

# EARLY MODERN LITERARY STUDIES



## Sir Thomas Salusbury 2<sup>nd</sup>'s (1612-1643) Manuscripts and Fragments

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Bound within the National Library of Wales's 'The Salusburies of Lleweni Manuscript' is a series of texts by Sir Thomas Salusbury 2<sup>nd</sup> (1612-1643), most of which have not been discussed at length before.<sup>1</sup> The manuscripts examined in this essay comprise Salusbury's undated complete comedy, 'Love and Money', together with an 'Epilogue' and 'Prologue' to Salusbury's missing play, 'The Sorrowful Ladie', which was performed, in 1639, at Thornhill, Buckinghamshire; a playlet, 'The Citizen and his Wife' (1642) which has been transcribed by Martin Wiggins; and two unfinished works, due to Salusbury's death in 1643, consisting of three acts of a tragicomedy, 'The Lady of Loreto', and a poetic translation of ten chapters of the 'Book of Wisdom' entitled 'The Wisdom of Saloman'.<sup>2</sup> As this essay argues, Salusbury's manuscripts provide further evidence of the performance of seventeenth-century manuscript drama and give a unique insight into the theatrical tastes of provincial audiences, whether performed at Salusbury's home, Lleweni Hall in Denbighshire, or his wife's family home in Buckinghamshire. These texts demonstrate what Julie Sanders has termed 'the cross-flow of inter-theatrical influences between professional and amateur practices and between metropolitan centre

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Salusburies of Lleweni Manuscript', National Library of Wales, MS 5390D. Shortened to 'Salusburies Manuscript'. This manuscript has been digitised: <https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/early-modern-period/salusbury>. Date of access 14 July 2021.

<sup>2</sup> See within 'Salusburies Manuscript': 'Love and Money', pp. 69-98; 'Epilogue' and 'Prologue' to 'The Sorrowful Ladie', pp. 291-292; 'The Citizen and his Wife', pp. 59-68; 'The Lady of Loreto', pp. 339-378; 'The Wisdom of Saloman', pp. 215-232. Act, scene and page references are in the body of the essay. Martin Wiggins has transcribed and discussed 'The Citizen and his Wife' within Martin Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Document 4, pp. 135-142. For the reader's ease, I use Wiggins's transcription.

and province at this time'.<sup>3</sup> Salusbury adopts the most popular contemporary theatrical genres, from Ben Jonson's humours plays to the tragicomedies made fashionable by James Shirley and William Davenant. Additionally, Salusbury's later texts powerfully encapsulate and dissect the anxieties of the cultural moment in the lead up to and during the Civil War, through an interrogation of the themes of wise government, good queenship and the dangers of martial law. Thus, this article explores how Salusbury's manuscripts add to our growing understanding of the vibrancy of Caroline literature.

The 'Salusburies Manuscript' itself consists of 271 leaves. The binding is contemporary, with the remains of a brass clasp and the paper appears to bear a single watermark. The National Library of Wales dates the manuscript to the early seventeenth century and notes that the pagination for pages 409-542 is written upside down from the back.<sup>4</sup> The different hands largely relate to the respective heads of the family: Sir John Salusbury, 3<sup>rd</sup> of that name (1567-1612), Sir Henry Salusbury, 1<sup>st</sup> Baronet (1582-1632), and Sir Thomas Salusbury, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet. Sir John Salusbury is responsible, for instance, for a lengthy translation of the 'Quatraines of Pibrac' (13-30) whilst Sir Henry Salusbury has written epitaphs for his brothers, Ferdinando and John Salusbury (157-61), his first wife, Hester Myddelton, sister of Sir Thomas Myddelton 2<sup>nd</sup> (508-9), together with a poem to the editors of Shakespeare's first folio, 'To my good freandes m<sup>r</sup> John Hemings & Henry Condall' (141). Sir Thomas Salusbury has contributed the most substantial body of writing – including valentine poems to his stepsister, Lettice Moore (260-3), a selection of quotidian poems to his wife, Hester (272-4), epitaphs on the Civil War deaths of Lord Daubignie and William Robinson (305, 309), together with the works discussed in this essay. Additionally, there is a poem apparently in the hand of John Donne (444), examples of inconsequential pen trials or jottings – including female signatures (131) – and poems written on the death of Thomas Salusbury by family members, Will Lloyd and George Evans (309-10).

Sir Thomas Salusbury 2<sup>nd</sup> was the head of a significant family based at Lleweni in Denbighshire, North Wales. Educated at Oxford University and the Inns of Court, Salusbury returned to Lleweni in 1632 on the sudden death of his father, Henry. In the same year, he married Hester Tyrrell from Thornhill in Buckinghamshire; declaring Hester the 'perfict figure of a virtuous mind' as 'her words' are 'her owne / not pickt from

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<sup>3</sup> Julie Sanders, 'Geographies of Performance in the Early Modern Midlands' in *Performing Environments: Site Specificity in Medieval and Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Susan Bennett and Mary Polito (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 119-137 (p. 119). See also Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/early-modern-period/salusbury>.

play books'.<sup>5</sup> From 1634 to 1639, Salusbury was alderman for Denbigh Town; in 1640 he was elected MP for the county and, in 1642, he joined the Royalist forces led by his cousin, Charles, Lord Strange (soon to be 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby), commanding the Flint and Denbigh regiment.<sup>6</sup> Salusbury's grandfather, Sir John Salusbury 3<sup>rd</sup>, was renowned for his astonishing literary connections. William Shakespeare famously wrote 'The Phoenix and Turtle' as part of the collection, *Poeticall Essays*, which was dedicated to Sir John Salusbury who, in 1601, was knighted Esquire of the Body to Elizabeth I.<sup>7</sup> Thomas Salusbury shared this love of literature. In addition to the manuscripts examined in this essay, Cedric Brown, David Klausner and David George have transcribed and discussed the three provincial manuscript masques Salusbury penned: two performed at his uncle, Sir Thomas Myddelton's, home of Chirk Castle in August 1634 and December 1641, and one staged at Knowsley Hall, in 1641, for his cousin, Lord Charles Strange's Twelfth Night festivities.<sup>8</sup> As this essay makes clear, it would appear from this examination of 'Salusburies Manuscript' that Thomas Salusbury's plays were written with performance in mind. They have very full stage directions and clear speech prefixes and the penmanship is more careful than the 'Masque at Knowsley Hall' and the 'Antimasque of

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<sup>5</sup> 'Hester Lymaire, Annagramma, Lay Mi Rest Heer, The picture' in 'Salusburies Manuscript', pp. 268-9, (p. 269).

<sup>6</sup> *Flintshire Historical Society*, 24, p. 46. See also *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, number 1711, 6 August 1642: 'At a meeting of the gentry of the cos. Denbigh and Flint, held at Wrexham, it was agreed to levy the sum of £1,500 to raise a regiment of foot in the King's defence of which regiment [Salusbury] was elected colonel' (p. 277).

