though the current lack of a cover cannot be taken as proof that there was not originally one present, particularly in the case of the short fragments. The current presence of covers could indicate some relationship between 60276, 60278, and possibly 60280. However, with the covers present on both larger items and the obviously physically different smaller quarto, I actually suspect that covers in this case cannot be used for definitive conclusions. Full results are available in Appendix 3 Table 3.

⁴ Kelliher warns that precise dating in later dated watermarks can sometimes be slightly deceptive (1987: 61-67), though the Compton watermarks do not include dates anyway, and the level of accuracy in the watermark dating is not precise enough to cause significant difficulty.

therefore, I felt it necessary to re-examine them page-by-page to ensure a complete study.¹

There is what appears to be a shield on 60281's *The Captives*, but it is so badly damaged as to make even this judgement a cautious one; other (though not identical) small shields are on some letters dated 8 May 1643 to 21 March 1645. It is possible that this weakly suggests a grouping, but more confident is the affirmation that *The Captives* has not broken away from one of the larger extant volumes, as they do not share this watermark.

The items in 60278 have a watermark shield with 'DVRAN' under it, which appears to be particularly similar to Heawood #1214-1223, examples of which generally come from the first half of the 17th century and often from London² (Heawood 1950); Williams also found this watermark in Castle Ashby Family Documents ranging 1642-1666 (1987: 197). This seems to suggest an initial c.1630-c.1666 dating for 60278's *The Mandrake*, *Don Sancho*, and short scribal *Leontius*.

60282's *Martird Monarch* has a watermark of a hat with dangling tassels. It is most like Heawood #2582-2592, the examples of which are found in England 1649-1665 (Heawood 1950), and Churchill #481-5 (described as a puritan's hat, probably of French origin), dated 1649-1681 (Churchill 1935). The downward 1649 limit seems perfect for this piece, which references Charles I's 1649 execution.

The rest of the items include variations of pot-shaped watermarks topped by a crescent, with two or three letters on the base of the pot. The variety of letter combinations is enormous, and they are often difficult to distinguish. As a result, precise relationships between those items seem impossible to determine, unless technologically advanced means were employed. However, the pot watermarks seem most like Heawood #3579-3638, and while these are admittedly part of a larger range of similar marks common in England from the late 16th century onwards, these particular numbers have a loose dating range of 1618-1674 (Heawood 1950). Churchill's watermark catalogue describes these sorts of pots as of generally French origin, and Churchill #466-471 are most similar to the collection's examples; the Churchill samples for these numbers are found in items written by Charles I 1628-1645 (Churchill 1935). Williams also found this type of mark on a 1642 Family Document (1987: 197). All of this is reassuring as it matches Compton's lifespan (1622-1681) very closely, but does not do much to pinpoint the dating of these items. The result is a broad initial c.1630-c.1674

¹ The results are described in Appendix 3 Table 1.

² Interestingly, Heawood #1214's example comes from a 1649 London edition of *Eikon Basilike* (Heawood 1950), which, it will be shown, is referenced in *The Martird Monarch*.

range for 60276's *Hermenigildus*, 'The Cavalier', 'Presbyterian', rough *Agamemnon*, and rough *Hercules Furens*, 60277's good *Agamemnon*¹ and good scribal *Hercules Furens*, 60279's long scribal *Leontius*, 60280's *Mariamne*, 60281's *Bassianus* and *Sophius*, 60282's treatise, and letters dated March 1643 to 3 August 1645. Caution is required in studying pot watermarks, as they are so common through most of the 17th century in England.

Williams points out that at the very least, the watermarks show that the texts were written not in a vacuum, but with a relationship to paper used by the Compton family for personal matters, as well as letters and by Manuche for his plays dedicated to Compton; the texts may even have been written at Castle Ashby itself (1987: 197). Broadly, while a precise date cannot be assigned to any of the items based on their watermarks alone, the watermark evidence logically supports the dating within Compton's lifetime. While c.1630-1681 remains the period under consideration, the watermarks also hint at a likely grouping of much of the collection in time and place of creation, and suggest that the items with different marks may have come about under slightly different conditions.

Stitching: I hoped that examining the way that the volumes were originally bound² (not always clear to determine due to their being in modern covers) might reveal some links between items. Similar binding does not necessarily connect items, but in this case it shows conspicuous similarity through most of the manuscripts attributed to Compton's hand—each of which consists of a single gathering of paper with five stabblings for vertical stitching—namely 60277's good *Agamemnon* and good *Hercules Furens*, 60278's *Mandrake*,³ *Don Sancho*, and short *Leontius*, 60281's *Bassianus* (its other items excluded since they were combined in the modern volume later), and possibly 60280's *Mariamne*.⁴ If Compton used notebooks of a certain style in a certain period, this could serve to distance the aforementioned items from the rest, which are stitched in different styles.

¹ On the damaged front cover is the partial remnant of a fleur-de-lis. The general shape is common in watermarks, often as only a part of the full image, and without more surviving it does not seem possible to link it confidently to any represented in the major reference works.

² Appendix 3 Table 4 notes which items provide information about their original binding condition.

³ The exception is the sheet making ff.14-15, which appears to have been inserted later. Williams suggests that the sheet is a cancellans (1980: 404-5); it does appear that a sheet may have been removed that would have had one leaf at this position, and the complementary leaf before the present f.30, with only a very small stub left now.

⁴ 60280 presently begins with eleven disjunct leaves followed by one gathering, but was possibly originally all in one gathering before being damaged, and also has five stabblings and vertical stitching, so could cautiously be associated with the aforementioned items.

In this study, examining the physical manuscript conditions did not allow for definitive conclusions about grouping or dating, though it reassured broad assumptions such as 17th century composition (from watermarks), and illuminated very fine details such as how the individual manuscripts were put together (from stitching).

Analysis of Layout Evidence

The collection's handwriting has already been discussed in some detail. However, variations in the writing idiosyncrasies could suggest trends and developments to help group and order the plays. Therefore, in the following sections I will summarise my findings about these writer-specific quirks.

As with the physical traits, some of the data collected about format traits offers no clear pattern: textual margins,¹ line levelness,² dramatis personae,³ page numbering,⁴ and speech headings⁵ all fail to illuminate matters. The more interesting elements are listed below.

Ordering: The way that items are written into their volumes gives some concrete information about their order of writing. In *60276*, it seems reasonable to assume that the drafts were written into the volume in order, as they follow each other closely (particularly so with the poems), and since they are extremely early drafts,⁶ they were probably composed in that same order. The Biblical list at the end is presumably the last item to be written into the volume. As such, it can be assumed that the order of writing of these items was *Hermenigildus*, 'The Cavalier', 'Presbyterian', rough *Agamemnon*, rough *Hercules Furens*, and the Biblical list.

¹ The degree of margins being obeyed follows no pattern even within *60276*, which seems to be written chronologically, so I am not persuaded that the results of this comparison are meaningful for ordering purposes. The full details of margins can be seen in Appendix 3 Table 5.

² Unlike the apparently scribal texts, Compton's writing generally has a slight curve upwards to the right. Again, I am less convinced that the findings have to do with order of writing than care taken in the writing, so this detail does not offer much help in determining the time of the texts' composition. This is noted in detail in Appendix 3 Table 6.

³ Dramatis personae are not consistently provided within volumes, or even for drafts of similar qualities. Therefore, the inclusion of character lists would appear to be quite erratic here. These results are found in detail in Appendix 3 Table 8.

⁴ Page numbering (seemingly in Compton's own hand) is not common in the collection, and when it is present, it is often only partially so. The numbering is rare enough that it is tempting to assume a relationship between those items including the feature, but it is not consistently applied to similar drafts, or items within a volume assumed to be written closely in time, so a concrete conclusion does not seem possible. Appendix 3 Table 9 shows this.

⁵ Compton's speech heading usage can be seen in detail in Appendix 3 Table 11.

⁶ Kelliher's description of these texts as fair copies (1979: 185) seems unlikely considering the messiness and the sort of alterations being made.

In 60277, it is plausible that the two large items were penned in the order in which they are presented: good *Agamemnon*, then good partial *Hercules Furens*; the geometrical and facial sketches at the end of the volume are not originally part of it, so cannot confidently be arranged based on ordering.

In 60278, it seems safe to assume that the first three items were written into the manuscript in order: the title 'Moleons Ghost', *The Mandrake*, and *Don Sancho*. However, it cannot be determined by physical evidence alone whether they or the short *Leontius* written from the opposite end of the volume were penned earlier.

The 60279 volume contains only the almost-complete and good long *Leontius* draft, so is isolated concerning ordering.

60280's *Mariamne* and stellar list being written only on the recto pages could distance them from others in the collection that do not share the trait—though it could simply suggest a different phase in the drafting process. As the stellar list follows the play after only one page, it appears that *Mariamne* was written before the stellar list.

As the three items in 60281 were separate when discovered, *Bassianus*, *The Captives*, and *Sophius* cannot be ordered based on their present order in the volume.¹

This section shows that some of the volumes reveal the relative order in which their contents were written, while others are not as helpful. More analysis is required, particularly to order volumes relative to one another.

Drawn Margins: Only 60281's fragmentary *The Captives* and 60282's *The Martird Monarch* have clear margin lines drawn on the pages, and on all four borders. These are possibly original features of the paper, rather than something added by a later hand. Regardless, they may suggest a link between the two items either in when and from where their paper was obtained and used, or when Compton wrote them.

Titles:² I am cautious about drawing firm conclusions from the variations of title forms and usage, since even the rough items in 60276 are not consistent regarding this issue. The most noteworthy observation may be that 60282's *The Martird Monarch* and 60281's *The Captives* again seem similar to one another with titling at the top of each page, and 60278's *The Mandrake* and *Don Sancho* seem to have unique forms, which may show a sort of stylistic change happening around their time of writing.

¹ As a result, Williams simply proposes a broad 1640s-1650s dating range for the pieces (1980: 409).

² Appendix 3 Table 7 notes which items include titles.

Act and Scene Headings:¹ Compton's style of noting acts is significantly different from the supposed scribes'. Within Compton's texts, most tend to have 'Act' often followed by a colon, the act number and a period, as in 'Act:3.'² though there is occasional use of superscript abbreviations like th, ^d, and st in a few items.³ Scenes are only numbered in *Don Sancho* and *Mariamne*, which may allow *Don Sancho* and *Mariamne* to stand apart somewhat, though there is continuity between *Mariamne* and most of the collection by the use of dividing horizontal lines between some scenes, which weakens any attempt to isolate that text. Perhaps the most persuasive hint of a potential separation from the rest of the items is the unique style of heading each page in *The Captives* with the act number.

While these layout issues also do not show a complete and definitive evolutionary pattern, they are very good at differentiating between the Compton hand and the others in the collection, and, as was displayed in the previous examples, do reveal some items that group together or stand apart in some manner, which could suggest a separation in time of writing.

Analysis of Writing Elements

Certain statistics can be gathered regarding Compton's use of various features within his writing, in the hope that trends will be observed. For this purpose, I have taken textual samples consisting of the first page of each item in the collection, and tallied their usage of the following elements.

Those elements that did not reveal helpful ordering insights (but help differentiate Compton's writing from other hands) are the usage of long-'s',⁴ different 'e'-forms,⁵ 'y^e',⁶ 'y^t',⁷ and 'y^r'.⁸ The elements worth some brief consideration are discussed below.

¹ This is noted in Appendix 3 Table 10.

² This group broadly consists of *Hermenigildus*, rough *Agamemnon*, good *Agamemnon*, *The Mandrake*, and *Sophius*.

³ These are found in the rough *Hercules Furens*, *Bassianus*, and *The Captives*.

⁴ While the long form of 's' is not used much by the other hands in the collection, Compton uses it quite heavily. There is no definite pattern in the usage. This can be seen in Appendix 3 Table 13.

⁵ Compton uses a variety of forms for 'e', several of which are possibly just variations of the same essential shape, and this variety makes it difficult to make statistical sense of the usage. His style is individual, but a clear pattern cannot be seen. This is reported in Appendix 3 Table 14.

⁶ This abbreviation's usage is recorded in Appendix 3 Table 15.

⁷ Compton's use of 'y^t' to abbreviate 'that' is reported in Appendix 3 Table 16.

⁸ Compton's use of 'y^r' to abbreviate 'your' is recorded in Appendix 3 Table 17.

'e' Ampersands:¹ Ampersand forms show significant variation, which means that they can be very helpful in identifying authorship (Beal 2008: 15); Compton's usual ampersand form resembles 'e', unlike the scribal hands. While no ampersands are used in the good *Agamemnon* sample and 100% are used in the rough version, the fact that the percentage varies from 100% to 36.4% for the rough drafts within *60276* weakens any perception of a decreasing trend relating either to time of writing or quality of draft. What is interesting, though, is that the modern '&' form creeps into only a few Compton items, namely the Biblical list, a November 1655 letter, and the final stretch of *Bassianus* starting part-way through Act 4. Its absence in letters from earlier and later than 1655 makes it impossible to declare the '&' form a later choice helpful in dating the other items, and there is no obvious division between rougher and better drafts, but it may suggest some sort of break in the writing process of *Bassianus* at least.²

Errors:³ While transcribing the texts, I made footnotes primarily to note where the writer corrected errors. Totalling the footnotes per line, the frequency of errors (and the most frequent corrections⁴) does not seem to aid in ordering the collection, but it does reveal Compton's trouble writing error-free texts; in contrast, the supposed scribes made very few errors, which may explain why Compton might have employed them at times (compare, for instance, Compton's attempt at the good *Agamemnon* draft requiring a footnote for every 4.68 lines, and the scribal *Hercules Furens* needing one only per 16.07 lines). The short and apparently scribal *Leontius* has no corrections, putting Compton's ability to create a fair copy to shame, and even the slightly less careful longer *Leontius* has very little in the way of errors or corrections, so may have been a fair copy in its own right. Compton's own variation probably more reflects differences in the levels of care taken for the various texts than an authorial evolution. It could also explain what Compton meant by his 'imbecillitie in writing', and why Lord Hatton mentioned helping Compton write letters during the war.

Gathering data about these writing elements in the texts is again very good for identifying the Compton hand versus that of another writer, though yet again the results do not allow for much confident ordering of items.

¹ In Appendix 3 Table 12 I list ampersand usage.

² I directed Williams' attention to this change in *Bassianus*, and he agreed that it probably indicates a long pause—'months at least'—in the writing process (2009: np).

³ The results are in Appendix 3 Table 18.

⁴ This is shown in Appendix 3 Table 19.

Analysis of Metrical Evidence

Metrical analysis of plays has been used to attempt to establish an order to a playwright's work at least as far back as Fleay's tests for the New Shakspeare [sic] Society in 1873 (Halliday 1957: 165-6). While the gathered evidence must always be taken with caution since a writer does not necessarily follow a linear progression—for instance, from fewer rhymes to more—in their work, and one analyst's scanning of poetic text can easily differ from another's, in combination with other sorts of analyses the results can be illuminating as supporting evidence for an ordering. Therefore, I collected metrical data for the poetic items.¹ Unfortunately, the calculations of overall substitutions per line,² the various different types of metrical substitution,³ and other metrical factors concerning contractions, line-endings, and rhymes⁴ offer a disappointing lack of revelations about the direction of Compton's poetic development via this avenue of examination; at best, in this study the metrical analysis is valuable as a tool for understanding individual texts' construction and sometimes differentiating between writers, rather than for identifying a writer's progression. Nevertheless, a brief description of the various items' metrical forms now follows to offer an insight into the variety of Compton's texts' poetic content.

Metrical Style:⁵ Those items that are in prose (the non-dramatic letters, the treatise, and *The Martird Monarch*, and the dramatic *The Mandrake* and *The Captives*) cannot properly have metrical analysis applied to them. Those entirely in blank verse are *Sophius* and *Bassianus*.⁶ Including some 8/6-syllable sections to overall blank verse schemes are the rough and good *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens*⁷ drafts. *Leontius* is primarily in prose and blank verse, but also adds three songs of somewhat erratic form

¹ I used Fussell's *Poetic Meter & Poetic Form* (1979) to structure my analysis. For the metrical study, the first full page of each text was again used as the sample, except in the case of *Hermenigildus*, where the Prologue was used since the body of the play is in prose.

² See Appendix 3 Table 21.

³ Tables 22-28 break down the specific percentages of the different types of substitution in the samples. The scattering of definitely chronological items through the statistical ranges, along with the inconsistency of direction from rough to better drafts, leaves me not persuaded that a trend over time can be determined from substitution analysis in this study.

⁴ These elements too lack any coherent pattern, with the 60276 and 60277 items that should show patterns consistently scattering throughout the statistical ranges. Appendix 3 Tables 29-33 gather these statistics.

⁵ Appendix 3 Table 20 lists the metrical forms of the various items in the collection.

⁶ In Williams' view, the corrections in *Bassianus* tend to improve the metre (1980: 410). Kelliher writes that the play shows Compton's skill with the mid-century blank verse, which Kelliher describes as debased from widespread imitation of Fletcher (1979: 179).

⁷ Williams suggests that the frequent minor changes between the rough and better *Hercules Furens* drafts convert 'limp' blank verse into rhythmic prose (1980: 403). This should not be taken as implying that the better draft is not also technically blank verse, which it is.

(the first in roughly 8-beat lines of ABCB/DD/EFEF/GG, the second in 8-beat verses with 10-beat Chorus lines of AA/BCBC form, and the third in roughly 8/4 with an almost iambic pentameter couplet in the middle, in rhyming pairs of lines).¹ The songs do seem to have something in common with the Cavalier ballads collected by Rollins (1923) in form and in their references to drinking, though I have not found direct matches anywhere. Curiously, in both surviving drafts, the first two speeches, by King Leontius and Prince Lucius, are in prose even though the characters speak in blank verse elsewhere and only the common soldiers otherwise speak in prose.²

Hermenigildus is in prose except for the Prologue of heroic couplets and the Chorus for the First Act in erratic ABAB stanzas, both included after the body of the text. Several items group together in heroic couplets, namely 'The Cavalier', 'Presbyterian', and *Don Sancho*. Perhaps most complex of all is *Mariamne*, entirely in heroic couplets except for the long first scene of Act 4 that is in triplets, and choruses in 8-beat ABAB and ABBA, 8/6-beat ABAB, and 8/4/4/8/8-beat ABBAA forms.³ While the forms in the collection are impressively varied, they do not alone indicate an obvious steady evolution.

In this chapter, I expanded upon Williams' initial report of the manuscripts' physical and written traits, and tabulated the findings, in search of statistical trends. It was worth doing so, because such investigations could have revealed important information; even though the results were not able to offer up full conclusive proof of when the texts were written, or in what order, there is value in showing that other researchers need not go down such a path for this collection again. Still, the investigations powerfully confirmed that the watermarks' dates match Compton's productive lifetime, clearly defined where Compton was the writer and where other individuals were, and improved understanding about each text independently. Finally, faint groupings of certain items were cautiously suggested, and those groupings will be considered in the ordering for the collection proposed in Chapter 7. In the next chapter, I will discuss my findings from another such avenue of study.

¹ The shorter *Leontius* does not reach the point of the first song so is only in prose and blank verse, but it can probably safely be assumed that it would have included the songs if it had extended to that point in the play.

² Regardless of that oddity, Kelliher proposes that the play's form of metrically weak blank verse is not of the Restoration period (1979: 180-181).

³ Williams notes that this style of primarily heroic couplets would traditionally date the play from the mid-1660s onwards in England, but that Compton could have learned it earlier from Continental writing, with which, it will be shown, he was thoroughly familiar, and Williams therefore proposes 1650-1665 as a dating range (1980: 407-8).

Chapter 6: Textual Analysis - Sources and Resonances

One of the problems with the findings in the previous chapter is that they are not anchored very well within time, so even when groupings of texts were suggested from that analysis, there is no real way to order the groupings relative to one another. In this chapter, I look into the texts' relationships to one another's language, contemporary literature, contemporary history, and Compton's biography, not only in an attempt to identify how Compton generated his texts from source material, but also to locate each item more specifically within time, by proposing earliest-possible dates of composition based on their relationships to their probable source elements.

As I discussed in the Introduction, identifying potential textual, historical, and biographical resonances is an unavoidably speculative process, and therefore this chapter's findings must be considered conjectural. However, Compton's political involvement, the entirely political nature of his non-fiction texts in the collection and their physical association with his works of dramatic fiction, the sheer volume of proposed resonances, the multitude of repeated ideas between his texts, and (as will be shown in Chapter 9) the undeniably common act in the probable era of Compton's authorial activity of writing texts that allude heavily to contemporary events give this approach more persuasive weight than might be the case for another writer in a different context. Once again, though, it is not suggested that the following interpretation is the only one that could be made—though I endeavour to make it the most persuasive.

Language Interrelationship

The good *Agamemnon* almost certainly derives from the rough draft;¹ the variants are usually no more than a single word, only occasionally exposing significant reworking of a line, and it can be assumed that the better 60277 draft was therefore written after the rough 60276.² Without this situation, understanding the *Hercules Furens* drafts would be more complicated, since the better draft's hand is unique and the variations are significantly more extensive, with whole sections of lines often reworked.³ Kelliher guesses at a lost intermediate draft (1979: 172), though it is possible that the 60277

¹ In my edited version, which is based on the good draft, the rough draft's variants are collated in the footnotes.

² Williams suggests dating 60277 around 1649-50 based on his assumptions about the 60276 dating and 60277's apparent close dependence upon it (1980: 404).

³ This can be seen in my edited version.

copyist was simply given some freedom to improve Compton's verse. Considering both versions' placement after the respective *Agamemnon* versions in 60276 and 60277, and that even the significant lineation differences usually retain essentially the same wording, it seems reasonable to assume that the good *Hercules Furens* follows the rough.

The case of the two *Leontius* drafts is less clear. Williams could not determine if one derived from the other (1980: 405). It does seem suspect that the short 60278 draft makes up for most of the damage to the longer 60279, so it may have been written to leave a record of the lost portion of the longer text. Little changes between the two,¹ and as such I imagine that both are meant to be respectable advanced copies. The shorter does not necessarily depend upon the longer, and may have copied another lost version, especially if the missing portions of the longer were fully lost by the time of the shorter's copying. Alternatively, the end of the longer draft may have been lost after the shorter draft was made, with the shorter then having no reason to copy it.

Suspecting that Compton might be more likely to use identical phrases in texts written around the same time than in ones written far apart, I sought a modern tool to detect identical language more accurately than I could from memory of the texts alone. I found *WCopyfind 2.7*,² a computer program developed to test students' work for signs of plagiarism by revealing where multiple documents are identical.³ The results (listed in Appendix 4 Table 1) are quite generic phrases, which could be common pieces of language that Compton might have encountered and used throughout his life, rather than in a short writing phase, and therefore they are not highly compelling in isolation. The best that they can offer is that statistically, *Leontius* parallels other texts a great deal, ten times with *The Mandrake*, five with *Mariamne* and four with *Bassianus*. This might indicate a temporal grouping of these four texts, and slightly strengthens the suggestion that *Leontius* belongs in the Compton canon.

As the software's results were not overwhelmingly persuasive, I also looked for repeated images, since the ideas behind them may be more indicative of an intellectual

¹ Again, this can be seen in my edited version, which is collated and, where necessary, conflated.

² Thanks are owed to King's College London doctoral student Tom Salyers for directing me to this program, available at <http://plagiarism.phys.virginia.edu/Wsoftware.html>.

³ I chose to compare versions of the texts that I had edited for modern clarity, in order to minimise the potential for non-substantive matches confusing the results, and set the program to report matches of no fewer than five words in a row (the program suggests a default of six for detecting borrowing, so five is more rigorous than the standard) to minimise returns of short generic connecting phrases that arise from a lower limit than five.

preoccupation at a specific time.¹ Seafaring is perhaps the most repeated image in the collection through references to pilots (skilful and otherwise) taking the helm and rudder to steer a ship in dangerous conditions,² as a political metaphor. Unfortunately, it is so prolific an image in Compton's writing that it simply puts all of the texts in one group.³ Other images that hint more usefully at sharing between texts are listed below.

Stepdames: Stepmothers are commonly noted in Compton's plays. Nine times the offstage villainous stepmother Goisuntha is mentioned in *Hermenigildus*. In *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra plans to be as vicious as any stepmother (3r), but also predicts that Cassandra will come as a dangerous stepmother to Clytemnestra's children (4v). Juno complains in *Hercules Furens* of being made a stepmother repeatedly by Jove's adultery (64r), and is herself called a villainous stepdame five more times. Martinianus warns Bassianus that it is wrong that he has to share the throne with his brother born of a stepdame (6r). The stepmother-as-villain concept is wide-reaching throughout literature—for example in Manuche's *The Bastard* where a character mentions his stepdame Fortune (1652: d2r)—but it still might suggest some relationship between those first three plays, all in 60276, and the physically separate *Bassianus*.

Ixion, Sisyphus, and Tantalus: These three mythical figures are condemned to signature eternal torments in Hell. Again there is a link between *Agamemnon*, where Thyestes' ghost references all three (2r) and Cassandra mentions Tantalus in a vision (12v), *Hercules Furens* where Theseus notes all three (74v), and *Bassianus* where Julia mentions them (32r). Also, in *Leontius* Ixion and Tantalus are mentioned by Melantius as he dissuades himself from ravishing Olinda (26r), and Hianisbe mentions Tantalus as she taunts a wounded Garamantus (16v). This shows a shared mythological awareness, at least, but also may suggest a link between these texts. Again though, Compton was not unique in referencing the figures, as Manuche for instance mentions Ixion in *The Bastard* (1652: c2r), and writes in the 1659-60 *Banished Shepherdeses* of 'A torture, none but Tantalus e'er's groan'd under' (25v).⁴

¹ The phrases are shorter than five words, or are not worded precisely the same way, so were not noted by the plagiarism program employed above.

² See under Appendix 4 Table 1 for the full list.

³ Manuche's 1652 *Just General* also uses it (modernised): 'He ignorantly fears / The sailing of his ship, that Bellicosus steers' (k1v). His 1659-60 *Banished Shepherdess* adds (modernised) 'a good pilot / Will endeavor to shun that rock would split me' (16v).

⁴ Modernised spelling here.

Sharing thrones and lovers: The upstart Aegisthus in *Agamemnon* warns Clytemnestra that they are unsafe after their affair since 'Nor crown nor wedlock, partners will endure' (5v). Likewise, henchman Martinianus warns Bassianus not to trust his brother since 'crowns and hymens partners can't permit' (6r). This similarity suggests yet again that a sharing of ideas may have taken place between these two texts.

Empty beds: Complaining of her husband Agamemnon, Clytemnestra says 'nor can his single bed / Be ever without a lewd strumpet found' (4v). In a similar sense, after killing his wife, Bassianus decides, 'I must not long though, haue a \$ingle bed' (20r). This is relatively close, and may suggest a relationship between the two texts again.

Furies' whips: Hianisbe taunts the injured Garamantus in *Leontius* that a Fury will 'scourge you / with her snaky whips' (16v). In a similar phrase, Julia in *Bassianus* worries that if she kills herself to escape her misery, she will be attacked by Furies 'With snaky whips to punish guilty souls' (31v). In a vision in *Agamemnon*, Cassandra sees the Furies 'shake their bloody whips' (12v). Hercules, as he goes mad, sees a Fury 'shaking her flaming whip' (77r). Herod in *Mariamne* recounts a nightmare where Furies 'With whips and brands, thee torment forever' (6r). Most closely related would seem to be *Leontius* and *Bassianus* for their use of 'snaky whips', but all of the uses seem to relate to a central vision of the Furies.

One man against a legion: In *Leontius*, as Lucius and Garamantus posture, the latter threatens, 'you had better single charge a Legion, / than provoke me so much, as force me draw' (2r). In perhaps yet another related image in *Bassianus*, Parthian King Artabanus thanks his General Phraates for their escape from the Romans: 'Your single sword did chase whole legions back' (45r).

Rhadamanthus: This underworld judge is mentioned by Theseus in *Hercules Furens* while describing Hell (74r), Tim in *Sophius* warning of the waiting punishment for rebels (76r), Philon in *Leontius* mocking the judgement awaiting common rebels (10v), and Melantius warning himself of how great a sin it would be to defile Olinda (26r). The politically specific idea of rebels having to face Rhadamanthus may show a relationship in particular between *Sophius* and *Leontius*.

Revenge is sweet: While the phrase is not unique to Compton, again it appears both with Pro in *Sophius* (75r) and Garamantus in *Leontius* (36v)—rebellious antagonists who use the phrase early in their plotting—so it offers another suggestion of a minor link between the two plays.

The innocent and the guilty: Contrasting the innocent and the guilty is not unusual, but in *Sophius*, Tim worries that the new regime will ignorantly 'Punish the just, and set the guilty free' (77r), and similarly, Mariamne wonders why Heaven would 'Wound th'innocent and set the guilty free' (10r). The construction is so similar that it lends plausibility to the possibility of the two texts being written within the same general period.

Lions: Legendary lions are mentioned particularly in *Hercules Furens*. Hercules notes the lion of the constellation Leo as he begins to hallucinate under Juno's control (76v). The legendary Nemean lion previously defeated by Hercules is referenced by Juno (64v), Megara (66r), Lycus (70r), and Hercules (78v). Olinda in *Leontius* also refers to this lion when describing Lucius, unhappy in captivity (22r).

Lions are repeatedly mentioned as dangerous inhabitants in their dens. Erasistratus warns Hermenigildus to 'trust yourself rather in the dens of savage beasts, / trust to the Lions and tigers' rage' (4r) rather than trust his enemies. Mariamne shuns usurper Herod because 'A rich furnished room, I hold a cave / Where some rugged lion hath made his den; / Such savage beasts are now more mild than men' (11r), and the Nuntius warns Herod's plotting siblings that 'A roused lion when his voice the forest shakes, / Will not prove so fierce to his foe' (31r) as Herod. This idea of a sleeping royal lion smiting foes who probably deserve it is repeated by Melantius in *Leontius*, imagining the failing rebellion:

as if a fearful hart should enter
some Cavern, where a Princely Lion lurked,
and thinks himself possessor of the den,
'til the King of beasts awaked from his sleep
either forces him by flight to save his life,
or soon rends his members from his body
making his life to pay the forfeiture
of his over-bold intrusion

(19r)

This same royal lion is often seen as vulnerable, however. Cassandra describes Agamemnon at Clytemnestra's hands as 'The forest prince beneath ignoble fangs / Suffering a bold lioness' bloody grips' (12v). Geta in *Bassianus* complains of the

difficulties of leadership: 'Like to a noble lion in a net, / They are entangled in affairs of State; / The more they strive, to break the mesh them holds / They by vain struggling are the faster bound' (16v-17r). Lucius in *Leontius* scorns the vile beast who 'affronts the sick Lion / that when his sinews were full of vigour / would flee the sight of him' (18v). Alternatively, the vulnerable lion need not be noble. Pro in *Sophius* says that a lax tyrant is like 'an old sick lion in his den' (75r) ready to be trampled. These lions are widespread, showing a consistent interest, but the frequency actually frustrates attempts to show specific links, with the possible exception of sick lions in *Sophius* and *Leontius*. However, one extended metaphor seems telling. In *Leontius*, Phorbas vows his loyalty to Garamantus until 'the Dolphins / skip upon the craggy cliffs of Etna, / and Lions leave their habitations / amongst the desert woods, and seek to sport / in Neptune's watery Ocean' (4r). Similarly, Mariamne vows that she will not give in until 'The lions shall leave preying in the woods / And come to sport themselves amidst the floods; / The vast deep's wonders too shall leave the main / To frisk and frolic on the verdant plain' (12r). Such a colourful shared image seems to support the growing likelihood that *Mariamne* and *Leontius* are textually linked.

This section's findings reveal recurring phrases and images in Compton's plays, which may strengthen the relationships between certain items, particularly *Agamemnon* (and sometimes *Hercules Furens* and *Hermenigildus*) with *Bassianus*, and *Bassianus* with *Leontius*—with *Sophius* and *Mariamne* often nearby. The weakness is that it does not show which text is potentially borrowing from which, or help with dating, so another angle is required to illuminate those issues, but it has proven its value nevertheless in suggesting plausible links between some texts.

Literary Sources

Williams catalogued the Castle Ashby Old Library books printed in England up to 1700 (Williams 1978: np); Kelliher notes that it is plausible that those dated between Compton's father's death and Compton's own reflect Compton's tastes and interests—though the collection is probably incomplete and contaminated by later acquisitions. Of 190 volumes from this period, 110 predate the Restoration. Of these, Kelliher sees 17 dramatic works (including a First Folio and Jonson's *Works*, 11 romances (8 are translated from French or Italian), 16 works of poetry (11 being decidedly Royalist), 19 ancient and modern histories, and the rest a variety of religious, mathematical,

scientific, and political texts. Post-Restoration, the humanities become less well represented in favour of more scientific works, and Kelliher suggests that Compton's appointment to the new Royal Society's council could have something to do with the changing interests (1979: 167-8).¹

Identifying plausible literary sources for the Compton texts allows downward dating limits to be proposed, while also illuminating things about Compton's reading and his writing process. If a major source is found for one Compton text and not for another, but both Compton texts share a significant amount of language, it is likely that the more original one postdates the one dependent upon a source. For all items in the collection, I attempted to find overlooked probable source material by searching *EEBO* for all conspicuous names and phrases. Although a few short items reveal no plausible sources ('Presbyterian', the Biblical list,² the geometric and facial sketches, *Sophius*, and the treatise), I will now discuss those probable sources that have been identified for Compton's texts, in the order of their library shelfmarks.

Hermenigildus: The story of the Visigothic Prince Hermenigildus is historical, and the play follows the 6th-century history quite closely, from Hermenigildus' conversion from Arianism to Catholicism, though it makes the Prince a blameless martyr, victim of plotters' evil machinations, as the Catholic Church portrayed him when they canonised him, where elsewhere history is less partial.³ Kelliher notes that there is potential historical source material in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* (Bk.3 Ch.31), but he concludes that Compton used not Gregory but *Hermenigildus*, a Latin play by the French Jesuit Nicholas Caussin, first published in Paris in 1620 in the *Tragoediae Sacrae* (Kelliher 1979: 172). Compton translates his source quite faithfully throughout,⁴ even in the Prologue and partial Chorus to the First Act that he includes after the text

¹ The Castle Ashby library's English books were well catalogued by Williams in the late 1970s and shed light on Compton's reading. The foreign books, however, were not included in his catalogue and are not easily accessible in the library due to its present condition. Luckily, an old typed catalogue is kept with the family documents that I looked at during my visit, and I was able to give the catalogue a quick search for interesting titles. A few in particular stood out: Corneille's *Poemes sur les Victories du Roy* (1669) and *Tragedies et Comedies* (1665), Machiavelli's *Histoire* (1550), and Caussin's *Holy Court* and *Regnum Dei* (1650) all imply some grounding in the work of these authors whom, it will be shown in the coming section, Compton translated. Even more intriguing, though, is a 1674 edition of Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* in which I encountered the short handwritten poem that I considered in the handwriting comparison, and have not been able to identify otherwise.

² I consulted a colleague with a university seminary education, and he too was unable to recover any clear meaning in the list, as the second and fourth columns do not match up as referring to the same parts of the Bible, and the numbers do not seem to match them either (Dudfield 2010: np).

³ See Gwatkin (1913: 168-70) for the standard historical version of the story.

⁴ I possess only novice ability to read Latin, but my cautious conclusion is confirmed by Cambridge doctoral classicist Jaspreet Singh Boparai, who affirms that the translation is very faithful, with the divergences (averaging three or four per page of the transcript) not being substantial (2010: np).

body for some reason.¹ There are only a few modest noteworthy changes. His translation of the Prologue turned prose into heroic couplets, and the Act 1 Chorus into an erratic (eight beats per line on average) ABBA form. Also, he increased the detail of character descriptions in the *Dramatis Personae* from the simpler Latin descriptions, but not radically so. Essentially, Compton made nearly no embellishments on his source.² Kelliher calls the Caussin use odd, since another play version by La Calprenède (who is still represented in the Castle Ashby library in translated romances³) was more current, and that even Caussin's version had been turned into a more contemporary prose version by Gaspard Olivier in 1650, but then Castle Ashby also holds a 1663 edition of Caussin's *The Holy Court* (Kelliher 1979: 172; 187n), which could indicate an author-specific interest. Regardless, Compton directly translated Caussin's version, potentially available to him at any point in his life.

'The Cavalier': For 'The Cavalier', no definite source has been found and I imagine that the poem is an original creation. The only definite literary reference is to 'Scothe Douglas in falstaffs play' (43r),⁴ surely a nod to Shakespeare's *Henry IV Part 1*, available from 1598 onwards, which does not help to date the poem within Compton's lifetime.

Agamemnon: Williams and Kelliher promptly identified the drafts of *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens* as being Senecan translations, with Williams describing them as the second earliest known English translations of the plays after Thomas Newton's 1581 *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (Williams 1980: 402); to clarify, from *EEBO* I find the 1581 version to be a copy of John Studley's 1566 translation, *The eyght tragedie of Seneca. Entituled Agamemnon*.⁵

Kelliher indicates that the *Agamemnon* drafts are close to the Senecan originals even in their metre, using blank verse where Seneca uses iambic trimeters, and unrhymed 8/6 verses where Seneca adopts a more constricted form; however, Compton again skips his

¹ Compton skips the other Chorus passages. Boparai calls the Latin choruses 'awkward' (2010: np), which may explain why Compton did not translate them as he worked through the play, then began to translate them (with heavy revisions) at the end, but abandoned the process after the first one.

² See Caussin (1620: 1-93).

³ *Cassandra* (1652) and *Hymen's Preludia* (1665).

⁴ First noted by Kelliher (1979: 171).

⁵ Senecan translation, with publication starting in 1559, formed the root of English revenge drama, and shows political dissidence in dealing with tyranny (Woodbridge 2010: 130-132).

source's Choruses,¹ surprising Kelliher since they were popular in England (1979: 171-2). In Appendix 4: *Agamemnon* Comparison, I check Kelliher's judgement and compare Compton's drafts with the earliest Studley version and a 2004 Loeb edition. In summary, Compton translates similarly to Studley except in his choice of metre, skipping the Choruses, possibly shrinking the secondary Chorus to fewer captive ladies, and naming his nurse character Althea. These are minor issues, and do not alter the confident assertion that Compton's drafts give all indications of being direct translations rather than adaptations of English versions, so they do not help to date the texts, as Seneca was available for translation through Compton's lifetime.

Hercules Furens: Kelliher observes that Compton's drafts are again close to Senecan originals, changing little but skipping the Choruses and converting the form into blank verse and some 8/6-syllable lines (1979: 171-172). In Appendix 4: *Hercules Furens* Comparison, I compare in detail Compton's version with a 2010 Oxford edition and the oldest English version that I find via *EEBO*: Jasper Heywood's 1561 translation.² This confirms that the skipping of Choruses and changing of metre can indeed be called Compton's. The only other major difference is that a fair number of lines are assigned differently between the three versions, though Compton and Heywood agree more often than not in opposition to the modern version, and I imagine that this is due to different or ambiguous source versions. Compton's divergences from his Senecan source are minor, and this close dependency on his source does not help in dating *Hercules Furens*, since the Senecan version was available through his lifetime.

'Moleons Ghost': This seemingly abandoned title cannot yield concrete information. However, as the rough *Agamemnon* begins simply with 'Thyestes Ghost', it strikes me that this might be a character entrance rather than a title. While it might be a coincidence, William Alabaster's Senecan Latin play *Roxana*,³ composed c.1595 and printed in 1632, begins with a *Dramatis Personae* headed with Moleon's ghost, and the play itself starts with Moleon's ghost speaking. I cannot find the name Moleon elsewhere via *EEBO* or other Internet searches, making it plausible that if Compton had

¹ Kelliher confuses the *Hermenigildus* First Act chorus as being linked to the rough *Agamemnon* and being Compton's own work (1979: 171-2), when it is in fact a partial translation belonging to *Hermenigildus*.

² This is also re-used in the 1581 anthology mentioned by Williams.

³ It is a Cambridge adaptation (c.1590-1595) of Grotto's *La Dalida* (Harbage and Schoenbaum 1964: 56-57).

a source text, it was Alabaster's play. Translating from Latin would also be in character, as Compton also did so for *Hermenigildus*, *Agamemnon*, and *Hercules Furens*.

In short, *Roxana* is a Senecan-style royal tragedy, and has some familiar themes like a ghost starting the action, incest and inappropriate lust, dangerous wooing scenes, lamentations about the danger of Court life, innocent royal victims, and royal downfall. This could have drawn Compton to it, though Alabaster's 1632 date of publication would do little to clarify the plausible date of Compton's writing.

The Mandrake: Williams and Kelliher identified this text as a translation of Machiavelli's best play, *La Mandragola*, available for translation since the early 16th century, making Compton the earliest known English translator of the play ahead of Stark Young's 1927 edition. Kelliher points out that the text goes beyond pure translation,¹ however, and is actually a mild adaptation, moving the play from Machiavelli's Florence to Commonwealth London. However, Compton does not change his source much, though Kelliher observes the addition of the final line in which Renchertext uses typical puritanical language to describe the effects of wine as the 'operation' of the 'creature';² Kelliher calls the play Compton's masterpiece (1979: 173).

I include in Appendix 4: *The Mandrake* Comparison a detailed comparison of Compton's version with David Sices' 1985 English version, which is a straight translation presented alongside its source text.³ Comparing these two English versions confirms that Compton stayed very close to his source, rarely skipping, adding, or changing more than a few words at a time. However, adapting his translation to London shows more originality than is seen in Compton's previously discussed Latin translations. This does not help in dating Compton's version since Machiavelli's was

¹ Presumably, Compton was translating from the original rather than an intermediate Continental translation. Kelliher notes that Compton shows a good grasp of Machiavelli's Florentine Italian, but not quite to a native speaker's level, for instance in mistranslating a figure of speech meaning 'we're so much of a mind' as 'there is some relation of blood between us' (1979: 173). However, Williams theorises that Compton's acquaintance Cosmo Manuche and his Italian heritage could have been of use in this translating process (1980: 405-6).

² Manuche's *Loyal Lovers* uses some similar language: 'Is her husband of able body for the procreation of the Elect?', 'That case is doubtful, and much too fear'd, He having known her this two year and upward without fruit thereof; the woman having ever been laboriously endeavouring' (c3r), and talk of the 'creature' (d1v) and 'Machiavel' (f3v). His 1652 *The Bastard* has reference to 'the Mandrake's groan' (13v). His 1659-60 *Banished Shepherdess* adds 'I hope, we may rejoice / (Privately) in the creature, and merrily carouse / a cup extraordinary, amongst ourselves' (25v), and calls rebels 'Machiavellians' (19r). *The Feast* (c.1665) has a character who like Leaveland has been in France, and now discretely returns to England for love: 'My native place, is London (famous for rebellion) / to which I have been a stranger, / for this many years, and am but now arriv'd / from a long travel. /.../ Italy, Madam, was the place I conceit'd to enjoy. / In which, I spent some years with much content from whence I (lately) came, / making some little stay in Paris' (9v). All quotations here are modernised.

³ I lack the ability to translate Italian with any fluency, so am obliged to take this course.

available throughout his life;¹ however, Kelliher notes a reference to Prynne's 'works', which he assumes refers specifically to Prynne's *Works* anthology printed in 1655, thereby offering the earliest possible date for Compton's play (Kelliher 1979: 173-5; Williams 1980: 404-5), though such a broad word as 'works' frustratingly invites conjecture that it could refer to any Prynne writing. As William Prynne's texts can be seen on *EEBO* as early as 1626, the latter has to remain as the downward dating limit in terms of literary sources.

Don Sancho: Williams identified the partial draft of *Don Sancho* as being the only English translation of most of the First Act of Corneille's *Don Sanche D'Aragon*, first acted in 1649 and first published in 1650 (1980: 404-5). Compton's translation therefore does not come from earlier than 1650. Kelliher states that it is very faithful to the source (1979: 172), with Williams adding that it roughly approximates Corneille's couplets (1980: 406). In Appendix 4: *Don Sancho* Comparison I examine Compton's draft and the earliest English version² that I can find (contrary to Kelliher's assertion that none exists), in Lacy Lockert's 1959 *Moot Plays of Corneille*, and confirm that Corneille's play is indeed the primary and probably only source for Compton's very close translation, and therefore the earliest date of 1650 stands from a source perspective.³

Leontius: Kelliher believes *Leontius* to be an original work in keeping with Royalist heroic drama⁴ through the Cavalier and Restoration phases, mixing love and war. He notes a few likely borrowings from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, where Lucius calls his rival Garamantus an older but not a better soldier in a style similar to the argument between Brutus and Cassius (4.3.56), and henchman Phorbas speaks of hiding conspiracy under friendly behaviour like Brutus does (2.1.81-2). Most significantly, in *Caesar's* 2.1, Portia comes to distracted Brutus in the night, like how Olinda comes to distracted Lucius on the eve of the rebel raid (Kelliher 1979: 179-80): Brutus says 'It is not for your health thus to commit / Your weak condition to the raw cold morning' (235-6); similarly, Lucius says 'How now, what make you up so late, to bed / tis not wholesome to be so long from rest' (12r). Both women express concern that the men will not lie down with them, and both men tell them to go to bed for their healths' sake.

¹ Machiavelli was particularly relevant in the period for his writings about how a prince requires significant military training (Kupperman 1993: 209).

² I am not a fluent French translator, so the closest sort of work will have to wait for another researcher.

³ Manuche's 1659-60 *Banished Shepheardesse* likewise is set prior to a restoration as exiled royals await letters from home.

⁴ It is not, however, in the form of heroic couplets familiar in the Restoration.

Most closely related, Portia says 'is it physical / To walk unbraced and suck up the humors / of the dank morning?' (261-3) and Lucius says 'I should but trouble thee should I unbrace, / though. it will doe thy tender body hurt. / to sucke y^e humours of so raw a night' (12r). Finally, both plays have characters named Lucius, and *Caesar's* Dardanius may have given the idea for Dardamus. The closeness of the textual and situational representation of the night-time scene seems persuasive that *Julius Caesar* yielded a small amount of source material for *Leontius*, though Kelliher rightly calls it only a light scattering (1980: 179-80). Since *Caesar* was available since the 1623 Folio, it does little to help with dating.¹

Leontius character names come up frequently in an *EEBO* search, and are steeped in history, contemporary romances, and common usage,² which generally makes it impossible to identify one particular source for any name. Most have classical pedigrees, but the characters themselves do not generally have anything in common with their predecessors, so the names are probably explained as simply being borrowed for the play because they sound classical, or mythological. Still, enough turn up in Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* to raise suspicions.³ Taking this into account, certain shared plot points take on an extra significance. *Arcadia* too has civil wars between aristocrats and commoners, a Cyprian Princess, a Prince with only daughters, a siege, imprisoned Princesses, and a Phylanax suspected of wanting to become Prince. Most startling is a parallel to the Garamantus/Lucius/Olinda triangle: a woman chooses an heroic young noble suitor over an older and powerful but unpleasant one, who then assaults her and defects to the rebels, who make him their general; the young lover mortally wounds the elder but is captured (Sidney 1590: 3-238). All of this makes it plausible that the *Leontius* writer was familiar with and influenced by *Arcadia*, though as it was available by 1590, it does not help with dating *Leontius*.⁴

¹ Potter sees a link to the *Henry IV* plays in scenes of drunkenness and military corruption (1989: 105), though the suggested link seems too broad to confirm to me.

² For instance, Philanax (along with Calophilus, a name used in *Sophius*) are found in William Carr's otherwise unrelated 1667 *An occasional dialogue at a coffee-house, between Philanax Britannicus, and Calophilus Anglus: two loyal English gentlemen, sincere lovers of justice, truth, and their nations honour*. A possible source of Garamantus' name is in Pliny's *History of the World* (modernised here): 'There was a king of the Garamants exiled, and recovered his royal state again by the means of 200 dogs that fought for him and against all those that made resistance, and brought him home maugre his enemies' (Pliny 1601: Ch.XL); a 1634 translation remains at Castle Ashby, and it seems possible that Compton could have linked the idea of a man fighting at the head of a pack of dogs with a rebel leader commanding commoners in the Civil War.

³ *Leontius*, Philanax, and Phalantus. It is curious that Compton used Philanax as the name for the rebel leader, since it means 'lover/protector of kings'. There could be an irony there, or Compton could have meant 'lover of kingship' and was meaning that the rebel wanted to be King himself as a usurper, or it may simply be an accidental confusion, or a reference to the Sidney character's questionable actions.

⁴ The 1674 edition at Castle Ashby cannot be simply assumed to be the direct source text. James Shirley also wrote a brief, light-hearted play version of *Arcadia* for the King's Men, published in 1640, which

Among the romances where the same names and situations recur is an almost certain source of Hianisbe in Barclay's *Argenis*¹ (1622), and the drunkard Tricongeo may be borrowed from a similarly named character in Richard Young's 1638 *The drunkard's character*.² Most helpful though is the 1656 French *Le Grand Scipion* by de Vaumorière, and its English 1660 translation, *The grand Scipio an excellent new romance*. In it, a Prince Lucius is a great warrior fighting in a siege, who is wounded and captured. A Princess Olinda is also captured by Scipio, who is very respectful, and eventually releases both and arranges their marriage (1660: 28-242). This linking of an Olinda and a Lucius in such circumstances, with a polite captor reminiscent of Melantius in *Leontius*, makes it a persuasive potential source, especially as I have been unable to find the story in other Scipio sources.

As such, I agree with Kelliher that *Leontius* displays a broad knowledge of romantic texts. Specifically, *Arcadia* plausibly furnished much of the plot skeleton and several names, and smaller plot points probably came from *Argenis*, *Julius Caesar*, and either a French or English version of *The grand Scipio*; further names may be borrowed from *The drunkard's character* and others. If so, Compton would not have created *Leontius* before 1656, when *Le Grand Scipion* was first published in French.³

Mariamne: Williams observes that the story of Herod and Mariamne is traced back to Josephus' *Antiquities* (Books 14 and 15) and *Jewish War* (Book 1 Chapter 22), but is also the subject of many early modern plays. However, he does not detect a major link to any other play, so suggests that Josephus forms the source of Compton's neoclassical

seems to rely on Sidney's book. However, it only includes Philonax in common with *Leontius*, and lightly associates him with 'Rebels' who take his side against those supposedly responsible for the King's death (27). The elder Princess goes so far as to refer to him as 'King Philonax', sarcastically (28).

¹ Available in Latin from 1622 and English from 1625; at Castle Ashby in a 1628 edition, it has a Queen Hianisbe and a vaguely similar Phorbass character. Pedro Calderon de la Barca's 1637 Spanish play *Argenis y Poliarco* is based on Barclay's *Argenis*. As my own Spanish is no longer fluent, I consulted a colleague who is a native speaker, and who provided me with a synopsis of the Spanish plot (Medina Cornejo 2009: np). However, nothing besides references to Sicily and Meleandro the Sicilian King (possibly relating to the Sicilian general Melantius in *Leontius*), the king's daughter being sought by a traitorous nobleman, civil war, and a royal character named Hianisbe serves to link the work with *Leontius*. Another multilingual colleague offered some more interesting information: Hianisbe is Africa's queen, whose sister was seduced, impregnated, and abandoned by a foreigner. This seducer was Meleandro (Jovic 2009: np).

² Young mentions (modernised) 'Tricong us Novellus who drank three gallons of wine at once' (310). It seems a very minor reference for Compton to have seized, but perhaps the name was in use in other places that I have yet to find. Young's stands as the best source so far, however.

³ In common with Manuche's 1652 *Just General* are drinking soldiers' healths (2v), and a young King of Sicily (i4v). Manuche's 1652 *The Bastard* has many references to cypress. Manuche's c.1650 *Love in Trauell* includes a character with 'a black cypress over her face' which when drawn reveals a lost daughter; the play also includes fiddlers. Manuche's 1659-60 *Banished Shepherdess* includes a song loosely concerning reconciliation between Venus/Cupid and Mars (31v), and the comment 'Mars tired, sleeps. 'Tis Cupid reigns' (24r); a similar relationship is seen in *Leontius*. It also has the drinking of toasts (20v). *The Feast* c.1665 has servants drinking to excess (3v). Quotes here are modernised.

draft¹ (1980: 407-8). Kelliher agrees that the play is probably an original drama, and notes that Thomas Lodge's 1602 translated edition of Josephus (containing both of the aforementioned texts) is still at Castle Ashby, with the story most concretely laid out in Book 15 Chapter 11 (1979: 176-7). Examining those texts myself, I agree that if Compton went back to classical sources for his inspiration, Josephus' *Antiquities*, readily available in English by Compton's lifetime, would be the ideal source.

There are other potential sources, however. Although Williams finds no evidence that Compton relied on other plays written about Mariamne and Herod, he suspects that Compton would have been familiar with some of them (1980: 407-408).² Kelliher notes a parallel to a stylistic norm in French drama in the portrayal of inner struggle (here in Herod's mind as he is conflicted between love for Mariamne and his inability to deal with her contempt);³ from this, Kelliher suggests that Compton's *Mariamne* may be related to Alexandre Hardy's 1610⁴ *Mariamne* and Tristan l'Hermite's 1636 *La Mariane* (1980: 176-8).

Compton's previously discussed heavy dependence on translating led me to wonder if there might be quite a major source underlying *Mariamne*.⁵ Therefore, I examined the plays on the Herod/Mariamne subject that were published before Compton's death,⁶ and discuss the findings in Appendix 4: Plausible Sources for *Mariamne* Material. Most of the plays do not relate persuasively to Compton's version. However, Hardy's is very similar to Compton's, going well beyond what is in Josephus, and Tristan l'Hermite's *la Mariane* (1636)—itself based on Hardy's aforementioned play—turns out to be even closer to Compton's, with six of its eight scenes quite closely paralleled in Compton's. What is not shared serves to trim the cast and streamline Compton's version, though he

¹ 31 of the 45 triplets in the first scene of Act 4 are numbered out of sequence, which may imply an intended reordering, suggesting that the play was still being developed in this draft (Williams 1980: 408).

² Kelliher notes that the half dozen others from the period span five modern languages. However, Kelliher sees the overall structure as that of Biblical drama based on a Greek model (stanzaic Chorus passages with personifications of forces like Justice and Policy) and a similarity to English Senecan drama (with long passages of alternating lines, and the catastrophe delivered by a messenger). The Senecan link is perhaps significant considering the Senecan translations in the collection, as well as the relatively Senecan style of *Hermenigildus* also translated, and potentially Alabaster's *Roxana*.

³ Manuche's *Loyal Lovers* includes a sentiment like Mariamne's (modernised): 'But I'll as soon embrace a leper, / As tie myself to what my soul abhors' (c1v).

⁴ Randall lists the play as c.1600 and published 1625 (1995: 263).

⁵ While a missed line on the first page of text written into the margin with its place marked with an 'x' in the text body suggests that the present draft may not be the first, the corrections in Compton's text make me doubt that it is a direct copy of another's work, and the re-ordering of lines in Act 4 diminishes the possibility of a direct translation.

⁶ Kelliher also notes several other early modern plays on the subject (1979: 187) and Randall at least a dozen plays about Mariamne that appeared in the 17th century (1995: 263), though none seem as close to Compton's as the French plays are, and are less plausible sources. Williams also notes that Massinger's *Duke of Milan* and Shakespeare's *Othello* are analogues of the story (1980: 408), but if so, they both change the plot so hugely that it is not conceivable that Compton could reverse-engineer them to recover the original story to use as a source himself, so they need not be considered here.

adds short Choruses of his own.¹ It is possible that Hardy, Josephus, or another source furnished a few minor points in Compton's not found in Tristan's,² but the major source is almost certainly Tristan, showing Compton in the act of translation as well as moderate adaptation. As such, 1636 can be taken as the downward limit for the play's writing based on literary sources.³

Stellar List: I shared the stellar list at the back of *60280* with several specialists in case they could detect anything noteworthy. Dr. Janet Vertesi of Princeton suggests that while constellation names in the period were fairly standardised, there were local variations, with names of nobility and religious themes assigned to some minor constellations. However, Vertesi observed that Compton consistently matches classical constellation names with Christian stories, as the left column is entirely of traditional constellation names and the right is of Christian stories that somehow resonate: for instance, Draco the dragon becomes the serpent in Eden, the crown of Adonis becomes Christ's crown of thorns, Hercules becomes Samson, the cross-shaped swan Cignus becomes the church Ecclesia, and so forth (Vertesi 2010: np).⁴ Doctoral candidate Katie Taylor of Cambridge directed me to Julius Schiller's *Coelum Stellatum Christianum* of 1627, which does something similar with Biblical names assigned to classical constellations⁵ (Taylor 2010: np). Dr. Simon Mitton of Cambridge, having been informed of the list's proximity to *Mariamne*, asked if 'Comae Mariae' could relate to Mariamne herself, which seems possible, since her beauty is repeatedly discussed in the play. Also, he notes that Sirius is converted to Canis Davidis (Mitton 2010: np);⁶ in the final moments of the play, Herod imagines that he sees Mariamne looking down on him in the form of a light in the sky brighter than the dogstar. I find various references to Charles I in relation to the dogstar (Rollins 1923: 100), and Canum Venaticorum became known as Cor Caroli Regis Martyris (the Heart of King Charles the Martyr)

¹ While the Chorus scenes seem to be original, the ideas behind them are not. For instance Queen Elizabeth's 15 January 1559 procession to her coronation through London included a pageant with Time and his daughter Truth (Neale 1961: 66).

² For instance, Mariamne's farewell to her two sons at the scaffold is not properly in Tristan but is found in Hardy.

³ Tristan writes in rhyming couplets, so if Compton was copying him, there would be no need to insist upon a post-Restoration composition date when heroic verse was more popular.

⁴ Dr. Tracy Eve Winton of Waterloo points to another instance of bringing classical meanings in line with Christian belief in Pierre Bersuire's 1340 *Ovide Moralise* (Winton 2010: np).

⁵ The only match is converting Corona Ariadnae to Coronae Spineae, so while it is possible that Compton had seen Schiller's work, or something similar, it does not appear that he copied the precise parallels from another source.

⁶ Mitton also noted that the left-hand column are some of Ptolemy's 48 constellations, as well as the two brightest stars in the Northern Hemisphere, Sirius and Procyon. Mitton agreed with Vertesi's theory that this is plausibly a personal exercise in drawing Biblical parallels.

after Charles II's court physician Sir Charles Scarborough claimed that it had shone particularly brightly on the night of Charles II's London return of 29 May 1660 (Struve 1942: 349); records of this usage come as early as 1673 in Francis Lamb's *Astroscopium, or, Two hemispheres containing all the northern and southern constellations projected upon the poles of the world* (30).¹ None of this actually affects the understanding of *Mariamne*, but it offers a potential suggestion of why the stellar list might have been written immediately after the play, as Compton was seemingly interested in astronomical issues around that time. All Compton would definitely require to create this list would be knowledge of the traditional astronomical names and Biblical references, so there may not be any underlying literary source.

Bassianus: Williams notes that *Bassianus* deals with the reign of Roman Emperor Bassianus, stretching from his father Severus' death to Bassianus' death—if the extant draft had been completed (1980: 409). In terms of potential historical literary sources, Kelliher lists Herodian's *History*, Dio Cassius' *Roman History*, and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*; he also identifies one anonymous neo-Latin play, *Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla*, c.1618 Christ Church, Oxford (1979: 177). The latter edition's editors note that additional brief sources were available in Renaissance England in Eutropius' *Breviarum Historiae Romanae*, Sextus Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus*, and Jordanes' *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum* (Mahaney and Sherwin 1976: 12). Huffman notes further references in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, and Holinshed (1974: 175-179). Williams also observes a similarity to Shakespeare's *Richard III*,² with both title characters preferring war and violence to peace, and both wooing women who should be unavailable due to the murder of men close to them; this wooing in both instances includes the offer of the tyrant's sword (1980: 409). In Appendix 4: Plausible Sources for *Bassianus* Material, I compare these texts' contents with *Bassianus*'.

Kelliher suggests that Herodian was Compton's primary source, and that a 1629 edition is still to be found at Castle Ashby (1979: 177). There are extended passages of what seems to be direct textual borrowing from Herodian, and the general thrust follows

¹ A peripheral Internet search led me to the reference to this source on <http://www.ianridpath.com/startales/canesvenatici.htm>.

² Randall agrees with the possible *Richard III* borrowing. He also suggests that Fletcher (present elsewhere in Castle Ashby) and Massinger's 1617 (revised 1627-1630) *Bloody Brother* uses the same basic story (1995: 263-264). Consulting a 1639 version available on *EEBO*, I accept that it does seem to be a reworking of the basic story, but changes it enough that it is not really conceivable that Compton could have used it for his source, as his own play would have been further from the historical accounts if he did.

Herodian faithfully, though Compton gives less detail of events such as military campaigns, which suggests some dramaturgical wisdom in keeping the plot manageable. Compton follows the order of events fairly closely, but does sensibly introduce some characters¹ earlier than Herodian in the narrative in order to weave them into the story more meaningfully. However, Herodian does not account for every element of the play. He does not mention Papinianus, Pantilius, or Phraates,² does not give names to Plautilla, Julia, or Zelinda,³ and offers slightly different names for Martinianus⁴ (Maternianus) and Martialis (Martial); he also favours 'Antonine' over 'Bassianus'. Compton's soliloquies mostly are not really represented—particularly significant in the case of Papinianus since he is the voice of morality in the play with the bulk of speeches lamenting the political situation. Herodian makes Geta a more ambiguous moral character, enhances Martinianus' influence with Bassianus, has Plautilla transported to Sicily by Severus rather than her own accord, and does not have a scene between her and Bassianus. Much of Compton's Act 4 follows a sub-plot of Bassianus seducing Julia—made his stepmother rather than his blood-mother—which, along with the fact that Julia sides so strongly with her blood-son Geta in the play, is not seen in Herodian.⁵

The other histories do not offer as many parallels as Herodian does, and several are very unlikely as sources,⁶ but a few might have furnished secondary details: Dio could provide Papinianus' basic role, Plautilla's name, and possibly even the basis for a few of the play's lines;⁷ the anonymous *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*⁸ offers Julia being

¹ In particular, Macrinus, Audentius, Martinianus, and Martialis.

² Downes notes a Phraartes in Crowne's *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, played by Mr. Hart and premiering in January 1677 (1987: 34); the character does turn out to be a Parthian, but is a king (Crowne 1677) and otherwise does not seem to have anything to do with Compton's Phraates.

³ Adams notes a play titled *Zelindra* played by the King's Company on 3 March 1662 (1917: 118), but upon investigation, it is clear that *Zelindra* (Killigrew 1665) has nothing to do with *Zelinda*.

⁴ Manuche's 1659-60 *Banished Shepherdess* includes a henchman who was a pandar but also enjoyed his own sexual adventures (38), which is somewhat parallel to Martinianus' representation.

⁵ Kelliher previously noted that Herodian does not mention marriage of Julia to Bassianus, or Papinianus' involvement in the story, or make Martialis the brother of Papinianus. Kelliher also sees friendship growing between Macrinus and Martialis in *Bassianus* rather than Macrinus simply using Martialis to further his goals, which Kelliher sees in Herodian; I suspect that this last observation is more opinion and reading-based than indefensible in either text, though, as Herodian is fairly ambiguous about the men's relationship, and Compton's Macrinus could be seen as manipulating Martialis to some extent (1979: 177-179).

⁶ Eutropius' *Breviarum Historiae Romanae*'s relevant section and Sextus Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus* are brief and do not seem like probable major sources. Jordanes' *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum* does not exist in an English translation that I can find, and discussion in Internet forums seems to suggest that it genuinely does not exist as such, so I am unable to examine it. However, perhaps this makes it less likely that Compton would have found it readily available, either. Geoffrey likewise is too brief to be of use, as is Higden (though he includes the marriage to Bassianus' stepmother), and while Holinshed is a little more detailed, it is not enough to make him a likely significant source.

⁷ I do not find an edition printed in England until 1704, well after Compton's lifetime, though he could have consulted it in a different language.

