

Playhouse Shadows: The Manuscript behind *Dick of Devonshire*

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Early Theatre 17.2 (2014), 146–168DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.12745/et.17.2.1208>

Even though six annotations by the playhouse bookkeeper comprise fairly slim evidence, I believe they provide conclusive proof that the scribe's copy for Dick of Devonshire, BL MS Egerton 1994, folios 30–51, was the playhouse copy as prepared for production by the company bookkeeper. These six annotations are indeed 'Playhouse Shadows' that identify the scribe's copy-text.

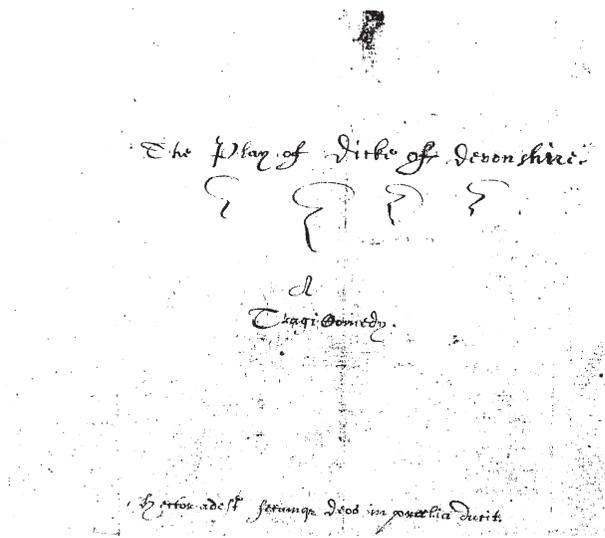
British Library MS Egerton 1994, folios 30–51, is a neat and thoughtfully prepared copy of Thomas Heywood's *Dick of Devonshire* (1626?) written by an unknown copier (possibly the playhouse bookkeeper) for unknown eyes. W.W. Greg observed that the play is 'Completely written in a small, very neat and somewhat ornamental hand', of rather mixed character, with practically no attempt at distinction of script. The general effect is scribal; on the other hand, what little alteration and correction there is rather suggests the author'. He continues: 'There is no indication of playhouse use, nor even of the manuscript having been prepared with a view to production The directions are fairly frequent and full, but not distinctively theatrical'.¹

James G. McManaway believed that the manuscript is a playhouse text because there is fairly secure evidence that the leaves were folded for margins in the familiar playhouse fashion and because there is a curious, clearly anticipatory stage direction on folio 46b (of which more later).² The ever-judicious Gerald Eades Bentley concluded that 'Both these points do suggest theatrical intentions, but they are slight. Far more anticipatory directions would have been required for production, and the faint lines from folding do not seem conclusive proof. The balance of evidence seems to me in favour of Greg's conclusion that the manuscript is a literary one'.³ I agree with Greg and Bentley, but my concern here is not with this manuscript *per se* but with what can be discovered about the manuscript from which it was copied.

Besides being a carefully written copy, this manuscript begins with two features rarely found in stage documents: a title-page and (even more rare)

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a dramatis personae. Here is the title-page (folio 30a), complete with genre designation and a Latin tag: *Hector adest secum[ue] Deos in praelia ducit.*



And here is the dramatis personae (folio 30b) as reproduced in the Malone Society edition.⁴

Dramatis Personae.

- | | | |
|--|---|------------------------|
| The Duke of Macada. | } | 4. Grandies. |
| The Duke of Girona. | | |
| The Duke of Medina. | | |
| The Marquesse d'Alquevezzes. | | |
| Don Pedro Gusman. An ancient Lord. | | |
| Manuell. | } | — His Sons. |
| Henrico. | | |
| Don Fernando. — Governo ^r of Cadiz Towne. | | |
| Teniente. — A Iusticier. | | |
| Bustamente. — Captaine of Cadiz Castle. | | |
| Dicke Pike. — The Devonshire soldier. | | |
| Don Iohn. — A Colonell. | | |
| Buzzano. — Servant to Pedro Gusman. | | |
| Eleonora. — Daughter to Fernando. | | |
| Catelina. — Wife to Don Iohn. | | |
| A Gentlewoman. | | |
| | | An English Captaine. |
| | | Mr. Iewell. |
| | | Mr. Hill. |
| | | Secretary. |
| | | Mr. Woodrow. |
| | | A Iaylo ^r . |
| | | Two Fryers. |
| | | A Guard. |
| | | English Soldiers. |
| | | Spanish soldiers. |

These elements certainly point to the manuscript's being a transcription made for private reading, but reaching definitive conclusions about who wrote what and at which time can be treacherous, especially when most investigators do not bother to set out what their standards are for determining whether something was written by a playwright or a bookkeeper. Without strong, contextually-based guidelines, decisions have been based upon impressions, whims, or worse.

In attempting to discover the descent of the manuscript, the McManaways try to determine who inscribed the various stage directions in the text from which this play was copied (a necessary procedure that I, too, propose to follow). This process is both logical and appropriate, but the problem is that the editors present no method for attempting to determine whether a stage direction was most likely inscribed by the playwright or by a playhouse bookkeeper. The McManaways simply offer judgments that are incapable of being proved by the very weak support they muster. Not that they are atypical in employing this non-methodology; similar pronouncements long have been the currency of editors and theatre historians in dealing with late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century play manuscripts and their print descendants. But conclusions have validity only if deduced from a body of surviving evidence. Context is everything.