<sup>7</sup> R., Chester, *Loves Martyr: or Rosalin's Complaint. Allegorically shadowing the truth of loue... viz. the phoenix and turtle* (Imprinted [by R. Field] for E. B[lount], 1601).

<sup>8</sup> See 'The Chirk Castle Entertainment of 1634', Egerton Manuscript 2623, no 9, British Library, transcribed by Cedric C. Brown, 'The Chirk Castle Entertainment of 1634', *Milton Quarterly* 11 (1977), 76-86 (pp. 83-6); 'The Antimasque of Gypsies' in 'Salusburies Manuscript' transcribed in *Records of Early English Drama Wales*, ed. by David N. Klausner (The British Library Publishing Division, 2006), pp. 146-150. Salusbury's 'Twelfth Night Masque at Knowsley Hall' in 'Salusburies Manuscript' transcribed in *Records of Early English Drama. Lancashire*, ed. by David George (University of Toronto Press, 1992), Appendix 4, pp. 252-66. For discussion of the Salusbury family and Thomas Salusbury's work see Rebecca A. Bailey, "'Your name shall live / In the new yeare as in the age of gold": Sir Thomas Salusbury's "Twelfth Night Masque, Performed at Knowsley Hall in 1641" and its Contexts.' *Shakespeare Bulletin* 38, (2020), 465-87; Rebecca A. Bailey, "'Wee in o' Country, that in us / Both happy are, & prosperous" (ll. 33-39): An examination of local and global material cultures in Thomas Salusbury's 1634 "Chirk Castle Entertainment"' (*English Literary Renaissance*, forthcoming); W.R. Glair, 'The Salusbury Circle at Lleweni', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 11 (1969), 73-9; Sally Harper, 'An Elizabethan Tune List from Lleweni Hall, North Wales', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 38 (2005), 45-98; David Klausner, 'Family entertainments among the Salusburies of Lleweni', *Welsh Music History* 6 (2004), 129-142; Sanders, *Cultural Geography*, pp. 75-76, 123-126.

Gypsies'.<sup>9</sup> There are some examples of catchwords being used in 'A Citizen and his Wife' and 'The Lady of Loreto'.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the division of the plays into acts and scenes, together with evidence of prologues and an epilogue, suggest, in the same way as Margaret Kidnie and T.H. Howard-Hill have argued in relation to John Newdigate's Arbury Hall manuscripts, that Salusbury was 'attuned to live performance'.<sup>11</sup>

The manuscripts considered in this essay give a depth to Salusbury's oeuvre and the stage directions contribute to the evidence of performance of early seventeenth-century manuscript drama.<sup>12</sup> A shift in tone is evident from 'Love and Money', written most likely in the late 1630s, to Salusbury's early 1640s pieces which mirror the increasing volatility of Caroline England in the lead up to Civil War. Salusbury's manuscripts demonstrate the two-way performance dynamic between London and the provinces.<sup>13</sup> Salusbury even documents in his 'Epilogue' to 'The Sorrowful Ladie' the differences between acting in London and the provinces. Deeming himself a 'son' of Ben Jonson, Salusbury's 'Love and Money', is rooted in Jonson's humoural comedy – a tone which has darkened by his comic playlet, 'The Citizen and his Wife'. By 1643, Salusbury's 'The Lady of Loreto' appears in the form of a neoplatonic tragicomedy which reflects the preferred theatrical experience of King Charles I's exiled court. 'The Lady of Loreto' explores themes of tyranny and wise government which Salusbury concurrently considers in his poem, 'The Wisdom of Saloman'. There are copying errors in 'The Wisdom of Saloman' and the final stanza is heavily scored through which suggests Salusbury was in the process of composition.<sup>14</sup> Any corrections seem to be in the same hand and in the same ink. Thus, Salusbury's manuscripts add to our growing understanding of the vitality of Caroline literature and demonstrate the influential dramatic interconnections between London and the regions.

## 1: 'Love and Money'

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<sup>9</sup> One could argue that the masques referred to in footnote 8 are in the everyday hand of Thomas Salusbury and the material discussed in this essay is copied out, as the texts discussed here are very clean and considerable care is given to the presentation of the plays.

<sup>10</sup> Salusbury, 'Lady of Loreto', pp. 346-7; Salusbury, 'Citizen and his Wife', pp. 62-63.

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Jane Kidnie, 'Near Neighbours: Another Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of *The Humorous Magistrate*', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 13 (2007), 187-211 (pp. 205, 207).

<sup>12</sup> See *Early British Drama in Manuscript*, ed. by Tamara Atkin (Turnhour: Brepols, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> See footnote 3.

<sup>14</sup> Salusbury, 'Wisdom of Saloman', p. 252.

'Love and Money' is rooted in Ben Jonson's comedies of the humours. Salusbury was a self-identified 'son' of Ben Jonson, a leading dramatist and poet of the seventeenth century. This is evident from a signed manuscript poem which Salusbury composed on Jonson's death in 1637, 'An Elegie Meant Upon the Death of Ben Jonson'.<sup>15</sup> Both of Salusbury's masques performed at Chirk Castle were influenced by Jonson's writings: the 'Chirk Castle Entertainment of 1634' is rooted in Jonson's country house poem 'To Penshurst' (most likely written in May 1612) whilst Salusbury's 'Antimasque of Gypsies' (performed 1641) echoes Jonson's celebrated masque, *Gypsies Metamorphosed* (performed 1623, published 1640).<sup>16</sup> 'Love and Money' is resonant with Jonsonian comedies from *Every Man in His Humour* to *The Magnetic Lady: or Humours Reconciled* which, as Helen Ostovich reminds us, has a 'choice of representative types (the lawyer, the courtier, the parasite, the grasping merchant), the specific urban location and the *commedia dell'arte* farce routines'.<sup>17</sup>

Salusbury's 'Love and Money' revolves around the marriage choice of two brothers. The older, wealthy brother, Pamphilius, has married for love, choosing the beautiful, if penniless Maria, whilst the younger brother, Antius, has married for money, and his bride is the hag-like wealthy widow, Xanthippi. Despite her marriage, Maria is besieged by a number of suitors (the humoural types of a doctor, a lawyer and a soldier) whom she tricks with the help of Pamphilius, who has disguised himself as her servant and pander. In contrast, Antius is kept on a tight rein by his wife, Xanthippi, who retains financial control of their marriage. Longing for her death, Antius begs 'the Church book' from 'the Saxen' to see how old his wife is, causing Xanthippi to warn him he will be charged with murder if she dies. Xanthippi dictates Antius's every move:

Xanthippi: ... when I tooke thee to mee for a husband  
                   I tooke thee as a Bond man & noe more ...

