Title of workshop: “As Shee Beleeveth”: Marriage, Authority, and the Female Voice in Early Modern Litigation and Literature

Abstract:
This seminar will investigate the various roles of women within the household and the wider community in early modern England. Our focus will be a 1637 matrimonial contract suit and countersuit before an ecclesiastical court, which follows one man’s denial of the woman to whom he was contracted while both were under the age of consent. Transcripts of witness testimony from the case offer insights into the theory and practice of early modern marriage; the unusual number of women represented in the documents, including the rejected bride herself, gives us access to women from a variety of social groups commenting on their understanding of the rituals and customs of marriage and women’s roles within the household and community. These documents present a range of “real” voices and opinions about women’s roles in early modern England, which we will read in conjunction with excerpts from Measure for Measure and The Tragedy of Mariam to consider the resonances and dissonances among early modern texts and contexts.

Organizers:
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Workshop Description:
This workshop will use early modern marriage as a lens through which to explore how women understood their place within local communities and the options available for women to express these views. An investigation of literature and litigation concerning marriage heard before the ecclesiastical courts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggests that multiple meanings of and paths into marriage coexisted, sometimes uneasily, in early modern England. Although the Protestant Church of England sought to institutionalize its control over the making of marriage, England’s failure to reform marriage law until 1753 meant that early modern matrimony continued to be governed by medieval canon law, a circumstance that offered prospective spouses means of creating legitimate marital unions outside the authority of the church. Ecclesiastical lawyer Henry Swinburne noted that the reciprocation of matrimonial consent in present-tense language constituted "the end or execution of Marriage," regardless of publicity, location, witnesses, or clerical supervision. Further, although the practice was forbidden by contemporary commentators on marriage and household management, some early modern parents persisted in the custom of binding children (and families) together through marriages solemnized when both spouses had yet to reach the canonical ages of consent. If child brides and grooms indicated acceptance of their matches upon attaining the age of majority, their unions became irrevocably binding. Because archival sources of interrupted and fractured relationships indicate that women were actively engaged in defining and problematizing ideals and realities of early modern marriage, such evidence serves as a valuable entry point for a consideration of women's ideas about marriage, family, and household and their ability to express them in a public forum.

We propose to study women's roles in contesting and negotiating the theory and practice of marriage through an examination of litigation generated by a fractured union. At the center of our conversation will be a pair of multi-party suits that involve the 1634 marriage between Christiana Williamson and Robert Wainwright, solemnized when both parties were under the ages of consent. The death of Robert's parents antedated the marriage, and after its conclusion, Robert moved into the household of Christiana's father. After three years with the Williansons, Robert left that household and began courting Elizabeth Golbourne. The pair married in June 1637 and subsequently ratified their marriage through consummation and cohabitation. Christiana then initiated suit against Robert on the grounds that his "second" marriage was illegal since his behavior after the age of fourteen signified his consent to their child marriage. The
testimony presents a snapshot of early modern views of marriage, the household, and community memory. With an unusual number of female deponents drawn from a variety of social status groups, these trial documents offer a remarkable opportunity to hear about these issues from women, albeit mediated by a legal system that recorded female voices through the filter of male ecclesiastical court clerks who recorded oral testimony.

Following a brief introduction of the sources and their contexts, we will begin our discussion with the trial excerpts made available on the conference website, focusing particularly on views of the family and the local community that emerge from witness testimony. Small groups will then look at materials that compare accounts of similar life-cycle events as described by both male and female deponents in order to consider how both comment on the lives of women. Because so much hinged on Robert's age at the time of his repudiation of his child marriage to Christiana, for example, witnesses commented in considerable detail on the timing of his birth, recalling in detail pregnancies of other women in the community. What might it mean to our understanding of early modern gender and social realities that the community memory of the parish was marked by the biological processes of women's bodies?

After a discussion of small group findings, we will move to a consideration of issues similar to those described above as represented in contemporary fictional works including Measure for Measure and The Tragedy of Mariam. Questions of gender, authority, and the law become even more complex in the multi-vocal genre of drama, particularly in Mariam, a closet drama, which is often read as a reflection of Elizabeth Cary's own struggles, both legal and spiritual, with her status as wife and mother, and with her understanding of public and private voice. We hope participants will introduce other relevant material from their own research throughout the session, and we will use the conclusion of our conversation to discuss these materials more fully.

Among the questions we will consider are the following: What kinds of ideas and activities about marriage and family did the witnesses in litigation consider worthy of recounting before the court? What does this evidence, particularly as offered by female deponents, tell us about women's roles in particular and the values and customs of early modern England more generally? Do the same themes and ideologies concerning gender roles appear in fictional texts? How are the two types of early modern sources similar and dissimilar in the ways in which they tell their stories about marriage and family? Court records and Measure for Measure provide access to a female perspective but through the filter of a male writer. How do questions of authorship/recording affect methodological strategies for evaluating the ideas expressed by "female" voices? How might these documents complicate our understanding of women's private and public voices? Our goal for the group is a consideration of the ways in which women's words—as jilted spouses, as witnesses, as fictional characters, as authors—shaped and reflected early modern ideals and realities about marriage, family, and community.

Readings:
- Selected transcripts from a pair of multi-party suits involving Christiana Williamson als Wainwright, Robert Wainwright, and Elizabeth Golbourne als Wainwright from the Cheshire Record Office, Cause Papers of the Consistory Court of Chester, EDC 5 1637, no. 13 and 14
- Excerpts from Measure for Measure
- Excerpts from The Tragedy of Mariam

Suggested Readings:
Transcriptions from Matrimonial Suits involving Christiana Williamson, Robert Wainwright, and Elizabeth Golborne: Cheshire Record Office, Consistory Court of Chester EDC 5 1637, nos. 13 and 14, and 1638, no. 133

Background: The following transcriptions are taken from three case files in the records of the Consistory Court of Chester's Court Papers from 1637 and 1638 that contain over 80 pages of material, most in the form of witness testimony, or depositions (see the workshop description for an overview of this complex trio of suits); 29 witnesses were deposed, nine of whom were women and whose testimony is featured below. Prior to the calling of witnesses to come to court to swear upon their oaths to the truthfulness of their testimony, legal representatives for each litigant (the plaintiff and the defendant) drew up a list of interrogatories, or questions pertaining to the matrimonial contract dispute, and several sets of interrogatories exist for these suits, to which witnesses were responding in court. Witnesses are referred to in the testimony as “the deponent,” and they often refer in their testimony to answers to specific “articles,” or questions. The written record of these depositions begins with the name of the deponent and often includes indentification of her parish of residence, marital status, and age. It is important to keep in mind that this testimony is a written record of what was originally an oral exchange: the clerk of the court was present during depositions and recorded what he heard, although the testimony was subsequently read back to the witness for verification. These records also contain the personal response of litigant Christiana Williamson. Original spellings have been maintained in the transcriptions below, with slight adjustments in punctuation and minor editing to facilitate readability.

General Questions for Consideration:
1. How did women identify and express themselves in their responses to interrogatories? On what grounds did they claim authority concerning and knowledge of circumstances pertaining to the parties involved? Note the range in age and status of the female witnesses; are there differences in how women at different stages in the life cycle offered their commentary to the court?

2. What general conclusions can you draw about women's ideas concerning the formation of marriage in early modern England from this evidence? What actions and words validated marriage in the minds of the witnesses and parties involved?

3. What significance did the deponents and litigants assign to gift giving, displays of personal affection, sexual intercourse, and more general indicators of “spousal behavior”? How did witnesses come to have knowledge of such activities?

4. None of the parties disputed that a public ceremony of marriage between Christiana Williamson and Robert Wainwright took place, or that a subsequent public ceremony of marriage took place between Robert Wainwright and Elizabeth Golborne; the testimony instead hinged on whether the former parties had affirmed their union after each party had reached the age of consent. In the witnesses' discussion of this issues, how did they mark the passage of time and commemorate personal and public events?