One cannot assign probable sources to stage directions without studying the eighteen surviving manuscript playbooks to learn what kinds of directions were inscribed by playwrights and which and under what circumstances inscriptions were added by playhouse bookkeepers. One cannot imperiously label stage directions that 'suggest the theatre'² without documenting what one finds in the manuscript playbooks. One must go to the theatre to discover what 'suggests' it. One must establish what theatre bookkeepers did and did not do. One cannot assume that conclusions are obvious. One cannot lament that 'there are no preparatory directions for the properties named in the heading for Act III, Scene iii (l 1079) or at [f. 50b,] ll 2013–15'³ (as if there necessarily were some in the first place) without establishing what kinds of directions were written by playwrights and how or indeed if they were altered by bookkeepers. In short, what might an editor or theatre historian expect that playhouse bookkeepers might have done? Thus, in spite of their many virtues, the McManaways give conclusions without revealing the bases for making their choices.

In this matter, of course, they were not exceptional. They merely did what nearly every other editor and theatre historian has done: expounding

judgments based on no examination of contextual evidence. There is no need (or space) to go into detail here; those wishing to read sad instances of bad scholarship and to look into work on establishing what went on in the theatres can examine several of my articles.⁴

As a guide to substantiating my conclusions about *Dick of Devonshire*, I offer a brief précis about what the surviving manuscript play books reveal about who wrote what kinds of stage directions. If a stage direction survives in a play manuscript, it was most likely inscribed by the playwright(s). In spite of the assured assertions of many editors and theatre historians, playhouse bookkeepers did not add many directions to the play-texts; they did not regularly or systematically alter playwrights' directions. They did not particularize vague numbers of extras (such as 'others'); they were not concerned with small, hand-held properties; they were not concerned with costumes. They were not, on a regular or systematic basis, concerned with marking the book for anything. But what they were very much concerned with is the smooth running of a production. Thus they often were concerned with coordinating what happens backstage in support of what is happening (or, quite frequently, what was about to happen) onstage. Playhouse bookkeepers most often add markings to the book to insure proper timing for offstage sounds (music, drums, thunder, voices within); seldom (but occasionally) they are concerned that a large property be in place to be brought onstage at the specific time needed. Thus, in order to determine who was most likely to be placing directions in a text, one must determine the likelihood on the bases of surviving playbooks. This conclusion may well seem to be belabouring an obvious point, but this seemingly sensible and modest demand generally has been ignored flagrantly by all too many editors and theatre historians.

Thus in sharp contrast to their meticulousness in compiling their diplomatic transcription, the McManaways were quite casual in labelling the origins of various stage directions. They neither print nor indicate reference to any method of deciding whether a particular direction is likely to have been inscribed by a playwright, a theatre bookkeeper, or anyone else. The McManaways and all too many others seem to regard the origin of stage directions either as self-revelatory or as something that 'everyone knows' and therefore not worthy of careful contextual examination. But everyone does not 'know'. Even editors and theatre historians are not born with a priori understanding of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century playbooks.

In an effort to determine the nature of the manuscript that served as copy-text for BL MS Egerton 1994, folios 31–50, I propose to consider the majority

of the stage directions seriatim (for ease of following), and to attempt to explain on the bases of considerable previous investigation of the subject, who is most likely to have written the directions; and when the writer is not the playwright, then who did add the directions in question and why. Thus the nature of the copy-text for *Dick of Devonshire* should be established with considerable certainty.

In attempting to explore a manuscript, one needs to consider large aspects as well as minutiae. Greg talks about the handwriting, but mentions nothing about what seems to be the most distinguishing feature of the manuscript: its being very crowded. The pages seem to be bulging with words: there is very little white space; many short speeches are crowded into the same line; each speech-heading is fully boxed to highlight its presence; and several stage directions and numerous single-person entries are similarly inscribed. Perhaps the most egregious example of line-crowding in distorting the normal way of writing a playbook with each line of dialogue given one line of space occurs on folio 48a, lines 1779–80 where a new line of dialogue is begun at the end of another speech. There are too many words to fit into what remains of line 1779; thus the end of the speech is completed on line 1780, quickly followed by an entirely new speech:

Ten: How, such a piece of flesh ? why she has limbes
made out of wax. /Hen:/ Then have her to some faire
& shew her for money. /Ten:/ Is she not sweet Complexiond ? 1780
H: As most Ladyes are y^t studye painting.

Copying, even in an atypical way, can become habit-forming. On folio 38b, lines 815–16, the copyist has begun a new speech in the same line as a previous one without, apparently, noticing that he had plenty of space to include all the words in the next line of the speech:

vnder whose Iurisdiction I hold place,
I would not beare nor heare it. /Fer:/ I'de be glad
you could as easily acquitt yo^r selfe
of guilt, as stand vp in yo^r owne defence;

While all of these features of crowding can be found in manuscript playbooks, they do not occur in anything like the numbers and frequency found here. Normally, a playwright began each new speech, no matter how short, on a new line. This procedure makes the text easier to read either for someone

in the theatre looking at a short passage or for the copying-out of parts. Playwrights also habitually separated speeches with a short (about an inch) line at the left side of the last line of a speech, as a bit of insurance in separating endless lines of dialogue. In *Dick of Devonshire* this habitual presentation manifests in the scribe's one-third to one-half inch ticks at the end of every speech that begins in the second of the folded columns of the leaves, but not, of course, for those lines crowded into lines with other characters' speeches.

Thus for whatever reasons, the writer of this manuscript is trying to save space. This crowding obviously was planned before he sat down to write; it begins on the first page and continues throughout; this style is not analogous to a compositor's discovering that the copy as cast off did not fit into the space available, necessitating a singular or infrequent 'emergency' crowding.