Antius:    Would yo<sup>w</sup> have mee  
                   stand back or waite at table with a trencher  
                   runne by your coach & after walk your horses  
                   & call you naught but Madam

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<sup>15</sup> Salusbury, 'An Elegie Meant Upon the Death of Ben Jonson' in 'Salusburies Manuscript', pp. 289-90.

<sup>16</sup> Ben Jonson, 'To Penshurst', ed. by Colin Burrow, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, vol 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 209-214. For details of Salusbury's masques see footnote 8.

<sup>17</sup> Ben Jonson, *The Magnetic Lady, or Humours Reconciled*, ed. by Helen Ostovich, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, vol 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 391-541 (p. 410).

Xanthippi: Noe, Ile bee more than soe indulgent to you  
 Ile use you as some Ladies doe their ushers  
 to sitt at table with mee & to ride  
 in my coach boxke, & cause yo<sup>w</sup> are my husband  
 I care not if I spare the ceremonie  
 of standing bare bifore mee in companie  
 nor if you call mee love, or ducke or sweeting  
 or any such familiar name  
 as other husbands doe ...

Antius: But yo<sup>w</sup> will give mee leave to lye w<sup>th</sup> you  
 I hope she will not – (*aside*)

Xanthippi: oh yes, why that's' a part of your service (2.3. 82-3).<sup>18</sup>

In repeated asides, Antius accuses Xanthippi of being of changeable humour – ‘she alters every day if she would bee / but care free or all wayes miserable / There were some holpe to please her’ (3.1. 89). Antius finds his way to ascendancy in the marriage by subverting Xanthippi’s bidding to create a civilised feast. Instead, he invites his cronies and gets Xanthippi drunk. Repeated stage directions have Xanthippi ‘*drunk with a cup in her hand*’ which Antius willingly ‘*fills*’ until ‘*she falls downe dead drunk & drops the key*’ to her money chest (5.1.103-4). Antius rejoices:

Antius: From henceforth, Ile beare rule, This is my sceptre  
 ’Twas a most excellent plott to make her drinke  
 ’Ile take her hence in pittie, & make much of her  
 till Ime possest of all, then she shall know mee  
 By your leave, lady bird (*Hee takes her under the arme & leads her out*)  
 (5.1. 104).

In ‘Love and Money’, Salusbury’s sharp eye reveals the importance in a relationship of love as opposed to money. Pamphilius reflects in the play’s penultimate scene, when asked advice ‘in choosing of a wife’:

Pamphilius: Ile give you the rule I followd in my choice  
 make such a one your mistris as may please  
 your eye with beautie, & your eare with witt ...  
 & mak’t your observation, yo<sup>w</sup> shall find  
 The fairest face a mirrour of the mind

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<sup>18</sup> I have added brackets and italicised stage directions throughout for the reader’s ease.

By noe meanes marry riches, w<sup>ch</sup> bring spoils  
Just as they wast, soe wasteth your content. (5.3.108)

Simultaneously, Salusbury's comedy which could readily be performed today as the script is so clean, shakes the suitors besieging Maria out of their humours. The doctor, Medico, is reduced to hiding in a used clothes casket which the lawyer, Juristus, disguised as a porter, carries out to the countryside, thinking he is escaping with a willing Maria. Both men are beaten for thieves by the soldier Orlando. In true humours style, the audience's laughter at such folly jolts Juristus to his senses, causing him to remark, 'for shame till then / Lets' ne're appeare in companie of men' (5.2.107).

A sense of place is crucial to humours comedies, for example Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (performed 1614) and *The New Inn* (performed 1629).<sup>19</sup> Place realism was especially popular in the 1630s with comedies such as Richard Brome's *The Weeding of Covent Garden* (performed around 1632) and James Shirley's *Hyde Park* (performed 1632).<sup>20</sup> Salusbury achieves this sense of place with his depiction of the city in 'Love and Money', especially when Xanthippi urges Antius to find her tempting meals: 'See you provide mee the best of every thing the / cittie yeelds' (3.1.88). Accordingly, Antius provides her with 'woodcockes' and a 'calves head', although Xanthippi reproves him that he 'should have brought mee / then a bill of fare, that I might have told you / This Ile dine upon' (4.1.97). Similarly, Salusbury creates a country atmosphere through Pamphilius's country estate and the plot to trick Maria's would-be suitors 'farre ith fields' (5.2.105). However, Salusbury is most lyrical in the play's subplot, in Mondoso's discussion of North Wales and Scotland, which sees Corinnia, Maria's friend, being wooed by a series of suitors, from the traveller, Mondoso, to his tiny, 'pigme' (2.1.79) rival, Nano.

Mondoso is an intriguing character. Born at sea, he declares himself 'one of Neptunes subjects' (2.4.85) and free to marry Corinnia who scorns potential suitors because of their nationality:

Corinnia: you looke not like a Native of this Iland.

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<sup>19</sup> Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, ed. by John Creaser, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 253-428; Ben Jonson, *The New Inn, or The Light Heart*, ed. by Julie Sanders, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 165-309.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Brome, *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, ed. by M. Leslie [Richard Brome Online \(dhi.ac.uk\)](http://dhi.ac.uk) (date of access 30 January 2022); James Shirley, *Hyde Park*, ed. by Eugene Giddens, *Hyde Park: by James Shirley*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022).

I would not have an English man they are too comon ...  
 Mondoso: what say yo<sup>w</sup> to a Cambio Brittain<sup>e</sup> Lady?  
 Corinnia: A Welch man foh, hee smells too strong of toasted cheese  
 & leekes, & some say they are lowsie.  
 Mondoso: How might a poore Irishman speed, y<sup>t</sup> sued for favour  
 Corinnia: worse, they are all Beggers Ile have none of them.  
 Mondoso: Some Scotch Lard then must have you  
 Corinnia: Fie on him  
 Mondoso: What will none of the Kings Ma<sup>t</sup> subjects  
 please you then? (2.4. 85)

Declaring himself free from Corinnia's rules, for 'I am not countriman' but a 'Trauailer' (2.4.85), we learn that Mondoso speaks French, Italian and Spanish but also the 'originall & auncient Britttish tongue' (2.4.86) which he 'learnt' during his 'trauail on the Alpes' (2.4.86), the mountains of North Wales nearest to Salusbury's home of Lleweni, Denbighshire, where 'the famous cittie of Llangollon stands' (2.4.86). Mondoso waxes equally lyrical about his travels in Scotland 'twas a longe / & dangerous journey ... / each step I went in danger of my life' (4.5.102). Corinnia mocks the idea of peril in Scotland, but Mondoso insists that 'every step' he 'trode had danger in it' (4.5.102). He creates a striking picture of Scotland overrun with 'the despirats't pirates' (4.5.102), in a land 'all overflowd w<sup>h</sup> waters' (4.5.102). Bearing in mind this play most likely dates to the late 1630s, this cameo of Scotland is quite possibly rooted in Salusbury's own experience of Scotland during the Bishops Wars of 1638-1640. We know that Salusbury supported the King during this uprising and in the subsequent civil war. Mondoso's tale of his Scottish adventures contrasts with the jovial tone of his other travels and has the suggestion of the camp soldier's experience:

Mondoso: I could gett nothing to eat but pouderd mutton, my bread was horse bread & my drink was sirr<sup>u</sup>p of oats. Tobacco there was none but smoake enough. Wee lay in pigsties, nothing was plentifull but foule & that wee had there in abundance, foule lodgings, foule dyet, foule linnen, foule way, foule slutts (4.5. 103).