Response of Christiana Williamson (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)
The few statements below are the only words found the three case files attributed to Christiana herself.
"As Shee Beleeveth"

She beleeveth that shee, att the tyme of the solemnizac[i]on of the mariage betwixte her and Robert Wainwright, had attained the age of nyne yeares, and that the said Robert Wainwright att the same tyme had attined the full age of fourteen yeares, and this respondent saith that the marriage was ratyfied and confirmed betwixte them, as she beleeveth, by lying and being in one and the same bedd together, by continued cohabitac[i]on, by guift[es], by kisses, by embracement[es], by kinde language, and good vsage as man and wife for the space of three yeares togethers and vpwards.

This respondent beleeveth that after this solemnizac[i]on of the said marriage betwixte Robert and this respondent, Richard Williamson did keepe and maintaine Robert Wainwright at his house as his owne and purposed to educate him.

**Women: Servants**

**Eleanor Newall**, aged 43 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 13)

It doth appeare by the registrie booke or the record[es] kept in the Penticourt Court w[i]thin the Cittie of Chester for the occasiouns of the s[ai]ld Cittie that M[aste]r Robert Whitehead, now deceased, was maior of the s[ai]ld Cittie Anno d[omi]ni 1627 and further saith to the best of her remembrance and as shee verily beleueeth, two yeares or thereabout[es] before hee was maior of the s[ai]ld Cittie, this depo[nen]t & the s[ai]ld M[aste]r Whitehead & one M[aste]r Richard Coventrie at the intreatie of Jeffery Wainwright, who was father to Robert Wainwright the def[enden]t, did stand as god fathers & shee as godmoth[er] vnto him, and they were godfathers & she godmother vnto him when hee was baptized in Christleton Church, w[i]thin w[hi]ch p[arl]ishe hee was borne, and saith at the same time this depo[nen]t, together w[i]th the s[ai]ld god fathers did christen the s[ai]ld Robert, the def[enden]t, she, the s[ai]ld Robert[es] Grandmother, said to this depo[nen]t that the childe that shee had [chr]istened was to inherit the meanes or estate they had, beinge there owne land or to that effect, meaneinge therby as this dep[onen]t did verily beleue that the s[ai]ld Robert the def[enden]t was olde sonne to Jeffery Wainwright & Elizabeth his wife.

To the other items, she knows nothing, saveinge yt Richard Willia[m]son kept the def[enden]t Robert Wainwright in good & handsome close [clothes] & apparell.

**Margaret Wright of Famedon**, aged 31 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)

She sayeth that this depo[nen]t was liveinge in the house of Richard Williamson situated w[i]thin the Cittie of Chester for the space of one yeare and a quarter beginning at Christmas in the yeare of o[u]r Lord God 1635 and sayeth that w[i]thin that time, shee hath seene oftentimes vpon jestinge and playinge Robert Wanewright and Christian Williamson would fall forth and the sayd Christian would flinge vpp and get her waye and sometimes sayinge she wold goe as she sawe cause when he came to her.

This depo[nen]t came to serve M[aste]r Richard Williamson and since that time hath lived in house w[i]th him as his hyred servant and sayth that duringe the space of five moneths next after the time by her p[re]deposed, Robert Wanewright did continually cohabit, live, and dwell in the same house w[i]th Richard Williamson and was at his disposinge and gov[ern]in[g] and soe continued vntill it was reported that Robert was contracted or married vnto Elizabeth Golborne alias Williamson and sayth that in that time she hath some times scene Robert Wanewright and [Christ]ian Williamson call out when they haue beene playinge and jestinge and sayth that shee hath hard Robert Wanewright ofte saye that hee would mend the matter before it were longe
any thinge altered him, butt what hee minded or ment by vttering the sayd word[es], this dep[onen]t cannot depose.

She sayth that most com[m]only in the wecckeddayes Robert Wanewright sett at the servant[es] table wth the servant[es] but sayth that M[ist]ris Williamson would cutt meate and geve it vnto Robert Wanewright before shee gaue the meate vnto the servant[es] and sayth that shee hath often hard Richard Williamson advise & admonishe Robert Wanewright to leave off gameinge, drinkeinge, and evil companie and did see the sayd Richard Williamson twice strike and correcct Robert Wanewright, once for not goinge to schoole accordinge as hee had appointed him, and another time for absentinge himselfe from Church and not takinge not[es] of the servuant. Duringe the time that this dep[onen]t lived in house w[i]th Robert Wainwright and [Christ]ian Williamson, this dep[onen]t did never here [hear] Robert Wanewright salute her by the name of wife or shee him by the name of husband, butt when any occasion was offered she called him Robert and hee her Kittie or Christian.

Shee did never see Wanewright give any tokens vnto [Christ]ian Williamson or she give him any.

Duringe the time by this dep[onen]t p[re]deposed, Robert Wanewright did eate att table (when Richard Williamson had strangers) and not otherwise, butt that vppon Sondayes, hee often carried vpp the meate and afterward[es] satt downe to the table w[i]th the sayd Richard, his wife, & the rest whoe satt att table, and sayth that most com[m]only in the wecke dayes, the sayd Robert Wanewright sate or stood att the servants table butt sayth that M[ist]ris Williamson wife vnto Richard Williamson would cutt meate and give it vnto Robert Wanewright before shee gaue the meate vnto the servant[es] and sayth that shee hath often hard Richard Williamson admonishe Robert Wanewright from gaming and drinkinge and beaten him that hee continued in the cases it should bee the worse for him and sayth that shee did once see Richard Williamson strike Robert Wanewright because hee had neglected to goe to schoole as hee had appointed him. This depo[net]t livinge in the house wth the p[ar]ticles hath scene and observed the p[re]misses to be true.

This dep[onen]t did neuer heare Robert Wanewright or Christian Wiliamson salute either other or calle either other husband or wife, but called each other, Robert or Kittie or Christian as occasion was offered.

This dep[onen]t doth not knowe what monie Robert Wanewright gaue vnto the sayd Christian Williamson butt sayth she hath hard Christian saye that Robert had given her monie, and this dep[onen]t sayth that Robert Wanewright did once send two penniworth of pairs and gave them vnto Christian and this dep[onen]t and att another time did send for cac[es] and gaue them vnto the sayd Christian, and alsoe sayth that Christian gaue him the sayd Robert a pare of roses for his shoeses.

Robert Wanewright did call Richard Williamson father and his wife mother duringe the time that this dep[onen]t was w[i]th them.

[Her response to another set of questions.]

She is a married woman, and for the time interrogated hath lived within the p[ar]ishe of Farnedon, savige that shee lived w[i]th M[aste]r Richard Williamson for one yeare and a quarter and hath knowne Christian Williamson two yeares last past but doth not knowe Elizabeth Goldborne.