Also to be found at the ends of various lines are single-character entrances, an occasional exit, and a few stage directions. The McManaways note that the leaves of this manuscript 'have been folded for rather narrow margins'.⁵ Some explanation of this fact is needed because such folding both relates to theatrical playbooks as a group and to the nature of BL MS Egerton 1994, folios 30–51. The surviving manuscript playbooks, seemingly invariably, have leaves that have been folded into four equal, vertical columns. The reason for what might seem to be a quixotic choice is instantly explicable upon looking at any playbook. The middle two columns are for the text; the left-hand column is for speech-headings and occasional stage directions; the right-hand columns for long prose lines, exit directions, and occasionally other directions, even the odd entrance.

Entrances beginning scenes were written across all columns and often contained authorial details such as the relation of characters to each other, the numbers of extras, indications of costume, characters' actions, and the indication of characters' carrying small properties. So much for the playwright. And for the vast majority of entrances and dialogue lines, theatrical bookkeepers saw no reason to supplement or otherwise alter the playwright's directions. There was no regular or wholesale adaptation or adding to playwrights' directions as has been so often assumed by editors and theatrical historians.

Essentially, theatre bookkeepers were concerned with certain problems that happened at certain times. These are not easy to anticipate but usually are quite understandable once they are inscribed. Thus surviving evidence does not permit the making of hard-and-fast rules. Sometimes bookkeepers

Enter Iohn a Cumber in his owne habit, with him Turnop
Hugh, and Thomas the tab-er.

Turnop. doo ye heare Sir? we can be content as it were to furnish ye wth our floutie in your play or enterlude, marie where ye would vs to flout, scoff and scorne at Iohn a Kent, for my part, let Hugh Sexten and Thomas Tabrer doo as they see occasion, I am not to mock him, that is able to make a man a Munkey in lesse then halfe a minute of an houre.

Hugh. He tell ye what Sir, if it be true that is spoken, marie I will not stand to it, a man were better deale wth the best man in the countrey, then wth Maister Iohn a Kent, he neuer goes abroad with out a bushell of deuilles about him, that if one speak but an ill woord of him, he knowes it by and by, and it is no more, but send out one of his deuilles, and whers the man then? nay, God blesse me from him.

Thomas. Harkeye Sir, you are a Gentleman, and weelic doo as much for y Lord, the Earle as poore man may doo, If it be to doo or say any thing agaynst him selfe, or any other, weele doo it, marie Thomas Taberrer will neuer meddle wth M^r, Iohn, no, not I.

Enter Iohn a Kent
Cumber. why sillic soules, He be your warrantise
Iohn shall not touche ye, doo the best he can,
He make ye scorne him to his very face. / En()Iohn 1050
And let him [how] vengde it, how he will or dare() / a K()t listning.

Turnop. By my troth Sir, ye seeme an honest man, and so faith, could ye be as good as your woord, there be that perhaps would come somewhat roundly to ye. Indeed Sir, Maister Iohn hath dealt but euen so so wth me in times past, harke ye Sir, I neuer kist wenc(h or playd the good fellowe, as sometimes ye knowe fleshe & bloode will be frayle, but my wife hath knowen on it ere I came home, and it could not be but by some of his flying deuilles.

speeches, and a playwright's entry direction in the right column carefully re-inscribed by the bookkeeper in the left a few lines earlier.

Against this context, we can look with some confidence at *Dick of Devonshire*. The text is written in the two middle columns. Scenes begin with long directions written across all four columns. Speech-headings are in the left column. Long prose lines extend into (and, with some frequency, through) the right column. Exits are in the right column; but most often very little happens in that narrow right column. Items that in playbooks one might expect to find in the right column here are boxed and shoved into short lines of the text itself. In playbooks, stage directions often appear in both the left and the right columns because the extra white space made them easier to see in a playhouse situation. Such quick ease of visibility is not needed in a reading copy. A direction (and even short speeches) can be crammed into the same line without loss of understanding — especially when they are, inevitably here, boxed to insure distinction from the dialogue.

Here are the Malone Society transcriptions of the last 32 lines of the opening page (31a). If the page had been copied as one would expect it to have

appeared originally, it would have been nine lines longer, if, that is, each speech had been given its (expected) own line:

- Eleo: How ever heaven dispose of Eleonora,
pray write me in yo^r thoughts, yo^r humblest daughter;
that shall make it a part of her devotions
to pray for you. /Fer:/ well sir, since your designe
calls you away, may yo^r good Angell guard you;
- Ten: The like wish I, don Pedro. /Fer:/ Manuell, I hope
you will not long breath out of Spanish Ayre; farewell. 30
- Ped: my thanks to all.—stay. /Peeces Dischargd./
- Fer: The Captaine of y^e Castle come to interprete /Ent: Bustamente./
that [new] language to vs; what newes ?
- Bust: Such as will make all Spaine dance in Canary; y^e Brasile fleets.
- Fer: Arriv'd ? /Bust:/ Is putting into harbour, & aloud
calls for a Midwife, she is great wth [Child] gold
& longs to be delivered. /Ped:/ No he Spanyard
Is not a true reioycer at y^e newes,
be't a good Omen to our Iourney. /Ten:/ So we wish all.
- Ped: May we, at o^r returne, meet no worse newes 40
then now at parting; my noble Don fernando
& Teniente, once more farewell; (my daughter, I hope,)
Eleonora, Henrico. nay yo^r good newes deserves a farewell.
- Bust: A soldiers farewell, a fast hand [to both] r & heart¹; v good fate to both.
- Hen: Come Elinor, let them discourse their Ioyes /Ex: Pedro & Manuell./
for y^e safe fleets; In thee all my delights embarke themselves.
- Bust: Tush, lett 'em come, o^r shippes have brought wth them
the newes of warre. /Fer:/ what is that, Gentlemen ?
- Ten: I am speaking of a fletee of Enemyes.
- fer: from whence ? /Ten:/ from England. /Fer:/ A Castle in y^e Ayre. 50
- Ten: Doe you not beleive it ? /Fer:/ I heard such a report
but had no faith in't; a meere Pot gun.
- Bust: nay sir, tis certaine there hath bene great p^rparation
if our Intelligence be true to vs; & a mighty Navy
threatens y^e Sea.