From a performance perspective, we are fortunate that very full stage directions give a clear sense of how this lively, provincial play would have been staged. Music is at the heart of the text: from Nano entering '*with the Musique*' for the wedding of Pamphilius and Maria (1.3. 77) to Mondoso dancing for Corinnia:

Corinnia: Have you learnt nothing els in all your trauals



Can you not sing nor dance?  
Mondoso: Dance? all night long ... (2.4.86)

Whereupon '*hee leapes upon the bench & dances upon it*' (2.4.87). Dancing is also crucial to the intoxication of Xanthippi. Antius, with his neighbours and friends, enters the stage '*dancing & singing*' (4.1. 97) a ditty and '*having in his hand a Tobacco pipe*':

*Antius: sings* Come my lads & lets be jollie  
banish cares & mellanchollie  
dance & sing & lets be merry  
drink Canarie, drink old sherrie (4.1. 97)

By the scene's end, the reluctant Xanthippi is compelled to dance: '*they take her one by either hand & force her to dance. She scolds & they sing & lead her out dancing*' (4.1.98). From the play's vibrant final scene, we learn that the performance space for this provincial play had two stage doors. Nano dresses up as a Turk and challenges Mondoso who is about to marry Corinnia: '*At the one doore enter Mondoso, Maria & the rest of the companie. At the other doore enter Nano with a long roab reaching from his head to his foote. A Turkish Turband upon his head, at the sight of him, Mondoso runnes out*' (5.4.109). It seems possible that tiny Nano is perched on an actor's shoulders, to make him as tall as possible; a theatrical device, neatly hidden under the '*long roab*', as Nano asks to be '*sett... downe*' once Mondoso has fled. Additionally, the fearful attraction of 'the Turk' for a provincial audience is apparent here. 'Love and Money' ends with dancing and feasting where Nano has married for love and Corinnia is a willing bride, '*thou maist doe anything w<sup>th</sup> mee*' (5.4.109). Thus Salusbury's 'Love and Money' gives a rare glimpse into provincial amateur theatre in 1630s Denbighshire, whilst his wholesale adoption of the London humours play format resonates with the two-way theatrical flow between the capital and the regions.

## **2: 'Epilogue' and 'Prologue' to 'The Sorrowful Ladie'**

The 'Epilogue' and the 'Prologue' to Salusbury's tantalisingly missing play 'The Sorrowful Ladie' allows further insight both into the tastes of Salusbury's provincial audience and the acting abilities of those 'young' actors who performed on 12 January 1639 at Salusbury's wife's childhood home of Thornton, Buckinghamshire.<sup>21</sup> As Salusbury jokingly pleads in his 'Prologue' to 'The Sorrowful Ladie', 'yet doo not lauge

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<sup>21</sup> Written as 'January 12 1638' but this date would actually be 1639.

too loud, for then I doubt / w'are but young Actor<sup>rs</sup> and youle put us out' (291).<sup>22</sup> It seems that Salusbury's 'The Sorrowful Ladie' was another humours play. This time, poking fun at the 'trim gallant':

that w<sup>th</sup> his Taylor plodds for braverie  
learnes Cringes of his Monsieur, takes great paines  
for an assorted garb, praie whats his gaines  
but to bee laught at, ('Prologue' 291).

Together with his opposite:

... hee that does dispise  
all fashions thereby to bee knowne more wise  
in his trunk hose, and his crown hatt appears  
an object as ridiculous ('Prologue' 291).

Salusbury argues that such individuals' 'best pay / is to bee laught att' but warns his audience to 'expect noo [rancour]; tis laughter wee intend / and if yo<sup>w</sup> share in't with's, wee have our end' ('Prologue' 291). This ambition mirrors Jonson's comedies, such as *Every Man in his Humour*, when 'Comedy' would 'show an image of the times / And sport with human follies ... / By laughing at them'.<sup>23</sup>

Most striking, however, is Salusbury's 'Epilogue' which makes a distinction between professional, London actors and this 'young' group of provincial performers. Salusbury informs his audience:

It was not our intent, to gett by hart  
each one of us too perform his part  
as those that doo at London show yo<sup>w</sup> sport  
all dayes i'th weeke, and take yo<sup>r</sup> mony for't ('Epilogue' 291-2).

Remarking 'how farr things had for love must come behind / those that yo<sup>w</sup> pay for' ('Epilogue' 292), Salusbury calls the audience his 'canded hearers', and deliberately points out the faults of the performance:

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<sup>22</sup> 'Young' could mean here either 'youthful' or not having acted for long so 'unseasoned'.

<sup>23</sup> Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. by David Bevington in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 611-77.

Our Sorrowfull Ladie naturallie knew  
how to be coy, and gave that part it's due  
but y<sup>e</sup> relentinge, and y<sup>e</sup> Amorus fitt  
wee can't perswade w<sup>th</sup> her to learne it yet ('Epilogue' 292).

Apart from the player acting the role of the Sorrowful Lady, 'all the rest o'th Acto<sup>rs</sup>' are 'expos'd' unto the audience's 'censure' ('Epilogue' 292). However, Salusbury warns against mocking the actors or, as he terms them, 'Mimicks':

... for I must tell yo<sup>w</sup> then  
wee know that yo<sup>w</sup> too daylie Acto<sup>rs</sup> bee  
upon a greater stage, as well as wee  
and if yo<sup>w</sup> laugh at us, tis ods wee'le spy  
somewhat to laugh at yo<sup>w</sup> too, e're wee dy. ('Epilogue' 292)

This sentiment, which is mirrored in Salusbury's 'Prologue' to 'Love and Money', draws on Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, reminding us, as Salusbury rather lumpenly puts it, how: 'The whole world is a stage on which wee plaie / each man a seuerall part each seuerall daie' ('Prologue', 'Love and Money', 69).<sup>24</sup> Performed at Thornhill in Buckinghamshire, once more Salusbury utilises the popular formula of the London humours play for his provincial audience – providing further evidence of the theatrical reciprocity between London and the regions, although noting a deliberate difference in performance technique between professional and provincial (quite possibly amateur) performers.