She was compelled by p[ro]ces from this court to testifie in this cause and vppon the charg[es] of the p[ar]tie p[ro]ducent [the Williamson].
This respondent hath hard that Robert Wanewright and Christian Williamson were married or contracted togetheer.
During the time that this respondent lived in the house of Richard Williamson, Richard Williamson kepte and maintained Robert Wanewright and Christian Williamson alias Wanewright and had a special care of the educac[i]on of Robert, brought him vpp to schoole and imploym[en]tes in wryttinge and that duringe the time this respond[en]t was w[i]th them, shee hath seene the sayd Robert have good store both of silver and gould in his purse.
During the time by this respondent p[re]deposed, she hath seene Robert Wanewright to haue often kissed [Christ]ian Williamson alias Wanewright.
W[i]thin the time by this respondent p[re]deposed, she hath seene often times Robert Wanewright alone w[i]th [Christ]ian Williamson alias Wanewright, both in the Chamber where hee himself laye and likewise in the chamber where shee laye and sayth that shee hath seene him often looke vpon a bible wherein the age of [Christ]ian was wrytten but doth not remember that shee ever hard him speake any of the word[es] interrogated.
[Her signature]

Frances Hough of Wimslowe, aged 33 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)
Robert Wanewright was gone from Richard Williamson and was married vnto Elizabeth Gobborne as it was reported, and in that time that this dep[onen]t did live in M[aste]r Williamsons house w[i]th Robert Wanewright, there was often times jarres, dissene[i]ons, and fallings out betweene Robert Wanewright and [Christ]ian Williamson and in the same time, Christian did often times compaine to her father and mother of & against Robert and that shee hath often times hard Robert saye that hee did dislike of the former contract or mariage w[i]th her and that hee would mende the matter ere longe & did often tell this dep[onen]t that hee could not tell howe God would dispose of him butt he did neuer intende to haue any thinge to or w[i]th Christian Williamson, and Christian would often saye that she would neu[er] haue any thinge to doe w[i]th Robert, this dep[onen]t often speakinge to her to vse him more kindlie in respect.
Shee did not p[er]cevea that either of them entended to confirme the sayd marriage or contracte. During the time that Robert Wanewright lived w[i]th Richard Williamson, Richard did keepe him in great aue and that when any stranger did dine or supp w[i]th Richard Williamson, Robert Wanewright did weate [wait] att the table and sayth that Robert did vsually sitt to meate wth the servant[es] vnsless it were vppon Sondayes or holodayes when hee had carried vpp the meate hee seth w[i]th Richard Williamson, his wife, and the rest at table and asoe that shee hath seene Richard Williamson strike and beate Robert Wanewright for cominge into the house att an vnseasonable time in the night & once and another time for not goinge to school as he had appointed.
During the time p[re]deposed, she did neu[er] heare Robert Wanewright and [Christ]ian Williamson salute or call each other husband or wife.
This dep[onen]t did neu[er] heare that [Christ]ian Williamson did give any guift[es] to Robert Wanewright butt sayth that shee hath often times seene Robert give monie to the sayd [Christ]ian, sometimes sixe pence and some time xijd [twelve pence] when hee had gotten monie
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by wryttinge for M[aste]r Williamson, and by his [Master Williamson's] appointment, hee gaue it vnto her and beleeveth hee would haue given her non had hee not com[m]anded him.
[Her signature]
Shee is a hyred servant and for the time hath lived in Chester and hath knowne [Christ]ian Williamson for the space of ten yeares and Elizabeth Golborne for two yeares last past.
Shee hath little butt her clothes.
This r[esp]ondent hath credibly hard that Robert Wainwright and [Christ]ian Williamson were contracted or married togetheer in the p[arjishe] church of St. Peter's within the Cittie of Chester. About Michelas next followinge the intermarriage betwixte Robert Wainwright and [Christ]ian Williamson, this r[esp]ondent came to serve & live in house w[i]th Richard Williamson, and att her coninge hither, shee found Robert Wainwright, whose continued and lived w[i]th Richard Williamson vntil hee was married vnto Elizabeth Golborne as was deposed, all w[i]ch time Richard Williamson did maintaine and keepe Robert Wainwright and [Christ]ian Williamson w[i]th decent & comly apparell & other necessaries and had a speciall care of the educac[i]on and bringinge vpp of Robert att schoole and instructed him & imploied him as his clarke and did in the same time often admonishe him from goinge forth of his house in the night time and p[er]swade him from gamininge, drinkeinge, and evell company by fare word[es] and gentle admonis[j]ons, tellinge him that hee desired and wished him p[er]swed[e]n. Richard Williamson after the intermarriage did take into his house & maintaine Jane Wainwright, Elizabeth Wainwright, and Jefferie Wainwright, the sisters and brother of Robert Wainwright, and did breade & maintaine them in decent manner as hee did his owne children and alsoe maintained the sayd Jeffrey to schoole.

Robert Wainwright did gett good store of monie by his imploym[en]t in wryttinge vnder the sayd Richard Williamson w[i]thin the time and that this r[esp]ondent hath seene him haue in his purse good store both of gold and silver.

Robert Wainwright and Christian Williamson did live and cohabite togeather in the house of Richard Williamson and were reputed as lawfull man and wife and Rob[ert] called Richard Williamson & his wife father and mother and did ordinarilly and usuallie ask[ed] them blessinge and did kiss Christian often times and did give her some times monie.

Richard Williamson did often both by faire word[es] admonishe and sometimes by sharpe word[es] rebuke Robert Wainwright for his stayinge forth of his house att unreasoneable times had from drinking and gamininge absentinghe him selfe from church & schoole and did for the same time strike and correcte him.
[Her signature]

Anna Williams of St. Oswald's in Chester, aged 30 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)
Shee is a married woman and for the time hath lived w[i]thin the p[arjishe] of Farnedon, savinge this last yeare that shee hath lived wth M[aste]r Richard Williamson in Chester, and hath knowne [Christ]ian Williamson for one yeare last past and Elizabeth Golborne for halfe a yeare.
Shee is worth xli (£10) in debts & good[es].
Shee was compelled by p[ro]ces from this court to testifie in this cause and expecteth her charges from Robert Wainwright.
Shee hath hard it reported that Robert Wainwright and [Christ]ian Williamson were contracted or married togeather.
For the space of five or six monethes next after this r[esp]ondent came to serve Rich[ard] Williamson, Robert Wanewright lived in the house of Richard Williamson and att her cominge to serve him, shee found Robert Wanewright dwelling w[i]th him and that Richard Williamson maintain and keepe Robert Wanewright as his clarke and in the same time this r[esp]ondent hath hard Richard Williamson often admonishe him by faire word[es] from goinge forth of his house in the night and to refraine evill companie, gaminage, and drinkeinge, telling him that hee desired and wished his p[re]ferment.

Duringe the time that this r[esp]ondent lived in house w[i]th Robert Wanewright Robert dyd get good store of monie by his imploym[en]t in wryting vnder Richard Williamson and that this r[esp]ondent hath seene him haue both good store of silver and gould in his purse.

Duringe the time of this r[esp]ondent p[re]deposed Robert Wanewright did live w[i]th [Christ]ian Williamson as lawfull man and wife and for they were reputed and taken and that hee would ofte kise her and that hee called her father and mother his father and mother and asked them blessinge.

[Her signature]

Elizabeth Prince of Coddington, aged 34 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)
This depo[nen]t beinge servant aboute three yeres since vnto M[aste]r Richard Williamson, father to the partie producent, liued in his house, where the def[enden]t & the p[arte]tient p[ro]ducient did then liue to gether & did cohaibote to gether as lawfull man & wife, & for lawfull man and wife they were then comonly accounted reputed and takenn, and saith shee hath seene & observed them duringe the time shee was servant there severall nights to lye to gether in one & the same bedd & vpon there owne free will & saith shee hath seene & observed them severall times kisse & imbrace one the other in a loueinge & kinde manner as man & wife ought to doe & also to bestowe tokens vpon one another thereby showeing there affe[ci]on & loue each to other.

Shee did not knowe of any other means [tha]t Robert Wanewright had to live vpon but that he had for the p[re]sent from M[aste]r Richard Williamson, and shee beleeveth yt if hee had had any wise to haue complayne of his being vnder him M[aste]r Williamson that hee vpon complainede might haue liued elsewhere.

Shee did never see or knowe M[aste]r Williamson vse Robert Wanewright discourteously or more vnkindely then hee did his owne children, neither did shee ever see him while at the table of M[aste]r Williamson.