This excerpt also contains an exit which one would expect to find in the right column, an entrance which originally might have been in the right margin, but much more likely would have been in the left, and the considerably more problematic ‘Peeces Discharged’. This direction refers to small cannon barrels vertically mounted in a rack outside and some distance from the playhouse; it does not refer to onstage artillery such as the surely non-existent small cannon which certain editors and theatre historians keep placing on the stage of the First Globe when a misfire settled in the thatch. Surely no players or theatre owners would have been such fools as to place, let alone to fire, a cannon upon the stage of a playhouse. (Ignoring the possibility of fire, what would have happened to the eardrums of everyone in the theatre?) But I digress. ‘Peeces Discharged’ is the kind of direction — an order to an underling to do thus — which might well have been added (and probably was) by a bookkeeper because the noise must occur at the correct point in the dialogue to make any sense. If so, the direction would most likely have been inscribed in the left column where bookkeepers regularly marked things that concerned them.

I would guess that, in copying *Dick of Devonshire*, the scribe moved the direction to the right for the same reason that he has compressed the spacing of the nine lines. He is saving space while yet recording the off-stage noise at the point in the action where it is needed but decidedly not in the place where a playhouse bookkeeper would have wanted it — in the left column for easy visibility when glancing at his page to check on what he needed to have prepared. I would guess that the copyist chose to include the direction because it is the only thing that explains the next lines, ‘The Captaine of ye Castle come to interpret *I* that [new] language to vs; what newes?’

The play opens with a direction across the page, unexceptional but for the playwright’s explaining filial relations (ll 1–2):

Act: 1. Sce: 1.	Ent: Don Pedro Gusman; Henrico, & Manuell, his sons; Don Fernando .I. & Eleonora, his Daughter; & Teniente.
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Scene 2 begins with the playwright describing the vocation of the entering characters ‘in Sherryes’, as sherry merchants (3lb,1 93).

Act: 1. Sce: 2.	Ent: Two Devonshire Merchants, as being in Sherryes.
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Folio 33b brings three directions, lines 264–6, 279–80, and 300–1, most likely authorial in origin, but boxed in the right column, seemingly to save space. Playhouse bookkeepers regularly did not concern themselves with where actors were on the stage or with what they were doing; playwrights’ ‘aboves’ were regularly ignored by bookkeepers. The inference is that professionals knew what to do and did not have to lead actors by the hand. In the rare cases where a bookkeeper would feel the need to add a word or so, the reason would be difficult movements involving delicate timing.

Io: No witches abroad ? / Buz: I see, I see, I see. Ent: Buzzano above.
 All: What ? / Buz: nay, I cannot tell what yet.
something it is; I thinke it be a Towne.

Ten: Here comes Don Fernando, what newes ? Ent: Fernando wth Eleonora.
 fer: Assured danger gentlemen, for all o^r men

shall take thee from me. Ent: Buzzano & Spaniards flying.
 Buz: They come, they come, they come.

The second act begins with an elaborate stage direction which I presume to have been entirely authorial in spite of the need for two different kinds of music, ‘Alarum’ and more cannon fire (‘a peale of ordnance’) (folio 35a, ll 432–3). The bookkeeper probably did not feel the need to add any additional marginal warnings for a scene opener, and bookkeepers were less likely to find difficulties arising from group entries.

Act: 2. Sc: 1.	Alarum. as y ^e soft musicke begins, a peale of ordnance goes off; then Cornetts sound a Battaile, w th ended; Ent: Captaine, Master of a ship, Dick Pike, w th musketts.
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The next scene begins (folio 35b, l 517) with a common authorial kind of instruction:

Act: 2. Sce: 2.	Ent: Henrico Gusman, his sword drawne, & Eleonora.
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Folio 37a, line 676 bears the authorial ‘He forces her in’, as does the folio 37b, lines 686–90 crowded marginal:

<p>Hen: <u>What doe you looke after ?</u> Buz: <u>Why sir I looke after a voyce y^t appeard to me even now, crying helpe; a very small one.</u> H: <u>If what thou seest or heard'st be ever mutterd by thee,</u></p>	<p>Ent: Henrico & Eleonora, loose haired, & wee^s ping.</p>	690
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The next scene opening (folio 37b, l 715) further displays the playwright's very careful attention to the scene he is creating; again untouched by the bookkeeper.

Act: 2. Sce: 3.	Ent: Pike, w th his sword in his hand, a Cloake on his Arme.
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The following scene begins innocuously, but the action turns suddenly grisly (folio 38a, ll 739, 744–6). These demonstrate typical authorial attention to specific details as are the directions at the bottom of this page, lines 770–5. The playwright is very careful about what he wants to happen on stage.