### 3: 'A Citizen and his Wife'

'A Citizen and his Wife' is a comic playlet which Martin Wiggins has dated to December 1642, just after the Battle of Edgehill.<sup>25</sup> The inflections of political unrest which nestle in the hinterlands of Salusbury's 'Gypsies Metamorphosed' (December 1641) are at the fore of this brief comedy, with its simple premise of a citizen and his wife undertaking a day tour of London. Most likely written for a Welsh audience, again as part of family Christmas festivities, there are several references to the loyal royalist Welsh, who acknowledge 'but one Prince' (137), whilst the playlet also serves as a mini-tourist guide

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<sup>24</sup> William Shakespeare, *As You Like It* (2.7.138-65) in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York & London: W. W. Norton, 1997).

<sup>25</sup> Wiggins, *Drama*, p. 106.

to those in the audience who may never have been to London.<sup>26</sup> The Citizen, for instance, complains to his wife when she desires to carry on their sightseeing with a visit to Bedlam, how:

You have brought me first from our house in Gracechurch Street to the Tower to see the lions, and thence to the Bankside to see the bears, and so to Lambeth to see the prisoners, and thence to Westminster to see the tombs and the Parliament House and is it not time now to be weary? (135)

Rooted in the cultural moment, the Puritan inclinations of the couple are evident throughout the text: from the church they worship at, St. Antholins, which is a centre of Puritan worship, to the Citizen's wife's repeated praise of Parliament: 'Heaven bless the Parliament again, say I' (136) and the Citizen's acclamation of the Houses of Parliament as the 'finest' of the 'sights' (141):

...what a fine place would that be for a conventicle, could we get in't at night. Oh, our pastor, how he would be inspired to talk extempore, should he but mount once into th' Speaker's chair and breathe the wholesome air those goodly sages, after a hot dispute there, leave behind them. (141-2)

Such praise is, of course, anathema to royalist Salusbury which provides the sharp comedy of the playlet. Again, full stage directions, even in this eight-page playlet, provide further evidence of the performance of Salusbury's manuscript drama – for example, the entrance of the 'madmen' of Bedlam: '*Enter Warden with the Madmen in their several postures, with confused noise, brings them to the upper end of the stage. Then knocks the Citizen and his Wife at the door*' (138).

As Wiggins has argued, Salusbury's comic vision tightly focuses on the perceived parallels between madmen and radicals by setting up 'an association between insanity and political radicalism'.<sup>27</sup> The Citizen's wife wants to visit Bedlam because she 'long[s] to see a madman, a natural madman, one that run mad for natural reasons and causes' (138). The irony being that the Doctor of Bedlam believes he has a new patient in the Citizen's wife herself: 'She's madder than the rest, beyond all cure' (139). Whilst the Warden reflects:

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<sup>26</sup> Welsh references in 'A Citizen and his Wife' include the 'staring fellow' in Bedlam 'That was a weaver that could preach extempore / But, coming into Wales and silenced there. / ... This was the man made the Welsh Almanac', pp. 139-140.

<sup>27</sup> Wiggins, *Drama*, p. 107.

There are four or five in this kingdom can, only by talking to them, make more men mad in an hour than you can cure in a year. I wonder my charge do not mutiny to be thus kept up, when so many madder than themselves walk abroad! (136-7).

In a soliloquy, the Doctor of Bedlam explains madness to the audience through the traditional image of the body politic:

Doctor: Madness is a disease o' th' mind, when, by some accident,  
Disturbed fancy, wrought beyond its bounds,  
Corrupts the judgement, takes the crown from reason,  
And suffers every rebel passion sway  
Until the members rise against the head  
And beat themselves to ruin. (137)

Notably, he likens a particularly severe bout of madness to one who:

...weary of the old, lusts after new  
Forms for the government of church and state  
Raves after Amsterdam, Geneva, Scotland  
Or some more foul utopian commonwealth  
Like an adulterer only loathing that  
Which is his own, because he's bound unto it,  
Though far more beauteous, and runs a-whoring  
After his own inventions. (137)

The Doctor's cure for such madness is a 'good rope / Tied fast about the neck to stop all intercourse / Between the heart and head that breed such fancies' (137-8).

Crucially, in this playlet which deliberates on madness within the body politic, Salusbury's choice of name for his citizen, Naboth, plunges us straight into contemporary debates surrounding tyrannical kingship. Naboth is the citizen in the Book of Kings (21: 1-6) whom King Ahab allowed his wife, Jezabel, to put to death for refusing to give Ahab his vineyard. Opinion was divided on Ahab's actions and Naboth's innocence. The 1640s printing presses thundered how 'every true *spirituall Naboth* hath his *spiritual inheritance*, which he dares not part with, though it be to his *King* or *Soveraigne*, and

though such his *refusal* cost him this present life'.<sup>28</sup> Bishop Lancelot Andrewes observed how 'a Prince may not execute the innocent: and when he doth so *Naboth*, an innocent man, is put to death by the King: then the King is a murtherer, he is *Rex homicida*; for he is so called by the Prophet *Elisha*'.<sup>29</sup> In the vociferous printing press debates, Jezebel was a particularly useful type for anti-Catholic and anti-Queen Henrietta Maria polemic. William Prynne asked in *The Popish Royall Favourite*:

*what will become of those Kings, Jezabels and their posterities who not only cherish and protect many Romish Idolaters, Priests, Jesuits but likewise use their armed power to murder, plunder, ruin many thousands of innocent Protestant Naboths.*<sup>30</sup>

George Withers chided Ahab for not citing his royal prerogative; asking in a 1628 tract which was reprinted in 1641, why:

... like a Turkie-chicke  
Did he so foolishly grow sullen-sicke  
And get possession by a wicked fact  
Of what might have been his by royall act?<sup>31</sup>

One polemicist from Anglesey, David Owen, had his 1610 tract reprinted in 1642 to remind his readers that justice against Ahab 'must be reserved' to God for 'wicked Princes have never been lawfully punished by Prelates, Potentates or people of their Kingdome, as the *Papists* and *Puritans* aver'.<sup>32</sup> Whilst chaplain to the King at the Battle of Edgehill and fellow Welshman, Gryffith Williams, apportioned blame to Naboth and Ahab equally, for: '*Ahabs* sinne does not excuse *Naboths* fault, both in the *denyall* of the Kings

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<sup>28</sup> Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience* (London: [s.n.], 1644), p. 183. For developments on print culture see Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>29</sup> Lancelot Andrewes, *The Moral Law Expounded* (London: Printed for Michael Sparke, Robert Milbourne, Richard Cotes, and Andrew Crooke, 1642), p. 739.

<sup>30</sup> William Prynne, *The Popish Royall Favourite* (London: for Michael Spark Senior, 1643), unpaginated. Accessed via *EEBO*, 12 June 2021.