⁸ aka 'Historia Augusta' aka 'Augustan History'.

Bassianus' stepmother, his wooing and marrying her, Papinianus' death for protesting Geta's murder, and Geta's closeness to his mother.

The play *Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla*¹ certainly cannot be imagined as the primary source for Compton's work, as it varies in or leaves out many details, and it seems unlikely that Compton would have known a Latin student play written before he was born and never published, at a university that he did not attend (though he did spend time in Oxford during the war). This play does develop Papinianus as a moral voice, enhances Julia's closeness to Geta, and shows the wooing and Bassianus' torment in a way more similar to Compton's than has been seen elsewhere,² though these issues could be extrapolated from the historical sources independently by Compton. However, both plays have Julia appear briefly in Parthia, which is not suggested in the historical sources.

Concerning *Richard III*, Brooks indicates that Richard's courting scene borrows from Seneca's *Hercules Furens*, along with lesser debts to Seneca's *Phaedra*³ and others (1980: 721). Compton of course translated *Hercules Furens* too, which includes a scene with the usurping tyrant Lycus voicing sentiments about a usurper's safety lying in his sword, which is so similar to Bassianus' own to make it a safe assumption that it provided source material for *Bassianus*. However, the scene where Lycus attempts to woo Megara lacks any genuine feeling on Lycus' part, and has no offer of the sword, unlike in *Bassianus*. Standing alone it would not furnish all of the details incorporated in *Bassianus*. Compton almost certainly consulted his *Agamemnon* translation too, borrowing some lines almost exactly (e.g., 'Nor crown nor wedlock, partners will endure'), and perhaps noting where the usurping Aegisthus offers to die by his own sword if Clytemnestra denies him her love, causing her to relent and take him back. This could possibly be enough source material for Compton so that he would not need to consult *Richard III*, though it is reasonable to imagine that he would be familiar it⁴ as well, as a First Folio is still in the Compton family's possession.

¹ The modern editors do point out a faint allusion in Herodian to the suggestion of incest by a mockery of Julia referring to her as Jocasta, though this is quite mild to have provided the centrality of the matter in Compton's play (14); the editors mistakenly suggest that Audentius is an original creation (16), when he is actually to be found in Herodian.

² Williams first noted that the Latin play's inclusion of the marriage story and the scale of Bassianus' lovesickness could suggest that Compton was familiar with this play (1980: 409). However, Kelliher first observes that Compton's Bassianus eventually wins Julia himself where in the Latin play she is won by proxy, changing the reasoning of Bassianus' angst from lovesickness to anxiety about the outcome (1979: 179).

³ The Act 2 exchange between Hippolytus and his stepmother Phaedra is something of a reversal of the situation, with the stepmother as the wooer and the son as the horrified party (2010: 19-22).

⁴ Potter points out that the title Lord Protector made Cromwell look more like Richard III after 1653, and that this resonance increased when his son Richard became Protector (1989: 118).

In summary, *Bassianus* almost certainly depends upon Herodian for most of its content, though at least one more source is necessary to furnish certain names. Adding the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Dio, and even the unlikely *Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla* would cover most of the outstanding issues. What remains could be imagined to be Compton's creative contribution: the messenger Pantilius, the names of Princess Zelinda and the Parthian general Phraates (often present in historical accounts of Parthia as various kings' names), the form of the henchman Martinianus' name, his taking offense at treatment from Geta, making Papinianus and Martialis' executed brother one and the same, Julia's bravery at Geta's murder, and the personal relationship between Macrinus and Martialis. Frustratingly, none of the plausible sources allow much limitation to the play's potential dating range, as they were all available through Compton's lifetime. Nevertheless, it seems that Compton conducted significant research in order to create this play, turning to multiple sources,¹ some of which were not readily available in English, and this shows an impressive level of intellectual sophistication.

***The Captives*:** Williams identified this as a translation of Plautus' *Captivi*, lines 219-303, as Percy had guessed before him (1980: 410). The earliest printing in England is from 1724 and is in Latin, which supports the view that Compton was translating, rather than copying English.² In Appendix 4: *The Captives* Comparison, I compare the fragment with a modern translation (Watling 1965) and the 1724 version. Compton differs in a few very minor issues from both editions, which suggests a different source text, Compton struggling in translation, or deciding to diverge from his source in very minor ways. Regardless, there are no meaningful variations, and this can be taken as a faithful if shaky translation.³ As such, it does not help in dating the piece, though may tentatively suggest a position in the ordering earlier than the other Latin translations that seem to be a little more confidently handled.

¹ Manuche's (modernised) 1652 *Just General* has a moment where 'The King brings in Aurelia, in rich attire' (k1r); Bassianus likewise brings in Julia, richly attired, in Parthia. In his 1652 *Loyal Lovers*, like Julia's contemplation about Bassianus wooing her after killing her son, a woman asks 'Was ever woman courted (by a villain) to her dishonour / Just in the act of murdering her husband? / And shall I not revenge thy death (brave soul)? / It is decreed. / That hand that murders thee, that heart shall bleed' (g2r). His c.1665 *Feast* includes the line 'Thou wonder of thy sex' (10v), which is very close to Zelinda being called 'the glorious wonder of your sex' (45v).

² Herbert's Revels book shows 'A new Play, called, *The Captive, or The Lost recovered*: Written by Hayward' (i.e., Thomas Heywood) for the Cockpit Company on 3 September 1624 (Adams 1917: 29); however, it is not based on Plautus' play—though it borrows from Plautus' *The Rope* (Bentley 1956iv: 561).

³ Manuche's c.1650 *Love in Trauell* (modernised) contains a passage similar to one by the servant in *The Captives*: 'You know, I may requite it, when S^r. Peircival / Is in the suds. For, when his eyes are shut, / And his throat at my mercy; then is my time / (You know) to have his ears' (8v).

The Martird Monarch: Kelliher was the first to spot a direct reference to *Eikon Basilike*, supposedly written by Charles I and published on 9 February 1649, in the text (1979: 169). This gives a starting date for *The Martird Monarch*.¹

This section has given greater detail about sources identified by past scholars, and has adjusted some of the perceptions of how Compton used those sources. It has also identified several additional likely sources. This has limited the potential dating range of certain items, and shows Compton engaging in different methods of composition, from extremely faithful translations of Latin and French plays to adaptations of Italian and French plays, to heavy borrowing from historical texts and romantic literature, to seemingly original dramatic and non-dramatic texts. Additional analysis in the following section will clarify Compton's work even further.

Plausible Historical and Biographical Allusions

While a perceived historical allusion is not necessarily evidence of a text being written shortly after the supposedly referenced event, such resonances can be compelling, particularly when combined with other forms of evidence. Seeking autobiographical clues in a writer's work is also hazardous, since anyone can write anything without it necessarily being an insight into their own experiences.² However, taken with extreme caution, with as firm a knowledge of factual details (such as those provided in the Chapter 4 biography) as possible, and in context with other evidence, the findings of such a search can be illuminating. Again some small items cannot yield

¹ *Eikon Basilike* is still in Castle Ashby in a 1662 edition, though obviously Compton could have seen one much earlier than that date. Like *The Martird Monarch*, it discusses the events of Charles' reign, supports priests retaining wealth, and describes power being all that rules in the late 1640s. Interestingly, 'Charles' forgives those who have been imperfect in their loyalty, predicting that they will be more zealous in the future to make up for it, and says that he left Oxford so that his followers would not suffer more. Perhaps this is what spurred Compton to write his works in defence of monarchy. It is also interesting to see that the text's form as an historical account of a monarch's reign is quite similar to that in *60284* in Cotton's 1622 telling of Henry III's story, *A Short View of the Life of King Henry the Third*, as is the narrative tone. Some of the content is also familiar as it describes a king with sometimes bad counsellors, and rebellious subjects wanting to change government, though in Henry's reign Parliament gave into his demands, unlike in Charles'.

² For instance, Wolf suggests that Compton's personal letters show him 'capable of the hair-splitting, windy, theoretical rhetoric' used by some of his characters, and that he would have met individuals similar to many of those characters in the wartime years (1980: 459-60), though such a value judgement could be challenged.

much (the Biblical list,¹ the sketches,² 'Moleons Ghost',³ the stellar list,⁴ and *The Captives*⁵). Still, in this section I will discuss the most persuasive possible historical and biographical allusions that I detect in Compton's works (with supplemental material described in Appendix 4) to add more confidence to dating and ordering the texts, and to highlight further the issues that may have preoccupied Compton in his writing.

Non-Fiction

Some of Compton's texts are undeniably alluding to the historical events in which Compton took part, with no real attempt made to mask them. These are important to note, as they show that Compton is at least sometimes a politicised writer.

'The Cavalier': Williams observes that this poem satirises the behaviour of unreliable Cavaliers during the Civil War, and he interprets it as looking hopefully towards Charles I and the Scots uniting to overthrow the Parliamentary forces, which he guesses would only be plausible between late 1647 and June 1648, when Charles fell into the Army's hands (1980: 402). I believe that the poem actually comes later, anticipating Charles II's return after the regicide. As the poem traces the erstwhile Cavaliers' actions chronologically through the war,⁶ the final lines are most significant for dating the work. Near the end it reads 'let King e Capell fall' (44r), which most sensibly refers to the demise of King Charles on 30 January 1649, and Lord Capel on 9 March 1649.

¹ Compton's interest in the Bible could logically have come from any period in his life. It reveals little more than some knowledge of religious material.

² The small geometric sketches could come from any phase of Compton's life, from his student years as mathematical exercises to his late years of leading renovations on his properties and being involved with the Royal Society. The facial sketch likewise yields nothing concrete as the subject's identity is not known. If a self-portrait, it would appear to represent a man between his late teens and middle age, but it could easily be a sketch of another individual at any time.

³ As this text does not exist beyond the first two words, it has no topical resonances, though if it was intended to be a translation of Alabaster's *Roxana*, it would reinforce an attraction to Senecan-style tragedy about the destruction of royal houses.

⁴ Compton could have blended an interest in classical mythology, the Bible, and astronomy at any point in his life, though he became a founding member of the Royal Society in 1660, so may have developed an interest in astronomy due to exposure to experts after that time. His reference to a prophetic star representing Mariamne in the closing moments of that play may hint at why he would draw up such a list of Biblical parallels for the classical constellations right after the play, though.

⁵ Its fragmentary nature does not help, though Williams believes that it was initially larger, since Percy bothered to mention it in his list (1980: 410). An upper-class man and his servant being prisoners of war could resonate for Compton at any time, though particularly 1642-1646, since prisoners were still being held on both sides, as in the play. Of course, the fragment could have been written at any point later than that, reflecting back on it, or could relate to prisoners held during the Interregnum. Compton himself was in and out of prison in his middle years, but the imprisonments do not really match the play's context. It is safest just to say that Compton's knowledge of imprisonment would have been most intimate 1645-1659.

⁶ See the synopses in Chapter 2 or Appendix 1 for the full list of references.

Shortly thereafter it reads 'Oh but our hopes reuiue, now Scotlands King / is comming' (44v). Scotland's King, logically, is Charles II after Charles I's death. On 5 February 1649, Charles II was proclaimed King in Scotland, so the text plausibly comes from after that date.¹ The King 'is' coming, rather than has come, and Compton mentions that the unreliable Cavaliers he criticises are 'chiefe occa\$ion of his \$tay' (44v); Charles crossed into England on 6 August 1651 with a Scottish army, so it seems probable that the poem was written before this event.² Therefore I am quite confident that 'The Cavalier' was composed between Capel's 9 March 1649 execution and Charles II's 6 August 1651 invasion.

Compton was present at many of the events mentioned in this poem, so the frustration apparent in the text is understandable. However, a curious conflict arises between Compton's biography and some of his poetic complaints. Compton claimed to have laid down his arms in the summer of 1645; he surrendered just before the King fled to the Scots, compounded for his properties, and avoided obvious involvement in Royalist adventures until the Protectorate's collapse. Yet in the poem, he shows his contempt for just that sort of action:

Leaving bright honor, now before their eys
 Uppon who\$e wings they \$hould haue flowne toth Skies
 And might haue outdone tho\$e, y^e magnified
 In hi\$tory, that for their country dide.
 but they hold it a fare more braue exchange
 by compo\$ition t haue a plundred grange
 Loo\$ing all y^e great priuilidge of peers
 onely y^e empty \$ound to fill their ears. (43v)

Like his critical targets, Compton did not give his life for his King, and by composition regained his plundered granges. In the poem he then lists various uprisings, showing disdain for those Royalists who did not take part, as well as for the ineffectiveness of the uprisings themselves, but he never fully committed himself either. It would surely be impossible for him not to see some of his own actions in his satirical targets, so perhaps in part he is attacking himself. The final lines may therefore have been painful: 'Kings haue been conquerd, but ones \$elfe \$ubdue / to \$lavery hath bin onely don by

¹ He was not properly crowned in Scotland until 1 January 1651. The early 1650 ballad 'Articles of Agreement' similarly refers to Charles II as Scotland's new King in this period between his proclamation and crowning (Rollins 1923: 283).

² In theory, it could relate to any time until Charles' return to England in May 1660, but that seems less likely than the specific event of his impending invasion via Scotland, especially since the poem does not refer to later events of the 1650s.

you' (44v). The period immediately after the regicide that Compton discusses may have been morally complicated for him.¹

'Presbyterian': Williams suggests that this poem, which is less specific than 'The Cavalier' in following history,² could refer to any events after the 1646 Ordinance for Presbyterianism (1980: 402). Presumably the poem would have continued chronologically if it had not been abandoned mid-line, but the last fairly concretely dateable reference is that 'when they meet in battle, run away, / Make haste to Westminster, and vote the day / To be clearly theirs' (44v), which would seem to require at least the first major battle to have taken place, namely Edgehill (23 October 1642), after which the Parliamentary army returned to London and proclaimed itself victorious.³

The Martird Monarch: As this piece is entirely a chronological historical account, the only way to describe all historical references here would be to repeat the full piece; as such, a reader in search of every topical allusion is advised to consult the long synopsis in Appendix 1. The piece appears to offer a very narrow possible dating range, though. Kelliher notices that Cromwell is described in this historical account as Lieutenant General Cromwell, and therefore it must have been written before his appointment as Commander in Chief of the Army on 26 June 1650,⁴ and after the King's execution of 30 January 1649, which is also mentioned (1979: 169). Additionally, the *Eikon Basilike* is mentioned in the final line, which was not published until 9 February 1649, so that

¹ While no relationship can be proven, Manuche (modernised here) in his 1652 *The Just General* shares Compton's disdain in 'The Cavalier' for colonels and cobblers. One foolish character says that he will 'buy a Colonels Place' (b4v), and that 'Colonels are no Coblers, nor Tinkers, but companions for Princes' which earns the sarcastic response, 'when You are a Cobler or a Tinker, (I mean a Collonel)' (c1r). Manuche's c.1665 *The Feast* refers to 'Some quondum Collonells' (3r). A possible meaning to these references might lie in the John Hewson, originally a Westminster cobbler who was a colonel by the end of 1645 in the New Model Army. He preached illegally in 1646, and helped to suppress the Kentish uprising and to purge the Presbyterians in 1648. In 1649 he was one of the King's judges and became a regicide. By 1658 he was sitting in the new second chamber as Lord Hewson (an honour granted by the new regime), offending traditional noblemen. He died in exile in the 1660s (Durstun 2004: np).

² See the synopses in Chapter 2 or Appendix 1 for the list of references.

³ Perhaps closest to a truly personal reference is the couplet 'Next cantrary to all right and rea\$an / by a post act, condemne one for trea\$on' (44v), which plausibly relates to the condemnation of Lord Strafford, which Compton opposed; the 'post act' (from the *OED*, 'ex post facto', i.e., 'after the fact') plausibly refers to Parliament's condemning Strafford after his actions, and perhaps it also plays on the idea that the names of the vote's dissenters were posted publicly afterwards. The focus throughout the partial poem is certainly on Compton's disdain for the Presbyterian political faction in the wartime years.

⁴ Cromwell is described as 'the \$ince Lieutenant generall Crumwell' (13v); in June 1649 he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and General there, returned to England on 26 May 1650, and was made Commander-in-Chief of the New Model Army on 26 June, setting out against the Scots on 28 June. The latter was the more important change of rank from England's perspective.

must be the earliest possible date of composition. This seems to confirm that *The Martird Monarch* was written between 9 February 1649 and 26 June 1650.

Treatise: Kelliher suggests that this political treatise relates to early 1650, warning the political establishment about the impending Council of State that was created on 7 February, and supporting an Act of Indemnity for Royalists that would come to pass on 25 April (1979: 171). I suspect that it actually comes from slightly later.

Compton notes that he has heard

a rumor of a new repre\$entatiue, a thing y^e report whereof may do muche good as to y^e keeping still \$ome turbulent spirits, who de\$ire for a while to rule, and thinke it their due to govern, but I \$hould thinke it \$trange if tho\$e who with \$o muche judgement industry and courage haue obtaind their \$eats at helme \$hould after all y^e labor leaue y^e po\$ses\$ion (now it is growing to y^e plea\$ures of peace and plenty,) to<o> others to enjoy y^e chiefe fruits of their toiles and cares, and content them\$elues with y^e bare gleanings of \$o glorious an haruest (39r)

In other words, some new form of government is rumoured, and Compton judges it as consisting of dangerous power-hungry individuals who will displace those who have reached power after the past hardships and are finally enjoying peace. Officially, peace was reached on 24 June 1646 when Oxford surrendered, and while there were a variety of new committees and such created throughout the period, and changes to Parliament such as voluntary and involuntary expulsions, the first major change that I see was on 4 January 1649 when the Rump Parliament declared itself the supreme authority, not needing assent from the Lords or King. However, this is not really a 'new' representative. Votes for abolition of the Lords on 6 February and the monarchy on 7 February have the same limitation. Compton also mentions a rumour 'of an act of indemnitie, or of oblivion... It cannot bee exprest how many \$pirits it would lay past power of being conjured up againe \$ince y^e di\$creete penning might forgiue past crimes whiche haue not alltogether \$caped unpunisht neither' (39r). On 16 September 1651, after Charles II's defeat at Worcester had presumably put the Commonwealth into a fairly peaceful state, Parliament was discussing an Act of Oblivion to pardon Royalists. A committee was appointed to draft a bill calling for 'a new representative' on 25 September 1651, with the term specifically and steadily used to describe the possible replacement for the Rump after that; the bill supporting the new creation had its first reading on 8 October. The Act of Pardon and Oblivion was passed on 24 February 1652. On 14 September the bill for the new representative was passed to a select committee, in November Cromwell had discussions about the possibility of assuming kingship, on 23 February 1653 Parliament decided to have weekly debates about the

new representative, on 15 April Cromwell appealed for a new Parliament to be elected amid calls for him being replaced as General (though with his offer to resign rejected), on 19 April Cromwell held a meeting between Parliament and the Army suggesting that the parliamentary system be suspended and replaced with a 'caretaker government until the affairs of the nation are settled', and the MPs agree to debate his issues in Parliament. However, the next day, on the 20th, he forcibly dissolved the Rump. On 29 April 1653 a new Council of State (the 'Decemvirate') was made, consisting of ten men including Cromwell. The next day, a proclamation in Cromwell's name stating that the new Council of State would rule until a new 'supreme authority' was constituted. On 4 July the Nominated Assembly ('Barebones Parliament') took its place; its members were nominated by the army's Council of Officers and approved by the Council of State; by the end of the year it had given way to Cromwell's Protectorate.

I am inclined to disagree with Kelliher and place the speech between 25 September 1651 when the new representative started getting real attention in Parliament, and 24 February 1652 when the Act of Oblivion had been passed.¹ The new representative would eventually take the form of the smaller Barebones Parliament, filled with extremists, which would eventually fold and give way to Cromwell and his Protectorate, which appears to be a target of contempt in Compton's other writings. In other words, from Compton's apparent perspective his warnings of the dangers of the political change of the 'new representative' were entirely justified.

Original Fiction

While fiction is not as reliable for detecting topical references as non-fiction, original works give the writer the freedom to write about whatever they want, and therefore may reveal issues preoccupying the writer, which may help to date the work.

Leontius: Williams reports that this play does not have any basis in the histories of Cyprus, Sicily, or Sardinia (which are discussed in the play), and therefore guesses that it is allegorical, coming from the 1640s when Royalists still had hope that the Scots would come to Charles' aid against Parliament, as the Sicilians do for the Cyprian King Leontius; Williams also suggests that the evil turncoat Garamantus could represent Cromwell (1980: 406-7). I agree that Sicilian foe-turned-friend Melantius could

¹ Dr. Stephen Roberts and Dr. Andrew Barclay of the History of Parliament Trust agree in private correspondence that my dating is the most plausible interpretation (2010: np; 2010: np).

represent the hope that the Scots would come to the rescue,¹ the island Cyprus could stand for England, and the Royalist force facing civil war defeat could suit England's. However, I believe that it points towards a later date. Cypress symbolically relates to blackness and mourning for the dead;² if Leontius is the King of Cyprus, could he not be the King of cypress, and therefore of funeral-mourning?³

As rebel commander Phylanax dies in battle, he regrets fooling his people into believing that the war was about liberty, when really Phylanax just wanted ultimate power (15v-16r). Phorbas says that Phylanax 'with his bloud hath sealed y^c Couenant. / w^{ch} was agreed on' (23v), which could refer to the Solemn League and Covenant.

Melantius' defection then shocks Phorbas that he

should be so much ungratefull
to those by whom he hath so long subsisted.
his services as I haue heard never
wanted a large and ample recompence (24r)

This could be a swipe at the Scots, who received money from Parliament during the Bishops' Wars, as early as 28 November 1643 during the Civil War, and in exchange for Charles after the war.⁴

From Sicily comes news that their old King has died, and his son is crowned, whose rule is

Better then of his yeares could be expected
so much wisdome in managing affaires
of State, hath not beene seene in one so yong;
the people doe admire him; and he striues
to please them as much with all fitting things,
allowing them theyr Priviledges
free and unviolate w^{ch} may by right
be styled theires, and the Nobility
doe neither tyrannize over the poore,
and yet the peasants dares not lift his hand,
to destract ought from theyr Superiours,
and aboue all his owne Prerogatiue
hee not one jot doth lessen, so that I
doe thinke nere one in Sicily did raigine
under whome Subiects could expect such blisse. (26v)

¹ Perhaps Sicily is meant to suggest Scotland through their common 'S'.

² The *OED* entry notes such uses at least back to Spenser in the 1590s.

³ Also, Randall points out that the image of winter is often used in texts of the 1640s and 1650s (1995: xi), and *Leontius* repeatedly mentions a winter setting. The references to frozen Britain in *Bassianus* could perhaps also be like this regicidal winter (Randall 1995: 263).

⁴ The 7-14 March 1648 issue of *Mercurius Bellicus* calls on the Scots to redeem themselves for selling Charles for 'Two Hundred Thousand Pound', by coming to his rescue (3). This matter is also significant in *The Martird Monarch* and 'The Cavalier'.

This speech may raise the same issue of a King of Scotland that 'The Cavalier' did. If Sicily stands for Scotland, it seems highly unlikely that a Royalist writer would speak of a young King replacing his dead father there before Charles I's execution.¹ As such, it would seem to indicate that the play was not written before 5 February 1649 when Charles II was proclaimed in Scotland. That seems supported by Melantius' next statement:

I am a little eased of my grieffe
to heare, that from the ashes of our late
Soveraigne there is sprung so rare a Phenix,
to beare the Scepter of such: a Kingdome. (26v)

There are then additional comments to the same effect. The reference to an actual reign could suggest a dating beyond the Restoration, however. If written after January 1649, it invites questions of why the play would be based in a siege situation that did not happen, with the old King still alive; it also invites questions about why the playwright would create an ending that never happened, as well as the problematic matter of Compton (if he wrote this piece) having surrendered before Charles did, when the play condemns those who do so.

Soon after, Leontius recounts his reign:

for a long time att my first begining
to sway a Scepter, and to weare a Crowne
in Peace I ruled, and fully did enioy
the blessings that attend on happy peace
then on a suddaine against all reason
my Subiects did begin, to foule Rebellion,
and not contented with what helpe they could
out of theyr natiue Country gather, called
on a forraigne power to assist them (28v)

Again this would seem like a description of the start of the Civil War, up to Scotland's involvement for Parliament's cause after the Covenant. Confusion then continues when he talks of the need for a son, however, as Charles had several.

Interpreting an allegorical reading of *Leontius* depends upon how much significance one gives the young King of Sicily. If he is Charles II, the play would come after 5 February 1649 when he could claim to be King of Scotland, and quite possibly after he was restored and had begun to rule. Potter suggests that Melantius could represent Monck, responsible (along with breakdowns within the Army) for returning the

¹ What Potter perceives as a class divide in the play due to the King not coming into contact with his subjects (Potter 1989: 105) is perhaps just a result of Compton's own socially elite background reflected in his writing.

monarchy (1989: 105), which supports a post-Protectorate date. If the Sicilian King is simply abstract anticipation of a change of loyalty in Scotland, then the play would seem to come after the Solemn League and Covenant in August 1643, and prior to the King leaving Oxford in April 1646. I am not convinced that Compton would write about the death of old kings and the reign of new until Charles was actually dead and his son proclaimed, and therefore suspect that *Leontius* was composed no earlier than 5 February 1649.

Bassianus: From the first line, 'Severus then is numbered with the Gods' (3r), there is a potential historical resonance. Severus is the dead Roman Emperor; perhaps this reflects on Charles I's January 1649 death. However, the play then describes Severus' funeral as being an affair of great pomp, with the effigy treated worshipfully. Charles did not have a lavish funeral because the new regime did not want to celebrate him. However, Cromwell did have a lavish State funeral, complete with public celebration and the effigy lying in state (Burton 1828: 516-530), which resonates with Severus' funeral. Cromwell's effigy began lying down in state, and then was raised up to represent the soul rising to Heaven, which was based on James I's funeral (Fraser 1997: 492). Similarly, after Severus' effigy lay in state for seven days, 'Then did Joues Eagle, to Olimpus beare / Severus \$oule' (3v). Cromwell's funeral's extravagance shocked many (Fraser 1997: 685), which might explain why Compton took such careful interest in Herodian's lavish account. It would push the play's composition at least to November 1658 when Cromwell's funeral and procession took place; from a Royalist perspective, Cromwell would make a better match for the violent Severus than Charles would.

Papinianus continues, 'What was Severus? a poore Affrican, / By fortunes favord, e Bellona graced, / \$ets foot upon y^e weaker Nigers head' (4v). This could easily be Cromwell post-regicide: an almost-commoner with good fortune and the Goddess of War seemingly on his side, he crushes his now less powerful opponent Charles. Then,

The Senate oreawd did toth, Soldier bend
 Not daring but to \$eeme, their choice to like.
 And vainely would pretend that they do keepe
 Their former honors, becau\$e they approue
 What they dare not with\$tand, and thinke that they
 Create y^e Emperor, when ah poore men,
 They loss of life more then of honor feare.
 What is become oth auncient Senates fame
 The worth is gon y^e Robes e name remaine.

(4v)

This passage certainly resonates with the Independents and Army crushing the Royalists, Presbyterians, Lords and other opponents in the Commons until with the soldiers' support they held all power, and eventually Cromwell himself reigned supreme. These tensions were in full effect by 1647. Papinianus is cynical about Severus being deified, pointing out that 'In frozen¹ Brittain his cold asshes re\$t', which could link the play to Compton's world, and the fact that Cromwell's effigy was celebrated rather than his quickly putrefying body, which had already been interred.

After Oliver, Richard Cromwell was never seen as a powerful leader, and his younger brother Henry was not his equal in status. Richard is not easily seen in the brutish Bassianus, even if Bassianus' words would have been good Machiavellian advice to Richard:

Tis nor my will nor nature to forego
 \$uche \$ecure precepts as my father gaue,
 Heere in this \$word doth all my safety ly
 Tis not the Senats dull morallitie,
 That props my greatne\$s up, but Martiall arms,
 Who\$e ea\$ine\$s by bounty gaind, doth aw
 Tho\$e \$hrugging \$houlders, into \$till whi\$pers (5v)

The military propped Oliver throughout his reign, and Richard's failure to maintain control came in large part from his lesser relationship with the Army. The attitude would better fit Oliver than Richard. Further complicating the Cromwell issue is the following passage:

Who \$its at helme like mee, no \$tupid heire
 That for his title claims prescription,
 But one who\$e father, \$wam through \$treames of blood
 To gra\$p this jewell prized dominion,
 I must by terror keepe, what hee did get
 By warlick \$tratagem, e deepest plots (5v)

If Richard's weaker nature was not known, it could be seen as resonating with the man to follow Oliver, who rose through blood, war, and arguably plots, rather than true hereditary custom. It is difficult to imagine the somewhat effeminate-looking young man in Richard's portraits ever being imagined as plotting to rule through terror. The better match is Oliver: Bassianus says 'nature hath mee to deformed made. / \$o y^l I cannot frame my \$elfe to <\$mile> fawne / Nor hide with \$miles y^e dictates of my heart' (6r-v); Cromwell was unattractive, poorly dressed, did not have a particularly pleasant voice, and was known for being harsh and blunt even before the war (Fraser 1997: 64-5). Papinianus then refers to Bassianus cutting the Gordian Knot; Potter indicates that

¹ As previously noted, winter imagery was common for describing post-regicide England.

references to the Gordian Knot were commonly linked to Cromwell for using his sword as an expedient (1989: 107). Perhaps Compton was blending Oliver's bloody rise with concerns about Richard's coming to power.

Sentiments like 'you know y^e armies, y^{es}. for by y^t \$tring / y^r are \$ure the crowne and Scepter hangs' (12v) would be commonly understood as early as the build-up to civil war when King and Parliament fought for control of the militia. It continues in 'Pay but the \$oldier well, they are y^t \$laues' (12v), where pay of arrears was a constant issue through the war and Interregnum. The risks are also presented:

Power maintaind meerly by guards and arms,
Breeds in the \$oldier pride, ith people hate,
Both rocks on whiche great Monarchies haue \$plit,
for armies when they do their owne \$trenghts know
Are more by bruitish will then rea\$on led,
And \$eldome ought but confu\$ion bring (13r)

This was certainly the case in England from 1646 through to the Restoration, especially in bringing about the regicide. Macrinus continues the sentiment: 'The \$word in Rome forces to great an aw' (14v).

Bassianus killing naive Geta could possibly resonate with the regicide.¹ Even though Cromwell was not singly responsible for Charles' death, he was highly involved, and eventually gained the most by it. Geta dies because he trusts Bassianus: 'It was his fault but not his crime hee dide, / His fault to haue beleued to well of you' (26r), and Charles' death came at least in part because he initially trusted the Army and Cromwell more than he should have. In the midst of his Act 4 anguish over his growing obsession with his stepmother Julia,² Bassianus mentions England again, for no good reason: 'if I dont po\$e\$s / I nere \$hall more delight to \$ee the day, / But in \$ome brittish Cavern pine e die' (29v); this could be intended to bring the reader's mind back to English parallels.

While historical allusions in fiction are always debateable, it seems reasonable to date *Bassianus* after the 1649 regicide, probably after Cromwell's 16 December 1653 rise to Lord Protectorship, and if the possibility of Oliver's reputation being grafted onto the spectre of Richard's impending rule is believed, perhaps beyond Cromwell's November 1658 funeral, losing relevance and therefore compositional likelihood after the 1660 Restoration.

¹ Geta could also possibly relate to the elected government, killed off by Cromwell in 1653 so that he could rule alone. Compton seems to warn the government of this impending threat in his treatise.

² In Act 2, the dowager Empress Julia laments to Geta about losing her husband Severus and her political power. This could potentially be linked to Henrietta Maria after the January 1649 regicide, but the intrigue that follows in the play does not seem to relate to her in any way. Julia is slightly overbearing with Geta, which could resonate with Compton's difficult relationship with his own mother.

Sophius: Williams suggests that *Sophius* is allegory for 1640s-1650s politics, and links King Calophilus to Charles II¹ (1980: 410). Kelliher more specifically links it to the period before the impeachment of Charles I's favourite, the Earl of Strafford, veiled in the offstage character *Sophius*. Kelliher suspects that the impeachment formed the plot of the complete play (if it was originally complete), as he doubts that the full civil war could have been covered in the remaining 3.5 Acts. He translates the Greek-style names as follows: Calophilus 'lover of beauty' representing Charles I; *Sophius* 'the shrewd one' as Strafford; the henchman *Pseudolon* 'the liar'; the purged *Dolarchion* (possibly replaced by *Pseudolon*) 'hatcher of plots'; the disaffected politician *Mega* has only that abbreviation remaining; the main plotter *Pro* (again the name only survives in abbreviated form) probably representing the political leader *Pym*; and the young Royalist politician *Timolethes*² as 'honourer of truth' (1979: 176).

If the characters are indeed based on historical individuals, *Pro* is established as the anti-Royalist arch-villain, and would therefore most plausibly represent either *Pym* or *Cromwell*. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was made Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1632 and raised an army there to support the King's war with Scotland, but was accused by Parliament of planning to use the army against England; this eventually led to his execution on 12 May 1641. *Sophius* does seem to stand for Strafford, and *Pym* was indeed more prominent than *Cromwell* during the Strafford situation. However, one difficulty with the *Pym* theory is that *Pro* intends to engage himself in war, though 'As yet I no experience haue in y^t sterne art' (75v). *Pym* was a politician in his late fifties and not a soldier, so *Pro*'s military plans seem inappropriate. That would better fit the martial *Cromwell*. The *Cromwell* case is also supported by the fact that *Pro* is not actually the vocal leader of the King's foes even though he is the fragment's apparent villain, but rather says that he is being subtle while others show their hands, and he is learning from their mistakes. '*Sophius* will be their, aime, him to destroy / They will their utmost skill employ' (75v); he does not include himself in the front line against Strafford, where *Pym* certainly was. His subordinate *Pseudolon* perceives that *Pro* intends to rule, and he acknowledges as much, and will use force, but 'My place in councill Ile not quit'; perhaps this refers to the Self-Denying Ordinance of 3 April 1645, which required members of both Houses to resign their military commands,³ but *Cromwell* was exempted due to his military importance. *Pro* would seem a better fit for

¹ I suspect that this is a typographical error intended to be Charles I.

² I can only read 'Timol' and the rest of the letters are too faint to make out, but perhaps Kelliher had better luck in 1979.

³ They could re-apply for them, however.

Cromwell—with Compton benefitting from hindsight—than Pym. Considering Compton's habit in *Sophius* of starting names with the same letter as their real-world counterparts, perhaps Pro stands for 'Protector', with the play written after 16 December 1653. Cromwell was often known as 'Oliver Protector', and even signed his name Oliver P (Fraser 1997: 451), so it is not too great a stretch to imagine it.

It is almost inconceivable that *Sophius*, taken in context with the rest of the collection and Compton's biography, is not directly commenting on the politics immediately prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. It may suggest knowledge of Cromwell's rise to the Protectorship on 16 December 1653. Kelliher's doubts that the entire period could be covered in the remainder of a normal-length play are fair, and if Compton finished the work, it must have been much abbreviated in its coverage of events through the wars and Commonwealth. A further curiosity is why Compton would turn back to events from so much earlier, in such detail. Perhaps he was creating a past for Cromwell to explain how he rose to ultimate power when he was not actually very prominent around 1641, or maybe Compton was simply trying to explain what went wrong to bring the Royalists to where they found themselves in the 1650s.¹

Adaptations

In an adaptation, the adaptor makes decisions to alter some material from the source. The reasoning could be to add a layer of meaning, so I investigate Compton's adaptations for plausible allusions.

The Mandrake: While this play is not as obviously political as most of the collection, Kelliher suggests that Compton still had familiar targets, perhaps mocking the Presbyterians through the parson Renchetext.² Kelliher is tempted to date the play early in the Restoration, though hesitates since the play does not state how long has passed since its war began, even though Machiavelli's original is specific (1979: 173-175).

The play begins with Leaveland, freshly arrived in London, reminding his servant Trusty of how Leaveland, orphaned as a youth, had been sent to Paris, 'where not long after ciuill wars begun in England' (7r). If resonating with Compton's life, this would mean that the play was written no earlier than 1642, when war began. However, Leaveland is now described as 'not fiue e twentie' (19r). A youth of three in 1642 would

¹ Randall sees a parallel in the political argument in *Sophius* with *Bassianus*' and *Mariamne* (1995: 264).

² Renchetext seems more a Puritan than a Presbyterian in my view. The rest of Compton's writing and biography indicates disdain for Presbyterian and radical preachers, as Renchetext represents.

be around twenty-five in 1664; a late bloomer of fifteen in 1642 would be around twenty-five in 1652. Leaveland's age would hint at 1652-1664 for the play's setting.

In Act 3, Puritan parson Renchertext speaks with an Old Lady:

Old La:	do you thinke there will bee any Stirs this \$pring.	
Ren:	If y ^e prayers of the faithfull auert it not there will in truth.	
Old La:	May they proue efficacious, I am diuelishly fearefull of these Cabs	(13r)

'Cabs', according to the *OED Online*, is a corruption of 'Cavs', or 'Cavaliers' (or possibly 'Caballeros'), in currency by 1650.¹ The Old Lady implies that they could cause 'stirs' against the establishment, suggesting they are out of power in London, resonating with England no earlier than 1642, probably no earlier than 1646, and prior to the 1660 Restoration.² The 'Cabs' episode is interesting since Compton himself was one of those dreaded Cavaliers. This may indicate something of a sneer at the City and its inhabitants.

From Leaveland's age, one might guess that *The Mandrake* was written no earlier than around 1652, and with the threat of Cavalier uprisings, set no later than early 1660, though potentially written later, looking back at that period. The lack of reference to an English King makes later composition perhaps unlikely, though the plot of a young Englishman returning from abroad and securing a prize could relate to Charles II's anticipated return, perhaps suggesting a date around 1659.

Mariamne: Williams calls *Mariamne* Compton's only play unrelated to midcentury English political events, and suggests that the Act 5 report of Mariamne's execution has 'not the vaguest allusion' to Charles' execution (1980: 408). However, I believe there may indeed be intentional allusions in the play.

Herod recounts his usurpation of power, 'o'th \$treame / of \$anguine rivers, whiche I feareless past / to crowne my hopes, with regall power at last' (2r). If alluding to the regicide, this suggests composition after 30 January 1649, and if resonating with Cromwell's rise, it suggests a date beyond December 1653 when he was first properly being considered as a replacement-King.

¹ The earliest use that I can find on *EEBO* is in Humphrey Mill's 1646 *The second part of The nights search* (128).

² In early 1659, thousands of Royalists were concentrating in London, worrying the government. A letter to Secretary Nicholas (modernised) states 'the implacable humour of the Cavaliers will be stirring again this spring, else what should so many of them do in London' (Hotson 1962: 161).

Policy gloats about his power over Justice 'when heads flew of e towns were \$ackt' (8r). Again this could easily relate to a Royalist perspective of the Civil War, and possibly Charles' beheading, with politics overwhelming morality. Mariamne continues with a passage that easily associates with the post-regicide period:

what boots it mee to spring from royale, seed
 \$ince va\$sals now do make their Soveraignes bleed
 What boots it on my head to place a crowne,
 When an u\$urper \$its uppon the throne (9r)

The sudden devaluation of Royal stock, the lower orders drawing the sovereign's blood, and the usurper on the throne all fit the post-regicide period, particularly after Cromwell emerged as a new perceived tyrant on 15 December 1653.

In 3.1, Herod holds a trial against Mariamne, appealing to the judges about how unnatural it is that Mariamne should supposedly plot against him: 'A \$ubject striue· a princes blood to spill' (13r). Even in the tyrant's mouth, the words resonate with the Royalist horror at Charles' execution. Mariamne does not defend herself much: 'for mee to aske for proofes, were breath ill \$pent / when by y^r lookes I see, to my ruine bent / you all do \$itt, e in y^r \$oules decreed / What ever fall, most happy I must bleed' (13r). She continues:

what \$hould I say
 Must I my fame or el\$e my life betray
 Ile not confess a fault from whiche I'me free
 If in y^r forged proofes you find there bee
 Enough to \$entence, to y^r doome proceed
 for mee you cannot with to quick a \$peed. (14r)

This unwillingness to speak possibly resonates with Charles I's own trial, where he would not say anything, refusing to acknowledge the court's authority, until the final day when it was too late to help. The judges give their sentence: 'to pri\$on, and there in confinement spend / Y^r time, till for y^r guilty head wee \$end / Whiche from y^r bodie by the Hangmans \$word / Must \$undred bee, Herod Mercie may afford' (15r), which is much like Charles' sentence.

In 5.1, a Nuntius enters, mourning Mariamne's death. The grief could easily be applied to a mourner of Charles I and does not need quoting. Herod encounters the Nuntius and forces him to explain what has upset him, leading the Nuntius into a very long description of Mariamne's final moments. Most resonant with Charles I's execution are the following excerpts:

But multitudes unto y^e place did flock
 Most wisshing there owne heads upon the block

Might placed bee, \$o Mariannes thred
 Might spared bee, uncut, to saue her head
 Gladly would thou\$ands die (27r)

This is once again like those Royalists offering their own heads in place of Charles'. The Nuntius then explains how the crowd blamed Herod,

wi\$shing that from y^f browes, the crowne might bee
 \$oone rent, and that of y^f po\$teritie
 None ere might scepter \$way. (27r)

This could plausibly look forward or backward to the fear of Cromwell taking the crown, and then it passing to his son.

The Nuntius gives further references to there being 'uppon a scaffold \$o muche Majestie' (28r), and Mariamne addressing the crowd with martyr-like calm but regret about leaving them to face tyranny alone (Charles too was calm in his final moments, and had few words), 'Then called \$hee for her two \$ons, (e smiled)' (28r); while Charles had three sons and they were not present at his end, he did communicate with them after his surrender and directed *Eikon Basilike* to Prince Charles with priest-like calm and advice; also, he saw Princess Elizabeth and Prince Henry the day before his execution. One son wants revenge:

Must I y^f \$on with patience \$ee you die
 And \$hall y^e tirant after liue e raigne
 who \$o unjustly hath my mother \$laine
 No I beare to high a mind, ere to \$ee
 My Mothers Murderer from uengeance free (28r)

This could reflect upon Prince Charles' attempts to invade England after his father's death. Mariamne goes to the block 'where \$treight y^e \$word exchanged her life for death' (30r); Charles too lost his head with one cut.

The potential historical resonances seem to cluster around the innocent royal's execution, and a tyrant usurping the throne which would place the play after January 1649 and perhaps after December 1653. *Mariamne's* philosophy could be close to the heart of a defeated Royalist seeing no impending signs of restoration. It would appear to lose any real relevance by the Restoration, so perhaps was not written beyond the 1650s.

Direct Translations

The texts that Compton directly translated are least persuasive as sources of historical or biographical allusion, since ultimately Compton was following the thoughts of

another's mind rather than his own; Seneca was not writing about the events of 17th-century England, after all. However, it is possible that something resonated for Compton in such items, encouraging him to translate them within a collection of heavily political texts, so I identify the main points that may indicate the translations' topicality—and what dating such topicality might imply—below.

Williams guessed that *Hermenigildus* was written between the start of the war in 1642 and King Charles' seizure by the Army in June 1648 (1980: 402). However, a Royalist military commander being drawn to such a story of a prince being murdered and mourned as a martyr seems less meaningful before Charles' execution than after. While the civil war scenario at the play's start resonates with 1642-1646,¹ *Hermenigildus* is warned that 'y^e ax due to offenders necks is every where terrible, to a princely issue' (4r), freshly significant after Charles' 30 January 1649 execution.

Considering what may have drawn Compton to *Agamemnon* offers a few possible historical resonances. Thyestes predicts King Agamemnon's murder: 'the royall head / Deuided from the trunk I see, by \$troakes' (2v); Charles was killed by beheading as well. In the Fifth Act, Cassandra describes Agamemnon's death at Clytemnestra's (and unworthy Aegisthus') hands. Then Princess Electra enters with Prince Orestes, hope of the Royal family, fleeing the murder scene. This could resonate with the flights of Charles I's various children throughout the war and beyond, obviously Prince Charles, but also Prince James, who was helped in escaping captivity in disguise by Princess Elizabeth in April 1648. The name similarity between Elizabeth and Electra may even be an intentional resonance, as like Electra, Elizabeth remained in captivity after the regicide. In fact, a 1649 translation of Sophocles' *Electra* remains at Castle Ashby, which the translator C. Wase dedicates to Elizabeth in her captivity.² One dedicatory poem reflects what Compton may have been doing with his own translations:

And it is *Counsel* now to fight the times,
 Not in pitcht Prose, but Verse, and flying rymes.
 'Tis safe too: For the Poet (as Men say)
 Can forfeit nothing but some *woods* of *Bay*
 /.../
 Thus by *flight* of *translation* you make
 Him *libell'em*, who is *ten ages* back

¹ Unless specifically otherwise noted, all historical references and dates in this study come from David Plant's articles on the *British Civil Wars, Commonwealth and Protectorate 1638-60* website (www.british-civil-wars.co.uk), recognised and preserved by the British Library for its quality.

² Inside, a poem by H. P. advises her that 'The Poet here presents Electra's eye / A Christall for to dresse your Cypress by' (5), cypress being a symbol of mourning.

Out of their reach: and lay your ambush so,
 They see not who 'tis hurts e'm. *He* or *You*.
 Yet each page of your book affrights 'em more,
 /.../
 When *Egist* groans, they start, as if the steel
 Reacht at their *souls*, and when He *falls*, They *reel*' (6)

The next poem is even more blunt, congratulating the poet for 'Representing Allegorically these Times', as 'Here guilt with guilt is parallel'd; the rime / Of vengeance too may be compleat in time. / Our *Agamemnon's* dead, *Electra* grieves, / The onely hope is that *Orestes* lives' (7).¹ In such a context, *Agamemnon* might best resonate after Charles' 30 January 1649 execution, when regicide was most topical, and the particular mythology he translated was of current interest.

In *Hercules Furens*, Act 2 includes the quotation 'crime / is virtue call'd. the good obey the bad. / Right in the Sword remaines. lawes yeeld to fear. /.../ I Saw the crowne wth y^e Kings head / snatch'd off' (21v), which again might resonate with Charles' execution. There is also reference to '\$ons that \$hould reuenge their parents throne' (66v), which could reflect upon Charles' children after his death. A plea for Hercules to return from the underworld to right the wrongs in his Kingdom could be compared to some sort of call to the dead Charles, or perhaps to Charles II to come from abroad:

heele come and puni\$h him,
 And quick to light will ri\$e; a way heele find
 Or make. come to thine owne e \$afe remaine.
 At la\$t to y^t quelld hou\$e a victor come.
 Ri\$e up my L^d e with y^t hand di\$pell
 the \$catterd mists, If any paths forbid
 e y^e way \$hut, come through y^e cloven world (67r)

The usurping tyrant Lycus is referred to as being of 'base' stock² (67r), which was how Royalists viewed most of those seizing the royal power. Lycus arrives, '\$haking \$cepters to others due' (68r), which could resonate after 20 April 1653 when Cromwell had ejected the Rump, or certainly when he became a new tyrant as Lord Protector on 16 December. Lycus describes his situation as follows:

Not by old laws, I <am> hold my fathers hou\$e
 An Idle heir, no noble ance\$tors
 haue I, nor \$tock famous for titles great
 but cleere vertue, who boasts his \$tock doth \$ound
 anothers prai\$e, but fearfull-\$cepters rent
 by <a> forced <hand> are gaind. all \$afety lies in \$teele

¹ The play itself focuses on Orestes' revenge, where Compton's Senecan play deals with the regicide.

² As it did with Aegisthus in *Agamemnon*.

becau\$e you hold <h[e]> it gainst y^e peoples wills
with y^e \$word let it guarded bee. (68r-v)

Cromwell's close ties to the Army could be relevant here, especially as that helped him hold power throughout his reign. His resemblance to a monarch only grew from his installation as Lord Protector onward.

Again this play of royal tragedy would resonate most after Charles's 30 January 1649 execution. It is tempting to link Lycus with Cromwell and date it later than Cromwell's 16 December 1653 installation as Lord Protector, though Cromwell was accused of tyrannical aspirations earlier than that so it may be unnecessary to look that late. Regardless, it may be telling that the major resonances with 17th-century history are concentrated in the first two Acts, as nothing more was included in the 60277 scribal fair copy, presumably made to preserve something for a reason.

There is a great deal in *Don Sancho* about restoring a monarchy¹ that could interest Compton post-January 1649, becoming more and more likely all the way to the 1660 Restoration, then growing less relevant to the end of Compton's life in 1682. However, where Corneille's Aragonian royals have been exiled for twenty years (133), Compton just refers to their 'long and tedious stay' (22r); his removal of the specific number may suggest that he was accommodating the different reality of England's royals.² It is unfortunate that he did not replace his sources' times with ones that would help date his own work.

In Act 1 Scene 1, exiled Queen Dowager Leonora tells her daughter Elvira that after ill fortune, their people in Aragon are taking

from y^e <proud> tirants hands
<Pulls> what hee <\$natched> from us, e for o^f title \$tands.
Breaking y^e loathd lincks of their unjust chains
Allowing us, under o^f lawes remains
And by commi\$ioners y^t wee this day
Expect, restores o^f tedious exild stay. (22r)

It is tempting to equate Leonora with Henrietta Maria, an exiled Queen who had taken active interest in her children's matches throughout her life—including her daughter

¹ Kelliher indicates that Corneille's original failed on the French stage due to the Queen Mother's concern that it glorified subjects over their rulers (1979: 172). Perhaps she did not reserve judgement until the end of the play, since the unknown heroic Carlos does turn out to be a King's son and heir, suggesting that noble blood will naturally find its rightful place (129).

² It is interesting that this change happens in a volume shared by *The Mandrake*, where he removed a time reference as well.

Henrietta Anne¹ in exile in France around the Restoration (Miller 2004: np)—and who returned to England at the Restoration of 1660. If Aragon stands for England here, the tyrant would supposedly be Lord Protector Oliver c.1653-1658 (or his son), though it could broadly relate to any time in the 1649-1660 Interregnum. The people stripping the tyrant of power resonates more with Richard Cromwell abdicating in May 1659, and the reference to expecting commissioners suggests 16 May 1660 when Charles II received delegates from England at the Hague.

Mysterious Carlos helped overthrow the Moors in Seville in order to stabilise Castile, and now

no
 Heeres <withou>t employment, \$o his gallant mind
 To end Don Garcias overthrowes inclind.
 Mauge all strenght of y^e rebellious rout
 Hasten to bring o^t happier fates about. (22v)

Carlos' wandering military exploits loosely resonate with Charles II's own participation in the Civil War, his attempted invasion via Scotland, and his time abroad in general; his desire to overthrow the tyrant at home could also suit Charles returning to England to restore the monarchy.²

The attraction for Compton to a play about exiled Royals returning to their kingdom with the overthrow of a usurper³ is easy to imagine after Charles I's January 1649 death, becoming more resonant with Cromwell's December 1653 rise as Lord Protector, stronger yet as the Interregnum leadership faltered in 1659, and growing most relevant around May 1660 as the King's return actually happened. A later date looking back on these issues is possible, though the relevance would quickly diminish. As such, potential topical resonances might imply a date around the start of 1660.

Carefully examining these texts for literary, historical, and biographical debts has significantly illuminated how Compton gathered material to use in his writing. Additionally, it sheds a reasonable amount of light on some of Compton's possible preoccupations, which will be discussed further in Chapter 9, where his writing activity will be contextualised within the era's drama. Finally, it has often suggested fairly

¹ She married the Duc d'Orleans.

² Loyal soldiers supporting the return of an exiled royal family could resonate with the Royalist Compton at any time after January 1649 until his death, with the plot most relevant around the time of the 1659 Booth Uprising. It might imply positive feelings about the prospect of a Royal Restoration, and the inherent greatness of royalty.

³ The rest of the fragment resonates less with Restoration-era English politics, and the uncopied bulk of Corneille's play drifts further and further into the terrain of heroic romance and away from the politics of the moment, which may explain why Compton's draft was abandoned.

confident dating ranges for individual items by showing their dependency upon sources only available after certain dates; the general finding is that almost all of the texts are probably from after the 1649 regicide, and if any were written after the 1660 Restoration, it probably was not long after, since they would quickly lose contextual relevance. In the following chapter, I will bring together that dating information and the relevant findings from the past several chapters to propose an ordering, and where possible a dating, for the full collection of Compton's Castle Ashby texts.

Chapter 7: A Proposed Order for the Unsigned Castle Ashby Texts

It must be stated that the exact dating and the ordering of Compton's texts are not known with certainty and probably never will be.¹ I am cautious in drawing conclusions from the information gathered in the previous chapters, as much of it remains speculative, though grounded in a multifaceted methodology intended to reduce the need for conjecture, and therefore the dating and ordering proposed below are not disguised as anything other than a best-guess explanation. However, such a tentative order is worth proposing, as it will give future researchers a starting-point to refine as new information is collected; also, in Chapter 9, it will allow me to propose reasons for Compton's writing activity, since the texts likely would be interpreted differently if they were written, for example, by Compton as a privileged pre-war youth, a displaced and badgered Interregnum Royalist, or a middle-aged Restoration-era establishment political figure.

60281 *The Captives*: As the only certainty is that Compton used a foreign Plautus source for this fragmentary translation, all that can be assured is that it was written within his lifetime, with it conceivable that he could have been engaged in such activity 1630-1681.

Conjecturally, its unique watermark (most similar to those on a few personal letters between 8 May 1643 and 21 March 1645) might suggest a different writing time or place from the rest of the collection, and the paper and formatting (margins and titles) are by far most like those in *The Martird Monarch* (which I will suggest comes next in the ordering). Consulting the Appendix 3 tables shows that *The Captives* is usually closest to other items that I will propose as very early. The translating is not particularly strong, which might suggest the work of an inexperienced playwright²/translator. The war, Compton's imprisonments starting in 1645, or even his 5 July 1647 marriage to the more theatrically connected Isabella could have motivated him to try his hand at what may be an early dramatic effort. As the items that I suggest are the other early ones all appear to be post-regicide and are tragic, sober, or cynical, I suggest that the comic hope

¹ After all, Shakespeare's plays' order is still endlessly debated in the fine details even though a huge amount of time and energy have been poured into research of the available evidence.

² It will be seen in Chapter 8 that *The Captives* also lacks dramaturgical sensitivity, which could reveal a lack of experience.

seen in *The Captives* may set it apart as an earlier text, and therefore the earliest in the collection, perhaps July 1647-January 1649, when Compton could still imagine a happy ending to the troubles of the 1640s. Perhaps the translation was even abandoned (as it appears to have been) when the King was executed, leading the now-writing Compton to switch to a different literary mood.

60282 *The Martird Monarch*: With format similarities to *The Captives* as discussed in Chapter 5, it is plausible that *The Martird Monarch* was written in a similar period; its unique watermark could also put it outside the core grouping of items. Long before my study, it was correctly dated between *Eikon Basilike*'s 9 February 1649 publication since it references that book, and Cromwell's 26 June 1650 promotion to Commander in Chief, as it refers to him by his previous rank.

Compton may even have been driven to write it by reading *Eikon Basilike*. This writing in the early days of the post-regicide Commonwealth reveals very little rage, and even acknowledges some failings by the Royalists, while still being firmly affiliated with that side. The sombre central mood occasionally moves towards despair, and as the title suggests, it portrays the dead King as a martyr. Compton may have entered a period of mourning.

60276 *Hermenigildus*: All that can be said with certainty is that Compton relied on Caussin's original (available by 1620), and could have translated *Hermenigildus* from 1630 to 6 August 1651,¹ by which date the next item in the same volume must have been completed (as I will explain shortly).

However, the subject matter of a martyred prince (shared with *The Martird Monarch*) would be most appropriate after Charles' 30 January 1649 execution, which suggests another straight but clunky Latin translation in this early period of Compton's work.² The focus again is on mourning the martyr, and also the hope of his offspring: 'A golden branhe from y^{is} lopt \$tem doth bud' (33r), so I suggest 30 January 1649 to 6 August 1651 as the likely dating range.

60276 'The Cavalier': This poem physically follows *Hermenigildus*, and can be dated between Lord Capel's 9 March 1649 execution, which seems to be implied, and Charles

¹ The style of watermark tentatively and broadly suggests 1622-1674, which is less helpful.

² Again it will be seen in Chapter 8 that this text also shows weak dramaturgical sensitivity.

II's 6 August 1651 invasion, which does not yet appear to have happened.¹ The mood is one of bitter recrimination towards the Royalist party's failings, but again mentions the regicide and shows faint hope about Charles II returning.

60276 'Presbyterian': As this poem physically follows 'The Cavalier' and is similarly cynical satire, I suspect that it was written almost immediately afterwards—though it could potentially have been written at any later time, so can only be dated 9 March 1649 to 1681 with certainty.

Still, the resentment for the present political situation is directed towards the Presbyterian party for opposing the King, rather than a usurping tyrant as seemingly later items convey, so it probably comes before Cromwell's 16 December 1653 rise to Lord Protector. With its continuity with 'The Cavalier', I propose dating 'Presbyterian' between 9 March 1649 and the end of 1651.

60276 Agamemnon (rough): This item physically follows 'Presbyterian', so was not written before 9 March 1649, but could have been written at any time until Compton's 1681 death.

The Appendix 3 tables show that it is usually statistically closest to other supposedly early items. It is another close translation of a Latin play, and perhaps shows some increasing poetic invention as it is mostly in blank verse but also has some 8/6 verses that are sensitive to changes in the source's verse.² It is tempting to identify Aegisthus, the usurping regicide of dubious birth, with Cromwell post-16 December 1653, but it should be remembered that the *Electra* dedicated to Princess Elizabeth was published in 1649 while including the same characters. This usurper is also not the focus of the work, whereas the tyrants of what I will propose to be later plays are; rather, the focus is on the regicide, and the flight of the heir to the throne, which might associate it with Charles II's 15 October 1651 escape after his defeat at Worcester. The usurper could simply resonate with the King's untitled foes. The effect is bleak, with no expectation of a counterattack, and even the possibility of the return of the Prince seems very distant. As such, I conjecturally propose dating it between 15 October 1651 and 16 December 1653.

¹ The post-1598 Shakespeare reference does not help in dating the poem. Kelliher proposed dating this volume c.1648 (1979: 185) based on his interpretation of 'The Cavalier', but I am comfortable disagreeing with him due to my preferred interpretation of that poem, which allows the items in the collection to reflect meaningfully on the regicide.

² There is still no sign of dramaturgical sensitivity, however, as will be seen in Chapter 8.

60276 Hercules Furens (rough): This text comes physically after the rough *Agamemnon*, so must have been written after 9 March 1649, but is only definitely upwardly limited by Compton's 1681 death.

However, it shows a Prince returning to a stricken kingdom, though then going into exile, so it may come after Charles II's 15 October 1651 retreat. Again the usurper Lycus could suggest post-16 December 1653 Cromwell, but the focus still seems to be on the horrors of Royal deaths, and the Prince's failed attempt to rescue the Kingdom, and his bitter exile. As another Latin translation sharing the *Agamemnon* metrical style,¹ and the continued mood of mourning a ruined Royal family without much hope, I suggest that it is another early text, perhaps dated 15 October 1651 to 16 December 1653.

60276 Biblical list: As this item physically follows the rough *Hercules Furens*, but gives no other certain information, it must be dated 9 March 1649 to 1681.

I have suggested that the previous texts show the Royal hope going into exile, with little expectation of a quick return; if Compton then showed a religious turn with this list, perhaps it indicates that he was looking for spiritual strength and patience rather than mortal revenge. That would fit my conjectural dating of the last several items, between Charles II's 15 October 1651 departure when he took Royalist hope with him, and Cromwell's 16 December 1653 rise, which may have triggered a new reaction in Royalists.

60281 Treatise: I have confidently dated this text between 25 September 1651 and 24 February 1652 based on apparent historical references. Compton is conciliatory, and appeals to the crumbling Rump Parliament to let bygones be bygones and rule well. Unlike previously discussed items, though, Compton is clearly concerned about a rumoured new form of government being even more damaging to his interests than the Rump, and warns against what would eventually prove to be Cromwell's Protectorate.

60280 Mariamne: In terms of dating this item with certainty, all that can be said is that it post-dates Tristan's 1637 version from which it apparently borrows most of the structure, and it is upwardly limited by Compton's 1681 death.

However, *Mariamne* is most like *Hermenigildus* within the collection both in structure and themes, so even with Tristan as a source, *Mariamne* may come from a

¹ It also shared a weak dramaturgical sense, as will be described in Chapter 8.

similar period as *Hermenigildus*. However, the martyr's killer is now a usurper, but while imagery about his rise is violent, there is very little anger directed towards him, with multiple manipulators still the target of the blame, and the usurper mainly advised to be contrite and rule well. As such, it seems to predate any great hostility to Cromwell's rise. A phrase shared with *Sophius* about the good being punished and the bad rewarded, and another with *Leontius* about sea animals living on the land and land animals in the sea could pull *Mariamne* towards those items in terms of composition date, and while the form of heroic couplets also does not indicate that it must be post-Restoration, when the form was most in fashion (as will be described in Chapter 9), it also may nudge the play in that direction. Unlike the other manuscripts this is written only on the rectos and concludes with a large 'F', so it may represent the end of a period's writing style in which it is the only surviving relatively good draft.¹ The apparent forgiving of trespasses and the characters involved could link *Mariamne* to the Biblical list too, and the encouragement to rule well could place it near the treatise. All in all, I tentatively propose dating *Mariamne* shortly after Cromwell's rise on 16 December 1653, with the implication that Compton may have been briefly willing to give Cromwell a chance.

60280 Stellar list: As this list physically follows *Mariamne* and shares the trait of only being written on rectos, it too must be written 1637-1681.

As I have previously discussed, it also reveals a Biblical interest that could place it near the Biblical list, and could shed light on the *Mariamne* reference to the dogstar, so I suggest that it too is part of what appears to have been a period of religious bearing of suffering, perhaps still lingering after 16 December 1653.

60281 Sophius: All that can be said with certainty is that *Sophius* was written after Lord Strafford became embroiled in the Parliamentary proceedings that would lead to his execution in early 1641, and it predates Compton's 1681 death.

However, I have suggested that the character Pro represents Cromwell as Protector, and while it shares a textual idea with *Mariamne* about punishing the good and liberating the guilty, unlike earlier items *Sophius* casts the usurper as a Machiavellian villain. It seems to be a backward-looking piece² asking, 'How did we get to this place?'

¹ As will be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, there is improved dramaturgy and a Chorus is present, which may also suggest that *Mariamne* reveals an evolution from the works proposed as earlier.

² Indeed, ideas seem more significant than dramaturgy in the fragment, as will be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

I therefore propose dating it after Cromwell's 16 December 1653 rise, but since only three Acts remain in which to cover the history beyond 1641, I suspect that it remained a Royalist tragedy not reaching the Restoration, and perhaps came around the mid-1650s.

60277 Agamemnon (good): This draft follows the rough one's language quite closely, and surely relies upon it, meaning that it must have been written after 9 March 1649, and before Compton's 1681 death too.

While it may have been written very soon after the rough draft as a good draft to preserve that work, I conjecture that it may actually have been written several years later, for a slightly different purpose. The layout of the draft, with centred speech headings, is different from any of Compton's other texts, so that could indicate time having passed between this and earlier texts. Both it and *Hercules Furens* receive good-draft treatment in this volume, so were perhaps handled around the same time, and I will explain in more detail in the *Hercules Furens* discussion why I suspect that both good drafts may have been written between November 1658 and May 1660.

60277 Hercules Furens (good): Depending on the rough *Hercules Furens*, this draft must have been written after it, and therefore can also be dated between 9 March 1649 and 1681.