Act: 2. Sce: 4 ^a .	Ent: .3. other soldiers.
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<p>Ent: <u>but even now. oh, oh.</u> Pike. <u>Are you bouncing ? Ile no further; sure these can be no Crow keepers nor bird scarers from y^e fruite ? what rascalls were my Countrymen to tell me</u></p>	<p>Three or 4 shott dischargd, .2. soldiers slaine, y^e other falls on his belly.</p>
<p><u>now Don Diego, & Don Thunderbolt, or Don Divell I defye thee. 770</u> Io: <u>oh Viliaco, Diablo, Anglese.</u> P: <u>a pox vpon thee Hispaniola; They fight. nay if you be no better in y^e Reare then in y^e Van, I shall make no doubt to vanquish & vanquash you too; before we part my doughy Don Diego. He hath him downe & disarmes him.</u></p>	<p>Ent: Don Iohn arm'd. Pike drawes & wrapps his Cloake about his arme.</p>

Folio 38b (lines 787–8) contains a, for this manuscript, strangely-placed direction. 'Ent: 12. / Muskettiers.' is boxed, but in the left column which is exactly where one would expect to find it in a playbook. I believe that the reason is literally obvious; there simply is no room to jam it into the right column, even boxed. The bottom of this page bears more carefully planned authorial directions.

<p>Ent: 12. Muskettiers.</p>	<p>y^or Spanish Iennett an English gallop, a dios signior; oh what a Tyde of fortunes spight am I now to swim through ?</p>
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Io: yes, wth a Villaines marke. He woundes him.

Act: 2. Sce: 5.	Ent: Don Ferdinando, y ^e Teniente, w th Attend ^t ; Bustamente brought in w th a Guard.
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Folio 39a brings yet more of the same (ll 863–7).

Bus: The best of my desire is to obey. Exit, wth a guard.

fer: whence is y^t soldier ? .I. of England.

Io: Or of Hell. .I. It was o^r chance to come vnto y^e rescue

of this renowned knight Don Iohn,
who was his prisoner as he now is ours,

Ent: Don Iohn, Pike, (w th his face wounded,) a Guard of muskettts.

As does the direction on 39b, lines 909–10.

Act: 3. Sce: 1.	Ent: [Pike shackled Playsters on his face, Iaylor.] Captaine, Hill, Secretary, Iewell.	910
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The entry on 40a, line 941 continues the playwright's concern with properties and makeup.

Act: 3. Sce: 2.	Ent: Pike in shackles, nightcap, playsters on his face, A Iaylor.
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As does that on folio 41a, line 1079 with properties and their use.

Act: 3. Sce: 3. ^a	Ent: Don Pedro, reading a Letter, & Manuell.
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Folio 43b begins with an authorial instruction about how a player, Henrico, should appear (line 1286); Henrico immediately calls for Buzzano who replies in the same line (apparently without having entered or responded from offstage). In the midst of Buzzano's speech appears the authorial direction for Buzzano's entry and requirements for his accoutrement. The 'confusion' has been caused by the scribe's refusing to use a new line of space for the stage direction: he has begun Buzzano's speech immediately after Henrico's,

thereby taking up no new lines for the stage direction. A reader would have no trouble in following what is happening.

Act: 4. Sce: 1.	Ent: Henrico, (as newly risen.)
H:	Buzzano ? slave ? Buzzano ? <u>Buz:</u> Signior, what a buzzing
<u>Ent: Buzzano wth Cloake & Rapier.</u>	you make ? as if you were a fly at Bartholomew tyde at a [E] Butchers stall. doe you thinke I am deafe ?
Hen:	<u>No,</u> but blind; do'st sleepe as thou goest ? 1290

At the bottom of that page (ll 1333–5), a flurry of short speeches is shoved into two lines, but boxed in the left column is a speech-heading from within the playhouse backstage. Since the speech is meant to be given backstage, before entry, I take this to be a copying of the bookkeeper’s caution. It is difficult to prove this opinion. It could have been part of the playwright’s directions, but it looks rather more like something the scribe has chosen to save from the playbook to clarify the situation:

Act 4, scene 2 begins (45a, line 1447) with the playwright’s instruction about the use of a property:

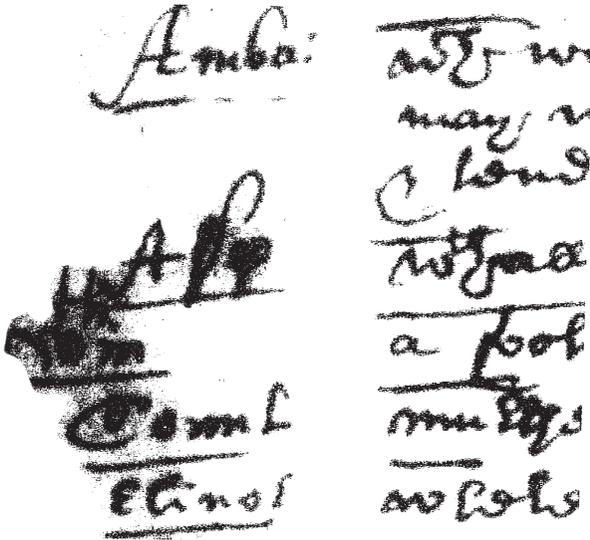
Act: 4. Sce: 2.	Ent: Pike, shackled, & his Iaylor.
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A few lines later (1468–9) and in the left margin of a very crowded line ending with the boxed ‘Ent: 2. fryers’, the left margin bears the boxed ‘knocking / wthin’ in the midst of a speech by the Iaylor:

