

### Did Shakespeare Model Camillo in *The Winter's Tale* on Sir Thomas More ?

Marie-Claude Rousseau has described the reaction of academic friends at Cambridge to her curiosity concerning the attribution of the play *Sir Thomas More* to Shakespeare. « Astonishment on the part of those with whom I speak about More, about Shakespeare and ... of the discoveries of a computer. Some of them vaguely remember having read something in the press or having heard it spoken of on television, without being really struck by it. They fear it to be a hoax. My obstinacy in wanting to find material about this business amuses them or intrigues them. »<sup>1</sup>.

She persisted in her searches in the University Library and came to the conclusion, after speaking with others studying at St. Edmund's House, that it was necessary to deepen the study of the relation between More and Shakespeare. She reread More's *Four Last Things* and found there a mine of evidence for the interconnections between More and Shakespeare, especially in the shared images of Kingdom, Theatre, Life, Death, and Prison.

In a revealing footnote to her article in *Moreana*, Marie-Claude Rousseau quoted Fernando de Mello Moser : « When we come to the later sixteenth century, the most striking thing is, perhaps, that we still lack a thorough study of the influence of Sir Thomas More on Shakespeare. »<sup>2</sup>

I believe that the influence exists and is not difficult to detect, providing we make allowance for the fact that an obvious influence would have been likely to attract adverse attention from the Master of Revels. The fact that it has been overlooked is partly testimony to the fact that human beings notice only what they are looking for or have been conditioned to look for. Although there are profound reasons for the failure to associate More and Shakespeare, what appears on the surface is a compartmentalisation of history. Shakespeare is « Elizabethan », while More is an early Renaissance figure in English culture. More belongs to « history », while Shakespeare is claimed by « literature », and, in the wake of the Romantic critics, « imagination. » Nonetheless, the closeness of their political imaginations is beginning to be recognized.<sup>3</sup> The two men are like fissionable material ; to draw them together, even in one's mind, is to invite a reaction of unpredictable intensity.

Peter Milward's « Thomas More and William Shakespeare » appeared on the first page of the first issue of *Thomas More Studies* (Tokyo). Fr. Milward asked what, if any, were the links between the scholar and prose writer on the one hand, and the poet and dramatist on the other. He found a link in the person and family of the Interlude writer John Heywood, a member of the More circle

and a believer in the wisdom of foolery in dangerous times. Heywood's son, Jasper, translated three Senecan tragedies which influenced *Titus Andronicus*, *Richard III*, and *Macbeth*. (We know that the wife of Shakespeare's patron, the third Earl of Southampton, was related by marriage to the More circle as well.) John Heywood's grandson, John Donne, was a frequenter of plays and may have known Shakespeare personally. A real connection between More and Shakespeare is one to which Fr. Milward alludes -- John Heywood's serious use of humour as a « pleading for reconciliation. »

As for a direct echo of Roper's *Life of More* in Shakespeare's play, Fr. Milward pointed out a passage from *King Lear*. In Act Four, scene one, Gloucester is led by Edgar to the top of a cliff.

There is a cliff whose high and bending head  
Looks fearfully in the confined deep :  
Bring me but to the brim of it  
And I'll repair the misery thou dost bear  
With something rich about me. From that place  
I shall no leading need.

The parallel from Roper's biography reads :

And so was he by Master Lieutenant brought out of the Tower and from thence led towards the place of execution. Where, going up the scaffold, which was so weak that it was ready to fall, he said merrily to Master Lieutenant : 'I pray you, Master Lieutenant, see me safe up and, for my coming down, let me shift for myself.'

More could be made of this interesting, although to some, unconvincing parallel. The first two lines of the passage quoted from *King Lear* have been noted as having a more than literal meaning, the confined deep being death itself.

In regard to the attribution of parts of *Sir Thomas More* to Shakespeare, Fr. Milward acknowledged the points of similarity between the ideas and images of the lines written in Hand D with Shakespeare (a similarity brought out particularly by R.W. Chambers) and proceeded to cite « parallel » passages linking other parts of *Sir Thomas More* with known lines from Shakespeare. His purpose was not so much to demonstrate that Shakespeare wrote the play as to show that his influence was felt by those writers who did write it.

The use of « parallel passages » as evidence of this sort has been criticised justifiably because of its use in the past to « prove » points. Fr. Milward is not proving a case, his use of the technique, however, involves a danger that the precise degree of uncertainty may be lost and the reader will either welcome the case that seems to have been made or reject it.