Shee is alyke conversant wth ye p[arte]ties & wisheth truth to take place & not otherwise.  
[Her signature]

Women: Kin

Jane Wainwright of Christleton, sister of Robert, aged 19 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)
About sixe weeks after the marriage or contracte betwixte Richard Wanewright and [Christ]ian Williamson, this depo[nen]t came to live in house w[i]th M[aste]r Richard Williamson and sayth that w[i]thin the same time there was often Jarres, dissenc[i]ons, and fallings out betweene Robert and [Christ]ian and that [Christ]ian Williamson would often times when Robert Wanewright came vnto her or would offer to kisse her flinge a waye from him and misse call him and also sayth that once shee hard [Christ]ian complained vnto her father M[aste]r Williamson of Robert, and her father told her that shee must not complaine of Robert butt must
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suffer him to rest w[i]th her or doe any thinge else, and this dep[onen]t hath hath hard [Christ]ian in expressinge her dislike for that would shee had given xxli (£20) that shee had neu[er] seenne him or mett w[i]th any of them, meaninge his brother & sisters, and sayth that in the same time by this dep[onen]t p[re]deposed, this dep[onen]t hath hard Robert Wanewright expresse his dislike against the sayd [Christ]ian Williamson & the p[re]deposed contracte and that hee would often saye that hee would mend the matter before it was longe or to that effecte and that shee hath hard the sayd [Christ]ian saye that shee would neu[er] haue anythinge to doe w[i]th Robert and doth beleev and did never p[er]ceive to the contrarie that any true love or affecc[j]ion was betweene the sayd Robert & [Christ]ian & that they did intend to confirme the p[re]tended marriage or Contracte. This dep[onen]t is vnscertaine what age Robert or [Christ]ian were at the time by this dep[onen]t p[re]deposed.

Robert, for the most p[ar]te, ate his meate wth the servant[es] & att the table vnless yppon Sundays and then hee satt att table w[i]th Richard Williamson, his wife, and children, vnlesse strangers had beene there, and then hee waited att table of them.

Since the time that this dep[onen]t went from Richard Williamson, w[hi]ch was about Midsomer was twelve moneth, this dep[onen]t was tabled att John Cotgreave's house in Cristleton for a twelve moneth, in w[hi]ch time, as often before, Robert Wanewright expresse vnnto this dep[onen]t and her cousin, Francis Cotgreave, his great love and affecc[j]ion vnnto Elizabeth Golborne and his dislike of the contracte betwixt him and the said [Christ]ian Williamson and in that time did send by this dep[onen]t and Francis Cotgreave in token of his love and affecc[j]ion to Elizabeth Golborne att three sev[er]all times a pare of gloves, a silver whistle, and a silver seal, w[hi]ch the sayd Elizabeth [word lost due to illegibility].

This r[esp]ondent hath hard it credibly reported that [Christ]ian Williamson and Robert Wanewright were married or contracte together in or about the moneth of Maye in the yeare of o[u]r Lord God 1634 last past, and that they lived and cohabited together in the house of Richard Williamson (Father of [Christ]ian) situated in Chester for the space of three yeares after the sayd contract or marriage or there about[es], and as this r[esp]ondent beleeveth, they lived and cohabited w[i]th Richard vntell the moneth of June last, all w[hi]ch time Richard Williamson keppe Robert Wanewright to schoole & imploymed him as his clarke.

This r[esp]ondent was eldest daughter vnnto Jefferie Wanewright and Elizabeth his wife. She had a brother called Thomas Wanewright w[hi]ch dyed when hee was a child and this r[esp]ondent very younge, fore that this r[esp]ondent doth not knowe whether the sayd Thomas or Robert was the eldest of her father's sonne borne.

This r[esp]ondent hath hard some saye that her brother Thomas was elder than Robert and hath hard others saye that Robert was elder, then Thomas afforsaid, such that Elizabeth and Jefferie Wanewright, younger sister and brother vnnto Robert Wanewright.

Shee lived in house w[i]th Richard Williamson for the space of a twelvemoneth and vpward[es] and that shee was maintayned by him after Robert and [Christ]ian were married and that shee did neu[er] knowe see or heare that they eu[er] laye togethether in chamber or bed.

[Her mark]

Frances Cotgreave of Christleton, aged 24 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)

[The opening of her testimony is lost due to illegibility]...situated in Christleton and remained there for the space of one yeare in w[hi]ch time Robert Wanewright did often resort to this r[esp]ondent[es] father's house to his sister and sayth that in the same time Robert did often
complaine vnto this depon[en]t of discontent[es] and discutesies that hee had received from Richard Williamson and that [Christ]ian Williamson could not endure him butt would often complaine of him both to her father and mother if hee p[ro]fered to jest w[i]th her and that Robert hath often expressed his dislike and dissent of and toward[es] [Christ]ian and often w[i]thin the time p[re]deposed told this depo[nen]t that hee would neu[er] confirme the marriage or contract betwixt Christian and himselfe butt whether then hee would married her hee would take a wife w[i]th nothinge, whereby this depo[nen]t conceived that there was noe true love betwixt them or that Robert did any wayes intend to confirme the contract.

W[i]thin the time by this depo[nen]t p[re]deposed Robert Wanewright hath often complained vnto this depo[nen]t that M[aste]r Richard Williamson vsed him vnkindly and kepe him in great awe and subjecc[i]on and that hee had often strucke Robert and enforced him to weate att table of him, his wife, and daughter Christian.

In the time p[re]deposed Robert Wanewright did often expresse his love and affec[i]on vnto Elizabeth Golborne and would ofayne had not his [illegible] fallinge vnto those ill courses hee did, hee the sayd Robert had married the sayd Elizabeth longe before. [Note: other testimony suggests that Robert and Christiana's marriage was arranged in part because Robert's father was indebted to Cristiana's father.]

In the time p[re]deposed Robert Wanewright in token of his love and affec[i]on vnto Elizabeth Golborne, hee at three seu[er]al times sene by this depo[nen]t and Jane Wanewright a pare of gloves, a silver whistle, and a silver seale.

[Her signature]

This r[esp]ondent hath credible hard that [Christ]ian Williamson and Robert Wanewright were married and contracted totegether and that they lived and cohabited to geather in M[aste]r Williamson's house situate in Chester, butt for what time this r[esp]ondent cannot certainly answear but sayth that Richard Williamson did kepe the sayd Robert to schoole.

Shee did knowe Jefferay Wanewright and Elizabeth his wife and Jane Wanewright butt dut not knowe whether she is was eldest daughter vnto her sayd decead[es] or not butt beleeveth she is the eldest daughter nowe livinge, butt of what age shee now is, this r[esp]ondent cannot answere and cannot answere whether Robert Wanewright was the eldest sonne borne vnto the decead[es] or of what age hee is nowe of.

Jane Wanewright lived in house w[i]th Richard Williamson in Chester butt what time this r[esp]ondent cannot answere.

[Her signature]

**Women: Neighbors**

**Anne, wife of Richard Woodcocke,** of Chrisleton, aged 54 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)

Jeffrey Wanewright and Elizabeth Wanewright in there life times were taken for lawfull man & wife & for such comonly accompted & reputed.

Jeffrey Wanewright & Elizabeth his wife had issue after there marriage, five children, [that is to say] Jane, Robert, Thomas, Elizabeth, & Jeffrey Wanewright, & for lawfull children of them the said Jeffrey & Eliz[abeth] his wife they were comonly accompted reputed & taken.

Shee was godmother to Thomas Wanewright & still shee verily beleeveth if hee had now liued hee would have bene 19 yeares.