B:	Why then I must sweare so too. <u>H:</u> oh it was I y ^t murtherd him, this hand killd him.
<u>wthin, Man:</u>	Buzzano ? <u>Hen:</u> He's vp. <u>Man:</u> Buzzano ? <u>B:</u> I come.
Hen:	Helpe to make him ready, but not a word on thy life. <u>B:</u> Mum; <u>Exit.</u>
<u>knocking wthⁱⁿ</u>	<u>& frendly Companions.</u> <u>Iay:</u> So hasty, stay my leasure. <u>Ent: 2. fryers.</u> <u>Two fryers</u> Come to p ^r pare you. <u>Exit.</u>

Playhouse bookkeepers regularly add this kind of ‘within’ stage direction. It precisely co-ordinates an offstage entry with an entry. If the knocking and the entry do not happen as planned, there will be confusion or at least awkwardness on stage. Bookkeepers try to guard against such things. I presume that the scribe included the direction because it clarifies the dialogue, not

because it any longer has to do with staging. By their very nature, ‘withins’ are small, often abbreviated, and stuck in among speech-headings that are easy both to miss and to undervalue as an indication of bookkeeper activity. Here is a bookkeeper’s ‘Wthin’ nearly hidden among speech-headings in the anonymous *The Telltale*, ca 1630–40, ll 734–40.¹⁰



Amba: w^{ch} wee atend, meane while wthout offence
may wee bee so much gract as but to see
& tender seruice to the Captiue princes

Asp wthall our harts let them bee straightway sent for.
Wthin a foole afoole a foole

A cry wthin
ent Count lik a foole

Count murther murther treason dame nell treason

Elinor where foole gainst whome

Two directions on 45b concern the use of properties, ll 1531 and 1541–2.

Ent: Iaylor^r & .3. Spanish Picaroes chaynd.

Iay: Here's a Chearefull morning towards, my brave blouds.

would I had you all .3. I know where.

Bust: Whither dost lead me? *Iay:* to a roome

Ent: Bustamente shackled
& Iaylor.

It is highly unusual for this scribe to give a full space line to anything other than the beginning of a new scene; I presume that the long and complicated direction 'forced' him to 'waste' space. Folio 46a bears another of what one surely could label as a 'classic' playhouse bookkeeper's highlighting of a playwright's stage direction. (This is the one referred to by the McManaways.)

Suff: And now thou seest me acting y^e part of a slave. farewell soldier.
I did not hate thee at y^e fort, though there we mett enemyes.
& if thou & I take o^r leaves at y^e Gallows, prittwe lotts part friends.
Jay: Come along you two. *[P:]* hand in hand, if y^e Captaine please; noble
Suffamonte: at y^e winning of y^e fort we had a brave breakefast.
Suff: True, but I doubt we shall have worse cheare at Dinner.
Jay: When was ever any meat well dress'd in y^e hangmans kitchen? *[Exeunt.]*

Act: 4. Sc: 3. *Ent: fernando bareheaded, talking wth y^e Duke of Macada. / Duke Gyron, Medyna, Marquise d'Alquevezes, 2 gent: one wth Pikes sword, w^{ch} is laid on a table, Taylo^r, Teniente / Clarke*

Mac: Where's y^e Teniente? *[Clark.]* y^e Duke calls for you. *[Ten:]* here my Lord. *[wth paper]*

The playwright has opened the scene with elaborate instructions about how a player should appear 'bareheaded, talking', and the bringing on of hand-held properties, 'One with Pike's sword wch is laid on / a table', and 'Clarke / wth paper' (ll 1555–6). In the left margin opposite lines 1579–89 occurs the bookkeeper's addition, the boxed 'A Table out, / sword & papers'. NB: the bookkeeper is not in the least concerned with how the players are dressed or with what properties they are to carry. What is very much his responsibility, and thus his resulting very careful left-margin addition, is that table and what must be on it for the scene to function. Obviously, these props are to be carried on by those who are not the players in the scene and who thus must be supervised.

Folio 46b contains three playwright's directions (ll 1611–15), duly boxed in the right column concerning stage-placement of players and their interaction; unsurprisingly, there is no evidence of bookkeeper's interest.

Medy: Pray see this done, & in good order. / Ten: I shall. / Exit. 1610
 Gyr: What makes Don Iohn here? oh, now I remember, / Ent: Don Iohn below
you come against the Englishman. / Io: yes, my Lord.
 Mac: Give me y^e Note there of y^e English advertisem^t / Ent: his Lady & a gentle woman above.
They all conferre.

But about the middle of the page occurs a complex and revealing direction (ll 1623–6):

Ent: 2. Drums; Teniente, Divers musketts, fernando wth Pike (wthout band, an Iron about his necke, 2 Chaines manacling his wrists; a great Chaine at his heeles) Iaylo^r, 3. or 4 Halberts, A Barre sett out.

The first three lines are unexceptionally the playwright's calls for properties and the expected vague numbers of extras. Interest (for this investigation) lies in the last four words, the centred 'A Barre sett out'. But for the centred location as part of a large playwright's direction, these words constitute another 'classic' bookkeeper's addition, a highlighting to insure that the 'Barre' Pike refers to in line 1641 is in place when needed. A bookkeeper ordinarily would have placed this direction in the left column, as he had earlier with 'A Table out, / sword & papers'. In other plays, the appearance on stage of this particular large property is heralded by a bookkeeper's addition to insure that the Barre is onstage for the moment needed. There are examples in Heywood's *The Captives*, 1624 (folio 70b, ll 2832–5) and John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *Sir John Van Olden Barnavel*, 1619 (23b, ll 2158–61).¹¹

There is, of course, (for this writer at least) the notable call in the left margin by the playhouse bookkeeper not for a Bar but for a bed. Unfortunately the photograph is too poor to print, and the locating is not helped by the insensitive placing of the British Museum ownership stamp. The play is the anonymous *The First Part of the Reign of King Richard the Second or Thomas of Woodstock*, 1594–5, BL MS Egerton 1994, folios 165–86.¹²

Why, then, that change of location in *Dick*? Ordinarily, one would have expected this direction to have been inscribed in the left column (or, in this

[Sarlab. so they had]
 [Scribonia too and mulcted vs beesydes.]
 [but that in part they did comiserate.] / [Barre ready]
 [our so greate losse by Sea.]