Fr. Milward's most important argument, to my mind, is his contention that there are certain characters in Shakespeare's plays who conform to the type of Thomas More the faithful counsellor, -- Adam in *As You Like It*, Horatio in *Hamlet*, Kent and Edgar in *King Lear*, Camillo in *The Winter's Tale*, and Gonzalo in *The Tempest*. Of the plays cited by Fr. Milward, the one which most clo-

sely parallels the events of More's time, albeit in an imaginative and recreate-fashion, is *The Winter's Tale*. It is for this reason that Camillo deserves special consideration.

First, however, something should be said about the parallel between *The Winter's Tale* and *Henry VIII*. Virtually all editors have remarked on, and are aware of, the closeness between the speeches of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*, Act Three, scene two, and Katherine in *Henry VIII*, Act Two, scene four. For many this has been an end to the matter. Fr. Milward has pointed out more extensive affinities between the two plays.<sup>4</sup> Hermione and Katherine are characterised as daughters of a king, Hermione the daughter of the Emperor of Russia, Katherine the daughter of the King of Spain. Both queens appeal for justice to an authority outside the realm, Delphi and Rome. There are similarities in temperament between Leontes and Henry. It is impossible to summarise adequately Fr. Milward's argument. The reader should consult *Shakespeare's Religious Background*.

Camillo is the trusted counsellor of King Leontes in *The Winter's Tale*. Acting as a go-between, he defends Queen Hermione against her husband's unjust accusations. In *Henry VIII* there is no character who plays a part which corresponds to that of Camillo. Should such a character exist, it would be More. Although More is mentioned in *Henry VIII*, he is spoken of by Cromwell and Wolsey in a part of the play which can be shown not to have been written by Shakespeare.<sup>5</sup>

Did Shakespeare really have More in mind when he created Camillo, or adapted Camillo from the character Franion in Greene's prose romance *Pandosto*? Ordinarily such a question is unanswerable. It would appear to be a matter of opinion and the subjective preferences of the trained reader or spectator of Shakespeare. When I saw the BBC television production of *The Winter's Tale*, for example, I was struck by the similarity between Camillo's appearance and the familiar More of Holbein's portraits. But when I drew this to the attention of an expert who might have known if this resemblance had been deliberately contrived, he told me he thought the particular actor happened to look like More by accident. In other words, I was seeing a resemblance which I wanted to see and not one which was truly there.

I think, however, that a probable answer to the question whether Shakespeare saw a connection between More and Camillo is possible. A couple of years ago, Rev. A.Q. Morton sent me two drafts of an article which he prepared with Professor Sidney Michaelson, entitled « The Many Fail, the One Succeeds. »<sup>6</sup> In the article, the author explains the ways in which words which occur once only in a sample of text can be used to distinguish one author from another. The once occurring words are more frequent in any text than the twice, thrice, et cetera occurring words, considered separately. As the sample of text increases in size, the proportion of once occurring words decreases, although their absolute number increases.

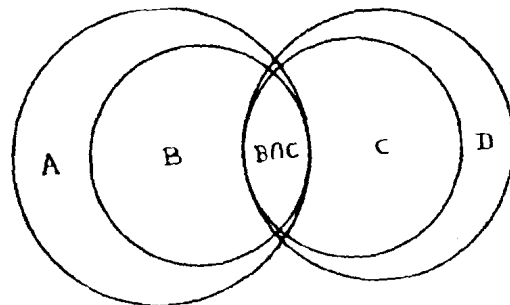
Following a somewhat different line of reasoning, I asked myself the question : are the numbers of once occurring words mathematically related to the size of the samples of text from which they are taken in a given author ? The answer was apparently yes.

With figures given in Louis Ule's *A Concordance of the Works of Christopher Marlowe* for ten works of Marlowe, varying in length from 5,495 to 21,105 words, the logarithms of the numbers of once occurring words are proportional to the logarithms of the total numbers of words in each of the ten works, with a positive correlation coefficient of .995. This is equivalent to a Student's *t* of 28.2 for 8 degrees of freedom. Using the numbers of once occurring words cited in Marvin Spevack's *Shakespeare Concordance* for fifteen characters in *The Taming of the Shrew*, along with the total numbers for each, the correlation coefficient for the double log regression is .993 ; this is equivalent to a Student's *t* of 30.3 for 13 degrees of freedom. Both are extremely high.