As with the good *Agamemnon*, it must be asked why Compton wanted this work preserved. In a scribal hand, it also seems to suggest a break with the earlier works, and what is not preserved from the 60276 rough-draft notebook is interesting: Compton does not bother with *Hermenigildus* and its focus on tragic martyrdom, or the satirical poems and their bitter recriminations, or the Biblical list, which may have related to a more pacifist perspective. 60277 preserves the Senecan *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens*, with Compton delegating the latter to a scribe, and only through Lycus the usurper's scene. A few bits of textual material from the plays' usurpers (Clytemnestra, Aegisthus, and Lycus) then are used in *Bassianus*, which I will shortly propose may have come no earlier than November 1658. As such, I conjecture that Compton may have returned to his old drafts in search of source material for his envisioned major *Bassianus* undertaking—the most original of any of his works except *Leontius*, as I will suggest came later—and found some in the Senecan usurpers, which he then revised, leaving *Hercules Furens* to a scribe for the part in question as they were important only

as legible¹ source material. Therefore I suggest the Compton may have had this draft written between November 1658 and May 1660, shortly before writing *Bassianus*.

60277 Geometric and Facial sketches: These items cannot reasonably be dated as there is so little context for them, and they are not even original pages of their manuscript volume. It is plausible that they are in Compton's hand, which would suggest 1630-1681 as a safe dating range.

As they were found in the volume with the good Senecan translations, it is more likely than not that they come from around the same period, so I propose an extremely tentative dating range of November 1658 to May 1660.

60281 Bassianus: Nothing limits this text with certainty within the broad 1630-1681 range.

However, it is virtually definite that *Bassianus* borrows directly from *Agamemnon* in the wooing scene, the idea of sharing crowns and marriages not being tolerable, and an empty bed being unacceptable. It probably borrows from *Hercules Furens* too for the wooing scene, and the idea of safety resting for a usurper (who obviously did not inherit his position) in his sword. Further Senecan borrowings may be present in the preoccupation with stepdames, Furies, and underworld punishments. As explained above, the good Senecan drafts are the more likely immediate sources. While the reference to a tyrant's extravagant funeral could simply have been lifted from the Herodian source, Compton's diligence in plundering it in detail when it has little to do with the play that follows may suggest that it is meant to resonate with the gaudy proceedings at Cromwell's rites after his 3 September 1658 death. Therefore I suspect that it was written after Cromwell's death; if anything of General Monck can be seen in *Macrinus*, or the exiled Royals in the Parthians planning a counterattack, dating around 1659 might seem reasonable for *Bassianus*. It may have been abandoned since the historical source sees *Macrinus* become Emperor, which would not be appropriate for Monck. Unlike works proposed as earlier, the focus is less on mourning a martyred prince than about portraying a Machiavellian usurping tyrant and suggesting a way to destroy him.

¹ Perhaps he opted for a scribe because his own good draft of *Agamemnon* still suffered from many of his characteristic errors; the scribe does a more professional job of *Hercules Furens*.

60279 *Leontius (long)*: *Leontius* cannot be dated with full certainty, and any attempt at such is based heavily on conjecture. However, of the many probable literary sources, de Vaumorière's *Le Grand Scipion* offers the most helpful publication date of 1656, with the 1660 English version even more seductive. While the handwriting is apparently not Compton's, the low number of corrections means that there is almost certainly a lost earlier draft that could have been in his hand, and he appears to have made some minor corrections and additions here, so it is reasonable to consider links with the other Compton plays too. In particular, *Leontius* seems almost to pick up where *Bassianus* was abandoned, with related speeches and situations for the similarly named Zelinda and Olinda and their royal fathers Artabanus and Leontius, as well as perhaps their defenders Phraates and Lucius. This may suggest continuity in authorial interest between the two pieces, and since the last (abandoned) scene in *Bassianus* links with the first scene in *Leontius*, I suspect that the latter was taken up as an improved attempt at the similar material. The relationship working in this direction also seems supported by the fact that *Leontius* has no known main source, where *Bassianus* depends on Herodian and others. They also seem to have an affinity in the characters of henchmen Martinianus and Phorbias, the villains Garamantus and Bassianus hobbled by lust and love, and references to Furies with snaky whips, and heroes single-handedly overcoming legions. *Leontius* additionally shares ideas with *Sophius* (the image of a sick lion under threat, Rhadamanthus judging rebels in the underworld, and revenge being sweet) and *Mariamne* (land animals moving to the sea, and sea creatures living on land).¹ The sense of mourning still hovers around the piece—not least in the references to Cyprus/cypress—but for the first time a muted happy ending seems to be developing where the text cuts off due to damage, so some form of hope seems to be present in Compton's imagination. The King of Sicily potentially reflects Charles II after the regicide, but references to his happy reign, and the possibility that the allegiance-shifting Sicilian saviour Melantius is Monck, could suggest a composition date around the May 1660 Restoration point.

60278 *Leontius (short)*: Like the longer draft, this shorter *Leontius* fragment cannot be dated with any certainty. However, since it replaces most of the damaged text from the longer draft, it is plausible that it was copied to preserve what was lost at that time (either using an additional lost draft, or consulting the separated leaves), and perhaps

¹ As will be described in Chapter 8, *Leontius* also has more advanced dramaturgy than any text dated earlier. The source breadth, greater theatricality, and professional hand may indicate that Compton wanted this play to have some sort of life outside his own study.

was from not long afterwards. The volume's watermarks are different from those seen elsewhere, though, so some time may have passed before this volume was started. Therefore I propose perhaps late 1660 for dating this item.

60278 'Moleons Ghost': There is no way to date this phantom text conclusively, beyond the years of Compton's potential productivity of 1630-1681.

Nevertheless, if my suggestion that it might have translated Alabaster's *Roxana* is correct, that would mean it could not have been started before 1632. The Senecan style would fit better with the post-regicide items than the latest ones, but with the volume's unique watermarks and the nature of the other items in it, I speculate that 'Moleons Ghost' could have been started and abandoned (possibly because the Senecan mood was no longer appropriate), shortly after the 1660 Restoration as well.

60278 *The Mandrake*: This item definitely comes several years after 1642 as it refers to the war's beginning in the past, and the upward limit is Compton's 1682 death.

However, the logic of Leaveland's age seems to set the play between 1652 and 1664, and it possibly references Prynne's *Works* of 1655. It may also relate to the Cavalier stirs in 1659 since Compton himself became somewhat involved with them. The comic atmosphere is the most positive in the collection,¹ with an old-money Englishman returning from the Continent exploiting but coming to terms with the befuddled locals, which could relate to a heady Royalist sentiment around the time of the Restoration. With the volume's different watermark, and the happiest ending of all the plays, I suggest that *The Mandrake* could be a celebratory post-May 1660 Restoration effort.

60278 *Don Sancho*: This item was definitely written no earlier than 1650, based on its reliance on Corneille's original published that year, and is upwardly limited by Compton's 1681 death.

Don Sancho physically follows *The Mandrake*, so was written after it. The story resonates best with the eve of the Restoration, and the fact that it cuts off once that resonance in the original begins to weaken leads me to propose dating it slightly post-May 1660 as well. If so, Compton's final couple of surviving items suggest an upbeat optimism about a better time for Royalists in the very near future, which would make sense.

¹ The dramaturgy is also sophisticated, as will be discussed in Chapter 8.

It can be said with confidence that almost all of the Castle Ashby Compton items were written between the 1649 regicide and Compton's 1681 death, with a few items very accurately dateable between 1649 and 1652. However, precision is not possible with dating the bulk of the collection. Physical evidence helps to group some items, but there are usually other possible explanations for physical similarities or differences, which limit the conclusions that can be drawn from them. Deviations from stylistic norms also do not align perfectly, so texts are not easily grouped by source language and reliance, level of originality, metrical style, or genre.¹ Evidence of textual borrowing within the collection often does not reveal in which direction the borrowing happened, and even when the direction is certain, such as when one text is a direct translation of a source, precise dating does not usually follow. Potential historical and biographical allusions are highly risky, and do not operate well as anything more than supporting evidence. The results are therefore frustratingly vague, and at times could be interpreted differently from my proposals.

Nevertheless, my conjectural dating is based on the most exhaustive research to be conducted on the collection so far, so is not entirely irresponsible. In this chapter, I have suggested that Compton may have started writing in the late 1640s, briefly exploring a comic take on wartime woes before the 30 January 1649 regicide jarred him into writing a series of dramatic and nondramatic texts that mourn Charles I and represent him as a martyr, criticise the broad political groupings that Compton blames for the King's downfall, and look longingly towards the exiled Charles II, though with little obvious hope of his return. This seems to move swiftly into a religiously inflected period; in the 1651-1652 treatise, Compton shows concern about the change in government that would lead to Cromwell the Protector, but he is not hostile to the powers that be, and even after Cromwell's rise, Compton may still be mourning the King as a martyr, but there could be a willingness to live and let live with the usurper, as long as he learns from his violent mistake. There may be a dramatic representation critical of Cromwell during his reign, but likely there is a flurry of dramatic writing in the last few years of the 1650s after Cromwell's death, when the power hierarchy was in chaos with Cromwell's son Richard, parliaments, questions of Monck's intentions in Scotland, and hints of Charles II's return from exile, while Royalists at home attempted to pave the way for him. This final group of texts is often more original (and dramaturgically sound, as will be seen in the next chapter) than the earlier ones, and seemingly moves from wartime tales with Machiavellian arch-villains and good soldiers fighting against them, to more celebratory

¹ Or indeed dramaturgy, as will be noted in the next chapters.

plays of the old power structure reclaiming its place. These last few may have come shortly after the May 1660 Restoration.

The next chapter will explore one more avenue of information to complete the gathering of useful data for understanding how the collection was put together.

Chapter 8: Dramaturgical Findings from Textual Examination and Theatrical Experimentation

In this chapter, I attempt to determine how likely it is that Compton wrote his dramatic pieces for theatrical production. I note the theatrical resources potentially available to him, and search the manuscripts for signs of professional theatrical notation. Then I explain my methodology for seeking textual dramaturgical clues, and for conducting experimental theatrical stagings of the plays. Finally, I discuss my findings about the plays' dramaturgy.

As was explained in the Introduction, this element of the present study differs from many other practice-as-research projects, as it is not (and probably never will be) known with certainty if Compton's plays were associated with a particular venue or troupe. As such, his plays cannot presently be viewed as a source of original practice theatrical data, and this study does not seek such data. It also does not concern itself with subjective questions of whether or not the texts are 'good' in reading or staging. Instead, the dramaturgical investigation seeks to clarify only if anything can be detected that argues substantially that the plays could or could not have been originally staged in their surviving textual condition, and, if staging seems plausible, what specific material features are apparently demanded.

While there is not necessarily anything that can be discovered in a live staging that definitely could not be discovered from textual analysis alone, certain matters are far easier to understand with a physical performance, such as spatial issues, the significance of silent characters, the time required for costume changes, and other theatrical matters that could suggest whether a given text is particularly suited to live performance. It is also an opportunity to reflect, together with practical participants and even audience members, on how the plays function in performance; these additional individuals might possibly make observations that I alone overlooked, or from my particular position within the project did not have access to, though they from theirs did. For these reasons, I staged all ten unique dramatic pieces in what were their first recorded modern performances. The observations that were made suggest whether or not Compton's plays in their surviving forms were likely to have been originally staged, or to have been written with the goal of staging, and if so, what resources Compton would have needed to marshal, and what he may have communicated effectively to his audience.

Potential Theatrical Resources

While Compton's plays cannot presently be linked to definite or specific original productions, I offer a brief discussion of what resources might have been available to him if he had been so inclined.

Compton's dramatic writing seemingly came almost entirely during the 1649-1660 Interregnum. While the mid-17th century was once assumed to be virtually devoid of theatrical production, such scholars as Rollins (1921), Hotson (1928), and Harbage (1936) long ago revealed extensive evidence of theatrical activity in the period, and a trickle of details since then has been added by such researchers as Milhous and Hume (1991),¹ Randall (1995), and Wiseman (1998). To summarise briefly,² the government attempted to suppress the Caroline professional theatre with a series of political orders and raids from 2 September 1642 through April 1660. While the Salisbury Court, Blackfriars, Globe, Fortune, Red Bull, Drury Lane Cockpit/Phoenix, and Hope theatres all remained active after the first order, the Globe was pulled down on 15 April 1644 (Randall 1995: 43), the stages at the Cockpit, Salisbury Court, and Fortune were demolished in March 1649, the Blackfriars was pulled down on 25 March 1656, and the Hope around the same time. Only the Red Bull survived the entire period, though in 1656 Davenant cautiously began his operatic productions at Rutland House and soon afterwards at the Cockpit (Harbage 1936: 211), and perhaps as early as June 1660, Salisbury Court reopened. On 22 August 1660, the restored Charles II issued patents to Killigrew and Davenant to dominate the newly sanctioned Restoration theatre with the King's and Duke's companies, respectively, and the regular commercial theatre was officially re-established. Outside the London hub, theatre had continued in the wartime Royalist garrisons (Randall 1995: 43; Wiseman 1998: 5), abroad in exile, throughout the country, and, after the war, in private houses³ (Milhous and Hume 1991: 488-491).

The history of Tudor and Stuart theatrical performances at the homes of the elite is extensive (Westfall 2009: 263-279). Compton was not unique in being a noble property owner who wrote plays, and could have done the same as Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmorland, who actually staged his plays at his Apthorpe home, using family,

¹ Milhous and Hume themselves acknowledge that 'Surprisingly little new information has turned up about actors during the Commonwealth period since the pioneering work' of Rollins and Hotson (1991b: 487).

² This summary comes from Rollins (1921) except where specifically noted.

³ The history of Tudor and Stuart theatrical performances at the homes of the elite is extensive (Westfall 2009: 263-279).

servants, and sometimes professional actors (Kelliher 165-7).¹ Theatre professionals were available throughout the Interregnum, but the upper classes regularly showed an interest in theatrical participation themselves, so Compton and his family may also have been involved in performing (Nelles 1990: 47).

Playwrights' dedications to Compton conspicuously seem to begin shortly after he regained control of his properties (Kelliher 1979: 163). He resided at Canonbury House in Islington for much of the Interregnum (Wolf 1981: 273), and such houses were even used by professional actors:

in Oliver's time, they used to act privately, three or four miles, or more, out of town, now here, now there, sometimes in noblemen's houses, in particular Holland House at Kensington, where the nobility and gentry who met (but in no great numbers) used to make a sum for them, each giving a broad piece, or the like (Wright 1699: 9)²

Compton's properties could have served a similar use. Wolf believes that Compton's patronage and theatrical activity were based at Canonbury House. Canonbury stood only two and a half miles from the centre of London, so if Wright's description was accurate, actors could easily have travelled to it until Compton moved to the more central St. Giles in the Fields house in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1659. In terms of potential performing spaces, the house had two large west-facing rooms in the first and second storeys, around twenty feet square and twelve feet high. While most of the property is no longer intact, in 1860 the Comptons moved one of the rooms' wainscoting to the Compton Wynnyates drawing room, and the perimeter is seen to be large enough for a performance lacking major set pieces. Therefore, Canonbury could have been used for performances inside, and it also had plenty of room on the grounds for outdoor performance (1983: 18-21).

Compton Wynnyates itself has several noteworthy spaces. The 'Big Hall' has on its narrow northern end a minstrels' gallery above a screen wall with a pair of double doors. There are three windows high on the east wall to let in natural light, and more doors at the far end of the room.³ Other possible performance spaces are a central courtyard, a large Dining Room, and the Drawing Room that absorbed the Canonbury panelling

¹ Westmorland's manuscript plays come from the 1640s, and two actually include detailed stage directions and elaborate drawings concerning scenery, including the earliest known representation of flat revolving wings in England. Two of the plays have cast lists, and another explicitly states (modernised) that it was to be presented 'at Apthorpe by the youth and servants there', and another 'by some of their own children and family'. One was at least partly written while Westmorland was imprisoned (Bentley 1956iii: 293-5).

² This quotation is modernised.

³ The far end also has a fireplace. The ceiling is timbered.

(Tysoe 1955: 8-18; Northampton 1904: 10-13).¹ Compton Wynyates too could therefore potentially fit performances on Compton's occasional visits.

While usually mortgaged and rented to other people through Compton's lifetime, Crosby Hall has a long history of theatrical use: Richard III resided there at one time, and the Hall may have been used as a theatre by the players who are supposed to have served him; it was also used for post-masque entertainment for Queen Elizabeth in 1594 (Goss 1908: 7-83). As such, it certainly could have served for performances when it was available to the Comptons. The Banqueting Hall is the most plausible space for theatrics. It is very long and high-ceilinged at 54 feet long by 27 feet wide, and 40 feet at the highest point (Blackburn 1834: 26) of the oak-beamed ceiling. The narrow north end also contains a Minstrels' Gallery (including it, the room is 69 feet long), and a pair of doors in the timber screen below. The northwest corner has a door leading to a 19-square-foot vestibule. There are six major windows running along each long wall as well as an enormous additional one in the west wall (it includes an alcove where there may have been a raised dais) to let in natural light, and additional entrances through the west and east walls into the room.² Less likely but still noteworthy were a large Council Room with 'Throne Room over', many presumably outdoor courts, and huge outdoor greens (Goss 1908: 7-121).

Kelliher acknowledges Castle Ashby's theatrical suitability (1979: 167). Though the building was partly damaged in the War, Nelles notes that it was available from 1651 once Compton had compounded for the property, and when playwrights began dedicating plays to him. The Great Hall seems like the most likely room for a performance. It is large at 65 feet by 27 feet 10 inches. There is a Minstrels' Gallery in the narrow west end, with doors beneath it in the oak screen. Three large south-facing windows allow in daylight, and more towards the north.³ It is described as 'a particularly resonant room for music' (*Castle Ashby, near Northampton*: 1970: 18), so it can be assumed that the Hall's acoustics would benefit theatrical performance too.

The Courtyard itself is 84 feet by 90 feet, with a Screen Building⁴ on the south end containing a loggia of half a dozen lesser openings and a central entrance (Robinson 1908: 23-24). Nelles points out that the Screen could have theatrical potential, allowing

¹ While the barracks was large enough to sleep four hundred soldiers, it seems far too narrow to me to be of theatrical use.

² Consulting sketches of the room, I believe there may have been a balcony at the south end by the 16th century as well (Goss 1908: 48). The east wall also has a fireplace.

³ The gallery appears to have doors leading out of its sides, as would be expected. The room also has a raised dais, and originally an open timber ceiling. The north wall includes a fireplace.

⁴ The Long Gallery within the screen is 91 feet 2 inches by 15 feet 6 inches.

multiple entrances or discovery spaces in the loggia below, and a balcony or space for musicians or machinery for actions like descents from above in the gallery, which is accessible from either end; he suggests that performance with the screen—possibly designed by Inigo Jones¹—would give the courtyard an atmosphere similar to inn-yard performance (1990: 46-9).

A final room of some interest is King William's Room. At 51 feet 4 inches by 24 feet 2 inches, it is of 'great height and ample bay windows, reaching from the floor to the ceiling' (Robinson 1841: 23-24) face east with a smaller window between them, and there are also large north-facing windows. The south and west walls have doors. It would be large enough for some types of performance: on 2 January 1846 a play titled *A Knock at the Door; or, Worsteds works Wonders*² written (for the occasion) supposedly in part by that era's Lord Northampton was performed there (J.S. 1891: 105-6).

Other houses in the family included the temporary Olney Park lodge, Compton's 'London House', the Lincoln's Inn Fields house where Isabella died, the old Clerkenwell Manor House dubbed 'Northampton House' in 1677, Salisbury House³ in the Strand (Compton 1930: 306), and many other properties around England. Many of the spaces described above could have housed performances. In particular, those with accessible galleries (which could contain musicians and balcony scenes) above screen walls (to give a backdrop and conceal offstage activity) containing several doors (for actor entrances) are somewhat reminiscent of the *frons scenae* of early modern private indoor (and to some degree, public outdoor) theatres.⁴ Many of these spaces are large enough to house sizeable audiences, and have access to natural light through large windows. The spaces do not offer a professional theatre's trap doors (Nelles 1990: 46-9), raised stage, multiple-level audience seating, technical capacity (probably), and generally discovery spaces, but small-scale performances without many technical frills are certainly conceivable, particularly with Compton Wynyates' Big Hall, Crosby Hall's Banqueting Hall (perhaps offering a discovery space in the vestibule near the screen),

¹ The older theory is that the screen was begun in the first Earl's time, who died in 1630, since his coat of arms is on it, and that it was completed around 1635, which is the date on the west turret. In 1730 the architect Colin Campbell supposed that Jones had been employed to rebuilt it and finished one front, but was halted by the Civil War (Castle Ashby: 8). It is possible, however, that the screen may actually have been built post-Restoration (Hill and Cornforth 1966: 32).

² The play's cast includes five Comptons and several other nobles (Milnes 1846: np), showing the descendants of the family retaining an interest in performing at Castle Ashby. Internal evidence seems to suggest that it was performed in King William's dining room (Milnes 1846: 52).

³ In late 1669, the Duke's Company considered a garden (owned by someone else) behind Salisbury House for a theatre building site (Hotson 1962: 229).

⁴ Readers interested in details about early modern outdoor theatres in general might consult Carson and Karim-Cooper's *Shakespeare's Globe: A Theatrical Experiment* (2008) for the representative example of the Globe and modern experiences with its reconstruction; an in-depth description of a representative indoor private theatre can be found in White's DVD *The Chamber of Demonstrations* (2009).

and Castle Ashby's Great Hall or even outdoor Courtyard. As was the case with other large noble homes in the period, Compton's properties could easily have offered him the space needed to stage theatrics, if he chose to do so in London or the country.

The most significant thing to take from this overview is that 'beyond all dispute...theatrical productions never ceased' (Rollins 1921: 268-333), many of the same professional actors continued acting throughout the period, using the same old plays and venues, and eventually new personnel, plays, and venues were added, so Compton could have had access to a basic professional theatre infrastructure for his texts, if he was so inclined. Alternatively, private performances were also possible at his properties or even another wealthy family's, and there was a healthy atmosphere of fully amateur theatrical activity. There was never a period in Compton's lifetime where closet drama was the only option.

Theatrical Notation

Records of 17th century performances of Compton's plays would be the most convincing proof of their stageability, but no known records exist. Theatrical production notation—such as what is found in a promptbook—in the manuscripts would also be compelling evidence of theatrical use; Langhans' 1981 *Restoration Promptbooks* gathers surviving examples of such notation from post-1660 promptbooks, and while this is not a perfect match for Compton's c.1649-1660 writing, similarities could be expected if professional theatre people had handled Compton's surviving drafts.

Langhans' findings are not very different from modern promptbook notation.¹ Unfortunately, most of Compton's manuscripts show none of Langhans' symbols. Only the long 60279 *Leontius*² and 60280 *Mariamne*³ have unusual markings in any way reminiscent of what Langhans identifies, but they are not close matches. A 1660-61 King's Company promptbook of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Scornful Ladie* includes repeated words copied in the margin on page B3, which is also seen at places in *Leontius*, but they are supposedly nontheatrical (15). Similarly, page F3 includes a series of seemingly nonsensical symbols like those seen on *Mariamne* 2r, and a string of

¹ The main types that he identifies are cross-hatching to cue entrances or sometimes sounds, a dot-in-circle (signifying a whistle sound) to note a scene shift, an 'x' or '#' as general cue marks, 'whistle' to warn of an impending scene shift, 'call' to be used to call and ready an actor, or sometimes an effect, 'ready' or 'be ready' to warn actors or an effect, 'act or act ready' to warn of scene shifts and the actor and musical elements that are involved, and 'ring' to cue an act ending or sometimes a special effect; he also warns that sometimes marks are nothing more than non-theatrical doodles (1981: xxvii).

² On 2r, 10v, 11r, 23r, 25v, and 26r.

³ On 2r, 3r, and 23r.

'3' symbols (similar to marks in Shirley's 1633 *A Contention for Honour and Riches*) where *Leontius* 25v has '5' symbols, but Langhans finds no theatrical meaning in such symbols, so believes them to be nontheatrical too (16). '6' shapes scattered through the manuscript are similar to those seen on *Leontius* 25v, and Langhans noncommittally conjectures that they could indicate where an actor was struggling in rehearsal, but is not fully persuaded by that himself (17).

In summary, the inexplicable marks found in a few of Compton's texts do not follow the style of professional theatre notation as it is presently understood, so they are probably doodles. This virtually eliminates any possibility of Compton's surviving manuscripts having been directly used in anything resembling a professional stage. The possibility remains, however, that other copies were used, or that these copies were used for theatrical purposes that did not follow the professional theatre's methods of notation.

One other factor that I suspected might suggest direct theatrical use is catchwords,¹ where the first word or words on one page are preceded by the same words in the bottom right corner of the previous page. Beal indicates that catchwords in manuscripts were to help match up leaves and gatherings in the correct order for binding (2008: 65); I thought it wise to investigate the catchwords occasionally present in the manuscripts to see if they are in positions that makes such a purpose likely. If not, it might be possible that they were recorded to assist a speaker or actor in delivering their speeches in an unbroken manner while turning over the page, if a pattern were found where catchwords are always used for a specific character's broken speech. The only texts with catchwords are the scribal fragmentary 60277 *Hercules Furens* and the 60279 *Leontius*.²

Of the *Hercules Furens* catchwords, 20r's serves no clear purpose as the next page is the reverse of the same leaf within Juno's speech,³ and other page-ends in her speech are not given catchwords. 21v's is within Megara's speech, which does not always use catchwords at the page-ends, but in this case it may indicate that the next couple of folded sheets were inserted later.⁴ 22r and 23r's are within Megara's speech, like 20's serving no clear purpose. Therefore, the text's few catchwords do not reveal an obvious ordering purpose. While they are mostly in Megara's speeches and all in female roles, their use is inconsistent and does not indicate a consistent actor technique for smooth

¹ The case could be made for catchwords to be discussed in Chapter 5 with the other physical attributes; however, I feel that they are potentially more usefully discussed here for their dramaturgical significance.

² On 1r, (1v lost from damage?), possibly 2r, 2v, 3r (repeated), 4r, 4v, 6v, 7v, 8v, 10v, 12v, 14v, 16v, 18v, 20v, 22v, 24v, 25r, 26v, 28v, 29r, 30r, 30v, 32r, and 32v.

³ Rectos obviously lead to versos, so catchwords are not necessary.

⁴ F.22's corresponding leaf should be in the f.25 position, but appears to be ripped out, and the ff.23-24 sheet is the centre of the manuscript, so may have been inserted later.

reading. Further, they seem to be in the scribe's hand rather than another's that might belong to an actor.

The *Leontius* catchwords are more numerous. 1r within Leontius' speech serves no obvious ordering purpose as a recto, as is the case with 4r (the start of Hymen's Priest's line), 25r (Phorbus), 29r (Leontius), 30r (Phorbus), and 32r (Melantius); the markings in the 2r usual catchword position (Lucius' speech) are indecipherable and do not correspond with the next word. That on 3r (Phorbus' speech) is curiously written twice, at least one of which appears to be in a hand other than the main writer's. As this manuscript is made up of sheets folded one atop the next, those on even-numbered versos serve a sensible ordering purpose of guiding the reader to the next folded sheet;¹ this is the case on all of the even versos.² That on 7v (Garamantus) is actually an accidental extra-metrical continuation of the final line, and is partitioned off; perhaps this suggests that the writer of this relatively good draft was copying from a prose precursor and momentarily neglected to versify the prose. The bulk of the catchwords can be explained as serving a purpose in ordering the folded sheets one atop the next. Those that remain do not reveal a definite logic, and are not grouped for a specific character in such a way that might suggest theatrical use; besides, with one possible exception they are in the main writer's hand.

In this collection, catchwords do not reveal any clear theatrical meaning. The fact that they only turn up in two items, both presumably scribal, makes it likely that they reflect those writers' habits and purposes rather than Compton's.

Methodology for Textual Dramaturgical Analysis

While the surviving copies of Compton's plays do not show convincing signs of having been used for theatrical production by professionals, the textual content could still indicate persuasively that they were written with at least a fanciful theatre in mind.

Ann Pasternak Slater's *Shakespeare the Director* (1982) offers something of a methodological frame for such an investigation, showing how a playwright's text can

¹ This suggests that the manuscript may have been bound after the time of writing.

² 2v (Garamantus' speech), 4v (Phorbus), 6v (Melantius), 8v (Garamantus), 10v (start of Dardanus' speech), 12v (start of Lucius' speech), 14v (Olinda), 16v (Hianisbe), 18v (Hianisbe), 20v (start of Olinda's speech), 22v (start of Corrinus' speech, inverting two words), 24v (Garamantus, missing a letter), 26v (Melantius), 28v (Leontius), 30v (Phorbus), and 32v (Hianisbe).

include essentially directorial commands to guide actors physically in performance.¹ She finds these both in stage directions (self-explanatory in terms of theatrical significance) and within dialogue.² Essentially, any textual reference is significant as a theatrical suggestion if an actor would look awkward by not following it (1-23).

My focus is determining how much of this theatrically charged content each play has, so I catalogue my findings play by play. The results of my search of each text for instances of apparent theatrical suggestion are provided in Appendix 5. Table 1 calculates the plausibly theatrical references per line with a fairly wide allowance for possible physical demands, and Table 2 gives the instances per line of what strictly call for physical shifts. To illustrate this subtle difference, I turn to *Hermenigildus* for an example: the direction 'Enter Durias, Athaulpus, Gesnericus' (4v) is an indisputably physical direction, as three performers are instructed to come into the space of the story from outside, and as such, this is included not only in Table 1 but also the strict Table 2. Soon after, Durias says, 'Behold his forerunners', meaning Athaulpus and Gesnericus, who are acting as envoys. The instruction to 'Behold' encourages a gesture from Durias, a turn of the head of the individual being alerted, or a step forward by those identified, though the actors could also stand motionless without awkwardness at this moment; as such, this is included only in the broad Table 1. My position is that something needs to be recorded as theatrical action whenever static speech recitation alone would seem awkward or illogical by not initiating some new physical action suggested in the text. In the final section of this chapter, I will refer to the Appendix 5 results while discussing the findings from theatrical experimentation.

¹ The conditions are not precisely the same with Compton's plays, written by an amateur half a century later without the same professional theatrical infrastructure available, but the theatrical hints found in Shakespeare's dramaturgy are still applicable in showing how someone writing for the theatre can convey information that encourages a physical embodiment, or at least evokes an imagined physicalised reality for a reader. As much as the fear of the intentional fallacy often leads researchers to deny that authorial intention can ever be determined, Slater points out that this is patently untrue in Shakespeare when we have access to his stage directions, and can also compare his work with his sources to see where he has made a decision to represent material differently (4-5).

² She breaks these down into various groups: gestures such as automatic demonstratives (i.e., 'these pickers and stealers') and retrospective descriptions that require present indication (20); expressions (i.e., 'Why do you make such faces?') (21); commentators describing present action (28), which also serves to guide the audience to look at specific things onstage (31); use of specific parts of a playing space including stage doors (34-5), discovery spaces (35), traps (36), galleries (37), and raised thrones (40); actions like sitting down (43), taking hands (51), kneeling (63), kissing (68), and weeping (101); arranging in emblematically significant ways (57); textually or metrically demanded pauses and silences (121); costumes (137), props (171), and sound and lighting effects (4). The potential list is virtually endless, and I would add fighting and dancing as significant physical demands.

Working Scripts

Before undertaking live projects, I needed to prepare suitable scripts, since the originals were not available to the project personnel, and digital images would not offer enough textual accessibility for non-specialists. Having studied the period's manuscripts and handwriting until I could interpret Compton's texts proficiently, I prepared diplomatic computer transcripts of the originals. During that procedure, information about the handwriting (and the writing process itself) is lost, though a good diplomatic transcript can still take note of corrections, revisions, and general formatting.¹

Then I faced the issue common to all editors of early modern texts, of how much to edit the transcripts to create editions suitable for consumption by my readership—in this case the performance's actors.² My personal preference is for an edition of an early modern text to be presented in a textual condition as close to the original's as possible, not because I am persuaded that incidentals like unusual spelling, capitalisation, and grammar generally hold authorially intended clues for actors,³ but rather because all editing risks depriving readers and actors of possible alternative interpretations, such as with Manuche's title *Loue: in Trauell*, where both the senses of 'travel' and 'travail' are meaningful in the plot's context, and editorially selecting one excludes the other. However, I see value in a compromise of presenting the text in a modern typesetting (as the originals are often illegible and therefore inaccessible to most readers), and in providing notes explaining any unclear references or uncertain readings.

Unfortunately, this ideal is not usually very practical. In my observations, general readers have enormous difficulty in making sense of such texts, as do most actors who are not experienced in using them. Time is required to train individuals in interpreting

¹ In my transcripts, I use the following notation. Page numbers refer to the front (recto) and back (verso) of each leaf of paper: F.1r means the recto of leaf one; it is followed by F.1v, the verso of leaf one, then F.2r, F.2v, and so on. Original *v*'s are often written as *u*'s, as noted in the transcript. Long-*s* usage is marked here with the symbol \$. While Compton very occasionally uses a fairly modern & ampersand, his usual form is marked as *e*. Text in square brackets [] is my best-guess reading of text that is unclear due to messiness, fading, or damage; where the notation is [./], it means that I cannot even hazard a guess at what the letter was meant to be. Text in angular brackets < > is deleted in the source. I attempt to replicate the relative positions of parts of the text in each page's layout. Finally, footnotes are marked in the text by superscript numbers (¹, ², etc.); they generally describe overwritten letters when I am able to detect them, but also discuss other textual and sometimes physical issues in the original manuscripts.

² The debate ranges from using facsimiles that retain virtually all of the originals' visual information, to using modern-typesetting transcripts with a belief that issues like original spelling and punctuation hold critical information for actors, through the entire range of compromises to entirely grammatically modern editions, sometimes with heavy scholarly notes (Jowett 2006).

³ Based on a variety of experiences using 'original texts' like facsimiles of Shakespeare's *First Folio*, I am not convinced that incidentals consistently hold clues for actors about how to deliver their lines, and in less professional manuscripts such as Compton's, observing every punctuation mark becomes downright catastrophic for vocal delivery.

such original practice texts, and time is not a luxury theatrical productions usually have; when I attempted to use such versions of the Compton texts early in my research, the actors made endless mistakes, grew frustrated, and expressed a desire for modernised texts. Realistically, diplomatic transcripts and editions that do not go much beyond them are cluttered with more details than are needed or desired by an actor, who probably will not care that Compton corrected an *i* with an *e* in a particular word, for instance.¹ Therefore, I compromised in modernising spelling (except where it would significantly affect pronunciation or poetic metre) and capitalisation, and lightly editing punctuation to speed up the interpretation process,² though it is possible that it led to me putting my own interpretation on some otherwise ambiguous material. I expanded abbreviated words and numbers as long as it did not affect poetic metre, and indicated doubtful readings by enclosure in square brackets []. As the process evolved, I began standardising speech heading abbreviations to avoid confusion, and other formatting issues as well. The original manuscripts' page numbering was unobtrusively retained in the right margin at the points where the original pages began, for ease of reference, and I included notes to explain potentially unfamiliar issues such as references to classical mythology. For the items existing in two drafts,³ I relied on the seemingly later versions where possible, filled in missing text from the alternate versions when necessary (and noted where such additions happened), and collated the variants in the footnotes.⁴

To illustrate this process, I now offer an example of the textual editing of the third scene from Act 1 of *Bassianus*, which is perhaps the most problematic undamaged part of one of Compton's manuscripts. In the scene, Bassianus (with henchman Martinianus looking on) tries to reassure his suspicious wife Plautilla that he does not intend to kill his brother Geta. According to the historical accounts, Bassianus despised Plautilla and her father Plautianus. Plautianus was in Bassianus' father's inner circle and shared an enormous amount of power with the old emperor, but apparently attempted to betray

¹ Neither purely original practice theatre nor original practice textual editing has been highly successful as widespread commercial ventures, historically (Williams 2007: 515-7).

² Providing partially edited texts, such as those retaining a flavouring of original spellings, strikes me as an unsatisfactory decision, since individuals interested in such original elements could seek a transcript for the full effect instead, and those wanting modern clarity could be dismayed by the occasional archaic element.

³ *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Furens*, and *Leontius*.

⁴ This process evaded some of the philosophical difficulties in such acts with more well-known plays like *King Lear*, as the two *Leontius* drafts essentially complement each other where there is damage, the *Agamemnon* good draft is entirely to be favoured over the rough, and the *Hercules Furens* good draft is wholly more up to date than the rough, but only continues into the second Act and then must give over to the rough draft. Where damage obliterated small sections of text, such as at the tops of the first few pages of *Mariamne*, and only when a particular project's performance conditions demanded it, I composed and supplied a minimum number of lines to bridge the gap coherently (these additions were also marked as such).

him with an assassination attempt, hoping to seize power. Bassianus and his father discovered the plot and executed Plautianus. Once Emperor, Bassianus exiled Plautilla, and later had her done away with from afar (Herodian 1629: 140-180). In the *Bassianus* scene, Compton initially plans to have Plautianus anachronistically present in Bassianus and Geta's co-reign. He then removes Plautianus from the play, but imperfectly, while in the process of writing this draft.¹ This causes interpretive confusion, and the heavy revision at times makes it difficult to determine Compton's final wording choices. The following passages (shrunk for the sake of side-by-side display) from the scene show my diplomatic transcript on the left, and the same passage edited for actors on the right.

As Bassianus finishes some villainous plotting with Martinianus, Plautilla enters:

F.7r	7r
<p>tread To <act> Securely in the\$e paths of guilt Be\$t manife\$t\$ a politit[ia]'ns skill. Enter Plautilla.</p>	<p>To tread securely in these paths of guilt Best manifests a politician's skill. Enter Plautilla</p>
<p>¹ '[a]' overwrites '[n]'</p>	

The transcript has lost the original's handwriting and other material evidence, but faithfully retains the original's general formatting (the placement of the entrance stage direction), revisions ('tread' written over a crossed-out 'act' marked by angular brackets), corrections ('a' overwriting 'n' in 'polititians', marked by a footnote), spelling (the long '\$' forms, and 'polititians'), and idiosyncratic punctuation (the missing apostrophe for the 'politician's skill'), and notes where a reading retains a touch of conjecture due to an unclear source (the middle of 'polititians', marked by square brackets). The edition, though, does away with those details that cannot help an actor in performance. The original page numbering is still present for the sake of reference, and the formatting does not need adjusting. However, since the actor can only sensibly speak one word at a time, the final revised 'tread' now silently replaces the crossed-out 'act', the correction of 'n' with 'a' is adopted but not announced, and spelling is modernised since the actor will presumably pronounce all words in their modern way regardless. An apostrophe is added to 'politician's skill' to make sense of it, and the conjectural reading in the middle of 'polititians' is no longer noted since it does not affect the modernised spelling.

Plautilla then begins to express concerns about Bassianus' new role as co-Emperor:

¹ Both Plautianus and Plautilla are named in the group-entrance for 1.2 (4v), though Plautianus' name is spelled clearly, in the middle of the listing of names, and then struck out. Like most of the characters in the scene, Plautianus is silent until the group 'Exeunt' at the bottom of 5r. I propose that the name was struck out after the writer had finished, or virtually finished, writing 1.3, when he decided to remove Plautianus from the play.

<p>Mar: [Y]^f Empre\$\$s S^f Ba\$: Come my beSt [P]¹lautilla</p> <p>Empire were but fond vexatious cares</p> <p>But y^l my Plautilla, y^e glory \$hares,</p> <p>Plau: Y^f Greatne\$\$ doth, rather lo\$\$ to mee bring, <small>you wont bee troubled with my</small> <The comforts of y^f nobler company,> meane conver\$e</p> <p><I must forego, e meanelier \$pend my time> y^l must bee laid a\$ide <Then I was wont,><for great> affairs of \$tate</p> <p>Will you employ Ba\$: no Empre\$\$s of my heart</p> <p>More then of Rome, all th[at]² is joy, you \$hall</p> <p>Vnto y^f \$elfe appropriate, the care</p> <p>To make i[t]³ \$o o\$el[fe] will undergo.</p> <p>¹ '[P]' overwrites '[p]' ² '[at]' overwrites '[s]' ³ '[t]' corrects '\$'</p>	<p>Mar: Your Empress, Sir.</p> <p>Bass: Come, my best Plautilla;</p> <p>Empire were but fond vexatious cares</p> <p>But that my Plautilla the glory shares.</p> <p>Plau: Your greatness doth rather loss to me bring:</p> <p>You won't be troubled with my mean converse;</p> <p>That must be laid aside; affairs of state</p> <p>Will you employ.</p> <p>Bass: No, Empress of my heart:</p> <p>More than of Rome, all that is joy you shall</p> <p>Unto yourself appropriate; the care</p> <p>To make it so ourself will undergo.</p>
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In addition to the types of adjustments discussed in the previous passage, here the edition on the right also expands abbreviations ('Y^r' to 'Your' and 'S^r' to 'Sir' in the first line, for instance), since the abbreviations offer no difference for actor pronunciation, but regularly cause actor confusion. The speech headings are standardised (the second Bassianus speech is adjusted from 'Bas' to 'Bass' as the latter is the more common) to reduce the chance of role confusion, and shared lines of verse such as that split between Martinianus and Bassianus at the start of the passage are divided over two lines in the form familiar to other verse plays. Finally, capitalisation is standardised (for example, Plautilla's 'Greatness' becomes 'greatness').

The scene continues with Plautilla's misgivings, and Bassianus trying to reassure her. Then, originally Compton had Plautianus enter and take over conversation with Bassianus, with Plautilla suddenly (and awkwardly) marginalised. However, he later removed Plautianus from the play, and attempted to reassign Plautianus' lines mainly to Plautilla but also to Bassianus, with minor and imperfect adjustments:

<p style="text-align: center;">Enter: <Plautilla¹> <Plautillas></p> <p>Ba\$: <Plautia:> Now my Plautilla fills an Emperors arms, mine The world obeys <hy^f mightie hu\$bands \$way,> and I y^f commands thee And Julia y^f did \$come both <him> e thee Must \$toope ben²eath, e bend or breake her heart.</p> <p>Plauti[]: Shee nere wrong³d, mee, I allwaies was aboue Her envies⁴ reache, <In Ba\$\$ianus loue.> but not all y^e world</p> <p>Ba⁴\$\$: You more t[o] mee y^{em} <father, \$ince> from you Is \$prung my highest bliss, Empire is none,</p> <p>¹ 'lla' overwrites 'anus' ² 'n' overwrites an earlier letter ³ 'g' corrects 'd' ⁴ 'Ba' revises 'Pl'</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p>Bass: Now my Plautilla fills an Emperor's arms; The world obeys mine, and I your commands, And Julia that did scorn both thee and thee² Must stoop beneath, and bend or break her heart.</p> <p>Plau: She ne'er wronged me: I always was above Her envy's reach, but not—³</p> <p>Bass: You,⁴ more to me than all the world: from you Is sprung my highest bliss; Empire is none,</p> <p>¹ Originally, Compton had Plautilla's father Plautianus enter at this point. Historically, Bassianus had murdered Plautianus long before this for plotting against Severus (Herodian 1629: 140-180). Perhaps this explains why Compton then cut the anachronistic Plautianus from the play after this scene was written. He then reassigned Plautianus' lines to Bassianus and Plautilla with minor changes, which usually work fine. The process may have been incomplete, though, leaving a few hard-to-justify textual moments that will be noted as the scene progresses.</p> <p>² This was originally Plautianus speaking of Bassianus and Plautilla. In the revision, it can work as referring to Plautilla and Martinianus, whom Julia also dislikes, as can be seen in Act 4.</p> <p>³ Originally, the line was Plautianus', reading 'Her envy's reach, in Bassianus' love.' The revised line is metrically short, and one way that it can work is if Plautilla is cut off mid-thought by Bassianus. It is somewhat awkward, though, and it may be worth considering restoring the original thought in some way, since it is possible that Compton simply did not finish revising it fully.</p> <p>⁴ It is possible that this should read 'You're'. Though slightly awkward, it can be made to work as it stands, however.</p>
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This edited section again makes many of the now-familiar types of adjustments. More significantly, it requires several footnotes to clarify material relating to the almost-deleted Plautianus. Plautianus' partially remaining entrance direction at the start is deleted since it is now a phantom entrance, but a footnote is added, notifying the actors of the reason behind the occasional textual awkwardness that is left in Plautianus' wake. While the reassigned lines might be of interest in a critical edition, they generally do not need to distract the actors to whom the lines now belong, so the earlier assignments are not noted in the production script when they do not cause real complications, such as with Bassianus' first speech. The second and third footnote offer suggestions of how two awkward remnants of the Plautianus revision could be made to work in production, while leaving the actors free to try something different; the fourth note does something similar with what might be a playwright oversight, or simply an odd phrase.

In summary, the theatrical scripts facilitate quick comprehension for actors through a clearing-away of messiness and confusing incidentals, and the addition of notes to explain unfamiliar references and textual oddities, and to offer possible ways to make sense of those oddities. At no time did I add stage directions, and I endeavoured to avoid making any adjustments that would change what the actors would actually say or do. The goal was to allow the actors to identify and carry out what the texts appeared to be demanding, with a minimum of interpretive interference from the editor.

Material Needs for Staging

As part of my interest in staging the plays stemmed from desiring to understand what physical demands they make, I had a policy of using as few design elements as possible so as not to distort the understanding of what the plays fundamentally require. I hoped that by establishing these core needs, I would be able to define what sort of playing space and theatrical resources Compton might have needed in order to stage his plays, if he wished to do so.¹

Ideally, I would have had access to a single dedicated company of experienced actors trained in 17th-century English drama to make the acting variable a constant, and a single venue appropriate for such work for the sake of methodological consistency across projects. However, in order to produce all ten projects I was obliged to travel to various locations in across the United Kingdom and North America to find willing collaborators,² so all of the resources varied somewhat, though I was able to use a basic thrust-shaped stage and audience configuration in all projects for some sense of continuity. Entrances, physical levels, props, and live sound were only introduced and used as demanded textually. Costumes were representative modern pieces for the sake of convenience, and were also used as required (though allowing for a basic level of neutral underlying clothing as well). Lighting was normally a general wash except where the collaborators' needs required a more polished look, in which case a minimal number of lighting effects and recorded sound cues were cautiously used. Almost all of the projects were undertaken with no real operating budget, and it should be noted that

¹ Dessen notes that 'Scholars seeking to reconstruct the physical features of a particular theater...will concentrate on evidence from plays known to have been performed in that building' (2009: 514).

² The participants ranged from drama and theatre students to volunteering professional actors. As such, the level of acting experience, ability, and intellectual backgrounds varied, which did affect the work. The conditions meant that on some projects I was obliged to make awkward casting choices in terms of age, gender, and physical type, which possibly introduced minor oddities in interpretation, though hopefully by being aware of the reason for the choices, I was largely able to see past them.

for most of his life, Compton likely could have paid for any reasonably imagined contemporary theatrical material that he wanted, which is one methodological difference.

The available rehearsal time varied project-to-project from as little as a few hours to as much as six part-time weeks, depending upon the needs and availability of my collaborators. Consistent, though, was my intention to avoid forcing interpretations on the actors, as my interest was in what the texts—and therefore Compton—demanded of them in performance.¹ My instruction to the actors was always to investigate and obey what the text insisted upon, though they were free to flesh out their performances as they saw fit as long as it did not contradict any textual demands; this compromise seemed acceptable as long as we were aware of when it was happening, since actors of any period probably would have done the same. My role was therefore more a facilitator than the usual idea of a director, and I limited my input to illuminating unfamiliar references, sharing what knowledge I possessed about probable original conditions, and encouraging experimentation when problems arose. As evidence continues to accumulate that group rehearsal remained minimal through the 18th century (Stern 2007), my interest was centrally on what the text conveyed to each actor about what to do in performance.

Performance Findings

In the following subsections, I will discuss the major observations made during the investigative stagings, with reference to any significant findings from the textual dramaturgical analyses. This will allow me to propose whether or not the various plays seem to be particularly theatrically viable, and if so, what theatrical resources they appear to require.

Sophius: I workshopped a short staged reading of this fragment, with a playing time of around fourteen minutes, using four postgraduate student actors at the University of Exeter on 2 October 2009.

The first surviving scene lacks an initial entrance, but can function with the first speaker starting onstage. It consists of nothing more dramatic than a conversation

¹ However, early modern plays are not particularly explicit about most stage directions (Dessen 2009: 518). Dessen also notes that there can be a difference between a theatrical and a fictional stage direction, such as between 'enter above' and 'enter upon the walls of a city', though the latter does not necessarily mean that the text was not a theatrical one (2009: 522).

between Pro—a standard Machiavellian villain—and a less informed henchman Pseudolon who enters and prompts Pro to describe his plots through exposition. Such introductory exposition may suggest that this scene could have been the first of the play, laying out the situation for an audience. The scene cuts off mid-line without allowing the characters to exit, so it is certainly incomplete due to losses.

The second surviving scene provides its two characters with an entrance, so appears to be intact at its start. There seems to be a large stylistic rupture between the two scenes, with the first setting up a *Richard III*-style Machiavellian plot, and the second being a highly political and contemporary debate between the faithful young Royalist Tim and the decent but rebellious politician Mega (though there could be scenes missing from between them); perhaps this is intentional, as it establishes the villain Pro almost like a creature from a different reality than the civilised political figures. It was noted that there appears to be a great deal of authorial venting taking place through Royalist Tim, who scores most of the argument's rhetorical hits; Mega seems to be present only to set up Tim's counterpunches, like Pseudolon for Pro in the first scene. The question-and-answer structure tilts the debate in Tim's favour as he is able to offer a short, memorable Royalist answer to each Parliamentary complaint Mega voices. The final surviving line can close the scene, though Tim is not given an exit, so text may have been lost from the end.

What survives of *Sophius* does not demand anything theatrically beyond the ability for two pairs of actors to enter, converse, and exit,¹ so it worked fine in an empty studio with a pair of entrances (allowing the second scene's characters to meet onstage, as seems to be implied by their greeting). As such, it could conceivably have been staged in any sort of space, though it falls into the bottom quarter of the texts in terms of theatricality in Appendix 5, which could support Kelliher's estimation of it as closet drama (1979: 176). It is obviously a part of a larger plan, which may never have been completed (the surviving scenes may not even be quite complete), but what survives seems to be less about theatrical display than communicating ideas about the issues that brought about the Civil War, with the Royalists (represented by a plausibly autobiographical Tim) largely absolved of wrongdoing, and plotters (headed by a Machiavellian arch-villain who could easily reflect Cromwell) and naive dissident politicians being responsible for the chaos.

¹ The few entrance and exit cues are sometimes acknowledged in the speeches: 'Farewell, Iue don y^e office of a friend' (77v); no other action is specifically demanded, and design elements are not mentioned either.

Leontius: I worked with third-year undergraduates at Bath Spa University on this large play, beginning rehearsals in December 2009, and presenting a full production on 29-30 January 2010 in the new University Theatre, with a running time of two hours and twenty-two minutes (not including the interval).

In Act 1 with the entrance of 'some Preists of Mars, some of Himens who sing this song and so passe ore y^e Stage', and later elsewhere, there are indefinite numbers of characters in some entrances, which could suggest that the playwright was thinking of the variable resources available to practical theatre; the reference to 'y^e Stage' could also indicate a theatrical awareness, and in the short draft, the accompanying dramatis personae is titled 'The Actors Names'.¹ There are several other instances of theatrical flexibility left in the text, such as where actions like songs and combat are demanded but not described in detail.

While entrances and exits are largely well marked, particularly the henchman Phorbas and the disguised Hianisbe are left silent and unnoted onstage for long stretches. It is possible that this is an authorial oversight, but it may be that they are left to eavesdrop, since both comment to the audience quite a bit and seem to know the overall situation better than most of the characters. The length of time of their silent presence is easily overlooked by reading alone.

Bodies are left onstage at the end of Acts 3 and 5. This might suggest that those points were used for an interval and the end of the show, where it is more acceptable for the actors to drop character to exit. However, it is also possible that they would be carried off, as the King commands in Act 5 (though it is not acted upon textually before the surviving draft cuts off due to damage).

The *Julius Caesar*-like Act 3 insomnia scene between Lucius and Olinda takes place at midnight, and both characters are preoccupied with the cold. Olinda gives a scarf to Lucius so that she can identify him at a distance when he goes to fight, and while the text does not state where the scarf comes from, it makes sense in performance for her to enter the scene wearing it to keep warm. This may show a sense of live performance logic in the writing. *Leontius* is more preoccupied with environmental matters like time and temperature than other texts in the collection are, making it the most atmospheric text. Design elements like clothing (including several disguises), many props, a balcony-type 'above' space for Olinda, and one or several removable set pieces (a bed, plausibly a table, and places to sit, which could indicate a need for a discovery space, or

¹ Williams suggests that the lack of dramatis personae, prologues, and even dedication in the longer draft could simply be the result of the damaged start of the text (1980: 406).

at least a wide entrance door), are also mentioned much more in *Leontius*, revealing a particularly visual element in the play.

There are a few textual issues that mildly hinder the smooth staging of *Leontius*. The drafts' writers at times are not clear enough in assigning speech headings, causing confusion for Phylanax, Philon, and Phalantus in particular, which makes it slightly less likely that these drafts were actor-friendly scripts; needless to say, the shorter draft that misses quite a few speech headings is even less helpful theatrically. There are several moments where the playwright did not provide any material to fill dead time onstage, such as during Olinda's descent from the balcony (only one line of text), Phylanax sending an underling to notify Melantius of his arrival (no text until Melantius' entrance), and Phorbas' Act 5 exit before the final battle and immediate return after an 'Alarum', reporting that they lost the battle. These may be signs that the text could not stand alone for performance, unaltered.¹

Appendix 5 shows that the short *Leontius* is relatively barren of theatrical references, which is perhaps unsurprising as it may have been written to preserve the damaged expository introductory scenes from the longer draft, and skips dramatic information like stage directions and the speakers' names;² if it was penned by the playwright, it was not done so with a concern for fully representing the scenes' theatrical potential. However, the long *Leontius* scores higher, remaining in the lower half of results for the broader statistic gathered in Table 1 but moving into the upper half for the more rigorous Table 2. This results from it having less lower-grade theatricality such as describing offstage action or other character's expressions, and more advanced theatricality than is found in much of the collection, with multiple minor story threads including some comic action, several calls for music, singing, and offstage sound, a poem recited, and stage combat. The advanced dramaturgy in this play may reveal Compton's own dramaturgical skill developing, or his getting assistance from a more experienced playwright, which could explain the play being in an unfamiliar hand. Overall, the play works quite well theatrically, though it is long, with certain speeches extremely so. A very little reconstruction is required at the damaged start and to wrap up the lost ending, but otherwise it is intact. While the surviving drafts do not appear to be theatre-ready documents, it only takes minor attention to make them fully playable. The true dramaturgical difficulties (such as not covering Olinda's balcony descent with onstage action) are few. A large cast is needed, with many small parts, and some

¹ There are also odd moments where Phylanax and Tricongeo receive their death-blows, then deliver extended speeches before dying. In this era at least, they are somewhat theatrically awkward.

² Kelliher first noted the omission of these details (1979: 180).

requiring special skills such as music and stage combat, but combat never calls for more than four participants at a time, so the playing space need not be very big. However, at least four entrances to the space seem necessary to allow for smooth scene changes. While the issues of the Civil War are still very present, they are wrapped in a far more theatrically engaging package than was seen in *Sophius*. Some sort of structure with a balcony would be required to stage the play properly, but any of Compton's private Halls with a Minstrels' Gallery would be capable of housing such a performance.

Hermenigildus: The amateur Richmond Shakespeare Society welcomed me into their Mary Wallace Theatre for this staged reading running at just under two hours, cast from Exeter graduates and RSS members, on 13 February 2010.

A physical embodiment of the play clarified what props and costumes are being referred to, and how they are moved about, though the only textually demanded props are two branches, two letters, two swords, a prisoner's chains, and some representation of Hermenigildus' headless corpse. For example, it is easy in reading to miss how Hermenigildus repeatedly changes clothing in the play, from worn attire when in his camp, to his rich courtly dress when returned to the King's good graces, to sackcloth when in prison; the courtly clothing is then referred to by other characters, suggesting that garments are left onstage for them to find. A garment worn at Hermenigildus' offstage execution is then brought onstage to be wept over as a relic, and his body post-beheading is brought in to be mourned in the final scene. This takes on a far more practical and clear sense when made tangible by performance, and gives such emotionally invested items more power than when the text is read and the objects can be overlooked.

The cast is large, and seemingly unnecessarily so. The main few are clearly defined: misguided Lear-like King Levigildus who drives his son to death; steadfast martyred Prince Hermenigildus; younger Prince Recaredus (historically required) who persuades Hermenigildus to trust their father and then regrets it; and two counsellors who contrast in their advice (aggressive Cardaces and patient Sophroniscus). Beyond them, others are poorly defined, and overlap inefficiently. The pairing of villains allows them to discuss their plots, but they are not well differentiated, with Dariaces just seeming a little more driven and crazed than Hermenifridus. Hermenigildus' pair of friends Erasistratus and Durias both advise him to be cautious, become emotional in passions of despair and vengefulness when he is imprisoned, and say similar things when he is killed (in that way also overlapping Recaredus). The two legates Athaulpus and Gesnericus fill the

same position from the same perspective, again overlapping Recaredus. The two Court officers, Igerdes and Alaricus, are poorly defined and also overlap Hermenigildus' friends, with Alaricus also seeming to replace the Chorus after Act 1 (assuming the Chorus is meant for performance and not simply for readers, which is uncertain), but then also disappearing after the start of Act 3. It is unclear from performance whether silent characters are required too. Several commands are given with no indication of who follows them, such as the King ordering that Hermenigildus be put in chains. In Act 5, a character named Valtredus is called to open the prison, but he is not otherwise mentioned and is not given an entrance. Therefore, he may be an offstage character, though he could actually appear as a silent character at the jail. The same story could be told if the cast of fifteen definite characters was cut to ten. As it stands, it is dramaturgically inefficient.

Working with actors showed where lines should be (but were not) marked as asides, as those did not make sense if delivered directly to other actors. For instance, in Act 1, as Hermenigildus speaks to his persuasive brother Recaredus, his friend Erasistratus worries 'This orator is more prevalent than I could wish; I fear lest something inwardly troubles him' (5r). This line is inappropriate if said to the Princes, so must be an aside. Similarly, actors helped to reveal unnoted but required stage directions such as absent entrances and exits; *Hermenigildus* has many such unnoted entrances and exits, and if the text was followed without addition, many characters would be stranded onstage.

Many speeches are uncomfortably long in *Hermenigildus*. This can be helped by varied and energetic delivery from the actors, but they still seem too long for effective theatricality. The biggest example comes in Act 4, where the two counsellors each deliver a contrasting speech of advice to the King, totalling two and a half pages.

Staging for *Hermenigildus* is possible, and at times is engaging, though much of the play relies on rambling rhetorical or emotionally raving speeches, and most characters are not well developed or differentiated. The Appendix 5 tables show *Hermenigildus* to be in the lowest third of the plays for textual dramaturgical references, and the play does not give the impression of being very demandingly theatrical. There are no references to a theatre, set or machinery, onstage lights or sound. Only a few costume and prop pieces are demanded. There is no advanced physicality like fighting, dancing, or performance-within-performance, with the only challenging image being Hermenigildus' headless corpse, which in itself may be an indication that the play was not intended for a stage. There is little action: scenes and particularly speeches can be extremely long without action breaks; stage directions are limited to often poorly marked entrances and exits;

the major action takes place offstage,¹ with the onstage action generally limited to references to the speaker's own body like 'by y^{is} right hand' (5v), and a few narrative statements like 'by y^f knees I now embrace' (5v). It would appear even less theatrical if not for the oversized cast who generate a large number of entrances and exits. Compton cannot be held responsible for the dramaturgical deficiencies since this is a faithful translation, and it cannot be known if it was the philosophy or the action that attracted him. The large number of missing entrance cues, unspecified silent characters, and unheralded props and costume pieces suggest that the surviving draft would not independently have been a good performance script, though it could have formed the basis for a one. It is more theatrically advanced than *Sophius*, though far less than *Leontius*, and could have been staged in any space with at least two entrances.

Agamemnon: I conducted this staged reading of fifty-six minutes' running time in a studio with students at the University of Exeter on 27 March 2010.²

Only an altar, very few props (a sword and a few palm branches) and costume pieces (garlands, hair ribbons, and a hood), and no sound or lighting cues are demanded as design elements.

The general lack of marked entrances and exits meant that the company had to spend time questioning when the best moments for such moves would come, and when some unnoted characters must actually be onstage. In particular, the final moment of the performance is unclear, as the exits for the various onstage characters are not given—though it seemed most sensible to have the Trojan women accompany Cassandra to her death, and Clytemnestra and Aegisthus to follow the full group to oversee the punishments, essentially creating an 'exeunt omnes'. This consistent dramaturgical weakness appears to be from the source text, so Compton is not entirely responsible, though it does suggest that neither Compton draft was a probable performance script directly.

While scenes are of a moderate length, several characters deliver very long speeches that risk theatrical stagnation. This could be seen as a Senecan fault (if indeed his plays were intended for theatrical performance rather than closet reading or recitation), though the hazard is particularly great where Seneca essentially just lists a series of mythological characters, as it is almost impossible for modern actors to give such lists

¹ Kelliher seems to imply that Hermenigildus' execution takes place onstage (1979: 177), though this is not the case, as is apparent in performance.

² I was assisted by MFA student Lauren Shepherd who organised the bulk of casting, gathered props and costumes, and the like.

meaningful variation, leaving the audience bored, and I suspect it would also limit the theatrical appeal in the 17th century. Predictably, short back-and-forth lines brought the theatricality to the surface more than extended speeches did.

Compton's deletion of his source's Chorus causes moderate dramaturgical problems, since in Seneca's full version, the Chorus would be present as witnesses of much of the action, and therefore could affect speaking characters' behaviour. Clytemnestra's determination to take revenge upon Agamemnon wavers, but prior to Act 3 she is willing to conspire with Aegisthus again; then in Act 3, she hears the tale of the Greek fleet's ordeal at sea, and expresses concern for Agamemnon, but nevertheless, she then kills Agamemnon, which suggests that her Act 3 concern was disingenuous. The problem results from Compton cutting the primary Chorus: in Seneca's version, Clytemnestra may feign her concern, knowing that people are listening. The same effect can be achieved in Compton's if she focuses on convincing the messenger (or audience) of her concern, but the human dynamic of the stage is changed by removing the Chorus. The secondary Chorus of captive Trojan women enters, probably encouraging Clytemnestra to exit, but this again is not marked in the text. The absent Chorus is more clearly a problem in Act 4, when Agamemnon appears. He orders 'You trusty bands' (14r) to tend to the semi-delirious Cassandra; it could be directed at the secondary Chorus of captive women already accompanying Cassandra, but it is doubtful whether Agamemnon would call them 'trusty', and was probably meant for the missing Chorus of local women. Additionally, the missing Chorus should cover some passage of time, and their absence means some events happen instantaneously, such as Agamemnon's exit at the end of Act 4 and the start of his murder described by Cassandra in the first line of Act 5.

At least one unnoted silent guard character is required at the end of Act 5.¹ Clytemnestra orders 'Ye there' to bear Electra to a prison, and Cassandra to death, but it is not a command suitable to any of the others onstage.² The missing primary Chorus is also an unlikely solution, as women would probably not be given guard duty. Logically, a guard must be present, though is not specifically noted in the text.

Appendix 5 indicates that *Agamemnon* falls within the top third of the texts for plausible theatrical cues, but there is no advanced theatricality (violence is handled offstage), and the results are mainly due to speeches that narrate what another character is doing onstage or off. This tendency to narrate extends even to minor action like

¹ This is not noted in the Loeb or any other edition that I have consulted.

² It is too demeaning and impersonal for her partner Aegisthus, and illogical for her perceived foes the captive Trojan women (who are allied to Cassandra anyway).

describing characters' entrances, and while helpful to a reader, it is superfluous theatrically, where the main observation was the problem with Compton skipping the Choruses. While most of the dramaturgy is Seneca's, by deleting the Chorus (with their potential for music, dance, and song), Compton diminished the sparse overt theatricality even further, and also removed theatrical logic. The result is that the two surviving drafts do not seem appropriate as stand-alone performance scripts. The play as it exists can be staged with only minor difficulties in any space with at least two entrances and something to stand for an altar, though the text seems to be more about language than action. Therefore I suspect that Compton's interest in the piece was textual (possibly as source material for his more original work, or inspired by a text like the 1649 *Electra* in his library) rather than theatrical.