Barre *Scæ. 5^a Enter Orange, Bredero, Vandort*
William [Henry]: Lords. Table.
Vand. It gain be sent for presently: he shall know, — A Barre brought in
where he ten times more popular; his friends

Scæ. 5^a. Enter Orange; Bredero: Vandort
Barre William [Henry]: Lords. Table.
Vand. Let him be sent for presently: he shall know, — A Barre brought in
were he ten times more popular; his friends

24

on payne of life, to act o^r sad decree
 for heauens, loue goe, preuent the tragedie
 we haue to much prouokt the powrey diuine
 & heere repent thy wrongs, good vncke woodstocke
 the thought wher of connfoundy my memory
 if men might dye when they would poynt the tyme
 the tyme is now king Richard would be gone
 for as a fearefull thunderclapp doth stricke
 the soundest body of the tallest oake
 yett harmless leauey the outward barke vntoucht
 so is king Richard strocke. com com letts goe
 my woundy are Inward. Inward burne my woe {—Exeunt omnes}

Actus quint^o
Enter Lapoole with a light after him the (2) Murderers
Lap: com sirs be resolut. the tyme scruey well
 to act the businey yo^u haue tayne in hand
 the duke is gon to rest [the rome is voyded]
 [no eare can heere his cryes,] be feareless bould (& wyne)

manuscript, at least, in the right). Why take a whole line for this direction? Why did the scribe violate one of his so carefully observed rules: ‘Save as much space as you can’ for a mere four words? The usual whipping-boy of explanations — spacing, crowding — does not seem to apply here. There is seemingly no reason why ‘A Barre sett out’ could not have been inscribed several lines earlier in the left margin of the text (where the bookkeeper normally would have placed it and where he did place ‘A Table out’ on the previous leaf); or given the usual space crunch, moving the four words into the right column. One is left with assigning the choice of placement for this bookkeeper’s addition to the whim of the scribe. Perhaps it just looked neater to him.

Folio 47a contains two playwright's advisory directions (ll1677 and 1680) while folio 47b abounds in them, telling the players what to do and/or how to do it (1707–17).

P: Genoa, or Lisbon; wherefore should we venture they consult.
 our lives to catch y^e wind ? or to gett knockes
 & nothing else ? Mac: A poast wth speed to Lisbon, & see't well mand.

Ten: One shalbe sent my Lord. Exit. The soldiers laugh. 1680

Alq: How now ? why is this laughter ?

Pi: may he be never calld an Englishman
 that dares not looke a divell in y^e face, One steps forth,
 come he in shape of man, come how he can.

Mac: yo^r name ? Tia: Tiago. All: well done Tiago.

Mac: let Drums beate all y^e time they fight. 1710

Lad: I pray for thee. Gent: And I. They fight. Pike disarmes & tripps him downe.

P: Onely a Devon shire hugg sir,
 at yo^r feete I lay my winnings. Tia: Diablo. exit, biting his thumbs, y^e soldiers stampe.

Gyr: Wilt venter on another ? Pi: I beseech you
 to pardon me & taske me to no more.

Alq: Come, come, one more, looke you, here's a yong Cockerell
 comes crowing into y^e pitt. All: prithe fight wth him. Another | I steps in.

Until, that is, one finds two playwright's directions near the bottom of the page (ll 1737–40).

Mac: How dost thou like these Chickens ? Pi: when I have drest them

Drums. wth sorrell sopps Ile tell you. They fight, one is killyd, y^e other .2. disarmd.

Lad: Now guard him heaven.

.i. Hell take thy Quarter staffe. .2. pox on thy quarters.

Mac: The matter ? why this noyse ? A noyse wthin of, Diablo Englese. 1740

lay: The soldiers rayle, stampe, & stare, & sweare to cutt
his throat, for all y^e Iaylors care of him.

In the left margin of line 1737 appears the boxed 'Drums' of the bookkeeper amplifying the playwright's calls for 'noyse wthn'. I presume that the scribe left 'Drums' in the left column because that is where he found it and to move it to the right as part of a dialogue line would have made for a confusing situation with the directions that already occupied the space.

Folios 48b and 49a contribute one playwright's direction each (ll 1820–3, 1897–8), both merely telling players what to do.

Hen: No; such a Wife in the Moone for me does tarry,
 If none such shine here, I wth none will marry.

Ten: y^e lords are come. / H: I care neyther for Lords nor Ladies.

Mac: Where are these gentlemen? sett 'em both to a Barre,
 & opposite face to face; A Confrontation
 may perhaps daunt th' offender, & draw from him
 more then he'de vtter; you accuse yo^r Brother

1819

Ent: y^e Nobles
 as before, fernando,
 Manuell, Clarke
 Iaylor.

In folio 49b, the playwright documents how he wants Manuell to be treated (ll 1928–30, 1957):

El: Oh me vnfortunate Creature! / Exit.

Med: Don Manuell Gusman, ere you tast y^e tortures,
 w^{ch} you are sure to feele, will you confesse

Ent: Manuell to be
 rackt, Iaylor,
 & Officers.

