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The Rose Playhouse in Context

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Preface

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Abbreviations

BL Add. MS	Additional Manuscripts, British Library
BL Lansdowne MS	Lansdowne Manuscripts, British Library
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office, Guildhall, London
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
Dulwich	Library of the College of God's Gift, Dulwich, London
EEBO	Early English Books Online
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
<i>HD</i>	Henslowe's <i>Diary</i> , Dulwich MSS 7
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, Clerkenwell, London
MoEML	Map of Early Modern London project University of Victoria, Canada
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeological Service
MSC	Malone Society <i>Collections</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>Office of the Revels, Eliz I</i>	Feuillerat, <i>Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth</i>
PRO	Public Records Office (now merged with TNA)
REED	Records of Early English Drama project
SHC	Surrey History Centre, Woking.
SR	Stationers' Register, as compiled in <i>The Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers Company, 1553-1640</i>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, London

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A Note on the Text

In quotations, style follows the sources cited in terms of spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation. For archival documents that exist as multiple copies of manuscripts, or in both manuscript and printed forms, references are given to the specific copy or copies examined. For references to printed editions included in the *Early English Books Online* database, the STC (2nd edition) number is used. For quotations from specific pages of these texts, the signature refs are used.

Introduction

Folio 27v of Henslowe's *Diary* contains the following lines:

11	tt	at Joroneymo	...	<.>2	<..>	01-13-00
	tt	at the comodey of vmers	...	<.>2	00	00-19-0
	tt	at docter fostes	...	0.	¹	

These belong to the last batch of Henslowe's running daily receipts recorded in late 1597. On the original folio page, a note in the left margin by the lines makes it clear that the first entry refers to a performance of *The Spanish Tragedy* on 11 October 1597, from which the total half-gallery income was at least two pounds. The second and the third lines record the performances of *The Comedy of Humours* and *Doctor Faustus*. It may also be deduced that their performance dates were likely to be 12 and 14 October 1597.² Besides useful information like this, there are however still many other uncertainties regarding the details of the latter two days' performances. Take for example the third line: how much was the likely total half-gallery income from *Doctor Faustus* on that day? What was the performance like? Or more specifically, what performing text of the play was used? Was it something closer to the A-text, B-text, or was it a transitional one in-between? How was the play likely received on that particular day? Who might be among the audience members? Or why in the first place did the Admiral's Men decide to dust off this play for a single day's performance? Clearly, as much as the records are revelatory about the daily operation of the Rose and its resident company, they also lead to a series of other difficult questions.

A critical challenge that every modern reader of Henslowe's *Diary* must cope with and respond to is the fact that the document was originally intended primarily for its creator's personal use. As such, the voluminous account book is far from being the repository of complete and unambiguous historical records, but is essentially an

¹ HD, fol. 27v. Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 60.

² The spatial proximity of these entries to each other on the page strongly indicates that they were of consecutive performances. Assuming that Henslowe was correct in assigning the performance date of *The Spanish Tragedy* to 11 October 1597, which was a Tuesday in the Julian calendar then still in use in England, the most likely days for the next two plays would be on the days that immediately followed (12 and 13 October). 13 October, however, was a Thursday, which means it might have been a day reserved for bear-baiting, according to an earlier order from the Privy Council dated 27 July 1591. If this order was still observed to any extent in 1597, then the more likely performance date for *Doctor Faustus* would be 14 October. Otherwise, the performance could of course also have been given on 13 October. As there has been no clear evidence that the prohibition on performance on Thursdays was officially revoked, I here follow the assumption that the order was still observed in 1597 and assign the performance of *Doctor Faustus* to Friday 14 October 1597.

idiosyncratically arranged collection of personal memory markers—keywords and phrases meant to jog and unlock an individual’s memories. None of the questions regarding that particular performance of *Doctor Faustus* listed above, for instance, would have much troubled the original creator and user of the records when he reviewed his notes. Contrary to the experience of a modern reader, for Henslowe, reading any entry in the *Diary* would, perhaps in most cases, bring back a whole train of vivid mental images about the event for which the record was made. A simple line recording a day’s performance like those on fol. 27v might well remind him of a variety of sharp details about the day’s production: the texture and colours of the costumes used, the appearance and function of some particular stage properties, the specific staging techniques and facilities used for the play, the sound and smell in the Rose’s interior space, the looks and voices of the audiences, and perhaps also some specific individuals or acquaintances of his amongst the crowd on that day. The half-gallery receipt jotted down at the end of the same line, apart from noting the total half-gallery income, might perhaps also remind Henslowe of other things such as the reception of the play by the audience of the day, his general financial situation or that of the partnership during that particular period, the repertorial decisions the company was making, or if any of their theatrical and business strategies were working out as intended.

Of course, the records in the *Diary* do provide an invaluable picture about the theatrical productions and commercial operation of the Rose and its resident companies. But this picture still frequently becomes heavily “pixelated” when we attempt to zoom in on some of its finer and more particular details. On these more microscopic levels, we frequently encounter barriers—multiple layers of uncertainties behind the *Diary*’s often-succinct entries—that make it difficult to envision the day-to-day operation of the playhouse in more concrete and vivid details. What’s more, it is almost impossible to begin to answer questions about these important fine details without more information about the larger theatrical and commercial trend, as well as the historical, geographical, political, social, and financial as well as artistic context in which the theatrical productions took place. It is to the decisions and events that came to pass in these various contexts that the *Diary*’s theatrical records, as memory markers, constantly beckon and hark back.

This wider context, therefore, falls within the purview of this thesis, whose ultimate goal is to produce a critical biography of the Rose playhouse—a key presence in the theatrical landscape of late sixteenth century London. In order to attain a deeper

understanding of, or at least to begin to make educated guesses about, the daily operation of the Rose playhouse, its playing companies, and the circumstances behind the creation of the *Diary*'s many theatrical records, this thesis will examine and piece together what archival, textual, as well as archaeological evidence may jointly reveal about the Rose's geographical surroundings, physical layout, financial management, commercial operation, as well as key aspects of its performance history. The vision for conducting dedicated studies on individual playhouses is not an entirely new one. George F. Reynolds, studying the Red Bull playhouse in 1905, pioneered in adopting such a perspective.³ E. K. Chambers, noting the need for more studies in this vein, later dedicated a substantial portion of his *Elizabethan Stage* to the introductions of each of the major London playhouses between the mid-sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. Reviewing the development of theatre history studies in the past half-century, Allardyce Nicoll in 1948 made another call for more "inquiries into the particular, as opposed to general, problems" so that "[e]ach theatre and its plays should have their appropriate volume".⁴ Responding to these calls, Ernest L. Rhodes took another major step forward in this direction in 1976 with *Henslowe's Rose: The Stage & Staging*. As the only book-length study on issues related to the Rose playhouse to date, Rhodes's study has undoubtedly been a commendable effort, especially in his detailed combing through of the extant Rose plays for clues regarding the use of the playhouse's various staging facilities and stage properties. Now forty years later, however, many of the limitations of this study have become more clearly visible. In particular, Rhodes's fundamental supposition that the Rose's internal structure took after the Vitruvian tradition of theatre design, upon which he has built the bulk of his arguments about staging, has now been proved to be incorrect. At the same time, the sole focus of Rhodes's study has been on the connection between staging practice and the Rose's physical structure, while many other important aspects of the operation, management, funding, clientele, social connections, and repertorial history related to the Rose as a major London playhouse have remained almost entirely unexplored.

In recent years, since McMillin and MacLean's ground breaking work *The Queen's Men and their Plays*, theatre history study has refocused its critical energy from author-based studies to company and repertory-based studies. Scholars like

³ George F. Reynolds, *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater 1605-1625*, p. 2.

⁴ Allardyce Nicoll, "Studies in the Elizabethan Stage Since 1900", p. 15.

Lawrence Manley, R. L. Knutson, Andrew Gurr, and Lucy Munro have been studying theatre companies as, in McMillin and MacLean's term, an "organising unit" around which archival and literary texts could be arranged and examined.⁵ This thesis aims to continue the inquiries using this methodology, and focus on studying the Rose playhouse by identifying, regrouping, and systematically examining documents related to the material, cultural, and literary productions of this major theatrical establishment.

I think now is a rich time for a dedicated study on the Rose, given the relative abundance of archival materials related to this particular playhouse, such as the voluminous Henslowe-Alleyn papers and a wide range of administrative documents in the St Saviour's parish records. Moreover, we are also blessed with a whole body of valuable information from archaeological findings—on the Rose as well as on several other major contemporary playhouses—whose potential for theatre history studies may be more fully explored.⁶ This thesis, therefore, seeks to address the several key aspects of the playhouse's existence: its architectural origin and evolution, its multiple connections with its Southwark neighbourhood, its management and financial schemes under Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn, and the ways in which it functioned as an integral part of the theatrical operations of its resident companies, especially the Admiral's Men.

The stupendous undertaking of operating a public playhouse and managing a playing company was undoubtedly heavily mediated, and carried out, through the constant organisation and re-organisation of human and material resources. These were

⁵ Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays*, 1998; Lawrence Manley, "Playing with Fire: Immolation in the Repertory of Strange's Men", in *Early Theatre* 4 (2001), pp. 115-29; MacLean and Manley, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays*, 2014. Roslyn L. Knutson, "Pembroke's Men in 1592-3, Their Repertory and Touring Schedule", in *Early Theatre* 4 (2001), pp. 129-38; Roslyn L. Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001;

Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594-1642*, 2004;

Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites: the Admiral's Company, 1594-1625*, 2009;

Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: a Jacobean Theatre Repertory*, 2005.

⁶ Most of the archaeological findings about the Rose since its excavation in 1989 have been published by Julian Bowsher, senior archaeologist from the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS); Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, London: MoLAS, 2012; Julian Bowsher, "Twenty Years On: The Archaeology of Shakespeare's London Playhouses" in *Shakespeare* Vol. 7, No. 4, December 2011, pp. 452-266.

Julian Bowsher, and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe: Playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark: Excavations 1988-91*, London: MoLAS, 2009;

Julian Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, London: Museum of London, 1998.

gathered and distributed on daily basis through a panoply of physical and financial channels, as well as social and political networks. To unpick such a complex phenomenon, this study will grow its theoretical fibre from the current Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) as developed primarily through the works of Bruno Latour. As a socio-scientific theory that focuses on the dynamics and transmission of influences and agencies among actors of complex social networks or institutions, ANT provides a highly useful perspective for understanding the interpenetration of the local and the wider—and even global—networks in which the Rose playhouse and its companies were embedded. At the same time, it also underscores the importance and value of paying close attention in my study to elements of the historical material reality—i.e. the physical, political, human, as well as financial resources—as key mediators in the operation of the playhouse and its playing companies.

Chapter one examines the physical layout of the Rose. In this chapter I address the current key issues regarding the playhouse's physical evolution, and explore the connections between its architectural development and the wider context of London's theatrical industry in the late sixteenth century. While it is now generally agreed among theatre historians that the Rose playhouse underwent a major structural modification in 1592, the rationale and significance of such a major decision by Henslowe merely five years into the playhouse's existence, however, are still far from clear. Current mainstream views about the architectural origin and development of early modern public playhouses often cite their visual similarities to other circular structures such as animal baiting rings, banqueting houses, and especially Greco-Roman theatres as well as coliseums. Not only leading to a terminological confusion and misapplication of basic terms such as "theatre" and "amphitheatre", the overly narrow emphasis on the playhouses' superficial visual and aesthetic characteristics in these views have, more problematically, resulted in largely ineffective ways of categorisation of early modern playhouses, and the consequent obscuring of important connections between the physical evolution of early modern public playhouses and developments in the theatrical industry of late sixteenth century London. As such, existing discussions about the structural development of early modern playhouses by theatre and architectural historians also frequently carry an unquestioned assumption about continuities between early and later playhouses not only in terms of their physical shape but also their designed function.

Viewed in this way, the physical life of the Rose playhouse has so far only been understood as an improvement on—and in other words a natural development from—an already established building norm for playhouses. The extensive structural modification in 1592 is thus also often explained away as merely a means of expanding the playhouse's audience capacity. The support lent to this view by archaeological studies and practical experiments conducted on the Rose's site, however, is in fact far from unequivocal.⁷ Considering the at best moderate increase in the Rose's yard space and the unavailability of any definitive conclusion regarding its galleries' capacity, the extent to which the increase in audience capacity may justify the extensive and expensive structural modification for Henslowe remains fundamentally a matter of scholarly opinion and interpretation.

To venture beyond this inconclusiveness, in this chapter I propose that archival documents related to the Rose and reports from the archaeological excavations as well as practical experiments should not be viewed in isolation, but together with other forms of evidence in the wider context of the development of commercial playing in London in the early 1590s. Drawing on archaeological reports from excavations by MoLAS on the Rose's site, I will first account for key structural features in each of its two distinct phases, and highlight the major changes and developments that took place between them. I will also trace the architectural influences on the design of the Rose by comparing it with its direct predecessors—the Theatre and the Curtain in particular—and with other contemporary playing spaces such as court, university halls, town halls, and the inn-yards. I will then try to examine the Rose's physical evolution in the context of the changing circumstances for commercial playing in London, and understand it in relation to changes in the playhouses' designed function in the latter half of the sixteenth century. In so doing, I propose both a different reading of the physical evolution of the Rose and its 1592 modification, and a different way of categorisation of early modern public playhouses that is more conscious of their functional differences than their superficial visual similarities. Crucially, I propose that the pre-1592 Rose and the post-1592 Rose should be understood as two different types of playhouses, with the

⁷ The practical experiment conducted by the Museum of London Archaeology Service on the Rose's yard has yielded an estimation of about 28 percent increase in audience capacity in the playhouse yard between the two phases. See Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 157. By contrast, the change in the galleries' capacity between the two phases is difficult to ascertain due to the non-survival of any superstructure of the playhouse.

former being a neutral, readily rentable playhouse, and the latter, the early form of a repertory playhouse closely connected to the operations of its resident companies.

To better contextualise the Rose's physical existence in Tudor London, in chapter two I will examine the playhouse's neighbourhood: Southwark and the Bankside. In studies of theatre history, current mainstream accounts of the building of public playhouses in late sixteenth century London still frequently fall back to an overgeneralised and schematic notion of City-suburb opposition. The setting up of early modern public playhouses in London's suburban districts has thus long been viewed as primarily a means for the theatre owners and playing companies to find refuge from persistent harassment by the city's authorities on the one hand, and exploit on the other hand the geographical and social milieu of the suburbs for cultural as well as political licence in theatrical productions. In the accounts of the building of the Rose south of the Thames, more specifically, current mainstream views frequently reiterate various versions of the same long-held stereotypical image of Southwark—and especially the Bankside neighbourhood—as the loosely governed, morally questionable, and disreputable entertainment district that was the stark antithesis of the City and its values.

In this chapter I will first seek to address these stereotypical views by surveying the current theatre history studies on the issue of City-suburb relation, and bring attention to the fact that the evidence frequently cited in support of convenient schematic notions such as those already mentioned was primarily drawn from late sixteenth century literary texts, pamphlets, printed books. At the same time, a plethora of other contemporary graphic and archival materials in manuscript or printed forms exist besides literary texts. Although many of these materials have been separately and variously engaged in others studies of London's urban development, administration, and local history, demography as well as economics, they have not been sufficiently examined in conjunction with each other, and in general have remained underused in studies of theatre history—let alone for the re-evaluation of the City-suburb relation and its connection with the building of the public playhouses.

These documents, besides printed books and literary references, therefore, will form the main subject of my study in this chapter. In order to form a more concrete sense of the Rose's Southwark neighbourhood, I will study contemporary maps, sketches, and engravings related to the area, and survey its history as well as its geographical, demographical, and cultural characteristics. The variety of archival materials I will examine include court orders, Privy Council documents, Southwark's

local parish registers, lay subsidy rolls, minutes of vestry meetings, view-of-inmates accounts, highway commissioners' records, and poor-rate books. Through examining these documents, this chapter will seek to piece together and reveal a different image of Southwark, its true civic status, as well as the overall effectiveness of its government. By establishing a more informed view of Southwark and its relationship with London, this chapter seeks to unpick the stereotypical image of Southwark as the social and cultural margin of Tudor London, adjust the current scholarly view about the City-suburb opposition, and address the orthodox umbrella notion about the rationale behind the building of Elizabethan public playhouses in London's suburbs. Finally, with a more detailed and nuanced view of the Rose's geographical, social, and cultural neighbourhood, in the final section of the chapter I will tackle the key question regarding the rationale behind Henslowe's choice of Southwark as the site of his playhouse. No longer viewing the public playhouse as the borderline legal entertainment institution seeking refuge in the social margin, I will outline Henslowe's various personal links to Southwark and understand the Rose playhouse as a well-connected local business embedded in its manager's personal network as well as the district's local social and trade networks.

Chapter three examines Henslowe's family, business, and political networks in detail. This involves identifying key personages and connections in his network of associates that were important not only to his theatre business but also to his other simultaneous roles throughout the years as an investor, a property owner, a Southwark local dignitary, and a holder of different royal offices. To this end, S. P. Cerasano's works will serve as valuable guidelines. Since the publication of her two biographical notes on Henslowe in *Notes & Queries* in 1985, Cerasano has published widely on topics related to Henslowe's and Alleyn's family lineage and patronage networks.⁸

⁸ See for example S. P. Cerasano, "Revising Philip Henslowe's Biography", in *Notes & Queries* 32 (1985), pp. 66-71;
 "Revising Philip Henslowe's Biography: A Correction", in *Notes & Queries* 32 (1985), pp. 506-7;
 "The Master of the Bears in Art and Enterprise", in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 5 (1991), pp. 195-209;
 "The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn", in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 13 (2000), pp. 82-92;
 "The Geography of Henslowe's Diary", in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005) pp. 328-53;
 "Henslowe, Philip (c.1555–1616)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008. URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12991>, accessed 13 May 2014;
 "Going Down the Drain in 1616, Widow Henslowe, the Rose Properties, and the Sewers Commission", in *Shakespeare Studies*, 32, (2004);
 "Henslowe's 'Curious' Diary", in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 17 (2005).

While these studies have been invaluable in breaking new grounds and providing ample leads for more in-depth enquires, the multifaceted issue of network has been followed by few further studies and has in general received relatively little attention from other theatre historians. It was not until very recently, in May 2016, that some further studies on Henslowe's personal connections and the wider scope of his business dealings were presented by Grace Ioppolo and Julian Bowsher in a one-day symposium hosted by Globe Education.

At the same time, while many current studies touching on issues related to Henslowe's connections are much informed by Cerasano's works, the patronage network of Henslowe as charted by Cerasano still needs further close scrutiny. In particular, while placing heavy emphasis on the positive impact and value of the patronage network, Cerasano's characterisation of the nature of this network often falls back too readily on overgeneralised assumptions about alignment and easy compatibility of political or financial interests. At other times, it also tends to overstate the strength and value of particular connections based on problematic presuppositions about the patrons' unflinching favour towards Henslowe's course. The evidence cited for making these claims and in support of the connections thus identified, moreover, needs to be examined more rigorously and tested against other related documents.

Addressing these issues in existing scholarship, this chapter will therefore undertake to re-map and re-evaluate Henslowe's patronage network. With a keen recognition of the complexity of this network with its multiple players and nodal points, I will attempt to describe and characterise it by carefully sifting through, and conducting individual examinations of, its key personages. Guided by Cerasano's work on Henslowe's family lineage, I will explore the true extent of Henslowe's family connections in the Sussex nobility and trade circles. To obtain a more concrete sense of the status of Henslowe's family as part of this circle, I will not only trace the connections between Henslowe and those individuals who figure prominently in the records of the *Diary* and the Dulwich archives, but also bring in records related to the Wealden iron foundry industry and the gun-making business in which the Henslowe family and many members of the peerage in Sussex were deeply involved. I will also examine sections of the *Diary* related to John Henslowe's mining activities during the

late 1570s—that hitherto have been largely glossed over by theatre history studies—as these accounts not only suggest the extension of Henslowe’s family connection from Sussex to London, but potentially may also shed more light on the still murky history of Henslowe’s early movement from Sussex to London as well as his early connections with Southwark.

While mapping Henslowe’s connections, I will examine the ways in which the operation of the Rose tapped into Henslowe’s wider network of associates, and the ways in which the playhouse business functioned as one of the main engines for Henslowe’s financial success and social ascent. At the same time, I will pay special attention to the ways in which the transmission of patronage, agency, favour, and assistance through this network was complicated by the co-existence of financial and political conflicts as well as alliances, and by the need to maintain a nuanced balance between political allegiance and personal relationships. Crucially, the ideological and political complexity of the patronage network in which Henslowe was embedded meant, as I will argue, that it was as important for Henslowe to keep a cautious distance from certain actors in this network as it was for him to maintain close ties to some others. It is by substituting such a recognition for the current overly-optimistic notion of an all-powerful network of patrons with common goals and interests that I seek in this chapter to obtain a clearer view of Henslowe’s character as a risk-averse investor.

Building from the previous chapter’s study on Henslowe’s patronage network, and now with a more informed view of Henslowe’s character as an operator and investor, in chapter four I will focus closely on his management of the Rose playhouse. Based primarily on close examinations of records in the *Diary* and the rest of the Henslowe-Alleyn papers, I will study key issues such as Henslowe’s investment and managerial style, the manner in which he dealt with members of the playing companies that took residence in his playhouse, and the nature of the manager-player relationship.

In the past forty years or so, the mainstream scholarly view on Henslowe’s personality and character as a theatre manager has been shifting—quite significantly although gradually—away from echoing the earlier cardboard portrayal of him as the callous, illiterate, and close-fisted impresario, towards a better recognition of the need for a more nuanced approach in the weighing of evidence from the complex and voluminous Henslowe-Alleyn papers. Despite this development, however, issues concerning Henslowe’s managerial strategy, the nature of the manager-player relationship, and the latter’s impact on the operations of the playhouse and its playing

company, are still heavily contended grounds. Moreover, while convincing arguments have been put forward by both sides in many of the current debates over these issues, there can be observed a persistent discrepancy in terms of the typical types of supporting evidence cited by the two contending camps. On the one hand, advocates for the image of Henslowe as a faithful and benevolent facilitator tend to draw heavily from the theatre manager's personal correspondence and documents related to his personal dealings or family affairs. On the other hand, studies of Henslowe's business letters, financial accounts, as well as notes, bills, and bonds in the Dulwich archives usually lead to the impression of a shrewd operator with tight control over his investments—an image often contrasted with narratives of frequent financial plights faced by some of the players and playwrights associated with him.

This marked discrepancy in the selection and interpretation of evidence clearly reflects, as I will argue, the complexity of commercial playing in resident playhouses as an emerging phenomenon in late sixteenth century London. To make better sense of this discrepancy, and to find common ground underlying the two seemingly conflicting views, in chapter four I will re-examine key issues about Henslowe's management of the Rose. Drawing from the previous chapter's conclusion about Henslowe's character as a risk-averse operator and investor, I will examine the ways in which such character influenced his various business decisions at key moments in the operation of the Rose, such as the timing of the Rose project, the choice of its builder and design, the choice of partner, and developments of his role as the theatre manager over the years.

Specifically, I will examine in detail the manager-player relationship during the Rose years as evidenced by various types of records in the Henslowe-Alleyn papers such as loan records, bills, receipts, contracts, bonds, and memorandums. To comb through these records for evidence, I will attempt to make better sense of the complexity of the Henslowe-Alleyn papers as historical objects—a collection of different types of manuscripts generated by diverse individuals under various circumstances over a long period. I will pay special attention to both the records' content and their textual as well as other physical features that are indicative of Henslowe's bookkeeping habits and his relation with the players or playwrights associated with him. During this process, I will show that a more carefully chronological approach to the records in the *Diary* is needed, by highlighting important changes in Henslowe's business goals, managerial strategy, and bookkeeping methods for the Rose, and tracing the development of the manager-player relationship during the Rose's years. In so doing, I seek also to reveal in this

chapter the fact that Henslowe's management of the Rose, being in many ways still an emerging form of business in the 1590s, was much more of a changing and evolving process than hitherto recognised.

The final major task of this thesis, distributed over chapter five and six, is to establish a clearer picture of the performance history of the Rose playhouse and to form a more concrete sense of the enactment of its repertory on the stage. To a considerable extent, a playhouse-specific perspective necessarily overlaps with a company-oriented perspective when it comes to examining the repertory of a resident playhouse. This is particularly true for studying the Rose whose performance history spanned over the transitional period when the mode of operation for major playing companies in England gravitated from travelling to playhouse residence in London. But where the playhouse-specific perspective adopted by this thesis differs the most from the company-oriented perspective is the former's additional critical attention to the varying degrees of cooperation and the different types of partnerships formed between the theatre manager and the resident companies over the years.