<sup>31</sup> George Withers, *A Prophetie Written Long Since for this Yeare, 1641 wherein Prelate-Policie is Proved to be a Folly* (London: [s.n.], 1641), p. 46.

<sup>32</sup> David Owen, *A Perswasion to Loyalty* (London: Printed for George Badger, 1642), p. 10. This was originally entitled *The Power of Princes and the Duty of Subjects* and completed in 1610. See also Richard Ward, *Theological Questions, Dogmaticall Observations and Evangellicall Essays* (London: Printed [by Marmaduke Parsons and others] for Peter Cole, 1640), p. 320.

right, if the King had a *just* necessity to use it, and also for his *uncivill* answer unto the King'.<sup>33</sup>

Salusbury undercuts such furious polemical debates. In 'A Citizen and his Wife', Naboth is portrayed as harmless and ineffectual – a henpecked husband who just wants to go home – whilst his wife is diagnosed by the Bedlam Doctor as herself suffering from madness after he overhears her radical commentary on good government: 'I say I'll have no princes, nor kings neither. Our pastor tells us we shall have a parity and a community' (138). As with 'Love and Money', Salusbury adopts a Jonsonian comic vision by setting up follies to be laughed at, although there is a darker edge to this playlet. The only cure in 'A Citizen and his Wife' is through musical harmony. As the Bedlam Doctor recounts:

All those humours that do flow  
In and infect poor mortal brains  
Whether they from nature grow  
Or from sicknesse and pains  
Fears, love, anger and despairs  
Are calmed by my melodious airs. (140-1)

Music even affects the Citizen's wife who, watching the patients dance, remarks:

...Verily, verily, I believed all mixed dancing had been profane and utterly unlawful, but now I see when it tends to good ends to set men and women right in their senses, it may be borne with. (142)

This civilising effect of music has been seen before in Salusbury's writing. The figure of Orpheus is central to his 1634 'Chirk Castle Entertainment' and in Salusbury's acclaimed poem *Joseph* (his only published work), Salusbury reflected on music's powerful accord:

So have I often heard the climbing noyse  
Of some exact Musitian that begins  
So low, yould scarce believe he toucht the strings:  
Then by degrees mounts to a tone so high  
That each eare tingles as in sympathy.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Gryffith Williams, *Jura Majestatis, the Rights of Kings both in Church and State* (Oxford: [s.n.], 1644), p. 144.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Salusbury, *The History of Joseph: A Poem* (London: Printed by Thomas Harper, for Roger Ball, 1636), p. 13.

Thus, where the Citizen's wife thinks it 'strange' the Bedlam patients 'should be cured by music' (142) their Doctor deems 'it is not strange at all' (142). Recalling how 'When Orpheus touched his strings, the beasts forgot / Their fierceness' (142), the Doctor concludes with sentiments of peace and accord that are both fitting for a Christmas entertainment and chime with the philosophy of harmony repeatedly espoused in the Caroline court masques:

Doctor: Music maintains the motion of the spheres,  
A harmony that keeps the heavens in order  
From falling back to chaos, and the elements  
From their old jars, that would run mad without it.  
And where all discords and all passions cease  
There will be music and eternal peace (142)

#### 4: 'The Lady of Loreto'

The darkly comic tone of 'A Citizen and his Wife' shifts in Salusbury's unfinished play, 'The Lady of Loreto'. This manuscript is cut off in the middle of Act Three Scene One, but it appears to be in the most popular style of the Caroline period – the tragicomedy. This was the favourite genre of both elite and private house theatres having been made popular by dramatists such as James Shirley and William Davenant. Salusbury spent time at the King's exiled court in Oxford. Indeed, he was granted an honorary degree by the King shortly after the Battle of Edgehill.<sup>35</sup> The change in genre was perhaps influenced by the hope that this drama would appeal to the courtly royal audience within whose milieu Salusbury was living. What is certain is that Salusbury's choice of genre suited the uncertainty of the times and the volatility of civil war. A key theme of the play is deception, as we are told that he that 'knowes not / how to dissemble knowes not how to liue' (1.3.344). The manuscript itself remains unfinished – a note documents how 'This was begunne by the hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Tho: Salusbury but not perfected' (3.1.378). Once more, this is a clean text, with very few corrections that largely consist of single words scored through. Again, the text has full stage directions, especially in the comic scenes featuring the enormous Carlo, servant to the Duchess who, for example, is so overcome by the Spanish heat that he collapses in slapstick fashion: '*Carlo shifts legs all the time of their discourse, at last layes him downe*' (2.2.359). Carlo's cure is for his fellow servants to

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<sup>35</sup> See Redward, 'King Charles I', *Bye-gones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, February (1885), pp. 176-7.



‘raise him & cloath him. Two take him under their arme & walk a good pace. The rest throw all their cloaks upon him’ (2.2.360) before ‘hee falls downe & pulls them with him’ (2.2.360).<sup>36</sup>

The manuscript begins with a focus on the senseless fighting between two Spanish nobles, Mondoza and Toledo, which has caused Mondoza’s sister, Isabella, to go on a three-hundred-mile pilgrimage to the Marian shrine of Our Lady of Loreto in Loreto, Italy, to pray for peace. Salusbury’s text chimes here with John Webster’s backdrop of the Shrine of Our Lady of Loreto in *The Duchess of Malfi*.<sup>37</sup> Enroute to Loreto, Isabella visits the Duchess of Turin who despite her marriage to the elderly soldier and statesman, the Duke of Turin, has fallen in love just with the reports of Isabella’s brother, Mondoza.<sup>38</sup> In an attempt to see Mondoza, ‘the worthie of this age’ (1.3.345), the Duchess vows to undertake a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostela, and travels with Isabella on her journey home to Mondoza. The Duchess of Turin and Mondoza are secretly enraptured with each other. However, the Duke of Turin seeks his wife out and the couple are reunited, with the Duchess declaring her pilgrimage to be complete: ‘my prayers so soone / are heard with such advantage’ (2.2.365). Safely home, the Duke of Turin is summoned by the French King to fight in a war with Germany and he leaves his kingdom under the rule of a courtier, Pancalier. This unwise choice of vice-regent (which has echoes of Duke Vincentio’s choice of Angelo in Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure*) leaves the Duchess at the mercy of a would-be suitor.<sup>39</sup> Having spurned Pancalier’s advances, the Duchess plans if he does not desist to ‘tell the Duke / & make the State acquainted with [Pancalier’s] bold / attempt agt the honour of the crowne’ (3.1.369). However, Pancalier seeks revenge, and the play abruptly ends with Pancalier attempting to dishonour the Duchess by encouraging another would be suitor, Frederick, to hide within her chamber whilst she sleeps. The manuscript unexpectedly finishes on the cliff-hanger of Pancalier and a guard of soldiers about to discover Frederick, with the inevitable shaming of the innocent Duchess before her people.