Hercules Furens: I facilitated this staged reading of one hour and five minutes' running time in a studio at the University of Exeter on 16 April 2010, using students and recent alumni.

There are no mentions of a stage, lighting, or sound requirements, and only an altar and a handful of costume pieces and props are noted as design elements.

Unsurprisingly, the textually unclear movements of props were clarified by staging. Certain props are easily overlooked when reading the play, but Hercules' weapons, for instance, are very significant when actually present in a performance.

The (certainly modern, and potentially 17th-century) difficulty of Seneca's heavy classical referencing was again apparent, further leading me to wonder if Compton did not mean for these Latin translations to be performed, but rather was interested in them as source material for his own more original work.

Juno's speech comprising the entire Act 1 was daunting, but actually had a more theatrically viable shape to it than we had anticipated. However, in Act 5 comes half a page of lines that are awkwardly assigned in Compton's version, but are not much more satisfyingly distributed in modern or other early modern editions, leading me to wonder if the source text is corrupted at that point. The actors were able to make the span work, but some generalisation of meaning was required.

The usurper Lycus predictably emerged as a Machiavellian, *Richard III*-style of villain. Interestingly, he had the easiest relationship with the audience, and seemed like the most authentic person. It is interesting that he was the character to stand out, as he may have been something of a textual precursor to villains in Compton's original plays such as Bassianus, and perhaps Garamantus in *Leontius*. Alternatively, the supposed

hero Hercules came across as relatively arrogant and unsympathetic, showing minimal interest in his family or companion Theseus upon his arrival home. This might explain why the fair draft was abandoned before his entrance, but after the one theatrically lively scene with Lycus.

There are very few stage directions in the text, and asides are not labelled. Also, it is unclear whether Megara and Amphitryon are meant to exit before Hercules' first entrance in Act 3; a new scene is marked with their names after Hercules' first speech, but there does not seem to be a reason for them to have exited previously—yet Hercules does not immediately see them. Similarly, no final exit is articulated in the text (we had the actors leave the space, as seems to be implied, but the exact method of exiting is not satisfactorily explained), and this was also a difficulty in *Agamemnon*. This lack of notation slowed down our preparatory process, and makes it unlikely that the drafts were used in actual original performance.

As was the case with *Agamemnon*, Compton's deletion of Seneca's Chorus causes some minor problems, as Theseus refers to their now-phantom entrance before Act 4.¹ Attendants and soldiers are implied by Lycus as well as Hercules a few times, though they are not otherwise indicated, and Cerberus is possibly meant to be brought onstage by Hercules, though the complexities in that are obvious. The biggest problem occurs when Hercules rushes about in a fit of madness, slaughtering his own children in Act 4. The children are not otherwise mentioned and have no lines, though this can be dealt with by having them offstage, except for one that Megara needs to have in her arms, which could be a swaddled doll or something similar. Still, the ambiguity of all of these extra characters does shrink the scope of the play, and makes it confusing at times. Their exclusion weakens the theatrical potential, and further diminishes the likelihood that Compton was translating for performance.

As with *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Furens* is relatively brief, especially with Compton's complete removal of the Chorus. These cuts cause theatrical problems, and are the most substantial argument against the plays having been written for staging. Appendix 5 shows the *Hercules Furens* drafts falling in the lower half of the collection for overt theatricality, and what theatricality is present usually does not extend beyond characters describing other characters' entrances and actions. There is no advanced physicality, as the bulk of the physical action happens offstage (even Hercules' killing spree appears to take place offstage except for a few crosses), and the Chorus' removal makes physically sedate plays even less visually nuanced. As with *Agamemnon*, visual impact does not

¹ However he can justify it by speaking about it as a past event.

seem to be Compton's goal in his faithful translation of Seneca's original dramaturgical effort, and I suspect that Compton's interest was textual, and perhaps focused on the section of the play preserved in the partial good draft that includes the usurper Lycus. However, if original staging had been achieved, it could have happened in any sort of space with at least two entrances.

Mariamne: To stage this small-scale, fully produced project of one hour and thirty-five minutes' running time on 11-12 June 2010, I worked with the semi-professional actors of Outsiders' Inn Theater at the Ballard Underground in Seattle.

There are fifteen characters in total, with eight in the main body and seven in the Chorus of abstract powers (Time, Justice, etc.), and it is possible that symbolic doubling was intended. Matching the plotting siblings Pheroras and Salome with Policy and Calumny, linking Mariamne, the Nuntius, and Jailor with Innocence, Virtue, or Truth, and associating some combination of Herod and the two (or more) Judges with Justice and Time could work quite well. The one Chorus member too few could possibly have been initially planned as Patience, whose name is written in the Chorus' final entrance but then crossed out, or perhaps one primary role (plausibly the largest, Herod) was not meant to be doubled. It would reduce a potentially large cast of fifteen to a more manageable eight, and could emphasise certain characteristics of the main characters.

No sound or lighting effects are demanded, though a few props and costume pieces are mentioned and moved within the text, and seats for at least the two judges in Act 3 seem necessary. Damage has removed the play's start, but it is probably meant to begin with Herod waking from a nightmare, possibly even beginning onstage (meaning a bed would be required), which is not something seen elsewhere in the collection where the start of the texts are intact. If so, it would plausibly indicate the need for a discovery space, or at least a large entrance and offstage storage space. The fourth Chorus requires Justice to be physically above the other characters, which may indicate the presence of a balcony (if not some sort of flying apparatus); such an upper level in the performance space has only otherwise been seen in *Leontius*.

The Chorus sections differ in metre from the body of the play and from each other. It is possible that they were intended to be sung, but at the very least, they demand some sort of change in delivery. They are consistently more theatrically energetic and engaging than the body of the play is, with the abstract forces squabbling quite emotionally, and including various references to their clothing and physicality that benefit from a visual presence.

Some issues limit theatrical effectiveness, however. There are many very long soliloquies that squelch visual interest. Throughout her role, Mariamne in particular has many incredibly long speeches, often running to several pages, with 4.1 being one long speech made up of triplets that risk droning. In the manuscript the latter are numbered out of order; while following the numbering works fine in performance, it suggests that this was not a final performance-friendly draft.

Entrances, exits, and stage directions often go unnoted, though some are implied in the dialogue, such as in Act 5 where the Nuntius sits down to weep, Herod lies down to listen to the account of Mariamne's death, and then swoons after realising what has happened. Also, most Chorus characters are not clearly identified to the audience when they enter, meaning they would need obvious characteristic visual elements¹ to help any audience identify them promptly. Alternatively, a reader would have no difficulty, as they would note the characters' properties from their entrance and speech headings.

Besides in the Chorus, there is virtually no onstage action. The most dramatic incident (Mariamne's execution) occurs offstage. Act 3's courtroom scene oddly does not include the primary plotter Salome, even though the lesser Pheroras is present, and this is possibly a dramaturgical oversight, as it would be interesting to see Salome's reaction to her plot's progress. Perhaps the most visually engaging onstage moment in the main storyline happens after the trial, when Herod removes his crown and robe to renounce his position, and then Salome persuades him to take them up again.

Williams views *Mariamne* as pure closet drama, with no reasonable possibility of having been acted publicly (1979: 408). Appendix 5 does show *Mariamne* ranking in the top third of theatrically active texts in the collection, but the theatricality is generally unspectacular, resulting from implied entrances and exits, and minor shifts in focus, position, and attitude. However, the Chorus—using physical levels, props, varying rhythms, personification of abstract forces, and a subplot—is actually as interesting a theatrical element as anything seen in the collection, and arguably shows Compton at his most theatrically imaginative.² The bulk of *Mariamne* seems to be more about storytelling than visual action, but while not a very exciting theatrical experience overall, *Mariamne* could have been intended for the stage, though perhaps not a popular one. If it was, it would appear to require a space with at least two entrances, an upper

¹ Clear costume indicators might help, such as making Justice blind, or giving Time wings, but it becomes more difficult to differentiate between Innocence and Virtue, or Policy and Calumny.

² While I believe that Compton borrowed a great deal from French versions of the Mariamne story for his play, it seems that the Chorus is his own creative invention, and it is the only instance of this sort of abstract element in one of his plays.

level, and a discovery space or large entrance for rolling out Herod's bed. Compton's private halls would generally be well enough equipped for such needs.

Bassianus: I produced this staged reading of one hour and fifty-three minutes' duration in Vancouver on 18 June 2010, in a studio at the University of British Columbia, using student and alumni actors.¹

The play makes no reference to a theatre, and demands no specific set (in Act 4, Bassianus does sit down while brooding over his passion for Julia (28r), but this could happen on the floor), stage machinery, or music. It calls for a few props (daggers, swords, and letters) and costumes: in Act 5, the Romans describe the Parthian 'robes of Peace' that contrast their own armour (39r), and after Bassianus betrays the Parthians, Julia enters 'richely attird' (41v). The only offstage sound—'\$hout and clattering' (42r)—can be generated by actors.

Entrances and exits are quite well marked throughout, causing few problems, though most scenes require no other significant visual movement. Stage directions are sometimes thorough, but in Acts 1 and 5, papers are passed around without consistent notation, and otherwise unmentioned weapons appear in Acts 3 (26v) and 4 (31r; 36r).

Character numbers are indeterminate in several places, which might again suggest an appreciation of variable resources available to live productions: after Geta's murder, characters burst into the room, including '\$oldiers' (25v), and it is unclear if one or several share the line 'kill her to kill her to' (26r) when Julia is implicated in the murder; soon after, Papinianus is led to his execution by indeterminate 'guards' (27r); Bassianus '&C' arrive in Act 5, and they are joined by the Parthians in unnoted numbers; after ambushing the Parthians, Bassianus '&C' soon return; and in the final scene, the rescued Parthian leadership '&C' return home.

Act 3 ends with Geta's body apparently left onstage, so if the play was intended theatrically, either someone would need to carry off the actor, or he would need to break character to remove himself, so an interval might have been planned here at the play's midpoint.

¹ I previously staged this play as part of my MFA work in 2007 at the University of Exeter, though this was prior to my understanding of the play's real background as a 17th century work by Compton, and I used a transcript created by Centerwall that contained errors, so it was thoroughly compromised as an experiment; it was also given a reading by professional actors for the Globe's small symposium on the play in 2008, which was of limited use for dramaturgical study as it did not involve much of a physical element. Additionally, I facilitated a sit-down reading that December at UBC simply to test the readability of my first diplomatic transcript. As a result of the limitations of those past projects, it was necessary to treat *Bassianus* to another staging under the same general conditions as the rest of the collection.

While there is little high theatricality (songs, dance, special effects, or fighting) demanded here, it still is more physically active than most of the collection, with fewer extremely long speeches. The most visually substantial moment is Bassianus embracing and stabbing Geta to death, then Julia taking up Geta's sword and fending off a surprised Bassianus while calling for help (24v-25r). Weapons are called for a few more times, but full fights never develop. Later, Bassianus puts his sword into Julia's hands as he offers his breast (36r) in an exchange similar to the wooing scene in *Richard III*, and the plausible resonance is theatrically pleasurable.

There are a few theatrical challenges with the text. An Act 1 group scene including Bassianus and Martinianus ends with 'Exeunt' (5r), followed immediately by 'Enter Bassianus, Martinianus' (5v); if they actually exit and re-enter, there is an awkward mid-Act pause, but their lingering behind the others in order to conspire works much more smoothly (i.e., 'exit' and 'manet' rather than 'exeunt'). This could be a dramaturgical weakness, or it could suggest that Bassianus had been on a different part of the stage for the prior scene: he and Geta have just addressed their followers with a joint speech, so perhaps they had been on an unnoted balcony while their followers (including Martinianus) were below; all exited, and then he rejoined Martinianus on the stage. This is conjecture, however, and the directions as written are either inaccurate or slightly awkward.

As I noted earlier in this chapter with the sample of *Bassianus* text edited for actors, the heavily revised Plautilla scene (7r-9v) causes minor problems due to Compton's incomplete revisions, which reassign the lines of a purged character (Plautianus) to Bassianus and Plautilla but leave some textual issues that cause Plautilla seemingly to undergo a personality change halfway through the scene, shifting from innocent wife to Machiavellian henchman, and back again without reason. Logic can only barely be wrung out of the resulting textual situation without editorial intervention, and it supports the view that the surviving draft was not ready for performance.

Julia's sudden appearance on the Parthian frontier in Act 5 is a rather theatrically awkward moment. She had not previously been mentioned as being with the Romans on their supposedly peaceful mission, and says nothing once she enters. Bassianus gloats about her beauty, the horrified Parthians retreat, and her exit is not mentioned. Just what her rich attire consists of is also not articulated; it may increase visual interest, but the overall effect seems somewhat illogical and poorly executed. However, she must withdraw moments later, as Macrinus is left alone onstage.

The text cuts off mid-line in the home of the Parthians, with General Phraates saying 'Might I adui\$e you' (46r). In performance, it can be awkwardly covered by the characters exiting on the line as if they continue conversing out of earshot, but the problem remains that the text is unfinished, which makes it unsatisfactory as a full theatrical event in the current form.

Williams writes that *Bassianus* has no subplots, minor characters, songs or entertainments (1980: 410), yet in Appendix 5 it ranks around the middle of the collection in terms of theatrical cues. Overall, *Bassianus* is more theatrically dynamic than most, though it does not reach the action of *Leontius*, or the innovation of the *Mariamne* Chorus scenes. It can be staged with only minor difficulties except for the lack of an ending, and while it could therefore have been initially intended for performance in any sort of space with at least two entrances (though perhaps ideally one with a balcony), the lack of an ending more than any other issue shows that this particular draft would not have been performed originally.

The Mandrake: Kelliher suggested that *The Mandrake* is the one play in the collection that could be noticed by theatregoers commercially, introducing them to a new Caroline comedy of manners developed from a classic Italian source (1979: 176). My instinct was that this was an accurate judgement, and I directed a full production with one hour and twenty minutes' running time, using a semi-professional London cast at the Zoo Southside Studio in the Edinburgh Festival Fringe throughout August 2010.

No set was required, as the onstage action takes place entirely in the street outside houses. It appears that at least three routes to the playing space are required: one to Leaveland's home (with the door actually visible since it is knocked on), another to Soonewrought's home (Trusty can see Soonewrought before he enters from his house on 10v, so he must peek through that door, though this is not noted in the text), and a third to Renchetext's church; at least two hiding places are also needed for characters who stand aside to watch onstage action. Soonewrought's and Leaveland's doors are not meant to be side by side in the plot, but obviously onstage they cannot be far apart. However, scenes take place as characters walk from one to the other (10v), which requires some blocking effort in performance to avoid awkwardness.

There is heavy use of costumes and disguises such as Leaveland dressing as a doctor (10r), and props such as the urinal Soonewrought brings with his wife's urine sample (11r), which are described in the speeches but generally do not get noted in stage

5, which is slightly awkward theatrically, since hours are also supposed to pass (19v). Something seems to be required to fill the gaps and to clarify the passage of time. We used music as well as a subtle lighting change to indicate a change in the time of day, though the Choruses that Machiavelli added in later revisions to his original text would have served this purpose as well.

This is virtually unassailably the most theatrically active text in the collection, as can be seen in Appendix 5. However, its thorough stageability is primarily to Machiavelli's credit since he wrote the original for the commercial stage, and Compton's changes rarely extend beyond topical allusions. Whether Compton intended for his version to be staged or not cannot be clearly established, though it seems far more likely in this play than in most of the collection, based on the dramaturgical sophistication, and Compton's interest in such a physical play suggests that something different may have drawn him to it than to the less visual Latin plays. The need for three routes off the stage and at least two additional places of concealment would suit a space more like a professional theatre than a private dining hall, though Compton's plausible personal venues for performance probably could be made to accommodate such a play with a little thoughtful staging.

The Captives: I facilitated a staged reading of *The Captives*, running less than seven minutes due to its fragmentary nature, on 7 September 2010 in a studio at the University of Exeter, using students and alumni.

In what survives, there are no references to a theatre, set, stage machinery, or use of levels besides an available entrance, nothing of advanced theatricality, and only two props (chains on Philocrates and Tindarus). The text is clear about the situation of master and servant changing roles as part of a ploy to escape imprisonment, and this may include swapping costume pieces, though this says more about Plautus' dramaturgy than Compton's. Nothing more physically complex than crossing the stage is demanded.

As the fragment begins mid-scene, there is not a surviving entrance cue present to move the characters onto the stage. It begins with 'we give you all a trouble, in thus complying with our desires', but only by consulting a full translation of Plautus' original was it made clear that this was addressed towards several now-unnoted gullible guards who have been persuaded to let the two prisoners talk out of earshot. Later, Philocrates notes that they are 'entrenched with guards'.

There are a few weak translations and apparently missed small linking words, which may support the theory that this is an example of Compton's early work. Also, Tindarus

has a few unnoted asides; in one, he says of Philocrates 'how prettily he turned his speech to a serving man's' (73v), which could suggest an actual change not just in what Philocrates says, but how he says it, to show a shift in social class.

The Captives yields the collection's highest cue frequency for Table 1 and the second highest in the stricter Table 2, perhaps unsurprising since Plautus wrote for a public theatre, though what is present in the fragment is not theatrically sophisticated.¹ While the fragment's comedy undeniably benefits from the energy added by live performers, it lacks dramaturgical information necessary for a performance-ready draft even if it was completed, which it probably was not. It could be performed in any space, but almost without question never was.

Don Sancho: I conducted a staged reading of the *Don Sancho* fragment, running at about sixteen minutes, on 7 September 2010 in a studio at the University of Exeter, using students and alumni.

Unlike the majority of the texts, this one requires some minor set pieces (a large table and at least seven chairs). Isabella refers to the 'crownes burthen' (22v) that she bears, which could be figurative, but probably indicates that all three royal women wear crowns to show their rank. Isabella also commands that someone 'Open the room' (23r), which suggests that a physical door is probably required. No other design elements are demanded, and no heightened theatricality like songs or dance, combat, or special effects are called for.

The entrance of Queen Isabella and her attendant Bianca possibly needs to begin slightly earlier than where indicated in the script at the start of the second scene, since the final line of the first scene is 'Madam, the Queen' (22v); as a door appears to be present in the room, it seems that Isabella is already visible to trigger that line.

There is no clear reason for Carlos to come into the room with the three Counts who woo Isabella, since he is not one of the wooers at that point, and nobody notes his presence for a page and a half. This may indicate that a larger group enters than is mentioned, and that he is initially part of the crowd. The issue arises when the characters sit at the table:

You <bo> well can both waies make y^r courtship moue.

Al: Madam. Isa: enough let eache one take his place.

Man: Soft soft Carlos, where haue you got y^e face

|
|the 3 Quenes set
|y^e 3 counts e y^e rest
|Carlos seeina an

¹ The unrepresented remainder of Plautus' original is a little more energetic than Compton's portion, it should be noted.

	What title in y ^{is} ranck, can you pretend.	empty place offers
Car:	I saw [tit] void, e to sit there did intend.	to sit Manrique hin
Man:	A soldier well becomes a great Counts place	ders him
	what I am	
Car:	My L ^d <I thinke what I ams><no dis>doth not mee disgrace	(23v)

The 'rest' in the direction surely indicates more than just Carlos (and improbably, the attendant Bianca). If there is a larger group of silent courtiers, Carlos would be inconspicuous until he sits at the Lords' table. This situation either means that a table and chairs need to be pre-set before the play for this moment, and then taken away afterwards, or unmentioned attendants quickly set it up for this moment and take it away afterwards; a larger crowd of dignitaries could potentially multiply the difficulty since even more chairs and table space would be required. There is also an issue that there is one line ordering all to sit, and the next implies that most are in their seats, so there is no text to cover the potentially large action happening onstage. It does seem to require a busier set than is seen elsewhere in the collection due to the table and many chairs needed, but this is Corneille's playwriting issue rather than Compton's, though it would still be a dramaturgical concern if Compton intended to have the translation performed.

In theory, the fragment could be staged in any space with a door, though the issue of the chairs and table inevitably causes trouble. Still, it cannot be called a particularly physical piece, it has many long speeches,¹ and Appendix 5 places it in the lower half of the collection for theatrical cues. While the full play would presumably be stage-worthy (as a translation of one that was), Compton's fragment was never completed, so there is no reason to imagine that it was staged originally.

I have suggested that Compton was writing in a theatrically challenging time, but one when theatre in all forms from amateur to professional did continue an unbroken tradition. Compton's own family had theatrical links before and during his time, and while his surviving drafts do not bear the marks of professional theatre use, his own homes could have been suitable venues for private performance. His texts contain various authorial dramaturgical cues, though there is not a clear relationship between the volume or quality of these directions and the level of originality of the works: faithful translations could be low in frequency (*Hermenigildus*, *Hercules Furens*), as could an apparently original work (*Sophius*); some relatively original works settle in the middle of the range (*Leontius* and *Bassianus*); and at the high range are both faithful

¹ Professor Peter Thomson in a private email expressed that he found the length of the speeches surprising and unusual for English drama, suggesting that perhaps Compton turned to French theatre in anticipation of the Restoration and the French-theatre-loving Charles II (8 September 2010: np).

translations (*Agamemnon* and *The Captives*) and semi-original works (*The Mandrake* and *Mariamne*). However, the group with the highest sophistication of theatrical cues such as onstage fighting and music (*The Mandrake*, *Leontius*, *Bassianus*, and perhaps *Mariamne*) does not include the most slavish of translations—though it still involves significant source reliance—so it seems reasonable to propose at least a weak correlation between works that are more visually engaging and those that show Compton working more independently dramaturgically; as was suggested in Chapter 7, these more dynamic and creative efforts also appear generally to be later works in Compton's evolution as a writer.

Staging Compton's dramatic texts was also useful in a few ways. The necessity of preparing actor-friendly editions led me to engage with the texts very closely and ensure that I understood all of the references in them, and how they were revised. The actual staging work illuminated the dramaturgical strengths and weaknesses of the various plays, and their material demands in performance. Whatever the initial intention behind the texts that were obviously left incomplete (*The Captives*, *Don Sancho*, and *Bassianus*), they would almost certainly not have been originally staged from their surviving drafts. The Senecan translations (*Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens*) were probably not staged either, as the absence of their Choruses causes dramaturgical problems. *Sophius* (if it was originally complete) and *Hermenigildus* could potentially have been staged, though little is lost from simply reading them, and they are not visually engaging. *Leontius*, *Mariamne*, and *The Mandrake* are the most plausible candidates to have been intended for performance, with *Leontius* most persuasive as its reference to the 'stage' is not copied from a source and is therefore seemingly authorially intended. Even if the entire collection was staged, the full spatial needs would be a playing space with at least three full exits and at least two concealing areas, an above space like a balcony or gallery, and occasional use of tables and chairs. Other material needs are fairly basic. While discrete staging at one of the era's surviving commercial theatres is not inconceivable, far more likely would be performance in a personal venue, such as in one of Compton's homes, where the Halls generally offer multiple entrances and a Minstrels' Gallery for the few balcony scenes.

Nevertheless, even the most theatrically dynamic pieces are only so relative to lesser texts in the same collection, and I am not persuaded that professional theatrical ambitions lay beneath Compton's reasoning for undertaking his dramatic writing. I suspect instead that the usually political ideas debated within the works are what were primarily important to him, rather than the form that the writing took, even if he picked

up theatrical tricks as his work progressed, and perhaps staged some pieces as a way of communicating their ideas. This theory will be pursued in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9: Conjectural Rationale for the Writing Activity

The previous chapters presented and analysed the information that I have been able to collect about Compton and his texts, contextualised with earlier commentators' findings and theories. In this final chapter, I will turn the focus outward, comparing Compton's writing activity with his era's major dramatic trends, in order to contextualise Compton, suggesting whether his efforts were consistent with the larger movements or if he was somehow unique, and offering a possible explanation for his writing activity; finally, I will reflect on how Compton's major recurring themes might relate to such a conjectural purpose, and suggest where there might be room for future research.

Was the Activity Precedented?

I previously noted how the semi-underground Interregnum theatre was maintained primarily by those with Royalist sympathies, like Compton. In the first few years of the Restoration (1660 to 1664), the professional theatre was dominated by courtiers who took inspiration from the old forms of romances, Spanish plots, and Elizabethan tragedies and tragicomedies. Actor-playwrights regained control after that, and the work evolved towards the heroic tragedies and social comedies for which the Restoration is best known (Harbage 1936: 237-255), but the courtier drama was the primordial material for that later stage.

Compton used many different types of sources for his writing. His direct classical translations include the Plautine *The Captives*, and the Senecan *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens*. *EEBO* reveals English publications based on Plautus as early as 1565, and while no published direct translations appear until 1690, Plautus was obviously read in the original Latin long before Compton's time, and adapted by such playwrights as Shakespeare, so Compton's translation effort was not entirely unique. Since Elizabethan times, many writers turned to Seneca for stylistic ideals of character, and philosophical concepts such as fortitude, patience, and altruism under ill fortune (Salingar 1956: 24);¹ by the mid-17th century he was the most frequently translated dramatist,² as his dark

¹ Salingar notes that the editor of the 1581 Seneca edition wrote that Seneca 'beateth down sin' and portrays 'the guerdon of filthy lust, cloaked in dissimulation and odious treachers' better than any other classical writer (1956: 336-337).

² Other Senecan translations from the period are Edward Sherburne's 1648 *Medea*, Edmund Prestwich's 1651 *Hippolitus* (aka *Phaedra*), and Samuel Pordage's *Troades* 1660 (Randall 1995: 213-214). All three are direct translations like Compton's, though annotated, unlike his. Harbage and Schoenbaum note at least one more anonymous manuscript *Hercules Furens* from the broad period in the Bodleian (1964:

tone was appropriate for defeated Royalists (Randall 1995: 213-214). My personal view is that Compton's Senecan translations resonate more easily with his era's politics than other contemporary ones do, which supports the idea of him writing primarily for allusive purposes; Potter suggests that the benefits of politicised translation are that the translator can hide behind the original if accusations of political criticism are raised, and that an older source that still resonates implies that old traditions—such as Monarchy and the Church—remain valid (1989: 53).¹ Compton's Latin translation phase (including the neo-Latin *Hermenigildus*, and possibly the abandoned *Moleons Ghost*) was not unusual in the period.

Most midcentury modern-language translations had French sources² (Randall 1995: 223), so Compton's *Mariamne*³ and *Don Sancho* fit that trend. Harbage calls the era's translations literal and uninspired, though he acknowledges that translation could create reliably good work (1936: 215-239); with Potter, I would argue that choosing to translate for political reasons does in fact show inspiration, and that Compton's efforts were in keeping with the period's trends.

Salingar writes that in contrast to Senecan stoic philosophy, Elizabethans generally saw Machiavelli as a monster who promoted murder, treachery, and atheism, yet 'he was studied in private for his effectual truth',⁴ and he was a precursor to literary villains who use policy, manipulation, and the help of underlings (1956: 21-24; 336). 17th-century Royalists, convinced that their foes were driven by greed for power, money, and revenge, often categorised their villains (real and literary) as 'Machiavellian', just as the traitorous Garamantus and Phorbas are in *Leontius* (Wolf 1980: 459); Wiseman notes that Republicans such as Henry Marten in the early 1650s attempted to combine Roman Republican, Machiavellian, and Christian theories into a workable policy (1998: 71). Perhaps it was poetic justice for the Royalist Compton to use Machiavelli via *The Mandrake* as a satirical weapon against those who would more commonly be seen to be in line with his tenets.

318). Halliwell lists an Elizabethan *Agamemnon* by Dekker and Chettle (1968: 5), though it does not appear to have survived.

¹ Some classical translations like Wase's 1649 *Electra* subtly enhanced the political relevance with contemporary terminology (Potter 1989: 53-54). Milton turned to Seneca for Republican purposes in *The Tenure for Kings and Magistrates*, which justifies the removal of bad rulers, and notes Seneca's Hercules as a killer of tyrants (Milton 1649: 18), opposite to Compton's potential intention in *Hercules Furens*.

² France was the major destination for Royalist exiles (Randall 1995: 281), so coupled with Henrietta Maria's French background, the country's influence on Royalist writing is not surprising. Harbage suggests that the French translations came mostly after the Restoration, though with exceptions; among the output he notes Carlell's Corneille translations (1936: 215-239).

³ With over forty early modern plays on the Herod/Mariamne theme, and at least a dozen from the 17th century (Randall 1995: 262-263), Compton's turning to the story was in keeping with the period.

⁴ Efforts were made to find ways for individuals to master Fortune, while at the same time Machiavelli was seen as 'the prophet of self-seeking courtiers' (Salingar 1956: 21; 24).

While Halliday suggests that Shakespeare was going out of fashion by the outbreak of the Civil War (1957: 9-13), Shakespeare's plays never stopped being produced and adapted, so his decline seems overstated, and Compton referencing him in 'The Cavalier', and probably *Bassianus* and *Leontius*, is not unusual. Furthermore, Compton's adaptation work—using nondramatic material such as Herodian for *Bassianus*, presumably knowledge of the Bible for the Biblical and stellar lists, many sources for *Leontius*, and recent history for *The Martird Monarch*, 'The Cavalier', 'Presbyterian', the treatise, and *Sophius*—was broadly in keeping with the period. There is always some sort of source of inspiration underlying Compton's creative writing, and the sorts of sources he used were not unusual in his era.

Compton's texts span many genres.¹ Historical accounts were common in the period, and journalism was also arising. *Eikon Basilike*, supposedly Charles I's own final reflections on his reign, may have spurred authors (including Compton with *The Martird Monarch* in particular) to write on the same subject, and Potter notes several similar politicised accounts with emotionally loaded titles that evoke Charles' martyrdom (1989: 184-188). Compton is actually less biased in his account than those listed by Potter, but nevertheless he was not unique in his chronicling recent history. This overt topical referencing is also apparent in Compton's short poems, 'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian', and many other contemporary political poems also survive from the era.²

Besides the satirical poems, *The Captives* and *The Mandrake* are Compton's only purely comic surviving writing. Harbage suggests that little comedy was written 1633-1664³ by 'genteel amateurs', but what was created regularly contained 'Dragon-guarded marriage portions, stolen matches, and gulling wedding ceremonies', and adultery (1936: 72-86), which suits *The Mandrake* quite well. Examples of contemporary comedies with elements in common with *The Mandrake* include Brome's *A joviall*

¹ Compton's sketches and lists do not give concrete information about genre, and the treatise fits into a sort of political lobbyism that is common to all periods, so I will disregard them for now.

² Those following Pordage's 1660 *Troades* reflect upon the regicide and Restoration (Seneca 1660). Other larger texts are written in a poetic style, such as Quarles' 1649 *A kingly bed of misery*, which includes a reference to Lord Capel (29) as in 'The Cavalier', and King's 1649 *A deep groane*, though these are more mournful than satirical.

³ Randall notes that comedy depends upon live performance more than tragedy does (1995: 276), which could suggest why there was not a great deal of it written during the theatre closure. If there was a new addition to the genre, it was perhaps the debate between platonic and practical love, and marriage (Harbage 1936: 72-86). Butler indicates that the rise of comedies of manners was reflecting the interests of the gentry (1984: 180).

crew¹ (performed at the Drury Lane Cockpit in 1641), Cowley's 1650 *The Guardian* (later revised as *Cutter of Coleman Street*²), and Sir Robert Howard's c.1663 *The Committee*.³ *The Captives* does not fit as easily within these trends in comedy, but *The Mandrake* could find some ancestry in such Cavalier comedy, and also link easily to the Restoration comedy with its moderate verisimilitude⁴ and social satire; Randall notes that the period's comedies often attack specific contemporary targets (1995: 312), which could strengthen the suggestion that Compton was making a political comment in his plays.

Harbage's description of Cavalier drama is fairly appropriate to the tragedies that are the majority of Compton's plays: rhythmic prose shaped like blank verse, female characters being relatively central, comic sub-plots being rare, Court intrigue, rebellion, usurpation, and some dramatised history (1936: 38-45; 223). Some representative examples of the era's tragedies are Thomas Fuller's 1661 *Andronicus* that claims in a note to the reader⁵ to have been written eighteen years earlier in Oxford (3), so may be an example of wartime tragedy, Robert Baron's 1647 *Mirza*,⁶ Gilbert Swinhoe's 1658 *The tragedy of the unhappy fair Irene*,⁷ Leonard Willan's 1658 *Orgula or the Fatal Error*,⁸ and into the Restoration, Edward Howard's blank verse *The Usurper*.⁹ By writing tragedies, Compton was not unusual.

Harbage suggests that English romances imitated Continental ones, Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Barclay's *Argenis*¹⁰; he claims that reading the *Argenis* prepares one for understanding Cavalier dramatic plots from the 1630s onwards, but that the various romances must be considered 'in composite' when attempting to determine their use as sources, since the same elements are endlessly recycled, making specific source identification hazardous. Broadly, these elements include the following: locations in Sicily, Sardinia, and other islands and Mediterranean places; conflict between

¹ The play mentions Spring-Garden and the Bath (17) and has a character named Wrought-on (57) (Brome 1652).

² It too references piousness, fear of plots, and puritan language.

³ A copy is still retained at Castle Ashby, and the play has characters with descriptive names, is based in London, mocks the committee in charge of compounding delinquents in the Commonwealth, has Royalists returning to England, rich heiresses, and mockery of the Covenant (Howard 1692).

⁴ Harbage points out that 'Satirists often tried to imitate the pious cant of the Puritans' (1936: 184), which reflects Compton's changes to his Machiavellian source.

⁵ The note is signed 'Philanax', like the *Leontius* character's name.

⁶ A copy is retained at Castle Ashby.

⁷ The play references cypress (8), like *Leontius*.

⁸ The plot includes a surviving Royal son, and indication that love and command cannot be shared (8).

⁹ With a copy still at Castle Ashby, it was performed at the Theatre Royal (1), refers to pilots and dangerous seafaring (4), is based in Sicily with a usurper and his son, an African queen (5), and a veiled Hugh Peter (7).

¹⁰ Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* can be added to the list of traditional romance sources, translated to English as early as the 1560s; it references war, and lovers captured together (Heliodorus 1569: 8).

neighbouring states; political, social, rival, and consanguine problems; beautiful and good ladies; a woman disguised as a boy, following and possibly serving her lover or sharing in his trials; brave and generous noblemen; lustful, plotting villains; pirate captures and rescues; lovers presumed lost or dead; friends becoming foes due to romantic rivalry; a discovery that a woman is related to one of her suitors so that the pairings can be clarified; trials before a conclusion of peace and wedlock; and a restored long-lost child of noble birth. Characterisation is less important than the very long monologues and discussions on 'etiquette, ethics and the emotions', and political content is not unusual (Harbage 1936: 29-35). Kelliher observes that *Leontius* follows the norms of Cavalier romantic drama (1979: 181).¹ It is also a political commentary to some extent, like Barclay's 1621 *Argenis* (Potter 1989: 74), Sidney's *Arcadia* and Brathwaite's 1659 *Royal Romance*² (Randall 1995: 5); resonant contemporary romances include Henry Burkhead's 1645 *A tragedy of Cola's furie, or, Lirenda's miserie*³ about wartime Ireland, and Robert Baron's 1647 book *Erotopaignion, or, The Cyprian academy*.⁴ The interest in romances continued for the first several years of the Restoration, when the form dominated the stage with a moral tone reminiscent of the pre-war courtier plays (Harbage 1936: 238). *Leontius* easily fits in with this trend in drama.

Compton did not directly engage with the pastoral form; the usual idealised pastoral setting in the later 1650s was Arcadia, a Royalist representation of England, where the opportunity to escape from the bad times was offered, until the problems could be corrected, and the characters could return home (Wiseman 1998: 199), but Compton's characters remain trapped (like him) in their unhappy homeland rather than fleeing into exile, and can only look longingly at pastoral retreat. However, the line between pastoral and romance in the period is hazy, and Compton contributed to the latter in his

¹ Kelliher notes no real comic subplot (the comic scenes of common soldiers supporting the overall theme of the wrongness of rebellion by showing the rebels as cowardly and unpleasant), Melantius and Phylanax in particular soliloquising on the evils of rebellion, and the ability of a valorous Royalist to defeat huge numbers of enemies by his moral strength. Also from Harbage's list are war, Mediterranean locations, captures, blameless and beautiful women and heroic men, rivalry, a lustful plotting villain, a woman following her lover then disguising as a boy to serve her future lover, and apparently an ending of peace and wedlock.

² The latter thinly veils the history of Charles I's reign through to the eve of the Restoration under a romantic plot, and contains the now-familiar reference to crowns and marital beds not accepting competitors (29; 45), an allegory of Strafford named Sophronio (225) that resonates with *Sophius*, and characters named Mutius (57) and Leontius (252), though otherwise unrelated to their namesakes in *Leontius*.

³ Burkhead's play includes a song (22), takes the King's side against Puritans (7), references Mars and Venus (11), Machiavellian plots (12), badly behaved common soldiers (22), and a Philanax (33), all similar to *Leontius*. Burkhead calling it a tragedy shows how blurred the generic divisions can be.

⁴ The book contains a fair Clorinda (10), Julia and Isabella (14), Hegio (17), reference to Tantalus (20), Hercules (22), Radamanthus (32), and cypress (37), mourning for a dead Cyprian ruler (50), a young King of Sicily (59), civil war along the social lines of England's (63), reference to Severus (67), comparing Venus and Mars (69), and a King's ghost wearing a cypress wreath (73).

authorship (partial at least) of *Leontius*. Likewise, the line between romance and tragicomedy is blurry, and *Leontius* also fits into the definition of tragicomedy, where Randall actually places it (1995: 346).¹ While the form was somewhat old-fashioned by the Restoration where I propose dating *Leontius*, Harbage observes that blank verse tragicomedies were still appearing in the late 1660s, such as Sir Robert Howard's 1668 *Duke of Lerma*, when Howard was still arguing that blank verse was proper for serious plays while criticising adherence to the unities. Howard, Davenant, the Killigrews, and Stapylton bridged the old and new periods (1936: 248-249); with *Leontius*, Compton may have joined them.

Compton's dramatic works are mostly in the nominally blank verse form common in post-Jacobean drama, though there is also some prose work, and some scattered moments of other metrical adventures. However, *Don Sancho* is a heroic comedy, and *Mariamne* is in the heroic form as a tragedy (the sources they translate or adapt are also in that form), and the satirical poems also fit the style. The heroic dramatic form is generally linked in England to French influence brought over with the Restoration, though Harbage persuasively identifies plentiful links to the earlier native Cavalier drama as well² (1936: 48-59). It is possible that Compton turned to heroic neoclassicism as the Restoration arrived, following the tastes of the returning Court, and I suspect that his partial translation of Corneille's *Don Sancho* was written at this time and is the last of Compton's extant dramatic efforts, but I believe that *Mariamne* (and certainly his

¹ In Harbage's view, tragicomedy is able to establish a solemn tone that retains a happy ending since nobles are generally not killed (1936: 40-42). Ristine observes that Manuche and playwrights like him kept the old form of romantic drama alive midcentury with tragicomedies that feature loyalty as a central virtue (1910: 154). Wiseman indicates that in the 1650s, tragicomedy provided a forum for debating the positions of the Monarchy, Commonwealth, and Protectorate, and philosophical issues of power and moral right. The form broadly consists of a crisis and a restoration, with the latter being a fantasy found throughout the 1650s, and most of the decade's tragicomedies imply Charles' execution but do not represent it. Justifying internal loyalty but external compromise for the sake of survival is also typical (1998: 190-210). Randall suggests that tragicomedy was a popular form in that period because it was easier for amateurs to create, could borrow from romance books, and allowed a hope for future improvements, though he suggests that such fantasy may have actually hindered effective Royalist plotting as it allowed them to imagine Fate fixing everything, rather than doing so themselves (1995: 366). William Cartwright (not the actor)'s pre-war tragicomedy (published 1651) *The Lady-Errant* has a King of Cyprus and various lords, including one named Olyndus (3), talk of sieges (4), and reference to a Corinnus (6).

² Harbage comments, 'Tag with rime the love encounters of Carlell, Cartwright, and Killigrew, and you have the love encounters of Orrery and Dryden' (1936: 60-61). Some other examples of pre-Restoration texts with at least partial heroic form are Sir John Denham's pre-war political *The Sophy* (retained in a 1671 edition at Castle Ashby), Wase's 1649 *Electra* (in rhyming couplets), Davenant's 1651 *Gondibert* (retained at Castle Ashby, and containing references to cypress), and Willan's 1651 *Astraea* (it is dedicated to Princess Mary (2), is almost fully heroic, has a Hylas and a Leonida (5), reference to an unskilful pilot (9), cypress, and civil conflict (12)). Rhyming couplets became more common after Davenant's 1656 *The Seige of Rhodes* (retained at Castle Ashby), generally seen as the 'forerunner of the Restoration heroic play' (Randall 1995: 170). Heroic verse became dominant after the Restoration. The form was frequently present in poetry, as in Compton's short poems, and George Wither's political 1653 *The dark lantern*.

poems) came somewhat earlier. As such, I suspect that Compton moved between styles, and experimented with the neoclassical heroic form as and when his Continental sources encouraged it.¹

By writing when he did, using the kinds of sources and forms he did, Compton was doing nothing particularly unique. Doing so presumably as an amateur was also not unusual. Broadly, pre-war amateur and university playwrights wrote in all of the familiar dramatic forms, and the professional theatres were willing to produce amateurs' plays as the writers' reputations would generate publicity (Harbage 1936: 130-153).² With the theatres closed during the war and Interregnum, amateurs and professionals were on even footing in the validity of their dramatic writing, and in the first years of the Restoration, amateurs were quite dominant. As an amateur playwright, Compton's activity had plenty of precedent.

As not only an amateur but also specifically an Earl, Compton being a playwright may seem more unusual. However, upper-class playwriting was not at all unique. Harbage notes that while Charles I was not a playwright, no English monarch had shown as much interest in drama, and he even gave some critical feedback; also, Henrietta Maria was the centre of pre-war Courtly drama. It became fashionable for the upper class to write plays. Courtier Walter Montagu's *Shepherd's Paradise* featured Henrietta Maria performing. William Cavendish, eventually Duke of Newcastle, was a noble pre-Restoration playwright³ who patronised several professional dramatists and received writing assistance from them (Wiseman 1998: 94), and Compton certainly patronised and may have received help from professionals too. The previously mentioned Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmorland, was a Royalist with Puritanism in his background who engaged in dramatic writing⁴ throughout the 1640s, satirised his brother-in-law Thomas Fairfax, but also wrote that the King was just a man (Randall 1995: 286-287). Fane staged productions annually from 1640 at Apthorpe, performed by his household (Harbage 1936: 195-199; Wiseman 1998: 94). Compton may have

¹ This neoclassical scattering is even more plausible if the *Hermenigildus* Chorus is defined as neoclassical due to the heroic couplet form, as it comes no later than 1651.

² Harbage explains that university plays began to be written in English in the 1620s, with their comedies generally topical satires and Plautine farces. This could support Compton's Plautine *The Captives* being his earliest work, as I proposed.

³ Cavendish helped his wife Margaret with her play-writing, and Margaret and their daughters (also amateur playwrights) include autobiographical characters in many of their plays (Randall 1995: 316-336). While Cavendish was in exile in the 1650s, his daughters in England may have staged their own plays privately, though Margaret's were not performed (Wiseman 1998: 94-97).

⁴ Fane also wrote poetry. His 1648 collection *Otia sacra optima fides* is mostly of a spiritual nature, though there are political items as well, including calls to Prince Charles to return in 1648 (158). In general the collection is less fervently Royalist than Compton's writing.

staged his work privately as well. Noble Restoration playwrights included the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Orrery, and Bristol, and Viscount Falkland (McCollum 1961: 226-234; Downes 1987: 53). Many of the courtier-gentry tried their hands at play-writing too. Lodowick Carlell wrote through the periods in question, with productions at Court and the Blackfriars.¹ Courtier Thomas Killigrew's romances tend to be based in Sicily and sometimes Sardinia, and follow the usual romantic plot traits (Harbage 1936: 104-105), again reminiscent of *Leontius*. Other courtier-playwrights include Sir John Suckling,² William Berkeley, Sir Kenelm Digby, George Sandys, Henry Killigrew, and William Habington³ (Harbage 1936: 109-122).

It can be seen, then, that Compton's inferiors, equals, and superiors on the aristocratic ladder wrote plays throughout the period of interest. His plays are almost certainly not pre-war, since if they were, records likely would survive of any performances—Brome complained about courtier playwrights who actually paid to have their plays performed (Harbage 1936: 117), after all. The fact that it was quite easy for his equals to have their plays performed in the Restoration and yet no records of his own being performed then exist either also suggests that he probably was not writing very deeply into the Restoration, as his rank would have made professional productions quite plausible. That his plays are political and seem to have autobiographical characters at times has precedent at his social level, and if he staged his work at his private houses, he would not have been the only nobleman to have done so. Compton's writing activity was not unusual among those of his rank.

¹ Carlell's plays often resonate with *Leontius*. 1629's *The Deserving Favourite* contains a Clarinda, and two characters in love with her who fight a duel causing both to collapse from blood-loss. 1639's two-part *Arviragus and Philicia* has a Guimantes (perhaps not dissimilar to Garamantus, though there is also a Guermantes region in France, so there are multiple possible inspirations for Compton's character's name) who is jealous of a rival, a character named Cleanthes, a setting of war, a female lover disguised as a boy seeking to serve her lover, links between Mars and Hymen—though here they 'ill agree' (89), and a foreign queen. His pre-war two-part tragicomedy *The Passionate Lovers* was dedicated by the printer to Princess Mary (3), and contains a Clorinda and an Olinda, an aging and therefore vulnerable King (7), a Princess unhappy about being obliged to wed (43), and lovers kneeling for acceptance and offering their lives (49). 1664's *Heraclius, Emperour of the East* is a Corneille translation in heroic couplets, with a Prince restored years after his martyr-like father was murdered (3), a character believed to be named Leontius (4), the army's power in making kings (6), and similes about dangerous seafaring (8; 10; 15)

² Suckling's 1640 *Brennoralt* portrays noblemen discontentedly fighting in a war (Butler 1984: 76); this tragedy (retained at Castle Ashby in a 1658 collection), printed along with poems (some political), was performed at the Blackfriars (65), and makes reference to unskilful pilots (2), battle and rebels presumably referencing the Bishops' Wars (3), and cypress (52).

³ Habington's *The Queene of Arragon* offers some limited criticism of the Court (Butler 1984: 76); the 1640 tragicomedy had performances at Court and the Blackfriars (2), heroic prologues (3) and epilogues (32-33), reference to 'Nick Machivill' (3), like *Don Sancho* a queen of Aragon, nobles from Castile, and debate about a captive queen's right to choose whom 'She shall advance to th' honour of her bed' (8), like *Mariamne* a reference to Time as an old man (3), like *Leontius* the threat of siege (3), battle, reference to Sicily (15), and threat of rape (22), like *Bassianus* a wooing scene where a man kneels and offers his life (12), and like several Compton plays, sudden pangs of love (13).

One aspect of Compton's life does seem to make him unique in his writing activity. Of the major participants in the Interregnum Royalist conspiratorial movements,¹ I find only three including Compton who were apparently involved with playwriting. Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland was modestly involved in plotting in the second half of the 1650s, and wrote one known play, *THE Mariage Night*,² a prose tragedy published posthumously in 1664, concerning a fictional Court and only resonating faintly with English contemporary history. The John Weston who was quite central to the Action Party of conspirators may be he who wrote an heroic tragicomedy (retained in a copy at Castle Ashby) published in 1667 titled *The Amazon queen, or, The amours of Thalestris to Alexander the Great*, which is concerned essentially with courtship and jealousy. Compton had a higher social rank than either of these, was certainly more prominent in the conspiracies than Falkland and seems to have been more important than Weston, wrote far more plays—of greater range and much more political resonance—than either, and did so seemingly much earlier, at least in part while the conspiracies were actually taking place. As such, Compton appears to be the only major Royalist conspirator to write plays while conspiring.

Proposing a Rationale

Compton's conspiratorial activity could be more than an interesting piece of trivia in the study of his writing. I have suggested that conveying political ideas may have been of ultimate importance in Compton's writing.³

Compton was not alone in writing politically, of course. Butler has pointed out that pre-war plays were often undeniably political, and Randall notes that even courtiers' plays prior to the war reveal concerns about the Crown's policies (1995: 21). Wiseman suggests that closing the theatres turned dramatic discourse more political, with the

¹ The major conspirators were as follows. The Sealed Knot's Lord Belasyse, Lord Loughborough, Compton's brother Sir William, Sir Richard Willys, Colonel John Russell, Colonel Edward Villiers, William Rumbold, Major Philip Honywood, Alan Brodrick, Baron Maynard, and Sir Simon Fanshawe; Prince Rupert's followers Baron Gerard and John Gerard; the Action Party's Sir Thomas Peyton, Sir Humphrey Bennett, Edward Grey, Richard Thornhill, John Weston, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir John Grenville, Lord Byron, and Major Henry Norwood; those involved with Penruddock's Uprising Colonel Walter Slingsby, Colonel Francis Wyndham, the Earl of Rochester, Colonel John Penruddock, Sir Joseph Wagstaffe; the Great Trust's Viscount Mordaunt, Sir George Booth, Compton himself, William Legge, Andrew Newport, Job Charlton, Lord Willoughby, Sir John Boys, Sir William Waller, Edward Massie, Silius Titus, Lord St. John; and the relatively independent agents Nicholas Armorer, Colonel Joseph Bampfield, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Allen Apsley, and Lord Falkland (Plant 2008: np; Roberts 2011: np).

² The play includes a Claudilla, and mentions cypress (11).

³ Contrastingly, Fane's *Candia Re\$taurata*, which was written to be performed at Apthorpe, shows far more care for presentation and more detailed stage directions than Compton's plays.

Civil War context making it ever more obvious (1998: 5), and Aggeler proposes that some individuals may have turned to playwriting in the period precisely because the government's ban on theatre allowed them to make it an act of rebellion (1978: 54). Writing of various forms became more politically charged, to the point that the King actually took a printing press with him from London at the start of hostilities in order to print speeches and other Royalist propaganda, with his Oxford headquarters eventually used as a central publication hub (Potter 1989: 7). There was a common Royalist view that their enemies were performing a sort of comedy in Westminster¹ (Aggeler 1978: 55). Playwrights used rhetoric and allegory to create work with political depth (Randall 1995: 138-139): while Ben Johnson had complained of readers who misinterpreted his works, Dryden claimed that every character in his *Don Sebastian* contained a moral (Wallace 1974: 284-285), and Manuche in his Castle Ashby version of *Loue: in Trauell* notes in the Prologue, 'you will find some thing in it, I Lay'e not in Euey bodies Way' (3r). Randall suggests that the links to topicality are not constant, but are woven through some characters, plot points, and speeches, since the period of repression might have made anything more blatant difficult (1995: 378).² Compton too may have written plays in part as a form of rebellion, as Royalists 'now in opposition, took up resistance writing. And revenge plays thrived' (Woodbridge 2010: 189).

Compton is noteworthy because of his resources for potential staging, and his placement in the counter-rebellion simmering as he wrote. Whether his plays reached a stage or not, his choice of a dramatic form evokes the image of a communal gathering of those sympathetic to his political leanings, to hear the politically charged words spoken by tangible people representing at least recognisable archetypes if not specific contemporary figures, and to see representations of striking visual images. What might Compton have been trying to tell this potential receptive audience?

Compton married the theatrically connected Isabella on 5 July 1647, and I have suggested that *The Captives*, with its master and his servant imprisoned in a war devising a plan for the master to escape, may have come from around that time, when King Charles was in various forms of custody. The play tells servants to make sacrifices for their master and all will turn out well.

¹ Potter points out that the two Kings Charles themselves lived lives filled with dramatic elements, such as disguises, separations from a wife and a kingdom, being fathers to a country, a sacrificial victim, and wandering princes, so that the drama was reflecting reality rather than offering an escape from it (1989: 107).

² However, Butler also identifies a fragmentary play held at Yale that relates directly to the people and events of 1642, including Hugh Peter being deployed to preach and stir up the people (1995: 83-88).

On 30 January 1649, Charles was executed. Soon after, Compton wrote *The Martird Monarch*, mourning Charles while preserving his memory as a martyr, and probably *Hermenigildus*, dramatising a good Prince's martyrdom, and expressing some muted, impotent bitterness towards those responsible.

Underdown indicates that after the regicide, Charles II gave Royalists remaining in England his blessing to take oaths demanded by the new regime as their consciences would allow, in order for them to preserve their property and their freedom for future use; his lack of anger at their caution and self-preservation throughout the Interregnum may even have found its formation in his own experiences escaping after his failed invasion and the dangers through which he passed. So Royalists with substantial property did not generally put themselves on the front line of the resistance,¹ and had such problems just maintaining their own estates that they were unable even to offer much financial support to their exiled friends. Little clear plotting took place in the next two years, with subversive Royalist behaviour generally limited to drunken toasts and furtive proclamations for the new King, insults towards Parliament and its committees, and 'nocturnal slogan-writing'. The new regime's spy network improved as time went by, making plotting even more dangerous. However, there was still a major current of 'smoldering dislike of a government whose main claim to authority was the sword'. Still, alliances with groups that could help the Royalists in an uprising were resisted, as particularly the idea of a Presbyterian alliance was unpopular with Royalists who had not forgotten the former's role in the last decade of suffering. There was also suspicion directed towards the Scots for the same reason, even when Charles II invaded England at their head in 1651 (1960: 8-66). Compton was among those who kept a low profile, taking the Oath of Engagement in 1650 and getting some sort of support from Cromwell during his composition, and his name is not found among those engaging in early conspiracies. In this period Compton wrote 'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (in which he comments on early failed uprisings), bitterly blaming the Scots and Presbyterians for the regicide.

After Charles II escaped England in October 1651 following his defeat at Worcester, two years passed with no active Royalist attacks (1960: 38; 55). I have suggested that around this time, Compton may have written his rough *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens*, both of which feature Princes going into exile with no immediate hope of return, and his Biblical list, which may hint at a religious interest.

¹ Younger brothers like William were the regular and logical leaders of Royalist conspiracy since their potential capture and punishment would not affect that family's core (and already strained) fortunes in the same way that the punishment of the family's head would (Underwood 1960: 80).

Caution continued to be the defining Royalist feature, and the 24 February 1652 Act of Oblivion led to many taking the required Engagement (Underdown 1960: 56-58). Compton's treatise came before the Act of Oblivion and addresses his government foes in conciliatory terms while still noting that they held power through the sword, but advocating a live-and-let-live attitude while expressing concern about a rumoured new form of government.

Underdown writes that the cautious Royalist approach continued even after Cromwell, who seemed genuinely to be attempting reconciliation with the Royalists, ejected the Rump in April 1653, but as the Rump, then the Barebones Parliament, and finally the Protectorate (arising on 16 December) took varying middle grounds with the Royalists between repression and conciliation, the Royalists' uncertain position bred resentment and the climate for conspiracy. 1654 brought failed plots, but the climate remained cautious, and Cromwell was even given a chance to show his intentions (1960: 56-58). *Mariamne* and stellar list may have come in this period of giving Cromwell a chance, as the religious interest remains in the texts, and while *Mariamne* revisits the royal martyrdom theme, there is no real call for vengeance.

The climate was oppressive in 1655 and Royalist resentment grew until smaller-scale plots like assassinating Cromwell once again came into view by July 1656 (Underdown 1960: 171-193). I have suggested that sometime after Cromwell's rise, Compton felt negative enough about him to cast him as a Machiavellian villain in *Sophius*, in this interpretation Compton's first entirely original play, which seems to have been on a trajectory to describe Cromwell's wicked rise to ultimate power. It may best fit this period where the Royalists were resentful of being oppressed, and were plotting more actively.

After Cromwell's 3 September 1658 death (and Richard Cromwell's succession), Compton became visible on the historical record as a plotter with the Great Trust and Commission. I have suggested that after Cromwell's death and Richard's rise, Compton revisited his *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Furens*, making good drafts with a focus on the usurping tyrants this time, and then used them as source material for *Bassianus*, possibly blending a negative image of Oliver as bloody usurper with that of Richard the unrightful heir, and commenting repeatedly on the danger of rash revenging action and the wisdom of waiting for an ideal moment to strike, which sounds like a convincing mantra for the Comptons in the Interregnum.¹

¹ Randall suggests that since a few of Compton's imprisonments were due to suspicions of Royalist plotting, he may well have followed the *Bassianus* advice of not sitting quietly in bad times (1995: 264),

Richard Cromwell abdicated in May 1659, an unstable Commonwealth briefly returned, the Great Trust's August uprising failed at least in part because Compton was dissuaded from participating in the final moments by William, but the Restoration occurred in May 1660, and Compton quickly returned to a position of power. I have suggested that around this time he wrote *Leontius*, an older-fashioned romance that seems to pay respect to a dead King while still representing him as present, and also acknowledges the early but idealised reign of a young King that could easily be flattery of Charles II, while showing the ousting of rebellion brought about by a General (who had worked with the rebels but is tied to Sicily/Scotland) defecting, which could relate to Monck.¹ Perhaps not long after that, he may have written the frenetic comedy *The Mandrake*, where the returning-from-exile Englishman finds success, and possibly looking towards the racy Restoration Comedies to come, and the fragment of *Don Sancho*, the full source of which deals with a long-lost Prince returning to become King, and is in the heroic form that became dominant in the Restoration. Perhaps his theatrically connected wife Isabella's death on 14 October 1661 brought an end to Compton's dramatic enthusiasm.

It is most satisfying to observe that the proposed dating of the plays based on all available types of evidence rather than on only perceived historical allusions actually matches very well with the overall mood of Royalist conspiracy in the Interregnum at all of the significant moments. Compton's writing recites the issues of concern for the plotters through the 1650s, most glaringly in *Bassianus*, and while the most interesting possibility is that the plays were written as a form of advice to those engaged in the conspiracies, even the least interesting possibility of mere personal diversion seems to show Compton working to define a strategy for surviving the Interregnum and working towards a Restoration.

though the play's message is more complex than that, and advises action on one hand and caution on the other, apparently like the Comptons themselves attempted.

¹ The 1660 *Cromwell's Conspiracie* ends with Monk ushering in the Restoration; plays flattering Monk began to appear in 1659, mockery of the Parliamentarians increased noticeably in 1660, and plays with usurpers also multiplied with the Restoration (Harbage 1936: 186). However, there are enough earlier examples of such material to reassure that some of Compton's plays on those subjects could have been written earlier than the Restoration. Harbage also notes allusion in Birkhead's 1659 *The Female Rebellion* (1936: 179), and Halliwell notes Tatham's 1660 *The Rump* and Behn's 1682 *The Round-Heads* (1968: 215-217) showing backwards-looking political reference, but Randall notes that Cromwell was already being satirised as a King as early as 1649's broadside *A coffin for King Charles a crowne for Cromwell: a pit for the people*, continuing in 1650 with the pamphlet *The right picture of King Oliure, from top to toe. That all the world may a false rebell know*, by 'Philo Regis' (1995: 270).

Recurring Themes

Certain thematic elements occur frequently enough in Compton's writing to suggest that they might have been recurring preoccupations. Most of his repeated themes are completely unsurprising now that the texts' historical context is better understood: royalist heroes, wise or wicked counsellors, war, royalty in peril, prisoners, execution and subsequent martyrdom, usurpers, exile, and restoration of monarchy are self-explanatory in their proliferation, and were identified in Chapter 6. Other repeated elements are so widely used through drama in general as to reduce their impact in discussing Compton's unique activity (for instance, clever servants, villains, deception, and the use of disguises), though he may have intended for some to have specific contemporary cultural resonance.

One potentially intriguing recurring element is Compton's representation of women, who seem to be stock types at first glance, but may actually be more interesting than that, and could be a reasonable focal point for further study of the collection. The 1628 English version of Barclay's *Argenis* (translator Robert le Grys) resides in Castle Ashby, and has previously been noted for including an African Queen Hianisbe, like in *Leontius*. It also includes a key (added by le Grys) that explains that its characters represent real political figures (Barclay 1628: 485-489). While I believe that a fair number of Compton's characters stand for real contemporary individuals, I formed a suspicion that his females might represent something abstract; this gained support when I read Percy Herbert's 1661 *Princess Cloria*, and Percy's explanation that while his characters represent real people (and sometimes combinations of people), they also represent abstract forces—for instance, Princess Cloria represents both the King's daughter and 'his National Honour; and so consequently appearing more or less in prosperity, as accidents increased or diminished' (3). Other similar examples of feminine representations of abstract forces can also be found. James I had written of himself (modernised), 'I am the husband, and the whole Isle is my lawful wife' (Randall 1995: 207n). Middleton's 1624 *A Game at Chess* represents the Church of England as the White Queen and the Church of Rome as the Black (Bentley 1954iv: 878). Suckling's 1640 *Brennoralt* has the crown being mistress to Royal favour (26). Randall points out that 'Female personification of a country is, of course, an age-old device', and Henry Burnell's 1640 *Landgartha* has Landgartha/Ireland wooed and betrayed by England, but with ultimate hope for a union between the two (Randall 1995: 33). Potter notes the period's anonymous *Mistress Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Child*

Reformation (1989: 145), and Bentley lists Fane's 1641 *Candy Restored* and Quarles' c.1642 *The Virgin Widow* (1956iv: 959) with women representing institutions. Swinhoe's 1658 *Unhappy Fair Irene* is one of several plays that Randall describes as having a female role representing peace, who is then killed (1995: 84). Leonard Willan's *Orgula or the Fatal Error* has a lecherous, evil Lord Protector wedded to pride (Randall 1995: 138). Compton's females seem to function in similar ways.¹

The females fit into a couple of categories that could be seen as dull and formulaic, but considering Compton's apparent steady commitment to commenting on real political issues, they may mean something more. I will call one broad grouping the Wicked Stepmothers, which I suggest represent the force of marginalised old power that is jealous of present power and wants to supplant it, or immoral power bent on destroying innocence, generally for personal gain. Randall suggests that evil females could represent something unnatural, and a dangerous woman in power could suggest an inverted world in chaos; Wase's 1649 *Electra's* Prologue explains that Clytemnestra is the 'queen politic, which hath trull'd it in the lewd embraces of the soldiery, and to consummate the scandal, shall have conspired with it, & together heinously upon agreement, destroys her just and undoubted Lord' (Randall 1995: 79-272).² I call the second broad group the Innocent Princesses, possibly the force of blameless royalty. There are a very few other variations as well.

In *Hermenigildus*, Queen Goisuntha is literally the Wicked Stepmother. She is never seen, but is the driving force behind her good stepson's wrongful execution, which helps to establish her in power. She also tortures his wife Ingundis offstage because she dislikes Ingundis' religion. Goisuntha is corrupt new power and wicked persecution, personified. Ingundis in turn is the Innocent Princess, and as an offstage presence is only a phantom of Hermenigildus' own innocent martyred royal power, abused by his enemies as he is led to his execution.

¹ A few items do not have female characters (*The Captives*, 'The Cavalier', and 'Presbyterian'), and *The Martird Monarch* only briefly mentions women when historically essential.

² The quote is modernised. Randall notes William Chamberlayne's *Love's Victory*, aka *Wits Led by the Nose*, where everyone falls in love with a rebel woman (1995: 80). These dangerous women would appear to relate to the wicked stepmother type; the fact that some of the apparently earliest examples in the collection are translated from classical sources shows that the character type was not an innovation in the 17th century, but is traced back to western drama's roots, and Ristine notes that the murderous stepmother was still a common character in the Restoration (1910: 160). Other examples are in Heliodorus' 1569 *Aethiopica* (11), the anonymous lost 1578 *The Cruelty of a Stepmother* (Harbage and Schoenbaum 1964: 46-47), Willan's 1651 *Astraea* (21), Dekker and Chettle's 1599 *The Stepmother's Tragedy*, and Stapylton's 1664 *The Stepmother* (Halliwell 1968: 237).