The current orthodox narrative about the start of playhouse residence in London playhouses has at its base an umbrella notion about the circumstances of playhouse residence as some form of stable and largely unchanging organisational and operational arrangement into which the major playing companies entered in the mid-1590s. As such, it often glosses over crucial differences in terms of timeline, financial structure, and operational mode as well as artistic impact between different playhouse-company partnerships. Equally problematic is the fact that such a narrative also easily loses sight of—and thus fails to account for—significant changes or developments taking place over time *within* a specific playhouse-company partnership. As theatre historians in recent years have become acutely aware of the need to examine the distinct performance histories of different playing companies, it should be recognised that the history and development of each playhouse-company partnership also involve fundamental issues that resist generalisation and deserve detailed individual attention.

In these two chapters, therefore, drawing from such seminal works as McMillin and MacLean's study on the Queen's Men as well as MacLean and Manley's recent study on Lord Strange's Men, I will first provide a more complete account of the Rose's performance history between the late 1580s and early 1600s, and then study in detail the several partnerships formed between Henslowe and the several playing companies that used the Rose over the years. The division of my study here into two chapters

follows primarily a chronological order. Chapter five covers the performance history of the Rose from the playhouse's establishment in 1587 until the end of the Admiral's Men's first three years of residence before the summer of 1597. Chapter six examines the rest of the Rose's years from the resumption of performance by the newly merged Admiral's-Pembroke's Men in the autumn of 1597 until the departure of Worcester's Men from the Rose in 1603. Besides chronology, however, drawing the dividing line at the summer of 1597 also serves to highlight a hitherto unrecognised yet crucial distinction in the Rose's performance history between the years before and after October 1597. As I will argue with in-depth analysis, fundamentally different types of playhouse-company partnerships existed before and after October 1597. From this perspective, chapter five covers the early performance history of the Rose, which includes the playhouse's early years as a hireable playing venue for travelling companies (1587- c. 1591), as well as a long transitional period (1592 - 1597) that witnessed the alternation between early attempts by Strange's Men and the Admiral's Men at playhouse residence and the continuation of the travelling tradition by Sussex's and the Queen's Men. Chapter six, then, examines the residence of the Admiral's-Pembroke's Men and Worcester's Men during the final period in the Rose's performance history when the playhouse-company partnerships became more sophisticated and interwoven at both financial and operational levels (1597 - 1600, and 1602 - 1603).

In the first half of chapter five, I attempt to shed more light on the murky history of the Rose's operation and performance during its early years (1587-1592)—i.e. before the records in the *Diary* commenced—to which very little scholarly attention has been given due to the sheer paucity of relevant archival materials. To tackle this problem, a different working method needs to be developed. I will systematically comb through available documents in the wider context concerning the movements of various playing companies during this period. Searching through the records gathered by the *REED* project, I will trace the touring itineraries used by playing companies active during the 1580s and early 1590s, and identify notable troupes that figure prominently in these records, as well as towns and counties that were frequently visited. Drawing from my study in the earlier chapter on Southwark and London, I will then examine the geographical significance of the City-suburb linkage as a key node in the nation-wide traffic network of late sixteenth century England. Examining the geographical movements of active playing companies in this context, therefore, will help identify

companies that were most likely to have used the Bankside playhouse when their tour itineraries brought them through London during the Rose's first five years.

The second half of chapter five, and all of chapter six, will be devoted to examining the performance history of the Rose from Strange's Men's first documented season in 1592 onwards. Each playhouse-company partnership that formed during these years will be examined individually. I will conduct close reading with statistical analysis on the records in the Henslowe-Alleyn papers, and endeavour to bring archival studies and textual analyses of playtexts together with other information that may be gathered from archaeological reports about the materiality of the Rose's daily operation and theatrical production. In so doing, I seek to arrive at a better understanding of the material basis, organisational structure, financial arrangement, repertorial strategy, and artistic legacy of each partnership. At the same time, surveying the Rose's performance history formed through this series of partnerships as the Bankside establishment evolved from a hireable playing space to a repertory playhouse, I seek to replace the current overgeneralised orthodox narrative about the start of playhouse residence in London in the mid-1590s with a history that recognises this phenomenon as consisting of more localised piecemeal transitions specific to each playhouse-company partnerships and over a longer period of time. For this reason, discussions on issues related to the residence of the Admiral's Men at the Rose are of particular importance to my study, and thus shall occupy a substantial part of chapter five and most of chapter six. It is through internal comparisons between the conditions of the Admiral's Men's two three-year periods at the Rose, as well as external comparisons drawn between their residence and that of other companies before and after them, that I may better highlight the notable changes and developments in the Rose's productions over the years in terms of cost, pace, and artistic tendency, while the operation of the playhouse and the operation of its playing companies gradually came together and became increasingly tightly interwoven.

In the epilogue, I will recapitulate my main arguments made in the foregoing chapters, before returning to take on the initial task—set down at the very beginning of this introduction—of interpreting a single entry in the *Diary's* performance receipts. I will attempt to reconstruct with as much detail as possible the one day's operation and performance of *Doctor Faustus* at the Rose that led to the creation of the entry on folio 27v. With this detailed reconstruction, I seek to better stitch together my key arguments and discoveries about the operation of the Rose made in each chapter, and thus give a

more concrete sense of what kind of an overall image of the Rose playhouse and its operation these arguments may jointly reveal. At the same time, a detailed reconstruction also allows some further examination and discussion of a few other issues that are in fact related to the operation of the playhouse but do not fit well into the theme of each foregoing chapter.

Chapter One

From Rentable Playing Space to Repertory Playhouse: The Architectural and Functional Evolution of the Rose

As early as 1979 Herbert Berry had remarked that despite the accumulation of numerous documents and allusions about the Theatre in Shoreditch, and despite the fact that most of these had been known “at least since 1913”, few scholars had “listed them in one place” or “pointed out some of the conclusions about the place which such a listing might suggest”.¹ The “conclusions” that Berry would like to see were more thorough understanding of the physical design of the playhouse that might result from putting the available documents and allusions all “in one place”—perhaps just like putting the old timbers together to reconstruct the playhouse. The dissatisfaction reflected in Berry’s remark is understandable as it was made almost thirty years before the site of the Theatre was discovered (in 2008) and ensuing archaeological work on it could be carried out by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS).² While in 1979 perhaps very similar things could be rightfully said about the Rose playhouse on the Bankside, one of the major competitors of the Theatre, the situation should have changed ten years from then with the discovery and excavations of the Rose and Globe sites in 1989 by MoLAS. More than twenty years since the Rose’s discovery, however, and despite the amount of interest it generated at first in both the archaeology circle and theatre history studies, the potential value of the information gathered about the physical characteristics of the Rose seems far from fully explored. With the publication of the excavation reports and post-excavation analysis, by now it is possible to know with considerable accuracy the shape, building materials, yard diameters, stage dimensions, etc. of the Rose. These findings, however, seem to have mainly provoked discussions within the archaeology circle, and have appeared less useful to theatre historians than initially thought to be.

One of the major reasons for the general under-usage of archaeological data about the Rose by theatre historians is perhaps the fact that, due to the non-survival of any crucial superstructure on top of the ground plan, what have been discovered have led to more questions than answers. If anything, the discovery seems to have heightened our awareness of just how much more about the Rose still remains unknown. Some of

¹ Berry, “Aspects of the Design and Use of the First Public Playhouse”, p. 29.

² Bowsher, “Twenty Years On: The Archaeology of Shakespeare’s London Playhouses”, p. 453.

these uncertainties concern crucial aspects about the Rose and perhaps early modern playhouse design in general. Of these questions, many have centred on the possible features of the stage, such as the number of stage doors, the possible setups of the “discovery area”, and the debated existence of a stage cover before 1592. Important questions also concern the early history of the Rose, its design and actual functions, and most importantly, the reasons for its extensive modification in 1592.

Admirable efforts have certainly been made to address some of these questions. Even before the archaeological discovery, scholars have turned to extant play-texts known to be associated with the Rose for clues. In this respect, admittedly, the archaeological data have offered only very limited help. Although it is true that these findings have helped clear away previous uncertainties such as the actual shape and size of the playhouse, or the exact orientation of its stage, information related to the staging area that is of more direct interest to theatre historians remains painfully elusive.³ As a result, in order to reconstruct a better-rounded profile of the Rose, archaeologists and architectural historians have often had to bring in additional information gathered from surviving documents about other contemporary playhouses such as the Fortune and the Hope.⁴ Theatre historians, on the other hand, when making conjectures about the physical features of the stage, are still mainly relying on close readings of two types of information: 1) contemporary accounts of the playhouse and activities that took place in them, often by foreign travellers in London; 2) surviving maps, drawings, play texts or “plots” relating to particular playhouses.⁵ Yet as R. A. Foakes has pointed out in his study of the De Witt sketch and the *Alcazar* “plot”, graphical information as well as printed texts which survive could often be unreliable evidence; and what took place on the stage might not be revealed by the printed text, as playwrights’ habits varied considerably when it came to leaving stage directions.⁶ The physical characteristics of the Rose that came into light with the archaeological excavation seem to add little to

³ Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, pp. 37-40

⁴ For example, see Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, pp. 31-3; Greenfield, “Reconstructing the Rose: Development of the Playhouse Building between 1587 and 1592”, pp. 25-8, 31-4.

⁵ For example, see Wickham, “‘Heavens,’ Machinery, and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses” in *The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch 1576-1598*, Ed. Herbert Berry, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1979; Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare’s Opposites: The Admiral’s Company, 1594-1625*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009; Tim Fitzpatrick, *Playwright, Space and Place in Early Modern Performance: Shakespeare and Company*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

⁶ Foakes, “Henslowe’s Rose / Shakespeare’s Globe”, pp. 18-27.

discussions in this area. Important as they are, due to their incompleteness especially with regard to the key features on the stage, they have not been satisfactorily revealing about the dramatic activities on the Rose's stage, nor have they been able to help prove or disprove some of our current theories about early modern staging conventions in the playhouses.

Thus, more than twenty years after the excavation of the Rose, the practical question still remains for theatre studies: how could these archaeological findings be put to better uses? Or more precisely: instead of pushing too far in making guesses about what have not, or could not yet, be revealed about the Rose and its stage with our present knowledge, what more can we learn about this playhouse, its management and operation, etc., from the information that we do have? To make better sense of all the archaeological findings, I think, means they must not be viewed in isolation, because standing alone they only amount to a grossly incomplete picture of the playhouse. Stepping beyond this incomplete profile means reading these findings in broader contexts. The value of the archaeological information lies in the way they could be usefully connected to other materials, such as the Henslowe-Alleyn Papers and vast volumes of documents related to dramatic activities in and around London before, during, and after the Rose's existence. Despite its incompleteness, what we do know about the Rose already deserves to be more closely examined, and to be subjected to rigorous processes of cross-reference and triangulation with various other available archival materials. This should help us arrive at a better understanding of how the Rose fitted into the broader theatrical landscape of London in the late sixteenth century. The archaeological findings are hugely valuable not because they have revealed the physical characteristics of the Rose in the stasis of any particular moment, but because they have suggested a dynamic physical life of the playhouse through a crucial period in the development of early modern London theatre. In this sense, studying the physical evolution of the Rose and its connections to the broader theatrical landscape of London is perhaps of even greater value and urgency than attempting a full reconstruction of the playhouse in its every detail. And as I shall also hope to demonstrate in this chapter, a more comprehensive reading of the physical evolution of the Rose, as both a key link in the development of early modern London theatre and an integral part of the Henslowe-Alleyn theatrical enterprise, will also help us arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the relations between the form and function of the "typical" playhouse stage that we have not been able to otherwise reconstruct.

Archival Materials about the Basic Physical Layouts of the Rose

Much of what is now known about the physical characteristics of the Rose emerged from MoLAS' archaeological excavations on the site in 1989. Detailed information about the measurements, materials, and findings related to the playhouse has been published, during and following the post-excavation analysis, in works by archaeologists like Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller. Surviving archival information related to the physical aspects of the playhouse, however, has been scanty. Apart from the "deed of partnership" between Henslowe and John Cholmley drawn on 10 January 1586/7, and the two accounts in *Henslowe's Diary* about his reparation and modification of the Rose in 1592 and 1595 respectively, only three images of the playhouse could be found: in John Norden's 1593 *Speculum Britanniae*, his 1600 panorama *Civitas Londini*, and an revised version of the former map placed as an inset to the latter panorama.⁷

None of the three portrayals of the Rose in Norden's work seem to be accurate enough to provide any ground for conjectures about its physical characteristics. The 1593 *Speculum Britanniae* shows two cylindrical structures on the Bankside, labelled "The beare howse" and "The play howse" respectively. As Foakes noted, while John Norden was known for his surveying skills and therefore the map probably contains reliable evidence for the location of certain important buildings, the details it portrays cannot be trusted⁸. The structure named "The play howse" is definitely the Rose, and very likely in the right place. There is however very little indication of its actual size or physical details. The Rose was inaccurately portrayed as being without a stage cover, which by 1593 should have already been added to it. It is possible that Norden had based this map on some earlier sketches, which was not an uncommon practice. The size of the Rose was shown to be smaller than that of the "Beare howse" nearby. Yet in his 1600 inset to the panorama, the two buildings were shown to be of the same size. It is difficult to decide which portrayal was closer to reality, but it is possible that the Bear-baiting ring was indeed a large and impressive structure, for in the 1600 *Civitas Londini* panorama the Rose was shown to be of very similar height to its neighbouring

⁷ Dulwich Muniments 1, Group 16, fol. 1; see also Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 304-6; For the 1592 account, see Dulwich MSS 7, fol. 4r-5v; see also Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 9-13; For the 1595 account, see: Dulwich MSS 7, fol. 2v; see also Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 6-7; Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage*, pp. 6-7, 10-1, 12-3.

⁸ Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage*, pp. 6-7.

buildings, whereas the Bear-baiting ring stood significantly taller than other structures surrounding it. This might be an artistic exaggeration of the impression the original structure generated in the artist's mind⁹. The Bear-baiting ring seems to be portrayed consistently as a more imposing structure in all the three works here. But this is as far as one may go in trying to deduce information about the building sizes and heights. The comparative dimensions of these buildings in all the three works are certainly inaccurate, and the rules of perspective were poorly observed. The Globe in the *Civitas Londini* panorama, for instance, albeit occupying the foreground and known now to be actually bigger than the nearby Rose, appeared to be significantly smaller than the latter and was almost completely shadowed by the trees. The Swan, although occupying the ground much further back to the left, was drawn to be almost as tall and large as the bear-baiting ring. All the buildings surrounding these playhouses and the baiting-ring appeared incredibly similar in their shape and size. There was also no obvious correspondence between their positions in all the three works. From both the 1593 *Speculum Britanniae* and the 1600 inset, and from other similar contemporary maps like the Braun and Hogenberg map, the Agas map, and the William Smith map, we may see that most of these buildings were actually either aligned along the river bank or along the main road (the Borough High Street) leading down from the London Bridge.¹⁰ Thus there were actually much fewer buildings immediately surrounding any of the playhouses or the baiting-ring. It seems likely, therefore, that many of these buildings depicted in Norden's panorama were just the result of artistic imagination. It is not surprising, then, to find that in the later more reliable 1647 panorama by Wenceslaus Hollar, both the second Globe and the Hope were portrayed to be standing on much less crowded patches of grounds.¹¹ With all these inaccuracies, it seems safe to distrust most of the other physical details about the Rose as portrayed in the Norden maps. The playhouse labelled "The Stare" in the 1600 inset to the panorama, for example, being the Rose, most certainly did not have that stage roof which rose so much higher than the gallery roof.¹² In the slightly more reliable panorama, Norden had showed the

⁹ Jon Greenfield has conducted a detailed study of the issue of building size and height in Norden's maps and panorama. See Greenfield, "Reconstructing the Rose", pp. 31-2.

¹⁰ For a quick review of the respective accuracy of these maps, see the briefly discussions in Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage*, pp. xiii-xviii, 2-5.

¹¹ Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage*, p. 36.

¹² Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage*, p. 13. Foakes took this to be a clear error on Norden's part. Bowsher suggested that the "Stare" or star could be Norden's misreading of the motif of a blooming rose on flag over the playhouse's roof, see Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 74.

gabled stage roof of the Rose to be of the same height as the gallery roof. Thus even as two sections in the same work, the depiction of the Rose in the panorama and that in the inset showed clear contradictions with each other.

We are on more solid ground when we turn to the three aforementioned documents in the Henslowe-Alleyn papers. The Henslowe-Cholmley “deed of partnership” in 1587, unlike the later Fortune or Hope contracts, serves more the purpose of a catering contract for the Rose than a proper building contract, and therefore it does not reveal much about the exact physical aspects of the building besides that it had been, by January 1587, “in framinge and shortly to be ereckted and sett vppe”; and that the carpenter contracted for the work was one “John Grygges” (John Griggs).¹³ Griggs was quite closely connected with Henslowe and Alleyn. He was not only in charge of building the Rose in 1587, but was likely also concerned in the extensive modification to the playhouse in 1592. As Henslowe’s relevant account shows, some of the materials for the modification were directly bought from Griggs. Besides working on the Rose, Griggs also helped build a house for Edward Alleyn.¹⁴ Berry has noted that the close relationship between Griggs and Henslowe could also be inferred from the fact that in 1595, “Henslowe paid Griggs £5 to take Mary Henslowe, Henslowe’s niece, as an apprentice so that she might learn needlework with Griggs’s wife”.¹⁵ And in his letters to Edward Alleyn dated 5 July 1593 and 28 September 1593, Henslowe both mentioned that “John gryges & his wife hath hartily comendations vnto you” or “greges & his wife hath ther comendations vnto you”.¹⁶ Last but not least, it is quite interesting that besides his connections with Henslowe, Griggs had also been quite familiar with Burbage from very early on and seemed to know some details about the early history of the Theatre in Shoreditch. In a deposition related to Burbage’s lawsuits with John Brayne, Griggs answered that Burbage and himself “were familierlie acquainted long before that tyme/ and ever syns”, and that he believed that “the said Braynes being A man of g^t welth, and of A welthie Trade/ provided A g^t some of money/ hyred wo^r kmen/ provyded Tymber and all other nedefull thinges for the

¹³ Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 304-5.

¹⁴ Berry, ‘Griggs, John (1551/2–1598)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

¹⁵ Berry, ‘Griggs, John (1551/2–1598)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

¹⁶ Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, p. 275, 281.

building of the said Theater”.¹⁷ As I will argue later in the chapter, Griggs’s connection with Burbage was perhaps also a contributing factor to the physical design of the Rose.

The 1592 and 1595 accounts related to further modifications and reparations done to the Rose are mainly lists of materials purchased by Henslowe for the work as well as records of regular payments to the workmen involved. As I will study them in more detail in later discussions, it suffices to note here that these two accounts, standing alone, do not reveal much about the exact changes that took place in the physical layouts of the Rose during these two major repairs. These two accounts will become more revealing, however, when read together with the archaeological findings.

The 1989 excavation by MoLAS was conducted on a patch of land named Little Rose Estate between the Rose Alley and the Southwark Bridge Road.¹⁸ The excavation covered about two thirds of the original ground-plan, leaving unexplored the eastern one thirds, which is till this day still under an occupied modern building. This piece of land was “granted in 1552 to the parish of St. Mildred, Bread Street by Thomasyn Symonds ‘widowe of Rauf Symondes, late citizene and fysshemonger of London’”, and the name “Little Rose” was to “distinguish it from the messuage known as the Rose which adjoined it on the west”.¹⁹ Berry briefly summarised the history of the lease on this land before Henslowe: “On November 1574 the parish leased it to William Gryffyn, vintner, for thirty-one years. Gryffyn’s successor, Robert Withens, vintner, assigned the lease to Philip Henslowe on 24 March 1585”.²⁰ Nothing is known yet about what happened during the two years between Henslowe’s lease and the signing of his “deed of partnership” with Cholmley in January 1587, but it is clear that by October 1587 the Rose had been finished and operating. This is known from the order from the Privy Council to the Surrey justices dated 29 October 1587, which mentioned playing activities “within the liberty of the Clink and in the parish of St Saviour’s in Southwark”.²¹ As the Rose was the only playhouse in the Clink liberty, the performances must have taken place there; and by 12 April 1588, not surprisingly, the

¹⁷ Wallace, *The First London Theatre*, pp. 134-5.

¹⁸ See the map in Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 20.

¹⁹ Roberts and Godfrey, ed., “The Bankside Playhouses and Bear Gardens”, pp. 66-77.

²⁰ Berry, “The Rose”, in *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 419, 423. See also Blatherwick and Pickard, “The Little Rose Estate: New Insights into the Rose Theatre, Part 1”, in *London Archaeologist*, p. 238.

²¹ PRO, PC2/14, p. 477, transcribed in Glynne Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, p. 426.

order from the sewer commission was referring to the Rose as “the new playhouse”.²² It is possible, however, that the Rose had been in business before 7 May 1587. Berry noted that on that date a letter regarding the restraining of plays. As the letter was addressed to the Surrey justices, the Lord Mayor and the Master of the Rolls, it might have had the Rose in its scope, too. Berry pointed out that the 29 October letter referred to “the order by their lordships set down” for restraining playing on Sundays, and thus the 7 May letter might not be related to it. But it is equally possible that the 29 October letter was just referring generally to the various past orders forbidding playing on the Sabbath day. Besides, as Bowsher noted, most playhouse constructions were completed in about six months.²³ There is a chance therefore that the Rose, which had been under construction by January 1587, were finished some time before May.

One of the most important discoveries from the excavation by MoLAS was the two different ground foundations, indicating major modifications to the playhouse after its initial construction. The degree of structural alteration as indicated by the ground foundations has since provided material evidence for the apparently extensive architectural work in 1592, recorded in Henslowe’s account, which amounted to over one hundred pounds. In many ways the Rose before the 1592 modification, and the one after that, deserve to be studied separately, since many of the alterations in its form reflect changing visions about its function. Scholars have been referring to these two stages, or phases, of the Rose in different terms, quite often using phrases like “pre-1592” and “post-1592” for designation. Bowsher has been consistently using the terms “Phase I” and “Phase II” in his works. These works have been in the past twenty years one of the most thorough and authoritative investigations on the physical characteristics of the playhouse. For this reason, and for clarity, in my subsequent discussions I shall follow Bowsher’s way of designation and refer to the two periods of Rose’s existence as “Phase I” and “Phase II”—corresponding respectively to the period 1587-1592, and the period 1592-1606.

Basic Physical Layout of the Rose Phase I

It has been recognised now that the Phase I Rose was originally built in 1587 as an “entirely regular”, fourteen-sided polygon, with its southernmost bay parallel to

²² LMA, SKCS18/fo. 148v, transcribed Glynne Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, p. 426.

²³ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland: Archaeology, History and Drama*, p. 166.

Maiden Lane from which direct access was gained.²⁴ Each of the fourteen bays were of roughly the same size and shape, with the outer wall measuring an average of 16 feet 6 inches apart—“virtually the Tudor measurement of a rod”²⁵—and the inner frontage measuring an average of 10 feet 6 inches wide.²⁶ The fourteen bays are about 12 feet 6 inches deep, thus encircling an area with an overall diameter of about 72 feet 6 inches, and leaving an inner yard area of about 46 feet 6 inches in diameter.²⁷

The surface of the yard was a “mortar screed”, which remained in its original place. Interesting features identified within the yard are indications of the *ingressus* at roughly the same place as depicted in De Witt’s sketch of the Swan, as well as the foundations of two separate stages to the north, corresponding to Phase I and Phase II respectively. The Phase I stage was constructed into a slightly irregular trapezoid shape thrusting from the inner frontage of the five northernmost bays into the yard, with its front edge meeting the lowest level of the raked yard. Because excavations in 1989 could not uncover the eastern one thirds of the site, the eastern edge of the stage area has not been fully revealed, and a certain degree of estimation has to be allowed in its measurements. From north to south it was about 16 feet 6 inches deep, and around 36 feet 6 inches across (from west to east) at its widest. From there it tapered down to about 26 feet 10 inches wide at its straight front edge, which was connected at both ends to shorter wings of about 10 feet each in length. This configuration resulted in an estimated stage area of 499.45 square feet.²⁸ Within this area, no traces of any permanent stage posts could be found, which suggests that the Phase I stage of the Rose was either without a stage cover, or at best sheltered by some cantilevered cover perhaps similar to the one stipulated in the Hope contract. Despite this, the stage, according to Bowsher, “was clearly a permanent feature”, resting on “a brick footing” and “a lacing of stout timbers” at its ends.²⁹ The rear of the stage was “the same inner wall whose angles mirrored the external wall of the frame”, creating a *scenae frons* of five planes,

²⁴ Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, p. 37.

²⁵ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland: Archaeology, History and Drama*, p. 70.

²⁶ See the ground plan drawn by C. Walter Hodges in Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 73.

²⁷ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 73.

²⁸ Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, p. 40; Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, p. 40; Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 73.