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<sup>36</sup> With shades of the brazen bravado of Shakespeare’s Falstaff in William Shakespeare, *Henry IV, part 1* (5.4), Carlo proceeds to capture Mondoza who is so overcome by the beauty of the Duchess that he comes in peace. Carlo realising he may be ‘valiant without danger’ (2.2. 360) ‘presents ye sword to the dutchess and leads Mondoza forward by the hand’ (2.2. 361).

<sup>37</sup> John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. by Brian Gibbons (Croydon: A & C Black Publishers, 2001), Act 3. Scenes 2-4.

<sup>38</sup> It is ‘Thurin’ in the manuscript, but I have annotated this to ‘Turin’ which makes sense geographically as Turin is enroute from Loreto to Spain.

<sup>39</sup> William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York & London: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 2021-90.

Only this fragment remains of ‘The Lady of Loreto’ but the play is very much of the dramatic moment with two neoplatonic heroines, Isabella and the Duchess, whose beauty and goodness enhance each other:

Isabella: Madam, your ioy is mine, the sweete reflections  
of gladnes in your eyes shootes pleasing rayes  
through mine into my heart of blest content. (2.2.358).

In turn, these heroines enrich others: from the messenger who deems the Duchess ‘a myracle’ (1.6.351) to Mondoza who declares to the Duchess:

Such power have wee receiud fro your bright eyes  
wee can in speaking characters of vertue  
passe those that have been famd for speaking excellence (2.1.363).

Parallels can be drawn here with the neoplatonic heroines of Shirley’s and Davenant’s texts, from Rosinda and Cassandra in Shirley’s *The Young Admiral* (lic., 1633; printed 1637) to Melora and Evandra, in Davenant’s *Love and Honour* (lic., 1634; printed 1649).<sup>40</sup> Again, this suggests that Salusbury wrote this play with an eye to courtly performance. For the neoplatonic topos – consisting of a heroine whose beauty encouraged lovers to moral excellence – was Henrietta Maria’s favoured form. She had translated these ideals from the French court of her childhood to her masquing roles at Whitehall where Henrietta Maria dazzled her courtly audience as the queenly embodiment of truth and enlightenment. The appeal of Salusbury’s text to Queen Henrietta Maria would have been exacerbated by repeated references to the play’s spiritual heroine, Our Lady of Loreto – that ‘most blest of womens sacred shrine’ (1.4.346). Henrietta Maria, as a Counter-Reformation princess, had a deep devotion to the Virgin Mary.<sup>41</sup> This is evident from the rigorous retreats Henrietta Maria and her ladies undertook. In Holy Week of 1626, the Venetian Ambassador, Salvetti, recorded how the long gallery of Somerset House was ‘specially divided and fitted up with cells and a refectory, and an oratory, in the manner of a monastery. There they sang the Hours

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<sup>40</sup> James Shirley, *The Young Admiral* (London: Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Andrew Crooke, and William Cooke, 1637); William Davenant, *Love and Honour* (London: Printed for Hum: Robinson ... and Hum. Moseley, 1649).

<sup>41</sup> I am not suggesting that Salusbury had Catholic inclinations as there is no evidence for this. However, the family had a well-known Catholic ancestor, Salusbury’s great-uncle Thomas, who was executed for his role in the Babington plot. Also, the ‘Magnificat’ is transcribed in ‘Salusburies Manuscript’, p. 213.

of the Virgin'.<sup>42</sup> By the early 1640s, Our Lady of Loreto had especial resonance. For, in 1639, Henrietta Maria had received letters of introduction from her godfather, Pope Urban VIII, regarding Mary Ward, the founder of the 'English Ladies'. This was a religious order set up in St. Omer in 1609, modelled on the Society of Jesus and with the prime aim of succouring English Catholics.<sup>43</sup> Ward had set up houses all over Europe. The religious order is commonly known today as the Loreto sisters as Ward used to pray at the Loreto shrine, a site of Marian pilgrimage.<sup>44</sup> Ward came to England, in 1639, when the original congregation was suppressed, living first in London and then, in 1642, setting up a school at Heworth, York, near the Carthusian Shrine of Our Lady of Mount Grace, where she remained until her death in 1645.<sup>45</sup> Caroline Bicks reminds us 'Ward's goal was to educate England's recusant daughters in relative safety and to train an army of women to save her homeland from apostasy'.<sup>46</sup> Henrietta Maria would have had some affinity with such a figure and, in turn, Ward's home created another hotspot for recusancy in Caroline England which added to the perturbation of godly Englishmen.

Thus, Salusbury's 'Lady of Loreto' is firmly rooted in its cultural moment. The play's final extant scene sees Pancalier attempt to dishonour the Duchess. The audience witnesses a lively discussion about the Duchess's loyalty to her husband. Claudio observes Pancalier:

...has been sowing through the Court of late

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<sup>42</sup> HMC XI (1), p. 57. See also Rebecca A. Bailey, *Staging the Old Faith: Queen Henrietta Maria and the Theatre of Caroline England, 1625-1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009; 2018); Karen Britland, *Drama at The Courts of Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>43</sup> No account survives of Henrietta Maria's audience with Mary Ward apart from details of the Queen's 'kindness'. A letter from Cardinal Barberini to Henrietta Maria had urged the Queen to support Mary Ward who is 'much esteemed in Rome both for her well known qualities and piety which will, without doubt, cause your Majesty to see and hear her... and to show all the kindness'. Mary C. E. Chambers, *The Life of Mary Ward 1585-1645*, ed. by Henry J. Coleridge, 2 vols, 2 (London: Burns and Oates, 1885), pp. 453, 459. Mary Ward established herself in St. Martin in the Field, London. Her aim was to have 'common schools in the great City of London... for the greatest good of this poor country', *Till God Will: Mary Ward Through Her Writings*, ed. by Gillian Orchard (London: Dartman, Longman and Todd Ltd, 1985), p. 118. Ward's household became yet another centre of Catholicism in the lead up to civil war. Ward had regular visits from the papal nuncio, Count Rosetti, daily mass was held, and she kept 'a great family' including two relatives of the Gunpowder plotters, Helen Catesby, niece of Robert Catesby and Elizabeth Rookwood, daughter of Sir Robert Rookwood. Chambers, *Ward*, pp. 462-464.

<sup>44</sup> At the Restoration, Ward's 'ladies' received help from Catherine of Braganza and Mary, wife of James, Duke of York. The most famous Loreto sister is Mother Teresa of Calcutta.

<sup>45</sup> See Chambers, *Ward*, pp. 472-491 and Orchard, *Will*, p. 118.

<sup>46</sup> Caroline Bicks, 'Repeat Performances: Mary Ward's Girls on the International Stage', *Renaissance Drama*, 44 (2016), 201-215 (p. 202).

suspitions of the Dutches as hee meant  
to bring in question her unblemisht vertue  
which through the world is famous as her beautie (3.1.374-5).