In *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra is another Wicked Stepmother. She is a vengeful mother-queen who is the source of the play's direct violence, jealous of King Agamemnon's divided affections;¹ she laments her lost privileged position, and lusts after a base, violent replacement in Aegisthus. She kills the trusting King, the captive Innocent Princess Cassandra, imprisons Innocent Princess Electra, and tries to hunt down the fleeing Prince Orestes. Clytemnestra can be seen as authority without morals, bestowing itself on the most powerful man regardless of his merit, and destroying any who stand in its way. Cassandra—though Clytemnestra describes her as a potentially wicked stepmother—is an Innocent Princess, abused, blameless, and taken as a royal prize. She sees wrongdoing, but is apart from human action, though she is destroyed by the wicked power of Clytemnestra. The captive Trojan women are essentially an extension of her. Electra likewise is an Innocent Princess, young and pure, but brave enough to help her brother (the Prince and therefore the hope of the royal line) to escape while she stays behind to suffer abuse under the new wrongful regime. She is suffering blameless royal power. The play's other female, Althea the nurse, is a supportive confidante to Clytemnestra, and may operate as a sort of ineffectual conscience for Clytemnestra's immoral power.

In *Hercules Furens*, the goddess Juno is a Wicked Stepmother, once again literally. She forces Hercules to commit the worst of the play's outrages out of jealousy, because he is the issue from Jove's philandering. Like Clytemnestra, this jealousy leads her to violence, and like Goisuntha, she is willing to destroy an Innocent Princess in the process. This princess is Megara, Hercules' wife, another innocent, faithful royal victim who dies while Hercules is under Juno's control. However, as an Innocent Princess, Megara can be abused but not corrupted, and she succeeds in repelling the advances of the lustful usurper Lycus, where Clytemnestra fell for similar Aegisthus' advances. Pure royal power cannot be forced into bed with an undeserving usurper in this view.

Mariamne is an Innocent Princess, but a doomed one in a tragedy. A blameless royal victim, she coldly respects the wrongful inhabitant of the throne, but is snuffed out rather than bearing him an heir. However, Herod then sees her burning like a star in the heavens, showing that she is actually immortal, and presumably could therefore return as royal power. Salome is a sort of Wicked Stepmother (though she is actually Mariamne's jealous sister-in-law) who is largely responsible for the play's tragedy. She destroys Mariamne in a bid to strengthen her own family's wrongful dynastic position.

¹ Similarly, Butler notes that Brome's c.1636 *Queen and Concubine* has a Sicilian king choosing between his wife and his ambitious mistress who represents uncontrolled absolute rule; Butler also points out that Shirley's 1636 *The Duke's Mistress* deals with a wife-versus-mistress issue (1984: 35; 42).

The play's feminine Chorus role of Truth is an enslaved innocent, and Justice is driven into exile, so those can easily fit into the logic of royal power abused, though they can also stand alone as the forces they represent by name, which are allies of the royal power—from a Royalist perspective.

In *Bassianus*, Plautilla is essentially an Innocent Princess, a largely spotless royal victim, but she is not of royal blood and the usurper discards her for a more regal match as he rises in power.¹ Julia is a Stepmother, though not quite the usual Wicked sort precisely. She complains about how her husband's death has left her excluded from power, and she is hungry to regain it like several of the Stepmothers. She advises her royal son to kill his half-brother in order to secure his safety and her dynastic position, but also initially defies the usurper. After being imprisoned for a time (not unique for a sort of royal authority), though horrified by the usurper's incestuous and therefore wrongful requests for her as a mate, she agrees because it will allow her back into power. She is a sort of ruthless form of hungry authority. Her final appearance, richly dressed, as Bassianus shuns the Parthian Princess Zelinda, shows Julia's return to power, though in an obviously repugnant way. Zelinda herself is another Innocent Princess, almost identical to and potentially the template for Olinda in *Leontius*, a strong and pure royal prize almost made a victim. The point is emphasised that she is the King's only child and all hope rests in her, and they are grateful that she avoided being bestowed upon an undeserving tyrant. She escapes, and holds the hope of a rightful royal future.

In *Leontius*, Olinda is the ultimate Innocent Princess, strong, innocent and royal, made a prize to be won in marriage, and imprisoned for a time. She is a perfect representation of the King's royal power as his only child that he wants to join to a deserving man who will become the next King, pursued by a would-be usurper who attempts to take her by force when she is not freely bestowed upon him, following her chosen mate into imprisonment (something like exile in removing him from the Court), dazzling the essentially good enemy (who masters his lust and reforms immediately, choosing to follow her chastely), and finally returning to the Court in victory. Hianisbe is a sort of avenging Innocent Princess, good and chaste in the past, jilted by her undeserving wooer and following him in disguise, only to discover his attempted philandering and unworthy nature, and therefore seeking revenge with all of the fury of

¹ This jilting may be akin to Garamantus abandoning Hianisbe to pursue Olinda in *Leontius*.

the proverbial woman scorned. She could be an example of justice essentially sending the Furies inevitably to destroy those who tarnish royal power.¹

In *The Mandrake*, Lady Horner is a kind of comic version of the Wicked Stepmother, forcing her daughter to commit adultery in order to strengthen her grasp on dynastic power by creating a grandchild, regardless of how she must bridge the various factions. Mrs. Soonewrought is something of an Innocent Princess, spotless and proper while highly desirable, who resists the demands that she perform a moral wrong, but then accepts a compromise that brings the virile Royalist Leaveland back into the power structure. The Old Lady in the play is a fearful and simple representative of the new regime.

In *Don Sancho*, Leonora could possibly be seen as a nicer version of the comic Stepmother seen in Lady Horner. With the best intentions, this exiled dowager Queen browbeats her daughter Elvira (the new Queen and a standard Innocent Princess) into considering marriage to consolidate their dynastic control. Elvira in turn is an exiled supposedly rightful Queen who is also an attractive royal prize, and easily represents the force of royal authority in need of being re-attached to a rightful ruler. Queen Isabella is a kind of different facet of the Innocent Princess, as a slightly more world-weary and wise Queen who has grudgingly accepted her obligation to attach her power to a man, but is trying to be very careful to select the best candidate.²

While these are potentially superficial types, in the political context of these writings I suspect that they may actually be giving female characters an incredibly important place in a socio-political context that historically saw women only on the periphery of most of the major events. The martyred Innocents parallel Charles himself to some degree from a Royalist perspective, as blameless victims with stereotypically feminine virginal purity; the exiled Innocents, including Justice herself, could represent a form of banished monarchy. These first two groups often complain of their lost power or suffering. Finally come the prize-Innocents; if these Princesses and other similar women represent the royal power, it suddenly becomes very telling that Zelinda barely escapes marriage to a tyrant and retreats to another kingdom, and Olinda is given to an heroic nobleman of the King's and her own choice, and choosing to go where she may when

¹ Carlell's pre-war (published 1655) *Passionate Lovers*, like *Leontius*, has a threat of rape (59), a story of a woman pursuing her sister's jilter (69), siege (74), a king offering reward to a prince who requests his daughter Olinda (92-93), and a woman disguised as a man (116).

² Bianca is an attendant, which may be like the confidante Althea in *Agamemnon*, though she does not get an opportunity to develop in the fragment.

she follows Lucius into captivity¹. Even Mrs. Soonewrought, a city wife apparently in the Commonwealth, could represent access to the power structure.

This seems quite reasonable when the number of plots concerning pursuit of these regal women is considered.² Ingundis is invisibly tortured in perverse ways by the same forces that hound Hermenigildus to his death. Agamemnon lusts after foreign women like Cassandra (a King's wandering eye for expansion of his power?), but the usurper Aegisthus seduces the King's wavering wife Clytemnestra. Similar to Aegisthus, the usurper Lycus has no pedigree and pursues Hercules' royal wife Megara at least in part to legitimise his reign. The usurping Herod is tormented by his lust for pure Mariamne even as she returns nothing but cold disdain for him due to his path to power, which included having her brother (the high priest) killed. Bassianus has contempt for his own arranged wife Plautilla and kills her, but is tormented with lust for his Stepmother Julia, the dowager Empress, and persuades her to marry him to regain her lost position of imperial majesty; he then disingenuously woos the foreign Princess Zelinda, who manages to escape into another kingdom. Kelliher points out that in *Leontius*, Lucius wins Olinda through his brave deeds and honourable behaviour rather than through any sort of more recognisable show of love, but Garamantus attempts to take her by force (1979: 181); his attempted rape of the Princess parallels his attempted rape of the Kingdom, and both lead to his downfall, as a final poem (here modernised) in Wase's 1649 *Electra* discusses: 'Though they can spoil without consent, / Yet ere they rule we must indent: / Force can but in a rape engage, / 'Tis choice must make it marriage' (44). Melantius too is momentarily consumed with lust for Olinda, but overcomes his base passions shortly before word reaches him that he is to change loyalties from the rebels to the Royalist cause. Even in the satire *The Mandrake*, the non-Royalist Londoners are shown as greedy and foolish, and the zestful presumably Royalist Leaveland and Lackwealth trick them to win the desirable Mrs. Soonewrought, who ends up seeing that

¹ Rollins identifies the c.1651 ballad *The Lady's Lamentation*, which has a woman lamenting her exiled love Charles II, saying she will follow him so they will remain together (1923: 315-319). Howard's 1665 *Indian Queen's* the first page is very much like the first in *Leontius*, with a King offering a young man reward for his heroic military service, and the young man hoping for the Princess' hand, however here the price is too great and the King refuses, leaving the young man embittered, and then like Garamantus he decides to defect (141-143).

² Carlell's 1664 *Heraclius* has a usurper of obscure birth hoping to marry his son to the dead king's daughter to legitimise his line (4). Weston's 1667 *The Amazon Queen* also has a conqueror wooing the daughter of his dead conquered rival, who resists (4), and also resists becoming Empress (5); there is also talk of rape (35).

Leaveland is preferable to her silly old husband, and a new order is established with Leaveland accessing the establishment's resources.¹

Kelliher suggests that *The Mandrake* is not primarily political, though its purpose might be to mock the Presbyterians through Renchetext (1979: 173), but I would argue that in appreciation of the overall context of Compton's writings as political, his reasons for reworking *The Mandrake* were quite probably primarily political too, and the politics in that play have to do with optimism that the younger generation of Royalists will return from exile and poverty to regain the Kingdom's resources from the impotent, fading usurping regime, who have been unable to mate with a source of ultimate beauty like Mrs. Soonewrought to continue their dominance, no matter how much they wish to. Kelliher also interprets Renchetext's response to Leaveland's coupling with Mrs. Soonewrought as reversing Machiavelli's original friar's sexual envy (1979: 175), though I would argue that in our performance experience, Renchetext seemed every bit as envious, which could show Compton's view of the more radical churches as ridiculous and hopeless in their attempt to establish themselves in power as well. This same sort of impotence is seen in Lycus' failure to seduce Megara in *Hercules Furens*, Garamantus' attempted rape of Olinda in *Leontius* that leads to his wounds that confine him to bed where he complains of his sexual impotence,² and Herod's failure to lure Mariamne back into his bed. The pursuers are often driven half-mad with lovesickness: Herod seeks advice from Salome and Pheroras in *Mariamne* on how to win her affections; Bassianus is counselled in what he thinks is a lost cause by Martinianus, Garamantus has a very similar scene with Phorbas in *Leontius*; and Soonewrought complains to everyone in *The Mandrake*, while Leaveland also does with Trusty and Lackwealth. Curiously, three of the usurpers (Garamantus, Bassianus, and Herod) scoff at the idea that love could penetrate them, though all three are at the mercy of their longings.

It is possible that Compton's female characters are simply stock types, either pure prizes to be won or rescued, or forces of unbridled wickedness. However, in the greater political context of his writing, they deserve at least some consideration as being potentially more politically meaningful. They consistently fall into a few types that serve dramatic purposes, but also may well relate to the power struggles of Compton's

¹ Howard's *The Committee* c.1663 has a general theme of impoverished Royalists stealing women away from Commonwealth authority figures, which may resonate with Compton's *The Mandrake*, and suggest that its content may still have been deemed relevant in the mid-1660s.

² 1660's Anonymous *Cromwell's Conspiracy* has a final scene of Cromwell on his death-bed (17), which may be something like Garamantus sick in bed in *Leontius*.

time. If so, they would be part of a larger tradition of such usage, as has now been explained.

Wiseman calls the period of the theatre closure very diverse dramatically (1998: 1); it can be seen that Compton's own output was also extremely diverse in forms that reflected the period's overall activity. Various writers noted that they chose to write in order to escape melancholy, to forget their woes, or simply to fill spare hours (Potter 1989: 151), and all of this could also fit Compton. However, as Potter suggests,

Whether through surreptitious distribution, through the use of various kinds of private language, or through literary forms which emphasised the ultimate mysteriousness of human and divine purposes, royalist literature fulfilled the functions most necessary for the culture of a repressed group: enabling communication and consolidating its sense of itself as an elite (1989: 113)

and considering Compton's involvement in Royalist intrigue in the 1650s, the fact that no other plotter of his level is known to have written plays is perhaps the one thing that makes his activity particularly unique. If, as Potter suggests, Compton's writing fulfilled a need to communicate, it is intriguing to wonder if it was meant to communicate with a more actively involved group than average readers, and if it may have had any influence on the course of Royalist plotting. At the very least, it must reflect Compton's own thoughts on intrigue as he developed them, and may have developed his views as much as it was developed by them, influencing how he engaged himself, which then had ramifications on the course of the Royalist movement.

Conclusion

In this study, I have offered the most complete survey of previous research into the unsigned Castle Ashby plays and related texts (*BL MSS ADD 60276-60282*), and have provided the reader with descriptions of their physical traits and textual content. Having discussed previous commentators' conflicting authorial proposals and having conducted my own fresh handwriting analysis, I have aligned with the majority's judgement that there are very good reasons to conclude that the bulk of the items are in the hand of James Compton, 3rd Earl of Northampton, and that those items not in Compton's hand are apparently scribal, but depend upon earlier Compton drafts, or at least suggest his creative input. I then brought together a more complete Compton biography than has been offered elsewhere, though this does not alter previous researchers' general suggestion that Compton was a thorough Royalist, dedicated to his King and Church in the mid-17th century, yet not to a suicidal degree of commitment; preserving his family's fortune and position seems to have been a critical consideration for Compton, and he was cautious after Charles I's regicide until the eve of the Restoration and never entirely committed himself to Royalist uprisings by appearing in the field, though he apparently never lost the affection of either Charles, and was able to regain his status with the return of Charles II. Within the biography is the most comprehensive summary of Compton's family's theatrical ties to be available yet.

I have offered fresh, detailed, transparent analyses of the manuscripts' physical and the texts' metrical/statistical states, the latter being the first such documented treatment of the texts in this manner. These examinations disappointingly do not reveal much in the way of conclusive data about when the texts were written or in what order, but they should remain a reliable catalogue of such information in perpetuity, freeing future researchers from being obliged to investigate the texts in the same manner for such data. The analysis was good for confirming what was written by Compton and what was written by other individuals, however, and did occasionally suggest relationships between items that help to group them. More conclusive was my investigation into literary, historical, and biographical source material behind the texts. My use of anti-plagiarism software (supplemented by careful reading) has illuminated instances of shared phrasing between several texts that supports the possibility that those texts may have been written around the same time. I have reviewed—and confirmed or corrected—previous proposals of literary source dependency, and with the help of modern tools such as *EEBO*, have been able to propose some new likely sources behind

Compton's texts, adding new insights to the explanation of how he generated his material. I have also investigated past theories of historical and biographical allusions in the texts, which has allowed me to correct some past oversights and propose a large number of additional plausible contemporary resonances. The general conclusion remains unchanged that Compton's texts consist of a variety of straight translations, adaptations, and fairly original compositions, though I have been able to adjust previous dating suggestions for several items based on plausible historical allusions and availability of source materials, and have identified closer dependency on source material in at least the case of *Mariamne* and probably *Leontius*. Compton does not seem to have written any of his surviving texts by imagination alone, and all seem to resonate with his era's political turmoil.

From the findings of these various forms of investigation, I have concluded that almost the entire collection can be dated with confidence between the 1649 regicide and the first few years after the 1660 Restoration. I have then moved into risky territory by proposing a best-guess ordering and more precise dating of the whole collection, though readily acknowledging that many suggestions are based on at least some conjecture. The texts reveal a consistent Royalist preoccupation with the political issues of the period, probably drawing upon Compton's experience as a nobleman, politician, and Royalist commander in England's Civil War, and then through the Interregnum when he was outside the power structure and was struggling to regain his lost property while repeatedly being imprisoned, and while trying to raise a family. The bitterness in the plays shown towards regicide and usurpation fits very conveniently with the execution of Charles I and the rise of Cromwell in this period. The pieces seem broadly to progress from lamentations about the tragedy of regicide to a more gentle view of martyrdom and political reconciliation, into a newfound burst of bitterness towards tyranny with a view to overthrowing it, and finally into works with happy endings and a view towards re-establishing a Royalist order. It is clear how this might coincide chronologically with the Interregnum. My proposed ordering also seems to be a fairly logical representation of an individual learning the playwright's craft, progressing loosely from faithful classical translations that show minimal concern for dramaturgical elements like choruses and stage directions, to a phase of more original work still using dramatic, contemporary political, or historical sources, but showing an increased dramaturgical sense; this appears to have culminated in an essentially original romantic tragicomedy, before a final return to modern-language translations and adaptations celebrating a restoration of the Royalist-dominated culture.

A description of Compton's properties' suitability for performances allows me to conclude along with some previous commentators that contemporary stagings of the dramatic items could conceivably have taken place in Compton's own time and homes. My analysis of the play-texts for evidence of direct theatrical use turned up no proof of such involvement, and my investigation of them for textual dramaturgical suggestions (the first thorough effort of the kind to be conducted with the texts) illuminates each play's theatrically active content, but does not show any definite evolution over time of such matters. However, it does show that the plays with the most overtly theatrical elements (swordfights, music, etc.) are among those indicated as later works by the earlier source investigation.

I created the first diplomatic transcripts of Compton's texts,¹ and from them the first performance-ready editions.² Using the performance editions, I facilitated the first performances in modern history, and possibly ever, of the ten dramatic items, in order to generate a deeper understanding about how the items might work onstage. The editing process offered new information about how the texts (especially *Bassianus*) were composed and revised, and the staging process further illuminated some minor theatrical difficulties in the plays that could show which texts were not in a stage-ready condition in their surviving drafts. It also showed what the physical and spatial demands of the pieces are, affirming that they could have been staged with little technical support in private houses, minor dramaturgical difficulties aside.

Again engaging in detail with the work of previous scholars, I showed that Compton's output spans many of the genres common to the period, that his consumption of varied source material—though impressive—is not without precedent, and that his contribution to 17th century drama is less a unique one than an additional page in the book of the era's general trends; while his social station did not make him unique as a playwright, I have argued that Compton's discreet participation in 1650s Royalist conspiracies does make him quite unique as a dramatic writer, and that his textual output (as it progresses in my proposed dating and ordering) matches the changing general mood of the ousted Royalist party very well throughout the era. I have suggested that the pieces seem to be less concerned with active theatrical entertainment than the communication of political theory of a broadly Royalist doctrine, and particularly in the case of *Bassianus* may be suggesting strategies for coping with and even toppling a usurper such as Cromwell was

¹ The one exception is *Bassianus*, which had been transcribed imperfectly by Centerwall, presumably from digital images rather than from the original, and by Boparai who was obliged to do so in great haste, leaving room for some minor corrections.

² I also created more easy-to-interpret editions of the nondramatic items.

perceived to be. As Compton's brother was highly involved with Royalist conspiracy, and Compton himself subtly so late in the Interregnum, I proposed that the plays might have been meant as a way of communicating advice to the Royalist underground, or at the very least they show Compton articulating views that seem likely to have been his own.

Most of the major thematic trends and repeated story elements in Compton's texts are fairly obvious elements for Royalist writing such as martyred kings and usurping tyrants, though I have suggested that Compton may have participated in a trend of using female roles to represent abstract concepts like royal power, which even if not unique, still would show a creative intellect beyond the strictly literal. Reading the collection from that perspective seems to reveal Compton showing that the royal power can be horribly abused but cannot be properly taken by force, and will eventually find its way back to a deserving recipient. Even *The Mandrake*, translated from another time, place, and language, so an unlikely candidate for contemporary allusion, gains a meaning perfectly in keeping with the rest of the collection when read as a celebration of a Royalist gentleman returning to England and taking over the resources and the ruling power from the impotent old Commonwealth man. Compton's plays cannot be called brilliant theatrical pieces, but they hint at a creative mind adept at converting hugely varying types of source material into a product that served his political perceptions.

As I noted in the Introduction, this thesis may seem to have an unusual form for Drama Department work, as it dwells for so long on the labours of the study before moving to the studio and finally reflecting on the larger contextual situation. However, with gross distortions about the collection's context being made in the *TLS* even in the very recent past, I began my work confident that great care was required in gathering and studying the available data before moving to the more subjective realm of theatrical experimentation, in order to ground that later research and give it contextual validity. That belief has become a firm conviction, as the patient literary study of the earlier chapters made the interesting findings from the dramaturgical chapters contextually meaningful, and allowed the collection to be positioned with a large degree of confidence in the larger picture of the dramatic activity of the 17th century.

Appendix 1: Detailed Plot Synopses

The synopses provided here are only for the collection's texts that are central to this study, and are large enough to need a longer description than can be accommodated in Chapter 2. They are arranged alphabetically by the adopted titles in order to reduce confusion caused by those with multiple drafts and differing levels of completeness. Action is divided only by the scenes and acts noted in the manuscripts.

Agamemnon (60276; 60277): Act 1: Thyestes' ghost enters, unhappy to find himself outside the ill-fated house of Pelops, and wanting to return to the preferable torments of the underworld. He recounts his old crimes: defeated by his brother, he consumed his own children and lay with his own daughter, fathering a new child by incest. Now, though, Agamemnon is returning victorious from Troy after ten years, but Thyestes foresees that he will be murdered by his wife and beheaded. Aegisthus, product of Thyestes' incest, will be the driving force. Thyestes sees day approaching, and withdraws.

Act 2: Clytemnestra speaks with her nurse Althea about how chastity and noble traits are gone, and crimes must now follow crimes. Clytemnestra decides to use deception and follow the examples of past stepdames and other wronged women. She explains that jealousy has her seeking revenge, and she decides to give up the metaphorical rudder in the storm to allow her emotions to take her where they will. Althea tells her that she will be safe if she does not act extremely, but rather respects her husband and children. Clytemnestra retorts that Agamemnon has betrayed her by sacrificing one of their daughters in order to get the fleet initially moving, and has been unfaithful to her repeatedly while he has been away, now bringing home with him a mistress.

Aegisthus enters, steeling himself for the act to come, but finds Clytemnestra suddenly wavering in her conviction to kill Agamemnon, and considering repenting of her own affair with Aegisthus. He tries to talk her out of it, saying that crowns and wedlock cannot endure sharing, and that Agamemnon will be looking for excuses to punish her. She resists, throwing Aegisthus' incestuous conception in his face. He explains that he is used to exile and woe, and offers to plunge his sword into his chest if she truly wants to reject him. Clytemnestra relents, and they retire to discuss the situation.

Act 3: Clytemnestra encounters a messenger (Eurybates), announcing Agamemnon's return. He describes how the sea journey home met with disaster, with storms and rocks

destroying much of the fleet and killing many Greeks. Clytemnestra takes the bittersweet news of the return of the remnant and calls for celebration. She notices the entrance of captive Trojan women with Cassandra.

A Trojan Lady mournfully recounts the fall of Troy, complete with the Trojan Horse. Cassandra tells of her own personal tragedies with the loss of her entire family. She then goes into a trance of Apollo, against which she struggles, but then she foresees Agamemnon's murder, and perceives her own dead relatives, promising to join them soon. She collapses, and the women tend to her.

Act 4: Agamemnon arrives, and cheerfully speaks to Cassandra, who hints at his fate, though he does not understand the references. He exits to the house.

Act 5: Cassandra describes what happens in the house: at a banquet, Clytemnestra persuades Agamemnon to wear a robe that she has made. It is magical and entangles him. Aegisthus stabs the struggling Agamemnon, Clytemnestra beheads him, and then both mutilate the corpse.

Electra enters with her brother Orestes, urging him to flee before their mother Clytemnestra turns on them too. She disguises him, and a chariot arrives.

Agamemnon's old friend Strophius enters with his son Pylades. Electra tells him of the murder, and he agrees to take Orestes to safety. He improves Orestes' disguise, and the three males depart. Electra resolves to confront her father's killers.

Clytemnestra and Aegisthus return. Electra tries to shame Clytemnestra, and refuses to tell them where Orestes is. Electra offers herself for them to kill, but Aegisthus decides to torment her with prison instead. Clytemnestra orders Cassandra's execution, who willingly goes, looking forward to reuniting with her family in the afterlife, and warning Clytemnestra that she will suffer for her actions.

Bassianus (60281): Act 1: Military commander Macrinus, semi-retired commander Audentius, and jurist Papinianus discuss the extravagant funeral rites of Emperor Severus. Macrinus describes the spectacle, including Severus' sons Bassianus and Geta, now co-Emperors, setting the pyre alight. Macrinus and Audentius go to attend on the Emperors. Alone, Papinianus laments that power rules in Rome now, and the politicians simply try to appease their tyrants. He says that Severus was the worst of men, and that oppression has consumed the state.

Bassianus and Geta speak to their supporters, Audentius, Macrinus, Julia (Geta's mother), Plautilla (Bassianus' wife), and Martinianus (Bassianus' henchman). The co-Emperors promise to rule together peacefully.

Bassianus says that he learned from Severus that his safety lies in his sword, since he did not gain his title through heredity but by his father's swimming through blood. Martinianus warns him that he is at risk sharing power with Geta, son of Bassianus' stepdame, since crowns and marriages cannot endure sharing. Bassianus says that the time is not ripe, and that his deformed looks mean the soldiers may not follow him as easily as the mild Geta. Martinianus dismisses that because power wins women and others. Martinianus opines that Geta must die, but Bassianus says that the perfect time must be found, and a politician's skills are needed. Plautilla enters, and accuses Bassianus of no longer caring for her now that he is Emperor. He tries to convince her that he loves and obeys her, and that Julia, who has scorned her and Martinianus in the past, now has no power over them. Plautilla ambiguously implies that Geta is a threat to Bassianus. Bassianus feigns innocence of any ill plans, and changes the subject to tell Plautilla that he has written up his will to include great benefits to her. He sends Martinianus to summon Papinianus to finalise the will. Plautilla mentions Geta again, but Bassianus again claims to be happy with the present arrangement. She leaves, hoping that her concerns are misguided. Bassianus worries that Plautilla with her boldness is a threat, and that she might seize popular support if he kills Geta, so he decides that she must die as well as Geta. Martinianus returns with Papinianus; Bassianus gives Papinianus his will and tells him to make it official. He and Martinianus leave. Papinianus looks at it and worries at the size of the gifts to Plautilla, guessing that she will never collect.

Act 2: Julia complains of losing her power along with her husband Severus. Geta tries to comfort her that she still commands Geta who is co-Emperor. She warns him that Bassianus will surely try to kill him to rule alone, and that Geta must kill him first, though Geta argues that Bassianus would never do such a thing. He warns that the army can be dangerous if given too much power, and the people's hate destroys princes. Julia is exasperated with Geta's clinging to honour rather than sensible policy, and leaves him to think about it. Geta is troubled by what his mother has said, and decides to summon Papinianus to counsel him.

Macrinus gossips to Papinianus about Plautilla's suddenly going to Sicily by sea, though Papinianus thinks that he is talking about Julia. They resolve the misunderstanding and wonder if Plautilla fled because Bassianus previously killed her father and she was suspicious about the large will settlement. They discuss whether her father deserved to die for being a plotter, and agree that the army now has too much power. Macrinus sees a temptation to retire from Rome in peace, but worries that if the

good do so, it will leave only the bad in control. Papinianus calls forward his younger brother Martialis and asks Macrinus to train him in the ways of politics and military life, and Macrinus accepts. Martialis states that he carried a cohort's banner in the British wars, and Macrinus makes him a centurion. Macrinus and Papinianus discuss how Martinianus is corrupting the courts and Senate. A messenger (Pantilius) summons Papinianus to Geta. Macrinus tells Martialis that he will train him well.

Geta says that those who wish they were in command are foolish, since they have a peace that rulers can never have. Papinianus comes in, and pays respects to Geta's honour. Geta tells him about Julia's advice to kill Bassianus, and how Geta is tempted to retire from public life. Papinianus warns him that it would allow Bassianus to kill Geta and also destroy the empire. Geta resolves to stand up to Bassianus and Martinianus. Pantilius enters, reporting Martinianus' presence. Martinianus pushes his way in, and is scolded by Geta for his impertinence. Martinianus is haughty, saying that he has privileges from Bassianus, and has a message. Offended by the scolding he offers to leave, but Geta demands his message, and Martinianus tells him that Bassianus requests his company at Julia's quarters to discuss the war with Parthia. Geta says that he will attend, and Martinianus leaves. Geta and Papinianus discuss his impertinence, and Geta says that he will summon Papinianus again after the meeting.

Act 3: Martinianus tells Bassianus of Geta and Papinianus' scolding treatment. Bassianus assures him that they will be punished. They happily observe that Plautilla is dead and that the people weep. Bassianus tells Martinianus to send word to their agents in Parthia to arrange a new match with the Parthian princess Zelinda, daughter of King Artabanus, as part of a peace treaty. Martinianus worries that the soldiers will be annoyed by a peace by marriage, but Bassianus says that he will not risk himself if he does not have to. They mock those who toil for fame and honour, as the politician wins all in the end. He sends Martinianus to prepare the letter for Parthia, and muses that Geta must die tonight. As he exits, he notes that Plautilla was poisoned, and Bassianus will not be implicated.

Audentius, Macrinus, and Martialis gossip about Plautilla's death, with Martialis guessing that Bassianus caused it. Macrinus introduces Martialis to an impressed Audentius. Papinianus joins them, and is pleased that Audentius likes Martialis. They ask him what Geta had spoken to him about, but Papinianus refuses to betray Geta's trust. He does tell them, however, of Martinianus' rude intrusion, and the meeting at Julia's chambers. They discuss the futility of the Parthian war, though Martialis points out that it is important to keep the army busy as they grow restless otherwise.

Papinianus points out that they could be largely disbanded if they were properly paid off, but that their money is stolen by those above them to enlarge themselves. They agree to meet at Papinianus' home near the palace in case anything is amiss at the meeting.

Geta and Julia await Bassianus. Julia is suspicious of his intentions, though Geta remains trusting. Bassianus and Martinianus arrive, and while embracing Geta, Bassianus stabs him to death. He sends Martinianus to spread a lie that Geta had attacked Bassianus, who killed Geta in self-defence. Julia takes Geta's sword and threatens a surprised Bassianus as she screams for help. Macrinus, Audentius, Papinianus, Martialis, Martinianus, and soldiers enter. It is Bassianus' word against Julia's, and he tells Macrinus to send someone (Martialis) to calm the town. Bassianus tells his lie, though Julia counters, but the soldiers believe Bassianus. Bassianus tells Julia to retire to her private rooms while Macrinus and Papinianus advise her not to make matters worse until the situation can be investigated. As Bassianus gives orders, Papinianus accuses him of setting this trap for Geta, based on Martinianus' visit earlier requesting Geta to attend. Martinianus attempts to seize him, but Papinianus fends him off with a knife until Papinianus has told everything that he knows. Bassianus orders him taken to execution, and he goes peacefully as a martyr with the guards. Bassianus tells Macrinus and Audentius to follow his commands, and exits. Martinianus taunts them and exits. Macrinus advises caution as they decide what to do next.

Act 4: Bassianus is suddenly in love, shocked that it would affect him of all people. The target is his stepdame Julia. Martinianus discovers him and is concerned to see him looking angst-ridden, in case it is guilt over his evil deeds, since Martinianus himself might then be at risk. Bassianus notices Martinianus and asks for help for his condition. When Martinianus is incredulous about Bassianus being in love, Bassianus unconvincingly tries to deny that he is turned into a lover, though Martinianus acknowledges that it has affected past monarchs. He suggests exiling Julia, though Bassianus says that he would follow her. He suggests killing her, but Bassianus angrily threatens him and Martinianus apologises. Martinianus says that all women can be won, though Bassianus cannot see how with Geta's blood on him. Martinianus says that he does not understand such rules, and has had personal success enjoying love in wicked ways. He offers to go to her to smooth the way for Bassianus.

Julia laments her fate and contemplates suicide, but worries about punishments in the afterlife. She gathers herself as Martinianus enters. He tells her that Bassianus wishes to visit her. She assumes it is to kill her, but Martinianus explains that Bassianus is

wracked with guilt and seeks forgiveness. She rages about the punishments Bassianus deserves, but Martinianus persistently argues that he cannot return such an answer. Julia is exasperated, but gets an idea and sends Martinianus to fetch Bassianus. Alone, she prepares a dagger to stab Bassianus in the heart. He will be a sacrifice for Geta, and she herself can join Geta in the afterlife. As Bassianus and Martinianus return, Julia acts sad but subservient. He speaks to her apologetically and asks to kiss her hand. Julia allows it. He explains that he is in love with her, and she acts like she is embarrassed to speak of things publicly, so he sends Martinianus away to arrange a meeting with Macrinus and Audentius. Bassianus continues to woo, but Julia says that he could not trust her after injuring her. He claims that he is in fact the injured party for having lost a brother. He asks her to be his Empress and share his bed, but she is horrified by the implication of incest. She claims to be afraid of his sword, so he gives it to her, and offers his defenceless breast. She gloatingly prepares to kill him, saying that she knows that he is already negotiating to marry Zelinda. He says that that began before he fell in love with Julia, and that his present posture proves that he can be trusted. She decides that power is better than martyrdom and accepts. He promises to marry her secretly tonight, but must continue his plotting to win Parthia, now mainly to glorify Julia. He departs. Alone, she justifies her change of heart by saying that she will kill him if he is not faithful, but if he is, she wins her soul's love—power—and that Geta is better off in Elysium where he belongs anyway.

Martinianus tells Bassianus that Macrinus and Audentius are on their way, but are not to be trusted. Bassianus says that they are useful props in keeping the army loyal, and that he can destroy them later. They arrive, and he makes them co-generals of the force to accompany him (in full military equipment) to the wedding on the Parthian border. He dismisses them, and orders Martinianus to stay behind in Rome as his source of intelligence.

Act 5: On the border, Macrinus, Audentius, and Martialis wonder why they are armed for a wedding. Bassianus and others enter, and he orders all ready for the Parthian arrival as the commanders hope that whatever he is plotting will not taint them personally. A messenger arrives from Rome with a letter from Martinianus, but Bassianus gives it to Macrinus, telling him to give Bassianus a summary of the contents after the Parthian meeting. Artabanus, Zelinda, their general Phraates and other Parthians arrive. The monarchs greet each other and Artabanus presents Zelinda, acknowledging that through her, Bassianus will take over the Parthian crown after Artabanus' death. Zelinda and Artabanus say their goodbyes to each other, and she takes

solace in the peace to come. Bassianus, however, throws her back at Artabanus and explains that they plan to take Parthia's crown by force. Artabanus calls him treacherous, and Bassianus introduces Julia, richly attired, as the reason for his treachery. All are horrified, and Phraates tries to lead his King away to safety. Bassianus leads an advance on the retreating Parthians. Macrinus remains behind, and reads the letter from Rome, in which Martinianus claims that soothsayers have determined that Macrinus will be the next Emperor, and therefore Bassianus should do away with him. Macrinus hears sounds of battle, and worries that the Parthians are thus defeated by treachery that will shame Rome. Martialis returns, and describes how he did not personally engage the enemy, and some of the Parthians escaped in a brave fighting retreat. They even pulled Bassianus from his horse, and none helped him. Bassianus and others return, and he rages at the failure of his troops, singling out Martialis for not helping him, and Macrinus for not being visible at all. He accuses them of cowardice and discharges both. They protest that they have noble reputations, but he criticises their choice not to attack an unarmed enemy, since their leader commanded them to do so. He storms off. Left alone, Martialis suggests that they are indeed cowardly for not stopping Bassianus outright. Macrinus advises patience but Martialis craves immediate action. Macrinus agrees, but they then debate who should do the deed. Macrinus shows his more extreme need with the letter from Martinianus, though Martialis makes a more impassioned case. They agree that both will pursue the task, and say farewell in case they do not meet again.

Artabanus, Zelinda, Phraates and other Parthians make it to safety. Artabanus expresses guilt for almost handing Zelinda over to a foe, and thanks Phraates for saving them almost single-handedly. Phraates credits the gods for helping him to protect the royals, whom he would not want to outlive. Zelinda regrets the loss of life but is glad to know the truth about the Roman treachery. Artabanus wishes that she were a man so that she could lead the Parthians' revenge after his death. Zelinda points out that women have been military and political leaders before, but that Phraates is available to lead the Parthian forces. Phraates feels that they should not delay their revenge, and asks permission to give advice. The text cuts off here.

Hercules Furens (60276; partial 60277): Juno complains about being displaced from Jove's bed by harlots, repeatedly making her a stepdame. The target of her resentment is Hercules, son of one of these interlopers. She is annoyed by his fame and success, even in subduing Hell and bringing Cerberus to the Earth. However, Juno plans to set the

Furies and madness upon him, and to live up to the negative reputation of stepdames. As daylight arrives, she exits.

Act 2: Hercules' wife Megara and earthly father Amphitryon enter. Megara describes Hercules' victories, but longs for his return since good and bad have changed places, and the sword currently rules all: the King of Thebes' head had been cut off, and Lycus, a low-born tyrant, now has control. The house is suffering under his domination. She calls to Hercules to return. Amphitryon tries to cheer her up, suggesting that Hercules is sure to return.

Lycus enters, musing about his rise without the help of heredity or nobility, but with the safety of steel. He seeks a match with Megara so that his reign can be legitimised by offspring from her royal blood. He tries to seduce her with the offer of shared power, but she recoils from the touch of her father's killer. He attempts to bully and tempt her but she entirely resists, and he becomes threatening. Amphitryon joins the argument, explaining Hercules' status as a demigod, which Lycus disparages. Lycus orders the temple burned along with Hercules' family and he exits, while Amphitryon prays.

Act 3: Hercules returns with his friend Theseus, wondering if Juno will actually let him rest now. He notices soldiers around the temple.

Amphitryon joyously greets his son, but Hercules notices the mourning clothes on Megara and the general state of despair. Amphitryon quickly brings him up to date, and Hercules resolves to kill Lycus immediately. The others watch as he promptly exits and does so. Theseus then tells Amphitryon and Megara about Hercules' journey through the underworld and its various punishments and denizens. He describes the rescue of Theseus and his and Hercules' efforts to subdue Cerberus and bring him to the surface.

Act 4: Hercules returns, announcing that Lycus and his followers are slain, and calling for ceremony at the altar. After a peaceful moment, Hercules perceives the sky darkening, and goes into a fit of madness, believing his children to be Lycus', and he chases them about, slaughtering them. Megara tries to protect the final child, but Hercules thinks that she is Juno and kills mother and child, as Amphitryon looks on in helpless horror. Hercules faints, and Amphitryon orders his weapons to be hidden.

Act 5: Hercules wakes, initially not knowing where he is or what has happened. He looks for his missing weapons and sees his dead family. He asks his father what happened, and Amphitryon tries not to tell him, but eventually is obliged to. Hercules in despair does not know whether to die or go into exile. He pleads for his weapons in order to kill himself, though his father begs him not to. Amphitryon threatens to kill

himself as well, which eventually halts Hercules. Broken, he accepts Theseus' offer of sanctuary in Theseus' kingdom.

Hermenigildus (60276): Prologue: The prologue explains that stepdame and father will kill an innocent royal son on the stage, who has barely reached adulthood and was due for a crown. His religion prepared him for death, however, and by his death he conquers, with a branch budding from him.

Act 1: Prince Hermenigildus, garrisoned with loyal forces in opposition to his father's, tells his young friend Erasistratus that he wishes to go in submission to his father and attempt to reconcile. Erasistratus warns that Hermenigildus' stepdame and other enemies are poisoning his father's thoughts against Hermenigildus, creating danger everywhere. He advises staying in the safety of the garrison. Their comrade Durias enters, bringing messengers (Athaulpus and Gesnericus) from the King's camp, ahead of Hermenigildus' brother Recaredus. The messengers sue for peace, describing the people's fears at the spectre of impending civil war. Recaredus himself enters and passionately pleads for Hermenigildus to end his armed resistance and speak to their father; Hermenigildus agrees, to the dismay of Erasistratus and Durias, as Recaredus exits with the messengers. Another of Hermenigildus' allies (Alaricus) enters, reporting joy in the King's camp at the prospect of Hermenigildus' return. The friends worry because Alaricus did not see the plotters Hermenifridus and Dariaces there, but they exit, with Alaricus musing alone that the Queen is influencing the King's opinions negatively.

Act 1 Chorus: The chorus cites classical cases of murderous women.

Act 2: The villain Dariaces complains that his plan has failed so far, with Hermenigildus coming in peace. He decides to continue to plot against Hermenigildus, though, as his henchman Hermenifridus enters. Hermenifridus suggests they abandon the plot, but Dariaces urges continuation. King Levigildus enters with his counsellors Cardaces and Sophroniscus, raging at Hermenigildus' disloyalty, and telling his commanders (Dariaces and Hermenifridus) to prepare for battle. They exit to do so. Cardaces urges the King to pursue vengeance, while Sophroniscus advises patience. A young messenger (Igerdes) announces Recaredus' return with Hermenigildus. The King summons Recaredus, who convinces him that Hermenigildus meant no harm. Hermenigildus enters with Erasistratus and Durias. The King reconciles with Hermenigildus and his followers, emotionally. As they exit, Erasistratus still expresses his worries.

Act 3: Alaricus describes the courtly celebration, but worries about the plotters, whom he sees entering. He withdraws to eavesdrop on their discussion. Dariaces and Hermenifridus enter. They complain of their own and the Queen's frustrations, but decide to use Hermenigildus' recent conversion to Roman Catholicism against him in the Arian King's eyes. Levigildus enters with Cardaces, Sophroniscus, and Igerdes. He scolds the plotters for their absence, but they tell him of their concerns about Hermenigildus, telling the King of his son's conversion to Catholicism and conspiracy with the kingdom's foes. They show him supposed intercepted letters to the Catholics. The King has Igerdes fetch Hermenigildus as the plotters retire from view. The King challenges Hermenigildus with the accusation of Catholicism, which he acknowledges. He is stripped of his robes and sent to prison. Sophroniscus and Igerdes fret, and are joined by Erasistratus, whom they inform of the disaster. He decides to seek revenge with his sword, but Igerdes counsels feigned obedience while comforting Hermenigildus as best they can. The envoys Athaulpus and Gesnericus enter, and Erasistratus rails at them for luring Hermenigildus into the King's camp, though they say they had no knowledge of plots underlying their mission. They all agree to seek a remedy.

Act 4: Recaredus laments his part in bringing Hermenigildus to his foes, while the King tries to silence him. Hermenigildus enters, and commanded to defend his case, recounts how when his mother died, his father had promised love and care to him and his brother, but that their new stepmother has persecuted them constantly. He says that the Queen tortured his new wife while trying to make her recant her Catholicism, and after Hermenigildus retired to a town of the King's choosing, he eventually took up arms not in rebellion but to defend his wife. He is sent out, and the King consults with Sophroniscus and Cardaces. Sophroniscus advises patience and rational investigation into the various allegations. Cardaces paints Hermenigildus as the worst sort of dangerous traitor. The King calls the jailor (Leonidas) and discretely orders him to kill Hermenigildus that night. Leonidas balks but is pressured into agreeing. They leave, and Dariaces and Hermenifridus return and gloat, but are challenged by an irate Durias. Hermenifridus keeps Durias and Dariaces apart. The plotters depart, while Durias tries to think of a solution to the crisis.

Act 5: Leonidas agonises over what he has been ordered to do, but calls for Hermenigildus to be brought to him. He miserably tells Hermenigildus that he must kill Hermenigildus with an axe by the King's orders, but Hermenigildus has the patience of a martyr and thanks Leonidas for the news. He asks for a Catholic bishop for his final

confession, but Leonidas says he is only permitted an Arian one, which Hermenigildus refuses. He asks if his wife is barred from visiting, which Leonidas confirms. As Hermenigildus exits, Erasistratus rushes in, encountering Leonidas, who warns him against doing anything that will draw suspicion. Erasistratus grieves while Hermenigildus explains that he is calm. Recaredus enters and bewails having brought Hermenigildus to this fate. He begs Hermenigildus to convert, or at least to pretend to conform, which Hermenigildus refuses, while advising Recaredus not to seek vengeance. The plotters enter to prompt the execution. Hermenigildus says his farewells, giving Erasistratus a golden crucifix for Hermenigildus' wife. He exits to his fate as his friends mourn. Igerdes rushes in to explain that the King has repented and reversed the sentence, but Leonidas returns to say it is too late. His friends mourn and exit to the execution site. The King enters with his counsellors and Durias, ordering the apprehension of the plotters, as Durias continues to ask him to save Hermenigildus. The King sends him to halt the execution, but Erasistratus enters and explains that they are too late. They mourn, as the King rails at himself. Erasistratus recounts Hermenigildus' peaceful final demeanour. Igerdes enters and describes a miracle at the body, where angelic choruses were heard and the torches burned. The body is brought in, and his family and friends mourn while treating him as a martyr. The King orders the body carried off with all respect due to 'a Martird King' (31r).

Leontius, King of Cyprus (fragment 60278; near-complete 60279): Act 1: King Leontius of Cyprus enters with his daughter Olinda, Prince Lucius of Corsica, and others. Leontius thanks Lucius for his recent success in battle against rebel forces that have driven Leontius back into his final loyal town. Leontius hopes the tide might begin to turn now. Lucius humbly asks for Olinda's hand as his recompense. Leontius is content, but asks Olinda whether she is willing. She says that she would defer to her father's wishes, but since Leontius does not have a son and the crown must come to her, she believes Lucius to be the best to share the pleasure of the role but also the burden of managing the rude people of the Kingdom. Leontius is happy to accept the match and finally find a successor, but wonders where Garamantus, younger son of the King of Calabria and one of Leontius' greatest commanders, is. Garamantus enters and Leontius tells him of the impending marriage. Garamantus flies into a rage as he had only fought to secure Olinda for himself, and he and Lucius posture aggressively. Olinda stands by her choice, and Leontius tries to calm the situation by promising Garamantus other rewards. All but Garamantus leave to the temple for the marriage, and alone, he plots to

defect to the rebels and lead them on an attack of the town, taking Olinda for himself by force. Garamantus' henchman Phorbus joins him, asking why he does not attend the marriage. Garamantus explains his resentment and desire for Olinda. Phorbus questions whether Garamantus is skilled in the 'Schoole of Amorists', but Garamantus argues that his attempts to woo have been met with cool civility. Phorbus promises to follow him regardless of the consequences, and that dolphins and lions will exchange habitats on land and sea before he is disloyal. Garamantus tells Phorbus of his plan to defect, dismissing the loss of reputation and honour that may accompany the decision. They are interrupted by the sound of music as the wedding party returns; Phorbus warns Garamantus to feign affability. Leontius, Lucius, and Olinda return with priests of Mars and Hymen, who sing a celebratory song as they cross the stage. Garamantus fakes an apology to Lucius and Olinda, and with all forgiven, they invite him to attend the end of the ceremony, and exit. Phorbus warns Garamantus to listen to his advice since he had piloted Garamantus through the danger of encountering the wedding party, and to disguise himself as a common soldier while leaving the town.

Act 2: Three soldiers and their corporal grumble about having guard duty on the wedding night; one complains that he did not get permission to play his fiddle, and that they have no liquor. Captain Mutius brings them liquor, but orders them not to get drunk. They drink to each other and toast the married couple. Soldier 3 asks Mutius to read a poem 3 has written in honour of the marriage, as 3 cannot read his own hand well. Mutius reads the poor and slightly vulgar poem. 1 and 3 argue about whether the poem should be set to 1's fiddle music, and Mutius orders no music to be played while on guard duty. Captain Tricongio enters, jovially sharing in the soldiers' liquor and giving 1 permission to fetch his fiddle. Mutius and Tricongio then argue about their styles of command, and almost come to blows, easily separated by the soldiers. Tricongio leaves, and Garamantus and Phorbus enter disguised. The guards challenge them but allow them through upon speaking the password 'Olinda'.

Melantius in his nightgown complains of how he regrets being sent to aid the rebels against the King, as they were in the wrong from the start: they accused the King of having corrupt advisors while claiming to be the true loyalists; and they demand more money from the citizens than the King ever did before. He worries that if the King wins, their two countries will be unable to return to peace, but if the rebels win, his own country of Sicily will perhaps rebel in kind. Melantius knows his soldiers follow him out of love, but he cannot defect against his own King's orders. A soldier enters, bringing in a youth who wishes to speak to Melantius. The youth is the female Hianisbe

disguised as a man. Melantius dismisses the soldier and speaks privately with Hianisbe, who asks to remain anonymous for now. She says that an evil man is in the town, who has wronged her in the past, and asks that if he ever be taken prisoner, Melantius give the man to Hianisbe to deal with. Melantius agrees, and decides to call her Hylas after Hercules' young companion. A soldier enters, announcing the disguised Garamantus and Phorbus with information from the town. Garamantus asks for private conference and Melantius dismisses the soldier but asks Hianisbe to stay. Garamantus says that he has a way for the rebels to take the town, but Melantius is suspicious, and Hianisbe recognises Garamantus' voice. Garamantus explains that he has a map with the town's weaknesses marked, and reveals his identity, asking only for Olinda in exchange for the help. Hianisbe knows that Garamantus is the man who wronged her, but cannot announce it now for fear of not being believed. Garamantus describes the vulnerabilities, undertaking the most difficult area himself and telling Melantius to cause a diversion at another. Melantius summons the rebel commander Phylanax, and retires into his tent. Phorbus asks Garamantus why he chose the most difficult gate for himself. Garamantus explains that it is closest to Olinda's palace, and he intends to steal her, use her sexually, and then let her choose whether she wants to stay with him or return to the devastated Lucius; he must also venture something to persuade the rebels to trust him. Phylanax enters with another whom he sends to fetch Melantius. Melantius enters, and excitedly tells Phylanax that they have a plan, though Phylanax is incredulous after their recent loss of a battle, but is persuaded by Garamantus and calls for the various commanders. In an apparent aside, Phylanax revels in his chance to rise above the reach of the vulgar, whom he has tricked with promises of liberty, though he notes that Melantius has grown popular and must be marginalised. The rebel commanders Dardamus, Philon, and Corinnus enter, and though they complain that their men are weary from the last night's failed assault, they are enthusiastic upon hearing of the plan. Phylanax puts himself in a more prominent role than Melantius, who is to serve as a diversion and reserve. Melantius orders the attack for midnight and advises all to rest until then.

Act 3: Dardamus, Corinnus and Philon grumble about the unpleasantness of siege assaults and climbing town walls, and mock the ignorant poor who fight without really knowing why. They discuss how they might speak to Rhadamanthus in the underworld to justify their actions, and why Garamantus defected to them when no others have. Philon sends for his fiddlers to entertain them while they drink. A page brings their liquor, and the musicians enter and sing and play while the commanders drink and make

jokes about violence in battle. Melantius enters and scolds them for drinking rather than readying their men. They exit. Melantius grimly thinks of the deaths that will happen tonight, and is glad that he will be a reserve rather than having to kill loyalists. As Garamantus and Phorbus enter, Melantius hopes that Garamantus will be ruined tonight. Phylanax joins them, and they exit to prepare for battle.

Lucius cannot sleep, and is ill at ease that something is amiss. Olinda joins him, asking why he does not come to bed. He explains that he is concerned that he has not seen Garamantus since the wedding, and worries in case he has defected. Calls to arm are heard, and Tricongio comes to warn Lucius of the attack. Lucius summons one with his armour. Olinda has him wear a bright scarf that she has made so that she might see him from her window. He exits to the battle. Olinda laments her fate of having not one full night of peace with her new husband before this danger. Battle sounds approach, so she exits to the turret to watch for Lucius.

Mutius comes from battle exhausted in his armour and having left his troops to fight. He encounters Tricongio and scolds him for not leading his own troops. Mutius claims that he has already killed six soldiers and a lieutenant, and Tricongio resists seeking out his command in case they accidentally wound him. Dardamus and Corinnus enter, and the two pairs exit fighting.

Garamantus enters, frustrated that the attack was not fully a surprise. He calls to Olinda, who appears in her window, and accuses him of being a traitor. He claims to have repented and is trying to save her on Lucius' orders as the town is falling. She is persuaded by his reference to the scarf Lucius wears, and comes down to him. Garamantus seizes her, but offers to spare Leontius if she will take Garamantus for her mate. When she refuses, he threatens to take her by force. Lucius and Phylanax enter fighting, and Phylanax falls. Lucius and Garamantus then fight off, and Olinda retreats to her home. Phylanax then recovers somewhat, giving a long speech regretting his lust for power and deception of the common people, and wishing he had been content in his natural sphere. He dies.

Garamantus returns, having left Lucius surrounded by rebels again. He plans to seize Olinda, but staggers from blood-loss. Hianisbe enters, thankfully unscathed. Garamantus asks her for assistance, but Hianisbe mocks him for his dishonour, then reveals her identity as heiress to Sardinia's throne, and Garamantus' jilted lover. She heaps curses on him as he lies helpless. Phorbus enters, retreating from the failed assault. He finds Garamantus being cursed by Hianisbe, who allows Phorbus to carry him away. Lucius enters wounded, and collapses trying to reach Olinda. Hianisbe

approaches him and takes him prisoner, promising that she is no traitor but a servant to Melantius from outside the kingdom. Several fleeing rebel soldiers enter, and Hianisbe persuades them to help carry Lucius to the rebel camp. Olinda enters, and demands to go with Lucius though he asks her not to and Hianisbe says that they do not take women prisoners.

Act 4: Melantius speaks of the ills of rebellion, and the predictability of its failure. Phorbus enters and apologises for Garamantus' failure to take the town but asks for Olinda anyway. Melantius wants to see her for himself, so calls an attendant, who turns out to be Hianisbe; Melantius is relieved that she is safe, and she explains how they came to have a female prisoner. He sends Hianisbe to fetch Olinda. Phorbus worries that Melantius will fall for her beauty, and Melantius muses about his relief for Hianisbe's safety and again about the futility of rebellion. Hianisbe returns with Olinda, and Melantius promptly falls in love with her. She assumes that he is mocking her as he pledges to do anything she wishes in exchange for her love. Olinda explains that she could not love her country's enemy, and is married, regardless. Melantius blurts out that he is unwillingly opposed to the King and is only following his own King's orders. Olinda explains that Lucius is a prisoner in the camp. Melantius has Hianisbe give Olinda her freedom within the camp as he attempts to gain control of his feelings. Phorbus worries that he has lost control of the situation, but then decides to report Melantius' dislike for the rebel cause to the commanders in hopes of gaining something for Garamantus.

Dardamus, Corinnus, and Philon grumble about their failure in the attack the previous night, discuss how they fight for money, and muse about a political arrangement without a king, where every man is his own prince. Phorbus meets them and informs them of Phylanax's death, as well as Melantius' apparent disloyalty. He advises them to elect a new general, and when prompted for a suggestion, proposes Garamantus. The commanders agree, and Phorbus goes to inform Garamantus of this.

Garamantus is in his sick-bed, frustrated that his loss of blood has rendered him impotent so that he will not be able to rape Olinda if Phorbus has succeeded in securing her. Phorbus enters, and explains that while he has not secured Olinda, he aims at making Garamantus King by getting him control of the rebel forces. They gloat, and then Phorbus leaves Garamantus to rest.

Act 5: Melantius wrestles with his temptation to take Olinda by force. He masters it, choosing instead to be a faithful lover by being chaste and respectful. Hianisbe enters to bring in Cleanthes, a messenger from Sicily. Cleanthes announces that the Sicilian King

has died, and a young King now reigns, who is respectful of the rights of both the common people and the nobility. Melantius is glad that such a good young King has come from the line of the old. Melantius reads a letter from the new King thanking him for his loyalty but asking him to change sides in the war. Melantius is delighted, but wants to minimise the loss of life involved. He sends a servant to summon the commanders, and Hianisbe to summon Lucius and Olinda. Melantius tells Cleanthes that he is about to see the most beautiful woman in the world, though Cleanthes argues that Sicily's are the loveliest. The servant returns and reports that the rebel commanders are following Garamantus rather than Melantius. Melantius resolves to take his own forces over to Leontius, and sends the servant to ready his own commanders. Lucius, Hianisbe, and Olinda enter. Melantius frees Lucius and Olinda, and as he allows Lucius to read the letter, he apologises to Olinda for his earlier behaviour. He tells Hianisbe to get part of his forces to convey Lucius and Olinda safely back to the town.

Leontius speaks with his counsellor Phalantus, lamenting the ill fortune of his reign, and despairing over the loss of Lucius and Olinda. Phalantus encourages him to maintain hope. Phalantus goes to investigate a shout, and Leontius comments on Phalantus' unwavering loyalty through his reign. Phalantus returns, announcing Lucius and Olinda's return. The couple enter, and in the happy reunion bring Leontius up to date on what had taken place in the rebel camp. They exit to prepare for the coming battle.

In the rebel camp, Phorbus tries to encourage Dardamus, Corinnus, and Philon, though Garamantus is not well enough to lead them physically. A parley sounds, and Hianisbe arrives to give the rebels a final chance to lay down their arms, and Melantius will attempt to secure their pardons. The rebels confer privately, with the commanders wavering, but Phorbus strengthens their resolve and they call Hianisbe back. They inform her that they will stand defiant, and she warns them to expect to be charged shortly. Hianisbe leaves, and the rebels go to prepare themselves.

There is an alarm, and then Phorbus enters declaring all lost, and trying to decide how to escape with Garamantus who cannot yet walk. He encounters Tricongio, and they fight, with Tricongio falling. Phorbus exits. Tricongio wonders why he engaged himself as far as he did, and dies.

Leontius, Melantius, Lucius, Phalantus, and Hianisbe enter, victorious. Leontius thanks Melantius for doing most of the work, though Melantius credits the gods for allowing him to change sides. They find Tricongio's body, and Leontius commands that those who died be buried with all rites. Mutius enters with Garamantus and Phorbus as

prisoners. Garamantus is still defiant, and condemns Leontius and Melantius for their past ingratitude concerning Olinda. Hianisbe claims Garamantus as her prisoner, and as she begins to taunt him, he pulls out a small knife and kills himself. Hianisbe reveals her true identity and explains that she had pursued Garamantus first out of love and then hate when she discovered that he was wooing Olinda. She declares that she was chaste when he wooed her, though, which Phorbus acknowledges. Melantius asks Hianisbe to be his, and she accepts, offering to share the Sardinian crown with him. She asks to temper the punishment for Phorbus since he defended her reputation, and banishes him from Cyprus and Sardinia. The text cuts off here due to damage.

The Mandrake (60278): Act 1: Leaveland reminds his servant Trusty that they left Paris a month ago, where Leaveland had lived since being sent there as a boy after his parents died. The English Civil War caused him to remain there, studying and enjoying life, until a debate about where the most beautiful women were ended with an Englishman describing his unmatched kinswoman, Mrs. Soonewrought. A month ago Leaveland and Trusty came to London to see her, and Leaveland is now obsessed with her, though he has been unable to speak with her, as she is virtuous and married to a rich aging lawyer. Leaveland plans to exploit their desire for a child but failure to conceive, and has enlisted an impoverished ex-matchmaker named Lackwealth, who is friendly with Mr. Soonewrought, to help. Lackwealth has agreed to persuade Soonewrought to take his wife to Bath for health purposes, where the social climate will make it easier for Leaveland to approach her. He spies the men approaching, and sends Trusty home while Leaveland himself hides.

Soonewrought complains to Lackwealth that he is not enthusiastic about travel, and makes unimpressive claims of worldliness in his younger days. Lackwealth persuades him to speak more to his wife on the subject, though, and Soonewrought returns home. Lackwealth vents about Soonewrought's tedious company, and the fickleness of Fortune.

Leaveland joins Lackwealth, who talks him out of the Bath plan. Leaveland expresses frustration, but accepts Lackwealth's new plan to have Leaveland return home and dress as a doctor, while Lackwealth fetches Soonewrought.

Act 2: Lackwealth brings Soonewrought to Leaveland's house, claiming that Leaveland is a great doctor come from Paris, where he was a sterility expert in service of the royalty. They knock, Trusty answers, and they send him to bring his master. Leaveland enters as the doctor, and Soonewrought quickly falls for the trick. They

discuss the fertility problem, and Lackwealth prompts them to get a urine sample from Mrs. Soonewrought. They send Trusty home with Soonewrought as they retire to Leaveland's house. On the walk home, Soonewrought complains to Trusty about London being filled with silly people who do not appreciate real worth, and that survival is impossible without an estate, as Soonewrought has. Soonewrought goes inside, while Trusty privately mocks him as a fool.

Soonewrought returns with a urine sample, complaining that his wife fought with him over the issue. They return to Leaveland and Lackwealth. Leaveland pretends to study the urine, and promises Soonewrought a son within a year if Soonewrought follows his advice and gives his wife a mandrake potion that Leaveland has applied to ladies of France with remarkable success. He explains that the potion will kill the first man to sleep with Mrs. Soonewrought, so they must put another man in her bed before Soonewrought himself goes to her. Soonewrought is initially resistant, but is persuaded to apprehend a young man from Covent Garden at night and use him. He suggests using the preacher Mr. Renchertext to persuade his wife to go along with the plan, with help from her mother Lady Horner. Leaveland anxiously wanders while Soonewrought and Lackwealth go to enlist Renchertext.

Act 3: Lackwealth, Soonewrought, and Lady Horner discuss the plan, with Lady Horner exiting to persuade Mrs. Soonewrought. Soonewrought explains that Mrs. Soonewrought has been suspicious and difficult ever since a day in church where another attendee whispered inappropriate things in her ear. Soonewrought gives Lackwealth money with which to manipulate Renchertext, and Lackwealth advises Soonewrought to feign deafness while they deal with Renchertext.

Renchertext enters with an Old Lady, who gives him a small gift and asks him if her sexually insatiable husband is now in Heaven; Renchertext assures her so. She asks if there will be any political troubles this spring, and he says that there will be if the Faithfull's prayers do not avert them. She leaves, and he moans about having to tolerate such old women in order to make some profit. He sees Soonewrought and attempts to greet him, but Lackwealth explains that Soonewrought is deaf. Lackwealth tells Renchertext that Soonewrought's nephew's daughter has become pregnant, and needs an abortion, and they want Renchertext to persuade her custodian to give her the necessary potion. Renchertext cautiously agrees at the promise of money, and Lackwealth leaves to pretend to speak to someone. Renchertext tries to speak to Soonewrought, who continues to pretend to be deaf. Lackwealth returns, happily explaining that the fictional girl has miscarried without assistance. Renchertext suggests that they still make a donation, but

Lackwealth says that now there is another little job for Renchertext to do, of less scandal than what he already agreed to. Caught, Renchertext goes off with Lackwealth to discuss the real matter. Momentarily alone, Soonewrought complains about the situation and how he is being treated. Lackwealth returns with Renchertext, who agrees to play his part. Soonewrought is happy to hear it, and he and Lackwealth walk aside as Renchertext waits for the women to appear. He acknowledges having been manipulated, but is hopeful to profit from the plan. Lady Horner and Mrs. Soonewrought enter, with Lady Horner trying to persuade her dismayed daughter to go along with the plan. Renchertext tells Mrs. Soonewrought that the ends justify the means, with a little sin outweighed by the great good of a child being born. She unhappily agrees, with Lady Horner shuffling her away to prepare for the night's task. Renchertext calls Lackwealth and Soonewrought back, and tells them of his success. Soonewrought blows his cover of feigned deafness in his excitement. The three men separate to see to their tasks until the evening.