²⁹ Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, p. 40.

which might suggest that “there would have been at least two doors here, perhaps a larger third one in the centre”.³⁰

The area below the stage was covered by a mortar surface, “creating an understage area that could have been used for storage or for a multitude of other purposes”.³¹ This discovery certainly invites associations with possible staging of scenes using this area. But this cannot be known for sure yet. The height of the Phase I stage has been calculated, in relation to the hypothetical height of the first gallery floor, to be about 1.70m (or about 5 feet 6 inches) from the yard surface it bordered, using measurements obtained from the Fortune and Hope contracts.³² An understage area of such a height might indeed be of some value to staging. If this was the case, then this area was probably accessible both from above through a trapdoor in the stage board, and through some other entrances further back in the tiring-house as well. On the other hand, however, since the overall sizes of the Fortune and the Hope were both larger than the Rose, the specifications in their contracts might not be really suitable for reconstructing the gallery height of the Rose. For its smaller size and for the sake of sightline, it is possible that the Rose’s gallery was actually lower than that in the Fortune and the Hope. How much difference this would have made can only be assessed through further architectural analysis. And if the stage was considerably lower than what Bowsher has calculated, then it is perhaps more sensible to accept the suggestion about the understage area was used as an extra storage space. The mortar surface might have served to block moisture from the ground below the stage for the protection of the timber boards. Last but not least, it is worth noting that there is actually very little evidence from extant play texts with possible association to the Phase I Rose to suggest that an understage area was really needed. Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* is the only one we know that might have found the understage space useful, especially considering the existence of a stage property named the “Hell mought” believed to be associated with this play.³³ While this could well have been the case, one should also be reminded that “hell mouth” was not likely a novelty stage property by the time of *Doctor Faustus*, as it had certainly been frequently featured on platform stages since mediaeval times, and

³⁰ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, p. 73.

³¹ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 73.

³² Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, pp. 41-2.

³³ Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, p. 319.

were usually placed on the side of the stage instead of over any trapdoor mechanism.³⁴ Thus we must acknowledge the possibility that, instead of over a trapdoor, the “Hell mought” in *Doctor Faustus* was placed over one of the usual stage doors. Besides, the fact that the play had been performed in the Bel Savage inn, where the availability of understage performance space was doubtful, also suggests that the play itself does not suffice as reliable evidence for the need for such an understage space in staging. Almost no other item recorded in the stage properties list seem to suggest they could be used in any connection with a trapdoor over an understage area.

One of the most striking discoveries about Phase I Rose has been that the yard was not level but raked, sloping down from an average of 1.08m OD (Ordnance Datum) on the southern end towards the northern end where it was about 0.60m OD—within a distance of roughly 30 feet.³⁵ The exact causes and implications of this raked yard are still open to debate, most notably between Jon Greenfield, Andrew Gurr, and Bowsher. Greenfield and Gurr, in “The Rose Theatre, London”, proposed that “the first building was positioned to exploit a natural hollow in the ground”, speculating about the possibility that “the first building did not actually have a stage” and that the permanent stage in Phase I was introduced at a later time between 1587 and 1592. This argument was used to support their hypothesis that the Rose possibly started as a multi-purpose structure for both playing and animal baiting.³⁶ In the article “Reconstructing the Rose”, Greenfield further presented a contour model of the Rose site “based on known features from 1587” showing the playhouse floor plan as covering a depression in the ground, in order to support the idea that the Rose was at first an adaptation to the existing geological feature of the site.³⁷ On the other hand, however, Bowsher has pointed out the lack of archaeological evidence for the notion that “the yard was built around a ‘natural hollow’ or ‘natural depression’”, because the ground at the lowest levels “[were] not necessarily natural strata or original surfaces”.³⁸ And arguing against the multi-purpose arena proposition, Bowsher has also turned to archival materials such as the

³⁴ As shown in Figure 13 in: Carl H. Klaus, Miriam Gilbert, and Bradford S. Field, Jr., *Stages of Drama: Classical to Contemporary Masterpieces of Theater*, 2nd edition, 1991.

³⁵ Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, p. 41.

³⁶ Greenfield and Gurr, “The Rose Theatre, London: the state of knowledge and what we still need to know”, p. 335. See also Gurr, “Bears and Players: Philip Henslowe’s Double Acts”, pp. 330-40.

³⁷ Greenfield, “Reconstructing the Rose”, p. 26.

³⁸ Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, p. 41.

Henslowe-Cholmley “Deed of Partnership” and the several Sewer Commission orders, all of which refer to the Rose as a “playhouse”.³⁹

Basic Physical Layouts of the Rose Phase II

By early 1592, the Rose had definitely become a playhouse. The later ground foundation discovered during MoLAS’ excavation has been generally accepted as being connected to Henslowe’s records of the extensive structural alteration to the playhouse some time before February 1592. The accounts of “breacking vp & palyngge”, numerous purchases of loads of “sande” and “bryckes”⁴⁰—mainly for laying building foundations and rarely used in constructions of superstructures—constitute the most compelling evidence about the degree of the structural remodelling of the original building. Of the original fourteen bays, six of them from the northern section of the building were taken down and rebuilt according to the new ground plan, resulting in a now irregular polygon opening up and bulging towards the north—the stage and tiring-house area—and leaving the southern bays and main entrance unchanged.⁴¹ While the southern bays remained similar in shape and size, the northern bays now varied considerably in these two aspects while maintaining a similar depth (the distance between the outer wall and the inner frontage). From Henslowe’s accounts it is also known that a “penthowsse shed” were added to the tiring-house, although it seems that no physical remains of this structure was found during the 1989 excavation.⁴²

The yard in Phase II was a remarkable improvement from that in Phase I. It was “relaid with a homogenous conglomerate of silt, ash and clinker” as well as “a high proportion of hazelnut shells”, resulting in a “much more durable, and distinctly more level” floor than the raked yard of Phase I.⁴³ With the northward expansion of the entire structure, the original stage had to be demolished and a new one built 6 feet 6 inches to its north. According to Bowsher, this new stage, although still with a tapered front and “not much larger in area than the first”, “was much more rectangular in shape and

³⁹ In his argument against Greenfield’s view that the phrase “or otherwysse howsoever” in the “deed of partnership” might suggest activities like animal-baiting, Bowsher has noted that the phrase is just “a common legal term found in many contracts intended to embrace any ambiguity”. See Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, p. 45.

⁴⁰ Dulwich MSS 7, fol. 4r-5v; see also Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 9-13.

⁴¹ See the ground-plan drawn by C. Walter Hodges in Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 79. See also Bowsher, “The Rose and its Stages”, p. 39; and Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, p. 76.

⁴² Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, p. 13.

⁴³ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, p. 77.

created a greater ‘thrust’ into the yard”. The measurements given in Hodges’ ground-plan show this stage to be about 19 feet 9 inches deep and 41 feet 6 inches across at its widest.⁴⁴ The *scenae frons* of the new stage, again, was formed by the inner frontage of the northernmost bays. Its three planes, as Bowsher suggested, might indicate there were “three corresponding openings onto the stage”.⁴⁵

Besides the remodelling of the stage, another remarkable change in Phase II was the addition of two posts to the new stage. Remains of their bases were found close to the two front corners of the stage. These were permanent structures rising up from below the stage, and have now been widely accepted as direct evidence of a stage cover over the Phase II stage. Bowsher also notes that the “new back wall behind the stage had much heavier foundations than the first”, an indication that “greater strength [was] needed in this area”.⁴⁶ The existence of this stage cover—or “heavens”—is further confirmed by Henslowe’s account in 1595 which reads: “carpenters worke & mackinge the/ throne In the heuenes”.⁴⁷ Judging from the fragments found on the site, it is likely that the cover was made of wooden shingle tiles, although the gallery roof was certainly thatched.⁴⁸

From Henslowe’s records in 1592 it seems that the extensive modifications done on the Rose involved not only structural but also cosmetic works, as suggested by the payments for “payntinge my stage” as well as one issued to “the paynters”.⁴⁹ On the whole, despite having both archaeological and archival information about the modification in 1592, the exact cost and time span for it cannot be known for sure. Work had certainly started some time before 6 February 1592—which was recorded as a payment day of wages—and finished somewhere around 19 February 1592; and the entire undertaking must have amounted to over 100 pounds. This costly modification was followed in Lent 1595 by another expensive work done on the Rose. This time, however, it was mostly for reparations and (re-)painting; and there seemed to be little structural alteration to the Phase II Rose already constructed. The one remarkable addition to the playhouse from this period, as mentioned earlier, was the “throne in the

⁴⁴ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre; An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 79.

⁴⁵ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, p. 77.

⁴⁶ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, p. 77.

⁴⁷ Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, p. 7.

⁴⁸ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, p. 169.

⁴⁹ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, pp. 11, 13.

heuenes” which, most likely, was made together with a set of descent/ascent mechanism to operate it.

Understanding the Physical Evolution of the Rose

I have accounted in some detail for the main physical layout and characteristics of both Rose Phase I and Phase II, and the great amount of modification that took place between them. Ever since its discovery by MoLAS’ excavation, this unique phenomenon about the Rose, although recorded in solid physical evidence and documented in corresponding archival materials, has been subjected to various interpretations—quite often mutually exclusive. Central to these debates is the question: What was the rationale, on the part of Henslowe, behind such an extensive remodelling of the Rose? Related to this question, of course, is the issue of how and to what degree these physical changes should be interpreted. In order to better understand the significance of the physical evolution of the Rose, I propose to study its two phases separately and in the context of both the development of late sixteenth century London theatre, and Henslowe and Alleyn’s business venture as a whole.

The Rose’s existence covered a crucial period of development in London’s theatrical landscape in the late sixteenth century, and also constituted a crucial link in the evolution of the architectural characteristics of purpose-built playhouses of the time. At the same time, for its owner and manager Philip Henslowe, the Rose enterprise was the very first step in his business, social, and political career as a whole. The remarkable changes in the physical design and functions of the playhouse therefore deserve to be carefully studied because the rationale that lay behind them reflected not only important developments in London’s theatre world, but also significant changes in the business vision and operational strategy of its owners. These two immediate contexts of the Rose’s existence were by no means mutually independent of each other but were in fact frequently overlapping and exerting mutual impacts.

It is my contention that the Rose Phase I and Phase II should be viewed as two distinctly different *types* of playhouses. The notion that the Rose’s existence coincided with a transitional period in the development of late sixteenth century London theatre has been generally accepted. But in terms of the classification of the Rose as a playhouse type, scholars differ in their views. Andrew Gurr, for instance, has used the terms “Early Amphitheatre Design” and “Later Amphitheatre Design” to differentiate earlier playhouses such as the Theatre, the Curtain, the Rose, and the Swan, from later

ones such as the Globe, the Fortune, and the Hope.⁵⁰ Gurr has drawn the dividing line conveniently on the turn of the century, for which he has not offered sufficient explanation. To this sweeping way of grouping Jon Greenfield has added an intermediate “high” form, differentiating between the “early”, “high” and “late” playhouse forms. The “high” form, according to Greenfield, represents “a kind of perfection before over-developing”, while the “late” form is viewed as “exuberant and highly decorated, a little overblown”. The Rose, according to this view, spanned over both the “early” and the “high” periods, with Phase I recognised as “early” and Phase II, “high”.⁵¹ Neither Gurr’s sweeping generalisation nor Greenfield’s aesthetically-oriented system of classification, however, seem to have sufficiently captured the defining characteristics of the Rose’s two phases. To understand the fundamental differences between their physical layouts, a function-orientated system of classification needs to be established. I will now proceed to examine them separately and argue that: Henslowe meant Phase I and Phase II to function differently, with Phase I, like its predecessors, designed to serve as an alternative inn-yard or inn-yard-like, *rentable playhouse*, whereas Phase II, like many of its followers, a *repertory playhouse*. Thus Rose Phase I and Phase II should be viewed as essentially different types of playhouses because their physical layouts reflected fundamentally different visions about their designed functions.

Rose Phase I: The Rentable Playhouse

The influences of inn-yards on the design of the early playhouses are frequently shadowed by assumptions based on more ostentatious similarities between the playhouses and other ring-shaped structures. Before examining the inn-yard-playhouse connections, it serves the purpose to first clear up some related problematic assumptions and confusion of terms. The architectural origin of the purpose-built playhouses is a topic still being discussed, and so far the three major candidates proposed have been the amphitheaters of antiquity, the Renaissance European (especially Italian) theatres, and the animal-baiting rings.⁵² These arguments, however, seem largely to have hinged upon the immediate physical resemblances between the public playhouses and those

⁵⁰ Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, 3rd edition, pp. 121-54.

⁵¹ Greenfield, “Reconstructing the Rose”, p. 25.

⁵² Some other candidates have also been proposed. Richard Hosley, for instance, argued that earlier European traditions such as the Calais banqueting house of 1520 might have an influence on the design of the Theatre. See Hosley, “The Theatre and the Tradition of Playhouse Design”, pp. 48-79.

other circular structures. While acknowledging similarities between the appearances of these buildings, a more thorough investigation should be more concerned with comparing the different form-function relations in these different buildings. Admittedly, structures like the ancient Roman Coliseum, the Calais banqueting house of 1520 (proposed by Richard Hosley), the Teatro Olimpico of the 1580s, or the generations of bull- and bear-baiting rings might well have influenced the circular shape of early playhouses like the Theatre and the Curtain; but the amount of attention given to their surface similarities have obscured essential differences between their functions, their social status, and their intended audience. In many of these aspects, I believe, the early purpose-built playhouses were showing greater influence from their native inn-yards both in and about the City; and the Rose Phase I was a continuation of such an influence.

Given that very few pre-1592 records relating to actual activities in the Rose Phase I have survived, it is understandable that arguments for its animal-baiting function like those from Gurr and Greenfield were put forward.⁵³ The archaeological discoveries and the mapping out of its physical features have not helped much to distinguish it from the baiting rings. If anything, the perfectly regular polygonal ground foundation of Phase I seems actually to invite, instead of discourage, associations of it with the similarly shaped baiting rings. And the image of two circular structures standing side by side on the Bankside depicted in several antiquarian maps and panoramas has certainly been a familiar one—although it must be remembered that in some cases it was two baiting-rings standing together while, in others, just one baiting ring and a playhouse.⁵⁴ Yet the image seems familiar enough to generate some unwarranted associations between the two types of structures. And indeed there has been no evidence for this confusion more compelling than the error in Wenceslaus Hollar's 1647 "Long View", which wrongly assigned the label "Beere bayting" to the second Globe.

⁵³ Besides one Privy Council letter to the Surrey justices dated 29 October 1587, which made direct reference to dramatic activities in the Clink liberty and St. Saviour's parish—hence highly likely in the Rose, the only other surviving document between 1587 and 1592 about playing in Surrey region was one dated 25 July 1591, in which the Privy Council required both the justices of Surrey and Middlesex to restrain playing on Sundays and Thursdays. See PRO, PC2/14, p. 447; PRO, PC2/18, p. 440; transcribed in *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, pp. 88-9. Gurr has generally viewed early playhouses as descends from baiting-rings, as he also noted: "For the first generation of playhouses, based on baiting-houses, the information is sparse". See Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, 3rd edition, p. 121.

⁵⁴ See Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642*, pp. 2-19.

At the same time, what has often caused the problematic association of purpose-built playhouses with the theatres of antiquity or those from the Renaissance European continent might be the somewhat too liberal application of the term “amphitheatre” to early modern playhouses—by both contemporary travellers and our modern scholars alike. De Witt, for example, visiting London in 1596, noted the “four amphitheatres in London of notable beauty” and the Swan in particular, whose “form resembles that of a Roman work”.⁵⁵ In current theatre studies, the word “amphitheatre” has also been used largely interchangeably with playhouses. A quick check on the word “amphitheatre” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* shows this to be highly problematic. The *OED* definition on “amphitheatre” reads: “Hence (as the theatres of the ancients were semicircles or half-ovals): An oval or *circular* building, with seats rising behind and above each other, around a *central* open space or arena”. [Italics mine]⁵⁶ In comparison, the *OED* defines “theatre” as:

a. Ancient Greek Hist. and Roman Hist. A place constructed in the open air, for viewing dramatic plays or other spectacles: It had the form of *a segment of a circle*; the auditorium was usually excavated from a hill-side, the seats rising in tiers above and behind one another; the orchestra, occupied by the chorus, separated the stage from the auditorium. [Italics mine]⁵⁷

The word “amphitheatre” literally means a “double-theatre”. The crucial difference is the placement of the performance area in relation to the auditorium. In the “theatre”, the performance area is usually by the side, with the auditorium embracing it from usually three sides and forming a segment of a circle or a semi-circle; whereas the proper “amphitheatre”, being two “theatres” combined, the performance area is in the centre of the circular structure, encircled by the auditorium. This is a crucial difference, and one much obscured by what seems to be a later merging of the meanings of these two words. By definition, playing venues like the ancient Greek theatres and the Teatro

⁵⁵ Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, 3rd edition, p. 132.

⁵⁶ “Amphitheatre”, *OED*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6698?redirectedFrom=amphitheatre>>

⁵⁷ “Theatre”, *OED*, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/200227?>>.

Olimpico are appropriately called “theatres”,⁵⁸ and the Roman Coliseum or perhaps the baiting-rings, should be more properly termed “amphitheatres”.

We should also observe the differences between the functions of these two groups of structures, as well as the similarities between structures within each group. It is not surprising that once “theatre” and “amphitheatre” are distinguished, places more known for dramatic performances seem to fall into the former group, while venues more famous for activities like animal-baiting, the latter group. Without diving too deep into the details, it serves the purpose to just highlight their most crucial functional difference here: in the “theatres”, placing the stage at one side of the structure allows a “hidden space” (or backstage) to set up and enables the performers to impose a limit to—and control over—what the audience can and cannot see. In the “amphitheatre”, however, there is no hidden space since the performance area is fully surrounded by audience. For dramatic performance, the need for a backstage—be it in the form of a temporary curtained booth or a permanent tiring-house—has always been crucial because, as studies by Fitzpatrick has shown, the narrative potential of both stage presence and non-presence are explored. Both the stage itself and the backstage, therefore, are constantly inscribed and re-inscribed with meaning.⁵⁹ Of course there are also the practical needs: for actors to change costumes in heavily doubled scenes, and for the storing of stage properties—temporarily or not.⁶⁰ For animal baiting, on the contrary, the requirements on the performance area are much simpler, and the stress has always been on producing a heightened sense of intensity through the constant presence of the subjects—confined within a limited area, exposed all the time under the gaze of the spectators, and displaying all the exciting (and sometimes gory) details. The central performance space in the amphitheatre thus well suits this purpose.⁶¹

⁵⁸ It must be noted that the ancient Greek theatres were in the open air whereas the Teatro Olimpico was an indoor theatre, and the two might well have entirely different target audience groups in mind. The connection between the Italian Renaissance theatres and that of later English theatres like those designed by Inigo Jonese, however, is not the focus of this study and thus will not be covered by the discussion here.

⁵⁹ Fitzpatrick, *Playwright, Space and Place in Early Modern Performance: Shakespeare and Company*, pp. 63-83.

⁶⁰ This seems also true even in the mediaeval playing-in-the-round or *locus-platea* performance styles, which bore more resemblance in form to the amphitheatres, although in these cases the “backstage” was often removed from the performance parameter and its narrative potential were not explored. For a detailed study of the tradition of doubling in early modern drama, see Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1962.

⁶¹ It is interesting to note that the modern boxing arenas are constructed to be essentially the same.

Seen in this light, the early playhouses certainly bear more structural and functional resemblance to the “theatres”, and were operating in fundamentally different ways from the “amphitheaters”. In the same way, it seems reasonable to remain highly sceptical about the claimed architectural connections between the early playhouses and the animal baiting rings. The fact that the stage area in these purpose-built playhouses were all placed at one end of the yard—as opposed to being placed in the centre—should be understood as the defining characteristic which separate them from the animal-baiting arenas. In the playhouses, with the stage set up at one side and the tiring-house taking up the section of the gallery behind it, the auditorium area (the yard and the rest of the gallery) could actually only form a segment of a circle. In the baiting-rings, however, the whole central ground was inaccessible, and the auditorium area formed a complete circle around it.⁶² The later Boar’s Head playhouse, as we know, displayed an interesting anomaly upon its first conversion in 1598 with a stage occupying most of the central yard and a tiring-house in its western gallery overlooking the stage.⁶³ And it was swiftly remodelled in the next year to be, as it was, less like an amphitheatre but more like a theatre. The Hope, again, designed as a multi-purpose arena for both playing and animal baiting, had to have a temporary stage, because the demands by the two types of activities on the physical conditions of the arena, as well as their functional assignments to the various sections of the structure, were so distinctly different.

My discussion so far has been primarily concerned with the function, not the immediate appearance, of the playhouses, for it is their intended usage imprinted and reflected in their physical design that we should interpret. And such forms, carrying different intended functions, might well coincide from time to time. T. F. Ordish has noted, commenting on the circular form of the early Bull-baiting ring near the High Street of Southwark which predated the playhouses, “[t]he influence of such structures in determining the round shape of the earliest playhouses was considerable, but secondary; the traditional ‘ring’ entered into the dramatic evolution in connection with other forms of ‘play’ more nearly allied to the drama”.⁶⁴ Indeed, it is possible to trace

⁶² For a study of other notable structural difference between the playhouse and the baiting ring, see Brownstein, “Why Didn’t Burbage Lease the Beargarden? A Conjecture in Comparative Architecture”, pp. 81-96.

⁶³ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, pp. 86-9; For a more detailed account, see Berry, *The Boar’s Head Playhouse*, Cranbury, NJ: Associated UP, 1986.

⁶⁴ Ordish, *Early London Theatres: In the Fields*, p. 115.

the influences on the physical layout of the early purpose-built playhouses like the Theatre, the Curtain or the Rose Phase I through intermediate stages like Renaissance or mediaeval European dramatic traditions all the way back to ancient Graeco-Roman theatres. The degree of influence from all these sources, however, is difficult to assess either individually or comparatively. On the other hand, one should perhaps also look closer in time and space at the contemporary native theatrical environment of these early playhouses for much more immediate and significant influences. And this refocuses our attention onto other playing venues existing alongside these early purpose-built playing spaces. Of these, the tradition of playing in the City's inns and inn-yards seemed to have exerted the most significant functional and architectural influence on the early playhouses.

The Rose Phase I, I believe, was built with the basic inn-yard playing space settings in mind, and was intended by Henslowe to operate in similar ways. However, such an idea was certainly not Henslowe's invention, but was probably first conceived at least a decade earlier by the playhouse owners in the mid-1570s. Therefore I will first seek to trace the significant architectural and functional influences on the Rose Phase I by its predecessors—the Theatre and the Curtain in particular; and then examine the multiple connections between these early purpose-built playing venues in the City liberties and the common inn-yard playing spaces in the City.

I have been referring to the Theatre, the Curtain, and the Rose Phase I frequently in collective terms. This is because I believe they were essentially the same type of structure, despite the Rose Phase I being a decade apart from the other two. Archaeological findings in these three sites have pointed to a very similar conclusion. I have already presented in some detail the physical layout and measurements of the Rose Phase I. Excavations on the Theatre and Curtain sites have been far less thorough, but are enough to suggest significant similarities between the three playhouses. In the case of the Theatre, although the scale of the excavation was much smaller than that on the Rose, and the original ground foundation cannot be fully revealed, from the angles of its wall foundations it has been calculated that the playhouse was a polygon of fourteen sides with an external diameter (between opposite outer walls) of about 72 feet.⁶⁵ Thus both the shape and size of the Theatre and Rose Phase I were almost exactly the same. The excavation on the Curtain site has been of an even smaller scale so far

⁶⁵ Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 58.

due to modern intrusion. Fascinatingly, the latest reports from the Curtain excavation currently suggest that this playhouse could be rectangular in shape. If confirmed, this discovery provides further challenge to the association of the design of early purpose-built playhouses with the architectural influence of animal baiting rings or contemporary European theatres.

In all the three playhouses mentioned above, traces of the *ingressus* have been found. As for the stage, due to the incompleteness of the Theatre and Curtain excavations, no stage foundations have been identified yet. In the case of the Theatre, the entrance to the yard has been located as being on the east side, and foundations for an *ingressus* located on the north side, it is very likely that the stage was placed in the western quarter of the polygonal structure.⁶⁶ Very little is known about the orientation of the entrance or the stage in the Curtain. But it has been conjectured that the entrance is most likely from the west, which means that the stage was likely positioned on the east. This conjecture, according to Bowsher, may be supported by the orientation of the entrance to the Curtain Close shown on Chassereau's map of 1745.⁶⁷ In fact more evidence could be found in the only known image of the Curtain, identified in the Abram Booth engraving from about 1579-9 titled *The View of the Cittye of London from the North towards the Sowth*, which did seem to show the entrance to the playhouse as from the west.⁶⁸ It should not be mistaken for facing the north, however, because this section of the engraving was only the far eastern part of a much longer work; and the artist was certainly standing in the north-west direction of the playhouse, at a considerable distance. An entrance facing the west, therefore, was very likely to be visible in this position.

The shape of the stage in the Theatre and the Curtain is not known. Archaeological finding about them, if indeed there is any, have not been published yet. It is also unclear whether or not the stages of the Theatre and the Curtain were fitted with any type of stage cover when they were first built. But it is not unreasonable to suggest they were probably without any permanent stage cover. Indeed the origin of this particular feature seems hard to account for. It was certainly an inconceivable idea for earlier travelling companies who, without regular access to any permanent stage,

⁶⁶ Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 59.