The next question which I posed was closer to the problem at hand : if we were to take the once occurring words spoken by the character More in the play *Sir Thomas More* and match them with the same words, once occurring in the case of each of the various characters in *The Winter's Tale*, would the resulting number of matched words be proportional to the total numbers of words spoken by each character in *The Winter's Tale* ? Are the logarithms of one, proportional to the logarithms of the other ?

A diagram may clarify the connections. Diagram One shows a circle on the left which represents all the words spoken by the character More in *Sir Thomas More*. This circle is marked « A ». A smaller circle within this larger circle is marked « B » and represents the once occurring words spoken by More. A large circle on the right represents all the words spoken by any particular character in *The Winter's Tale* and is marked « D ». The smaller circle contained within it represents the once occurring words spoken by this arbitrary character ; it is marked « C ». The two lesser circles intersect to create an area shared by both and represented by the symbol  $B \cap C$ . This area represents the shared words which occur once in More's speeches and once in those of any character in *The Winter's Tale*. Is this area mathematically related to the area of the large circle on the right marked « D », the area of which varies from character to character, while the area of the circles on the left, « A » and « B » remain constant ?

DIAGRAM ONE *The Intersection of Once Occurring Words*



- A = number of words spoken by More in *Sir Thomas More*
- B = number of once occurring words spoken by More in *Sir Thomas More*
- C = number of once occurring words spoken by a character in *The Winter's Tale*
- D = number of words spoken by the same character in *The Winter's Tale*

To summarize : it can be shown that the areas of the circles « C » and « D » are logarithmically proportional to a high degree, as in the parallel case cited in connection with Marlowe's works and the fifteen characters from *The Taming of the Shrew*. This proportional relationship is consonant with the assumptions of common sense. Are the areas of  $B \cap C$  and D similarly related ?

A regression analysis of the data is required. This is provided by plotting the data for the total numbers of words spoken by each character in *The Winter's Tale* (D) against the numbers of matching once occurring words shared by each character and More ( $B \cap C$ ). The « plotting » of the data, of course, can be achieved by the use of the so-called least squares method with a pocket calculator. Once the regression formula derived from the data is determined, a new set of data can be generated from the formula. This new set consists of the theoretically expected or predicted values, mathematically determined. A comparison of the two sets of data, observed and expected, can then be made to see if any single item is significantly out of line with the overall tendency. The measure of the relative affinity between the actual number of word matches and the theoretically expected number of matches is the chi square statistic.

Table One displays the total numbers of words used by each of twenty-nine characters in *The Winter's Tale* (D). Next are shown the numbers of matches ( $B \cap C$ ). Next are shown the expected numbers of matches, based on the regression formula (Expected  $B \cap C$ ). Finally the chi squares are presented ( $X^2$ ). A chi square of 3.84 or more is considered to be statistically significant at the five per cent level of significance, when comparing two items. A total or sum of the chi squares is shown at the end of the table for 29 degrees of freedom, corresponding to the 29 items. The sum of 34.54 is well below the figure of 42.56 which would indicate a significant divergence overall between the observed numbers of matches ( $B \cap C$ ) and the expected numbers of matches (Expected  $B \cap C$ ).

TABLE ONE

*Numbers for D,  $B \cap C$ , Expected  $B \cap C$ , and  $X^2$*

Character	D	$B \cap C$	Expected $B \cap C$	$X^2$
Leontes	4874	129	137.5	0.53
Autolycus	2387	66	78.7	2.05
Paulina	2372	78	78.3	0.00
Camillo	2086	97	70.8	9.70
Polixenes	1957	74	67.4	0.65
Clown	1594	43	57.4	3.61
Hermione	1580	55	57.0	0.07

Florizel	1390	60	51.6	1.37
Shepherd	1061	43	41.7	0.04
Perdita	896	43	36.6	1.12
Antigonus	784	34	33.0	0.03
3rd Gent.	592	27	26.5	0.01
Servant	312	8	16.0	4.00
Time	266	14	14.2	0.00
Ist Lord	240	10	13.1	0.73
Ist Gent.	221	14	12.2	0.27
Officer	192	15	11.0	1.45
Dion	183	16	10.6	2.75
Archidamus	176	12	10.2	0.32
Lord	171	12	10.0	0.40
Mamillius	150	7	9.0	0.44
Emilia	141	13	8.6	2.25
Mopsa	141	6	8.6	0.79
Cleomenes	136	6	8.4	0.69
2nd Gent.	125	10	7.8	0.62
Servant	119	7	7.5	0.03
Mariner	79	4	5.5	0.41
Jailer	71	6	5.0	0.20
Dorcas	66	5	4.8	0.01