[Her signature]
"As Shee Beleeveth"

She hath known [Christian Wanewright alias Williamson aboute a yeare or two & Richard Wanewright & Elizabeth Wainewright alias Goulborne a dozen yeares and vpward[es].
Shee was a neighbour to the decend[en]t[es] Jeffrey Wainewright & his wife & thereby came to haue knowledge of there children & how many they had. 
[Her mark]

**Dorothy Cotgreuae, wife of Robert**, of Chrisleton, aged 62 (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)
Jane Wanewright was eldest daughter to Jeffrey Wanewright & Elizabeth his wife, deceased, & saith Robert Wanewright was taken & accompted to bee eldest sonne of them two & to bee oulder & of more age then Thomas Wanewright, there sonne now deceased, and knows this is true, for this dep[onen]t was next neighbour vnto them & well knewe all the p[ar]ties by her p[re]deposed.
Shee hath heard that Robert Wainewright & Elizabeth Goulborne were married in the face of the congregac[i]on, saueinge that Eliz[abeth] then liued in the p[ar]ish of [Christ]elton. 
[Her signature]

**Margaret Burroughes** of St Peter in Chester, no age given (CRO EDC 5 1638, no. 133)
This depot was p[re]sent in the p[ar]ishe church of St Peter in Chester in or aboute the moneth of May in the yeare 1634 & betwixe the howers of eight & eleven of the clocke in the afore noone when M[aste]r John Glendole, clerke, curate of the said church, did by vertue of a lycense graunted from this courte, as shee beleueth, solemnize m[at]r[im]o[n]ly betwixt Robert Wainwright and Christian Williamson, w[i]th the vse of a ringe & other ceremonies affores[ai]d by the Booke of Comon Prayer & saith they had both of them willingly ytter the word[es] of contracte p[re]scribde in the s[ai]d Booke of Comon Prayer accordinge to the forme laid downe, therein p[re]sent alseoe at p[re]misses her husband Raphe Burrough, Thomas Locket, & some others, since w[i]ch marriage they haue liued together in one & the same house vntill aboute a moneth & sixe week[es] since & during e that this depo[n]t hath heard him Robert call & acknowledge Christian Williamson for his wife & call her father & mother father & mother.
M[aste]r John Glendole at the time of the solemnizae[i]on of the s[ai]d marriage & before & since hath bine & is taken & accompted to bee a lawfull minister & bee in holy orders.
Robert Wainwright and Christian Williamson alias Wainwright since the said marriage are taken & accompted to bee lawfull man & wife.
Robert Wainwright is taken & accompted to bee aboute the age of seaventeene yeares as she beleeveth.

**Interrogatories: Women, Births, and Christenings** (CRO EDC 5 1637, no. 14)
The following list of interrogatories, one of several from the files, represents an attempt to ascertain Robert Wainwright's age and status as eldest son and heir of his father, Jeffrey. What is most notable is the use of other local women's pregnancies and the christening of their children as means of tying personal and public events and memories together.
1=That the marriage betwixt Christian Williamson alias Waynwright and Roberte Wainwright menc[i]oned in the libell exhibited in this cause on the behalfe of Christian against Roberte
Wainwright was solemnized betwixt Christian and Robert by vertue of a licence or dispensac[i]on granted by the Rev[er]end ffather in God, John, Lord Bishop of Chester, or his Vicar Generall, or officiall principall, or his deputie or surrogate, or other judge competent in that behalfe as by the acts of this Corte more att large will appeare. And the p[re]misses were and are true, publique, and notorious.

2=That Richard Williamson, ffather of Christiana Williamson, at the tyme of the baptyzing of Christian Williamson alias Wainwright, and before and since, was an Attorney in his M[ajest]ies Courte of Exchequer of Chester and then lived and nowe doth liue within the p[ar]jishe of St Oswald's within the Cittie of Chester.

3=That Jeffrey Wainwright and Elizabeth Wainwright, late of Christleton in the Countie of Chester, deceased, were lawfull man and wife and soe were in theire life tymes reputed and taken.

4=That Jeffrey Wainwright and Elizabeth his wife had issue, that is to say, fyve children, borne vnto them of the body of the said Elizabeth Wainwright, that is to say, Jane Wainwright, the said Robert Wainwright, Thomas Wainwright, Elizabeth, and Jeffrey Wainwright. And the p[re]misses were and are true, publique, notorious, and manifest.

5=That Jane Wainwright was and is the eldest child or daughter of Jeffrey Wainwright and Elizabeth Wainwright, deceased, and was borne or christened in the moneth of March, anno d[omi]ni 1617.

6=That Robert Wainwright was and is the eldest sonne of Jeffrey Wainwright and Elizabeth Wainwright, deceased, and was borne or christened in or aboute the ny nth day of October, anno d[omi]ni 1619 last past and was elder brother to Thomas Wainwright by the space of two or three yeares. And that the p[re]mis es are true, theire hath beene and is within the p[ar]jishe of Christleton publique voyce and fame.

7=That Thomas Wainwright was yonger brother to Rob[er]te Wainwright and that Robert Wainwright was at the birth of Thomas two or three yeares of age and that Thomas was borne or christened in the moneth of Januarie, anno d[omi]ni 1622 last.

8=That the said yeare 1619, one Margerie Duckworth and Margaret Walworth alias Wayworth, wife to Peter Wayworth, and Elizabeth Ducker, wife to John Ducker, were with child when Elizabeth Wainwright, deceased, was with child of Robert Wainwright and had two daughters borne and christened the yeare that Robert Wainwright was christened, that is to say, Ellinor Wayworth and Margerie Duckworth.

9=That in the yeare of our Lord God 1622 one Thomas Johnes had issue, Christian, his daughter, and in that yeare, Thomas Wainwright, yonger brother to Robert Wainwright, was borne.

10=If in case it doth appeare by the registrie or booke keppe for the registrie of christenings, marriages, and burials of the p[ar]jishe of Christleton aforesaid that Robert Wainwright was christened in the moneth of Januarie, anno d[omi]ni 1624, or in that yeare yet the same is therein and in that p[ar]te false and vntru and one name crossed out and Robert Wainwright interlyned and inserted as it doth appeare by the booke and for that Robert Wainwright was christened the ny nth day of October in the yeare of our Lord God 1619, as is formerly allledged.
Excerpts from Measure for Measure, by William Shakespeare

Excerpt 1: Act 1, scene 2, lines 104-48

Claudio explains his predicament to Lucio, insisting that he and Juliet had a "true contract."

Excerpt 2: Act 3, scene 1, lines 205-58

The Duke explains Mariana's marital situation to Isabella, including the reasons that Angelo walked out on their pre-contract, and he outlines his plan for the bed-trick.

Excerpt 3: Act 4, scene 1, lines 1-72

Isabella explains the bed-trick to Mariana, and the Duke tells her not to fear, because "he is your husband on a pre-contract." (68)

Excerpt 4: Act 5, scene 1, lines 168-236

Mariana enters veiled, insisting that she will unvel only at her husband's request, after which Angelo must confess that they were on a pre-contract that was "broke off" because her dowry "came short of composition" and "her reputation was disvalued in levity." (213, 217, 218-19).

Excerpt 5: Act 5, scene 1, lines 355-91

The Duke insists that Angelo marry Mariana.

Excerpt 6: Act 5, scene 1, lines 484-552

The play's final lines in which the Duke instructs Claudio to "restore" Juliet and Angelo to "love" Mariana (518, 519).

These excerpts are from an online full-text version of the play:

http://www.shakespeare.mit.edu/measfull.html

The online version does not contain line numbers; the line numbers cited above are from The Norton Shakespeare, Ed. Stephen Greenblatt. New York: Norton, 1997.

Excerpt 1: Act 1, scene 2, lines 104-48

LUCIO Why, now new, Claudio! whence comes this restraint?

CLAUDIO From too much liberty, my Lucio, liberty. As surfeit is the father of much stoop; so every slope by the immoderate use turns to restraint. Our nature do pursue like rats that raven down their proper barns. A thirsty evil; and when we drink we die.

LUCIO If I could speak so wisely under an arrest, I would send for certain of my creditors; and yet, in the truth, I had as lief have the opprobry of freedom as the mockery of imprisonment. What's thy offence, Claudio?

CLAUDIO What but to speak of would offend again.

LUCIO What, is't murder?

CLAUDIO No.

LUCIO Loseness?

CLAUDIO Call it so.

Prevent away, sir, you must go.

CLAUDIO One word, good friend, Lucio, a word with you.

LUCIO A hundred, if they'll do you any good.

Is lechery so look'd after?

CLAUDIO Thus stands it with me: upon a true contract I got possession of Juliet's bed: You know the lady, she is fair my wife, Save that we do the denunciation lack Of outward order: this we came not to, Only for propulsion of a dever, Remaining in the coffer of her friends, From whom we thought it meet to hide our love Till time had made them for us. But it chances, The stealth of our mutual entertainment With character too gross as write on Juliet.