⁶⁷ Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 67.

⁶⁸ For the section of the engraving showing the Curtain, see Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642*, pp. 8-9.

performed frequently in indoor spaces such as town halls, guild halls, or wealthy merchants' private houses. And even for their outdoor performances on temporary tressel stages, a stage cover with supporting posts was not likely to be available. As for the Red Lion and the playhouse in Newington Butts—both predating the Theatre—research in related documents have found no sign of its existence either.⁶⁹ Regarding the Theatre, Glynne Wickham, upon surveying almost all the surviving documents relating to it presented by Wallace, as well as forty-five extant plays identified to have been written for public performance between 1576 and 1592, reported that no archival documents about the playhouse seemed to supply any reference to features like “a shadow or heavens or ... stage pillars supporting them”. Neither was there any stage direction or dialogue that could be understood as calling for any of these constructs or machinery before the building of the Rose began in 1587.⁷⁰ Actually, the fact that the Rose Phase I was discovered to be without the permanent stage cover might well serve as a hint that such a feature was not thought needed at least as late as 1587. Whether or not there was any cantilevered cover supported by the gallery frame itself is another matter, and is ultimately hard to decide with our present state of knowledge. And finally, it is interesting to note that, in early 1592, just about the time when Henslowe was having the Rose Phase I modified, James Burbage was also paying substantially for works done on the Theatre. By 25 February 1592, as one carpenter called Brayne Ellam testified, Burbage had “bestowed in further building & Reparacions of the Theater ... w^t in this vj or vij weekes passed/ to the value of xxx or xlⁱⁱ as this depo^t dothe estymate the same/”.⁷¹ As Wickham has hinted, this “further building” might actually be a permanent stage cover.⁷² In any case, it seems not only entirely possible but in fact likely that this particular feature was not in the Theatre when it was first built in 1576—and perhaps not in the Curtain either. It was perhaps for these reasons as well as all

⁶⁹ The lawsuits related to the Red Lion made no mention of any such feature. But the Red Lion was probably built with some different purposes in mind, and its nature as a public playhouse is still debatable. The present discussion will not concern this. As for the Playhouse in Newington Butts, it is not clear whether it was an open-air playhouse or an indoor playhouse. The sewer commission orders related to it offered no hints, and the place is usually just named “playhouse”. The only vague hint that it might have been an indoor playhouse is in Peter Honingborne's reply to Jerome Savage's complaint on 10 May 1577, in which Honingborne referred to the property as “one messuage, or house”. See PRO, Req.2/266/8. See also Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, p. 324.

⁷⁰ Wickham, ““Heavens, Machinery, and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses”, pp. 5-6, 14-5.

⁷¹ Wallace, *The First London Theatre*, p. 67.

⁷² Wickham, ““Heavens, Machinery, and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses”, p. 3.

these uncertainties that Bowsher made only a passing reference to certain obscure “hint” that “the stage at the Theatre may have been the same shape as that at the Rose in 1587”; and that “we assume that the Curtain had a similar one”. In his imaginary reconstruction of the Theatre’s interior, the stage has also been shown to be not only without a cover but also, interestingly, a trapezoid.⁷³

With a more concrete sense of these early permanent stages, it is now easier to see that their general featurelessness, and the simplicity of the manner in which they were set up at one end of a yard embraced by galleries, bear great resemblance to the settings in the inn-yards. Of course the inns differed considerably in size, shape, and the number of yards they enclosed, but whenever activities like stage playing or fencing were held in their yards, a basic pattern in the setup—almost identical to that in the playhouse—was always discernible. My survey of verbal and pictorial accounts of famous inns in the sixteenth century London brings to light more details of these structural similarities. Among the numerous illustrations in William Rendle’s comprehensive account of famous old inns in Southwark, there was a sketch of the central staircase to the galleries of the George Inn, a famous inn on Southwark’s Borough High Street destroyed by the great fire in 1666 but soon rebuilt “according to its old plan”.⁷⁴ The central staircase in this sketch opened onto the yard in the middle section of the gallery on that side. Its purpose was clearly that of allowing access to the galleries directly from the yard. In terms of its basic structure, it actually looks quite similar to a mysterious structure drawn on the back of Henslowe’s letter to Alleyn dated 28 September 1593, which some scholars have interpreted as an *ingressus*.⁷⁵ I will not discuss this latter strange drawing here, and there is certainly questionable direct connection between the two structures. But if builders of the early playhouses were looking for ways to separate the different types of paying audience by a two-step paying system, the physical setting in the inn-yard with the central staircase would certainly have appeared a usable ready solution. Other more general structural similarities may

⁷³ Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, pp.165, 170-1.

⁷⁴ Rendle, *The Inns of Old Southwark: And their Associations*, p. 164; Walford, “Southwark: Famous Inns” in *Old and New London: Volume 6*, (1878), pp. 76-89; See also Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, p. 230.

⁷⁵ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 14; See also Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, p. 281; Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642*, pp. 46-7.

also be clearly sensed by comparing the known physical layout of the early playhouses and sketches of the yards in various inns.⁷⁶

The inn-yard-playhouse connections were certainly more than just physical. Their almost identical basic setups reflected very similar intended functions and ways of operation, of which the admission system famously described by William Lambarde was just one of many examples.⁷⁷ To a great extent, the early playhouses could be understood as largely built with the inn-yard model in mind. More importantly, they were intended to function as alternative inn-yard-like playing venues. Early playhouse owners in the 1570s, by building their playhouses in the City liberties and suburbs, were virtually transplanting the familiar inn-yard playing space from within the City onto its surrounding areas. And by the time Henslowe conceived the Rose project, the unmistakable structural similarity between this playhouse and its predecessors a decade ago, seems to be clear indication of a strong continuing playing tradition. I will now proceed to trace the impact of this tradition of playing in inn-yards on the playhouse design by examining the social and commercial factors that gave birth to the several early playhouses—the Red Lion, and the Theatre in particular—from whom the Rose Phase I ultimately descended.

Recent studies have been increasingly aware of the importance of inn-yards as not only a major playing venue before the inception of early purpose-built playhouses. As Lawrence Manley has noted that inn-yards continued to form “a substantial part of the city’s theatrical infrastructure” besides the playhouses.⁷⁸ Moreover, evidence seems to suggest that inns were often the preferred playing venue over the playhouses. By the time the Theatre was built, the inns, taverns, and hotels in the City had been important playing venues for about twenty years. For most of this time playing companies had been paying property holders such as London’s innkeepers and tavern owners to rent spaces from them and play for a paying public. Such an “independent and market-oriented” mode of “commercial playing”, as David Kathman suggests, dated back to

⁷⁶ For examples, see Rendle, *The Inns of Old Southwark*, pp. 145-9.

⁷⁷ The reliability of Lambarde’s account has sometimes been questioned on the basis that nothing was changed besides the addition of the “Theatre” in the 1596 edition, which might be interpreted as a sign that the Theatre in fact had little to do with the fee-charging system described. But this is as hard to disprove as it is hard to prove, as archaeological excavations have identified the *ingressus* in the Theatre while no traces of any external stair turrets like those in the later Swan, Globe, and Fortune were found either in excavations or archival research. Unlike in the Curtain, which was probably later modified in order to implement the newer fee-charging system, the gatherers at the Theatre should have been working in essentially the same way throughout its entire theatrical life.

⁷⁸ Manley, “Why Did London inns Function as Theaters?” pp. 181-197.

the late 1530s; by which time players had been renting out livery company halls for their performances.⁷⁹ By the 1560s, as Wickham has noted, documents issued by the City during this time show that “actors’ favourite (and most profitable) performance spaces were located in the largest hotels, taverns and restaurants, and in the most spacious private houses of wealthy merchants in central London”.⁸⁰ While this shows that certain indoor playing spaces were also favoured by players, the most frequently used venue were likely to be the inn-yards. As Numerous orders against playing activities issued by the Lord Mayor or Court of Aldermen in this period directly mentioned “Tavern, Inn, Victualling house” above all other places as venues of plays and enterludes; and interestingly the primary measure for ensuring the enforcement of these orders were, as it had been, binding the innkeepers and tavern holders against hosting plays.⁸¹

The regulatory measures in the 1560s, unlike the later Act of Common Council in 1574, had been largely prohibitory in nature, in the sense that they were designed to effectually discourage playing activities—for whatever reasons claimed or unspoken. From the playing companies’ point of view, with the owners of their usual playing venues financially bound and probably reluctant to host their plays, options were few. Presumably they could either choose to leave the City for some other places as itinerant companies were so used to do upon finding themselves not welcome; or they could choose to continue playing in the inns by taking up the risk of the forty-pound bond. Conceivably, different companies made different choices, but it was perhaps under such circumstances that the precursor to the Theatre—the Red Lion was conceived.

William Ingram has conjectured that this project almost certainly involved James Burbage, and hence likely Leicester’s Men too. He also suggested that perhaps “two attitudes emerged from the Red Lion experience”—first, “Brayne and Burbage confirmed their earlier belief that there was a substantial audience ready to support such a playing establishment”; and second, “the road to Mile End was the wrong place for such an enterprise”.⁸² The Red Lion, therefore, could be something of an experiment, conceived as an alternative option to serve two purposes at once: to continue exploiting the paying potentials of the City, and to avoid the financial burden likely to be imposed

⁷⁹ Kathman, “The Rise of Commercial Playing”, pp. 15-8.

⁸⁰ Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, p. 60.

⁸¹ Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, pp. 56-9.

⁸² Ingram, *The Business of Playing*, p. 111.

upon the company should they wish to keep their audience. The amount of work that went into building the Red Lion does seem to suggest it was intended for longer uses than just the *Samson* play. Its basic layout might appear a bit unusual when compared to that in the later playhouses. The turret presumably at the centre of the stage was constructed to have standing room on the top. Berry has made an interesting connection between this structure and the stage plan of *The Castle of Perseverance*, which showed a turret surrounded by several scaffold-stages. The two implications were: that the Red Lion might have been designed as a place ready for use by companies of players—be they Leicester’s Men or not; and second, the Red Lion was conceived primarily with the travelling companies in mind, and were perhaps prepared for their uses when they came near London. To what degree this was a success or a failure was indeed difficult to decide. Ingram seemed to think that the Red Lion continued to operate for a few years after 1567.⁸³ Berry, on the contrary, believed that it must have been abandoned “by the fall of 1568”.⁸⁴ In any case, we see in the Red Lion venture the inception of an idea that while the playing environment in the City grows excessively unfavourable, alternative playing spaces with more or less comparable paying potentials might be found in the City suburbs. It is also interesting to observe how this earlier attempt to build a dedicated playing space yielded a stage setup more complicated than the later stages. My conjecture is that the Red Lion was designed with some more elaborately furnished playing spaces than the common inn-yards in mind—possibly from performance experiences in some nobleman’s or wealthy merchant’s houses or, perhaps, court.

If Burbage was indeed involved in the Red Lion venture, then by 1576 he was certainly more ready to use this same strategy when perhaps he found playing in the City getting a bit too costly again. The major cause of this was somewhat similar to what happened a decade earlier. Under the 1574 Act of Common Council, owners of playing spaces in the City such as innkeepers were targeted again by the City’s authorities and placed under unprecedented financial and political high pressure regarding issues of hosting dramatic performances in their premises. The City’s true purpose, however, as Ingram identified in his very excellent study of this particular document, was not the actual suppression of playing in the City’s inns but the imposing

⁸³ Ingram, *The Business of Playing*, p. 111.

⁸⁴ Berry, “The First Public Playhouses, Especially the Red Lion”, p. 144.

of a highly complicated and manipulable licensing scheme onto the innkeepers and inns, through which playing activities could be profitably taxed. The City's ultimate goal, as Ingram suggested, was to solve both the problem of playing and the problem of funding for the city's hospitals with one legislative measure.⁸⁵ For the innkeepers, however, with such a licensing mechanism installed, its "cautionary perusal of play texts ... opened the door both to the collection of fees for licensing and to the limitless possibilities of harassment ... of those who would offer [the players] playing space".⁸⁶ By targeting the innkeepers instead of the players, the City had expected to avoid causing direct conflicts with the special license issued to Leicester's Men earlier that year, but hoped that reluctant innkeepers would then shift their financial burden onto the players, who, with no alternative legitimate (i.e. licensed) playing space, would have to consent to pay. What was not foreseen by the City, however, was the transplanting of the inn-yard—one of the most profitable settings of playing space, and perhaps *the* most economical one—onto the suburban areas.

Of the three playhouses set up around this time, the Theatre and the Curtain, as I have discussed earlier, were certainly the most inn-yard-like in form. The playhouse in Newington Butts was probably an indoor one and presumably bore more resemblance to the other indoor playing spaces like the county halls or livery company halls which were undoubtedly familiar to travelling players. It is interesting to observe that at least two of these three playhouses were known to be set up by players, and all of them had settings that were carried over from previous playing spaces. The nature of their building, therefore, should not be understood as a breakage with playing in the City but as an extension and continuation of an established and familiar playing tradition from within the City boundaries—where business for the moment had turned unprofitable—into its financially less costly and more lucrative surrounding areas. Thus even with their building readily available, companies like Leicester's Men or Warwick's Men continued to travel extensively.⁸⁷ And the playhouses themselves were certainly used for more activities than just dramatic performance—just like the inn-yards had been. The playing companies, perhaps for a large part, were also viewing the playhouses and the inn-yards as essentially similar, and they certainly seemed to use them in some very similar ways. To a great extent, it seems that the very permanency

⁸⁵ Ingram, *The Business of Playing*, p. 144.

⁸⁶ Ingram, *The Business of Playing*, p.132.

⁸⁷ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, pp. 88-9, 98.

of these fixed stages was more accidental than intended; and that the very reason these early playhouses had permanent stages was because their physical space was not burdened by any other intended functions of a real Inn-yard. As a primarily profit-oriented enterprise, these early playhouses functioned as an alternative to the otherwise preferred playing venues in the City.⁸⁸ Their relocation from the bustling centres of civic life made it necessary for their owners to place them at a strategic distance from the City, and enlarge its audience capacity as best as they could. Their design, therefore, may perhaps be best understood as a distilled form of a tradition of commercial playing by mobile, travelling companies in the inn-yards.

It is by recognising this tradition that we may finally seek to understand the design of the Rose Phase I, and the function expected of it from Henslowe. Ten years since the building of the Theatre, and by the time Henslowe built the Rose Phase I on the Bankside, playing in the City inns appears still a preferred option for playing companies. John Brayne actually made a third (and ultimately abortive) attempt at converting the George Inn in Whitechapel, not far from the later Boar's Head, into a playhouse in early 1580.⁸⁹ When the Queen's Men were licensed to play in the City in 1583, two of the four inns were specifically assigned for their use.⁹⁰ And in the following year the company petitioned to be allowed to play in the City during the winter.⁹¹ Earlier in that same year, interestingly, they had also suggested, through Fleetwood, that for the suppression of the Theatre the city could bind Burbage.⁹² By 1589, as Manley has pointed out, the incident involving the Admiral's Men and Strange's Men suggested that, "two of the three major companies at the time were playing inside the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction...despite the fact that three purpose-built theaters ... were available just beyond the [City] in the nearby suburbs".⁹³ Even as late as 1594, the Chamberlain's Men were still seeking playing opportunities in the Cross

⁸⁸ In fact, even as late as 1594, inns seemed to be still a desirable place for companies to perform, as the request from the Lord Chamberlain's Men to play at the Cross Keys clearly shows. See CLRO, Remembrancia, II, 33; MSC, 1.73.

⁸⁹ Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 67.

⁹⁰ CLRO, Repertory 21, fol. 10; see also Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre: 1530-1660*, p. 330.

⁹¹ BL, Lansdowne MS 20, transcribed in Chambers and Greg, eds., "Dramatic Records from the Lansdowne Manuscripts" in *MSC I. Pt.2*, pp. 169-70. See also, Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 106.

⁹² BL, Lansdowne, MS 41; see also Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre: 1530-1660*, pp. 345-6.

⁹³ BL, Lansdowne MS 60, fol. 47; see also Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre: 1530-1660*, p. 302. See also Manley, "Why Did London inns Function as Theaters?" p.182.

Keys during the winter season. The tradition of playing in the inns had certainly been still strong throughout at least the first two decades of the early playhouses' existence.

Thus there is little wonder that Henslowe decided upon such a design for the Rose in 1587. The architectural influence, ultimately from the inn-yards, perhaps came directly from the Theatre. And it seems more than mere coincidence that for the construction of the Rose Henslowe should have hired John Griggs, the carpenter who, as I mentioned, was extremely familiar with James Burbage, possibly also Brayne, and certainly the details of the Theatre. While initially Burbage had built the Theatre perhaps partly for profit and partly out of necessity, and he might have had Leicester's Men in mind when he devised plans for that project, Henslowe's Rose Phase I was most probably meant as an investment in a purer sense. It was not built with any particular group of players in mind, and was basically intended as a rentable playing space set up in a quintessentially inn-yard-like fashion that would appear immediately familiar and usable for players. As we also see in the "Deed of Partnership" with Cholmley, Henslowe clearly specified that as owners of the playhouse they were "ioyntly to appoynte and permitte suche persone and personnes players to vse exersyse & playe in the saide playe howse".⁹⁴ In this particular respect, it was perhaps closer to the Curtain project.⁹⁵

Modelled after its predecessors and catering to the essential needs of playing companies operating in the travelling tradition, the Rose Phase I was designed to make profit from functioning as a rentable playing venue for all sorts of playing activities to come.⁹⁶ The playhouse itself was probably not regarded by either the playhouse owner or the playing company as a major factor in theatrical competitions. Such an idea was not conceivable in the inn-yard playing where playhouses had not yet been so closely associated with its resident playing companies. In a playing tradition largely based on travelling, the connections between the production of plays and the playing venue could not yet be formed and sufficiently stabilised, as they were to be during the 1590s, through frequent and long-term usages. It is therefore not unreasonable that the investment in the physical resources of the playing space was kept close to minimal—

⁹⁴ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 305-6.

⁹⁵ Stern has noted that "the Curtain seems to have been built with no particular acting company in mind. Instead it was constructed as a hireable space, analogous to the various London inns, and all provincial playing places". See Stern, "The Curtain is Yours", p. 80.

⁹⁶ The financial arrangement underlying the business partnerships formed between Henslowe and his theatrical associates during this phase will be discussed in later chapters.

a bare stage, a tiring-house, a yard, and the galleries. This is perhaps also the reason that it is the popular inn-yard, instead of any other historical or contemporary playing spaces, that was chosen by playhouse owners consistently as the model to copy. The real competition for the Rose Phase I, of course, came from other playhouses. The playing companies were not involved—their own competition was a separate one. And by copying directly from the design of the Theatre (and maybe the Curtain, too), Henslowe was playing the safest move—a strategy that he was to repeatedly employ in the years to come.

But how successful was Rose Phase I? Although few documents related to the first five years of the Rose have survived, a few Privy Council orders from this time may perhaps afford us a glimpse of the Rose's success during this period. The earliest document about activities in the Rose was the letter from the Privy Council to the Surrey justices on 29 October 1587, in which the Clink liberty and the parish of St. Saviour's was named as being the area where a previous order against playing on Sundays was most openly disobeyed.⁹⁷ The playhouse implied by the order is almost certainly the Rose, as it was the only such establishment in that neighbourhood. In a separate letter to the same effect addressed to the Middlesex justices, however, no particular neighbourhood or playhouse is specifically named. It is interesting to observe that the Bankside—and by implication the Rose as well—was singled out as the place where the order was “especially” disobeyed. Two interpretations may be proposed here: 1) the Rose had hosted plays on Sundays a lot more times than other playhouses; or 2) a lot more people were attending plays at the Rose than at other places. Either way, this document suggests that the Rose had been in business by 29 Oct 1587, and that business had either been good, or at least better than other playhouses.

In another letter, dated 25 July 1591, the Privy Council asks the justices of Surrey and Middlesex to restrain playing on Thursdays and Sundays, pointing out also that Thursdays were usually reserved for baiting.⁹⁸ The fact that the letter is addressed to both Surrey and Middlesex justices might suggest that animal-baiting was also carried out somewhere in the northern suburbs. But the business in the Beargarden on the Bankside is undoubtedly the focus of this letter. That the Beargarden had been the primary location for animal-baiting is undisputable. There had existed three bear-

⁹⁷ PRO, PC2/14, p. 477; see also Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 88.

⁹⁸ PRO, PC2/18, p. 440; see also Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 89.

baiting rings before the one which was standing by the time of the councillors' letter in 1591. Had the business in the Beargarden been unaffected, there would be little need for such a letter from the Council. The Rose standing next to the Beargarden, seen in this light, is almost certainly viewed as a major rival that had been drawing people away from its neighbour. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that Rose Phase I had enjoyed a not insignificant degree of success.

Rose Phase II: The Repertory Playhouse

Earlier in the chapter I have surveyed the physical dimensions of the Rose Phase II as well as the most significant modifications that brought it into being in 1592. The archaeological findings are particularly informative in this aspect, and have helped form a concrete image of the playhouse's physical layout against which archival materials could be matched and made sense of. While much more has been learned about the Phase II Rose since its discovery, and most aspects of its physical characteristics have been generally recognised, the question regarding the actual purpose for such extensive remodelling after just slightly over four years, has remained puzzling. In the following section, I will focus on this modification, and explore the ways in which it was connected to the change in the designed function of the playhouse. I will not, however, examine in great detail or length the theatrical life of the Rose Phase II, or the relation between its daily operation and its owners' various connections, as these shall be covered in the following chapters. It is with the evolution of the Rose from a rentable playhouse to a repertory playhouse that the present chapter is concerned; and such a change of intention, I think, was clearly reflected in its extensive remodeling in 1592.

The degree to which scholars' opinions differ in even some of the basic aspects about the 1592 extension seems remarkable. Greenfield, following the hypothesis that Rose Phase I was designed with animal-baiting in mind, suggested that the filling up of the original raked yard might be a sign that Henslowe now intended Phase II to function as a dedicated playhouse.⁹⁹ Berry has read the opening up of the Rose's original galleries and its northward extension as a way to enlarge its audience capacity¹⁰⁰. Cerasano, agreeing to this theory, has further interpreted it as Henslowe's direct

⁹⁹ Greenfield, "Reconstructing the Rose", p. 28.

¹⁰⁰ Berry, "The Rose", p. 422.

response to the Rose's success in the previous years.¹⁰¹ Bowsher, on the contrary, has noted that "analysis shows that little extra space was gained for an audience",¹⁰² and therefore has sought to interpret the changes in the overall shape of the playhouse together with the upgrades done to the stage. In this theory, the widening up of the galleries by the stage was to make sure that sightline from those two areas could remain unaffected by the newly added stage cover.

For a while Greenfield's view about the animal-baiting function of Rose Phase I appeared conceivable, especially in the face of several reports about the discovery of pieces of bear remains on the Rose site.¹⁰³ Latest analysis, however, has deemed these initial reports misinformed, since the bones have now been identified as the result of later dumping into the Rose site from the original Beargarden area.¹⁰⁴ Berry and Cerasano's theory about the enlargement of audience capacity seems also hardly credible, as a quick calculation would show that an increase of an average 5-6 feet in yard diameter certainly could not have helped much in gaining extra standing room. So far Bowsher's interpretation has appeared the most convincing, for he seems to have grasped the correct order of the sequence of changes that took place, and have identified the primary goal of the modification—the stage area—for which a series of other adjustments to the playhouse's overall structure were made. The primary objective of the 1592 modification, as Bowsher has concluded, was to "enhance the stage by providing greater dramatic potential".¹⁰⁵ This explanation ties in well with the situation in the playhouse in the years to come, as Henslowe's performance records do suggest.

Most of these current theories, however, seem to have missed a crucial aspect of the 1592 modification—the tiring-house area. C Walter Hodges is the only scholar that has mentioned it, as early as in 1998, in his assessment of the different physical features of both Rose Phase I and Phase II. It deserves, I think, to be brought back into

¹⁰¹ Cerasano, "Philip Henslowe (c.1555–1616)", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford UP, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008.

¹⁰² Bowsher, "The Rose and its Stages", p. 47.

¹⁰³ See for example: *Glasgow Herald*, 29. Aug. 1989:

<<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2507&dat=19890829&id=fDNAAAAAIBAJ&sjid=RVkMAAAAI BAJ&pg=5703,4635666>>; Eccles, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 230; Richard O'Brien, "The Rose Theatre: An Elizabethan Tragedy", in *The Huffington Post*, 6 Aug 2012. <http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/richard-obrien/the-rose-theatre-an-eliza_b_1746007.html>

¹⁰⁴ Bowsher, "Digging deeper into Shakespeare", in *The British Museum*, 23 October 2012: <<http://blog.britishmuseum.org/2012/10/23/digging-deeper-into-shakespeare/>>;

Tarnya Cooper, *Searching for Shakespeare*, p. 105.