1931

The playwright continues his attention to small properties on folio 50b, lines 2013–15:

Med: Lady, vntill they come repose yo^r selfe. / Exit Eleonora.

Mac: How now? so soone come backe? why thus returnd?

Gen: Our Iourney to Madrid y^e king himselfe
cutts off by these his royall letters sent
upon y^e wings of speed to all yo^r Graces.

Ent: Pike,
 & a Gentleman
 wth Letters.

And on folio 51a, lines 2078–9, the playwright continues his concern with costuming as well as directing use of entrances:

P: Were it a glasse as deepe to y^e bottome as a spanish pike is long,
an Englishman shall doe't; her health & Don Iohns wives too.

Iay: The Prisoners are vpon coining. / Mac: stand by, Englishman. / Ent:
Iaylor.

Ent: Teniente, Henrico, Manuell, Pedro (as a fryer)
 At another dore Eleonora.

Mac: Give y^e Lady roome there. / Clark. Peace.

2080

And that, other than mere entrances and exits, is the extent of stage directions in *Dick of Devonshire*. The playwright's directions, as recorded by the scribe, reveal a playwright who, because of his so careful concern with how his players are to look and what they are to do, may be an amateur or an occasional playwright. Most professional playwrights do not provide so many details. As a convenient comparison, consider Shakespeare's stage

directions. The scribe gives the impression of being accurate; I believe that we may safely assume that he was. Can we make the same assumption about the scribe's preservation of inscriptions by the bookkeeper? This is not so easy a call. On the one hand, he did preserve six additions which very much seem to be those of the playhouse bookkeeper. Six in 2132 lines are not many, but very few playbooks have many bookkeepers' annotations despite the expectations of editors and theatre historians. *Dick of Devonshire* certainly comes in as bearing little evidence of bookkeeper activity however positive and important those six markings are. Other annotations could well have been dropped by the scribe, not deeming them worthy for his purposes. (He was not making, nor would he have been expected to make, a diplomatic transcription of his copy.)

Comparisons always are both difficult and dangerous; but since *Dick of Devonshire* is most likely but one remove from Heywood's autograph, and the autograph of Heywood's *The Captives* exists, it is too tempting not to look for comparisons between the two. *The Captives* is a much longer play, 3240 lines versus 2132 for *Dick of Devonshire*, but even with the disparity in length, *Dick* has sixteen scenes versus fourteen in *Captives*. In looking at the number of interventions by the playhouse bookkeeper, the disparity is very wide indeed: from only six 'shadows' remaining in *Dick* to at least fifty-two bookkeeper's additions in *Captives*. What can be made of these statistics? Or, more carefully, can valid conclusions be made?

To attempt any sustainable conclusions, one must begin with Heywood's execrable handwriting, as found in the only surviving text of *The Captives*. Below is the lower portion of folio 68a (ll 2462–502) which also contains the playhouse bookkeeper's addition 'wthn' in the left column opposite the line to which it applies:

	[by the same stepps returne the wye I came]	Exit
* :	Enter the knight. half vnredy, his Lady after him,	(clere
	(Dennis	
D Auerne.	Ho denis:	
Lady	giue mee reason I intreate.	
	off these vnquiet sleepes.	
D Auerne.	you dogg mee Lady	
	lyke an ill genius:	2470
Lady:	you weare woont to call mee	
	your better angell.	
D Auerne	so I shall doo still,	
	would you bee take you to y ^e quiet sleepes	
	and leave mee to my wakinges:	
Lady.	there bee longes	
	vnto our bedd so sweete a sympathy	
	I canott rest wth out you,	

- 2 J. G. McManaway, 'Latin Title-Page Mottoes as a Clue to Dramatic Authorship', *The Library*, 4th Ser., 36 (1945), 28-36.
- 3 G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1941-1968), 5:1318-19..
- 4 Unless otherwise specified, all quotations are taken from *Dick of Devonshire* prepared by James G. and Mary R. McManaway and checked by Arthur Brown, for the Malone Society (Oxford, 1955). Anyone studying BL MS Egerton 1994, fols 30-51, must record a most sincere debt to the McManaways for their meticulous diplomatic transcription.
- 5 McManaway (eds), *Dick of Devonshire*, viii.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 'Stage directions: A Misinterpreted Factor in Determining Textual Provenance', *TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 2 (1985), 121-37; "'A bed / for woodstock": A Warning for the Unwary', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 2 (1985), 91-118; a general survey of the features of the surviving eighteen Elizabethan-Jacobean-Caroline manuscript playbooks can be found in 'Precious Few: English Manuscript Playbooks', David Scott Kastan (ed.), *A Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1999), 414-33; a generally analogous investigation of another 'literary' manuscript play can be found in 'Dulwich ms XX: *The Telltale*, Clues to Provenance', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 11 (2005), 180-204.
- 8 McManaway, *Dick of Devonshire*, vi.
- 9 Printed text from *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, prepared by Muriel St Clare Byrne and checked by the general editor [W.W. Greg] (Oxford, 1923).
- 10 Printed text from *The Telltale*, Dulwich College ms XX, prepared by R.A. Foakes and J.C. Gibson, checked by Arthur Brown, for the Malone Society (Oxford, 1960).
- 11 Printed texts from *The Captives*, prepared by Arthur Brown and checked by R.E. Alton (Oxford, 1953) and *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelte*, ed. Wilhelmina P. Frijlinck (Oxford, 1922).
- 12 Printed text from *The First Part of the Reign of King Richard the Second or Thomas of Woodstock*, prepared by Wilhelmina P. Frijlinck and checked by the general editor [W.W. Greg] (Oxford, 1929).