Total 34.54 for 29 degrees of freedom

The figures under D are taken from *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare* by Marvin Spevack, Volume 1, pages 1264 through 1333. The once occurring words spoken by each of the twenty-nine characters in *The Winter's Tale* are taken from the same source. The once occurring words spoken by More in *Sir Thomas More* are 986 in number and are taken from an unpublished concordance of the Nonesuch edition of Shakespeare, produced by the Department of Computer Science, Edinburgh University, under the direction of Professor Sidney Michaelson. The logarithms of D and BNC are proportional with a correlation coefficient of +0.96779. The Student's *t* for 27 degrees of freedom is 20.0 and extremely high. The regression formula is  $BNC = .179838667 D^{.781875274}$  as calculated on a Casio fx-180P calculator.

There are two characters in the list which show a significant divergence between the observed and expected numbers of matches. Servant 312 (the servant who speaks 312 words) generates a chi square which is slightly in excess of the 3.84 which indicates a significant difference at the five per cent level. However, the observed figure in this case is less than the expected, and, furthermore, the degree of difference is very nearly what is expected in a random listing of twenty-nine items.

The outstanding character is Camillo with a chi square of 9.70 in excess of the expected figure of 70.8 word matches. A single-tailed normal distribution corresponding to a chi square of 9.70 in this case yields +3.11 standard deviations and is equivalent to a probability of less than .001—highly significant. The similarity in the once occurring words spoken by Camillo in *The Winter's Tale* and by More in *Sir Thomas More* is very probably due, not to chance, but to intention.

But how could this be? There are three possibilities: (1) William Shakespeare wrote the bulk of the play *Sir Thomas More*, and either retained its verbal echoes in his mind when he wrote *The Winter's Tale* many years later, or deliberately referred to his own copy of *Sir Thomas More* to remind him of More's character in creating Camillo, or adapting Camillo from Franion in Greene's *Pandosto*. (2) William Shakespeare did not write *Sir Thomas More*, but referred to a copy of the play in writing the speeches of Camillo in *The Winter's Tale*. (3) The similarity in the vocabulary of Camillo and More is the result of chance alone; even unlikely events take place and can not be ruled out of consideration.

Scholars accept the fact that *The Winter's Tale* is closely based on Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, -- so closely, in fact, that Dr. Kenneth Muir has said, « There are more verbal echoes from *Pandosto* than from any other novel used by Shakespeare as a source. »<sup>7</sup> Camillo is modelled on Franion in the novel, and Franion gives utterance to a soliloquy of 297 words in the novel. We may apply the same technique with Franion's once occurring words, as with those of More in Table One, to produce Table Two.

TABLE TWO

Character	BNC	Expected BNC	X <sup>2</sup>
Leontes	22	19.6	0.29
Autolycus	13	15.8	0.50
Paulina	15	15.8	0.04
Camillo	21	15.2	2.21
Polixenes	19	15.0	1.07
Clown	8	14.1	2.64
Hermione	14	14.0	0.00
Florizel	11	13.5	0.46
Shepherd	10	12.5	0.50
Perdita	19	11.9	4.24
Antigonus	13	11.4	0.22
3rd Gent.	9	10.5	0.21
Servant	12	8.7	1.25
Time	10	8.3	0.35
Ist Lord	7	8.1	0.15
Ist Gent.	5	7.9	1.06
Officer	8	7.5	0.03

Dion	7	7.4	0.02
Archidamus	10	7.3	1.00
Lord	6	7.3	0.23
Mamillius	7	7.0	0.00
Emilia	7	6.9	0.00
Mopsa	8	6.9	0.18
Cleomenes	8	6.8	0.21
2nd Gent.	7	6.6	0.02
Servant	8	6.5	0.35
Mariner	3	5.8	1.35
Jailer	5	5.6	0.06
Dorcas	7	5.5	0.41
Total		19.05 for 29 degrees of freedom	

An examination of the table reveals the fact that there are no values which are significantly in excess of the expected number for a list of twenty-nine. Overall, the values are normally distributed as would be expected in a random assortment. There is no indication of a significant verbal affinity between the words spoken by Franion and the words of Camillo.