¹⁰⁵ Bowsher, "The Rose and its Stages", pp. 47.

our attention and discussion. One of the biggest changes that took place in the 1592 modification, besides the upgrades to the stage, was actually the tiring-house area. Hodges has noted that “[i]t is very likely that the need to enlarge here [the tiring-house] was a major factor in the later decision to enlarge the whole theatre”.¹⁰⁶ Comparing the ground-plans of Phase I and Phase II yields the impression that Hodges’ suggestion was likely to be correct. By opening up the galleries on both sides of the stage and pushing the northern gallery bays further towards the back of the stage, the tiring-house area was effectively doubled. This was perhaps the most significant increase of space of any type between the two phases. On the other hand, of course, this reason alone probably wouldn’t have justified such an extensive remodelling, and the enhancement of the stage, as Bowsher suggested, was perhaps still the major factor.

If this was indeed the case, then both of the two most significant modifications done to the Rose were related to meeting playing companies’ needs. This marks a fundamental change in the intended function of the playhouse. While previously the Rose Phase I had served as an inn-yard-like playing space detached from the comings and goings of travelling companies, the Rose Phase II now was readying its room, so to speak, for potential long-term customers. And while previously Phase I had maintained a basic, minimalist stage design, Phase II now was actively incorporating the playing company’s needs into its own structural design.

That this change was related to the arrival of Strange’s Men led by Edward Alleyn seems a distinct possibility. Chambers believed that an amalgamated company of Strange’s Men and Admiral’s Men moved from the Theatre to the Rose in May 1591.¹⁰⁷ Recent studies by Manley and McLean have shown that this was more likely an iteration of Strange’s Men that in the late 1580s had just absorbed some members of the former Leicester’s Men and by this time had also been working with Edward Alleyn.¹⁰⁸ Quite possibly, it is this enlarged company—with talents like Alleyn and Kemp, and popular plays by Marlowe and Kyd at its core—that was drawing large crowds of spectators away from the baiting ring into the Rose in the following two months, as mentioned in the Privy Council’s letter on 25 July 1591. The success of this company in the summer of 1591 was perhaps enough for Henslowe to consider

¹⁰⁶ C. Walter Hodges, in Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 75.

¹⁰⁷ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 120.

¹⁰⁸ Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange’s Men and their Plays*, pp. 35-6, 48-9, 56-7. The movement of this company and their possible connection with the Rose will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

converting the Rose into a playhouse more suited for this company's needs in order to keep them in his playhouse. Could it also have been the players who suggested to Henslowe the enlargement and upgrade to the playhouse as conditions for long-term collaboration? It is not inconceivable that some of the veteran players in this iteration of Strange's Men, who must have seen and used better equipped performance spaces such as specially-prepared halls at court or in wealthy households, would have pitched to Henslowe the idea of preparing a playing space with better staging capacity for their long-term regular use. At any rate, it appears that the modification to the Rose went underway and was completed very soon, possibly following specific advice from the players. The enlargement of the tiring-house was perhaps a provisional measure anticipating the future needs to house the costumes and stage properties accumulated through cycles of daily performances. But for the size of this company, such a need may possibly have already been felt by early 1592. In a petition by Strange's Men to the Privy Council datable to this period (1589-1593), the players pleaded for permission to return and use the Rose, citing as their main reason the financial stress of travelling on account of the size of their company.¹⁰⁹

Thus with the Rose's structural modification in 1592, the hireable inn-yard-like playhouse changed into a repertory playhouse designed to take in resident playing companies and offer performances for long-term collaborations. The crucial difference that characterised this new phase was that, from this point onward, the financial standing of the playhouse became more closely tied to the operation of its resident company. The repertory playhouse was now invested, by its manager, with a much greater attention to the continual enhancement of its staging potentials. Such a connection, as I will examine in more depth in later chapters, also started to exert its impact on the image of the playhouse. With the emergence during the 1590s of an increasingly site-specific playgoing culture highly conscious of the multiple company-playhouse connections, prominent artistic characteristics or tendencies in the playing companies' repertory and theatrical productions started to become more associated with their playing venue at a fixed geographical location. Over the years between the late 1580s and the early 1600s, with the operational mode of major playing companies gradually changing from travelling to sustained commercial playing at residential playhouses, a stable tie was gradually formed between the playhouse's structural design,

¹⁰⁹Dulwich MSS 1, Article 16. See also Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 283-4.

staging capacity, and the resident playing company's repertory.¹¹⁰ In his analysis of the behaviour of social connections, Bruno Latour has called for great recognition and closer examination of the vast array of material objects that are embedded in social relations and actions as complex units of agency in the formation and operation of social networks.¹¹¹ In a theatrical context, such agency is mediated through the material connections between the playhouse's staging facilities and the performances they enable as well as the performance texts generated thereby. As I shall analyse in detail later, such a playhouse-company connection underlying the operation of the Rose was to be further stabilised and strengthened in the late 1590s via even greater material and financial ties.

Conclusion

Overall, the structural evolution of the Rose embodies the process through which the staging needs of its playing company became built into the physical structures and staging facilities of the playhouse on the one hand; and on the other hand, the staging capacity of the playhouse, in turn, also found expressions in the company's theatrical productions, became materialised in the evolution of the performance texts, and at times even became crystallised through printed texts. Whether or not members of Strange's Men initially had a part in the design of the Rose Phase II, the enhanced stage with posts and "heavens" do appear to afford them greater staging possibilities. A brief glance at the Admiral's Men's inventories, for example, shows a surprising amount of stage properties that would not have worked on the Phase I stage but was easily applicable to the Phase II stage. Many of these items suggest usages in relation to vertically higher spaces or perhaps some onstage constructs: "ij stepells", "the sittie of Rome", "j baye tree", "j wodden canepie", "raynbowe", "the clothe of the Sone & Mone", "j tree of gowlden apples", "Tantelouse tre", and "j whell and frame in the Sege of London".¹¹²

But at the same time, instead of overstating the uniqueness and irreplaceability of company-playhouse partnerships, it is important to note that such a close and long-term connection between the operation of the resident playing company and the

¹¹⁰ By repertory here I do not mean so much the surviving printed texts or titles of plays believed to have been performed by a playing company, as the constantly rotating and morphing body of performance texts deeply involved in the daily material operation of the company and the playhouse.

¹¹¹ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, pp. 70-2, 78, 80-2.

¹¹² R. A. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 319-20.

physical structure of the repertory playhouse was further balanced and shaped by the needs for the partnership to respond to inter-playhouse and inter-company competitions. As we know, around the time of the remodelling of the Rose in late 1591 or early 1592, James Burbage was also spending on further work done to the Theatre. And when new challenge to the Rose arose in 1595 with the construction of Langley's larger and better-equipped Swan, Henslowe's response was swift and typical of his managerial style. He carried out another costly refurbishment of the Rose sometime around March and April 1595, when the Swan was probably still under construction.¹¹³ The addition of the throne in the "heavens" around this time was likely a response to the new playhouse as well.¹¹⁴ This addition, as statistical analysis of the *Diary's* performance receipts will reveal in a later chapter, had almost immediate positive impact on the business performance of the playhouse and its resident company. Such a facility, however, appears to have become a standard feature in the majority of the public playhouses constructed in the years afterwards. Thus starting from the transition of the Rose from a hireable inn-yard type playhouse to a repertory playhouse concurrent with the transition of the operational mode of major playing companies, the subsequent development of the playhouse-company partnerships, and the inter-company as well as inter-playhouse competitions, exerted an observable normalising effect on the design and evolution of playhouses in the late 1590s and early 1600s. No purpose-built playhouse during this period ever reverted to anything close to the unique design of the Red Lion as evidenced by the documents. The history of the conversion and remodelling of the Boar's Head in 1598 and 1599 is also a telling example of this effect. The unique original plan in 1598 with the stage at the centre of the yard was swiftly replaced by the more common form in 1599. A few months later that year, essentially the same design appeared in the newly constructed Globe which, in turn, was copied a year later at the Fortune. The Hope playhouse with its removable stage built in 1613 constitutes an exception, but this is more because of Henslowe and his partner's effort to combine into one establishment—perhaps for the sake of reducing operational cost—his interests in the two major entertainment forms of the time, i.e. animal-baiting and

¹¹³ CLRO, Remembrancia, 11, 73; see also Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, p. 440.

¹¹⁴ The Swan was likely equipped with such a descent-ascent mechanism as well as a trap door, as the notorious *England's Joy* hoax by Richard Vennar suggests. For the printed bill and plot of *England's Joy*, see STC (2nd ed.) / 24636.7. See also PRO, SP12/285, fol. 149v; Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, p. 447; and Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 413.

theatre. The result of this forced mismatch between the needs of the playing company and the physical structure of the playhouse, however, was far from satisfactory—as clearly evidenced by the complaints of dirtiness and foul smell in the playhouse, the confusion over the schedule for baiting and that for playing, and the subsequent almost total abandonment of performance.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 602-6.

Chapter Two

Southwark: The Neighbourhood of Henslowe's Playhouse

Thanks to Henslowe's *Diary*, the Rose is undoubtedly one of the best-documented early purpose-built playhouses in the late sixteenth century London. Yet frustratingly, Henslowe only started recording the operations and management of the playhouse from 1592, about the time when he inherited the volume from his brother, John.¹ Regarding the first five years of the playhouse's existence (from 1587 to 1592), very little information has trickled down through history, except for Henslowe's lease of the "little Rose" plot in 1585, his "Deed of partnership" with John Cholmley drawn in early 1587, and two likely references to it in a late 1587 letter from the Privy Council to the Surrey JPs, and in a 1588 sewer commission order respectively. Since the archaeological excavations on the Rose's site by the Museum of London in 1989, we have now been able to map out the floor plans of the playhouse in its two distinct phases, and catch a glimpse of the range of activities that took place in it with the large quantities of material remains unearthed. These discoveries have indeed helped theatre historians sketch out a more detailed image of the playhouse as well as to make sense of some previously unexplained entries in relevant bodies of archival materials.

Despite these findings, however, important questions about the Rose's early history remain difficult to answer. Why did Henslowe choose Southwark and the Bankside in particular for his playhouse; why he chose to build it at that particular time almost a decade after its predecessors, the Theatre and the Curtain, had been set up; what purpose it was designed to serve; what sort of people were living nearby; and what potential clientele (both in terms of audience and players) he had in mind. These questions cannot be answered by just studying any of the bodies of materials in isolation, but must be made sense of through pulling and examining all types of available resources together. Of key importance to this end is to understand what it meant for Henslowe to build the Rose on the Bankside in Southwark. To a considerable extent the geographical location and social/cultural position of playing spaces has been one of the fundamental issues that theatre historians must attend to, and upon which various subsequent arguments have been based. Indeed studies of theatre history seem to have inevitably involved some discussions, in broader or narrower terms, of the relationship between theatrical activities and their social/cultural milieu. The current common view

¹ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. xv.

on the setting up of early playhouses in the suburbs of London has understood it as a way for playing companies to escape either the persecution of the City authorities, or the pressuring social, cultural and political environment that the City represented—and sometimes both. On the other hand, phrases like “outside the Lord Mayor’s jurisdiction” or “in the liberties” have frequently been attributed some unwarranted sense of freedom for social and economic conducts or cultural endeavour. Although these discussions on the theatre-location relationship may contain significant truth—and perhaps especially so for the three particular establishments in the mid-1570 following the 1574 Act of Common Council—they quite often involve some sweeping generalisations and problematic assumptions, both regarding the location itself and its connections with theatrical activities there.² Most often these views are premised upon an overly schematic view of City-suburb opposition. Even more problematic, however, is the underlying assumption that all these early playhouses were set up in the City’s suburbs for more or less the same common reasons.³ Changes in political, social, and cultural environment over the span of thirty years since the 1560s, as well as London’s urban developments and subsequent changes in its relationship with the surrounding areas, must caution us against over-generalisation and reductive readings of the specificity in each of these theatre-location dynamics.

The following sections will focus on the Rose playhouse on Bankside, Southwark, in the early years since its establishment. Current views on the building of the Rose are still mainly arguing that 1) Southwark, especially the Clink liberty and Paris Garden manor, unlike the law-abiding City, was loosely governed and a safe haven for fugitive criminals; 2) the Bankside, outside the Lord Mayor’s jurisdiction, had long been the notorious principal entertainment area of the City even before the theatres appeared there; 3) and it was because of these characteristics of Southwark, and indeed to take advantage of them, that the Rose, like its followers, was set up there. All these three claims are familiar enough and to a great extent have influenced various aspects of studies in theatre history and dramatic texts. Yet all of them, largely premised upon the same basic pattern of City-suburb opposition, need better examination and qualification. By bringing together theatrical records, literary texts, socio-historical

² For the Act of Common Council in December 1574, see BL MS Lansdowne 20. For an insightful reading of the intentions and consequences of this Act, see William Ingram, *The Business of Playing*, p. 144.

³ By “early playhouses” I mean those built before 1590, i.e. the Red Lion, the Newington Butts playhouse, the Theatre, the Curtain, and the Rose, although the same assumption has quite often been made about later playhouses as well.

studies on Southwark and London, as well as materials gathered from a variety of parish records, this chapter seeks to redress these generalisations and problematic assumptions about Southwark and its connections with Henslowe's very first theatrical project there. Hopefully this will also help formulate a more balanced view about the Southwark-London dynamics by the mid-1580s, as well as suggest some better-informed answers to the aforementioned key questions about the establishment and early years of the Rose there and then.

Southwark and London

The commonplace image and reputation of Southwark as almost the antithesis of the City have been all too familiar and hardly require much more illustration. Sometimes together with Shoreditch in the north and Westminster in the west, and sometimes singled out, Southwark was the frequent target of sixteenth and seventeenth century men of letters, as the place to which criminals often fled to, where stolen goods were disposed of, thieves and tricksters practiced their art, and prostitution thrived.

As early as 1566, Thomas Harman recalled that upon finding his great cauldron missing, he immediately gave warning in Southwark "to al the Tynckars there dwelling, that if any such Cauldron came thither to be sold, the bringar thereof should be stayed, and promised twenty shillings for a reward".⁴ In 1578, Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, described Southwark as an easy shelter across the river for criminals and the Paris Garden area as "so dark with trees that one man cannot see another, 'except they have lynceos oculos or els cattles eys'... the very bower for conspiracy".⁵ As late as 1666, the very same image of the place still loomed large, as Richard Head noted in his instructions for the pursuit of robbers: "for, if you are robbed in the eastern quarter...haste to the City, and in *Westminster, Holborn, the Strand and Covent-Garden* search speedily, for there they are. If Northward they light on you, then to *Southwark, the Bankside, or Lambeth* they are gone".⁶ As the main travel route and thoroughfare linking London, Kent and Sussex, and with numerous grand inns along its High Street, Southwark was almost certainly in William Harrison's mind when he described, in 1587, the various subtle trickeries which the cunning servants, tapsters and chamberlains of

⁴ Harman, *A Caueat or Warening, for Common Cursetors Vulgarely called Vagabones*, 1567.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1547-1580, p. 595. See also Rendle, *The Inns of Old Southwark: And their Associations*, 1888, p. 3.

⁶ Head, *The English Rogue Described*, 1666, pp. 52-3.

the inns might play upon the hapless travellers to the spoil of the latters' valuables.⁷ Very similar observations were made later by Robert Greene about the tricks that "lifts" practiced upon unsuspecting visitors of the alehouses, another type of establishment known to have filled Southwark's High Street.⁸

The undertone about the difference and indeed opposition between Southwark and the City are a lot more palpable when it comes to the issue of prostitution. The list of "stews" with painted signs remembered in John Stow's *A Suruay of London* has been frequently cited as proof of Southwark's association with the trade.⁹ Gabriel Harvey in his *Foure Letters* referred to Southwark and the Bankside, along with Shoreditch, as among the "filthy hautes" of Greene.¹⁰ Despite his quarrels with Harvey, Thomas Nashe was ready to affirm such an image of Southwark in *Pierce Penilesse*, as the place was grouped with the northern and western suburbs again in the passage on the sin of lechery, where the protagonist challenged: "make a priuie search in Southwarke, and tell me how many Shee-Inmates you finde: naye, goe where you will in the Suburbes, and bring me two Uirgins that haue vowd Chastitie, and Ile builde a Nunnerie".¹¹ Similar associations of Southwark and Bankside with prostitution may also be easily seen from common nicknames and labels for prostitutes there such as "Bankside Ladies", "Winchester Geese", or simply, "suburb sinners".¹² Such associations have often been coupled with a sense of opposition between Southwark—as well as other suburban areas—and the City, in which the suburbs were frequently viewed as encroaching on and posing immediate threats to the City and its values. Of the dangers of prostitution, there were perhaps few images more visually potent than Dekker's portrayal of harlots coming out of the suburbs to besiege the city within the walls,

⁷ Harrison, *The Description of England*, in *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles*, Raphael Holinshed, 1587, pp. 246-7.

⁸ For description of the practice of lifting, see Robert Greene, "The Discouery of the Lifting law", in *The Second Part of Conny-Catching*, 1591. For the alehouses on Southwark's High Street, see Ben Weinreb, et al., "Borough High Street", pp. 82-3.

⁹ The stews, or "bordello" mentioned by Stow are: "a Bears heade, the Crosse keyes, the Gunne, the Castle, and Crane, the Cardinals Hatte, the Bell, the Swanne". Stow, *A Suruay of London*, 1598, p. 332.

¹⁰ Harvey, *Foure Letters*, 1592, pp. 9-10.

¹¹ Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell*, 1592. The same view was later reiterated in Nashe's *Christs Teares Ouer Ierusalem*, where Southwark, together with the northern and western suburbs again, were likened to "licensed Stewes".

¹² Thomas Randolph in *The Muse's Looking-Glass* dramatised the number and readiness of bankside prostitutes: "I will send for a whole coach or two / of Bankside Ladies, and wee will be iouiall!" See Randolph, *Poems with the Muses Looking-Glass: and Amyntas*, 1638, p. 32. For "Winchester Geese" and the poem on "Winchester Goose", see John Taylor, *All the VVorkes of Iohn Taylor*, 1630, pp. 105-6, p. 170. For "suburb sinners", see Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-Light*, 1608.

although for Dekker the imminent danger was more of a cunning and insidious infiltration of the walled-up City instead of an open opposition.¹³

While antagonistic attitudes towards the suburbs in general were most voiced regarding issues of prostitution, when it came to Southwark in particular, they were certainly not limited to just morality. Complaints by London officials to the crown about Southwark's criminal problem could be traced to at least as early as 1325.¹⁴ This was to be repeated in the centuries to follow, and by the end of the sixteenth century, various indictments about the social, moral and health problems caused by the flocking of spectators to theatres had become all too familiar. On top of these, a generally derogatory view of Southwark's local residents—which according to Stow consisted of large number of poor people—was also sometimes openly expressed by poets and playwrights, and often through associating unfashionable or low-brow dramatic styles with the lack of sophistication of Southwark/Bankside audience. As early as 1611, Middleton and Dekker, in the address to the reader of *The Roaring Girl*, a published play previously staged at the Fortune, had commented on the change of dramatic style from the “huge bombasted plaies” favoured by audience in the time of the great bankside playhouses, to the “spruce” kind fit for both “Gallery room at the play-house” and “chamber-roome at your lodging”. Presented as a defence of the play's dramatic style, this address was clearly also calling for better taste from its audience and reader.¹⁵ The same note was sounded with much more frankness and force by James Shirley in *The Doubtful Heir*, a play designed for the Blackfriars but for a while was staged at the Globe instead. The latter's audience was clearly regarded as lacking sophistication and favouring only farcical slapsticks and shallow beating-about on the stage. The “Banckside”, the playwright began, “[a]re far more skilfull at the Ebbes and flows / Of water, than of wit”. He then promised for the present play none of the merriments that would usually have excited the bankside audience: “No shews, no dance ... no target fighting / Upon the Stage ... No bawdery ... no Ballets ... No clown, no squibs, no Devill in't”. Instead, the playwright went on to require that the crowd at the Globe—which he had compared to “Squirrels that want Nuts”—to “contract your selves, and sit / As you were now in the *Black-Fryers* pit” and “not disgrace / This play”.¹⁶ The association of

¹³ Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-Light*, 1608.

¹⁴ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 119.

¹⁵ Middleton, “To the Comicke, Play-readers, Venery, and Laughter” in *The Roaring Girl*, 1611.

¹⁶ Shirley, *The Doubtful Heir*, 1652.

Southwark with such social, cultural and literary stigma apparently became widespread enough that years later it could still find its echo. In Thomas Shadwell's *Bury-fair* (1689), for instance, the comedies staged at the "*Bear-Garden*" in the "former Age" were remembered to be filled with vile and course jests, and were only surpassed in these vices by the "most *confounded Loyal Plays*" of some contemporary playwrights.¹⁷

Similar views and attitudes about Southwark's questionable social/cultural status and its troubled relationship with London abound in the vast body of sixteenth and seventeenth century pamphlets, tracts, poems and plays. Theatre history studies, drawing extensively on this body of literature, seem to have also largely carried over this sense of City-suburb separation and opposition. John Twyning, noting that the popular pamphlet industry of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was much underscored by the privileging of "City virtue" in the face of "suburban vice", views Southwark in the same familiar light as a place "out of the grasp of Court and City" and "hard to reach by various institution of control".¹⁸ Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., examining the ideological underpinnings of contemporary plays and pamphlets, has stressed upon the sense of antagonism between the "self-perpetrating, self-sufficient" economic system as embodied by the City, and the "fast growing industry" existing in the suburbs "outside the traditional institutions of livery companies and guilds" and alongside other "controversial institutions such as brothels or playhouses".¹⁹ Jessica A Browner, surveying extensively the literatures of the time in her study of the change of Southwark's reputation from an "upper-class retreat to a place of disorderly resort", bases her entire argument again on the fundamental difference between the effective governance of the City and the "jurisdictional anomaly" of Southwark on the "wrong side of the river".²⁰

A more influential study of the Suburb-City relationship has been undertaken by Steven Mullaney in *The Place of the Stage*. Studying the location of playhouses in the liberties, Mullaney characterises the suburbs, especially Southwark, as "areas of anomaly", of "cultural ambivalence". Although his emphasis is not so much on a direct opposition between the geo-political landscapes of the City and the liberties, and occasionally he seems also to acknowledge their almost inseverable connections, his

¹⁷ Shadwell, "Prologue", *Bury-fair*, 1689.

¹⁸ Twyning, *London Dispossessed*, 1998, pp. 3-6, p. 62.

¹⁹ Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape*, 1998, p. 208, p. 210, p. 279.

²⁰ Browner, "Wrong Side of the River", 1994.

differentiation of their cultural identity and status through a series of uncompromisingly binary terms throughout the book remains highly schematic. The suburb, in Mullaney's view, constitutes an "alien warp" to the mainstream culture and ideology represented by the City proper, and is "the place where law, authority, and community gave way to something else, something other". Like the Wonder-cabinet described by the traveller Thomas Platter, the suburb is able to harbour a wide spectrum of "cultural Other", and provide shelter for "ambivalent cultures and marginal pastimes". Theatres in the suburb, therefore, are understood as "marginal spectacles"—non-regulated, challenging, destabilising and subversive—which could only be located outside the City's walls and across the river.²¹

While Mullaney's cultural materialist study of the geographical positioning of theatres and the rhetoric of space it enabled is useful, especially in understanding the ways in which theatrical production (in its broadest sense) may utilise or dramatise its own geo-political, social and cultural experiences, the highlighting of social and ideological contradictions between the City and the suburb (liberties) sometimes seems over-dramatized in itself. Such theorised oppositions between the two areas, leading to an almost ritualistic reading of the "journey across the Thames" as entering from one dimension into another, have been overly schematic and have often masked the multiple connections and continuities between the two spaces.

Twynning, Sullivan, Browner, and Mullaney have all based their arguments primarily on examinations of contemporary literary texts. Yet as literature and the rhetoric of space it enacted almost always serve certain specific agenda, what they reflect are in many ways more of the various forms of literary, social, cultural or political sensibility, than the material reality, of their time and space. The latter might perhaps be better approached via a different path. While surveying the body of literature of the time conveys a sense of the general perception of Southwark and its relation to the City, researches into the archival and graphic materials seem to paint quite a different picture there. Studies of contemporary literature have frequently addressed the distinctly suburban aspect of Southwark, whereas researches into the area's local history, demographic landscape, as well as administrative records reveal many of its urban characteristics and its extensive connections with the City.

²¹ Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage*, 1988, pp. 22-30. For Mullaney's study of the Wonder-cabinet in *Thomas Platter's Travels in England*, see also "Strange Things, Gross Terms, Curious Customs: The Rehearsal of Cultures in the Late Renaissance", in *Representing the English Renaissance*, 1988.

Various records about Southwark's complicated administrative situation and its jurisdictional disputes with London have been cited as proof of its separation from London. In many ways, however, these occasional documents of City-suburb differentiation run against a larger body of records of connection and continuation. It is crucial to make the distinction between the official administrative status of Southwark and its actual status in the City's civic life as a whole, as it is in the latter that one may find the multiple connections between Southwark and London. In the following sections, therefore, I will be surveying both the graphic and archival materials about early modern Southwark-London relationship.