LUCIO With child, perhaps?

CLAUDIO Unhappily, even so And the new deputy saw for the duke-- Whether it be the fault and glimpse of naughtiness, Or whether that the body public be A house whereon the governor doth ride, Who, newly in the sea, that it may know He can command, lest it straight feel the spur; Whether the dynasty be in his place, Or in his eminence that fills it up, I stagger in--but this new governor Awakes me all the excoriated penalties Which have, like unsoiled armor, hung by the wall So long that nineteen zodiacs have gone round And casts of them been worn; and, for a name, New puts the drowsy and neglected act Freshly on me, 'tis surely for a name

Excerpt 2: Act 3, scene 1, lines 205-58

DUKE VINCENZIO Virtue is bold, and goodness never fearful. Have you not heard speak of Mariana, the aunts of Frederick's the great soldier who miscarried at sea?

ISABELLA I have heard of the lady, and good words went with her name.

DUKE VINCENZIO She should this Angelo have married, was affianced to her by oath, and the nuptials appointed: between which time of the contract and term of the solemnity, her brother Frederick was wrecked at sea, having in that perished vessel the dowry of his sister. But mark how heavily this buttled to the poor gentlewoman: there she lost a noble and
renowned brother, in his love toward her ever must
kind and natural; with him, the portion and sinew of
her fortune; her marriage-deity, with both, her
companion husband, this well-seeing Angelo.

ISABELLA Can she be at? did Angelo so leave her?

DUKE VINCENTIO Left her in her tears, and died not one of them
with his comfort; swallowed his woes whole, pretending
in her discoveries of dishonour; in feow,
bestowed her on her own lamentation, which she yet
wears for his sake, and he, a marble to her tears,
towards them, but separates not.

ISABELLA What a merit were it in me to take this poor maid
from the world? What corruption in this life, that
it will let this man live! But how out of this can she avail?

DUKE VINCENTIO It is a rupture that you may easily heal; and the
ease of it not only saves your brother, but keeps
you from dishonour in doing it.

ISABELLA I am now, good father.

DUKE VINCENTIO This foremost maid hath yet in her the continuance
of her first affection: his unjust unkindness, that
in all reason should have quenched her love, hath,
like an inundation in the current, made it more
violent and unruly. Go you to Angelo, answer his
requiring with a plausible obedience; agree with
his demands to the point; only refer yourself to
this advantage; first, that your stay with him may
not be long; that the time may have all shadow and
allons in it, and the place answer to convenience.
This being granted—pursue, and you follows all;—we shall advise this wronged maid to stand up
your appointment, go in your place; if the encounter
acknowledge itself, hereafter, it may compel him to
her recompense: and here, by this, is your brother's
served, your honour untainted, the poor Mariana
advanced, and the corrupt deputy scaled. The maid
will I frame and make fit for his attempt. If you
think well to carry this as you may, the docility
of the benefit defends the deceit from reproof.
What think you of it?

ISABELLA The image of it gives me content already; and I
trust it will grow to a most prosperous perfection

DUKE VINCENTIO I see much in your holding up. Hasten you speedily
to Angelo; if for this night he direct you to his
bed, give him promise of satisfaction. I will,
promptly to Saint Luke's, thence to the mooned
garden, reside this dejected Mariana. At that
place call upon me, and dispatch with Angelo, that
it may be quietly.

ISABELLA I thank you for this comfort. Fare you well, good father.

Excerpt 3: Act 4, scene 1, lines 1-72

Enter MARIANA and a Boy. Boy sings
Take, O, take those lips away,
That so swee'tly were forsworn;
And those eyes, the break of day,
Lights that do mislead the more.
But my kisses bring again, bring again;
Seals of love, but sealed in vain, sealed in vain.

MARIANA Break off thy song, and leave thee quick away;
Here comes a man of comfort, whose advice
 Hath often still'd my brawling discontent.

Exit Boy

Enter DUKE VINCENTIO disguised as before
I cry you mercy, sir, and well could wish
You had not found me here so musical.
Let me excuse me, and believe me so.
My mirth it much displeased, but please my wise.

DUKE VINCENTIO 'Tis good, though music oft hath such a charm
To make bad good, and good provoke to harm
I pray you, tell me, hath any body inquired
For me here to-day? much upon this time have
I promised here to meet,

MARIANA You have not been inquired after.
I have sat here all day;

Enter ISABELLA

DUKE VINCENTIO I do constantly believe you. The time is come even
now. I shall crave your forbearance a little: may
be I will call upon you anon, for some advantage to yourself.

MARIANA I am always bound to you.

Exit

DUKE VINCENTIO Very well met, and well come.
What is the news from this good deputy?

ISABELLA He hath a garden circumscrit with brick,
Whose western side is with a vineyard bost'd;
And to that vineyard is a planted gate,
That makes his opening with this bigger key:
This other drat command a little door
Which from the vineyard to the garden leads;
There have I made my promise
Upon the heavy middle of the night
To call upon him.

DUKE VINCENTIO But shall you on your knowledge find this way?

ISABELLA I have seen a clue, and wary note upon't:
With whispering, and most guilty diligence,
In action all of preene, he did show me.
The way twice o'er,
DUKE VINCENTIO: Are there no other tokens Between you, 'tis true concerning her observance?

ISABELLA: No, none, but only a repair to the dark; And that I have possessed him most stay Can be but short, for I have made him know I have a servant comes with me along, That stays upon me, whose persuasion is I come about my business.

DUKE VINCENTIO: 'Tis well borne up I have not yet made known to Mariana A word of this. What, ho! within! come hither!

Re-enter MARIANA

I pray you, be acquainted with this maid; She comes so do you good.

ISABELLA: I do desire she like.

DUKE VINCENTIO: Do you persuade yourself that I respect you?

MARIANA: Good sir, I know you do, and have found it.

DUKE VINCENTIO: Take then, this your companion by the hand, Whose faith a story ready for your ear I shall attend your pleasure: but make haste; The vaporous night approaches.

MARIANA: Will please you walk aside?

Exeunt MARIANA and ISABELLA

DUKE VINCENTIO: O place and greatness! millions of false eyes Are stuck upon their: volumes of report Run with these false and most concomitant quests Upon thy doings: thousands escape not To make thee the father of their idle dreams And rack thee in their fancies.

Re-enter MARIANA and ISABELLA

Welcome, how agreed?

ISABELLA: She'll take the enterprise upon her, father; If you advise it.

DUKE VINCENTIO: It is not my consent, But my secrecy too.

ISABELLA: Little have you to say When you depart from him, but, soft and low, Remember now my brother.

MARIANA: Fear me not.

DUKE VINCENTIO: Nor, gentle daughter, fear you not at all. He is your husband on a pre-contract To bring you thus together: 'tis no sin, Sith that justice of your title to him

MARSILIA: Dost flourish the decent Come, let us go.

Our cares to reap, yet our pride's to sow.

Excerpt 4: Act 5, scene 1, lines 168-236

MARIANA: Pardon, my lord; I will not show my face Until my husband bid me.

DUKE VINCENTIO: What, are you married?

MARIANA: No, my lord.

DUKE VINCENTIO: Are you a maid?

MARIANA: No, my lord.

DUKE VINCENTIO: A widow, then?

MARIANA: Nor, my lord.

DUKE VINCENTIO: Why, you are nothing less: neither maid, widow, nor wife?

LUCIO: My lord, she may be a punk; for many of them are neither maid, widow, nor wife.

DUKE VINCENTIO: Silence to that fellow: I would he had some cause To prattle for himself.

LUCIO: Well, my lord.

MARIANA: My lord, I do confess I was married, And I confess besides I am no maid: I have known my husband, yet my husband Knows not that ever he knew me.

LUCIO: He was drunk then, my lord: it can be no better.

DUKE VINCENTIO: For the benefit of silence, would thou went so too!