Act 4: Leaveland enters, extremely agitated and feeling tempest-tossed, because he does not know what is going on and has been left alone for hours. Lackwealth comes looking for him, and gives him the good news. Leaveland is ecstatic, and says he has prepared a comforting potion of hippocras to pose as the mandrake potion. He then panics, realising that he cannot be taken as the unwitting young man if he is also disguised as the doctor, but Lackwealth concludes that they must all wear disguises, with Renchertext disguising himself also as the doctor in order to free Leaveland to disguise himself as the young man. He coaches Leaveland to pull strange faces and play the lute as part of his disguise. He advises Leaveland that once put in with Mrs. Soonewrought, he should confess his love, and perhaps she will let him return again. Lackwealth leaves to prepare Renchertext. Leaveland summons Trusty to bring out the potion and take it carefully to the Soonewroughts' home. An anxious Leaveland is soon joined by Renchertext in disguise with Lackwealth, and Trusty. Lackwealth, Trusty, and Leaveland exit to put on their disguises. Alone, Renchertext talks ruefully about being manipulated into this situation. Lackwealth and Trusty return in disguise, and then they see Soonewrought in a ridiculous disguise to pass as a ruffian. He complains to himself about his wife's prudishness, and is frightened by the others when he notices them. Regaining his courage, he mistakes Renchertext for the doctor, as they hoped. They claim the doctor's speech is altered with wax in his mouth, and when Soonewrought demands some too, Lackwealth gives him aloes, which cause him to gag. They prepare for their abduction attempt and hear music playing. Trusty investigates and returns to report a young musician (really Leaveland) approaching. Leaveland enters and they

seize, hood, spin, and carry him into Soonewrought's house. Renchetext remains alone, and says that he will pray tonight.

Act 5: Renchetext has been unable to sleep, wondering how the plan worked. He occupied himself by praying, reading the works of William Prynne, seeking night congregations, and brushing his preaching coat. He grumbles about the tepid present state of faith, then conceals himself as Soonewrought, Leaveland (blindfolded), Lackwealth, and Trusty enter. They spin Leaveland and then push him away. When he is gone, Soonewrought tells the others how the night went: he had taken Leaveland into a dark room, stripped him, gave him an amateur physical, then took him to his wife's bed, feeling his member to ensure that all would go to plan. He then spent the rest of the night chatting with Lady Horner. In the morning he had difficulty raising Leaveland, and then called to Trusty and Lackwealth to help throw him out. He briefly regrets the expected death of the young man, but then longs to meet with Leaveland the doctor to thank him for his help. Soonewrought returns inside to wake his wife, and the others go to find Leaveland. Renchetext emerges to express pleasure at what he has heard, but retreats again to eavesdrop on the approaching Leaveland and Lackwealth. Leaveland gives his version of the night, explaining that he was not entirely satisfied with his pleasures, but then had revealed his identity and passion to Mrs. Soonewrought, who finally agreed to take him as a permanent lover and to make him godfather to the anticipated child. They withdraw as Soonewrought enters with his wife and Lady Horner. Mrs. Soonewrought seems different, more ready to talk back, and more confident. Renchetext steps forward to greet them, and then Leaveland and Lackwealth do the same. Soonewrought thinks that he is introducing doctor-Leaveland to Mrs. Soonewrought, and they play along. Soonewrought invites them to dinner, and gives them a key to the back door. Soonewrought gives Renchetext money for his help, and they all exit to the house. Renchetext delivers a final speech to the audience, explaining that they will not see the characters again today.

The Martird Monarch (60282): King Charles I was not a native Englishman, but had an English heart. His father (James I) took over the throne, and when the elder brother Prince Henry died, Charles became heir. A marriage was attempted with the Spanish princess, but religious differences in part made it impossible, and Charles remained faithful to his own religion. James died, and Charles was crowned, and called a parliament. He ended it and called another in his reign's third year. Parliament attempted to wound the King through attacks on his favourite Buckingham. Charles ended the

session, and went to Scotland for his coronation there. Charles then reigned happily for a time, balancing his recreations, devotions, and responsibilities. He attempted to spread the Church of England, and made William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury; Laud had a flaw in being proud towards men, but was still faithful to God. The Church was decked more modestly than the Roman one, but not as barren as the more extreme sects of Protestantism. Having punished religious critics Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, Charles sought to install the same Church in Scotland. The Scots responded with an army coming to the border, and English pulpits sounded with radical and sometimes uneducated preachers railing against the government. This form of long-winded sermon found support with some of the people, and opportunists in Church and State saw a chance to rise, or at least pull down those presently in power. A parliament was called and the armies were disbanded, and soon the parliament was too, as it was growing tumultuous.

The Scots army again appeared on the border, and Charles raised another army. His grand council at York advised peace and calling another parliament, which Charles did. The Scots took Newcastle when Lord Conway's horse were defeated. Parliament voted money to sustain the Scottish army during negotiations, while neglecting the King's. The Earl of Strafford was accused of treason by Parliament, confined, and evidence against him was heard by a closed committee, which was unprecedented. Parliament's main occupation was complaining about the King's counsellors, many of whom were indeed corrupt, though the King did not see it, and against monopolies, which had indeed become a problem. Ship Tax was also a source of irritation, Parliament was to be called at least every three years, and the King's usual subsidy was given to the Scots.

Prynne, Burton and Bastwick were released from prison and compensated; conservative ministers were ejected as popish and replaced with less learned men. Laud and the Bishop of Ely were accused of treason and imprisoned.

Strafford was accused of treason, but while he had made errors, none of his actions were decisively treasonous. All three kingdoms accused him, though, and when the Lords were not expected to convict him, the Commons brought a bill of attainder. The King did not act strongly, and the writer wonders if both Strafford's and the King's heads could have been saved if he had been. Only 59 members in the Commons dissented against the vote, and only 6 of the close committee. Commoners and apprentices rioted, the Lords assented, and the King was persuaded to as well. Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Enemies to Church and State moved subtly, barring churchmen from secular offices (perhaps with some cause). The Lords blocked a move to exclude bishops from that House, and the Commons countered by attempting to pass a bill banning episcopacy entirely.

The Scots continued receiving pay and departed, and the King assented to abolishing the Star Chamber and High Commission.

Another committee sought out traitors, and uncovered a supposed plot to bring the army to intimidate Parliament, led by Goring, the Governor of Portsmouth. Nothing came of it and Goring perjured himself somewhat. The House took a summertime recess. When they returned, they narrowly passed the Remonstrance criticising the King's past leadership. The King returned from Scotland and was given a good welcome by the city. Then at Hampton Court he was presented with the Remonstrance, which he politely accepted.

Tensions on the familiar lines continued, and the King was criticised for bringing a guard from the city, though the Commons used the trained bands to intimidate moderate politicians. The King retained the loyalty of most of the gentry and nobility, but problems increased and he accused one lord and five members of the Commons of treason. With dubious wisdom Charles came to the House to demand them, but they escaped before he arrived, and he was accused of assaulting the House. He tried unsuccessfully to demand them from the City as well. The members eventually returned to the House in triumph, cheered by the common people.

Parliament seized control of the militia, and demanded the names of dissenters in the Lords, which led to many lords leaving the House, feeding the Commons' desires. The King left London, and the Commons succeeded in removing bishops from the Lords, with the King assenting to placate them. He also removed his Lieutenants of the Tower, and moved to York.

Parliament made an ordinance for settling the militia, and the King countered with the commission of array to raise troops. Parliament puts its forces under the Earl of Essex, and the King his under the Earl of Lindsey. The King moved to Nottingham without raising much of a force, but there raised his standard, rallying his supporters. The foes soon met at Edgehill, where the victor was debatable, and Lindsey was killed. The rebels withdrew to Warwick and the King's forces to Oxford, taking the Earl of Peterborough's forces at Banbury on the way. The King was then beaten to London by the rebel army, and though he had defeated rebel forces at Brentford beforehand, the city gave its support to the rebel army, so the King withdrew to Oxford for the winter.

Small battles continued during the winter. The Lichfield garrison fell as the Earl of Northampton was moving to relieve it, and near Stafford he defeated a rebel force under Sir William Brereton and Sir John Gell, but Northampton himself was killed.

Prince Rupert regained Lichfield, and in the summer, the King's power looked quite strong. However, the rebels took Reading. Then the Queen landed in the north with supplies to refresh royal hopes. A battle at Abington saw the rebel Hampden killed. In Northamptonshire, a rebel attack was quashed at Banbury. The rebels were also struck with the plague.

The Marquess of Hertford controlled the largely loyal west, though Sir William Waller brought battle at Lansdown and though the King's party prevailed, they lost Sir Bevil Grenville and the ammunition exploded, forcing a retreat. The horse escaped and with reinforcements from Lord Wilmot defeated Waller at Roundway Down. At the same time, Charles met with his Queen and her reinforcements.

Disease affected the rebels at Reading. Prince Rupert and the Marquess of Hertford took Bristol, and the Marquess of Newcastle held the north, though with the loss of young Charles Cavendish. The King led a siege at Gloucester, but withdrew as Essex approached with lesser forces (which otherwise the King could have defeated). The King pursued Essex towards London but missed several opportunities to defeat him. A battle at Newbury followed, where the rebels held higher ground and the King's party took many losses including the Earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, and Lord Falkland, and Essex himself missed an opportunity to defeat the King's forces decisively if he had pressed the attack as they retreated. Prince Maurice took Exeter, but the summer ended in essentially a draw.

Charles created a political assembly of those loyalist noble and common politicians who were with him to advise him, and his were no foreign forces or foreign Machiavellian statesmen. However, the rebels invited the Scots in to reinforce them against the King.

The winter brought little of significance, though the King lost Newport Pagnell, and a garrison at [R]ossiter was disbanded. As spring approached, Rupert reinforced Lord Newcastle in the north against the Scots, recovering Newark and other towns.

Waller and Essex with larger forces hemmed in the King at Oxford, though he was able to send a force to Dudley Castle to defeat the Earl of Denbigh. Essex left for the west, and the King repulsed Waller's force at Cropredy.

Charles deliberated about whether to move west or north, but heard that Rupert, having raised a siege at York, had his forces scattered whilst pursuing a larger force.

The King therefore opted to move westwards, where Essex had been pushed into Cornwall. Essex escaped in a cockboat, his horse likewise escaped, but his foot were marched off without their arms. The King headed towards Oxford and rested at Newbury, sending five hundred horse to relieve Banbury. He was attacked by the main rebel army, driving him to Bath while his army abandoned their artillery and retreated to Wallingford. However, he was comforted by word that the horse for Banbury had joined with some from Oxford to relieve Banbury, which was within days of falling.

The King's scattered forces coalesced, and under Rupert attempted to attack the rebels at Newbury, but the rebels withdrew and the King's forces regained their artillery. Both forces took to their winter quarters. The King moved to Oxford, while sending some relief to Basing House.

Both sides set about recruiting, and the King sent Goring into the West where he was able to control the field by being active in winter. The rebels offered some peace negotiations, but so biased that the King would not accept them. There was however a modest treaty put in place.

As spring arrived, the King rushed to take the field, losing some horse in a battle with Cromwell.

In the meantime, in Westminster a group that had been operating under the Presbyterians became visible, subtly gathering power. First they framed the Self-Denying Ordinance to take control of the military, under the argument that state business was neglected while politicians were in military positions; it therefore required politicians not to hold military office. However, it allowed them to marginalise the Lords, and put the power of both army and government in the Commons' hands. Essex was therefore removed, and Sir Thomas Fairfax made General, and the New Model Army took shape.

The King moved north with a compact army, storming Leicester, but moved back towards Oxford because the rebel army was pressing it. The rebels moved towards the King and engaged at Naseby, where the King's northern horse scattered before action began. The King's forces were routed and he fled with his remaining horse to Raglan Castle, and his various garrisons largely fell before the advancing rebels. Rupert's forces at Bristol were defeated, as were Goring's in Cornwall. Also falling were Exeter, Bridgewater, and Stow-on-the-Wold under Lord Astley (now Commander of the King's forces since Rupert was displaced). The King's remaining advisors could not work out a strategy for coping, and lost heart (the writer asks if it would not have been better to fight until death rather than submit to their enemies' rule). The remainder broke into

self-interested factions. Charles summoned his remaining advisors and told them that he was leaving, but did not tell them where. He then disguised himself and left (the writer states that it was not Charles' fault that he was so persecuted, but the effect of his piety and religion).

Charles wandered for ten days with a guide and one servant. He came to the Scottish army, knowing that it was on decent terms with the Presbyterian party and not the more extreme Independent group, and that it had claimed that its entry to England was to safeguard the King. However, he was treated as a prisoner and his servant and guard were sent away. In the meantime, the rebel army captured most of the remaining loyalist garrisons, including Oxford and Worcester.

The Independents allowed propositions to be sent to the King at Newcastle, knowing that he would refuse them, and that it might get rid of the Scots. Charles did indeed refuse anything that threatened his Church or friends. The Scots were then paid to hand Charles to the English, and he was held by commissioners at Holdenby, unable to communicate with friends, family, or his churchmen. The Independents wanted to get him away from the Presbyterian influence of the propositions so sent a junior officer to take him from Holdenby to the army. At first his new conditions were improved, he could see his friends, and the propositions were scorned. The army proposals were offered in their place, and he was visited by Cromwell. Things then took a worse turn and his friends were turned away, and the offers withdrawn. He and his few remaining servants escaped to the coast, but there was no boat waiting. His servants advised him that the Governor of the Isle of Wight could be trusted, so they resolved to cross to the island. Charles sent his servants to ask the Governor for sanctuary, but the Governor forced them to reveal Charles' location. He had secured a ship for escape, but was again taken prisoner.

He was allowed some liberty on the Isle of Wight. The following summer, a Royalist force formed in Kent, and others in the north were joined by a Scottish army. The Kentish force was beaten and retreated to Colchester, where Fairfax besieged them. Cromwell moved north to quell uprisings there. More rashly gathered under the Earl of Holland, but were quickly routed by a smaller force, with Holland captured, Lord Villiers killed, and the rest scattered. The Scots' twenty-two thousand men also were defeated by only eight thousand, with the Duke of Arran himself captured (the writer questions Arran's reasons for invading). Colchester then surrendered, with its commanders Lucas and Lisle shamefully shot to death. Other small uprisings were no more effective.

The Presbyterian party attempted to make peace, but lacked the courage to vote against the Independent-controlled army. The Independents then moved the King to Hurst Castle. They also sent guards to exclude the Presbyterians from the Commons. They then created a court in London to try the King under the court's president, Bradshaw. Charles refused to answer the accusations or recognise the court's authority. The King's friends seemed unable to stir, though one titled man suggested a plan to members of the old Privy Council, but it was not taken up. The King was condemned to die, and was only with great effort allowed to speak with the Bishop of London as his confessor. He was not allowed to choose his chamber in which to sleep his final night, and was taken through his Banqueting House to the site of execution in front of his own palace. He said farewell to his children the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester the day before. His final meal was a biscuit and glass of claret wine. An old servant came to him from his son Prince Charles, and when the old man wept, the King told him to master his emotions. When called to his execution he went bravely, giving a short speech to those around him, and was beheaded in one cut by an anonymous executioner, the official hangman having refused the duty.

The writer then ends the account, directing readers to the King's *Eikon Basilike* as a work of piety and divinity.

Mariamne (60280): Herod is shaken by a dream-visitation of a ghost of the true heir and high priest, Aristobulus, whom he had killed in order to rise to the Judean throne himself, without legitimacy. He attempts to control his fear for outward appearances, and summons those who wait outside. His sister Salome and brother Pheroras enter. Salome suspects that his agitation is caused by his love for Mariamne (his wife and the sister of Aristobulus), who meets Herod's love with scorn. Herod denies that he is so vulnerable to love at his age. Salome presses the issue, suggesting that Mariamne seeks the crown for herself and wants Herod's family dead. Herod discusses his nightmare, in which he saw the stream where Aristobulus was drowned, and Aristobulus' ghost appeared and foretold the horrors that would occur because of Herod and his family, down to the massacre of the children of Bethlehem. The ghost showed Herod his waiting punishment in Hell for his evil deeds. Pheroras tries to calm Herod. Salome suggests that Herod should kill Mariamne to free himself from such an enemy, and Pheroras tells him to let Salome be pilot and take the rudder through the storm. Herod decides to summon Mariamne to answer for herself.

Chorus: Policy gloats for his domination of Justice and taunts her that Justice will not be able to save Mariamne. Justice says that Policy will be cast into Hell.

Act 2 Scene 1: Mariamne laments her fate, saying human souls have become corrupt and common people kill their sovereigns. She complains of sharing a bed with one she hates, and mourns for her brother. She sees justice in overthrowing a tyrant and restoring the rightful line, but stops short of rising against whomever wears the crown, instead accepting her fate. She wonders why Heaven is allowing the bad to flourish, but she concludes that she must simply withdraw from Herod as much as possible while being patient. She notices Salome eavesdropping.

Act 2 Scene 2: Salome joins Mariamne, feigning subservience. She attempts to win over Mariamne, who remains reserved and says that she would prefer an urn to Herod's bed, stating that all of nature will reverse itself, including lions and sea creatures exchanging their habitats, before she returns to his bed.

Act 2 Scene 3: Left alone, Salome plans to report all to Herod, and smugly mocks Mariamne's apparent desire to bring about her own destruction.

Chorus: Virtue and Innocence discuss the sadness of the world's state, but reaffirm that they are the path by which men properly rise.

Act 3 Scene 1: With Pheroras supporting him, Herod challenges Mariamne for plotting against him, in front of judges. She replies that there is no point in defending herself since the verdict is predetermined. The judges mention that her eunuch has already confessed a plot. A judge sentences her to prison ahead of her execution by beheading, while suggesting that Herod retains the right to pardon her. As the court clears, Herod expresses his uncertainty.

Act 3 Scene 2: Herod wrestles with his doubts over Mariamne's intentions, and with the insecurity of being a usurper. He decides to give up his position and removes his diadem and robes.

Act 3 Scene 3: Salome joins Herod and questions his behaviour. She encourages him to go through with the verdict while he argues mercy. Eventually she persuades him and he dons the trappings of office again.

Chorus: Calumny gloats that Truth is submitting to him, while her father Time tells Calumny that everything will turn out for good in the end. Truth calls to Time for help, but he cannot affect Calumny at the present, who mocks him for it.

Act 4 Scene 1: Mariamne reflects on her sad state, but accepts the will of Heaven, and concludes that the rewards of the afterlife are preferable to mortal existence anyway.

Act 4 Scene 2: A jailor comes to her to tell Mariamne that she is to be executed. She contentedly goes with him as an assured martyr.

Chorus: Calumny greets Policy, and shows off his prisoners Truth, Virtue, and Innocence. Policy brags that he chased Justice back to Heaven. Truth calls to Justice to return. Policy offers them freedom if they convert to Policy and Calumny's behaviour. The three prisoners refuse. Justice from above appears and says that she will soon return to make things right.

Act 5 Scene 1: A Nuntius enters, in despair over the sight of Mariamne's execution. He attempts to conceal himself as Herod enters. Herod expresses a change of heart to belief in Mariamne's innocence, suspecting Salome of manipulating him. He spies the Nuntius under a tree, weeping. Herod presses the evasive Nuntius to tell him what troubles him, and when the Nuntius eventually mentions Mariamne, Herod interrupts to tell him to run and release her from prison. The Nuntius explains that she is dead, and Herod is devastated. Herod demands to know what happened, and lies down to hear it. The Nuntius explains how the common people flocked to the place of execution, wishing that Mariamne would be saved and cursing Herod, Salome, and Pheroras. Mariamne smiled on the people and thanked them, and summoned her two young sons. They cried and wanted revenge on Herod, but she told them to be patient and obedient and that she is willing to go to Heaven. Mariamne's mother rushed forward and pulled her hair and blamed her for not being a good wife to Herod. Mariamne wished to have died before that moment, and returned to the executioner, who severed her head. The people descended into shock and grief. Herod wants to kill himself, but the Nuntius holds him back, telling him to rule well from now on to honour her memory.

Act 5 Scene 2: Salome and Pheroras join them, but Herod drives them off in a fury. He then grows drowsy and falls asleep on the ground. Pheroras and Salome return, and mock the Nuntius as he warns them that Herod will punish them if he sees them. Herod wakes, having forgotten what has transpired. He greets his siblings and asks for Mariamne to be summoned. When none do so, he grows angry, until the Nuntius explains again that she is dead. Herod turns on his siblings and exiles them. They exit. The Nuntius worries that Herod is going mad, as he sees a burning star in the sky and believes it to be Mariamne smiling down on him in forgiveness. He pledges to live in repentance.

Appendix 2: Handwriting Comparison Chart

Note that the Northampton hand's sample is primarily from Compton's post-19 March 1643 letter, with the following letters being exceptions: F, j, L, and W (18 April 1643); O (23 February 1645); K (26 February 1645); D, P, z, y^r (18 July [1645]); G, V (22 July 1645); J, q (24 July 1645); R, T (later 24 July 1645); & (21 November 1655).








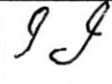





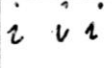


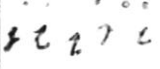

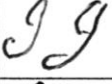






Manuche's sample comes from the dedication in 'The Banish'd Shepheardesse'.



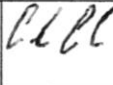











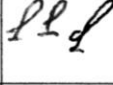


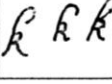
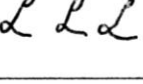
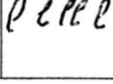
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Northampton hand	<i>A</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i>
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)	<i>A A</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>B B</i>	<i>b</i>
long 'Leontius' (60279)	<i>A</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i>
short 'Leontius' (60278)	<i>A B</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i>
22 Jan 1664 letter	<i>A</i>	<i>aaa</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>b</i>
24 May [1673] letter	<i>A</i>	<i>aa</i>		<i>b</i>
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem		<i>aa</i>		
Manuche	<i>A A A</i>	<i>aaa</i>	<i>B B B</i>	<i>b b b</i>

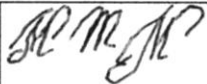
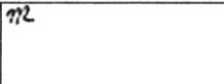
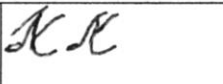
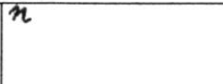
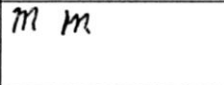
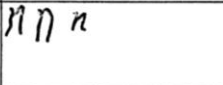




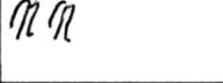

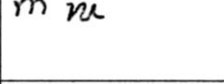
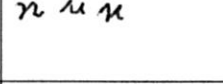
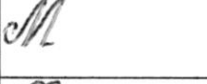
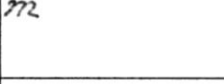
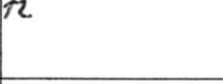
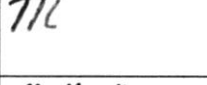
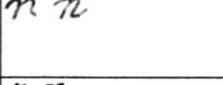
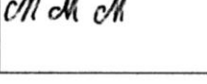
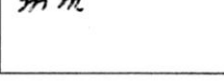
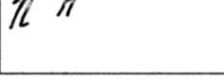
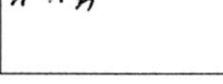
	C	c	D	d
Northampton hand	<i>C</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>d</i>
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)	<i>C</i>	<i>CTT</i>		<i>d</i>
long 'Leontius' (60279)	<i>C</i>	<i>cc</i>		<i>d</i>
short 'Leontius' (60278)	<i>C</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>d</i>
22 Jan 1664 letter	<i>C</i>	<i>CTCTT</i>		<i>d</i>
24 May [1673] letter	<i>C</i>	<i>cc</i>		<i>d</i>
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem		<i>c</i>		<i>d</i>
Manuche	<i>C C</i>	<i>ccc</i>	<i>D D</i>	<i>d d</i>

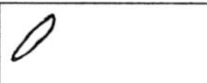
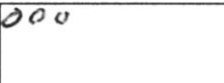
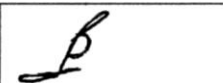
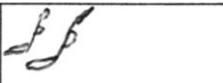

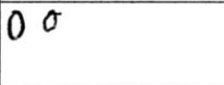
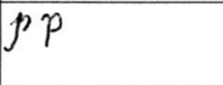






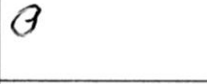
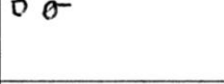
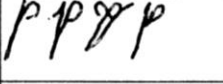
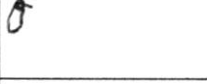
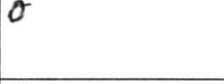
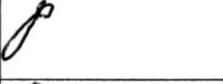
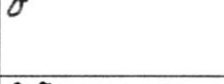
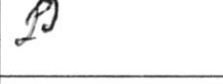
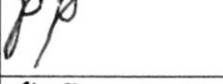
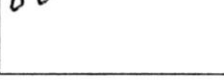
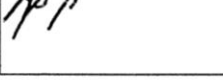
	E	e	F	f
Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem				
Manuche				




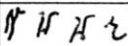







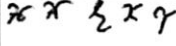

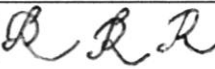

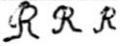
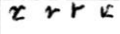
	G	g	H	h
Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem				
Manuche				


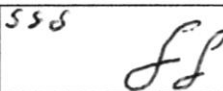

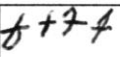

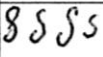


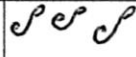
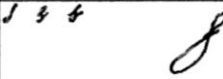

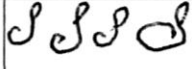


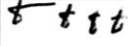
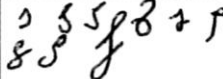

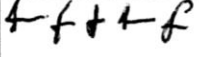


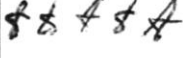

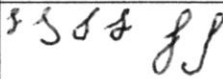



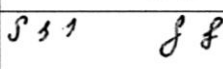
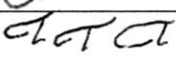
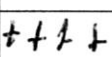
	I	i	J	j
Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem				
Manuche				





	K	k	L	l
Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem				
Manuche				





	M	m	N	n
Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 Arcadia poem				
Manuche				

	O	o	P	p
Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 Arcadia poem				
Manuche				

	Q	q	R	r
Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem				
Manuche				

	S	s	T	t
Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem				
Manuche				

	U	u	V	v
Northampton hand		u u		v v
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)		u		u v
long 'Leontius' (60279)		u u		u v
short 'Leontius' (60278)		u		u v
22 Jan 1664 letter		u u v u		v
24 May [1673] letter		u u g		v g
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem		u u		v
Manuche		u v u		v





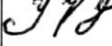

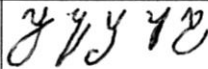




	W	w	X	x
Northampton hand		w w		x
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)		w		x
long 'Leontius' (60279)		w		x x
short 'Leontius' (60278)		w		x
22 Jan 1664 letter		w		x g
24 May [1673] letter		w		x
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem		w		
Manuche		w w		x

Y

y

Z

z









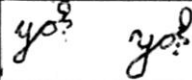


Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem				
Manuche				

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?

Northampton hand				
good 'Hercules Furens' (60277)				
long 'Leontius' (60279)				
short 'Leontius' (60278)				
22 Jan 1664 letter				
24 May [1673] letter				
1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem				
Manuche				

Appendix 3: Statistical Tables

Table 1: Watermarks

17 Nov 1647 letter	? [unable to examine]
21 Nov 1655 letter	? [unable to examine]
1660s letter	? [unable to examine]
24 May [1673] letter	? [unable to examine]
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	? [unable to examine]
22 Jan 1664 letter	none
8 May 1643 letter	square shield
26 Feb 1645 letter	small shield
21 Mar 1645 letter	[small shield]
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	[shield] (73); blank (74)
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	DVRAN shield (40,38,37,35), blank 36,39,rear cover
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	DVRAN (16, upside-down front cover, 2,10,14,17,19,21) blank (1,3,4,6,7,8,9,11,12,13,15,18,20); [? 5 stub]
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	DVRAN (upside-down 23,25,27,30,32,33,34); blank (22,24,26,28,29,31)
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	'tassel hat' (1,4,6,11,12,14,16,18,20,22, 24,29,31,32,34,36,37); upside-down 'tassel hat' (13,30); blank (2,3,5,7,8,9,10,15, 17,19,21,23,25,26,27,28,33,35,38)
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	s-pot blob/backwards B/S
18 Apr 1643 letter	s-pot hourglass/blob/D
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	s-pot D/IV (1,3,6,10,13,20,22,26,29,30, upside-down 11,15,16,23,28,33); blank (2,4,5,7,8,9,12,14,17,18,19,21,24, 25,27,31,32,34)
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	s-pot I[L]/B[P] (2,3,6,8,10); s-pot R/c (12,26); s-pot c/s/8/c (13); s-pot P/w (15); s-pot I/s/S (17); s-pot B/s (20); s-pot P/c (21); s-pot R/s (24); s-pot S/L (27); s-pot s/s/4 (29); s-pot L/S/I/S (31)
17 Mar 1645 letter	s-pot M/D/M
<i>Bassianus</i> 60281	s-pot M/LP (1,2,13,14,15,16,20,21,22,23,25,26,27,28,36,55, upside-down 12,24,31,38,39,40,41,43,44,54,56,62,63,64,65,66,67,68,69,70); blank (3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,17,18,19,29,30,32,33,34,35,37,42,45,46,47,48,49,50,51,52,53,57,58,59,60,61,71,72)
26 Jul 1645 letter	s-pot N/L/M

24 Jul 1645 letter	s-pot N/M/I
>24 Jul 1645 letter	s-pot N/M/I
Treatise (60282)	s-pot O/AB (39)
3 Aug 1645 letter	s-pot o/R/P
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	s-pot P/D[B?] (7,16, upside-down 6,8,9,10); partial 3-pronged fleur-de-lis (1); s-pot horseshoe/P (5); blank (2,3,4, 11,12,13,14,15,17,18)
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	s-pot P/DB (19,25,26,29,30,33,35,43,44,47, upside-down 20,24,32,34,36); s-pot O/AB bottom half emerging from open edge (45); top of s-pot emerging from bottom edge (48); blank (21,22,23,27,28,31,37,38,39,40,41,42,46)
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	s-pot [PO]: folded horizontally showing bottom half (1,10,12,14,16,26,27,28,30,41); folded horizontally showing top half (2,3,7,19,21,23,25,37,39,40,42); blank (4,5,6,8,9,11,13,15,17,18,20,22,24,29,31,32,33,34,35,36,38)
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	s-pot PO bottom emerging from spine (48); bottom of s-pot PG emerging from spine (44); top of pot emerging from spine (44); blank (43,45,46)
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	s-pot PO bottom emerging from spine (53,56,58,59,62); top of pot emerging from spine (51,54); blank (49,50,52,55,57, 60,61,63)
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	s-pot PO bottom emerging from spine (75,78,80,84); top half of s-pot emerging from spine (65,68,69,71,74,79,81, 83); blank (64,66,67,70,72,73,76,77,82,85)
22 Jul 1645 letter	s-pot R/D/P
29 Jul 1645 letter	s-pot R/D/P
Mar 1643 letter	s-pot R/h/O
23 Feb 1645 letter	3 balls/crosses
18 July 1645 letter	3 balls D/C/D

I was unable to examine watermarks in the supplemental items that I observed at Castle Ashby, so they cannot be used in this step of the analysis. Williams reports an armorial shield with a hunting horn like Churchill #313-31 (especially #315) in the three Castle Ashby Manuche manuscripts he dates 1655-1666, Family Documents that he saw there dated 1660, 1666, and 1700, a manuscript in Countess Isabella's hand dated 1660-1662, an *ADD 29570* Compton letter from 1644, and in the *60278 The Mandrake* and *Leontius* (1987: 196), but I can see no similarity between the watermarks in these later items and the Manuche ones. Williams suggests that *60278's* watermark links

particularly to the mid-1640s (1980: 405), but I cannot confirm that level of precision in the dating.

Table 2: Dimensions

17 Nov 1647 letter	? [unable to examine]
21 Nov 1655 letter	? [unable to examine]
1660s letter	? [unable to examine]
24 May [1673] letter	? [unable to examine]
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	? [unable to examine]
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	145x185mm
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	145x185mm
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	145x185mm
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	145x185mm
8 May 1643 letter	177x292mm
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	180x300mm
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	180x300mm
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	180x300mm
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	185x295mm
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	185x305mm
29 Jul 1645 letter	188x195mm
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	190x290mm
22 Jul 1645 letter	190x295mm
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	192x296mm
21 Mar 1645 letter	193x310mm
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	195x297mm
>24 Jul 1645 letter	195x315mm
Treatise (60282)	196x289mm
26 Feb 1645 letter	196x303mm
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	196x303mm
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	196x303mm
26 Jul 1645 letter	198x315mm
17 Mar 1645 letter	199x315mm
23 Feb 1645 letter	200x293mm
22 Jan 1664 letter	200x297mm
18 Apr 1643 letter	200x308mm
3 Aug 1645 letter	200x310mm
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	201x299mm; 195x303mm
Mar 1643 letter	201x300mm
24 Jul 1645 letter	203x314mm
18 Jul 1645 letter	220x315mm

There is a range of dimensions, with page widths from 145 mm to 220 mm and heights from 185 mm to 315 mm, but since there is no reason to imagine paper getting progressively larger or smaller over time in a writer's career—and it can be seen in the dated letters that this is not the case—this data did not reveal any obvious pattern.

Certain items shared the exact dimensions, but without a clear pattern where dates are known, I am not persuaded that this is anything more than a coincidence.

Table 3: Original Covers

<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	n/a
Mar 1643 letter	n/a
18 Apr 1643 letter	n/a
8 May 1643 letter	n/a
23 Feb 1645 letter	n/a
26 Feb 1645 letter	n/a
17 Mar 1645 letter	n/a
21 Mar 1645 letter	n/a
18 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
22 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
24 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
>24 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
26 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
29 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
3 Aug 1645 letter	n/a
17 Nov 1647 letter	n/a
21 November 1655 letter	n/a
1660s letter	n/a
<i>Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	n/a
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	n/a
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	n/a
22 Jan 1664 letter	n/a
24 May [1673] letter	n/a
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	bound within <i>Arcadia</i> edition
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	[vellum when discovered?] none now
<i>Hermengildus</i> (60276)	vellum with ties (only back remains)
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	vellum with ties (only back remains)
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	vellum with ties (only back remains)
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	vellum with ties (only back remains)
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	vellum with ties
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	vellum with ties
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	vellum with ties

The positive evidence that can be gathered is that 60278 has a vellum cover with ties still attached, and the quarto 60276 has the same, though with only the back vellum cover still remaining. Furthermore, Williams indicates that 60280 had a vellum cover

when it was discovered (1980: 407), though now it does not, and has only the damaged blank first page covering the text.

Table 4: Stitching

<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	n/a
Mar 1643 letter	n/a
18 Apr 1643 letter	n/a
8 May 1643 letter	n/a
23 Feb 1645 letter	n/a
26 Feb 1645 letter	n/a
17 Mar 1645 letter	n/a
21 Mar 1645 letter	n/a
18 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
22 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
24 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
>24 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
26 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
29 Jul 1645 letter	n/a
3 Aug 1645 letter	n/a
17 Nov 1647 letter	n/a
21 Nov 1655 letter	n/a
22 Jan 1664 letter	n/a
24 May [1673] letter	n/a
1660s letter	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
<i>Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	modern vertical sewing [unsure if original]
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	folded sheet atop another, vertically sewn
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	quired in 1 gathering, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn; ff.14-15 insertion
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	quired in 1 gathering, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	quired in 1 gathering, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	quired in 1 gathering, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	quired in 1 gathering, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn; ff.14-15 insertion
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	quired in 1 gathering, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn; ff.14-15 insertion
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	quired in 6 gatherings, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	quired in 6 gatherings, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	quired in 6 gatherings, 5 stabblings, vertically sewn
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	quired in 6 gatherings, 5 stabblings,

	vertically sewn
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	11 disjunct leaves followed by 1 gathering of 12 folded sheets [possibly all one gathering originally], 5 stabbings, vertically sewn
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	bound within <i>Arcadia</i> volume

The short, loose, and fragmentary items lack stitching information due to their present condition.

Table 5: Textual Margins

<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	generous and consistent left/top/bottom/right
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	fairly consistent left/right/top/bottom
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	quite good left/top/right/bottom
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	small good left/top/bottom, right fair/ragged
24 May [1673] letter	good left/top/bottom, right fair/ragged to edge
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	good left/top/bottom, fair ragged right
18 Apr 1643 letter	good left/top/bottom, right to edge
23 Feb 1645 letter	good left/top/bottom, right to edge
24 Jul 1645 letter	good left/top/bottom, right to edge
>24 Jul 1645 letter	good left/top/bottom, right to edge
26 Feb 1645 letter	good left/top/bottom, right ragged to edge
17 Mar 1645 letter	good left/top/bottom, right ragged to edge
21 Mar 1645 letter	good left/top/bottom, right ragged to edge
21 Nov 1655 letter	good left/top/bottom, right ragged to edge
1660s letter	good left/top/bottom, right ragged to edge
22 Jan 1664 letter	good left/top/bottom, right ragged to edge
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	good left, decent top/bottom, fair ragged right to edge
18 Jul 1645 letter	good left/top, bottom fair, right to edge
26 Jul 1645 letter	good left/top, bottom fair, right to edge
29 Jul 1645 letter	good left/top, bottom fair, right to edge
Mar 1643 letter	good left/top, right/bottom to edge
8 May 1643 letter	good left/top, right/bottom to edge
22 Jul 1645 letter	okay left/top, right/bottom uneven
Treatise (60282)	good left/top, right/bottom to edge
3 Aug 1645 letter	good left, top/bottom fair, right to edge
17 Nov 1647 letter	good left, top/bottom fair, right to edge
<i>Mariamne</i> 60280	good left, top/bottom fair, right ragged/fair to edge
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	good left, top/bottom fair, right ragged/fair to edge
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	good left, top/bottom fair, right ragged to edge
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	good left, top/bottom fair, right ragged to edge
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	good left, top/bottom fair, right ragged to edge
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	good left, top/bottom fair, right ragged to edge
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	good left, top/bottom fair, right close to edge
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	good left, top/bottom fair, right large/ragged

<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	good left, top fair, right/bottom to edge
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	good left, top/right/bottom to edge

Only 60281's apparently unconnected *Sophius* and *The Captives* as well as 60282's *The Martird Monarch* have consistent borders to the text on all four sides. Elsewhere in the Compton hand, there is usually a good left border, adequate top and bottom borders, and no right border as the text runs to the edge of the page such as in 60276's rough *Agamemnon* and rough *Hercules Furens*, 60277's good *Agamemnon*, 60278's *The Mandrake* and *Don Sancho*, 60280's *Mariamne*, and 60281's *Bassianus*. 60276's *Hermenigildus*, 'The Cavalier', and 'Presbiterian', and the treatise have only adequate left and top borders.

Table 6: Line Levelness

<i>Sophius</i> 60281	cramped
22 Jul 1645 letter	cramped
29 Jul 1645 letter	cramped
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	cramped
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	cramped, some overlap, some curve up right
23 Feb 1645 letter	cramped, curve up to right
3 Aug 1645 letter	cramped, curve up to right
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	some cramping, some curve up right
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	some cramping, some curve up right
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	fair, small, some cramping, some curve up right
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	fair but inconsistent with curve up right
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	fair, inconsistent and curve up right
Treatise (60282)	fair, cramped, some curve up right
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	fair, slight curve up to right
21 Nov 1655 letter	fair, some curve up right
26 Feb 1645 letter	fair
24 Jul 1645 letter	fair
26 Jul 1645 letter	fair
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	close but flat
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	close but flat
Mar 1643 letter	quite consistent
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	quite good, slight curve up to right
1660s letter	quite good, slight curve up to right
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	quite consistent
18 Apr 1643 letter	quite consistent
8 May 1643 letter	quite consistent
17 Mar 1645 letter	quite consistent
21 Mar 1645 letter	quite consistent

18 Jul 1645 letter	quite consistent
>24 Jul 1645 letter	quite consistent
17 Nov 1647 letter	quite consistent
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	quite good
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	quite good
22 Jan 1664 letter	quite good, flat
24 May [1763] letter	quite good, flat
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	good

Compton's particularly cramped texts include 60276's rough *Agamemnon* and rough *Hercules Furens*, 60278's *Don Sancho*, 60280's *Mariamne*, and 60281's *The Captives* and *Sophius*. The moderately neatly written texts include 60276's *Hermenigildus*, 'The Cavalier', and 'Presbyterian', and 60278's *The Mandrake*, and treatise. Tidy but still curved is 60277's good *Agamemnon*. His most consistent texts are 60281's *Bassianus* and 60282's *The Martird Monarch*.

Table 7: Titles

letters, treatise, <i>Arcadia</i> poem	none
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	no
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	no
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	no
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	no
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	? [damage to page-top]
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	? [damage to page-top]
<i>Sophius</i> 60281	? [start of item missing; damage to page-top]
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	Centred above each poem
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	Centred above start
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	Centred above start
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	Centred above start
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	Centred at top of blank page before play
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	Title page; top of each page
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	? [start missing]; Title and Act at top of each page
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	Centred with scene info at top of play

Table 8: Dramatis Personae

non-dramatic items	none
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	no
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	no
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	no
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	no

<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	no
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	no
<i>Sophius</i> 60281	? [start of play missing]
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	? [start of play missing]
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	? [start of play missing]
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	yes before play
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	yes before play
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	partial after play
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	'The Actors Names' before play

Table 9: Page Numbering

letters, treatise, <i>Arcadia</i> poem	no
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	no
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	no
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	no
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	no
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	no
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	no
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	no
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	no
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	no
<i>The Captives</i> 60281	no? [faint marks may be numbers]
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	? [start of play missing]
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	first act numbered
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	text body numbered
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	all undamaged play body pages
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	yes

The first damaged pages of *Mariamne* probably were also numbered, as that would fit the numbering in the rest of the volume (Williams 1980: 407).

Table 10: Act and Scene Headings

non-dramatic items	n/a
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	Act 2.
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	Act 1., Act 2., Act:3., Act:4., Act 5.
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	Act 1., Act 2, Act 3., Act 4, Act 5, some horizontal lines dividing scenes
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	Act 1., Act 2., Act 3., Act 4, Act:5., offset with horizontal lines
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	Act 1., Act 2., Act 3., Act 4., Act 5., some horizontal lining
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	Act.2, Act 3., Act 4 th , Act 5 th , some horizontal lines

<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	Act 2 ^d on each page
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	Act-1 st , Act: 2 ^d , Act 3 ^d , Act: 4, Act: 5 th
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	Don Sancho: Act i Scen 1., Scen: 2 ^d
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	Chorus, Act:2.Scen:1., Act 2.Scen:2., Act:2:Scen:3., Chorus, Scen 1.Act 3., Act 3.Scen.2., Act 3.Scen 3., Act: 4.Scen:1., Scen 2., Chorus, Act 5 Scen 1., Scen:2., some horizontal lines
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	Act 1 ^{us}
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	Actus 2 ^{dus} , Actus 3 ^{us} , Act 4, Actus 5 ^{us}
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	Actus Secundus

Table 11: Speech Headings

non-dramatic items	n/a
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0-full names, some colons, to left, speech starts indented about 1cm
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	1-full names, colons, to left, speech starts indented
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	2 letters with colon to left of speech
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	mostly 2-3 letter abbreviations with colons to left of speech
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	2-3 letters with colon to left of speech
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	2-5 letters with colon to left of speech
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	2-5 letters (mostly 3) with colon to left
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	2-full names (mostly 3), with colon to left of speech
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	2-full names, colons to left of speech
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	mostly 3-letter abbreviation with colon to left of speech
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	mostly 3-letter abbreviation with colon to left of speech
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	mostly 3-letter abbreviations with colon to left of speech
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	3-full, centred above speech, with colons

Compton's speech heading style differs slightly from the other hands', and on average consists of a three-letter name abbreviation followed by a colon to the left of the start of the speech. However, there is as much variation within given items as between items, so a pattern cannot really be seen. The only significantly different item is the good *Agamemnon*, which has abbreviations and full names followed by colons, centred above the speeches. This difference probably has more to do with Compton's attempt to make a fair copy than with any major difference in time of writing.

Table 12: 'e' Ampersands

17 Nov 1647 letter	n/a
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	n/a
Mar 1643 letter	0%
18 Apr 1643 letter	0%
8 May 1643 letter	0%
23 Feb 1645 letter	0%
26 Feb 1645 letter	0%
17 Mar 1645 letter	0%
21 Mar 1645 letter	0%
18 July 1645 letter	0%
22 July 1645 letter	0%
24 July 1645 letter	0%
>24 July 1645 letter	0%
26 July 1645 letter	0%
29 July 1645 letter	0%
3 Aug 1645 letter	0%
22 Jan 1664 letter	0%
1660s letter	0%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0%
Treatise (60282)	11.1%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	36.4%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	56.4%
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	57.1%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	66.7%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	78.6%
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60280)	80.0%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	90.0%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	91.7%
Stellar list (60280)	100%
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	100%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	100%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	100%; some '&' late in the item
21 Nov 1655 letter	50%; 50% '&'
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	0%; some '&' elsewhere in item
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	0%; 12.5% '&'
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0%; 55.6% '&'
24 May [1673] letter	0%; 57.1% '&'
Biblical list (60276)	0%; 100% '&'

Table 13: Long-s

long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	0%
24 May [1673] letter	0%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1.3%
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	2.1%
22 Jan 1664 letter	5.26%
Stellar list (60280)	19.2%
Mar 1643 letter	24.6%

>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	25%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	29.7%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	30%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	35.8%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	35.9%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	36.4%
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	38.3%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (20676)	38.7%
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	38.8%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	39%
8 May 1643 letter	39.7%
Biblical list (60276)	40%
1660s letter	40%
18 Apr 1643 letter	41.7%
26 July 1645 letter	43%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	45.3%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	45.3%
Treatise (60282)	47.7%
29 July 1645 letter	50.1%
22 July 1645 letter	50.9%
3 Aug 1645 letter	51.6%
26 Feb 1645 letter	52.6%
21 Mar 1645 letter	52.8%
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	52.8%
23 Feb 1645 letter	53.6%
17 Nov 1647 letter	56%
17 Mar 1645 letter	57.1%
>24 July 1645 letter	57.1%
18 July 1645 letter	59.2%
24 July 1645 letter	60.0%
21 Nov 1655 letter	64.9%

The two *Agamemnon* drafts are almost identical in their usage (30% and 29.7%), making it unlikely that the percentage varies based on quality of draft, and the variation between 60276 items likewise seems to limit the use of this statistic for ordering texts.

Table 14: e-forms

March 1643 letter	100% 'E'
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	95.8% 'E'; 1.8% 'c'; 2.4% 'e'
21 Nov 1655 letter	95.3% 'E'; 3.8% 'c'; 0.9% 'e'
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	95.1% 'E'; 4.3% 'c'; 0.6% 'e'
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	94.3% 'E'; 5.1% 'c'; 0.6% 'e'
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	94.2% 'E'; 5.1% 'c'; 0.6% 'e'
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	91.5% 'E'; 7.9% 'c'; 0.6% 'e'
Biblical list (60277)	90.1% 'E'; 9.1% 'c'
Treatise (60282)	89.7% 'E'; 9.4% 'c'; 0.9% 'e'

<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	88% 'E'; 12% 'c'
23 Feb 1645 letter	87.1% 'E'; 11.9% 'c'; 0.1% 'e'
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	86.5% 'E'; 1.4% 'c'; 1.4% 'o'; 1.4% 'e'
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	86.3% 'E'; 13.7% 'c'
26 Feb 1645 letter	84.1% 'E'; 15.9% 'c'
21 Mar 1645 letter	82.7% 'E'; 17.3% 'c'
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	81.6% 'E'; 18.4% 'c'
17 Mar 1645 letter	79.1% 'E'; 20.1% 'c'
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	78.1% 'E'; 21.9% 'c'
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	78% 'E'; 21% 'c'; 1% 'e'
1660s letter	73.2% 'E'; 26.8% 'c'
17 Nov 1647 letter	71.8% 'E'; 25.6% 'c'; 2.6% 'e'
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	69.1% 'E'; 28.4% 'c'; 1.23% 'o'; 1.23% 'e'
26 July 1645 letter	69% 'E'; 30.6% 'c'; 0.4% 'e'
>24 July 1645 letter	67% 'E'; 32.9% 'c'
24 July 1645 letter	66.7% 'E'; 32.5% 'c'; 0.8% 'e'
18 July 1645 letter	65.8% 'E'; 34.2% 'c'
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	65% 'E'; 35% 'o'
29 July 1645 letter	62.5% 'E'; 37.5% 'c'
Stellar list (60280)	61.0% 'E'; 39.0% 'e'
22 July 1645 letter	53% 'E'; 45.2% 'c'; 1.8% 'e'
8 May 1643 letter	50.7% 'E'; 46.7% 'c'; 2.6% 'e'
3 Aug 1645 letter	57.7% 'E'; 41.1% 'c'; 1.2% 'e'
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	11.5% 'E'; 3.6% 'c'; 81.3% 'o'; 3.6% 'e'
18 Apr 1643 letter	9.1% 'E'; 60.6% 'c'; 30.3% 'e'
22 Jan 1664 letter	2.22% 'E'; 92.22% 'o'; 5.5% 'e'
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0.6% 'E'; 47.9% 'c'; 38.3% 'o'; 13.2% 'e'
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	0.5% 'E'; 0.5% 'c'; 57.6% 'o'; 41.4% 'e'
24 May [1673] letter	0% 'E'; 14.6% 'c'; 85.4% 'o'

The 'E' form is generally Compton's most common, which is not the case in the other hands in the collection. As can be seen in the variety within the private letters, where March and April 1643 letters are at opposite ends of the spectrum even though they are written for similar purposes with very little time difference, the statistic is perhaps not very reliable for ordering the items in the collection.

Table 15: 'y^e' usage

8 May 1643 letter	100%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	91.7%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	85.7%
Treatise (60282)	82.4%
March 1643 letter	77.8%
17 Nov 1647 letter	66.7%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	62.5%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	61.5%

<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	60%
18 Apr 1643 letter	58.3%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	50%
21 Nov 1655 letter	50%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	50%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	40%
1660s letter	40%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	37.5%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	36.4%
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	33.3%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	30%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	20%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	18.2%
3 Aug 1645 letter	11.1%
29 Jul 1645 letter	8.3%
23 Feb 1645 letter	0%
26 Feb 1645 letter	0%
17 Mar 1645 letter	0%
21 Mar 1645 letter	0%
18 Jul 1645 letter	0%
22 Jul 1645 letter	0%
24 Jul 1645 letter	0%
>24 Jul 1645 letter	0%
26 Jul 1645 letter	0%
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0%
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	0%
22 Jan 1664 letter	0%
24 May [1673] letter	0%

Compton's usage of 'y^e' to abbreviate 'the' varies from 100% to 0% in the text sampling. However, the full range is covered non-chronologically within his letters, and along with the scattering of the 60276 texts there does not seem to be a certain progression in time or draft quality.

Table 16: 'y^e' usage

8 May 1643 letter	100%
17 Nov 1647 letter	100%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	100%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	100%
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	100%
Treatise (60282)	87.5%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	80%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	80%
21 Nov 1655 letter	66.7%
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	50%

<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	50%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	20%
Mar 1643 letter	0%
18 Apr 1643 letter	0%
23 Feb 1645 letter	0%
26 Feb 1645 letter	0%
17 Mar 1645 letter	0%
21 Mar 1645 letter	0%
18 Jul 1645 letter	0%
22 Jul 1645 letter	0%
24 Jul 1645 letter	0%
>24 Jul 1645 letter	0%
26 Jul 1645 letter	0%
29 Jul 1645 letter	0%
3 Aug 1645 letter	0%
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	0%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	0%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	0%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	0%
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	0%
22 Jan 1664 letter	0%
1660s letter	0%
24 May [1673] letter	0%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	0%

Compton's usage ranges 100-0%, but it can be seen in the private letters that there is not a development over time. However, the clustering of the 60276 drafts in the 100-80% range, along with the division between *Agamemnon* drafts of 100% and 0%, may hint at some sort of faintly decreasing usage as the quality of draft improves.

Table 17: 'y^r' usage

<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	n/a
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	n/a
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	n/a
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	n/a
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	n/a
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	100%
21 Mar 1645 letter	100%
18 Jul 1645 letter	100%
22 Jul 1645 letter	100%

>24 Jul 1645 letter	100%
26 Jul 1645 letter	100%
29 Jul 1645 letter	100%
3 Aug 1645 letter	100%
17 Nov 1647 letter	100%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	100%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	100%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	100%
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	100%
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	100%
21 Nov 1655 letter	100%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	100%
1660s letter	100%
17 Mar 1645 letter	80%
24 Jul 1645 letter	66.7%
23 Feb 1645 letter	66.7%
26 Feb 1645 letter	66.7%
8 May 1643 letter	11.1%
Mar 1643 letter	0%
18 Apr 1643 letter	0%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	25%; 25% 'yo ^r '
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0%; 14.3% 'yo ^r '
22 Jan 1664 letter	0%; 100% 'yo ^r '
24 May [1673] letter	0%; 100% 'yo ^r '

'That' does not occur in many of the samples in either form, limiting the usefulness of the statistic, but when it is present, Compton ranges from 100% to 0% in usage of the abbreviation. Unfortunately, it is used 100% of the time when present at all in the dramatic samples, so does not help differentiate the texts. However, the use of a different 'yo^r' form in several texts already assumed to be in different hands helps to reassure that they really are not simply in a separate Compton hand.

Table 18: Footnotes per Line

Letters	n/a [unable to examine]
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	1:65.30
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1:16.07
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	1:12.40
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	1:5.21
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	1:4.68
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	1:4.00
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	1:3.11
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	1:3.00
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	1:2.95
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	1:2.76
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	1:2.37

'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	1:2.36
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1:2.12
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1:2.08
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	1:2.00
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	1:1.95
Treatise (60282)	1:0.41

Table 19: Most Frequent Corrections

Mar 1643 letter	no repeated
18 Apr 1643 letter	no repeated
8 May 1643 letter	no repeated
26 Feb 1645 letter	no repeated
17 Mar 1645 letter	no repeated
21 Mar 1645 letter	no repeated
18 Jul 1645 letter	no repeated
22 Jul 1645 letter	no repeated
24 Jul 1645 letter	no repeated
>24 Jul 1645 letter	no repeated
26 Jul 1645 letter	no repeated
29 Jul 1645 letter	no repeated
3 Aug 1645 letter	no repeated
17 Nov 1647 letter	no repeated
21 Nov 1655 letter	no repeated
22 Jan 1664 letter	no repeated
1660s letter	no repeated
24 May [1673] letter	no repeated
Treatise (60282)	no repeated
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	no repeated
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	no repeated
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	no repeated
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	a/e (4), d/t, e/i, l/e, n/m, t/d, u/r
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	a/e (4), o/a (4), t/h (4), T/t (4)
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	a/e (10), S/L (8), T/t (7), o/a (6), d/e (5), d/t (5), e/i (5), L/S (5), r/e (5)
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	e/l, T/H
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	e/i (11), i/e (11), l/a (10), a/e (9), d/t (9), c/r (8), e/r (8), o/a (6), o/r (6)
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	e/i (13), i/e (12), a/e (8), t/d (8), d/t (6), e/r (6), u/a (6), r/e (5)
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	i/e (3), a/e, a/i, d/e, e/r
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	i/e (8), e/i (7), d/r (7), y/e (5), y/r (5), r/e (5), e/r (5)
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	i/e (10), l/r (4), r/h (4), r/i (4), y/i (4)
23 Feb 1645 letter	i/e (14)
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	i/e (14), e/i (9), d/t (8), d/e (5), e/l (5), t/d (5), t/s (5), y/e (5)
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	i/e (14), y/e (9), d/t (8), e/a (6), a/e (5), e/i (5), e/r

	(5), t/s (5)
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	t/d (4)
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	y/r (2)

It can be seen that the most common errors are a/e and e/i confusions in Compton's writing, though others are also frequently seen. This data does more to confirm Compton's authorship across items than to help with ordering the collection.

Table 20: Metrical Style

letters	prose
Treatise (60282)	prose
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	prose narrative
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	prose dialogue
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	prose dialogue
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	prose; Prologue in heroic couplets; Chorus erratic ABAB stanzas
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	heroic couplets
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	heroic couplets
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	heroic couplets
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	prose and blank verse
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	prose, blank verse, songs of 8-beat ABCB/DD/EFEF/GG lines, 8-beat verses with 10-beat chorus AA/BCBC, 8/4 with an almost iambic pentameter couplet in the middle in rhyming pairs
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	blank verse
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	blank verse
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	blank verse, some 8/6 syllable parts
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	blank verse, some 8/6 syllable parts
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	blank verse, some 8/6 syllable parts
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	blank verse, some 8/6 syllable parts
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	heroic couplets, triplets, 8-beat ABAB, ABBA, 8/6-beat ABAB, 8/4/4/8/8-beat ABBA

Table 21: Substitutions : Line

letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	0.65:1
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	0.69:1
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	0.91:1

>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	1:1
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1.06:1
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	1.16:1
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	1.2:1
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1.65:1
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	1.66:1
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	1.68:1
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	1.71:1
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	1.79:1
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	1.85:1

I am hesitant to predict a decrease in regularity over time (as is often suggested for Shakespeare's career), since the influence of neoclassicism could well drive a writer towards greater metrical regularity during Compton's lifetime. Compton's poetic texts range in the samples from 0.65 to 1.85 metrical substitutions per line, with *Bassianus* at the low extreme and the rough *Hercules Furens* at the high. The clustering of the rough 60276 and related 60277 drafts at the high end of the range, and the better drafts using slightly fewer substitutions than the rough ones, may support the view of at least loosely increasing metrical regularity through the collection.

Table 22: Trochees

letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	35.8%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	36.4%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	41.7%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	47.9%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	48.8%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	52.3%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	53.7%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	53.8%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	65.3%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	75.0%
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	75.0%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	75.4%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	79.3%

Table 23: Spondees

letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch'</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	2.9%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	2.9%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	10.3%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	12.5%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	18.2%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	22.5%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	29.2%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	29.3%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	30.8%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	31.3%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	32.6%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	35.8%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	36.4%

Table 24: Pyrrhics

letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian'	0.0%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	6.4%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	7.0%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	8.7%
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	10.3%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	12.5%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	15.4%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	16.3%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	17.1%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	20.8%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	20.8%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	26.4%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	45.5%

Table 25: Anapaests

letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a

<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	0.0%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0.0%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	0.0%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	0.0%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	0.0%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	0.0%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1.9%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	3.4%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	3.5%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	4.2%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	4.5%
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	5.9%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	7.2%

Table 26: Dactyls

letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0.0%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	0.0%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	0.0%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	0.0%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	0.0%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian'	0.0%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	0.0%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0.0%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	0.0%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	0.0%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	0.0%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	0.0%
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1.2%

Table 27: Amphibrachs

letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	0.0%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	0.0%

rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	0.0%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0.0%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	0.0%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	0.0%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	0.0%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	0.0%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	0.0%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	2.33%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	4.17%
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	5.9%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	5.9%

Table 28: Cretics

letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	0.0%
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	0.0%
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	0.0%
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0.0%
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	0.0%
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	0.0%
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	0.0%
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	0.0%
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> form	0.0%
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	0.0%
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0.0%
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	0.0%
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	3.4%

Table 29: Contractions : Line

Letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	1:9.50
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1:8.93
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	1:8.00
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1:6.25
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	1:4.00
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	1:3.73
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	1:3.73

<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	1:3.67
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	1:3.63
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	1:3.43
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	1:2.67
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	1:1.86
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1:1.63

Table 30: Irregular-length Lines : Line

Letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	0
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	0
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	0
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1:50.00
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	1:26.00
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	1:19.00
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1:16.67
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1:13.00
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian'	1:10.70
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	1:6.67
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	1:4.10
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	1:3.73

Table 31: Rhymes : Line

Letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0 [some elsewhere in text]
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	0 [some elsewhere in text]
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	0 [some elsewhere in text]
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	0
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1:20.83
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	1:6.50
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1:6.50
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	1:1.00
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbyterian' (60276)	1:1.00
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	1:1.00
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1:1.00

<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	1:1.00 [in Prologue; not elsewhere]
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Table 32: Rhetorical End-Stopping : Line

Letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	1:5.00
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	1:2.83
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	1:2.73
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	1:2.73
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	1:2.67
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1:2.63
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1:2.30
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	1:2.24
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1:2.17
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	1:2.00
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	1:1.78
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	1:1.71
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	1:1.71

Table 33: Weak Endings : Line

Letters	n/a
Treatise (60282)	n/a
<i>The Martird Monarch</i> (60282)	n/a
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	n/a
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	n/a
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	0
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	0
>1674 <i>Arcadia</i> poem	0
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	0
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	0
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	0
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	0
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	0
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	1:29.00
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1:26.00
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	1:17.00
'The Cavalier' and 'Presbiterian' (60276)	1:10.67
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1:10.42

Appendix 4: Source Analysis

Table 1: Textual Parallels

<i>Hermenigildus</i>	<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Hercules Furens</i>	I know not what, I
<i>Hermenigildus</i>	<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Bassianus</i>	what you please, obedience shall
<i>Hermenigildus</i>	<i>Leontius</i>		if you will be ruled
<i>Hermenigildus</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		But here he comes. Enter
<i>Hermenigildus</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		It is no wonder, Sir
<i>Hermenigildus</i>	<i>Treatise</i>		it cannot be expressed how
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Bassianus</i>		and do not think me
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Bassianus</i>		and not only so but
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Bassianus</i>		Command me what you please
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Bassianus</i>		I will no longer hold
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Hercules Furens</i>		I fear I know not what
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Hercules Furens</i>		I should be glad to
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		and if it please you
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		and if you have a mind
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		if it please you to
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		I know not what to say
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		is not to be avoided
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		so there is no remedy
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		that I know not how to
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		what he hath to do
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		I know not what to think
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>	<i>Captives</i>	as you would have me
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mariamne</i>		and when that I have
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mariamne</i>		I bear too high a mind
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mariamne</i>		it is not good to
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mariamne</i>		not hard for me to
<i>Leontius</i>	<i>Mariamne</i>		will not be long ere
<i>Mariamne</i>	<i>Mandrake</i>		Had it not been for that
<i>Mariamne</i>	<i>Sophius</i>		and set the guilty free

Seafaring References

In the following examples of seafaring references, I highlight the most significant words to show their repetition. Theseus in *Hercules Furens* describes Charon in Hell, who 'With a long pole himself doth **steer** the **bark**' (74v). Clytemnestra in *Agamemnon* gives herself up to the storm, and is 'with various surges **tossed**, / As when here with

wind, there b'the tide oppressed, / Th'unstable waves, one doubts to which to yield. / Then have I loosed the **rudder** from my hands; / Whither anger, grief, or hope will bear me, / Thither will I; the **bark** I gave the waves' (3v). In 'The Cavalier', Compton mentions 'Those that at **helm of state** did **sit** and **steer**' (43r). The gloating tyrant Bassianus is himself the pilot, saying 'Who **sits** at **helm** like me, no stupid heir' (5v), and contrastingly, Geta wonders at those 'Who **sit** in cells, and at greatness wonder, / Wishing themselves to **sit** at **helms of state**'; meanwhile, Geta's mother worries that 'Though from a mother counselled you'll not **steer** /.../ When not greatness only but safety bids / Us **steer** another **course**' (12r), and Papinianus tells him that 'Yourself so well can all your actions **steer**' (17r). Papinianus later discusses 'how things of **State** are **steered**' (23r) and advises his headstrong brother that 'Bold actions not by discretion **steered**' (23v). In contrast, Bassianus is 'always by ambition **steered**' (28r). After Julia accepts his wooing, she comments 'my course I'll **steer**, that I alone / Will never fall' (37v). In *Leontius*, henchman Phorbas reminds his leader Garamantus that 'had not I like a **skilful Pilot steered**, / and taken down your topsails, you had **split**' (5r), and he 'hath **steered** himself with so much policy' (8v), and later, worrying that Melantius is going to steal Olinda from Garamantus, frets 'but now the **sail** is struck, and prosperous **winds** / do not blow, **storms** of despair do drive us, / and we are near upon a rock. / I that have no **unskilful Pilot** been / in **steering** such **courses**, must leave the **helm**; / no hopes of safety we are run ashore' (22r). Melantius himself ponders, 'I must now bethink myself how to **steer** / my **course**' (27r). In *Mariamne*, Pheroras persuades his brother Herod to trust Salome's plotting: 'You now are in a weak **bark** tempest **tossed**; / Fond love the **pilot** hath the **rudder** lost / And near you are to strike upon a **shelf** / From which with ease you may preserve yourself; / Summon up Reason from his drowsy sleep. / Let her be **pilot** and the **rudder** keep' (7r). In *Sophius*, the villain Pro learns from others: 'their frailties shall / Be, unto me, as dangerous **shelves** i'the sea / Unto the **well-skilled** mariner: with ease / Shunned, when by some other's wrack they first were / To him made known—which if he had not seen, / He might like them have **split** his **ill-steered bark**' (75r), and politician Mega warns royalist Tim that 'You do not **steer** the **course**, is now held / In highest vogue', and 'yet you / Still **steer** the other way' (76r); Tim in turn wonders 'By what strange passions is man **steered**' (77v). Leaveland in *The Mandrake* in his lovesick state complains, 'I know not how to **steer** myself' (7r). The image is even in Compton's political treatise, as he questions the present powers who with their '**seats at helm** should after all their labour leave the possession...neither do I think the **storms**

as yet so well allayed, as that it can conduce to this nation's quiet to trust the **rudder** with less **skillful pilots'** (39r).