Such connections between Southwark and London were clearly captured in many of the contemporary maps and panoramas. Quite a number of topographical materials of Tudor London have survived, although many are derivative in one way or another. It is ultimately difficult to assess how trustworthy they are in terms of scale and details, since most have been done in ways that undoubtedly prioritised aesthetics over topographical accuracy. Neither is it safe to make direct associations between the maps' publication dates with particular features shown in them. It is still possible and in fact useful, nevertheless, to grasp the overall atmosphere and feel of the City that these maps or panoramas have sought to convey. Of these works, the most well-known and the ones most commented upon have been: the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* by Braun and Hogenberg, the *Civitas Londinum* by Ralph Agas, the *Speculum Britanniae* and *Civitas Londini* by John Norden, the *Londinum Florentissima Britanniae Urbs* by J. C. Vischer, and the *Long View* by Wenceslaus Hollar. The first three works resemble ordinary bird's-eye view maps, in which the City proper takes up most of the space in the centre, and is surrounded by the suburbs. Both the Braun-Hogenberg map and the Agas map extend to Westminster on the west and the Tower on the east, whereas Norden's 1593 map is cut off near the riverside Leicester House on the west. All three, however, show the Bridgehead and Bankside areas of Southwark across the river.



Fig. 1 Braun and Hogenberg, *Londinum Feracissimi*

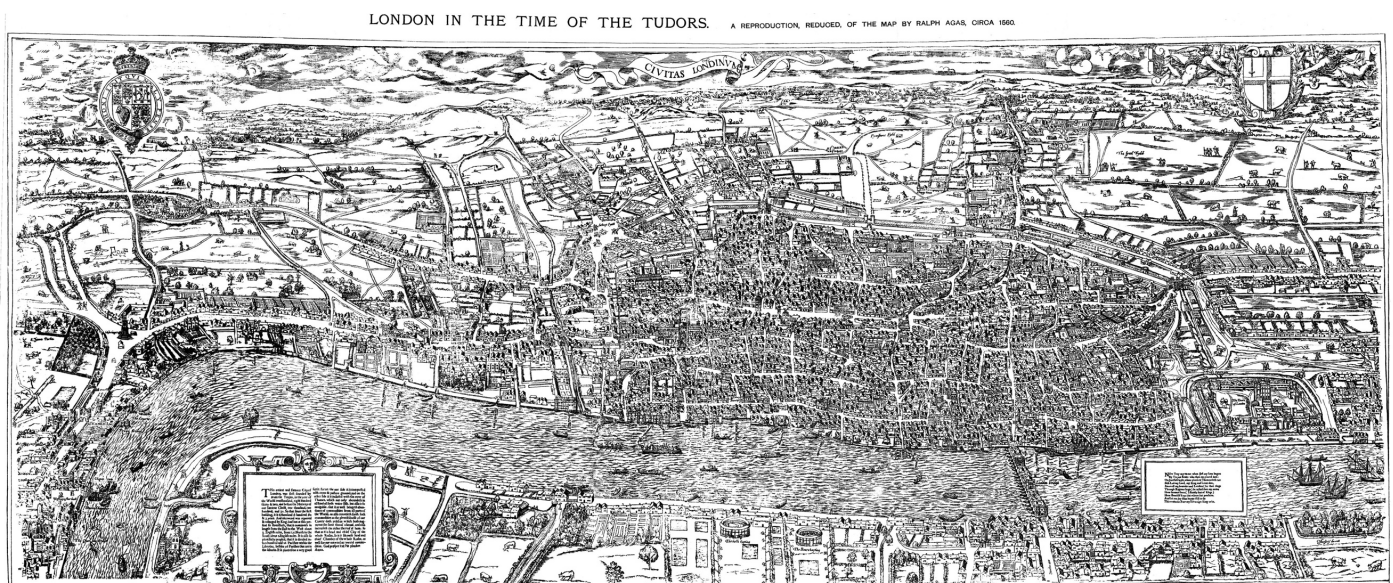


Fig. 2 Ralph Agas, *Civitas Londinvm*

Of these three maps, the Braun-Hogenberg probably claims the most originality, despite it being a possible copy of an earlier English original itself. The Agas map, known only from a print around 1633 and showing London between 1570 and 1590, is clearly derived from Braun-Hogenberg.²² Norden's 1593 *Speculum Britanniae* is

²² See Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642*, 1985, pp. 2-4.

another likely derivative from the Braun-Hogenberg version, as it closely resembles its two predecessors in terms its framing, perspective, and key features. Previously, scholarly attention on these maps has mainly concentrated on representations of structural features of the playhouses and baiting rings, which are shown as standing in plots of ground close to a row of houses on the north sometimes thought to be the “stews”, and to the open fields on the south. As such these maps have often been interpreted as confirming not only the marginality of the theatrical establishments but that of their location as well.



LONDON, 1593. BY JOHN NORDEN.

Fig. 3 John Norden, *Map of London*, 1593

Upon closer inspection, however, all three maps convey a clear sense of continuation, rather than separation, between Southwark and the City. Of all the areas outside the City proper, Southwark is shown to be the only area that shares almost the same density of building as London itself. The densely populated areas concentrate around the Bridgehead, and extend both eastwards along Tooley Street and westwards along Bankside. The London Bridge, connecting the City and Southwark, is itself shown as heavily built upon. The southern end of the Bridge merges into the rows of buildings running in all three directions from the Bridgehead, just like its northern end.

Thus the Bridge connects the Borough High Street in the south with Gracious Street in the north. The former, running southwards into Blackman Street and eventually to Newington Butts, is also connected to the spacious Bankside highway on the west via another broad cart way, to the heart of St Saviour parish via streets like Pepper Alley, Churchyard Alley and Foule lane, and to Tooley Street running eastwards through the parish of St. Olave.²³ The latter, Gracious Street, running northwards and past the Royal Exchange by the east, is in turn connected to the great northern travel route beyond Bishopsgate. Another noticeable feature in these maps is the wharves and landing stairs, which are signified by clusters of ferry boats lining up on both banks of the Thames. The north bank shows a greater concentration of these wharves and stairs, usually situated right by the mouth of principle streets leading up to the river. Along the southern Bankside there are also numerous wharves and stairs, of which the most noticeable one is by Paris Garden, a place which, despite never having any baiting facility in its premise, became associated with bearbaiting because it was known to be the usual landing place for people from across to river who were on their way to the baiting rings nearby. Between the Paris Garden stairs and the Bridgehead there were several other wharves and landing places, such as the Falcon stairs near the Falcon Inn, both shown in the Agas map; the Molestrand dock near Pike Garden just west of the baiting rings; the Mason's stairs close to the Cardinal's Hatt and the Cross Keys mentioned among the old Bankside stews by Stow; the Winchester stairs, noted by Stow as a large wharf and landing place by the Winchester house. There was likely a wharf by the Rose playhouse as well, which is mentioned in Henslowe's "Deed of Partnership" as belonging to the same parcel of ground where the playhouse stood. Thus it must have been extremely close to the Rose Alley, mentioned in the "Deed" as "leadinge from the Ryver of thames into the saide [same] parcel of ground".²⁴ It was probably by this wharf, then, that Henslowe brought in some of the building materials for his

²³ In a 1618 plan of the Bankside (LMA, COL/CCS/PL/01/205/26) drawn in connection to a lawsuit, the High Street of Southwark was shown connected to a road leading north-westwards, passing the Winchester House premise, and connecting to Maiden Lane and the Bankside highway at separate points. The annotation on this road reads: "A broade Carte waie leading vnto the Bank ende". The Bankside highway is shown as running westwards and passing a continuous row of establishments till it reaches the junction near the Paris Garden stairs. The annotation on it reads: "The breadth of this (The Bank Side) is sufficient for twoe Cartes a fronte".

²⁴ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2002, p. 305-6.

modification of the playhouse in 1592.²⁵ Further, it seems that Henslowe and Edward Alleyn both had their own wharves at certain point. Henslowe recorded some expenses on mending his wharf in 1596.²⁶ It is possible, however, that this was the same wharf mentioned in the partnership deed. In a letter to Edward Alleyn dated 21 Oct. 1603, Joan Alleyn also mentioned paying the Lord's rent for a wharf to a deputy of one Mr. Woodward. Foakes suggested that this could be Francis Woodward, who was recorded borrowing from Henslowe earlier in that same year.²⁷ It seemed more likely, however, that this was Matthew Woodward, bailiff to the second Viscount Montague. Matthew was known to be holding that position till at least 1610, and his duty included taking charge of the Montague house and collecting rents on Montague's local properties.²⁸ If this was the case, then it is quite possible that Alleyn's wharf was located in the vicinity of Montague Close, somewhere between Winchester palace and St. Mary Overie church. Further east from the Bridgehead along the south bank there were also other landing stairs near Tooley Street. And further west from Paris Garden, in the Lambeth field there were also the Stangate stairs near the turn of the river, and the Horse ferry near Lambeth palace, both facing and connecting with the Westminster stairs. Thus, while at first glance Southwark appears to be largely separated from the bustling City by the broad band of water and is only connected to it via the tenuous link of the Bridge, upon closer examination it is actually shown in these maps as tightly woven into an intricate network of highways, principle streets, wharves, landing stairs, as well as grand travel routes stretching and spreading all over the City.

²⁵ In his account of Rose's modification in 1592, Henslowe recorded a very early payment for "wharfing" and several other ones for bringing timber, boards and other materials "by watter". See Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2002, pp. 9-13.

²⁶ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2002, pp. 46-7.

²⁷ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2002, pp. 296-7.

²⁸ In a letter from Benjamin Norton to Geoffrey Pole, dated 22 November 1610, Matthew Woodward was said to have been committed to the Clink in the previous Sunday. See Questier, *Newsletters*, 1998, p. 96. On the duty of Matthew Woodward as Bailiff, see Cerasano, "The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn", 2000, p. 84-5.



Fig. 4 John Norden, *Civitas Londini*, 1600



Fig. 5 J. C. Visscher, *View of London*, 1616

The sense of continuity conveyed in the maps is not only carried on and to a great extent augmented in the three later works. These three are all panoramic views of the City from different vantage points in Southwark. Like the maps, these panoramas have previously attracted the attention of theatre historians mainly for their depictions of the Bankside playhouses, and in this particular aspect their value as visual reference has been fairly limited—with perhaps the exception of Hollar's *Long View*. Viewed as a whole, however, they are useful visual evidence for the contemporary perception of Southwark and its connections with the City that they have captured. The 1600 *Civitas Londini*, which also includes an inset of an updated version of Norden's 1593 map, shows a large area of Southwark including the parks south of the playhouses and the densely populated areas around St. Mary Overie church. Visscher's 1616 panorama views the City from generally the same direction but takes up a vantage point much closer to St. Mary Overie. For both works, it is difficult to tell where exactly the

observations were made. While it is possible that Norden's panorama represents a view from some hillside further south of the Borough, Visscher's view is most likely from some fictional vantage point, since the only possible place that could have offered a view both higher than, and close enough to, St. Mary Overie church would have been in the old Suffolk Place which, by 1616, had long been pulled down. Foakes believed that Visscher's work is derived from Norden's, but it seems likely that it was more influenced by an intermediate work from 1610—an engraving by Jodocus Hondius, which itself shows unmistakable signs of derivation from Norden's work, especially in terms of their misplacement of St. Mary Overie church and heavily warped perspective of the High Street.²⁹ The last panorama in this group, Hollar's 1647 *Long View*, is the most detailed and topographically accurate of all. It represents a view from the top of St. Mary Overie looking over the vicinity of the church. The view extends to the west over the Bankside with the Globe and the Bear Garden embedded in the roofs and treetops, to the east just beyond the boundary of St. Olave's parish, and to the north over the Bridge and reaching the City in the background. It is interesting to observe that in a similar fashion all three panoramas have chosen as their central foreground areas surrounding St. Mary Overie church, i.e. the Winchester House, Montague Close, the Bridgehead section of the High Street, and the area in the vicinity of St. Olave's church. The southern end of London Bridge is also assigned a considerable portion of the frame and depicted in details. In contrast, the City north of the bank is pushed further to the background and represented mainly through a continuous spread of rooftops punctuated by various landmarks. The immediate visual impact and impression from this perspective is a well-struck balance between the north and south banks, amounting to a sense of a city sprawling over both sides of the river. In the Norden and Visscher panoramas, the impressive structure of St. Mary Overie church is rendered about the same size as the St. Paul's in the north. This seems a clear sign of artistic rendering following not so much the physical rules of perspectives but the artists' perception of his subject's importance. It is perhaps for this same reason that the perspectives on the High Street in the Norden panorama is so much warped towards the west. The actual High Street of Southwark is in fact slightly bending westwards, as can still be seen in today's maps. Placing the Bridge on the right edge of the frame, Norden's panorama apparently places St. Mary Overie church too much to the west, and grossly exaggerates

²⁹ See Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642*, 1985, p. 10, p. 14, pp. 18-9.

the bend on the High Street. This was perhaps the artist's effort to 1) push the view of the northern bank sufficiently towards the west to include the landmark of St. Paul's, and 2) bring both St. Mary Overie and the High Street—both of symbolic importance to Southwark—as close as possible to prominent visual focal point in the right one third of the frame, following the proven and widely-used “rule of thirds” in framing.



Fig. 6 Wenceslaus Hollar, *Long View*, 1647

The sense of connection between the two churches in the heart of their respective community beckoning each other is complemented by the depiction of the Bridge as a solid structure linking the southern neighbourhood in the foreground to its northern counterpart in the background. This is also where Hollar's 1647 *Long View* excels, with its detailed depiction of a continuous row of establishments going all the way from the foreground over the Bridge to the background. It is actually difficult to tell where exactly the Bridge ends and the streets start just by tracing the lines of rooftops. In the *Long View* the sense of mutual accessibility between the banks is again supplemented by the detailed depictions of numerous landing stairs and wharves along both sides of the river, with people shown as embarking on and alighting from boats, or being ferried across the river.

If Hollar's *Long View* recorded a typical view of Southwark in the 1640s, about fifty years after the heydays of the Bankside theatres, then a view of the same place almost exactly one hundred years earlier—and fifty years before the Bankside theatres were built—had been captured in another panorama made by the Flemish artist Antonis van den Wyngaerde. This undated panorama, created most likely between 1543 and 1545, adopts a view similar to that in the *Long View* but from a vantage point much further south from St. Mary Overie church.³⁰ It commands a view over the High Street of Southwark, which takes up central foreground, and extends across the Bridge to the City in the background. Horizontally it extends on the west to Westminster, and on the

³⁰ For discussions of the dating of this work, see Colvin and Foister, *The Panorama of London circa 1544*, 1996, p. 5.

east beyond the Tower. Of all the surviving panoramas of London from late sixteenth and early seventeenth century this is the only one that affords a detailed view of Southwark's High Street. Yet curiously it seems to have attracted little interest from theatre historians. Most of the discussions about this work so far have come from antiquarian and cartographical studies or studies of historical London. Mullaney, however, has briefly commented on a nineteenth century reproduction of this work, and has read it as representing a London still clearly defined by, and contained within, its ancient Roman walls—"the most prominent of its figures of space"—whose boundaries were yet to be obscured by the social and cultural ambiguities of popular drama.³¹ While Mullaney has accurately grasped what appears to be a repeated feature in Wyngaerde's city panoramas—the clearly marked city walls—his direct association of a circumscribed urban identity of London with its separation from the suburbs is certainly problematic. Such a reading glosses over crucial differences between London's different suburbs in terms of their history, demographic characteristics, socio-economic status, administrative specificities, and most important, their relationship with the City because of all these differences. Southwark and the northern suburb certainly differed considerably in many of these aspects, and thus cannot be grouped without qualification under an umbrella notion of suburb-city separation.³² Premised upon such an umbrella notion, the lack of differentiation in Mullaney's view between the provenance of theatrical activities in Shoreditch and those on the Bankside is thus even more problematic. Besides, although the Roman walls north of London does to an extent signify some notion of demarcation between the City proper and its annexed northern suburb, one should certainly not forget about the London Bridge on the south—an equally ancient and potent symbol not of separation but of connection—linking Southwark to the City. Finally, although Mullaney has made the acute

³¹ Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage*, 1988, p.8, p.15, p. 20.

³² The northern suburban areas outside Moorgate and Bishopsgate, which consist of Moorfields, Finsbury Fields, and Spittle field, for instance, had a long history of being used by the City dwellers for leisurely activities as well as training in martial art. In sharp contrast with Southwark in progressive urbanisation, the northern suburb appears to retain its leisurely appearance and function well into the sixteenth century. Some of the activities taking place in this area have been captured in the Copperplate map of London from the 1550s, the earliest known map of the City. The variety of activities depicted in detail in the Copperplate map include adults and children taking leisurely strolls, people walking or playing with dogs, carrying out, washing and drying of clothes, as well as target practice. Some of the buildings along Gracious Street also appear to have their own private gardens with neatly trimmed bushes forming square or circular labyrinths. The Moorfields fragment of the map is on display in the Museum of London: War, Plague and Fire: The Copper Plate Map, image ID: 62.75.

observation that Wyngaerde was indeed highly aware of boundaries and had always clearly depicted city walls in his panoramas, he seems to have ignored the fact that the artist here did not draw the southern boundary of London at Southwark's Bridgehead but all the way down to the very end of the High Street where it was joined by Long Lane from the east. Beyond this point the High Street changed into Blackman Street and led to the town of Newington. Thus Wyngaerde effectively contained his panorama of London between the Roman walls on the north and the southern boundary of traditional Southwark's civic life. The cityscape in between is represented with continuous waves of rooflines spreading over both sides of the Bridge and filling the gaps between rising steeples of various sizes. The High Street of Southwark in the foreground, executed in considerable detail, is shown to be a spacious street fully built up on both sides, a familiar scene since perhaps the late twelfth century.³³ Recognisable establishments on this side are the Winchester house, St. Mary Overie church, and St. Olave's church close to the river, the church of St. George near the end of the High Street, as well as the Suffolk place opposite to it, a palace of remarkable magnificence which by that time was in the King's possession.³⁴

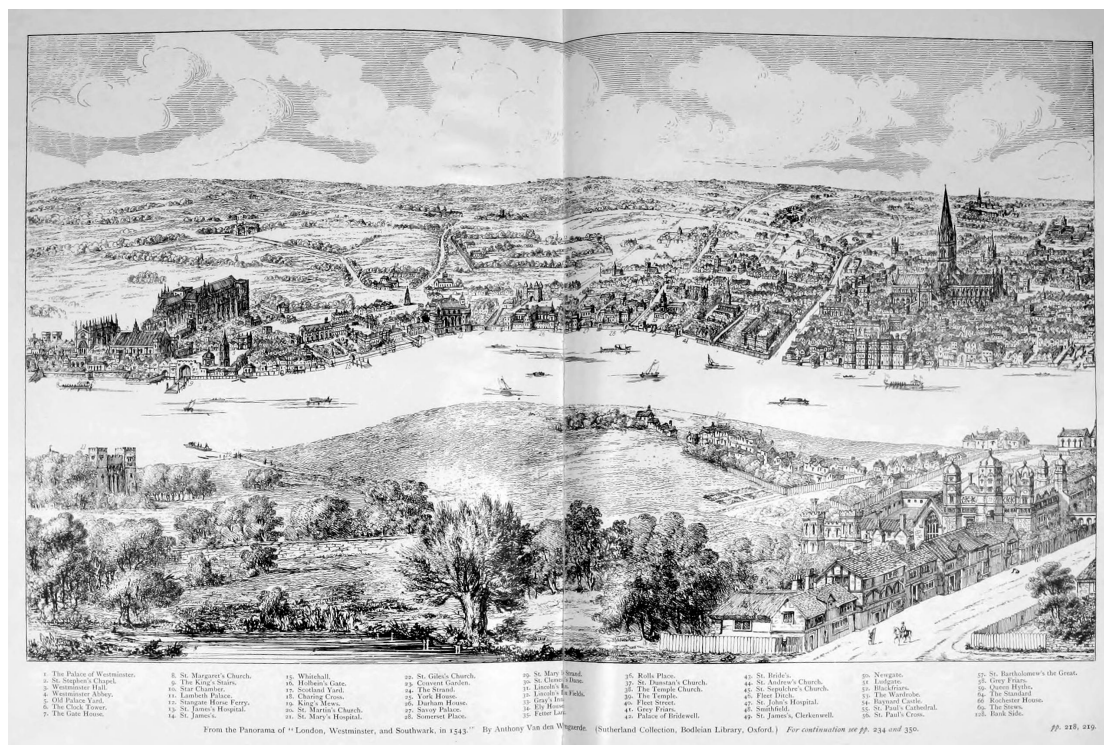


Fig. 7 Antonis van den Wyngaerde: *Panorama of London*, c. 1543-4 (Original)

³³ Martha Carlin has noted that when the Bishop of Winchester obtained his manor from the Priory of Bermondsey in c. 1144-80, the priory retained the High Street frontage. This action, together with archaeological evidence, suggest that "by the later twelfth century the High Street already may have contained a continuous sequence of buildings from the bridge foot to St George's church". See Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 22.

³⁴ Suffolk Place had been an important symbol of noble and royal presence in Southwark. By Wyngaerde's time it belonged to King Henry VIII. It was later passed to King Edward VI and retained from the 1550 royal grant of Southwark's three manors to the City. During Queen Mary's accession, it served as a final stop-over place for the queen and the king before they entered London on the next morning. This whole event was recorded in detail by John Elder in 1555. See Elder, *The Copie of a Letter*, 1555.

Another important point to make about this panorama of London is about its style of representation, which differs quite significantly in the original and in its nineteenth reproduction. Many discussions on this work have, as Mullaney's has, used the nineteenth century version, a collotype reproduced by the London Topographical Society around 1881-2. The original, now stored in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford as part of the Sutherland collection, is more of an unfinished, work-in-progress sketch, whereas the collotype version has been given an air of a finished piece. Although on the whole a faithful reproduction, the collotype shows clear sign of efforts to bring the original to a much higher level of completion. Features like rooftops, trees and fields which are mostly indicated in the original with simple strokes have been given a huge amount of detail in the collotype. Shadows and highlights are added to the features to make them appear more substantial and three-dimensional. Other details that augment the sense of ambience such as rolling clouds and numerous ships or other vessels on the river have also been added. More fundamental changes include the addition of Whitehall Palace and Bermondsey Priory—both curiously absent in the original—and reconciliation of conflicting placements of features such as St. George Church, which is shown in the original as overlapping with buildings on the east side of the High Street.