The verbal affinity, therefore, between More in *Sir Thomas More* and Camillo is greater than that between the acknowledged source, Franion, and Camillo. If Shakespeare did not write *Sir Thomas More*, then its words were peculiarly engraved in his mind when he wrote *The Winter's Tale*.

I think that the likelihood of this influence on Shakespeare's mind of an obscure play, possibly by Anthony Munday and others, is remote. The play was not a primary source of biographical information about More. The playwrights traditionally associated with *Sir Thomas More* were not closely connected with Shakespeare.

What can be said in support of the case that the statistically significant excess of matched once occurring words for Camillo in Table One is the result of chance alone? There are approximately one thousand characters in Shakespeare's dramatic works, and a chi square of 9.70 could be expected to occur once in the entire opus by chance. There are twenty-nine characters in *The Winter's Tale* (a few more, in actual fact, but with very few speeches). The chance of hitting the one character who is a king's counsellor by chance is one in twenty-nine. The vocabulary affinity between More in *Sir Thomas More* and Camillo, on the one hand, and the similarity in roles between More and Camillo, on the other, are statistically independent events. The probability of the occurrence of two independent events is the product of their respective probabilities. One thousandth multiplied by one twenty-ninth is one twenty-nine thousandth or .000345. To say the least, it is extremely unlikely.

The actual probability is smaller still. Both Camillo and More are good counsellors of the king. But their similarities are more exclusive and specific. Camillo's description by the editor of the New Arden *The Winter's Tale* would fit only a few historical models in England or elsewhere.

« ... Like Paulina he is brave and loyal, but his loyalty is first of all to th right, not to a person ; and for the sake of honour and justice he deserts hi master and sacrifices everything dear to him, with no thought of gain. He i straightforward, intelligent, and of sympathetic understanding : an able administrator, good friend, and resolute man of action : he works to resolve the chaos and plans and achieves the reuniting of Sicilia. Like Heli canus he is « A figure of truth, of faith, of loyalty'... »<sup>8</sup>

The full extent of More's actual efforts to bring reconciliation to England and prevent a recurrence of the Wars of Roses in his own lifetime is barely yet revealed or recognized. According to Jack Leslau's reading of a covert rebus contained in Holbein's *The Ambassadors* in the National Gallery, London, More prevented a conspiracy to overthrow Henry VIII in favour of a Yorkist pretender. The conspiracy involved eminent people of the day and financial support from the Hanseatic League through the London Steelyard. These events occurred shortly before More's own death at the hands of an ungrateful monarch.

In order to eliminate the possibility of a freak convergence of coincidences to produce Table One, that table should be expanded to include not only twenty-nine characters in *The Winter's Tale*, but every character in Shakespeare. The actual once occurring words for each character are listed in Marvin Spevack's Shakespeare concordance of the Riverside edition, along with the total number of words spoken by each. Using the tapes from which the published concordance was printed, the computer can be programmed to match the once occurring words spoken by More in *Sir Thomas More* with the once occurring words of each character in all the Shakespeare plays. The resulting data can then be used to construct a regression formula of impressive reliability. Only then will it be possible to state categorically the probability of an affinity between More's vocabulary and that of Camillo. Perhaps Professor Spevack will have this task performed with the tapes at his disposal.

I believe that the likeliest possibility, of the three presented above, is that Shakespeare wrote *Sir Thomas More* in its original form. This may not have been precisely the form in which the play has come down to us. I would suspect that he also reread his own play before writing *The Winter's Tale*, in order to remind himself of More's character. The argument for Shakespeare's authorship of *Sir Thomas More* based on so-called stylometric evidence is too complex to summarise. An initial presentation of the scientific evidence will appear shortly in *The Bulletin* of the Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing, Oxford. I am currently engaged on developing sampling techniques which, applied to the entire Shakespeare body of work, will allow an accurate comparison between the characteristics of *More* and Shakespeare, without recourse to word-counts for the entire Shakespearean text.