Agamemnon Comparison

It is established that Compton's *Agamemnon* translates Seneca's play. If it turns out to be a very close translation, there is little reason to look beyond Seneca for source material. To investigate this, I first compare Compton's with the 2004 Loeb edition, as it is a conservative scholarly version that is likely to represent its source faithfully.

Seneca would have been readily available in Latin in the 17th century, and Compton probably would have studied him at school. Indeed, three volumes of Seneca in translation from Compton's lifetime are still present in Castle Ashby (though not containing *Agamemnon*, as far as I can tell) dated 1648-1679. Finding the precise original that he translated is beyond my present ability, but a conservative modern edition like the Loeb should reliably show how close to the source Compton remained.¹ An immediate observation upon comparing the Loeb version with Compton's is that Compton has put the entire play into verse, whereas the Loeb has all but the Chorus in prose. Examining Act 1, it is easy to see that two different individuals are each translating the text with a reasonable level of fluency. The Loeb editor seems very literal and slightly more fluent, whereas Compton skips occasional words and sometimes seems more laboured; nevertheless, it must be remembered that he also has the difficulty of converting his source into blank verse, and the missed words can easily be dismissed as a result of this need rather than an inability to translate them, general oversights, or some sort of meaningful intention that requires deep analysis. The translations are very similar.

The next interesting point is the first Chorus. Compton skips it—made further perplexing by his neglect of most of the *Hermenigildus* Choruses except for the Prologue and first Chorus he wrote after the text body—even though there is nothing suggesting that he would not have had the ability to translate it. Most provocatively, the first Chorus has Argive women commenting on the difficulties of greatness, and how it is always in danger of being toppled, with the loftiest neck the first to feel the sword,

¹ It is interesting to observe that in Seneca's *Oedipus*, (also in the Loeb) the name of the shepherd entrusted with leaving infant Oedipus to die is Phorbas, like the henchman in *Leontius*. The two plays have further resonances, including the familiar references to the mythical underworld and its tortures, and masses of dead (here from plague but in *Leontius* from war) over-burdening Charon's underworld ferry-boat (31).

and the commoner's life much safer. These would have been interesting for a writer preoccupied with regicide, and they are sentiments that Compton did not hesitate to use in *Bassianus*.¹

In Act 2, there is promptly another curiosity, with Clytemnestra confessing her thoughts to her Nurse, in Compton's version named Althea—but only in the good draft. The Loeb, like the rough draft and the Loeb's Latin transcript, note the character simply as the nurse. I have yet to determine why Compton would have given this character this apparently unprecedented name.² Otherwise, the Act again continues to be quite similar in both Compton's and the Loeb's versions, with only occasional differences that cause lingering (e.g., the Loeb's 'The better path is already closed' compared to Compton's 'Th'obscurest way is best'), but even these are easily explained as resulting from a slight mistranslation or at least differing interpretation rather than anything wilful. Still, of note is a moment on f.4r when Clytemnestra's long speech is broken up by giving a line in the middle to Althea ('But at once a full thousand ships set saile') that in the Loeb is a rhetorical question Clytemnestra voices (141). This does not seem very significant, though. A similar situation happens on f.5r, with Aegisthus' long speech broken up with Clytemnestra taking a line ('Ægisthus so borne tis no paine to die') assigned to him in the Loeb and its Latin source (145).

The next Chorus has the Argive women praising the gods for the impending return of the fleet. Compton again skips it. It does not particularly move the plot along, so is not absolutely necessary. Also, if Compton had any intention whatsoever to have the play staged or recited, it spares him the need of a large number of women or boys. It may be that he skipped it for sensible reasons.

In Act 3, the messenger Eurybates reports to Clytemnestra on the fleet's near-destruction at sea. Compton is very close to the Loeb on this, though I do notice that they often opt for different names for the same individual in the stories, which makes me wonder if Compton had a differently formatted source text (or one in another intermediate language?), or if he was so familiar with classical literature that he was able to switch to alternative names with ease. Regardless, the variations are not

¹ Seneca's *Thyestes* also shows some similarity to *Bassianus*, particularly around the difficulty of two brothers trying to share a throne, versus the safety of a private life. *Hercules on Oeta*, possibly by Seneca, shows a preoccupation with vengeful stepmothers (seen in *Hermenigildus* already and later will be seen in *Bassianus*) stemming back to such classical sources. It also has the name 'Hyllus', Hercules' son, which is parallel to the Hylas in *Leontius*. However, the name could have come from a variety of classical sources. There is also an instance of 'the sparse Garamantes' (429); as the villain Garamantus in *Leontius* has a name not properly found elsewhere so far, this may be where it comes from, relating to a tribe called the Garamantes of Libya.

² The name ('Althaea') comes up in an unrelated instance in *Hercules on Oeta*, relating to a mother who killed her son. Provocatively, Compton had a short-lived daughter named Althea in the Restoration.

meaningful as far as I can determine. Following that scene, Cassandra and the Trojan women (a secondary Chorus) arrive to lament. Interestingly, the Loeb begins Act 4 after the first choral speech and once Cassandra begins dialogue with the Ladies, whereas Compton delays the start of Act 4 until after the whole episode. Again, it may not mean anything more than a minor difference in interpretation. The rest of the women's exchange is textually very similar. One point of interest is that the Loeb and its source mark the Chorus speeches with 'Chorus', where Compton marks each speech with 'Lady'. This more specific and limiting word might explain why Compton skipped the primary choruses: if he rejected them because they were not central to the plot, but retained the secondary one as it actually interacts with the plot but he still chooses to limit the speaking to one or a few Ladies, it is just possible that this was a dramaturgical choice, made with his knowledge that he would not have enough personnel available for a large chorus. This is, of course, simply a theory.

In Act 4 (starting halfway through the Loeb Act), no remarkable differences exist between the texts. The following Chorus is again skipped by Compton; it gives an account of Hercules' quests, and again does not actually drive the plot forward, which could explain why Compton did not include it.

In Act 5, the texts are quite similar. However, the Loeb adds stage directions explaining the entrances of mute Orestes and Pylades; its source text and Compton's version do not. Also, there is a reassignment of a few lines: in the Loeb, Aegisthus tells Electra that life will be worse than death for her since she wants the latter, and then orders her taken away, before Clytemnestra orders Cassandra's execution. The Loeb's source is written the same way (210-212). Compton's version, however, has Aegisthus tell Electra that life will be worse than death for her since she wants the latter, then has Clytemnestra give the lines ordering Electra to be taken away, running immediately into the lines about Cassandra's execution. This does not change much, however, besides slightly strengthening Clytemnestra at this point as the central villain.

To investigate the few noteworthy differences between the Loeb and Compton versions, I also consulted the earliest English printed version that I could find on *EEBO*, John Studley's 1566 translation, *The eyght tragedie of Seneca. Entitled Agamemnon*. The works are immediately clearly different, down to the metre (Studley largely translates in 8/6 syllable lines compared to Compton's usual blank verse). Studley also sides with the Loeb in including the Choruses, referring to the nurse anonymously as 'Nutrix', and marking the captive Chorus' speeches with 'Cho.' rather than 'Lady'. However, Studley joins Compton on some of the variations: in Act 2, where

Clytemnestra confides in her Nurse, the line given to the Nurse in Compton ('But at once a full thousand Ships set saile') and Clytemnestra in the Loeb is in Studley's like Compton's ('But by this meanes a thousand ships at once released ar') given to the Nurse; likewise with the line in the next scene given to Clytemnestra in Compton ('Ægisthus so borne tis no paine to die') but Aegisthus in the Loeb is Clytemnestra's in Studley ('It is no plague, if such a death /thy natyue destnies deal'); in the final scene in both Studley and Compton have Clytemnestra condemn both Electra and Cassandra were the Loeb had Aegisthus speak the part to Electra; Studley also joins Compton in starting Act 4 after Cassandra and the captive Chorus interact, and not giving a stage direction for the entrances of mute Orestes and Pylades.

Studley's and Compton's texts are clearly different, but the differences seem to be matters of translation rather than intentional re-working of meaning. My suspicion is that Studley and Compton had access to a different source text (or at least a pair of similar ones to each other) from what the Loeb used, which gave them their similarities where they diverge from the Loeb on line assignments and such. Where Compton differs from both the Loeb and Studley, however (his metre, skipping the Choruses, heading the secondary Chorus speeches 'Lady', and naming the Nurse Althea), at this point I imagine that he was being original.

There are 1589, 1613, 1624, 1634, 1659, and 1679 versions printed in Latin, which, as far as I can tell, follow Studley and Compton on the matters where they are alike in difference to the Loeb, further strengthening the likelihood of a difference between the Loeb's source and what was available in England in early modern times.

Hercules Furens Comparison

I read Compton's version alongside a 2010 edition translated by Emily Wilson for the Oxford World's Classics line.¹ It does indeed seem to be a close translation. People and places with multiple names often have different options selected by Compton and Wilson, but the content is the same. Even line-by-line they remain quite close, though as with the *Agamemnon*, there are occasional minor differences in meaning that are probably the result of either slightly different source texts or a slight mistranslation (I

¹ Also of interest in this volume is that the 'Garamantes' people are mentioned again, this time in *Phaedra*, as 'the indigent Garamantian' (4). Again, this might suggest that Compton found the name 'Garamantus' that he used in *Leontius* within Seneca's plays; the same play also follows the consistent Senecan preoccupation with dangerous stepmothers, and the desire to leave political life and retire to the carefree pastoral world, which seem to have been picked up by Compton for *Bassianus*.

suspect on Compton's part). The Choruses are indeed skipped again, though they are more on topic in this play and could have been helpful thematically (the first discusses the benefit of a quiet and pastoral private life rather than an ambitious public one, which is a theme Compton visits elsewhere; the second contributes little new, just looking at the same general themes with different tales; the third's absence actually causes some mild difficulty as Theseus notes their entrance before the point that they should speak, but instead Compton's draft skips immediately to Act 4; the fourth could have supported the central play somewhat as the Chorus comments on Hercules specifically, but it is not really needed). The decision may have been made in order to streamline the central action, or if performance was imagined, in appreciation of the limitations on available performer numbers. Other slight differences include the way character entrances within an Act are marked off as new scenes in Compton's version but not in the modern edition.

A few differences are more substantial, however. In order to determine the cause, I have also compared the texts in these instances to published versions pre-dating Compton's, via *EEBO*. Jasper Heywood's 1561 translation is the earliest to appear. They are definitely different translations, reassuring me that Compton did his own original work (the 1581 edition also uses Heywood's translation). Other printed editions pre-dating Compton's death are in Latin.

One substantial difference occurs in Act 2. In the modern edition, it begins with a long speech from Hercules' earth-father, Amphitryon, before moving to a long speech by Hercules' wife Megara, then returning to Amphitryon. In both drafts of Compton's, the speech is ambiguously assigned to begin, and is not divided until what is the second Amphitryon speech in the modern text. This makes it appear that the first two sections of the modern version are both assigned to Megara in Compton's. Heywood's is varied in different confusing ways, certainly making it look like Compton's did not rely on it, and possibly used a different Latin source (24).

A few speeches later, there is another variation in line assignments, as what are the first five lines of the tyrant Lycus' speech in the modern edition are attached to Megara's speech before Lycus' entrance in Compton's two drafts. Heywood matches Compton in this division.

Again later in the scene, a line in Compton's rough draft given to Amphitryon mid-speech, 'you dont / Know y^e many woes y^l y^e youth endured' (70r), and ambiguous in the good draft is assigned to Lycus in the modern version. Heywood again matches Compton.

Then in Act 3, a few lines are assigned to Theseus, '\$hall hee feele y^t braue hand / And Lycus bee Alcides finall foe? / [Letam] on wings to \$hed his ho\$tile blood' (72v) that are part of Hercules' speech in the modern version. Heywood matches with the modern version.

This happens again in Act 4 with Theseus taking in Compton's version some lines assigned to Hercules in the modern one: 'yee gods this towne founders, e fierce Zethes / Bo\$chy dens, who adore the Tyrian Lars / Oth \$tranger King, e Dirces noble \$treames' (76r). Heywood matches Compton here.

Later, Compton assigns a line to Megara given to Amphitryon in the modern version, 'Where goest thou madman thou spilst thy owne blood' (78r), and a few lines to Theseus given to the Chorus in the modern version, 'why graue S^t do you on y^t owne death run? / Whether go you? fly e keepe y^t \$elfe hid / Remoue one crime from great Alcides Hands' (78r). Heywood links with Compton in both.

There is another series of differently assigned lines in Act 5 as well: Compton sets it as follows (line numbering added by me):

1. Herc: Mine arms:
2. Am: The \$ound becomes Alcides \$ire
3. by this \$ame y^t \$on doth \$laughtred lie;
4. Juno with y^t owne hands this dart did \$hoote.
5. Ile use it now.
6. The: My heart with feare doth pant
7. hee wounds his troubled \$ide; behold the dart:
8. is ready, now thou a knowne crime commits
9. A willing one. \$ay what meane you to do.
10. Her: I nothing craue my grieffe in \$afety is
11. Am: You onely can for mee can pre\$erue my \$on
12. The: But I haue not yet a great feare e\$caped.
13. Her: More wretched you cant make mee, happier may. (81r)

The modern version divides this very differently, with the equivalent of line 1 to Amphitryon, 2-3 and 5 to Hercules, 6 and the first half of 7 to Amphitryon, the second half of 7 and first half of 8 to Hercules, the second half of 8 and first half of 9 to Amphitryon, the second half of 9 to Hercules, and 10 and 12-13 to Amphitryon. Heywood sets it differently again, following Compton in lines 1-5, but also assigning the rest to Amphitryon.

Where Compton and the modern edition vary significantly, Compton usually aligns with the only earlier printed English version. However, they differ at times as well, making me suspect that they either used different Latin sources, or the same occasionally ambiguous Latin source. Regardless, it appears once again that Compton relied most likely entirely on a Latin source text, and followed it closely.

The Mandrake Comparison

There are now several English translations available, and I have consulted David Sices' 1985 version. James Atkinson's introduction suggests that modern scholarship leans towards dating Machiavelli's original between 1512 and 1519 (13); he notes that Machiavelli seems to have written it while in bitter exile (22), and while it cannot be proved, it would be interesting to consider a potential parallel with Compton if his version was indeed written during the 1650s when Compton himself was essentially exiled from power.¹

I read Sices' translation alongside my diplomatic transcript of Compton's. The immediate first observation is the change in character names: Callimaco the young Florentine merchant has become Leaveland, a young English gentleman; Siro his servant has become Trusty his man; Messer Nicia the Florentine lawyer is Soonewrought the London lawyer; Ligurio the parasite is Lackwealth; Sostrata the mother is Lady Horner; Frate Timoteo the friar is Renchetext the parson, the woman has become the Old Lady, and Lucrezia, Soonewrought's wife, is Mrs. Soonewrought (153). Compton could have simply translated the play, but was invested enough in the process creatively to give the characters English names infused with character-specific meaning.

Machiavelli includes Chorus songs before the play and between Acts, which Compton does not. However, Sices notes that the songs were added by Machiavelli in 1526 (155), so it is possible that Compton's source did not include them. On the other hand, Compton often skipped choruses from his translations, and could have chosen to do so here as well.

After the first Chorus, sung by shepherds and nymphs, comes a Prologue (157) not included in Compton's; it should be remembered however that there is a page removed from the start of Compton's (5) where a few letters can still be seen on the stub. It is possible that he had initially included some sort of version of Prologue, but the truth likely never will be known. Machiavelli's Prologue welcomes the audience, describes

¹ Another interesting potential parallel is that Machiavelli in his *Clizia* makes an old man in love look ridiculous as a result (though with an air of dignity that slightly engages our sympathy or respect), since being ruled by his passion makes him unfit to rule (1985: 29). This is particularly interesting considering the crippling lusts of powerful men in Compton's plays: King Levigildus is manipulated by his new wife into killing good Prince Hermenigildus; King Agamemnon's lust for Cassandra is part of the reason for Clytemnestra's desire to kill him (assisted by her own enraptured lover Aegisthus); Lycus loses his temper when his pursuit of Hercules' wife Megara is met with scorn; Herod's obsession with Mariamne opens him to jealousy and allows him to be manipulated, leading to her destruction; Bassianus inexplicably falls in love with his step-mother Julia after killing her innocent son Geta, horrifying those around him with how inappropriate it is; and Garamantus probably fails in his plans to overthrow Leontius due to his preoccupation with Olinda.

the set layout (apparently a stage-right door for the lawyer's house, a stage-left one for Leaveland's, and another for the church), introduces the plot, and mentions Machiavelli's exile.

As the play begins, the texts are very similar, matching speech by speech and more or less sentence for sentence with the meaning very parallel, even to the point of both young men having been residing in Paris (though Machiavelli's returning to Florence and Compton's to London). Machiavelli's is more specific about the timeline involved, which would have helped if Compton had also done so: Callimaco went abroad at the age of ten, and decided after ten more years to remain there due to war between France and Italy, eventually leaving after an additional ten years, making him thirty, and the war having started ten years earlier (163). Compton simply calls Leaveland young at the time of going abroad, and the war starting 'not long after' (7r). If Compton meant to suggest the same thing in his, it would mean Leaveland went to Paris in 1632, decided to remain when the war began in 1642, and returned to London in 1652.

They continue to run quite parallel, though with Compton possibly missing a word from his source,¹ and renaming the unseen Cammillo Calfucci as Mr. Praisehome, matching his name to his purpose (7r). References to Italy are changed to England (165). A few minor lines are changed slightly: one line of Siro's is altered from 'I'm beginning to guess what your trouble is' (165) to 'I was by, Sir' (7v); another, 'Oh, why?' (167), is not included; the reference to 'Spring-Garden' is added where Machiavelli had a generalised reference to locations where young people resort.

In Act 1 Scene 2, the lawyer complains of doctors telling him to take his wife to various spas (171); Compton's complains that they give conflicting advice of going to the country versus staying at home (8v). Machiavelli's sponger suggests the lawyer does not want to lose sight of the local cathedral (173), which Compton turns into Westminster Hall. Regions near Florence (173) are converted to locales near London. This translation also explains something that had confused me in Compton's version: he had the sponger ask the lawyer if he had seen the 'carol' at Canterbury, to which the lawyer asks if he means the 'cathedral'; in Machiavelli, there is a pun of the word for 'pulley' in place for a specific mountain's name, which does not translate into English (173). One must assume that Compton actually attempted something fairly advanced by replacing the pun with a passable English one that also suits the geographical range he

¹ Compton (7r): 'so that I pleased the, the gentry' in Sices is 'So I felt accepted by merchant and nobleman' (165).

had to play with to make sense of the scene (i.e., within relatively close proximity to London). The river Arno becomes the Thames (173).

In the Third scene, Machiavelli apparently places the traveller's entrance a full speech before he is noticed (175), where Compton places the entrance at the critical moment. Machiavelli's sponger feels 'a kinship for' the traveller (177), where Compton's actually claims 'some relation of blood between' them (9r).

Act 1 is followed by a Chorus song about the power of love (181), which is not translated by Compton.

In Act 2 Scene 1, Compton may have missed a few Latin words. His 'Et vobis domine' ('Good day, sir') (10r) is a more extensive 'Et vobis bona, domine doctor' ('And to you too, attorney') in Machiavelli (184). Compton also translates into English one of the brief Latin usages, 'ad rem nostram' (185) to 'to the cause' (10r). Concerning mid-scene entrances and exits, Machiavelli does not seem to note them, while Compton does.

In Act 2 Scene 3, the lawyer complains that in Florence, the people spend their time at funerals and weddings, and sitting on the Proconsul's bench (191). In Compton's, this becomes going to courts and prating at a committee (10v).

In Act 2 Scene 6, Compton possibly misses a rude joke, in which the traveller posing as a doctor advises the lawyer that he suspects the young wife is 'badly covered at night' (195), where Compton translates to her being 'not covered with clothes enough a-nights' (11r). Compton also changes the dozen times the fake doctor supposedly has used the mandrake potion to encourage pregnancy in France (195) to two (11v). In Compton, the lawyer worries that not telling his wife of the mandrake plan would be a betrayal of her (11v), where in Machiavelli he worries about not telling the young man who is to be brought into the plan (197). Compton's fake doctor offers to give the lawyer the potion at nine at night, while Machiavelli's says ten. The New and Old Markets become in Compton's hands Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden. A five o'clock meeting time after persuading the mother becomes around seven o'clock for Compton (12r).

Act 2 is followed by a Chorus song about ignorance (the lawyer's) being bliss (201). Compton does not include it.

In Act 3 Scene 2, the lawyer recounts how his wife was persuaded to go to Mass at Santa Annunziata church forty mornings in a row to get pregnant, but a friar said something obscene to her (203); Compton makes this going to lectures to hear three or four sermons in a day, and that a 'sermontier' did the like (12v). The ten years the lawyer had not spoken to the friar (205) becomes two (12v).

In Act 3 Scene 3, the Woman (207) becomes an Old Woman (13r). Her interaction with the friar has changed slightly, as rather than worrying that her husband is in Purgatory (207), she asks if he is really in Heaven (13r). Her fear that the Turks will penetrate Italy (209) becomes a fear of stirs from the Cavaliers (13r). An observation that I make is that Compton's version tends to downplay curses and obscenity found in Machiavelli's. For instance, 'Cacasangue!' (210), which seems to be a figure of speech that taken literally is essentially 'Diarrhoea!' turns to 'What a-devil ails you?' (13v), and that curses in general are weakened. Whether this was done in Compton's exact source or by him personally is unknown.

In Act 3 Scene 4, the sponger lures the friar with a story of the lawyer's nephew, using the same name as the visitor to Paris from the first scene who inflamed Leaveland with the story of Mrs. Soonewrought's beauty, here Cammillo Calfucci (211); in Compton's, he is named Sir Thomas Soonewrought, different from the Mr. Praisehome at the start of the play (13v). The supposedly pregnant daughter's custodian changes from a convent (211) to a Lay Elder (13v).

In Act 3 Scene 11, the friar advises the young wife that obeying a husband is less wrong than eating meat on Wednesday, which can be cleansed with holy water (225); Compton makes the sin seeing a play, cleansed with attending two sermons (15v). Sices notes that the hours of the day have changed since the time of Machiavelli's original, when they began numbering from 6 PM with 7 PM being 1 (229).

After Act 3 is a Chorus song about deception not included in Compton's.

In Act 4 Scene 9, the sponger, while describing the men's tactics for kidnapping an unsuspecting victim, puns extensively in a sexual matter, with the wings of the battle described as horns, and the password 'Saint Cuckoo' (253). Compton has lessened the joke initially by calling the parts of the force 'wings', but then gives the password as 'Sir Catso Duro', which appears to mean 'Sir Hard Dick' (19r). I also note that Leaveland is described (in both versions) as under twenty-five, and since he remembers the start of the war, it seems safe to assume the play is set no later than 1665, and if it is meant to be along a similar timeline to Machiavelli's (ten years since the start of war), 1652, with Leaveland born around 1627; with Compton born in 1622, this might suggest that the character was of a similar age to him at the time of writing, and as such may have been part of the reason for his interest.

As the young man enters to be captured and thrown in the young woman's bed, in Machiavelli's original he is singing a song with lyrics translated by Sices as 'I hope you take the devil to your bed, / Since I can't make it with you, dear, instead...' (255);

Compton's does not include a song, though it is logical that something musical is required in the position.

In Act 4 Scene 10, the friar tells the audience what likely is to happen inside the house at night (255), and is more metatheatrical in his comments than in Compton's version, though both follow the same basic idea about what the characters will be doing (19r).

After Act 4 is a Chorus song about darkness, which is not included by Compton.

As has been noted by others previously, in Act 5 Scene 1, the friar talks about how he passed the night: he said his matins, read about the Holy Fathers, lit a candle at church, and changed the veil on a statue of Mary (259); in Compton's, this becomes praying, reading Prynne's *Works*, looking for night congregations, and brushing his preaching coat (19v). Five hundred holy images deteriorating to twenty have become five hundred people in the congregation dwindling to twenty.

In Act 5 Scene 3, the young man and sponger enter several lines earlier in Machiavelli (267) than in Compton (20v).

In Act 5 Scene 6, Compton seems to adjust the Latin slightly. In Machiavelli, the lawyer greets the friar with 'Bona dies, padre!', and gets the reply in Italian translated to 'Welcome to you all' (271), Compton provides 'Bona dies domine', possibly reasonable to avoid the Catholic 'padre', followed by a Latin reply, 'Salve tu quoque' [or 'quoque'], meaning essentially 'Greetings back to you' (21r). There is also in Machiavelli's a slightly more detailed exchange between the lawyer and his wife: he asks her if she has money to give the friar; she says she does not know; he asks what they should do; she tells him to give the friar a full purse (273). In Compton's, he simply asks her how much he should give, and she says to give ten pounds (21v). This is the only time I observed full lines skipped by Compton from the body of the play. Compton also extends the brief epilogue from the parson to include a joke about him probably getting drunk after leaving the stage (21v).

Don Sancho Comparison

A search of *EEBO* shows Corneille translated into English in published versions as early as 1637, though I find no early English versions of *Don Sancho*. This would seem to suggest that Compton did not have access to an English version, so probably turned to one of the continental editions and translated that. While Williams says that Compton is the only English translator of *Don Sancho*, I was able to find a single other translation

in Lacy Lockert's 1959 *Moot Plays of Corneille*.¹ Lockert's introduction explains that Corneille described *Don Sancho* as a new kind of play, between comedy and tragedy, which he named 'heroic comedy' (127). Critical opinion is supposedly fairly unanimous that the first Act's high quality dwarfs the rest of the play (127). The character list clarifies the place of those in the fragment: Isabella is the Queen of Castile, Leonore the Queen of Aragon; Elvira is her daughter, the Princess of Aragon; Carlos is a young soldier whose origins are unknown; Lope de Guzman, Manrique de Larra, and Alvar de Luna are Castilian noblemen; Blanca is Isabella's lady-in-waiting; there is also another character not present in the fragment, Raimundo de Moncade, who was the late King of Aragon's favourite (132).

The fragment appears to translate almost line-for-line in the same way as Lockert's, and certainly couplet-for-couplet, in terms of meaning. However, Lockert translates that the Aragonian royals have been exiled for twenty years (133), where Compton just refers to their 'long and tedious stay' (22r). Otherwise, the fragment stays consistently close to the original in content.

The rest of the play's untranslated plot is as follows. Carlos tells Isabella of his military exploits for the late King. The Counts say that it is his social rank that should forbid his presence, which Isabella answers by making Carlos a Marquess, and granting him authority to choose her husband. He advises the Counts that the one to beat him in combat will wed Isabella (143). In Act 2, Isabella scolds Carlos for risking her people's favourites' lives in combat, though agrees to go forward with the combat. Elvira also questions Carlos for serving Isabella when he is also supposed to be serving her (154). In Act 3, Elvira questions Alvar about his willingness to compete for Isabella when he is courting her too and he explains that he is in a predicament over it. Isabella realises that he is in love with Elvira and releases him from the contest over herself. The other two Counts reveal that they have promised each other that the loser can marry the other's sister; Isabella wants them to allow Carlos one of their sisters, which they grudgingly agree to, though Carlos evades it. A rumour arrives that Elvira's long-lost brother is coming from Aragon, and Isabella hopes that he might prove a fitting match for herself (164). In Act 4, the rumour that Carlos is actually the long-lost Don Sancho circulates. Carlos denies it repeatedly. Isabella asks him to give Don Sancho the token signalling her willingness to marry him (175). In Act 5, offstage Carlos has been encountered by his fisherman father, but then word arrives that he is indeed Don Sancho, hidden at birth with the fisherman. He is revealed as Elvira's brother, gives her hand to the decent Don

¹ Also in the volume is Corneille's *Heraclius*, which includes reference to a character 'Leontius' (65).

Alvar, and turns to Isabella, with the implication that the two kingdoms' thrones will be combined (186).

Plausible Sources for Mariamne Material

Hardy's *Mariamne*: Lacy Lockert in his translation of Hardy's play in *More Plays by Rivals of Corneille and Racine* (1968) gives it a provisional date between 1605 and 1615 (3). He cautions that his translation (into blank verse) is rather loose due to substantial corruption of the source texts, and Hardy's antiquated language. He further asserts that Josephus offered the main source of the story in his *Antiquities*, and also that Tristan l'Hermite borrowed much from Hardy's version, particularly in terms of structure (4). I will now contrast the plots and structures:

- Act 1 Scene 1: Mariamne's brother Aristobulus's ghost gives a long soliloquy reminiscent of Senecan first Acts, laying out the situation. Compton's play's first scene has Herod waking from a dream in which a ghost has spoken to him.
- Act 1 Scene 2: Herod describes his rise to power (using phrases about a usurper's safety lying in his sword that are extremely reminiscent of Lycus' scene in *Hercules Furens*, along with a general Senecan style), and speaks with Pheroras who tries to warn him about the danger of Mariamne; they are joined by Salome who continues this approach. Herod is unwilling to heed their warnings as his love for Mariamne outweighs them (16). Compton's Act 1 has Herod showing more varied feelings about his past actions, and while he is joined by Pheroras and Salome taking a similar approach to him as in Hardy's, the scene is dominated by an account of a dream Herod had, which shows him the threat of eternal torments he might face. Compton's Act 1 is followed by a Chorus, where Hardy's is not.
- Act 2 Scene 1: Mariame complains about her situation while a Nurse (another typical Senecan device) counsels patience and caution. A page enters with a request from Herod for Mariamne to join him (21). In Compton's parallel scene, Mariamne advises herself to be a patient martyr. Compton then has a separately numbered scene where Salome enters with the same invitation, which Mariamne resists with more energy, while Salome attempts to persuade her.
- Act 2 Scene 2: Salome persuades a cup-bearer to join her plot (26). Compton's parallel scene has Salome alone, briefly commenting on Mariamne's attitude. It is then followed by a Chorus not paralleled in Hardy.

- Act 3 Scene 1: Herod emerges from an argument with Mariamne to speak to Salome and Pheroras. The cup-bearer tells him that Mariamne wanted to poison him. He assumes his associate Sohemus has given her secret information and threatens his eunuch with torture for more information. He then accuses Sohemus, and throws him and Mariamne into prison (38). In Compton's scene, a trial is under way, with past reference to the eunuch's torture, and the judges send Mariamne to prison. In the following continuous scene, Herod begins to repent. In yet another continuous scene, Salome strengthens his resolve. Another Chorus follows.

- Act 4 Scene 1: Mariamne, alone in prison, longs for death and freedom from Herod. The provost enters to bring her, and she welcomes him, hoping for death. He brings her to her accuser (39). Compton's scene has Mariamne alone, with a longer and more stoic, martyr-like speech on the same subject. There is a separately numbered but continuous scene of the jailor coming to take her to her execution, which she welcomes.

- Act 4 Scene 2: Herod again waffles in his conviction, before Mariamne enters and faces Salome, Pheroras, and the cup-bearer. They confirm the accusation, and she does not bother defending herself. Herod speaks to her privately but she holds her position. He condemns her again (44). Compton does not have a parallel scene to this repeated trial.

- Act 5 Scene 1: Herod encounters a Messenger who tells him of Mariamne's execution. She was martyr-like, said goodbye to her two sons, and patiently faced abuse from her mother. Herod goes into a fit after hearing of it. Pheroras and Salome enter, and he berates them for persuading him to the act, and tells them to withdraw. The Messenger stays with him as he mourns (51). In Compton's scene, the unhappy messenger is discovered weeping by Herod. He tells the story in roughly the same way. Herod swoons. Pheroras and Salome enter. After momentarily forgetting what happened, Herod drives them off, leaving him alone with the messenger while he mourns.

My observation is quite startling, in that the similarity between this work and Compton's goes far beyond the stylistic affinities suggested by Kelliher. While seemingly not a direct translation, Compton's play follows the plot quite closely, and far more so than could be simply a result of both turning to Josephus.

Summary of Tristan l'Hermite's *la Mariane*: Tristan l'Hermite's *la Mariane* is also available in English in another of Lockert's books, *The Chief Rivals of Corneille and Racine* (1956).

- Act 1 Scene 1: Herod awakes from a nightmare. Pheroras enters to calm him, followed by Salome. Herod describes the dream. They then discuss his exploits, and struggle with his love for Mariamne, along with Sohemus (69). In Compton's, Herod reflects on his dream in similar terms, and then recounts it to Pheroras and Salome. Many of the major points are the same, such as seeing where Mariamne's brother drowned. In Compton's, the scene also ends with the tension between Herod's love and the advice from his siblings. A chorus follows in Compton's.

- Act 2 Scene 1: Mariamne, with a degree of haughtiness, discusses her misfortunes with Dinah, a nurse-character. Salome enters and Dinah exits. Salome questions Mariamne's hostility in a short debate, and Mariamne exits. Salome, alone, discusses her desire to destroy Mariamne. The cup-bearer joins her to plot. In Compton, Mariamne is alone, and more martyr-like in the same complaints. In the next continuous scene, Salome enters, and they have a very similar debate. Alone, Salome has a short speech about wanting to destroy Mariamne. Compton's scene is followed by a Chorus.

- Act 2 Scene 2: Herod emerges from a fight with Mariamne to speak with his siblings. He is told by the cup-bearer of the supposed plot (79). This scene does not have a parallel in Compton.

- Act 3 Scene 1: The trial with the accusers. There are two judges. Herod and Mariamne are fairly combative. At the sentence, Herod begins to repent, but seeing no change in Mariamne, returns to hostility, suspecting Sohemus of having an affair with Mariamne. He summons Sohemus, then his eunuch, condemning both for betraying him (87). Compton's trial scene also has judges, only two speaking so perhaps limited to that number, along with Herod, Mariamne, Salome, and Pheroras. Mariamne is more martyr-like here.

- Act 4 Scene 1: Herod waffles while Salome and Pheroras return him to conviction (91). This scene is somewhat similar to Act 3 Scene 2 in Compton, where Herod waffles, and Act 3 Scene 3 where Salome returns him to conviction. Compton's scene is followed by a Chorus.

- Act 4 Scene 2: Mariamne laments her fate. A prison keeper comes in, tearfully summoning Mariamne, who remains martyr-like (93). Compton's scene (4.1) has Mariamne giving a very long martyr-like speech about her fate. Then (4.2), the jailor enters to summon her, while she remains calm. This is followed by a Chorus.

- Act 4 Scene 3: Alexandra prepares herself to pretend to have disdain for Mariamne as she passes on her way to execution. She abuses Mariamne, who goes to her fate (96). This scene is not dramatised in Compton.

- Act 5 Scene 1: Herod is regretting his decision. A messenger (Narbal) enters to report Mariamne's death. Herod swoons. He revives, incredulous, and the messenger tells him of the execution, including the crowd's despair and her mother's acted hatred. Herod attempts to kill himself with the messenger's sword, and the messenger resists him. He curses the Jewish nation. Salome, Pheroras, and their associate Thares enter. The messenger explains Herod's state. He forgets that Mariamne is dead. Remembering, he drives off Pheroras and Salome, remaining with the servants Narbal and Thares. He again forgets her death, then remembers, then sees her in Heaven. He swoons again (106). In Compton's, the unhappy messenger is discovered weeping by Herod. He tells the story in roughly the same way. Herod swoons. Pheroras and Salome enter. After momentarily forgetting what happened, Herod drives them off, leaving him alone with the messenger while he mourns. He finally sees Mariamne in Heaven.

Other dramatic accounts of the Mariamne story: Randall mentions that Maurice J. Valency compiled a list of the dramatic versions of the Herod/Mariamne story, finding forty dealing with it in general, and more probably existing (1995: 263); therefore, I consulted Valency's 1940 work.

Valency confirms that Josephus was the only real traditional source for the story, though an earlier history by Nicolas of Damascus existed, but is mostly lost. Translations and adaptations of Josephus followed, so that the story was familiar by the Middle Ages. The first English translation appeared in 1602—this is the one still at Castle Ashby. In the Middle Ages, Herod was a major part of the liturgical and Mystery plays, represented as 'an archetypal stage villain'. Indeed, he was 'the first of stage villains'. In the Renaissance, it was not difficult to reconcile this character with villains of a 'Senecan cut' (3-18).

Somewhat in common with Compton, Dolce's of 1565 includes abstract characters in the Chorus (Jealousy, the Devil, Tragedy, Pluto, etc.), a largely guiltless Marianna, Marianna in the first scene telling her nurse of a bad dream where her murdered brother warned her of danger to come (faintly reminiscent of Herod's dream in Compton's first scene, though there it is Herod with the nightmare), Marianna's sons showing courage when she is faced with death, and Marianna vowing in the trial scene that she will not change her attitude until 'Thetis will lose her bitterness, Zephyr will blow in winter' and so forth (45-54).

A touch of sympathy for Herod's character entered the scene in the 17th century; the character begins to develop with Hardy (c.1600) as the repentance for the deed

increases. Hardy's plot is quite close to Dolce's, though Herod's character differs—Valency argues that Hardy's repenting Act 5 Herod is the one that led to the better tradition of the character. However, Hardy represents Mariamne as a shrew (22-55), which is not followed by Compton.

Valency notes that Tristan used Josephus as well as Caussin¹ for additional source material, and sympathy for Herod continues with Tristan (1636), where Herod's madness also increases after the report of Mariamne's death. Tristan emphasises Herod's jealousy more heavily, and removes Hardy's representation of Mariamne as wanting to kill Herod, which served to diminish sympathy for her. Mariamne, however, is 'shrill and acrimonious' for the first half of the play, unlike in Caussin (21-108), and Compton.

Patrick Adomson's Latin *Herodes* (c.1572) is presumed lost. Argensola's *La Alejandra* (c.1581) and Lozano's 1658 *Herodes Ascalonita* appear to be not worth investigating at this time, as Valency describes them as being very far from the regular story (85-164).

I am unable to find any version of Sachs' *Tragedia der Wutrick Konig Herodes*, let alone an English translation, so cannot comment on it at this time, though the relative age (a century before Compton's probable time of writing) and the fact that it is in a language not elsewhere engaged with in Compton's work as far as I can tell makes me suspect that it is not a likely source.

I was able to find Dolce's *Marianna* untranslated only, in a hard copy from 1809 in the British Library. My inability to read Italian limits me to commenting on the superficial structural appearance, rather than engaging meaningfully with the actual writing, unfortunately, and deeper work will have to wait for a later researcher. From the character list I can determine that the familiar Marianna, Erode, Solome, Coro, and Nunzio are present (194), though many other characters are also there, making it unlikely that it was a closely followed Compton source. Act 2 begins with Herod and Salome (226), which may fit Salome's manipulation of Herod in Compton, but I cannot tell certainly. In Act 4, the Nunzio and Chorus interact (274); while both are present in Compton, this interaction does not happen. In Act 5, Herod and 'Messo' (I assume 'Messenger') may loosely parallel to the standard Act 5 scene of Herod getting news of Mariamne's death (303). A Nunzio joins them, as happens in Compton and most other versions (306). All in all, the superficial similarities between the two texts are few,

¹ Interesting that Nicolas Caussin wrote an account of the story, which was translated into English by 1626, since Compton turned to him for his translation of *Hermenigildus*. This prose account does not have all of the details in common with the play, but could have been seen by Compton. The same volume includes the story of Hermenigildus, which could possibly explain why Compton turned to Caussin.

beyond the usual relative fidelity to the basic story followed by all versions. I do not imagine that Dolce was a significant source, though a proper translation would be necessary to know for sure.

Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* is readily available. As a classically educated private person of nobility, not writing for the commercial theatre but rather turning to the neoclassical, Seneca-inspired tradition espoused by much of the continental drama (Bevington 2002: 620), Cary offers some interesting parallels to the work of Compton a generation later. Cary's play involved more characters than Compton's does, and less closely parallels the structure than Hardy's and l'Hermite's did. However, the use of rhyme in iambic pentameter is closer (ABAB here), as is the inclusion of a Chorus (here not personified), and a Nuntio (named as such) bringing the news of Mariam's death to Herod in Act 5. These similarities, however, could have been found by both writers in the classical tradition, independently, and the similarities between Compton's and the French versions are more convincing support for the possibility of borrowing there. Still, it remains possible that Compton encountered Cary's version.

Markham and Sampson's *Herod and Antipater*¹ immediately interests me in the Prologue, with the first line 'Times eldest Daughter (Truth) presents our Play' (3), since Time and his daughter Truth indeed are characters in Compton's Chorus; however, the play itself follows most of Herod's life, only focusing on the episodes with Mariamne in Act 2, and therefore has little in common with Compton's, besides the common episode of him falling to the ground upon hearing of Mariamne's death. Also, the relationship between Truth and Time was a commonplace. I doubt that this play was used for source material.

William Goldingham's *Herodes* could be found in a 1988 facsimile version in the British Library. Being in Latin, once again I am limited in my ability to engage with the text more than superficially. The cast includes Mariemma, Herodes, Nuntius, and Chorus, as well as others not found in Compton. Act 1 begins with Mariamne alone (2r), where Compton begins with Herod, the next scene has Herod and Achiabus (3r), perhaps matching Herod's early complaints about Mariamne in Compton, but not clearly so, and Act 5 begins with Nuntius and Herod (23r), like Compton and most other versions. It appears that the differences between this and Compton's play outweigh the similarities, which probably result from the use of the same basic story and a familiarity with a similar classical/neoclassical tradition, rather than direct borrowing. Goldingham is unlikely to prove to be a plausible source for Compton.

¹ This play contains a minor character named Mutius, like in *Leontius*.

I could not find any English translation of Calderon's *El Tetrarca*, but found a Spanish 1801 hard copy in the British Library. As a result, there is again a translation limitation on my examination. It does not appear superficially that this play has much to do with Compton's. 'El Tetrarca' seems to be Herod, and there are other familiar characters like Mariene, but the rest of the characters do not seem to be shared. While the theme seems to be the same, i.e., Herod's jealousy, the structure relies on a wider scope than that used by Compton, incorporating the Romans, for instance, and does not seem to offer a likely direct source. Calderon also appears to have more advanced dramaturgy than Compton.

Tirso de Molina's *La Vida de Herodes* was available in an English 1991 verse translation in hard copy in the British Library. The benefit of access to this translation is obviously in allowing greater penetration into the sense of Molina's language, but the danger is trusting the translator to have remained faithful to his original at all times. Therefore, I proceed with caution. The cast includes Herod, Salome, and Mariamne (203), as does Compton's, though there are also other historically valid characters present, and a number who are probably dramatic inventions. The play is expansive in scope, and of a three-Act form that does not match Compton. It is preoccupied with the couple's back-story, and only reaches the onset of Herod's jealousy, and Salome's hatred of Mariamne for her disdain, in the third and final Act. Even their conflict is only briefly represented, as the focus turns to the birth of Christ and the threat this poses to Herod. As such, Molina's play cannot reasonably be considered a useful source for Compton.

I also found Samuel Pordage's 1673 *Herod and Mariamne* on EEBO.¹ Besides the fact that it is largely in heroic couplets, it is not a very close match to Compton's in structure or content, besides following the same source story.

La Calprenède (who also wrote a Hermenigildus play) wrote the play *La Mort des Enfants d'Herodes* around 1638. I found a modern hard copy in French in the British Library (1988). I cannot engage deeply with the text due to the language barrier, but I make the following observations about the structure: in common with Compton's play are the characters Herode, Pherore, and Salome (6); the rest are not in common; Mariamne is not present in the play, and it seems to be focussed on events after her death. As such, this does not appear to be a significant source for Compton's play.

¹ This play includes a minor character named Philon, a name also present in *Leontius*. It also refers to Phraates, a name used in *Bassianus*.

Caussin also recounts the story with a nod to Josephus in the non-dramatic *The Unfortunate Politique* (115-135), first translated into English in 1638, but does not add anything particularly unique.

Another book still at Castle Ashby is Josephus Ben Gorion's *The Wonderful...History ...of the Jews* (1671). This is an interesting text, as the dedication states:

It was formerly Dedicated to this *City*, in the highest brunt of the late civill Confusions. And the Noble *Author* of the following Epistle thought it very seasonable to do so, out of an express design to awaken, and warn *Her* of her desperate condition at that Time; And it produced so happy effects, that it made such impressions upon the spirits of many of the best Citizens, that they began to recollect themselves, and see their Error; The said *Author* representing unto *them*, that the same *Crimes*, and *Crying sins*, which raigned in *Jerusalem* before her last and utter destruction, were very rife *then* in *London*; which were, the spirit of *Sedition*, instable and stubborn *Rebellious hearts*, their *murmurings* at *Government*, and an itch after *Innovations*. As also the defiling of their Temple, the *Irreverence* and contempt of the *Priests*, the violation of the Tombs of the dead, with other acts of *Prophaness* and *Sacriledge*; But principally the *Crucifying* of the *Lord of Life*.

The City of London was guilty at that time, of all these ugly and enormous *Crimes*, and may be said to be lead all along by a true *Jewish spirit*; And concerning the *last*, viz. the Crucifixion of our *Saviour*, though no *Comparison* may be made without a high prophaness, yet the manner of murdering CHARLES the first, may be humbly said to bear a kind of analogy, and resemblance with it; Nay the *Jews* (whereof there are swarms now in this City) will not stick to say, that it was a Murther beyond theirs; for, what they did, they did it out of *blindness* and *ignorance*: for they neither knew nor acknowledged *Him* to be *King* of the *Jew*: But the *English* did accuse, and arraign, they did condemn, and murther King CHARLES by the *name of their own King*, the *King of England*. (7)

Obviously that is an interesting but unsurprising link between this story and the political issues of Compton's time. This volume also touches on Herod and Mariamne's story (64), but in little detail, making it unlikely as a source text.

Plausible Sources for Bassianus Material

Herodian: I here compare the content of *Bassianus* with the relevant material in the 1629 edition of Herodian's *History*, which begins in the Third Book, covering the period of Severus' reign immediately before the action of the play. Severus fights with his competition for the throne, and 'After a long and grim Fight, there being on each side so great Slaughter, that the Riuers which ran through the Plaine, sent much more Bloud than water into the Sea' (139); this image may well be reflected in the play's early description of Severus by his son Bassianus, 'one whose father, swam through streames

of blood / To grasp this prized jewell dominion' (7). Herodian describes the demise of Severus' competition, Niger, who 'also grew desperate, and betooke himselfe to flight; but being found hid in a Subvrban house, by the Horsemen that pursued him his Head was strucke off' (140). It might be straining the connection, but perhaps this image resonates in Papinianus' description of Severus in the play: 'What was Severus? a poore Affrican, / By fortunes favord, & Bellona graced, / sets foot upon y^e weaker Nigers head' (4). Herodian then covers such elements as a conspiracy against Severus by Plautian (father to Bassianus' wife, referenced in 'Bassianus' 1.3), the ever-present and increasing tension between the co-emperor brothers Bassianus and Geta, Bassianus' contempt for Plautian's daughter his arranged wife, Plautian's daughter being sent to Sicily (though in Herodian by Severus), the campaign in Britain where Severus dies, followed by a Bassianus-inspired bloodbath, Bassianus' obsession with sole rule, the soldiers' obeying Severus' commands to follow both brothers, and the brothers' return to Rome with Severus' ashes. All of these elements are referred to in the play. Herodian's third book ends with the brothers returning to Rome:

'Then both the Brothers, ruling with equall Authority, sailed out of *Britaine*, and took their Iourny for *Rome*, carrying with them their Fathers Reliques. For his Body being burned, the Ashes (mixt with sweet Odours) were bestowed in an Urne of Alablaster, which they tooke to *Rome*, to place it in the sacred Sepulchers of the Emperours' (180).

Again, this is perhaps reflected in the play's first scene, when Papinianus says of Severus,

as wee know long since
his cold asshes rest
In frozen Brittain [his dead Carcass lies.] (5)

As I will describe below for another example, the playwright may be replacing his own initial idea here with that in Herodian, opting for the ashes image over that of a carcass.

The play concretely joins Herodian a matter of sentences into his fourth book, with a reference to the brothers addressing the people (see *Bassianus* 1.2), and a description of the funeral rites performed for the dead Emperor Severus. In a fashion reminiscent of Shakespeare's plundering of North's Plutarch, the *Bassianus* playwright borrows heavily from a long Herodian passage. I quote Herodian below, italicising the parallels and bold-facing the precise wording usage to show the close relationship between the texts:

Yet had they speciall care to solemnize their Fathers Funerall with Glorious Ceremonies. *Forit is the manner of the Romans to Deifie those Emperours,*

the maior part inclined to *Geta* , because hee shewed some Sparkes of Noble Honestie, and was mild and affable in Conuersation, and vsed Honourable Studies. For he had still about him famous learned men...Hee was also full of Humanitie and Courtesie towards All ; and of so Gracefull and Princely Behaiour,that the Fame and good Opinion of him drew most Mens Affections to him. (191)

The playwright emphasises this honourable side and does not portray Geta's historical animosity towards Bassianus. Geta says 'should I become / A fratricide that act alone will staine, / All y^e past glories of my now famed youth' (19).

To contrast, Herodian writes that Bassianus 'bore himselfe in a harsh and rugged Fashion ; and being altogether auerse from the things before recited, affected the Reputation of a Martialist and Man of Warre. Whereupon, doing all things in Choler and Fury, he sought rather to win Men by Threatning than Intreating, and by Feare than Loue' (191-2). The playwright efficiently sums this up in Bassianus' words as he confides to his henchman. I have again italicised parallels and marked same word use in bold:

Bas:

*Heere in this sword doth all my safety ly
Tis not the Senats dull morallitie,
That props my greatness up, but **Martiall** arms,
[...]
I must by terror keepe, what hee did get
By **warlick** stratagemes, & deepest plots.
[...]
I know y^e Senate Dreads my tyranny,
And flattring hopes of **Getas milder** soule
Would tempt them to attempt my funerall,
Besides y^e soldiers selfe with comely formes are tane
And nature hath mee to deformed made.
so yⁱ I cannot frame my selfe to [smile] fawne
Nor hide with smiles y^e dictates of my heart. (7)*

Similarities have been previously identified between Bassianus' poor self-image and that of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, but the 1629 Herodian itself offers a reasonable source of Bassianus' description.

Herodian then discusses the widow Empress Julia's attempts to keep peace between the brothers. The playwright aligns Julia with Geta specifically, and spends the rest of the second Act fleshing out the supporting characters and intertwining their tensions to build the stakes between the Emperors.

Herodian next describes Bassianus' successful plot to kill Geta in Julia's chamber:

he determined in despight of all Danger,to breake through all Difficulties.
Wherefore rushing into his Brothers Chamber...sleyd him in his Mothers

Armes... he leapes forth, and...cries out, he had like to haue beene murdered, and hardly escaped. Then he commands his Guard to conuey him presently into the Campe, to saue his life ; saying, he should instantly be slaine...They believing what he said, and not knowing what was done within, ranne along with him. (195)

Bassianus then tells those who encountered him after the murder that it was done in self-defence. The playwright follows this action to end Act 3, with Geta dying in his mother's arms, though perhaps for theatrical convenience the onlookers rush into the chamber, rather than having Bassianus rush through the streets:

Bas: Hast Martinianus and crie treason,
Say y^t I was by Geta hither drawne,
with purpose fully to haue murderd mee
Raise y^e prætorian bands, and fill their heads
With horror of the fact; then say y^t I
The dagger rested from his murdrous hands,
And what I now repent to hastily
Did sheath it in my wicked brothers brest. (45)

Herodian's Bassianus ends this episode by intimidating those present: 'Hauing thus said with a Loud Voice (in great Rage) and casting a terrible Frowne on his Brothers Friends, he leaues the Senators (most whereof lookt pale and trembled) and hurries to the Palace' (200). The play ends Act 3 in the same mood:

Bas: You know y^r charges, and refusalls pric<e.> **Exit** (49)

Herodian then describes escalating atrocities conducted by Bassianus, which would be theatrically difficult to realise, as they range around in large-scale massacres in various locations. In this violence Bassianus also has his wife killed. Where Herodian talks of pangs of guilt tormenting him for his acts, Compton introduces pangs of love for Julia tormenting him.

Herodian next tells of Bassianus sending word to the Parthian King Artabanus that he wants to marry his daughter:

He sends Letters to *Artabanus* the King of *Parthia*, and Embassadors with stately Presents ; *Certifying them, that he was desirous to haue his daughter to Wife ; that he was an Emperour, and sonne to an Emperour, and was not minded therefore to be Sonne in Law to any Subiect, or meane Person, but rather to espouse a Queene , or some great Princesse* (211)

Bassianus eventually persuades the Parthians to trust him in this venture. In the play, Bassianus commands his henchman:

Send post to Parthia, to my agents there
To let them know Plautilla fills a graue,
And let them treat a matche, with Parthias King,
Use all faire words [and] to shew my loue to peace. (35)

The Herodian quote about what results from the Parthian agreement follows:

Approaching (after a long March to the Court of *Artabanus*, the King goes forth to meet the Bridegroome (his Sonne in Law) in a faire Plaine before the City, attended with a wondrous company of Barbarians, wearing Chaplets of Flowers, and diuers coloured Vestures of wrought Gold...the Barbarians (hauing left their Horses, Bowes, and Arowes)...thronged and crowded together to see the Royall Bridegroome ; *Antonine* made a Signe to his Souldiers to flie vpon them and murder them . The Barbarians amazed at this, gaue backe and fled ; the Romans following the Chase , killing and wounding them. *Artabanus* himselfe being rescued by his Guard, and set on Horsebacke, had much adoe to escape with a few of his Courtiers. The Remainder of the Barbarians were put all to the Sword. (214)

The playwright follows this line of action closely in Act 5.

Herodian then describes the campaign and several individuals involved in it, who are developed by the playwright into substantial characters. The first, ‘was very aged, and though no great Statesman, yet a good Martiall man. His name was *Audentius*’ (216). *Audentius* is important in this context because he is apparently not mentioned in the other sources, and therefore ties the play specifically to Herodian’s account.¹

Herodian continues:

The other (called *Macrinus*) was well seene in Points of State, and an excellent Lawyer. Him the Prince did oft shrewdly checke and taunt, (in publique) as a man of no Spirit or Valour...For vnderstanding that he kept a good Table, and loathed the course Viands, that himselfe delighted in, (like a Souldier)and that he vsed to weare a short Cloake, and other City Attire ; he called him an Effeminate Coward, and continually threatened to kill him. (216-7)

This view of *Macrinus* as a man of inactivity is cultivated throughout the play, from the moment when the first lavish description of *Severus*’ funeral rites is put into his mouth and he expresses affection for ceremony, over this ‘base dunghill earth’.

Herodian describes *Bassianus*’ growing paranoia about plots against him, and his consultation with astrologers:

he writes to one *Maternianus*, to whom he had committed the Gouernment of the State at *Rome* ; and (as to his most confident friend) He had imparted all his Secrets ; willing him to enquire out the chiefe Magicians and Coniurers, that were to be found...how long he had to liue ; and whether any intended to surprize the Empire. *Maternianus* obeying his Command , (whether the Spirits signified so much, or whether he plotted so against *Macrinus* ;) writes backe to *Antonine*, that *Macrinus* insidiously aspired to the Empire, and that therefore he should make him away. (217-8)

Maternianus is named *Martinianus* in *Bassianus*. In Herodian the letters arrive as *Bassianus* prepares for a chariot race. The playwright contracts events, plausibly for the

¹ This mention also removes Centerwall’s link between *Bassianus* and the Latin Oxford play, since he claimed *Audentius* was a fictional character shared only by the two plays.

sake of pace, and has the letters arrive in the midst of the Parthian trap. In both scenarios, a distracted Bassianus hands them to Macrinus, who takes a private moment to read them, and discovers the danger in which he is living. In Herodian:

Macrinus retiring himself, broke vp the seuerall Letters, and fell vpon that which aimed at his Destruction. Perceiuing therefore that his Danger was great and impendent ; and well knowing *Antonines* ferall Cruelty(especially hauing so faire a Pretext)he reserues that Letter to himselfe, and (as his manner was) acquainted the Prince with the Contents of the rest. But fearing, lest *Maternianus* should write againe of the same Businesse, he resolued rather to *doe* than *suffer* ; and thus he Plots. (218-9)

In the play, Macrinus reads the following in the letter:

S.^r I haue spoke with the Astrologers
By their discription it is Macrinus
Must succeed, but if hee bee once remoued
You shall enjoy a long & glorious raigne,
Alls quiet heere hopes, fears, and want of wit,
Makes Rome secure & to y.^r raigne submit.
Let not Macrinus liue, and you are safe.

Martinianus. (79)

Herodian then describes a soldier named Martial:

There was one *Martial*, a Centurion, and one of *Antonines* Guard, that still waited on him ; whose Brother was a few dayes before, executed by the Prince, vpon bare Information (without Prooffe or Processe) who had also called *Martial* himselfe, *base Coward*... This Man being infinitely grieued at his Brothers Death, and enraged with those reproaches, *Macrinus*... sends for , reposing in him... Him he perswades to kill *Antonine*, vpon the first Opportunity (219)

In *Bassianus*, Martial is Martialis, and is made Papinianus' brother (also killed in the play). The playwright clearly represents the tension between Bassianus and these two men:

Bas. No more excuses for y.^r cowardise,
You Martialis saw Artabanus
All in dispaire, to pull mee from my horse
Yet you nere offerd once to rescue mee,

/.../

Mac: S.^r tis^{well} knowne what wee for Rome haue don.
Then do not brand our fames with cowardice.

/.../

Mac: Haue I deserued these dainty epithites.

Mar: Nor I'. to bee branded for a coward,

/.../

Mac: Wee both resolute his death necessarie

/.../

Mac: I me prompted for mine owne securitie.

Mar: I me prompted by my country's injury.
My brothers tragick fate, braue Getas death

I shall revenge at once and set, old rome
 In hopes to reache her former honord fame.
 And though the last, tis of no little weight.
 I by my quickness shall secure my friend (82)

The play abruptly ends in the Parthian court, midway through the Parthian general's line: 'Might I advise you' (88). Considering the close relationship between the play and Herodian, I propose that the missing ending was probably intended to follow the final stretch of action in Herodian's fourth book. In it, Bassianus:

in *Mesopotamia*, went from his Palace to visit the Temple of the Moone (a good distance from the City)... Taking with him but a small Troope of Horse... In the Midway, commanding all to stand off, hee went aside to his Easement, taking but a Page along with him. Whereupon all turning their faces and going a great way off (for Honours sake) *Martial*, who watched euerie Minute of Opportunitie, as soone as he perceiued the Prince was all alone, runs instantly (as if He had beckoned to him to doe somewhat) and stabs him behinde with a Stiletto , (as hee was vncovering himselfe,) The wound being mortall, hee was suddenly slaine , without recouerie. Which done, *Martial* takes horse and flies. But the Germane Horsemen which *Antonine* much delighted in, and vsed for his Guard ; being next at hand, and the first that saw what was done, pursued him, and thrust him thorow with their Iauelins. When the Report hereof was brought to the Army, they all ran together to the Place ; where *Macrinus* was the first that fell a weeping and wailing (dissemblingly) ouer the dead Body... *Macrinus* hauing burnt the Corps, sent his Ashes in an Vrne to his Mother to bury it... and for grieffe of her Childrens Disasters, slew her selfe; whether voluntarily or by compulsion, is vncertaine... the Souldiers being all in a Maze, were two Dayes without an Emperour, debating who was fittest to be elected : For they had Intellgence, that *Artabanus* was marching with a mightie Army to be reuenged on them, and to sacrifice them to the Ghosts of them they had trecherously slaine in time of Peace and Festiuall Solemnie. They proceed therefore to Election ; and first they make choice of *Audentius*, a man bred vp in the Warres, and a good Commander. But he alleaging he was super-annate, refuses the Empire : whereupon they elect *Macrinus*... Thus was *Macrinus* made Emperour, not so much by the Souldiers Loue and Fidelitie, as by vrgent Necessitie. Presently after, *Artabanus* approached with his Forces, leading a huge Army (220-22)

Then after some fighting,

Macrinus vnderstanding that the only cause why *Artabanus* fought so fiercely and obstinately, was because he supposed hee warred against *Antoninus*... sent Heralds with Letters to the Parthian' explaining the situation and asking for peace... Which Letters *Artabanus* hauing read, and being fully informed (by the Heralds) of *Antoninus* murther... he concludes a Peace with *Macrinus*, and returnes home. The *Roman* Emperour marched likewise with his Army out of *Mesopotama*, and went to *Antioch*. (228-9)

A Summary of Dio Cassius' *Dio's Rome: An Historical Narrative*: I have found a translation of Dio Cassius' *Roman History* on Project Gutenberg, translated in 1906. The

relevant part of the history seems to begin with Book 75, with discussion of Severus' conquest over Niger. Book 76 covers much of Severus' reign, and names Plautilla (Ch. 14); it mentions Plautianus' disdain for Julia, which is implied in the heavily edited Plautilla scene in *Bassianus* (Ch. 15). In Book 77, the name Antoninus is favoured for Bassianus, and his marriage to Plautilla is discussed (Ch. 1); the strained marriage is mentioned, with Plautilla described as shameless (Ch. 2); Bassianus accuses Plautianus of wrongdoing and has him killed, causing Julia joy and Plautilla despair (Ch. 4); Plautilla and her brother Plautius are banished (Ch. 6); the growing misbehaviour not only of Bassianus but also Geta (Ch. 7); during the British campaign Papinianus is mentioned (Ch. 14); Severus' dying advice to his sons was 'Be harmonious, enrich the soldiers, scorn everybody else', and in the play Bassianus says that his father's advice was to treat the soldiers well in particular; Severus dies and is cremated in Britain, then his ashes are conveyed to Rome (Ch. 15). In Book 78, Bassianus immediately begins to seize power, dismisses Papinianus as prefect, has Plautilla killed, and feuds with Geta (Ch. 1); he tricks Geta into meeting at their mother Julia's house (full mother) and has soldiers kill Geta in her arms (Ch. 2); he has Papinianus killed (Ch. 4); interestingly, Dio mentions that Bassianus 'made no account of anything excellent: he never learned anything of the kind, as he himself admitted', which is much like the line in the play, 'What's good I know but never learned to do't', he also apparently did not keep a counsellor, which may go against the character of Martinianus in the play (Ch. 11); during his campaigns he began to grow mad, often imagining his father's and brother's ghosts (Ch. 14). In Book 79, the Parthian campaign is discussed, though with Artabanus and the feigned marriage only briefly touched on (Ch. 1); an African seer apparently tells Macrinus of the prophesy that he should reign, Macrinus tells Maternianus in the city, and Maternianus writes to Bassianus, but the letter diverts to Julia instead, and another from a different individual is intercepted by Macrinus, which is different from in the play (Ch. 4); he suborns among others Martialis, though unlike the play's Martialis, Martialis has a grudge against Bassianus for denying him a centurion's post, and Martialis kills him while he is relieving himself by approaching pretending to have something to say, then stabbing him, and then being killed himself (Ch. 5); Macrinus' character is somewhat described, as is his assumption of power, and his putting Maternianus out of his office, which Dio says is unfair to a faithful servant (Ch. 15); Julia hears of Bassianus' death and is miserable at the thought of returning to private life, and starves herself to death eventually (Ch. 23).