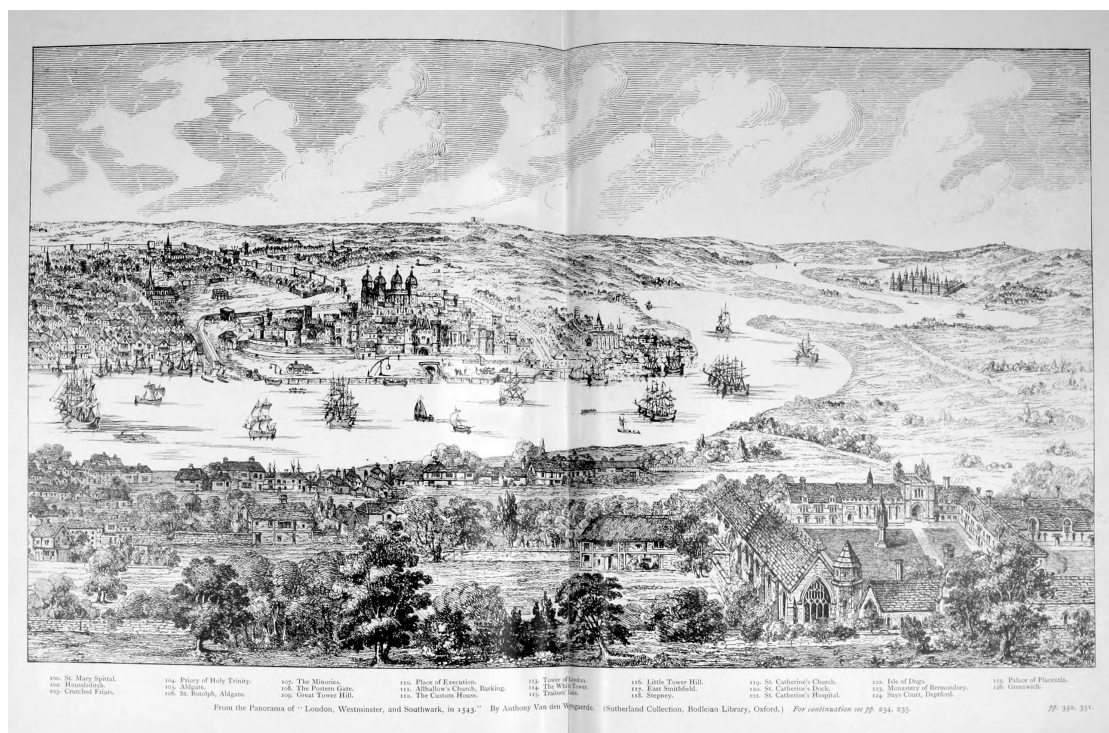
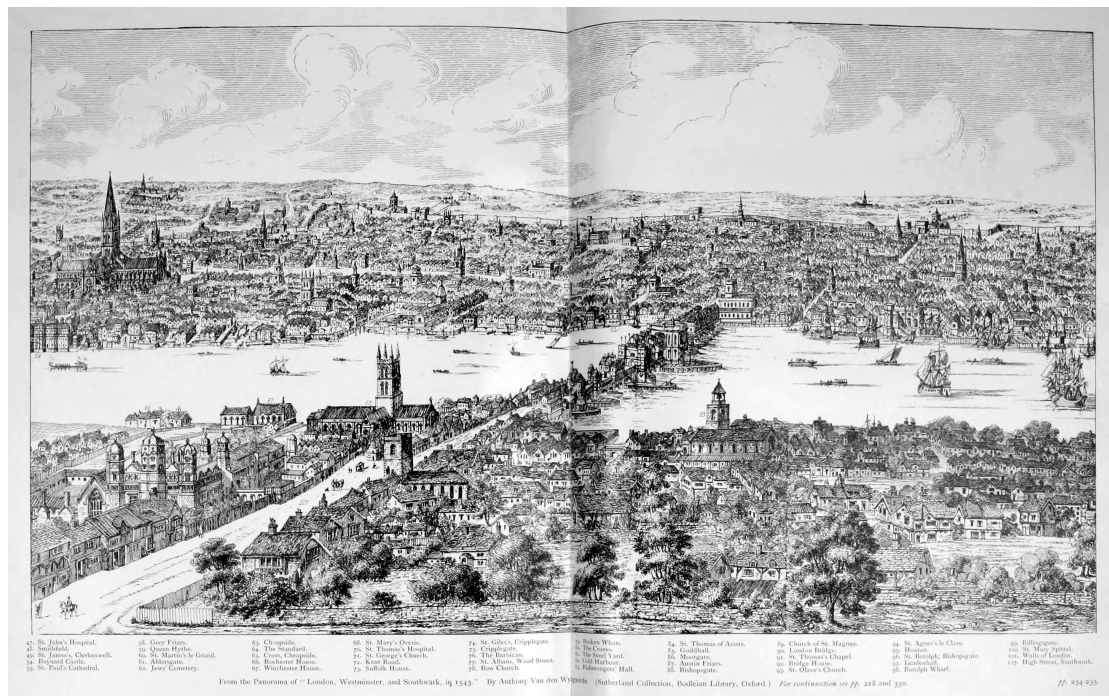


Fig. 8, 9, 10 Antonis van den Wyngaerde, *Panorama of London*, 19th century (Reproduction)

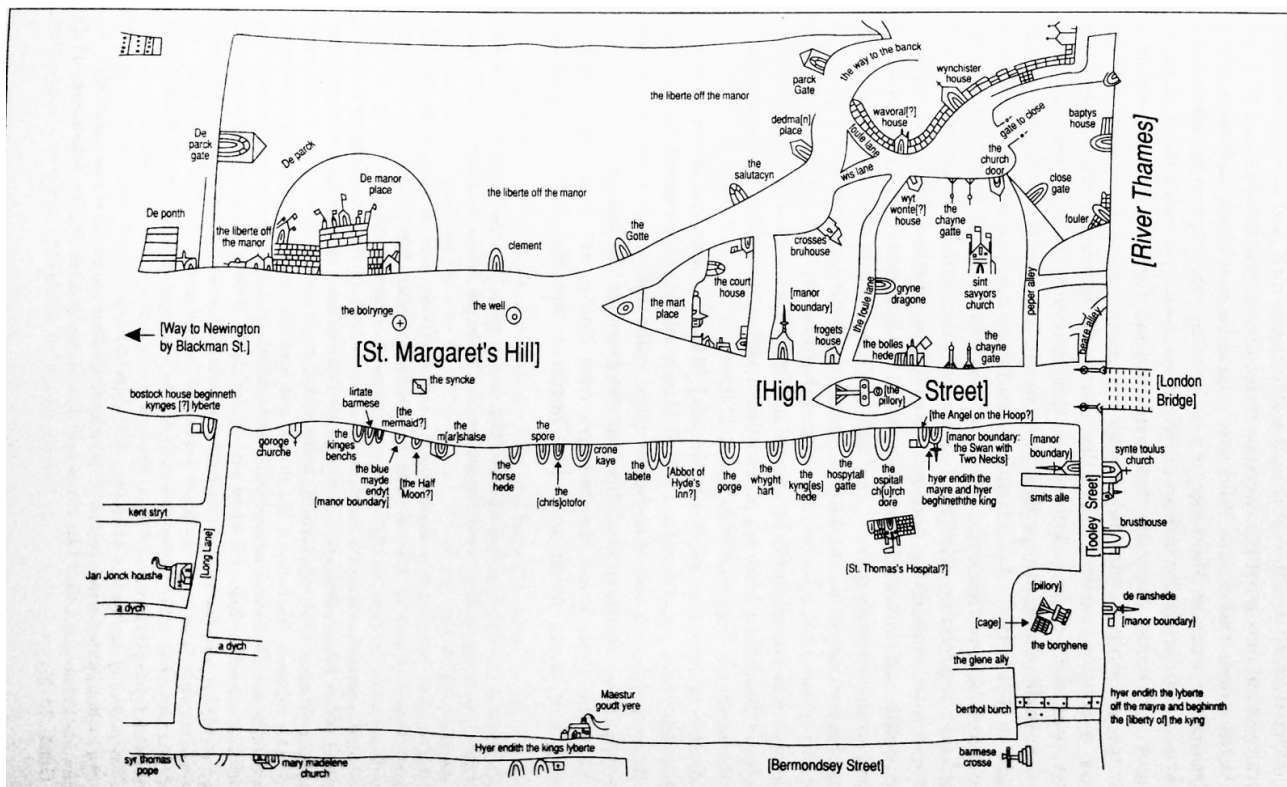
Discussions of this panorama so far seem to have been largely oblivious to, or at least have ignored, these differences. The original and the collotype have often been treated as basically the same and interchangeable. While their differences might be negligible for most purposes, they do present the work in very different lights, which in turn invite different interpretations. On the whole, the collotype's effort to substantiate the original sketch has obscured all the signs of a work in the process of its

creation. Features like overlapping shapes and correction lines that afford valuable insights into the artist's working method, procedures, as well as the underlying thinking process have been erased in the reproduction. As a result, the collotype's full-blown and substantial representation of the landscape creates an illusion of topographical accuracy, in which every feature has been represented as perfectly in place and in harmony with its surrounding features. The original sketch, on the other hand, despite its lack of topographical details has recorded in abundance the traces of the artist at work—his thinking process, decisions regarding prioritisation of information, mistakes and corrections. These signs in the original reveal that achieving topographical accuracy was certainly not as important to Wyngaerde as capturing the air and character of the City. And as such are perhaps most effectively conveyed through the representation of buildings of symbolic significance to the City's religious and civic life, the artist undoubtedly prioritised these buildings over others. Reading the signs of the work in progress in the original, it appears that Wyngaerde had basically followed the procedure of sketching out in better details the various churches, halls, castles, and towers first, and then filling up the gaps between them with simple strokes that indicated roof ridges, gables, trees, or fields. For Southwark in the immediate foreground, he seemed to have first sketched out local landmarks such as St. Mary Overie church, Winchester House, Suffolk place, St. George church, as well as the edges of the High Street, and then filled the gaps between them with drawings of buildings along the street done in reasonable detail. Such a technique certainly helped Wyngaerde highlight the City's characteristic rooflines by bringing together all these crucial buildings into a greater concentration, in which the view of Southwark has undoubtedly been conceived as an integral part of the City's landscape. The technique has also resulted, however, in a severely laterally compressed view. The Southwark High Street is heavily compressed in length, in an effort to include in the frame important buildings at the end of the street like the Suffolk place and St. George church.

The impressionistic rendering of the City's symbolic landscape also meant that Wyngaerde was highly selective in his representation. Studying the panorama alongside a plan of Southwark's High Street from around 1542 reveals several interesting omissions by Wyngaerde that have not been discussed previously.³⁵ The street plan,

³⁵ For the street plan of c. 1542: PRO, MS MPC 64. For a redrawn version of it, see Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 39.

drawn in almost exactly the same time as the panorama, shows the existence of a pillory near the entrance of Foule lane. This structure is not included by Wyngaerde. By contrast, another structure, a communal well shown in the street plan as near the fork road leading off to the Bankside, is represented in the panorama. Another interesting omission is a “bolrynge” or bull-ring, shown in the street plan to be in the middle of the High Street, in the section near the Suffolk place. Such a structure is not to be seen in panorama. Similar omission of other baiting facilities must have occurred in Wyngaerde’s treatment of the Bankside. No such feature could be discerned from the sketch of the Bankside area, which shows only a row of houses on the southern side of the highway. Yet animal baiting must have already existed on the Bankside by the time of Wyngaerde’s panorama, for in the King’s proclamation against the stews on 13 April 1546, bear-baiting in that area was also included in the prohibition.³⁶ In September of the same year, however, baiting activities resumed, with a licence issued to Thomas Fluddie, yeoman of the Majesty’s bears, to “bait and make pastime with your Grace’s bears at the accustomed place at London, called the Stewes, notwithstanding the proclamation”.³⁷



³⁶ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 227.

³⁷ Gairdner and Brodie, ed. "Henry VIII: September 1546, 26-30." *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 21 Part 2: September 1546-January 1547 (1910): p. 88.

Fig. 11 Street Plan of High Street, Southwark, c. 1542 (reproduced in Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 93)

It is difficult to say with certainty to what extent these omissions were by design and to what extent they were the inevitable result of the heavily compressed perspective. It was perhaps a combination of both. In any case, the result has certainly been a greater visual concentration on the symphony of landmarks of power, faith, and prosperity in this symbolic cityscape of London. Southwark, as earlier analysed, is clearly shown to be an integral part of this cityscape—a unique characteristic of Wyngaerde's panoramas.³⁸ Thus on the whole, despite being the earliest of all the surviving panoramas and the only one created before the 1550 royal grant of Southwark's three manors to the City, Wyngaerde's panorama of London had captured the same sense of continuity and connection between communities on both sides of the riverbank that was to be seen in all the later works. A remarkable consistency in terms of cityscape between London and the better populated areas of Southwark can already be clearly perceived. Such a sense of connection, as we have seen, was to persist and strengthen in the years to come. And if in Wyngaerde's panorama it was captured in a largely symbolic representation of the cityscape, about one hundred years later it was to be recorded with much finer details and greater topographical precision in Hollar's *Long View*.

So far I have surveyed the images of Southwark and its relationship with the City in the most representative of the available maps, sketches, and panoramas from the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The sense of connection between the communities on both sides of the London Bridge captured in these graphic materials is further confirmed by studies and analysis of various archival materials.

As a settlement connected to the City since Roman times and a major thoroughfare, Southwark by the later Middle Ages, as Peter Clark notes, had been one of the three major institutionalised centres of a “polycentric” London.³⁹ By the late fifteenth century, the area seemed to have already displayed remarkable urban characteristics. In the early 1480s the Italian Dominic Mancini had observed that

³⁸ Wyngaerde's panorama of London adopts a perspective and angle of view very similar to several of his other works on other cities, such as the panoramas of Salamanca, Valencia, and Cordoba. All these works show a small inhabited community in the foreground connected to the subject city in the background. All these communities, however, are shown to be typical suburban areas distinctly different from the city on the other end of the bridge. None of them exhibit such consistency and continuity with the main city as Southwark does with London.

³⁹ That is, the City proper, Westminster, and Southwark. See Clark, “The Multi-Centred Metropolis”, 2001, p. 240.

Southwark had “so many streets and buildings that if it were surrounded by walls it could be called a city”.⁴⁰ Accompanied by a surge of population in the first half of the sixteenth century, as Carlin has noted, such emerging urban characteristics in Southwark accelerated into a full-blown local development which saw the “creation of more than 20 new alleys and ‘rents’, the subdivision of tenement plot into hundreds of new housing units, rising rents and property values and pressures on such public facilities such as water supplies, cemeteries and rubbish removal”.⁴¹ When Wyngaerde created his panorama of London in the 1540s, he was recording the results of this major phase of development. In the subsequent years, as we have seen in the later maps and panoramas, Southwark’s cityscape was to continue to evolve and merge into that of the City on the other side.

In terms of its demographic and economic landscapes, Tudor Southwark also shows remarkable similarities to the City. On the whole, it seems, Southwark was among the less affluent areas of London. Stow in *A Suruay of London* had made reference to the congregation of aliens and poor people in Southwark, especially in areas of St. Olave’s parish.⁴² Jeremy Boulton, calculating and comparing the proportions of subsidy and poor-rate payers between Southwark’s Boroughside and three other parishes of London in the seventeenth century, has observed that the Boroughside, with 30.7% of its households fit to pay poor rate in 1622, was indeed “relatively poor” compared to the parishes of St. Bartholomew by the Exchange (78.4% in 1638), St. Margaret Lothbury (67.0% in 1624), and St. Bride, Fleet Street (50.0% in 1587). Relative degrees of poverty alone, however, do not necessarily deny Southwark’s urban characteristics, which were more visible in terms of its demographic and occupational structures.

Long before the royal grant of 1550, Southwark had shared with London important urban characteristics such as occupational variety of its residents and uneven distributions of occupation and wealth among its neighbourhoods. Martha Carlin, in her detailed study of the relations between occupation, wealth, and living quarters in Southwark from late fourteenth to early sixteenth century, has observed the persisting phenomenon of the clustering of wealthier households around the Bridgehead neighbourhoods (including parts of the Clink liberty and Tooley Street) and the street

⁴⁰ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 143.

⁴¹ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, pp. 133-4, p. 143.

⁴² Stow, *A Suruay of London*, 1598, p. 340.

fronts of High Street, and of the lesser ones in the areas further in the south and east. Prominent among the occupants of the wealthier areas were innkeepers and victuallers, whereas the lesser areas saw the congregation of many professionals in clothing and leather, especially shoemakers and cobblers. A connection between geographical location and occupation was also clearly discernable, with water-intensive professions such as brewer, fisherman, boatman, tanner, dyer, etc. staying close to the river; and vintner, hosteler, butcher, tapster, baker, etc. gathering along the High Street. Further away from the centre and near Bermondsey Street, the more typical professions were gardeners and millers.⁴³

Various parish records from later sixteenth century reveal the continuation of such trends of social stratification and economic heterogeneity as outlined above. Most noticeable of these characteristics are again the connection between geographical location and occupation, and the concentration of wealth to some particular districts. Records that contain information about both occupations and locations are rare. But one may still get a glimpse of the distribution of various professions in local areas from a series of constables' records of divided households between 1593 and 1595.⁴⁴ These were records of households who contained other tenants besides the owner's, taken perhaps originally by the month. Each entry of the records contains names of the landlord/lady and those of the tenants. Quite frequently names of the streets or alleys where the property was located are mentioned; and from time to time the occupations of the tenants were recorded as well. From these a discernable pattern of the geographical distribution of occupations may be observed. People working in clothing and leather industries seemed to follow this pattern most closely. Residents who were cobblers, tailors, button makers, fellmongers, or dyers were quite often found living in Pepper Alley, Fishmonger Alley, and sometimes New Rents or Churchyard Alley. A netmaker, the only one in this trade mentioned, was recorded as living in the Montague Close by the river. Several cutlers were lodging in the Frying Pan Alley, where there were likely some ironmongers and hardware stores, as Henslowe recorded multiple purchases of various types of nails from one or more ironmongers at this place during the modification of the Rose in 1592.⁴⁵ Most of the professions recorded in these tenancy records, interestingly, were related to leather and clothing industries. For

⁴³ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, pp. 178-85.

⁴⁴ LMA, P92/SAV/1314-7.

⁴⁵ HD, fol. 4v-5. See also Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 4-5.

practitioners in or related to the catering businesses such as innkeepers, tapsters, grocers, vintners, or brewers, the representations were surprisingly low. When residents in some of these trades do become mentioned occasionally, their locations seem to follow more or less the same pattern. A tapster was recorded as living in the Bell Inn on High Street in March 1595. Another one was noted to be in the Cock Inn in the records for December of the same year. In the same record a brewer was noted as taking tenancy with a cooper, and a “vitler”, (victualler) was keeping as his tenants a tapster and, curiously, two ballet singers. For these last two cases, the arrangements might very well be the result of their acquaintance with each other through business connections. On the whole, areas most frequently recorded as having divided houses and tenants have been the Fishmonger Alley and the Pepper Alley. Both were counted among the longer streets in the area with at least over twenty households.⁴⁶ By contrast, in all these tenancy surveys there have been very few records of properties along the High Street, many of which were undoubtedly inns, taverns and brewhouses.⁴⁷ In the studies of these records there seems to have been no mention or discussion of this phenomenon so far. One possible explanation could be that the properties along the High Street were mainly for business usages, and hence even though the inns did house guests, they were not counted as regular tenancy. Also, a considerable portion of the tenants of these properties might have been travellers, and thus were not counted as members of the parish. The absence of the records about the property holders of these establishments, however, is indeed curious. It is not entirely impossible that quite a number of these people—innholders, grocers, brewers, etc. who were among the upper echelons in the community—did not have too much of a need for extra incomes from rents, unlike many minor manufacturers, smaller-scale retailers, craftsmen or widows. It is equally possible, however, that some of the property holders from High Street did appear in the tenancy records, only their occupation was not noted down.

In any case the High Street area certainly continued to witness a higher concentration of the financially better-off. Residents living in that area figured

⁴⁶ The approximate number of households in these alleys is counted from a record of a collection for the highway: LMA, P92/SAV/1312. Besides the Pepper Alley and the Fishmonger Alley, other principle streets of similar lengths were the Saints Alley, and the Churchyard Alley.

⁴⁷ Carlin has noted that by 1381 a total number of 25 or 26 inns had been along the High Street. In the sixteenth century, the street were “lined with such establishments”, with additional inns and drinking houses found in Tooley Street and along Bankside as well. See Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 193.

prominently in the numerous poor relief records from the 1570s.⁴⁸ The geographical range of these records covers the entire High Street, with contributors found all the way from the Dolphin tavern to the Bell Inn on the west side, and from the Checker Alley to the Axe yard from the east side. The relative affluence of residents along the High Street is also visible from the surveyor of highway records. In a collection for the maintenance of highway in May 1587, about two hundred households made their contribution.⁴⁹ The number of contributing households was repeated in another collection from the same period, in which all the households visited, instead of just those who actually paid, were recorded.⁵⁰ The total number of households visited in this collection was about four hundred, of which about two hundred again made actual contributions. Among all the contributors, eighty-six were from the west side of the High Street, and seventy-one from its east side.

The four hundred or so households visited in the highway collection was probably close to but slightly less than the actual total number of households in the parish. Tenancy records from early 1590s suggest an average of two to three children per household.⁵¹ Thus the total number of residents in the parish might have been around 2000 by this time. This is close to the number of 1900 communicants calculated from the parish's chantry certificate in 1548.⁵² If this is true, the four hundred visited in the highway collection might have accounted for the majority of the households in the parish except for those from the very bottom of the social stratum who were not deemed capable of contributing.

The number of households who actually contributed to the highway collections (two hundred) is fairly close to the one hundred-and-sixty or so who were assessed liable for paying the poor-rate in June 1598.⁵³ They may very well be representing residents from the same social strata. The difference was likely due to the fact that the highway collection required a smaller amount of contribution, usually just a few pennies, whereas payment of the poor-rate quite often amounted to over ten pennies or a few shillings. Perhaps not so surprisingly, the number of contributors to the poor-rate is extremely close to the number of High Street residents who contributed to the

⁴⁸ LMA, P92/SAV/1388-95.

⁴⁹ LMA, P92/SAV/1311.

⁵⁰ LMA, P92/SAV/1312.

⁵¹ LMA, P92/SAV/1314-7.

⁵² Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 144.

⁵³ LMA, P92/SAV/1396.

highway collection (157=86+71). Although this does not necessarily mean all the contributors to the poor-rate were from the High Street area, it does seem to suggest that, to a considerable extent, the number one hundred and sixty represents a relatively stable number of residents who were the financially average to better-off in the community, many of whom perhaps resided in areas along the High Street. Dividing this number by the total number of households in the parish at this time—somewhat over four hundred, as suggested by the highway collection—suggests that the percentage of households paying the poor-rate was somewhat lower than 40%. This confirms Boulton's calculation for 1622 (30.7%). While Boulton's calculation was done on the Boroughside which included all the three manors granted to the city in 1550, the present calculation was only about St. Saviour parish. It is possible that St. Saviour, which boasted not only part of the Bridgehead area but also the entire High Street, was the relatively wealthier parish of Southwark. In fact, many of the one hundred-and-sixty people from the poor-rate assessment list of 1598 were also among those recorded as paying the lay subsidy in 1593.⁵⁴ Finally, it is worth noting that Southwark's demographic and occupational structure by late sixteenth and early seventeenth century on the whole shared crucial similarities with that of some other places of the City. Statistics from studies in the poor relief records from the City in the early seventeenth century has shown that receivers of relief were predominantly those working in transport, manual labour, building and textile industries, whereas providers of relief were most often from retail clothing and household goods industries. Such a pattern of distribution of occupation and wealth is closely replicated by statistics from Southwark in exactly the same period.

Although Southwark only officially became incorporated into London through the 1550 royal grant, it had certainly been part of the City's civic life long before that, and continued to be so afterwards. Records of various types all seem to have pointed to the same recognition that the civic, social, and economic life of London involved frequent movements, by citizens and City authorities alike, between communities from both sides of the river.

It is interesting to note that while the majority of the livery company halls clustered in the Cheapside area near Cripplegate, the Dyer's, Vintner's, Glazier's and

⁵⁴ PRO E179/186/349 Surrey. For Alan Nelson's transcription of the lay subsidy rolls of St. Saviour's parish, Southwark, see *Alan H. Nelson Homepage*.
<<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/SUBSIDY/S349.html>>

Cutler's company halls were situated very close to the north bank of the river.⁵⁵ These were all occupations that had substantial representations in Southwark. For the members of these companies who lived in Southwark, therefore, the simple journey directly across the river would have been no more difficult than going from any other areas within the City walls. This was perhaps particularly true for the dyers of Southwark, whose number started to rise in the fifteenth century.⁵⁶ By the sixteenth century, many of them, as William Rendle noted, were living near the area between Clink Street and the Montague Close.⁵⁷ In the 1542 street plan of Southwark, a structure named the "baptys house" is shown to be by the river in the premise of the Close. This establishment, according to Carlin, was used as a dyehouse in the sixteenth century and remained so until as late as the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ Like the baptys house which stood just within minutes' walk from the Bridgehead, the Dyer's company hall just across the river, set up in the sixteenth century, was merely one block away from the north end of the Bridge, in today's Dowgate Hill. The Vintner's company hall, as mentioned, was also close by, in Thames Street on the west. Since the fifteenth century, the two companies have been jointly charged, by a royal charter, with the care of the swans on the Thames. The annual swan upping, which involved rowing down the river and catching the swans, was certainly attended by members of the two companies from both Southwark and London.

Southwark was also closely involved in the book printing and publishing business of London, especially between the 1520s and 1550s. Several active printers and booksellers from this period were living and working in Southwark, among which Peter Treveris, James Nicholson, and John Gough were the most productive ones. Treveris's printing house in Southwark was located in a property called "Wodows" (i.e. wild people). From this place he printed mainly rudimentary grammar books and a few works with medical or scientific contents, of which the *Noble Handiwork of Surgery* by Hieronymus Braunschweig (printed on 26 March 1525) was perhaps the most notable.⁵⁹ Working on different materials, James Nicholson printed a variety of books for John Gough, bookseller and translator of London. Nicholson's notable works

⁵⁵ The locations of these halls have been identified on the Agas map. See "Map of Early Modern London". <<http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm>>

⁵⁶ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 53-5.

⁵⁷ Rendle, *The Inns of Old Southwark and their Associations*, 1888, p. 316.

⁵⁸ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 71.

⁵⁹ Blake, "Treveris, Peter (fl. 1525–1532)", *ODNB*, 2004.

included Chaucer's *Jack up Lande* (1536), several treatises by Martin Luther (1538), and William Tyndale's *The Exposition of the Fyrste, Seconde, and Thyrd Canonical Epistles of S. Ihon Wyth a Prologe Before It* (1538). In 1538 Nicholson was also granted the King's licence for printing the New Testament (in both Latin and English)—a clear sign of his eminence as a printer.⁶⁰ Southwark's printing and publishing business was also tightly connected to that of London. As N. F. Blake has noted, printers and publishers at this time worked in close circles. Notably, Treveris, Nicholson and Gough had all worked closely with Wynkyn de Worde, an eminent printer of London and close friend of Lady Margaret of Beaufort. De Worde was apprenticed to William Caxton, and later became the partner and successor of Caxton's business. Around 1500, de Worde moved from Westminster to London, and by 1509 had set up his printing shop in St. Paul's Churchyard. His switch from printing courtly materials to the religious, popular, and educational books no doubt put him in close contact, partnership, as well as competition, with other printers and booksellers working in London and Southwark. Treveris, for example, was known to have co-operated with de Worde and "exchanged woodcuts, borders, type and probably text" with him.⁶¹ De Worde also worked extensively with English grammarians like Robert Whittington and John Stanbridge, both of whom, apparently, had published via Treveris as well. Two other notable printers from later periods were John Redman and Christopher Truthall, whose active periods were the 1540s and 1550s respectively.⁶² Long before its formal incorporation into London, Southwark had been contributing to and competing with the printing and publishing business in the City.