The present case for Shakespeare's authorship of *More* in general is a strong one. Although *Sir Thomas More* is, for the most part, written in handwriting clearly identified as that of Anthony Munday, no voices have been raised since 1980 in defence of his authorship of the play. Even in terms of conventio-

nal scholarship, the case *against* Shakespeare's authorship is riddled with difficulties. There is the palaeographic case for Shakespeare's handwriting in the addition to the play in Hand D. Chambers reinforced the paleographic evidence by drawing attention to the Shakespearean quality of the images in the same addition.<sup>9</sup> The extremely rare comic word *argo*, used in *Sir Thomas More*, occurs in dramatic literature only three times outside the play, twice in Shakespeare and once in Middleton.<sup>10</sup> Fr. Milward has cited a number of intriguing parallels between *More* and Shakespeare in his essay « Thomas More and William Shakespeare ». The words *frail* and *trunk*, which occur respectively in Shakespeare 19 and 20 times in over 800,000 words, are combined at the end of *Sir Thomas More* with six intervening words ; they are combined in *Henry V*, Act Three, Scene 6, line 163 with two intervening words. G. Harold Metz has shown that a variety of earlier critics have tentatively suggested that parts of *Sir Thomas More*, other than the addition in Hand D, were written by Shakespeare, namely Brooke, R.W. Chambers, Nosworthy, Jenkins and Blayney.<sup>11</sup>

The weight of evidence, then, indicates that Shakespeare did have Thomas More in mind, consciously and deliberately, when he wrote the part of Camillo in *The Winter's Tale*. To prove that he did not is patently impossible. If Shakespeare modelled Camillo on More, it indicates a profound relationship between the two men, a relationship which bridges a gap in our own historical perceptions and opens up a vibrant world for the critical imagination.

Thomas MERRIAM

#### NOTES

1. M.C. Rousseau, « *Sir Thomas More* : Une énigme résolue ? » *Moreana*, XVIII, 71-72 (Nov. 1981), pp. 155-165.
2. Quoted in *op. cit.*, p. 163. From the article « Thomas More in Drama », *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, IV, 2, 1978.
3. E. Jones, « Commoners and Kings : Book One of More's *Utopia* », *Medieval Studies for J.A.W. Bennett* (Oxford, 1981), p. 272. The entire essay suggests a common outlook toward politics and reason in *More* and Shakespeare.
4. P. Milward, *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (London, 1973) pp. 83-4 ; 169-174.
5. T. Merriam, « What Shakespeare Wrote in *Henry VIII*, » *The Bard*, Vol. 2, Nos. 3 & 4 (1979 and 1980), pp. 81-94 ; 111-118.
6. S. Michaelson and A.Q. Morton, « The Many Fail, the One Succeeds, » Department of Computer Science, Edinburgh University, June 1980.

7. K. Muir, *Shakespeare's Sources*, i. 247 as quoted in *The Winter's Tale* ed. J.H.P. Pafford (London, 1966).
8. *The Winter's Tale*, ed. J.H.P. Pafford, (London, 1966), lxxvi.
9. R.W. Chambers, « Shakespeare and the Play of *More* ». *Man's Unconquerable Mind*, (London, 1939).
10. MacD. P. Jackson, « A Non-Shakespearean Parallel to the Comic Mispronunciation of 'Ergo' in Hand D of *Sir Thomas More*, » *Notes and Queries*, 216 (1971) : p. 139.
11. G. Harold Metz, « Stylometric Analysis and *Sir Thomas More*, » *Shakespeare Newsletter*, 31:1 (February, 1981) : 6.

In a letter of 28 Dec. 1981 to the editor, Thomas Merriam reacted to several articles in *Moreana* no. 71-72, namely Charles Doyle's (pp. 5f.), Clare Murphy's (pp. 115 f.) and M. Cl. Rousseau's (pp. 155 f.). We quote two paragraphs :

*Charles Doyle's article was most interesting. The last two quotations about the beard in STM are both written in Hand S (Munday) ; hence it would seem they were not, by any account, written by two different peoples, unless Munday was copying the work of two different authors.*

*I would suggest that there is a parallel between the following in the play : More defends the King in the first part, but dies in defiance of the King's wishes in the second part. More acts as a judicial barber in the first part, but as a « defender of beards » in the second part. I have always felt that part of the power of the play was its conception of More as a person both consistent and outwardly contradictory. This dichotomy is a feature of « wit » itself and of the actor -- and, forgive me, of Shakespeare par excellence. It is a feature of « negative capability » on the one hand, and consistent moral principle on the other, feminine and masculine. It is this underlying sympathy between the saint and the playwright which seems to me to be the steady current of fascination with this rather ragged play, a steady reverberation in the mind and more than mind.*