Summary of *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*: I found an online transcription of the Loeb translation (1921-1932) by David Magie. 'The Life of Septimus Severus' discusses Severus' wife Julia, two sons, the beheading of Niger (391), calls Bassianus by that name (395), describes the downfall of Plautianus and the marriage of his daughter to Bassianus (405), gives a brief mention of Severus' splendid funeral and deification (417), and for the first time found, a gossipy reference that Bassianus is a son from Severus' marriage prior to Julia, who bore him Geta (421), Bassianus' wicked murder of Geta on Julia's bosom, marriage to his stepmother Julia, murder of Papinian the great legal mind for blaming him for Geta's murder (423), and that his ashes returned to Rome in a golden urn (429). 'The Life of Pescennius Niger' again mentions Niger's beheading (443). 'The Life of Antoninus Caracalla' tells of Bassianus' early hatred of Plautianus, his growing sternness and aggressive expression (5), his murder of Geta in the palace by soldiers (7), buying the soldiers' loyalty (9), Papinian's death by axe in Bassianus' presence, and the murder of Papinian's son (11), his murder while urinating as a result of the prefect Macrinus' treachery with the help of many, including Martialis, who was blamed by his bodyguard for the murder while the bodyguard themselves were directly responsible (19). Papinian is described as a close friend of Severus, possibly related to him through Julia, who had tried to reconcile the brothers, even pleading for Geta's life, which possibly led to his death. Another version says Bassianus told Papinian to explain away the murder to the senate, to which Papinianus replied that it was not as easy to explain away a fratricide as to commit it, and again that he was told to write a speech to condemn the dead Geta, which he refused to do to tarnish an innocent murdered man. All of these the writer suggests are untrue, as Papinian's job as prefect of the guard would not have put him in a position to do such things. He says that Papinian, while being dragged away to his death, warned that his successor would be wise to avenge him, which was fulfilled when Macrinus achieved Bassianus' death (23); there was no resemblance between Bassianus and Geta (25), that Julia was beautiful, and once carelessly revealed usually covered parts of her body, to which

Antoninus said, "I should like to, if I might," whereupon, they relate, she replied, "If you wish, you may; are you not aware that you are the emperor and that you make the laws and do not receive them?" By these words his violent passion was strengthened for the perpetration of a crime, and he contracted a marriage, which, were he in truth aware that he made the laws, it were his sole duty to forbid. For he took to wife his mother (by no other name should she be called), and to fratricide he added incest, for he joined to himself in marriage the woman whose son he had recently slain. (27)

In 'The Life of Antoninus Geta', Geta as a youth is described as handsome and fairly respectful, but still something of a libertine, he was respectful to both of his parents and studious, but hateful of his brother and not generous (41); it also notes his death and Papinian's, and the bribing of the soldiers to calm them (45). In 'The Life of Opellius Macrinus', Macrinus is described as being disliked by all, but that the Senate was relieved that someone other than Bassianus now ruled (51).

Summary of *Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla*: This text can be found in a modern translation put together by William Mahaney and Walter Sherwin (1976). It dates to c.1618 at Oxford (1). It appears that Dio was the primary source for this play, however, with the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* also probably consulted for some details, as well as Herodian (12-13). Act 1 Scene 1 has an entrance with Antoninus, Geta, Julia, Papinianus, Maternianus, the urn, and various others and onlookers (37), which is similar to the second scene in Compton's in having peace implied, though with a much heavier focus on mourning Severus. In Act 1 Scene 2, two citizens discuss the sad state of Rome, the Gods, the brutality of Severus and Bassianus, the difference between the brothers, greed and fear running through the people and the Senate, and the general background to the situation (45). This is somewhat similar to the content of Compton's 1-1, if not in form. Act 1 Scene 4 has Papinianus speak in a lamentation similar to the sort given to him in Compton's, to a character named Chilo (51). In Act 1 Scene 5, Julia enters, fearing Geta's destruction, but finding little help from the cautious Papinianus and Chilo (57); this resonates faintly with her scenes in Compton's advising Geta, but not much beyond that. In Act 2 Scene 1, Antoninus enters with underlings, largely wanting Geta's death, and sending his henchmen to bring it about (67); to some degree this is similar to Bassianus' early scenes in Compton's, consulting with Martinianus, but the mood is not quite the same and Compton's Bassianus does not delegate the task. Act 2 Scene 2 has Geta entering to where Antoninus is, fleeing the attacking henchmen, finding his end at his brother's hands, who then gloats about it (73); this is somewhat similar to Compton's Bassianus stabbing Geta and then gloating. In Act 2 Scene 3, Julia is alone, realises that Geta has been killed, and bewails it while hoping for vengeance. When she hears someone coming, she stifles her feelings in case they prove dangerous (79). This is somewhat like Julia in Compton's Act 4, after Geta's death, where she mourns similarly, pulling herself together when Martinianus enters. In Act 2 Scene 5, Antoninus, Maternianus, Audentius, Macrinus, and soldiers join Chilo and Papinianus. Antoninus defends his actions and commands the others to justify it to the populace.

Papinianus refuses to cast shame on an innocent dead man (87), as does Chilo. Antoninus sends both to their death while Maternianus approves. Antoninus gives their offices to Audentius and Macrinus (89). There is similarity to Compton in the mass presence during Bassianus' explanation, Papinianus' resistance and execution, and Martinianus' smugness. In Act 3 Scene 2, Maesa woos Julia for Antoninus while Maternianus looks on. She raises the fears of incest, but is won over by persuasion that the Gods too are incestuous (103). There is some minor similarity to the scene in Compton where Martinianus does the persuasion, though there it is not concluded until Bassianus joins them, and takes much more effort to bring about. Act 3 Scene 3 has Antoninus moaning to Rufus about his love for Julia while he waits for news of how the wooing went. Rufus tries to downplay the situation and advises turning away from love, but Antoninus refuses (109). This is fairly similar to Compton's scene prior to the wooing, at the start of Act 4, where Martinianus finds Bassianus in torment over his lust, advises ignoring it, then agrees to woo Julia on Bassianus' behalf. In Act 4 Scene 2, Rufus calms Antoninus, advising that he will contact oracles. Antoninus plans to send a letter to Maternianus for support, and to have his henchman killed as demanded by Julia in order to appease fate (133). This is largely unlike Compton, except in the matter of oracles being consulted and Maternianus being in contact via letters. In Act 4 Scene 5, Antonius, Audentius, Macrinus, and others enter. They consult ghosts. A letter arrives from Maternianus, which Antoninus gives to Macrinus to read (149). This matches Compton with the letter from Maternianus being given to Macrinus, and in the fact that supernatural forces are consulted, but not in having the ghosts or the supernatural consultation happening onstage with Bassianus personally. In Act 4 Scene 6, Macrinus reads the letter, seeing that Maternianus claims that a prophesy showed that Macrinus sought the throne. Macrinus claims innocence, but is glad the letter was not seen by Antoninus (151). This is fairly similar to the letter scene in Compton. In Act 5 Scene 1, Macrinus speaks to Martial and persuades him to attempt Antoninus' death. Martial is willing, due to resenting Antoninus for killing his brother (157). This is a touch similar to Compton, but not entirely: Compton has the men on more equal footing, both at least on the surface wanting to kill Bassianus personally, and Papinianus is made to be Martial's brother. In Act 5 Scene 3, Antoninus is joined by Martial, disguised as Maternianus' messenger. He kills the unsuspecting Antoninus, then Rufus, then is killed by the guards (165), in Act 5 Scene 4, Julia kills herself (169), in Act 5 Scene 5, Macrinus and others enter, with Macrinus assuring better times ahead under his reign (173); Compton does not reach this point.

Eutropius *Breviarum Historiae Romanae* summary: This item appears on *EEBO* in English translations as early as 1564 by 'Nicholas Havvard' (Howard?). That is the only version on *EEBO* printed before Compton's 1682 death. Immediately I take pause, seeing that the dedication is addressed to 'THE RIGHTE worshipful and excellent yong Gentle man, mayster Henry Compton Esquier' (2); considering the date of the work and the compliments paid to him in the dedication, this Henry Compton is almost certainly James Compton's great-grandfather, who became 1st Lord Compton, and began the building of the current Castle Ashby. This does make it plausible that a copy of the book was still in the family in James Compton's time, though it is not at Castle Ashby now.

Eutropius picks up the story of the Severan dynasty in Book 8. It notes Severus' African heritage, killing of Niger (94), his final campaign in Britain, leaving Bassianus and Geta as co-Emperors, Geta's death, Bassianus marrying 'his mother in law Iuba' (104), and his death while turning to the Parthian war (105). This is an extremely brief description of events indeed, and could not have served as a major source for Compton. Nevertheless, it is interesting to think of the dedication to his ancestor of this early edition.

Summary of Victor's *De Caesaribus*: I could not find an early English version of Sextus Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus*, though I found a 1994 translation by H.W. Bird online. The account of the story is again too brief to have been a primary source, though it touches on Severus in Britain, his remains returned by Geta and Bassianus and honoured 'in splendid fashion' (24), Geta's downfall due to a gentler nature, as well as Papinian's death possibly for protesting the murder, Bassianus using money to secure loyalty, marrying his stepmother Julia after she suggested that he could after revealing some of her body to him (25), and his death that was supposedly widely mourned (26).

Summary of Geoffrey's *History of the Kings of Britain*: The brief reference in Geoffrey does not offer much more detail than that Bassianus and Geta were half-brothers from Severus, and that Bassianus killed Geta in battle over the leadership (1999: 73).

Summary of Higden's *Prolicionycion* [sic]: This text's brief coverage notes that Severus was African, that of his half-brother sons Bassianus and Geta, Geta was put to

death and Bassianus made emperor, Bassianus was even more cruel and lecherous than his father, and took his stepmother Juliana as his wife, and that Macrinus became the next emperor (1482: 226-229).

Summary of Holinshed's *Chronicles*: Castle Ashby retains 1586-1587 volumes of Holinshed. This summary comes from Volumes 1 and 2 as accessed on *EEBO*. Severus had two sons, half-brothers Geta and Bassianus, and was slain in Britain. Bassianus kills Geta in battle with help from the Britons, but also dies in Britain himself. Julia is Geta's mother. Alternately, they take Severus' ashes back to Rome, and Julia tries to keep the peace while they co-rule, but Bassianus' ambition leads him to kill Geta in his chambers in his mother's lap, and Bassianus is later killed by a soldier as he prepares to relieve himself (1587: 319-321).

Comparison of *Bassianus* with Shakespeare's *Richard III*: Scenes between the works are clearly akin, but not identical. If there is any question of Richard's intentions during the wooing scene, he makes it totally clear afterwards that it was simply a game to him, and that he does not care about Anne. Alternately, Bassianus appears genuine in his newfound love for Julia at all times after Act 4 begins. Julia herself seems more daring than Anne, and actually actively prepares to kill Bassianus with the sword, whereas Anne never genuinely threatens anything more than with curses. Anna also seems to fall genuinely for Richard's charms at this point in the play, whereas for Julia, it appears primarily a matter of regaining her lost power. Richard speaks confidently at the end of his scene of doing away with Anne when he tires of her, whereas it is Julia giving a similar speech at the end of hers. Still, the episodes with the swords are extremely similar, so it must be considered that *Bassianus* potentially borrowed from *Richard III*.

The sense and wording of certain passages are quite close as well. Comparing Richard's reasoning of why Anne's husband belongs in Heaven (a), with Julia's justification of abandoning avenging Geta (b):

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| (a) | ‘The better for the King of heaven that hath him’ | (1.2.279) |
| (b) | ‘Geta was fit to bee Eliziums guest’ | (37v) |

Comparing Richard's opinion of where he belongs (a), with Bassianus' opinion (b):

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|
| (a) | ‘Your Bed-chamber’ | (1.2.287) |
| (b) | ‘My throne and bed are but with sorrow filld
Till you uouschafe, to shine in glory there’ | (35r) |

Of the sword scenes, with Richard on the left and Bassianus on the right, with similar lines matched side by side:

1. Loe heere I lend thee this sharpe-pointed Sword,
 2. Which if thou please to hide in this true brest,
 3. And let the Soule forth that adareth thee,
 4. I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
 5. And humbly begge the death upon my knee,
 6. [He layes his brest open, she offers at with his sword]
 7. Nay do not pause: For I did kill King Henrie,
 8. But 'twas thy Beauty that provoked me.
 9. Nay now dispatch: 'Twas I that stabb'd yong Edward,
 10. But 'twas thy Heavenly face that set me on.
 11. [She fals the Sword]
 12. Take up the Sword again, or take up me.
- (1.2.356-365)

1. Let not my being armd affright you so
 2. Into y^r hand Ile put my sword & lay
 3. My brest defenceless to y^r wisht revenge
 4. And this comfort to Elizium beare
 5. I died by her, faire hand & cruell hate
 6. Without whose loue I could not wish to liue.
 7. Now strike, yet hold, I feare not death.
 8. But what after my death, may bee y^r fate.
 9. / skipping 27 lines of debate /
 10. dispatche y^r loue or hate.
 11. Julia: To fill a throne is better then a graue,
 12. There take y^r sword, though I haue cause to hate
- (36r-v)

It can be readily seen that much of the significant wording is the same, as is the pacing, except that in the middle of the *Bassianus* scene, I have skipped a twenty-seven-line exchange between a confrontational Julia and Bassianus who keeps pleading in the same fashion. This may well be a close borrowing, but the two plays' characters still develop differently, with Julia the far stronger female, in terms of will, debating skill, and aggression.

Richard's private self-congratulation afterwards (a) compared with Julia's final musing (b) are likewise similar:

- (a) 'Was ever woman in this humour woo'd? / Was ever woman in this
humour wonne?' (1.2.410-411)
- (b) Tis strange perhaps that I should bee so soone, / Won, and by one I did
so much abhor (37v)

Richard III does seem like a reasonable template for a play about a tyrant rising to power by killing those who oppose him, especially one who, like Richard, has been cast by history as physically unattractive. Comparing Richard's self-image (a) and justification for his acts (b) with Bassianus' (c):

- (a) But I, that am not shap'd for sportive trickes,
Nor made to court an amorous Looking-glasse:
/.../
Cheated of Feature by dissembling Nature,
Deform'd, un-finish'd, sent before my time
Into this breathing World, scarce halfe made up,
And that so lamely and unfashionable,
That dogges barke at me, as I halt by them
/.../
And descant on mine owne Deformity. (1.i.14-27)
- (b) Because I cannot flatter, and looke faire,
Smile in mens faces, smooth, deceive, and cogge,
Ducke with French nods, and Apish curtesie,
I must be held a rancorous Enemy. (1.iii.494-497)
- (c) Besides y^e soldiers self with comely formes are tane
And nature hath mee to deformed made.
So y^t I cannot frame my self to fawne
Nor hide with smiles y^e dictates of my heart. (6r-6v)

Both men are clear that their appearances invite mistrust and hatred, and that they are left unable to play courtly games, but instead must use aggression to gain their ends.

The Captives Comparison

I compare the fragment with a 1965 Penguin Classics translation by Watling titled *The Prisoners (Captivi)*. Watling notes that the play has been paid compliments as being 'the most perfect comedy ever to appear on any stage' (53). In the character list, Hegio is described as 'a wealthy Aetolian gentleman', Philocrates as 'an Elian prisoner of war', and Tyndarus as 'his slave and companion, also a prisoner' (56).

Act 1 is essentially a Prologue about two pages long, and introduces the situation: Tyndarus was kidnapped from Aetolia as a child and sold as a slave to Philocrates' father in Elis. They have now been captured as prisoners of war, and Tyndarus' own blood father Hegio has purchased them; he has been buying Elian prisoners in the hopes of using them to barter for his own known son, captured and imprisoned in Elis. Meanwhile, Tyndarus and Philocrates have exchanged clothing and identities, in the hope of getting Philocrates sent back to Elis as a supposed messenger from Hegio (57-59).

In Act 2, the first approximately five pages consist of a parasite Ergasilus lamenting about his master (Hegio's son) being captured, as Ergasilus had been living off him. He gets invited to dinner with Hegio, who leaves a guard in charge of the prisoners. Tyndarus asks the guard for some privacy, and he and Philocrates step aside to talk (59-64). The first line of the fragment, 'we give you all a trouble, in thus complying with our desires', is assigned to Philocrates, but in the modern edition is actually given to Tyndarus, thanking the guard for giving them privacy. The texts are essentially line-for-line the same in content until another stretch of a few confused lines: in Compton,

Tin: Now would you have me represent your person.
 Phi: What I persuade you to do, I would do the same to my own father.
 Tin: And I to you if I might call you father.
 Phi: I love you next a father.
 Tin: I understand you. (73r)

In the modern edition, the breakdown is as follows:

Tyn: So I hope you won't disappoint me. And what I say to you, I'd say to my own father.
 Phi: I could almost call you my own father, if I dared. You have always been a second father to me.
 Tyn: Yes, I have. (65)

It appears that lines 1-2 in Compton are roughly line 1 in the modern, and 3-4 in Compton line 2 in the modern. Both can make sense, so it probably comes down to a question of fidelity to the presumably Latin source of each.

The two versions continue line-for-line until one modern Tyndarus line ('We're safe! The lad can talk philosophy as well as he tells lies') as an aside while Hegio is interrogating Philocrates (66), which Compton does not include. There is then one more difference, as Philocrates says that Tyndarus' father's brother's name was Theodoromides in Compton, but it's the father's own original name in the modern edition (67). Compton's fragment cuts off mid-speech.

In the rest of the modern Act 2, the pair convinces Hegio to send Philocrates to Elis to arrange the exchange of Hegio's son for supposedly Tyndarus. Tyndarus asks Philocrates not to forget about him (67-73).

In Act 3, the parasite again complains of his slim rewards. Then Hegio brings in another prisoner from Elis, who identifies Tyndarus as himself. Hegio sends Tyndarus to hard labour (73-84).

In Act 4, the parasite gleefully comes to Hegio telling him that his own son (and the slave who originally stole his other infant son) has been seen at the harbour, and then he goes into Hegio's house to prepare a feast (84-90).

In Act 5, Philocrates, the thieving slave and the wayward son are brought back to Hegio, who identifies Tyndarus as his son and frees him. All reconcile (90-94).

Though there is not much to go by in the fragment, I wanted to attempt to determine whether Compton's differences from the modern version were due to a different source text being available in early modern times, or some other reason. However, the earliest that I can find printed in England is in *ECCO* from 1724, well after Compton's death, in Latin. In terms of the variations, as far as I can tell the 1724 version agrees with the modern in assigning the fragment's first line to Tyndarus rather than Philocrates. The second variation about Tyndarus and Philocrates calling each other 'father' also matches the 1724 with the modern. The third variation, the extra aside by Tyndarus in the modern, is also in the 1724 version. The final variation about the original name of the father in the modern being the father's brother's in Compton's stretches my weak Latin translation abilities, but I believe the name refers to the father himself in the 1724, again matching the modern (77-80). Since all of the variations seem to be between Compton and both the oldest English version that I can find and a modern one, I must assume that either Compton was working from a deficient earlier Latin source, made several errors not only of translation but also of line assignment, or chose to make the variations. It is not really possible to determine which is the case from these scant examples.

Additional Potential Cultural Resonances

Hermenigildus: There are several matters that could have attracted Compton to Caussin's play. Hermenigildus 'is come into y^t army, e of his owne accord if you command will fly to y^t embraces' (9v), which could link with Charles being brought into either the Scots or Parliamentary army in 1646, though perhaps less eagerly.

Hermenigildus' enemies have 'counterfeited letters' indicating 'Hermenigildus to bee by y^e Christians ad=ui\$ed, instigated e intreated y^t his father whome by force hee could not hee \$hould by craft orethrow...this will ea\$ily moue y^e mind of a \$u\$picious credulous old man' (12v); various times through the war and Charles' captivity, Parliament captured letters suggesting that Charles was communicating with foreign, often Catholic, forces, and Charles was suspected of crypto-Catholicism. If the play's 'suspicious credulous old man', were to represent England, or Parliament, or the People, there could be a resonance in this.

Hermenigildus calls his wife 'a Kings daughter, a Kings \$i\$ter, a Kings neece' (18v). This was true of Henrietta Maria, Charles' Catholic wife, who actively attempted to convert members of the family and was therefore viewed with suspicion. The Princess is further described as 'a frenche and Christian wife' (21r), further matching Henrietta.

Hermenigildus' various faithful young friends may resonate with a young Compton's perception of himself in relation to the doomed King Charles,¹ and the most energised scene in the play is when the passionate young Royalist Durias rails at the two Machiavellian plotters responsible for Hermenigildus' downfall,² which may have attracted Compton to the play to reflect his own contempt for Charles' foes at least since he took up the King's side in 1642.

In the Fifth Act, Hermenigildus is offered communion with 'Arian Bi\$shops, but not with Roman, y^t father hath \$trictly forbidden' (26r). Charles was regularly forbidden contact with his Church's representatives. Hermenigildus faces death calmly, while his followers become hysterical out of guilt for allowing the situation to reach such a point, much as Charles and his followers behaved. After Hermenigildus' death, all mourn him as a martyr, again matching Charles' post-regicide treatment by Royalists and many others in the English population.

¹ Randall suggests that Hermenigildus the soldier-martyr could also resonate for Compton concerning his father's death and his own suffering, though acknowledges that the regicide seems the most likely link (1995: 211-213).

² This exchange is also in the Caussin source text, so Compton cannot take creative credit for it.

Agamemnon: In the First Act, Thyestes' ghost observes:

This is the old entrance to Pelops hou\$e,
 Heere to deck with glory the royall brow,
 Is y^e Pelasgan u\$e; rai\$d on this throne
 Where they u\$[e]d proudly to weild their scepters,
 Heere their courts they held there on dainties fe[d] (2r)

and the connection of the palace to the Royal tragedies could resonate with Charles I's execution outside his Whitehall Banqueting House on 30 January 1649. Thyestes recoils in horror from the place, calling Hell preferable. He recounts his own horrible acts including eating his children, and having another child with his daughter: 'nature is backward turnd' (2v); that might link to unnatural rebellion and regicide in 1640s England.

Compton names the standard Senecan Nurse character Althea, apparently without precedent. It is tempting to draw a link to his daughter, Alathea (1660-1678), but her birth comes rather late in the timeline, and she was too young during most of her short life to have taken the part sensibly in a dramatic event, so the name probably does not imply the assignment of roles for performance. Also, like Senecan nurses generally, this one is not an entirely flattering character, so it would be odd for Compton to associate it with his young daughter. More likely perhaps is the possibility that Compton simply liked the name¹ and used it in two different situations.

Hercules Furens: Perhaps closest in mood to Compton's original writing is Hercules' frustrated complaint,

Her: Ungratefull world, none to y^e helpe <did com[e]>
 Of Hercules hou\$e? could y^e guarded world
 behold this guilt? why wast I time in plaint?
 My foe \$hall die. (72r-v)

This sort of exasperation is often found in Compton's writing about the regicide, even though Compton himself did not aggressively lead any uprisings, unlike his brother William.

Finally, after killing his family during an hallucination, Hercules in shame and despair goes into voluntary exile. This could resonate with monarchy leaving England with the regicide, or perhaps even Prince Charles fleeing after his defeat at Worcester.

¹ Potter indicates that the name means 'Truth' (1989: 134), which might suit the Nurse since she tries to dissuade Clytemnestra from killing Agamemnon. Manuche's 1659-60 *Banished Shepherdess* names an attendant shepherdess who participates in a masque as a goddess granting forgiveness to repentant rebels Althea (31v).

The match is a poor one, however, since neither Charles was responsible for the deaths of England's royalty—from a Royalist perspective.

The Mandrake: Leaveland has grown to sexual maturity since leaving England for Paris, which suggests that years have passed. He has now fallen in love with Mrs. Soonewrought and has come to London, 'casting a\$ide all thoughts of my countrys peace or war' (7v), which may suggest pre-Restoration instability. He also successfully poses as a doctor (10r), which confirms that years have passed since his pre-war youth.

Leaveland complains that Mrs. Soonewrought does not make herself accessible by visiting 'Spring-gr[ad]en' (7v). The original Spring Garden¹ by Charles I's reign had a reputation for off-colour behaviour; in 1635 it was closed and a new Spring Garden was opened. After the Civil War began, it again became a public social place; in 1646 the Lords ordered it closed on religious days to stop the sort of behaviour that was taking place there. The Puritans under Cromwell later closed it entirely, and it had been known as a place for romantic rendezvous, though it was open again by 1658 when John Evelyn mentions visiting. After the Restoration, it was turned into private plots and leased (Gater 1940: 58-65). With various pleasure gardens having similar names, including a major New Spring Gardens at Vauxhall, the reference tantalises, and locates the adaptation tangibly in Compton's 17th-century London, but does not offer precise dating.²

Renchetext mentions that the supposed sin of Mrs. Soonewrought committing adultery with her husband's consent is no worse than seeing a play, 'whiche two sermons wipes of' (15v). This obviously fits the Puritan view on the theatre, though is difficult to date, since it was found throughout the period.

Don Sancho: Leonora advises Elvira to take a husband to consolidate Elvira's position back in Aragon and minimise the chances of further rebellion, since

Troubles are not extinct where you must reigne
 whiche do
 Tho\$e<people> call you home, may you disdaine.
 If <whe>n you <come> at y^t return[e] from hence, do frame
 No prop but mee, e bright Elviras Name. (22r)

¹ Probably formed during Queen Elizabeth's reign, in the northeast corner of St. James Park, it became a semi-public pleasure garden during James I's reign (Gater 1940: 58-65).

² References to other locales such as Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden (11v) do not assist in specific dating either, as they are all long-standing places.

Castile could possibly be taken as France since that is where exiled Henrietta Maria was. The reference to Leonora not being a good prop could resonate with Henrietta's own lack of popularity with a large part of the English population due to her Roman Catholicism (Hibbard 2008: np). The warning that the people may be fickle is a sensible one at the time of the Restoration, considering the past tumults.

Elvira has many suitors, with Alvarez—who remained faithful throughout her exile—a frontrunner. This could potentially link to loyal Royalists through the Interregnum. Elvira then asks Leonora if the fickle Aragonians would accept a foreign King-consort, or if it might give rise to new rebellion; Elvira would prefer to ascend the throne first, then choose a husband when the situation is stable. Again this could resonate with English xenophobia and the tensions that had come of Charles I marrying the foreign Catholic Henrietta.

Leontius: The rebels brought in foreign forces and have driven the Royalists back to their final town (2v); the Scots sent forces against the King after the Solemn League and Covenant passed in August 1643. There was never really a final town for the Royalists, though the main headquarters of Oxford might be implied, especially as the Royalist cause was collapsing through 1645. A possible personal resonance is that the play's central town is garrisoned by Royalist troops under siege by rebel forces, and Compton's family managed the Banbury garrison through the war and faced several sieges, spent time in the Oxford garrison, and his brother William held out at Colchester in 1648.

It is difficult to link Phylanax to a particular Parliamentary leader. Pym died, but not in battle. Cromwell rose to the top, but did not die during the wars, and was not the preliminary inciter. Others like the Fairfaxes, Essex, and Manchester did not die in battle or rise to the very top, or start the conflict. Therefore I am unable to link Phylanax to a specific individual.

As the rebels retreat from their failed sneak-attack, a soldier advises Hianisbe to knock Lucius,¹ her prisoner, on the head (19r). Compton's father was killed by a blow to the head when surrounded by retreating rebels on 19 March 1643 after Hopton Heath. Also, Phorbas describes Phylanax's corpse:

his body is in the enemyes hand.
 but why doe I talke of his sencelesse corps
 alas his soule is in eternall blisse;
 his dead truncke cannot feele any malice

(23v)

¹ Faithful Royalist soldiers like Lucius could resonate with Compton biographically.

Compton's father's body was taken from the field by the enemy and withheld from Compton when he requested it, only to be paraded through the streets by the enemy. The philosophical perspective in the play could be a sign of how Compton coped with the traumatic situation.

Phorbas plots to make Garamantus King (25r). The obvious assumption is that Garamantus must represent Cromwell, however none of Garamantus' actions besides sometimes opposing the King and liking the idea of usurping his place fit Cromwell at all. Another imperfect but intriguing template may be Charles Lewis.¹ Son of Frederick V, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Charles Lewis (1618-1680) was nephew to King Charles I, and elder brother to Princes Rupert and Maurice. His similarities to Garamantus are substantial. Both are foreign princes: Charles was the Count Palatine's second son (the first died young), and Garamantus is described in the cast of characters as the second son of the King of Calabria, even though it is never relevant to the play, which invites conjecture that Compton was making a specific allusion with the character. Charles first came to the English Court in 1635 in an attempt to enlist the King's support for his struggles in the Palatinate; Garamantus is in the quasi-English kingdom in *Leontius*. Charles failed to extract support from the King; Garamantus does not receive Olinda from Leontius. Charles expected to wed the King's daughter Mary² who instead was married to William of Orange, and Charles made a point of not attending the couple's May 1641 wedding; Garamantus objects to Olinda marrying foreign Prince Lucius, and makes a point of not attending their wedding. Charles supported the bill of attainder against Strafford, was suspected of persuading the Governor of Hull not to surrender the town to the King in April 1642, and when Parliament proposed appointing Charles Admiral of a fleet to fight the Irish rebellion that June, the King disapproved; all of this aligned him against Compton's interests, making him a reasonable target for satire, especially since Parliament granted him the revenues from some of Compton's properties in October 1645. As war broke out fully, Charles left the King's camp in secret to return to the Hague; Garamantus secretly

¹ Asch (2008: np) provides all of the biographical information on Charles Lewis in this section.

² Mary could link to Olinda. Mary (1631-1660) was Princess Royal, and married William II of Orange at the age of nine on 2 May 1641. She relocated to the Netherlands in March 1642, but remained a supporter of English Royalism, even though it caused difficulties in Holland. She died before the age of thirty, but her one surviving child would be William III of Orange (Keblusek 2008). None of this makes her as closely associated with Olinda as Charles Lewis would seem to be with Garamantus, but the possibility remains. Both women are young and attractive, and pursued by more than one man. The youth of Mary could explain why the romance around Olinda is so chaste: perhaps it was inappropriate to reference a Princess just entering her teenage years in a more sexual manner, particularly when Mary herself did not consummate her marriage until years later.

abandons Leontius' camp. Charles distanced himself from the Royalists but stayed in close contact with Parliamentary leaders like Essex (whom he admired) and Pym; Garamantus defects to the rebels. Charles returned to England in August 1644, was considered as a possible replacement King, took the Covenant, received some financial support from Parliament, and was accused by the King in 1647 (after the King's capture) of plotting 'to take the crown from his head'; Garamantus is elected by the rebel commanders to lead their troops, and has a chance at seizing the Kingdom. Charles' relations with English Royalists were predictably strained after the war, as many viewed him as a traitor and hypocrite; Garamantus is a Machiavellian villain. Charles was described as combining 'puritanical profession with epicurean practice' in his Court; Garamantus, though grim, has a lust for conquest of kingdoms and women. Charles is described as gloomy and irritable by nature, which would certainly be a fair description of Garamantus as well. Charles divorced his first wife of seven years in 1657, and on 6 January 1658 married his long-time mistress; Garamantus has left his first love Hianisbe to pursue Olinda. Perhaps most significantly, Charles was satirised in the period's literature, notably in Percy Herbert's *Princess Cloria, or, The Royal Romance* (1661), which conceals the period's events in a romance and casts Charles Lewis as 'Prince Cassianus'; I provide a relevant plot summary of Herbert's work in Appendix 4: *Princess Cloria Summary Focussing on Cassianus/Charles Lewis*. All of this could be circumstantial, but Charles Lewis' biography matches Garamantus' better than Cromwell's does. At the very least, he is the sort of individual that the character reflects.

Princess Cloria Summary Focussing on Cassianus/Charles Lewis

On *EEBO* I identified the *Princess Gloria, or, The Royal Romance* (1661) referred to in the *ODNB* as *The Princess Cloria: or, The Royal Romance* (1661), by 'A Person of Honour'. It began as a two-part publication titled *Cloria and Narcissus* in 1653 and 1654, and expanded to five parts in roughly six hundred pages by 1661. Its characters represent real individuals and places, to some extent: Cloria stands for Princess Mary, Narcissus for William II of Orange, Euarchus for Charles I, Arethusius for Charles II, Creses for Clarendon, and Lydia for England (Kahn 2002: 629-638).

The following plot points stand out. Cassianus (plausibly Charles Lewis)'s father, the King of Iberia, long ago fell in love with the King E[v]archus' sister Elizana (7). The extended description of the wooing and marriage link well to the Count Palatine and Charles I's sister Elizabeth. Then Cassianus was sent to woo a young heiress (plausibly

Princess Mary), but his enemy Tygranes seizes her for himself (8). There is reference to action in Cyprus (11), like in *Leontius*. This Cyprus plunges into civil war (13), as does that in *Leontius*. Cassianus leaves the King's court when he feels neglected in his love for Cloria (16), as Garamantus defects when he faces such a situation with Olinda. Paralleling this situation again, Cassianus wanders to a pastoral setting where he is enlisted to judge between two suitors to a woman, one a gentleman contenting himself with a shepherd's life, and the other a shepherd ambitious to rise. He judges against the ambitious one, Fridius, who 'could not be persuaded, to assist at the intended Ceremony; alledging, that since he had lost his Bride in *Venus* quarrel, he would endeavour to regain his reputation in *Mars's* profession, and presently took his leave of the company'. This too is quite close to *Leontius*, with even the contrast of Venus and Mars that has previously been noted in *Leontius* (common though it may be). The crowd then goes to Hymen's temple, complete with saffron-robed Priest (18) as in *Leontius*.

Later, a story is recounted of a discarded lover following her love, disguised as a man, and faithfully attending him as a servant even while he pursues a new love, ultimately losing her life in the service (27-28). This is somewhat like jilted Hianisbe coming to Cyprus disguised as a servant, though she hopes to destroy her ex-wooer Garamantus.

The King's closest advisor Pollinix is condemned by the exact same chain of events as Strafford was¹ (30).

A later scene has the young Princess Cloria meeting young Narcissus, son of a foreign Duke, on Cyprus. Both are bashful but obviously attracted to each other (33). This represents Princess Mary and William II of Orange.

The text continues with chivalric acts reminiscent of those in *Arcadia* and the like, and two suitors fighting over Cloria. There are veiled references to historical situations, a reference to Prince Rupert (Thyasmus), and the outbreak of the English Civil War.

In the Second Book, the Irish hostilities are considered, further developments in the Civil War, and a look back at Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots. There are also several somewhat similar names to those in *Leontius*, such as Leonatus Lycius, and perhaps Hyacinthia, though not of the same sorts of characters (88). I also observe in this book a steady stream of references to cypress trees and branches. There are representations of other historical figures such as Fairfax, Cromwell, and Essex, and young Prince James' escape from Parliamentary captivity; at this point, Cloria is the

¹ It is possible that this text inspired *Sophius*, since the priests are referred to as flamens in both pieces, which does not seem particularly common.

sister who is visited by the fleeing James, which matches Princess Elizabeth rather than Mary. As Cloria also at this point is pretending to entertain amorous advances from representatives of each political position, it does indeed seem like the Princess role is an amorphous representation of the actual princesses as well as a sense of the King's power, as the author implied.

The Third Book represents the Second Civil War, then discusses Continental matters. A Myssian (Scottish) commander named Meleander comes to the court-in-exile of Hyacinthia (Henrietta) to tell her of the failure of the Scots in the Second Civil War; this interests me because the conscience-stricken rebel-turned-royalist commander is named Melantius in *Leontius*, and I believe that he is supposed to represent a Scot. It carries on to the King's final imprisonment, as well as looking backwards to the Bishops' Wars, and to his execution.

In the Fourth Book, Cloria and Narcissus wed, then back to the King's death, and events surrounding that time, such as the loss of the Lords' powers. It follows the moving of the Royal children/representations of royalty to other Kingdoms, and continues towards the eldest Prince joining with the representation of the Scots. It then gives an account of Cromwell's bloody rampage through Ireland. Finally it returns to the Prince and the Scots. In the depiction of their conflict with Cromwell, Meleander is one of the commanders under the young King, and is captured in the battle. The young King then has an apparent flirtation with Catholicism. Meleander appears, having escaped from Parliamentary custody via the Tower moat. The book ends on the continent.

Book Five continues with Protectorate-era actions on the Continent. It follows Cromwell's death and his son's abdication. It introduces an apparently French character named Leontius, though without much development. It ends with Charles II's coronation, and the supposed settling of discord in the Kingdom and on the Continent.

Mariamne: In 2.1, Mariamne contemplates her sad fate, which could resonate with Compton himself post-regicide:

When free from pryng spies I might alone
 bewaile the Kingdomes ruins e mine owne
 \$ilent I cannot bee, e what I say
 Some neere mee doth to Herod fal\$e betray
 You gentle groues, now hide mee in y^f \$hade
 Griefes by utterance is \$ometimes alliaied

(9r)

Considering that Compton secured an order from Cromwell granting him freedom of movement before the regicide, but afterwards suffered a series of imprisonments with at

least one relating to suspicions that he was involved in Royalist plots, spies were probably watching him and reporting to the government; at the same time, Mariamne's urge to voice her griefs is not unlike Compton's apparent need to write them. The speech could also suit Charles through the 1640s, as his correspondence was repeatedly intercepted and used against him.

Continuing, there comes a passage that may hold clues about Compton's own perspective in the Cromwell years:

were not a braue reuenge more fit
 Suche things, may fall ith reache of womans wit
 It is no \$in to \$trike, u\$urped might,
 reuenge the injurd e re\$toꝛe y^e right,
 but hees thy Lord gainst whome thou dost contend
 to lift my hand gainst him, is to offend,
 Since twas my fate to wed, where I \$hould hate
 I will not \$in, but liue unfortunate (10r)

It is dangerous to mine too deeply for autobiography here, but the passage is seductive. Compton ran afoul of family and friends during the war by defending an underling mistrusted by those around him, and Compton's letters hint at a stubborn personality that would not tolerate any criticisms of his word or honour. Is it possible that by surrendering to Parliament and taking oaths not to cause further trouble, Compton genuinely felt honour-bound to keep the peace and suffer quietly? By getting into bed—as it were—with the opposing regime upon his surrender, Compton was 'wed, where [he] should hate', and breaking the requisite oaths could be seen as 'sin'. While he could rail about the fact that the regime sought to 'Wound th'innocent e \$et the guilty free' (10r)—which could resonate for a Royalist at any time after November 1640 when proceedings began against the King's favourites Strafford and Laud and the King's writer-foes Burton, Prynne, and Lilburne were released from prison by Parliament—perhaps Compton vowed 'Ile void the touche of tho\$e I cannot loue' (10r).

Mariamne continues,

I will not from my \$elfe \$o mucche detract
 As an\$wer, I did or not, my life hath \$howne
 How far from mee it is \$uche deeds to owne

again showing a Charles-like refusal to sink to the level of the accusations,

It were not hard for mee, to scape y^r snares
 Enough there are, that would reuenge my cares

an interesting comment, considering the Royalist attempts to free Charles as well as to exchange their lives for his,

but I had rather far bee doomed to die
 An innocent, then in y^r Majestie
 to \$it, whose \$potted \$oule no cure can find
 Or ought but blood ea\$e y^r unquiet mind.

The cynical, and likely correct, suspicion was that Charles' judges had decided upon the verdict and sentence before sitting.

You loue Youle \$ay, what loue alas, can dwell
 Where fond \$uspicion hath tane up her cell

Charles' foes consistently claimed to be acting for his own wellbeing.

y^r horrid acts Ile \$pare, nor once relate
 you loue mee well that all my kinred hate.
 how many of their guiltless \$oules are fled
 to tell y^r tirannies amongst y^e dead. (14r)

Even those last lines could relate to the Royalists (including Compton's father) who died before Charles in his service during the hostilities.

In 3.3, Salome refocuses Herod on the task at hand. He resists, but Salome says 'The peoples loue will die when \$hee is dead / Her confinement, may \$tir up the vulgar blood' (17r), and 'The people may perhaps in tumults ri\$e' (18r), a concern that was correctly shared by Charles' enemies before his execution.

In Chorus 3, Calumny abuses Truth, which fits a Royalist view of the perceived slander of Charles I and his followers' motives.

In 4.1, Mariamne reflects on her imprisonment and reaches a position of contemplative acceptance. Some lines resonate with Charles I's similar predicament:

Condemnd I am the fatall \$troake to feel
 And bow y^{is} neck, unto y^e hangmans \$teele
 Yet my \$ad fate makes not my courage reele
 /.../
 In \$tead of friends, e all my \$ervants true
 None \$ufferd are to come within my view
 but \$ome fell keeper with a ghastly hue
 /.../
 The\$e \$ad thoughts vani\$ht \$treight, e in their rome
 Heavenly meditations their did come
 Whiche makes my \$mile at Herod e his doome
 /.../
 for a crowne of gold, propt up with wars
 with blood \$upported e continuáll jars
 were an eternall one composed of \$tars (19r-20r)

It struck me when first reading this scene that the unique triplet structure gave it a prayer-like chanting sensation. Considering these passages moving from grief to peace,

with knowledge of Charles I's final years in which he supposedly wrote the semi-religious *Eikon Basilike*, this seems a plausible interpretation, and further support for the link to Charles.¹

In Act 5, the Nuntius tells Herod of the angry crowd at Mariamne's execution:

Yet S^t their \$hafts were not all aimed at you
Pheroras e Salome, had their shairs too
As tho\$e by who\$e instigation this act
was don (28r)

It may be relevant that Charles was not doomed by Cromwell alone, and Charles' supporters spread around the blame. The Nuntius then advises Herod not to kill himself, but rather, 'y^e greatest justice, you can do her dust / is in y^e future acts, all, to bee just' (30r), which if not likely to be heartfelt advice from Compton to Cromwell, is certainly the advice Charles left for his son in *Eikon Basilike*.

Bassianus: The moral jurist Papinianus says 'Tis power onely governs in this vile age', when 'proud ambition, \$wells y^e emptiest men' (4r), which could be a shot at the 1650s regime of commoners and lower gentry.

Papinianus adds to the image of a state in thrall:

Oh Rome to whome y^e world
did bend thou now dost \$toope beneath y^e load
Of thine owne long \$ought for \$ad Tirannie,
And thou proud head, of all other kingdomes
By thine owne \$word art into thralldome brought,
What Hanniball nor Syphax could effect,
Th'ast don thy \$elfe, a petty Affrican
Doth of thy lands, nay of o^f liues di\$po\$e (10r)

Again the image is of an outsider to the leadership structure bringing a kingdom to its knees through the sword's power, as Cromwell could be accused of doing to England after 1653.

In Act 3, the henchman Martinianus' representation is difficult to link anything specific in English history.² However, all other sources call the character 'Maternianus', so Compton may have intentionally made it 'Martinianus' for a topical reference, as he was consistent with other names. It possibly refers to Henry Marten, a regicide. Randall describes Marten as the 'most richly endowed with failings' of the Republicans (1995: 64). He had a reputation for womanising, and Martinianus claims that 'rules of loue, though the most wicked way, / I haue been fortunate in enjoy, / Accomplisht wi\$shes'

¹ The cover image on *Eikon Basilike* shows Charles in saint-like prayer.

² He is described as never having served in combat, yet interfering with political and legal matters, but I have not found a clear parallel.

(30r). King Charles is reported to have said of Marten at a horse race, 'Let that ugly Rascall be gonne out of the Parke, that whore-master, or els I will not see the sport', leaving the offended Marten with a grudge; Emperor Geta castigates Martinianus, leaving him with a grudge against Geta too (19v). However, Marten was hardly Cromwell's henchman, and they often were at odds: when Cromwell dissolved the Rump in a tantrum, he said 'whoremaster' and apparently looked at Marten (Fraser 1997: 420). Nevertheless, they were said to have playfully splashed ink on one another while signing Charles' death warrant (Barber 2008), so there may have been enough of a link to give a Royalist writer something to satirise.¹ There was much about Marten that a Royalist might dislike.² This seems to match loosely with Martinianus, who has his hands in all dealings in the empire, has power beyond his inherited birthright, and claims to have enjoyed many unorthodox and potentially perverse romantic experiences. Still, Marten did serve in the military, so the match is not a perfect one, but he was primarily a politician, and may resonate with Martinianus' line, 'What \$oldiers toile for, when the wars are don, / The Polititian \$hades them from y^e Sun' (20v).

Bassianus continues to develop somewhat like Cromwell: 'I haue in Brittain e enough honor won / For Martiall fame' (21r). He then plots to assault his kingdom's traditional rival: 'Other Romans ore Parthias did triumphs / For fruitles fights e bloody victories, / But never could, ore vanquisht Parthia raigne' (21r), where 'Wee nere could more of the fierce Parthians gaine / Then blowes e wounds, returnd, perhaps \$ometimes / Wee got \$ome little pillage of the field' (23r); this could relate to Cromwell's later campaigns against Ireland (fitting in the ambiguous history of conquest though not in it having a King), Scotland (with a tumultuous history with England, and a King in Charles II by 1651 who retreated successfully, though not usually a recipient of sympathy from

¹ Marten was sentenced to internal exile after the Restoration, which may relate to Phorbas' exiling at the end of *Leontius*, as Martinianus and Phorbas share similarities in character, dramatic role, and speech.

² Wiseman points out that he fathered illegitimate children, was plausibly an atheist, certainly a Republican, lived with a woman out of wedlock, and supposedly dressed the poet George Wither in the Royal costumes and props after the regicide in an act of mockery (1998: 19; 38; 72). Various newsbooks from 1648 reprinted in a 1718 publication, *The 29th of May: or, the restoration*, add further insults to Marten. The 22-29 February 1648 *Mercurius Bellicus* calls Marten and Cromwell 'twins of misciefe' (1), and continues to insult Marten throughout the series, including 7-14 March calling him the 'pock-master Generall' (1), 14-21 March for 'coming with his Whore' (11), 4-11 April imagining 'Martin begins for fear to sweat' (13), and 11-18 July calling him 'A Slave more Salt than is the Sea, / More ravenous in Venery, / Than any Satyr, Goat, or Boar, / Who serves God next unto his Whore: / He's a prime Agent, fit to be / The Overthrow of Monarchy' (28). *Mercurius Criticus* from 6-13 April 1648 adds 'Now Martin will forsake his Whoring, / His Bawds forswear all further Scoring' (41), and 'Martin grows poor, will not the Devil help / Him that has been his Darling from a Whelp?' (42). *Mercurius Psitacus* of 5-12 June 1648 adds 'Tell Martin, that he is a Slave, / Made up of stinking Plaisters; / The Pox will send him to his Grave, / And not these new Disasters' (44). The passages show that Marten (or regularly Martin) was a central target of Royalist spite leading up to the regicide, and that his adulterous adventures were a point of focus.

Compton), or even a Continental power such as the Dutch. Young Martialis can argue that 'fame and honor are in battails won', but Papinianus, like smarting Royalists after the Civil War, can reply, 'Crownes fame and honar are by wars ore thrown', and cautions, 'Bold actions not by discretion \$teerd / Though for the pre\$ent followd with applau\$. / By \$eeming to win credit loo\$e e\$teeme' (23v), a cynicism Compton also reveals in 'The Cavalier' when criticising Holland's failed uprising. The relationship between the brothers Papinianus and Martialis, with the elder advising patience to the headstrong younger, which could well parallel Compton's relationship with his younger brothers, particularly Sir William who became involved with several Royalist conspiracies.

Papinianus brings up a pressing matter:

I cant \$ee
Why muche of tharmy maynt di\$banded bee.
Mac: They to muche know their \$trength, they Emperors make.
Pap: Nay thats not it, if they were well paid of,
They could haue no pretence, not to di\$band,
But tho\$e entrusted to \$ee them well paid.
For their owne intrest keepe the moneys back (24r)

The Army certainly made Cromwell. Also, issues surrounding the payment of arrears continued throughout the conflict years and Interregnum.

In Act 5, the Romans go to war against the Parthians, under the guise of coming to their territory for a royal wedding between Bassianus and the Parthian Princess Zelinda. As has been mentioned, it is not a perfect match with any of Cromwell's campaigns, but may link the Parthians with the Scots under Charles II in his September 1651 invasion, where a King escapes from the tyrant's forces: 'in \$pight of all the Kings retird' (42r). It could also imply Ireland, over which Cromwell became Lord Lieutenant in 1649, and where he led the Drogheda massacre later that year (Randall 1995: 121). At any rate, Bassianus is pulled from his horse during the battle, and in September 1654, Cromwell suffered a bad fall from a team of horses (Fraser 1997: 512).

Sophius: Pro braces himself for being 'crost / by those aboue mee' (75r), which would suit someone in the Commons, and says that he has not 'Unseasonably like some, laid open all / My inward thoughts' (75r), though he admits that his plans can only be achieved 'by war' (75v), suggesting that the material was not written prior to 10 July 1642, when the first shots were fired and war was assured. Pro refers to taking the Gods' 'lands e riches to pull them quite downe' (75v) while pretending to do it for their honour, which sounds very much like the various moves to limit extravagance in the Church.

The fight for such changes took place over generations and cannot help with precise dating.¹ That Pro will find 'some disgusted minds / who like y^e rule of gouvernement, as now / It stands, but envie...that they / Sit not at sterne, another sort haue framed / Themselues a false Idea both in churche / And state, but that so senceless and seure / It cannot last' (75v) seems to speak of the King's foes, Presbyterians and Independents alike, clambering for their own opportunities to advance. That these groups 'y^e uulgar / Muche to their will they draw' (75v) could refer to mob action on any number of occasions, or simply the popular appeal of the reformers.

Pro advises his associate Pseudolon not at first to 'shew all y^r arrogance / disguise y^r selfe into humillitie / pretend revelations, from our Learnd God / And what you heare from mee, preache as from him' (75v). Perhaps this preaching 'P' character is Hugh Peter, a minister who opposed Charles' favourite Archbishop Laud, served as a chaplain during the wars, supported the Parliamentary and particularly Independent cause, was known for his zealous preaching, gave counsel to Cromwell, and 'promoted his activities'. He was present at many battles, and served as a go-between for the Army and Parliament. He was mocked by enemies for enriching himself through his foes' downfalls, and preached extensively, even at Parliament. He took refuge in the Army with Cromwell in June 1647, and later spoke with the King in his captivity.² He participated in the second Civil War, Pride's Purge, and the movement to execute the King. Peter was even rumoured to be the King's masked executioner. He continued to be involved in Cromwell's Irish campaign, and while wary of the establishment of the Protectorate, continued to be loyal to Cromwell. Peter even preached at Cromwell's funeral, and for his actions was executed at the Restoration (Pestana 2004: np). The character in *Sophius* has little opportunity to develop, but Peter seems like a very plausible template.³

While *Sophius* does not actually appear in the fragment, 'hee to Calophilus is bound' (75v) like Strafford was to Charles, as was seen in the lengths Charles went in attempting to save Strafford from execution. Pro predicts that war will come regardless of *Sophius*' fate, since Calophilus' enemies will eventually demand all of his power, and at some point he will refuse. On 28 January 1642, Charles stopped making frequent concessions to Parliament and began resisting their moves actively. This would appear to have needed to take place before this fragment was written.

¹ However, 23 January and 1 September 1641 show examples of specific moves by Parliament to strip the Church of its finer trappings.

² Randall goes so far as to describe Peter (or Peters) as virtually Charles' jailor prior to the regicide (1995: 349).

³ Graves notes that Peter is the target of some satire in Manuche's 1652 *Loyal Lovers* (1921: 163).

Kelliher has already commented that Compton may be represented in the character of Tim (1979: 176). Mega describes him as 'having spent y^f time in forraigne climes' (76r), as Compton apparently did from sometime after 1637 until September 1640 when he was recalled by his father to stand for Parliament. Tim has been 'call'd to this grand councill' (76r); the Long Parliament opened on 3 November 1640, and Compton sat in it. Mega indicates to Tim that 'In Sophius case /...you / Still steere y^e other way' (76r); from 11 November 1640 until Strafford's execution on 12 May 1641, Compton would have been increasingly known to be on the pro-Strafford side of the debate, particularly after 3 May 1641, when his name was included on the publicly posted list of 'Straffordians'. This all seems to focus on Compton's experiences on the eve of war, around 1641, with the potentially autobiographical character cast as the voice of honour and loyalty.¹

Mega represents a Parliamentarian who opposes the perceived corruptions in Church and State, but is treated by Tim as one who has good intentions, but is 'but the stairs by whiche others clime' (76v). As with Pseudolon, it would be interesting to know if Mega represents a real individual. It would help to know if Compton had any older friends who took the opposing side in either House, though at the very least he seems to represent perhaps the Presbyterians who would help the Independents and then be purged from Parliament by them. Mega says that his side have secured 'all y^e wealth e arms' (76v); by 22 June 1641 Charles was having serious limitations put on his finances, and by 6 November 1641 he was losing control of the military.

Tim and Mega debate the use of wealth and substantial learning in the Church, though as has been noted, that is a long-running debate that does not help with dating. Tim does acknowledge of the priests that 'If they / bee criminall in part or whole theres law / will reache their faults' (76v). Archbishop Laud himself was arrested on 18 December 1640; if he is referenced by the passage, it would suggest that Compton could see both sides of the debates of his day. Tim's claim that most of the clergy are good, however, is countered by Mega saying 'The people will not else bee satisfied' (77r); on 9 May 1640 a mob actually hunted Laud, which could be what the passage is referring to. Tim warns Mega that 'Power yee may haue, and through y^f ignorance / Punish the just e set the guilty free' (77r); this plausibly fits with the punishment of Strafford and Laud, and the release of several outspoken critics of Church and State: Burton on 7 November,

¹ The other scene, unsympathetically displaying a tyrant in the making, stands as a major contrasting force that further raises the dignity of Tim while perhaps showing how Compton viewed Cromwell's early motives in hindsight.

Prynne on 9 November, and Lilburne on 13 November 1640, immediately before Strafford and Laud faced charges.

There is a sixteen-line discussion (77r-v) where Mega implies that the priests are encouraging Catholic-style devotion to the dead, which Tim denies. This tension with more Roman Catholic tendencies were present from the first moments of Charles I's reign in 1625, when there were concerns over concessions to Catholics in his marriage contract to the French Henrietta Maria. The ritual-favouring Arminian branch of the Church caused tension immediately as well, to which Charles contributed.¹

Tim accuses Mega of being 'proud, to buy some honors' from the Court (77v). Mega counters 'Whats bought is mine, e purchasd with my gold / That shewes a princes baseness, to sell for coine / Where Merrit claimes' (77v). During Charles' 'Personal Rule' (1629-1640), he revived the 'Dstraint of Knighthood', a forgotten 13th century custom where owners of land valued at more than £40 per year were obliged to present themselves for knighthoods at the King's coronation, and then pay for the honour there and in various ways afterwards. Those who refused were fined. Charles also charged for positions at Court. These practises were not curtailed until 10 August 1641.

The Martird Monarch: Kelliher observes that it is odd that Compton does not mention his own part in the events covered in *The Martird Monarch* (1979: 169). Nevertheless, this account of Charles' life naturally resonates with Compton's own, since their experiences were intertwined. A few references may be somewhat personal. There are repeated references to Banbury—which the Comptons commanded—and a reference to Compton's father's death, 'y^e loss of \$o faithfull e loyall a \$ubject as y^e fore\$aid earle who there \$eald y^e cau\$e with his blood' (10v). While not an extensive reference, Compton does describe his father as faithful and loyal, which shows some affection regardless of how Compton had been obliged to claim while compounding for his estates that he followed his father out of obligation rather than anything emotionally deeper.

Also, Compton repeatedly laments the failings of certain Royalists to remain steadfast to the end, which may reveal something of his personal sense of guilt and regret:

¹ He made the Arminian cleric Richard Montagu his chaplain after Montagu was attacked by Parliament in 1625. After Buckingham's assassination, Charles appointed several Catholics to key positions. Henrietta Maria openly practised her religion, and in December 1634, Charles was the first monarch since the Reformation to receive an emissary from the Pope. All of these matters caused tensions with the Puritans. Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and his Arminianism and persecution of Puritans increased suspicions that he had Catholic tendencies.

all his Ma^{ties} partie both \$ouldiers e other councellers of qualitie as if be\$otted, thought of no waies either to recruite or pre\$erue to y^e last, the \$mall remainder, but as if loyaltie were quite tired, they cared not how \$oone they were in y^e power of y^e rebells, alas had not a glorious end \$eald with y^f blood y^f cau\$e \$o good been more noble, had not the freeing of y^f \$ouls from y^e captivitie of the flesh, inenterchanging \$troaks with y^f bloodthirstie enemies, rendred y^f names more famous to posteritie, then the leading out y^f liues in a ba\$e \$eruilitie e va\$\$alage wor\$e y^{en} y^e Egiptian bondage, under y^e very \$cum, of y^e nation. (14v)

All of this could easily relate to Compton himself in the final half-year of the first Civil War, especially when looking back from after the King's execution (unexpected in 1645). Also 'his \$mall remainder of friends dayly decrea\$ing e tho\$e few, y^f were left devided into factions and parties, e for y^e most p^t tho\$e who were most \$elfe ended the highest favord' (15r) and 'a generall \$ence had possest all his partie rather of \$aving them\$elues under what conditions \$oever, then \$tanding out to y^e last' (15r). Again this could include Compton himself, feuding with his family and withdrawing from active service. Then after the King's trial, 'All his p^{tie} as amazed \$tood as they had \$een Medusas head not being found one thou\$and now at this last pinche that durst \$tir a commotion; or ambitious of their former boasted honor to die in their Soveraignes cau\$e' (18r). As was the case with 'The Cavalier', there seems to be a discrepancy between what Compton writes, and what he actually did, since he himself surrendered and made a sort of peace with the new regime while securing his properties. Nevertheless, it reveals his thoughts after the King's execution. Either he was more heavily involved in the Interregnum resistance than history has recorded, or he must be attacking himself along with the rest of the Royalist party for their failure to save Charles.

Only one reference in the text seems truly cryptic, and needs further analysis. After Charles' trial, Compton writes that within the paralysed royalist party, 'One gallant man worthy his title e honor, \$ent to many of y^e privie councill to adui\$e of \$ome expedient, in this \$o \$ad extreamitie, but \$ome \$u\$pected, others willing to retaine the name of prudent men, rather then braue loyall peers of England, did acquiess, e hee left alone' (18r). This implies that one of Charles' titled supporters proposed a plan to the King's old councillors for saving the King, but the councillors were unwilling to risk themselves, and nothing came of the plan. Eagles offers me a possible identity of this individual as Montagu Bertie, 2nd Earl of Lindsey, who after Charles' conviction led a group of noblemen in offering their lives and properties as security if the King's life would be spared; he and three others who were involved (Lords Richmond, Hertford,

and Southampton) were later the King's pallbearers (Eagles 2010: np). Lindsey had allowed himself to be taken prisoner at Edgehill rather than abandon his mortally wounded father, and he was released as part of a prisoner exchange pursued by the King quite specifically on his behalf, which might explain his particular bravery in offering himself for punishment in the King's place, on the argument that the King had acted the will of his advisors rather than his own, so therefore they should have the honour of suffering for him (Gibbs 1932: 19-20). This seems quite plausible, and I have not found anything else as likely, though it does not affect the dating of *The Martird Monarch*.

Treatise: Compton begins by mentioning 'The former constitution of y^{is} realme...and y^e late changes so visible', which could refer to any period of political change. He opts not to 'spend so much of my paines to no effect as to manifest my owne opinion', suggesting that his opinions are not those held in favour by the establishment at this time, so that it would seem to be placed after war had broken out and his Royalist allies were no longer in control of the government—plausibly after the first military action of the war on 10 July 1642. That stating his views will not be effective suggests that the Royalist cause is actually probably formally lost by this time, which is further implied when he writes that 'I holding it for granted y^t those who inwardly repine must now outwardly submit'; this surely would not be the Royalist Earl's position prior to the 5 May 1646 surrender by King Charles. Compton is then coy, adding that it would be futile trying to change the malcontents' opinion 'should my treatise tend y^t way or change ~~it~~ them were it to another subject', thus not directly stating any sort of partisan position.

In a curious correction, Compton concedes that 'neither can I thinke ~~mine oratory~~ a fluent pen sufficient to blunt a sharpe sword so y^t those who approve y^e present condition of affairs need no confirmation, nor will not easily be persuaded to y^e contrary'. Changing his 'oratory' into a 'pen' may simply be for the sake of a more fitting contrast between pen and sword, but it is also possible that Compton was writing as if he were going to deliver this speech personally, and then changed to it being a text to be delivered in written form, or spoken by someone other than himself. Regardless, the image of the sword supports the idea that those now in power have strength on their side, and a strength characterised by violence, and Compton balances the image by stating that 'those who approve y^e present condition of affairs need no confirmation, nor will not easily be persuaded to y^e contrary' (39r).

Thus attempting to present himself as unbiased, Compton turns to issues of the moment.

It is interesting that on 8 March 1649, petitions of mercy were heard by the High Court trying several ranking Royalists, leading to Lord Norwich and Sir John Owen earning reprieves, while Lords Hamilton, Holland, and Capel were executed the next day; Compton mentioned Capel in particular with sympathy in the satirical poem 'The Cavalier'. However, Compton says that the indemnity will add 'to future tranquillitie, of y^{is} commonwealth' (39v), which would seem to place the speech after the 19 May 1649 proclamation by the Council of State that England was now a commonwealth.

On 16 July 1651, the Confiscation Act came into effect, causing the estates of seventy Royalists to be sold to benefit the Commonwealth; in Compton's speech he complains that 'the delinquent is never \$ure after all compo\$ition, but \$till liable to all inconveniencies <where as> nay lately on all occa\$ions, acts haue bin made to their prejudice'. This could be a very personal comment, as he himself received further fines beyond his initial composition fee and suffered seizure of his properties as late as his 1659 arrest. This text is intimately associated with Compton's Interregnum experiences, but shows him willing to approach the political forces in order to negotiate. Whether or not they allowed his approach is unknown.

Appendix 5: Dramaturgical Issues

Table 1: Dramaturgical Suggestions per Line

Non-dramatic items	n/a
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	1:35.60
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1:18.87
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	1:18.30
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1:16.70
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	1:15.20
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1:14.90
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	1:12.82
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	1:12.07
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	1:11.03
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	1:10.68
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	1:10.68
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	1:7.25
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	1:5.43

Table 2: Dramaturgical Necessities per Line

Non-dramatic items	n/a
short <i>Leontius</i> (60278)	1:57.00
<i>Sophius</i> (60281)	1:50.00
good <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60277)	1:28.93
<i>Hermenigildus</i> (60276)	1:23.75
<i>Don Sancho</i> (60278)	1:22.30
rough <i>Hercules Furens</i> (60276)	1:17.83
<i>Bassianus</i> (60281)	1:16.71
long <i>Leontius</i> (60279)	1:16.70
rough <i>Agamemnon</i> (60276)	1:13.50
good <i>Agamemnon</i> (60277)	1:13.50
<i>Mariamne</i> (60280)	1:12.39
<i>The Captives</i> (60281)	1:9.67
<i>The Mandrake</i> (60278)	1:8.46

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