LUCIO: Well, my lord.

DUKE VINCENTIO: This is no wages for Lord Angelo.

MARIANA: Now I came not my lord She that accuseth him of fornication, Is self-same manner doth accuse his husband, And charges him my lord, with such a time When I'll depose I had him in mine arms With all the effect of love.

ANGELO: Charges she more than me then?

MARIANA: Not that I know.

ANGELO: You say your husband.

MARIANA: Why, just, my lord, and that is Angelo, Who thinks he knows that he never knew my body, But knows he thinks he knows Isabel's.

ANGELO: This is a strange abuse. Let's see thy face.

MARIANA: My husband bids me; now I will unmask.

Unveiling

This is that face, thou cruel Angelo, Which sees thou sworost was worth the looking on; This is the hand which, with a vow'd contract, Was fast betrothed in thine; this is the body.
That took away the match from Isabel,
And did supply thee as thy garden-house
In her imagined person.
DUKE VINCENTIO Know you this woman?
LUCIO Casually, she says
DUKE VINCENTIO Sirrah, no more!
LUCIO Enough, my lord
ANGELO My lord, I must confess I know this woman
And five years since there was some speech of marriage
Between myself and her, which was broken off,
Partly for that her promised proportions
Come short of composition, but in chief
For that her reputation was dissuaded
In levity: since which time of five years
I never spake with her, saw her, nor heard from her,
Upon my faith and honour.
MARIANA Noble prince,
As there is light from heaven and words from breath,
As there is sense in truth and track in virtue,
I am affianced this man's wife as strongly
As words could make up vows: and, my good lord,
But Tuesday night last I saw a garden-house
He knew me as a wife. As this is true,
Let me in safety take me from my knee
Or else for ever be confined here,
A marble monument!
ANGELO I did but smile till now:
Now, good my lord, give me the scope of justice
My patience here is touch'd: I do perceive
These poor infirm women are no more
But instruments of some more mighty member
That sets them on: let me have way, my lord,
To find this practise out

Excerpt 5: Act 5, scene 1, lines 355-91

Sir, by your leave;
Hast thou or word, or wit, or impudence,
That yet can do thee office? If thou hast,
Rely upon it till my tale be heard,
And hold no longer out.
ANGELO O my dread lord,
I should be guiltier than my guiltiness,
To think it can be unspeakable,
When I perceive your grace, like power divine,
Hath look'd upon my person. Then, good prince,
No longer session hold upon my theme,
But let my trial be mine own confession
Immediate sentence then and sequent death
Is all the grace I beg.
LUCIO: Fair, my lord, I speak it but according to the
stick. If you will hang me for't, you may, but I
had rather it would please you I might be whip'd.
DUKE: Whips first, sir, and hung after.
Proclaim it, provost, round about the city.
Is any woman wrong'd by this lowd fellow.
As I have heard him swear himself there's one
Whom he beat with child, let her appear,
And he shall marry her the morn next, but
Let him be 'whip'd and hang'd.'
LUCIO: I beseech your highness, do not marry me so a where
Your highness said even now, I made you a duke.
good, my lord, do not recompence me in making me a cuckold.
DUKE: Upon mine honour, thou shalt marry her
Thy slanders I forgive, and therewithal
Remit thy other forsook. Take him to prison,
And see our pleasure heron executed.
LUCIO: Marrying a punk, my lord, is pressy to death,
whipping, and hanging.
DUKE: Stalking a prince deserves it.

Exit Officers with LUCIO.

She, Claudio, that you wrong'd, look you restore;
Joy to you, Maria! Love her, Angelo;
I have confest her and I know her virtue.
Thanks, good friend Balthasar, for thy much goodness;
There's more behind this is more grateful.
Thanks, provest, for thy ease and easey;
We shall employ thee in a worther place
Forgive him, Angelo, that brought you home
The head of Raguezza for Claudio's.
The offence pardons itself. Dear Isabella,
I have a motion much imports your good,
Whereas if you'll a willing ear incline,
What's mine is yours and what is yours is mine.
So, bring us to one palace; where we'll show
What's yet behind, that's meet you all should know.
Excerpts from The Tragedy of Mariam: The Fair Queen of Jewry, by Elizabeth Cary

Excerpt 1: Act 1, scene 2
Mariam and her mother Alexandra discuss possible problems to Mariam's status rising from Herod's divorce of his first wife, Doris.

Excerpt 2: Act 1, scene 4
Herod's sister Salome, eager to marry her lover Silleus questions Jewish law that does not allow women to ask for divorce.

Excerpt 3: Act 3, Chorus
The Chorus discusses women's role in marriage and argues that women should not speak in public.

These excerpts are from an online full-text version of the play:

Two excellent print versions include:
The Tragedy of Mariam the Fair Queen of Jewry with The Lady Falkland her Life, ed. Barry Weller and Margaret W. Ferguson (U of California Press, 1994.)
The Tragedy of Mariam, ed. Stephanie Hodgson-Wright (Broadview, 2000.)

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1. [Mariam, ALEXANDRA] What means these tears? My Mariam doth mistake,

80 The news we heard did tell the tyrant's end,
What' she spare'st thou for thy brother's murderer's sake?
All ever wight a tear for Herod spend?
My curse pursue his breathless trunk and spirit,
Base Edomite, the damned Esau's heir!

85 Must he ere Jacob's child the crown inherit?
Must he, vile wretch, be set in David's chair?
No, David's soul, within the bosom placed
Of our forefather Abram, was ashamed:
To see his seat with such a toad disgraced,

90 That seat that hath by Judah's race been famed.
Thou fatal enemy to royal blood, did
Not the murder of my boy suffice,
To stop thy cruel mouth that gaping stood,
But must thou dim the mild Hiram's eyes?

95 My gracious father, whose too ready hand
Did lift this Idumean from the dust:
And he, ungrateful caitiff, did withstand
The man that did in him most friendly trust.
What kingdom's right could cruel Herod claim,

100 Was he not Esau's issue, heir of hell?
Then what succession can he have but shame?
Did not his ancestor his birth-right sell?
Oh yes, he doth from Edom's name derive
His cruel nature which with blood is fed:

105 That made him me of sith and son deprive,
He ever thirsts for blood, and blood is red.
Weep'st thou because his love to thee was bent,
And read' st thou love in crimson characters?
Slew he thy friends to work thy heart's content?

No: hate may justly call that action hers.

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1. The Edomites were descendants of Esau, who sold his birthright (as aforesaid) to his younger brother Jacob for a mess of pottage (Genesis 25, 29-34). Jacob also tricked his father into giving him the blessing intended for Esau. The Edomites were descendants of Jacob; the story was interpreted to signify God's favor to them over Esau's descendants.

2. Abraham, David, one of Israel's first kings (now dead and so said to be in Abraham's bosom), is assumed to see that those occupied by Herod.

3. Herod, because he had Alexander's father, Hiram, his son Aristobulus killed.

4. Edom was thought to derive from a root meaning "red."
THE TRAGEDY OF MARIAM, ACT I

He gave the sacred priesthood for thy sake
To Aristobulus, yet doomed him dead.
Before his back the ephod warm could make,
And ere the mitre settled on his head.

Oh, had he given my boy no less than right,
The double oil should to his forehead bring
A double honor, shining doubly bright;
His birth anointed him both priest and king.
And say my father and my son he slew

To royalize by right your prince-born breath:
Was love the cause, can Mariam deem it true,
That Mariam gave commandment for her death?
I know by fits he showed some signs of love,
And yet not love, but raging lunacy:
And this his hate to thee may justly prove,
That sure he hates Hircania's family.
Who knows if he, unconstant wavering lord,
His love to Doris had renewed again?
And that he might his best to her afford,
Perchance he wished that Mariam might be slain.

MARIAM Doris! Alas, her time of love was past,
Those coils were raked in embers long ago
In Mariam's love and she was now disgraced.
Nor did I glory in her overthrow.