Through Bernardo's remark, 'they seeme not alltogether idle jealousies' (3.1.375), Salusbury is very much engaging with widespread concern regarding the religio-politico ambition of Queen Henrietta Maria which was debated on the crucible of the Caroline stage through conflicting images of contemporary queenship. To staged visions of military, malign and conciliatory forms of queenship, Salusbury's depiction of a virtuous duchess, deliberately crossed and misunderstood, chimes with Henrietta Maria's own self-perception.<sup>47</sup> In contrast, godly English men saw Henrietta Maria as menacing the well-being of the English nation – a popish Jezabel to Charles's Ahab – whom, as her confessor, Philip of Sanqhuar, remarked they would, if they dared, 'pull the good queen in pieces'.<sup>48</sup> This scene turns darker as Pancalier decides to act against the Duchess. The Doctor warns against crossing Pancalier 'for fear of Martiall law' (3.1.377). A horrified Bernardo declares, 'what in a time of peace?' to which Claudio replies that Pancalier 'may doe what hee pleas, he's made the souldier / firme to his owne comands' (3.1.377). Salusbury's text ends here but such debates on wise government, good queenship, and the dangers of martial law directly engage with contemporary anxieties around tyranny which Salusbury had already touched upon in 'A Citizen and his Wife'. Salusbury's manuscripts are especially potent as manuscript dramas did not need to pass the censor.

## 5: 'The Wisdom of Saloman'

'The Lady of Loreto' was not the only work cut short by Salusbury's death. Salusbury was concurrently working on a poetic translation of the 'Book of Wisdom' which abruptly ends in the middle of Book Ten with the short note: 'These diuine Poems were writt by the hon<sup>ble</sup> Sr Tho. Salusbury, but it pleased God to take him to himselfe before hee had finished them' (232). Salusbury had already published *The History of Joseph: A Poem*

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<sup>47</sup> See Inigo Jones and William Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia* (London: Printed by T[homas] H[arper] for Thomas Walkley, 1640); Nathanael Richards, *The Tragedy of Messallina, the Roman Emperesse*, ed. by A.R. Skemp (London: David Nutt, 1910). *Messallina* was licensed c. 1635 and published in 1640. William Davenant, *The Fair Favourite*, in *The Works of Sr. William Davenant, Kt* (London: Printed by T.N. for Henry Herringman, 1673). For discussion on this staged debate surrounding good queenship see Rebecca A. Bailey, "'Staging 'a Queen Opprest'": William Habington's Exploration of the Politics of Queenship on the Caroline Stage', *Theatre Journal* 65 (2013), 197-214.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Phillips, *The Copy of a Letter of Father Philips, the Queenes Confessor, which was thought to be sent into France, to Mr. Mountagues* (London: [s.n.], 1641), p. 1.

(1636) to great acclaim.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Anthony Wood rather hyperbolically described Salusbury as ‘the most noted poet of his age’.<sup>50</sup> Salusbury’s decision in the early 1640s to translate the ‘Book of Wisdom’ resonates with the uncertainties of the age. The juxtaposition of the ‘Righteous’ against the ‘Unrighteous’ is repeated throughout the early chapters of ‘Wisdom’. The text focuses on the terrible sufferings of the unrighteous:

ffor hee shall send and cast them headlong downe  
they shall bee mute, from theyre foundation blowne  
& utterlie layde wast, in sorrow must  
theyre glorie perrysh w<sup>th</sup> them in the dust (4.19, 221).

Whereas the righteous are blessed for ‘them the most high hast tane into his care / under the shaddow of his winges they are’ (5.15, 223).

Engaging with the themes of wise kingship examined in ‘The Lady of Loreto’, Salusbury’s translation calls all kings to listen to Wisdom, the guide of good rulers: give heedfull care, yee that the People sway / and boast that many nations yo<sup>w</sup> obey’ (6.2, 223) for ‘yo<sup>r</sup> power is from y<sup>e</sup> Lord’ (6.3, 223). The narrator warns tyrannical rulers that if:

... his Lawes  
yoo have not kept, but did from iustice stray  
nor to Gods counsell have conformed yo<sup>r</sup> way  
Hee shall advance w<sup>th</sup> horror and w<sup>th</sup> speede  
shall round upon yo<sup>w</sup>, for it is decreede...  
... mightie men shall mightie torments feele (6.4-6, 224)

Repeatedly, ‘The Wisdom of Saloman’ urges kings to:

...learne wisdom, and not fall away  
ffor they that doo most pious care expresse  
in keepinge theire annointed holiness  
shall bee iudged holy (6:9-10, 224).

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<sup>49</sup> See footnote 34.

<sup>50</sup> Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford* (Printed for F.C. & J. Rivington, 1813-20).

As Salusbury translates, 'the world is happie' only when 'the people are upheld / by a wise Kinge' (6:24-5, 225). Again, Salusbury's choice of text exposes the contemporary dilemmas of 1643 and the divisive experience of civil war. 'The Wisdom of Saloman' is truncated due to Salusbury's untimely death but Salusbury's final stanza is redolent with the anxieties of the cultural moment and creates a vivid picture of the 'wast earth' bearing 'sad record to these tymes' (10.7, 232).

## **Conclusion**

These manuscript writings by Thomas Salusbury give a rare insight into the oeuvre of a long forgotten provincial writer and powerfully encapsulate and dissect the anxieties of the cultural moment. Salusbury's manuscript dramas reveal his familiarity with the works of Jonson, Shakespeare and Webster, and his engagement with popular Caroline dramatists such as Shirley and Davenant. Salusbury's manuscripts add to the vibrancy of Caroline literature. His playlet, 'A Citizen and his Wife' interrogates parallels between madmen and radicals at a moment of great political unrest; his unfinished tragicomedy, 'The Lady of Loreto', widens the ongoing staged debate surrounding the ideal of good queenship whilst his decision to translate the 'Book of Wisdom' allows him to ponder, at a time of civil war, the distinctions between the righteous and the unrighteous, and pit wise government against tyranny – a theme which is fundamental to his tragicomedy, 'The Lady of Loreto'. Moreover, as in Salusbury's masque entertainments at Chirk Castle and Knowsley Hall, we witness in these manuscripts the reciprocal dramatic influences between London and the provinces. In 'Love and Money' we have a Jonsonian humours comedy written for a provincial audience, whilst the 'Epilogue' to the missing 'Sorrowful Ladie' even offers a distinction between London actors and a non-professional, 'young' troupe of performers. These texts (which apart from 'A Citizen's Wife' have not been transcribed) deserve to be read. Salusbury's texts widen our understanding of the Caroline imagination during England's Civil War, demonstrate the fluid interconnections between London and the provinces, and through such full stage directions provide further evidence of the performance of seventeenth-century manuscript drama.