He not a whit his first-born son esteemed,
Because as well as his he was not mine.
My children only for his own he deemed,
These boys that did descend from royal line
These did he style his heirs to David's throne;

Edward's first wife,
9. The 4613 text reads: "Oh," not "is." With the emendation the line indicates that the "coals" of Herod's love for Doris had become embers in the fire of his love for Mariam, so that she (Doris) was now out of favor. "disgraced.'
1. Herod loved nothing for his first-born son by Doris (Antipater), since he was not Mariam's son.

140 My Alexander, if he live, shall sit
In the majestic seat of Solomon;
To will it so, did Herod think it fit.
ALEXANDRA Why, who can claim from Alexander's brood
That gold-adorned lion-guarded chair?
145 Was Alexander not of David's blood?
And was not Mariam Alexander's heir?
What more than right could Herod then bestow?
And who will think except for more than right
He did not raise them, for they were not low.

But born to wear the crown in his despite:
Then send those tears away that are not sent
To thee by reason, but by passion's power:
Thine eyes to cheer, thy checks to smiles be bent,
And entertain with joy his happy hour.

Felicity, if when she comes, she finds
A mourning habit, and a cheerful look,
Will think she is not welcome to thy mind,
And so perchance her lodging will not brook.
Oh, keep her whilst thou hast her; if she do,

160 She will not easily return again:
Full many a year have I endured in woe,
Yet still have used her presence to obtain.
And did not I to her as presents send
A table, that best art did beautify,

165 Of two, to whom Heaven did best feature lend.
To woo her love by winning Anthony?
For when a prince's favor we do crave,
We first their minions' loves do seek to win:
So I, that sought Felicity to have,

170 Did with her minion Anthony begin.
The Tragedy of Mariam, Act I

With double slights I sought to captivate
The warlike lover, but I did not right:
For if my gift had borne but half the rate,*
The Roman had been overtaken quite.

But now he farred like a hungry guest,
That to some plentiful feast is gone;
Now this, now that, he deems to eat were best,
Such choice doth make him let them all alone.
The boy's large forehead first did fairest seem,
Then glanced his eye upon my Mariam's cheek:
And that without comparison did deem,
What was in either but he most did like.
And thus distracted,* either's beauty might
Within the other's excellence was drowned:
Too much delight did bare it from delight,
For either's love the other's did confound.
Where if thy portraiture had only gone,*
His life from Herod, Anthony had taken:
He would have loved thee, and thee alone,
And left the brown Egyptian clean forsaken,
And Cleopatra then to seek had been.

So firm a lover of her wan'd face:
Then great Anthony's fall we had not seen,
By her that fled to have him hold the chase.

Then Mariam in a Roman's chariot set,
In place of Cleopatra might have shown:
A mart of beauties in her visage met,
And part in this, that they were all her own.*

Not to be empress of aspiring Rome,
Would Mariam like to Cleopatra live
With purest body will I press my tomb,
And wish no favors Anthony could give.

Alexandra. Let us retire us, that we may resolve

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6. Ariadneus.
7. I.e., if she had not only Mariam's picture, Anthony would have loved her and left Cleopatra, "the brown Egyptian."
8. Cleopatra would have looked (had she sought for) love,
9. Cleopatra, who abandoned Anthony at the battle of Actium.
SCENE 4

[SALOME alone.]

SALOME Lives Salome to get so base a style
As "foot" to the proud Mariam? Herod's spirit
In happy time for her endured exile,

For did he live, she should not miss her merit?
But he is dead: and though he were my brother,
His death such store of cinders cannot cast
My coals of love to quench: for though they smother
The flames a while, yet will they out at last.
Oh blest Arabia, in best climate place,
I by the fruit will consume of the tree.
'Tis not in vain they happy name thou hast,
If all Arameans like Sileus be.
Had not my fate been too too contrary,
When I on Constabarus first did gaze,
Sileus had been object to mine eye:
Whose looks and personage must all eyes amaze.
But now, ill-fated Salome, thy tongue
To Constabarus by itself is tied:
And now, except I do the Hebrew wrong,
I cannot be the fair Arabian's bride:
What childish lobs are these? Why stand I now
On honorable stairs? 'Tis long ago
Since shame was written on my tainted brow;
And certain 'tis, that shame is honor's foe.

Had I upon my reputation stood,
Had I affected an unspotted life,
Josephus' veins had still been stuffed with blood,
And I to him had lived a sober wife.
Then had I never cast an eye of love
On Constabarus' now detested face,
Then had I kept my thoughts without remove:
And blushed at motion of the least disgrace:
But shame is gone, and honor wiped away,
And impudence on my forehead sits.

She bids me work my will without delay,
And for my will I will employ my wits.

_The Tragedy of Mariam, Act 1_ 13

He loves, I love: what then can be the cause
Keeps me [from] being the Arabian's wife?
It is the principles of Moses' laws,
For Constabarus still remains in life.
If he to me did bear as earnest hate,
As I to him, for him there were an ease;
A separating bill might free his fate
From such a yoke that did so much displease.
Why should such privilege to man be given?
Or given to them, why barred from women then?
Are men then we in greater grace with Heaven?
Or cannot women hate as well as men?
I'll be the custom-breaker: and begin
To show my sex the way to freedom's door,
And with an offering will I purge my sin;
The law was made for none but who are poor.²
If Herod had lived, I might to him accuse
My present lord. But for the future's sake³
Then would I tell the king he did refuse
The sons of Sabas in his power to take,
But now I must divorce him from my bed,
That my Sileus may possess his room.⁴
Had I not begged his life, he had been dead.⁵
I curse my tongue, the hind'rer of his doom,
But then my wond'ring heart to him was fast,
Nor did I dream of change: Sileus said,
He would be here, and see, he comes at last.
Had I not named him, longer had he stayed.

5. i.e., Herod's spirit is, happily for Mariam, eulogized from his body; for if Herod were alive Mariam would get what she desires.
6. Salome plays on the name "Arabu Peis," which ancient geographers gave to the Sthinc parts of Arabia; the "fruit" of the "tree" Arabia is Salome's new lover Sileus (next lines).
7. i.e., she has not blushed for shame in a long time.
8. A bill for divorce, allowed in Deuteronomy 24:1 only to men.
9. The opening chapter of Leviticus prescribes specific offerings for specific sins: Salome's cynical comment is that the wealthy can afford such offerings and so buy release from any sin.
10. i.e., for the sake of my future husband, I would have told (next lines) Herod that Constabarus did not kill Herod's enemies, the sons of Sabas, but instead led them.
11. Constabarus, while governor of Idumaea under Herod, sought to obtain that kingdom for himself; only Salome was able to persuade Herod to spare his life.
235 CHORUS: "Tis not enough for one that is a wife
To keep her spotless from an act of ill:
But from suspicion she should free her life,
And bare she herself of power as well as will.
Tis not so glorious for her to be free,
As by her proper self restrained to be.

When she hath spacious ground to walk upon,
Why on the ridge should she desire to go?
It is no glory to forbear alone;
Those things that may her honor overthrow.

But "tis thankworthy if she will not take
All lawful liberties for honor's sake:

That wife her hand against her fame doth rear,
That more than to her lord alone will give
A private word to any second ear,
And though she may with reputation live,
Yet though most chaste, she doth her glory blot,
And wounds her honor, though she kills it not.

3. Darkness was one of the ten plagues called down on Israel by Moses; "plague shall" refers to the parting of the Red Sea that enabled the Israelites to escape from Pharaoh (Exodus 14:21-23).
4. Joshua commanded the sun to stand still (Joshua 10:12-14); Herod imagines it traveling backward.
5. Solomon compared Mariam's house to the tabernacle ("tabernacle") of which the Ten Commandments were engraved.
6. Of the speech which Antiochus speaks of the, queen in Weuster's Duchess of Malfi 1.1.96-114.
7. I.e., the wife that gives a private word to any besides her husband may not lose her reputation but blight it.