Southwark's status as a significant part of London's civic life was obviously also recognised by the City authorities. In 1568, the City of London published a guidebook which specified the dress code and procedures for the Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs during their attendance of various important events and ceremonies throughout the year. Among key events of the year such as religious holidays and the elections of the Mayor and sheriffs were the two annual fairs of the City: the Bartholomew Fair in Smithfield, and the Lady Fair in Southwark. For both events, the guidebook specified the colours of the Mayor's and sheriffs' gowns, the meeting point of the City officials, the routes of their procession through the fair, and their point of return. For the Lady

⁶⁰ Palmer, *The General History of Printing*, 1733, p. 353, p. 368.

⁶¹ Blake, "Worde, Wynkyn de (d. 1534/5)", *ODNB*, 2004.

⁶² Ames, *Topographical Antiquities*, Vol III, 1790, pp. 1441-52.

Fair, the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs were to “ride to S. Magnus church in their scarlet gounes lined without their clokes”, have dinner at two o’clock, and meet up with the Aldermen. After evening prayer, the City officials were to “ride through ye faire till they c[a]me to S. Georges church, and further to Newington bridge (if it be so their pleasures,) and then returne backe againe ouer the Bridge”. At this point the Aldermen took their leave of the Mayor and returned home.⁶³ Almost exactly the same type of procedure was followed for the attendance of the Bartholomew Fair, except that the City officials were to wear violet gowns, and make a proclamation before riding through the fair.

Besides housing several manorial courts, Southwark also served as part of a larger legal system. The court house in Southwark’s Counter Street was the usual meeting place for the local Justices of the Peace. During Michaelmas term, however, on the first day after every main feast days, the Admiralty Court was held in this place in the afternoon, where trials of seamen, maritime offences, and other legal issues related maritime trade were carried out. In the morning of these feast days, the Arches Court was held in the Bow Church (St. Mary le Bow) in the City.⁶⁴ The several prisons in Southwark also functioned both locally and as part of the prison system of London. Of the eighteen prisons listed by John Taylor in *The Praise and Vertue of a Iayle, and Iaylers*, five of them were placed in Southwark.⁶⁵ Living conditions were known to vary considerably from prison to prison, as well as within the same prison. The Newgate prison was notorious for being an overcrowded and filthy place, the Clink in the charge of the Bishop of Winchester was noted for its “handsome lodgings”.⁶⁶ Apparently the prisons also differed in the types of offenders they detain. The King’s Bench and the Marshalsea were representations of the Crown in Southwark. The White Lion, converted from an ancient inn and privately managed, served mainly as a relief when other prisons’ capacities were strained. The Newgate was the place for the most notorious criminals awaiting their execution. The Bridewell, vexed with “idlenesse and lecher”, often held “Vagabonds”, “Runnagates”, “Whores, and idel knaues”. A New

⁶³ London, City of, *The Order of My Lorde Mayor, the Aldermen & the Shiriffes*, 1568.

⁶⁴ The feast days specified were: St. Faith, St. Edward, St. Luke, Sts. Simon & Jude, All Soules, St. Martin, St. Edmund, St. Katharine, St. Andrew, Conception of the Virgin, and St. Marie. See Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles*, Bk. II, p. 182. For accounts of the court house in Counter Street, see Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 1720, Bk. III, p. 28.

⁶⁵ That is: the King’s Bench, the Marshalsea, the (Southwark) Counter, the Clink, and the White Lion.

⁶⁶ Taylor, *The Praise and Vertue of a Iayle, and Iaylers*, 1623.

Prison near the Three Cranes Lane west of London Bridge was also noted by Taylor as a place especially “for Hereticks, / For Brownists, Familists, and Schismaticks”. The Clink, which served originally mainly for the detainment of offenders from within the Clink liberty, in the sixteenth century were also holding prisons from other areas of the City. It seemed to have been another place noted for the imprisonment of religious offenders. Richard Alison, for instance, in a treatise against Brownist doctrines, satirised the phenomenon “dayly manifest” most notably in the Clink, where “euerie man presumeth amongst them to excommunicate one another”.⁶⁷ The Presbyterian separatist minister Francis Johnson was also identified as a prisoner in the Clink in a series of published debates of doctrine between himself and Henry Jacob.⁶⁸ By 1610, when Matthew Woodward, bailiff to the second Viscount Montague, was committed to the Clink, the place was said to have been filled with priests.⁶⁹ Transfer of prisoners between the prisons of London and Southwark was also very common. In 1554, during the Marian Persecution, the reformist Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester John Hooper, together with protestant clergyman John Rogers, were moved several times between London and Southwark: from the Fleet prison to the Counter in Southwark, from the Counter to the Clink, and finally from the Clink to Newgate.⁷⁰ In 1599, Anne Dryland, for seditious comments and suspected involvement in witchcraft, was apprehended in London. In a letter to Lord Burghley (27 June 1595), Sir John Spencer, then Lord Mayor, explained that Dryland was originally to be kept close prisoner in Newgate, but for lack of space there had been sent to the Counter in Southwark.⁷¹ The values and risks of such powerful spectacles as the public transfer of prisoners through the city were clearly appreciated by the City authorities. The transfer of Hooper and Rogers in 1554, as noted by John Fox, was a lengthy procession from the Clink, through Winchester House, St. Mary Overie, the Bridge, the City’s streets, and finally to Newgate. The transfer was made under the cover of the night, and the prisoners, who apparently had many sympathisers among the spectators, were all the way closely guarded.⁷² By contrast, on 10 April 1560, the punishment for William Geffrey, who made blasphemous claims

⁶⁷ Alison, *A Plaine Confutation of a Treatise of Brovvnisme*, 1590, pp. 116-7.

⁶⁸ Jacob, *A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of Englande*, 1599, p. 3.

⁶⁹ See Questier, *Newsletters*, 1998, p. 96.

⁷⁰ Hooper, *Certeine Comfortable Expositions of the Constant Martyr of Christ*, 1555.

⁷¹ Green, “Queen Elizabeth- Volume 252: June 1595”, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth*, 1595-97, 1869, pp. 48-68.

⁷² Fox, *Actes and Monuments*, 1583, p. 1489.

that one John More was Christ the Saviour, was for him to be publicly “whypped from the Marshalsey in Southwarke, to Bethleem, without byshops gate of London”, before further trials and examinations.⁷³

Not only was Southwark in many ways closely connected to the City, contrary to its common reputation, it was to a great extent also fairly effectively governed. Ian Archer observes that the common associations of the government of London with stability, and of suburban government with all kinds of disorder are views that have very much passed into historical orthodoxy.⁷⁴ Such views, however, as reflected in the bodies of contemporary literary texts surveyed earlier, should often be taken with a pinch of salt, since they were frequently premised upon the privileging of, and a protective attitude towards, the City’s established social and economic orders. At the same time, one should also be cautioned against taking too literally the City authorities’ frequent complaints about the “vices” of the suburb. Increasingly, studies in early modern suburb-City relations have become aware that the purposes of the City’s complaints might well have other economic and political concerns behind them. This is perhaps especially true for Southwark. On the one hand, as Carlin notes, the City’s complaints about Southwark’s criminal problems had been a customary practice since as early as the fourteenth century.⁷⁵ Until the building of the suburban theatres provided something of a fresh focus, reasons cited by the City to justify the extension of its jurisdiction in Southwark had always centred on criminal and fugitive issues. Comparing the City’s complaints from before and after the theatres’ establishment, it is quite obvious that the numerous social and moral problems listed by City authorities as the results of theatrical activities were to a great extent reiterations of familiar earlier rhetoric with little modifications. On the other hand, as Archer has pointed out, highlighting the problems of the suburbs might have been the City’s self-serving means of “diverting attention from the failings of the city authorities”. Both the City and the suburbs, Archer suggested, struggled before the difficult tasks such as checking vagrancy and controlling urban growth; yet it was the suburban government, more than that of the City, that was often assessed by its “failure to deliver” on these objectives.

⁷³ Stow, *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, 1565, pp. 240-1.

⁷⁴ Archer, “Government in Early Modern London”, 2001, p. 133-4.

⁷⁵ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, p. 119.

And ultimately it appears that the City's approach to Southwark was to neutralise its competing authorities of jurisdiction instead of seeking its full incorporation.⁷⁶

In any case, the negative mainstream views about the government of Southwark should by no means overshadow important recognitions of its general effectiveness. The complications of Southwark's government arose chiefly from overlapping jurisdictional interests. Throughout its history, the area saw the representations of the officers of the Crown in Surrey, of the Marshalsea and King's Bench, the City with its trade and craft guilds, as well as the parochial authorities since the Tudor times. Overlapping with all these were also the five manorial authorities. While the offices of the Crown and the City in Southwark experienced several changes and transfers of power since the fourteenth century, and the City's piecemeal expansion of jurisdictional in the area had always been confined within the Guidable manor until the royal grant of 1550, the several manorial authorities in Southwark remained functional both before and after the grant. Three forms of manorial courts were in operation: the frankpledge, the courts leet, and the court baron. By the sixteenth century, procedures for manorial courts had been firmly established. In 1561, the articles of the courts leet and the charges of the court baron of Southwark were published with royal licence by John Cawood, the Queen's printer, in which the duties, charges, and procedures of these courts were set down in detail.⁷⁷ Representing the manorial authorities, the bailiffs had the day-to-day charges of the manors, and were charged with the keeping of the peace as well as general policing duties.⁷⁸ In addition, the manor juries were also responsible for passing ordinances and orders for the regulation of social and economic life.

Overlapping with the manorial authorities in Southwark were also the parish vestries and the Surrey justices of the peace. Archer has noted that Tudor legislation "had steadily devolved more authority on to the parish, making it a key unit of civil administration". Both the vestries of St Saviour parish and St Olave parish were "conscientious administrators of the poor relief" and pioneers in appointing surveyors of inmates in their efforts to control poor immigration. Reflecting the occupational profile of the parish, the vestries of Southwark's two major parishes consisted primarily of elite practitioners of trades prominent in local economy, such brewers, victuallers,

⁷⁶ Archer, "Government in Early Modern London", 2001, p. 135.

⁷⁷ Bodleian Library, *The Articles of Lete and Courte for the Lyberties of Southwarke* (1561), STC (2nd ed.) / 22943; *The Charge of the Court Baron* (1561), STC (2nd ed.) / 22944.

⁷⁸ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996, pp. 108-12.

dyers, etc.⁷⁹ This certainly helped the vestries represent local interests and remain sensitive to local issues, concerns, and opinions. The industry and effectiveness of such parochial authorities in Southwark are clearly evident in the large quantities of administrative documents, besides the usual parish registries of birth, baptism and burials, ranging from vestry minutes, churchwardens accounts and church maintenance accounts, to the numerous highway collection accounts, constable's monthly tenancy surveys, poor-rate collections and poor-relief records. Surveying the vestry records of St Saviour's parish reveals that the vestrymen, and the churchwardens under their instructions, not only oversaw a wide range of administrative issues such as public building, poor relief, general maintenance of public infrastructures, but quite often also adjudicated on various matters of disputes among local residents.⁸⁰ Also somewhat overlapping with the manorial system, the economic activities of Southwark was under the City's livery companies' control as well. By an act of parliament in 1523, the companies were granted the right to regulate the economic activities related to their respective trades not only within London but also within two miles from the City's walls. The high percentage of manufacturing professions concentrated in Southwark means the certain extension into this district of the livery companies "powers of search", which allowed the companies' searchers to enter various trade-related workshops, storage spaces, and transportation vessels, search for illegal tools or ill-crafted goods, and impose fines.⁸¹

Contrary to common belief again, it was actually not as easy for criminals or offenders to find refuge in Southwark as has often been thought. It is true that sanctuary systems did exist in the manors of Southwark. They were not, however, open to all fugitives indiscriminately and unconditionally. For the sanctuary in Paris Garden which dated back to 1420, for instance, detailed and complicated rules, procedures, and regulations must be observed, and monetary contributions made, for seekers of sanctuary both upon entry and during their stays. Additional procedures and fines were imposed upon those who fled there on account of felony. Departures from the sanctuary

⁷⁹ Archer, "Government in Early Modern London", 2001, p. 144-5.

⁸⁰ Of exemplary value are the vast body of records from St. Saviour's parish. Of particular interest to this study are relevant documents between 1550 to 1600: for the vestry records, see LMA, P92/SAV/412, 449, 450; for Surveyors of Highways' records, see LMA, P92/SAV/1310-3; for the constables' view of inmates, see LMA, P92/SAV/1314-7; for poor-rate and poor-relief records see LMA, P92/SAV/1383-5, 1388-92, 1394-6.

⁸¹ Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, p. 187.

were also strictly controlled with licence that needed to be purchased. Anyone committing felony after taking refuge would forfeit the privilege of sanctuary, and so would those who entertained prostitutes within the liberty. Under all these regulations, the sanctuary system operated for only less than a hundred years, and records of sanctuary-man had ceased by 1506.⁸² On the side of parochial authorities, the constables' records of inmates also to an extent doubled as behaviour reports about the tenants. From time to time these would include information about the tenants' daily conducts. Such reports show a high degree of vigilance, especially regarding the residents' moral integrity and behaviour. Suspicious persons showing signs of questionable moral integrity or potential threats to social harmony such as suspected adultery, unsanctified marriage, promiscuity, or violent temperaments were specially noted down.⁸³

Southwark and Henslowe's Rose

After addressing the two major assumptions about Southwark's connections with London and about its own government, it is time to turn to the last one most relevant to theatre history studies. The idea that Henslowe built the Rose on the Bankside because it was the principal entertainment district outside the City's grip is doubly problematic. First, there is little evidence to suggest that the Bankside, and Southwark in general, was the major site for entertainment before the Rose was built. And second, even though the limits of the City's jurisdictional boundary might have been one of the contributing factors to Henslowe's choice of the Bankside, it was most likely far from being his main reason. Some much more important considerations were certainly behind Henslowe's decision.

Entertainment facilities known to have existed on the Bankside are the animal baiting rings, the stews, and some bowling alleys in the Paris Garden manor. Of these, however, only the baiting rings were definitely still operating by the time the Rose was built. As mentioned earlier, a bull-ring in the High Street was shown in the 1542 street plan of Southwark.⁸⁴ Its proximity to the Suffolk Place, then in the possession of the Crown, might suggest a royal connection here. It is equally possible, however, that the facility was for the enjoyment of the local residents, given the great popularity of this

⁸² Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, pp. 115-6.

⁸³ See for example: LMA, P92/SAV/1315, p. 1, p. 3, p. 10; P92/SAV/1316, p. 1.

⁸⁴ PRO, MS MPC 64.

form of entertainment at that time. Of the existence of this sport on the Bankside, the earliest reference dates from 1546, when a special licence was issued to Thomas Fluddie to resume baiting in that area which had been banned a few months earlier.⁸⁵ The exact location of this baiting facility on the Bankside is difficult to know. And as discussed earlier, Wyngaerde seemed to have excluded it from his depiction of the Bankside in the panorama. It is hard to be sure whether or not this particular facility is one of the rings shown in the Braun and Hogenberg map and the Agas map. In any case, animal baiting definitely continued on the Bankside, and by the time the Rose was being built, at least three of such facilities had stood there.⁸⁶

Unlike the baiting-rings, by this time the stews as a form of commercial establishment had certainly ceased to exist and become old memories. None appears to be in operation—at least publicly—since the old ones were put down in 1546. As Carlin notes, the parish register of St. Saviour's recorded no burial of a 'single' or 'common' woman after February 1547; and presentments for brothel-keeping and procuring had also disappeared in the Gildable manor after 1548 and 1550 respectively.⁸⁷ Private and secret prostitution were certainly more difficult to completely eliminate, but there is no evidence to support the claim that the problem was particularly severe in Southwark. Besides, by Henslowe's time, in place of the old stews, more inns and drinking houses besides tenement buildings and workshops had been built along the Bankside.⁸⁸ Their existence, contrary to that of the stews, may be verified. Some of these houses, presumably, were standing on the ground where the old "bordellos" used to occupy. John Stow described them as standing alongside the river bank, with their signs "on their fronts, towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walles, as a Bears heade, the Crosse keyes, the Gunne, the Castle, and Crane, the Cardinals Hatte, the Bell, the Swanne, &c".⁸⁹ Of these, the Bell, as we know, is most certainly where Henslowe lived throughout the years.⁹⁰ And the Boar's Head also most certainly contained a cluster of tenement quarters. Residents in the Boar's Head were frequently required to clean the section of the common ditch near the Boar's Head Sluice over the years, as

⁸⁵ Gairdner and Brodie, ed. "Henry VIII: September 1546, 26-30." *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 21 Part 2: September 1546-January 1547 (1910): p. 88.

⁸⁶ Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, 2012, pp. 152-6.

⁸⁷ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 228.

⁸⁸ See Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 193.

⁸⁹ John Stow, *Survey of London* (1598), p. 332.

⁹⁰ S. P. Cerasano, "Philip Henslowe (c.1555–1616)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition.

shown by numerous references in the St. Saviour sewer commission records.⁹¹ The existence of large number of tenement buildings as well as inns on the grounds of the former stews along the Bankside is also suggested by the prominent representation of the Bankside residents (from Clink to Paris Garden to the Upper Ground) in the poor relief records of 1570s—an indication of an increase in the presence of innholders and other practitioners of the wealthier trades in the area.⁹² Admittedly, an argument may still be made about the presence of prostitutes, in “great swarms”, in taverns as well as the playhouses, such as the traveller Thomas Platter mentioned in 1599.⁹³ It is doubtful, however, that in the late sixteenth century the notable presence of soliciting and prostitution on Bankside was the cause, rather than more of a result, of the place becoming an area commonly associated with drinking, playgoing, and merrymaking in general.

Thus besides boasting a longer history of animal baiting, Southwark was no more deeply connected with entertainment and leisure activities than any of the other suburbs of the City. The Clerkenwell district and Smithfield in the northwest, as noted by Janette Dillon, were traditional leisure resorts with a theatrical tradition as well. Just like Southwark, the Clerkenwell district developed its entertainment and leisure culture around its communal well. The Bartholomew Fair in Smithfield also featured bull and bear-baiting.⁹⁴ Similarly, Finsbury field and Spitel field in the northern suburb were also traditional areas for leisurely activities, as was clearly evident in its depiction in the Copperplate Map of 1559 as well as the Agas Map. Besides, by the time the Rose was built on the Bankside, the Theatre and the Curtain had already been standing in Shoreditch for over ten years. Mile End in the eastern suburb, again, was a place known to have been frequented by leisure-seeking City dwellers. And just like Southwark, there are numerous records of playing, feasts, and musters of militia in this area.⁹⁵

Thus there is little evidence to warrant the association of either Southwark or the Bankside with the image of a major entertainment area, let alone the common misconception of it as the “red-light district” of London. Such an image had certainly

⁹¹ For examples of the sewer commission’s surveys and orders concerning the Boar’s Head Sluice in 1597, see LMA, SKCS/018 (Microfilm X067/001), ff. 242v-248v, 250v-262v.

⁹² LMA, P92/SAV/1394.

⁹³ Platter, *Thomas Platter’s Travels in England* (1599), trans. Clare Williams, p. 175.

⁹⁴ Dillon, “Clerkenwell and Smithfield as a Neglected Home of London Theatre”, 2008, p. 116, p. 120.

⁹⁵ See Berry, “The First Public Playhouses”, p. 136. For record of a mustering of militia in Southwark in 1599, see LMA, P92/SAV/1349.

become more of an old stereotype than reality by Henslowe's time; nor was Southwark any more of a haunt for pleasure seekers than any other districts north or east of the City walls before the Rose was built. In fact, as John Taylor the water poet recalled, the prosperity of entertainment activities on the Bankside and the frequenting of the district by thousands of Londoners seemed to be a phenomenon after the players started playing there. In his account of the watermen's 1613 petition against players for relocating to the north, Taylor recalled that it was after the players "began to play on the Bank-side and to leaue playing in London and Middlesex" that "there went such great concourse of people by water"—an increase of business opportunities which through time also greatly increased the number of watermen on Thames.⁹⁶ Also, playing as a relief to the conditions of the watermen on Thames seemed to be a reason that only became frequently cited after 1592. Before that, letters from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor often cited playing as a relief to the poor players. The building of the Rose, therefore, might well have been the cause (or at least the starting point), instead of the result, of the close association of Bankside with theatre and entertainment.

Now that we know Southwark was not disreputable and ineffectively governed despite all the jurisdictional disputes, neither was it really the principal entertainment district before the theatres were set up there, the question remains: why did Henslowe choose to build the Rose there? Current views and narratives on the setting up of early playhouses are still largely premised upon the same city-suburb discontinuity, opposition and even antagonism as surveyed above. As such the playhouses have often been perceived as in something of a fugitive state. Mullaney has suggested that the playhouses were built in the suburb for cultural licence, which the theatres appropriated and exploited for cultural subversion as well as self-reflexivity. Marvin Carlson, in the same vein, had characterised the suburban playhouses as "inescapably tied to the city, but never truly a part of it".⁹⁷ Cultural and ideological tolerance, however, experience fluctuations and is difficult to gauge or predict. Besides, for studying early playhouses, it is important not to make the assumption that the purpose and considerations of the playhouse owners were simply one and the same with those of the playing companies. The forming of the multiple connections between the playhouse and the playing companies was a complex and highly site-specific phenomenon whose gradual

⁹⁶ Taylor, *All the Warkes of Iohn Taylor*, 1630, p. 171.

⁹⁷ Carlson, *Places of Performance*, p.70.

development spanned, as I will examine later, from the late 1580s all the way to the early 1600s. Last but not least, as I have discussed earlier, the restriction on the legislative and jurisdictional power of the City in the liberties does not necessarily mean that the liberties were exempt from all other forms of administrative authorities. The Bankside, although out of the City's jurisdictional influence, was certainly still under the control of manorial authorities of the Clink, the Surrey JPs, the St Saviour vestrymen and their underofficers, as well as the City's livery companies. And it is difficult to assess the true level of protection that the liberty was really able to provide for the theatres.

Ultimately, while the geographical location of the early modern public playhouse has long been interpreted, in various forms of reiteration, as a sign of the theatre's cultural marginality, it must be realised that such a view of the City-suburb division is based primarily on the jurisdictional boundaries between the two spaces. The early integration of Southwark into London's civic life, and the heavy daily flow of traffic and logistics between the two spaces, had by the late sixteenth century clearly transcended the artificial boundary drawn at the City's southern bridgehead gate. The immense general popularity of public performance and its prominence in the cultural consciousness of early modern urban life, also speak strongly against tunnel-vision views that focus solely on the theatre's location as in the jurisdictional margin of the City.

Thus, contrary to the orthodox narrative about the building of suburban public playhouses, it seems doubtful that Henslowe was seeking in Southwark and Bankside immunity from the City's persecution or taking advantage of any pre-established cultural reputation for entertainment. His choice of the venue perhaps had much more to do with his own multiple connections and familiarities with Southwark than any specific set of characteristics or properties of the place. In recent studies there has been an increasing awareness about the importance of Henslowe's various personal, family, as well as court connections to his theatre enterprises. The Rose project was perhaps also conceived from the very beginning as an integral part and step of Henslowe's business and court careers. These topics will be treated in much more detail in the next chapter. Before concluding this chapter, however, it is useful to quickly highlight some of the key connections between Henslowe and Southwark which likely contributed to his decision of building the Rose there and then.

While before his arrival in London Henslowe had already enjoyed extensive family connections with the Sussex nobility, his network in Southwark perhaps started with his apprenticeship under the dyer Henry Woodward, whose widow he eventually married.⁹⁸ The possible origin and wider implications of Henslowe's family connection with Southwark will be considered in more depth in another chapter. It suffices to point out here that, in retrospect, Henslowe's experience from his involvement in such a locally prominent profession had clearly helped advance his career and financial standing in multiple ways. His knowledge about textile industry gained from his training as a dyer evidently also helped him in various aspects of his theatrical and court career. Boulton has noticed that prominent among the goods left for pawn at Henslowe's pawnshop were "articles of bedlinen, sheets, rugs, curtains, napkins and tablecloths", whereas bulky pieces of furniture were rare.⁹⁹ Henslowe apparently had sought to use his knowledge about textile to advance his court career. Early in King James I's reign, as Cerasano notes, Henslowe—already in the position of gentle sewer of the privy chamber by then—pressed for the grant of the lucrative office of inspector "to search view and sease all and euerye the woollen cloths to be made within the counties of Kent and Essex".¹⁰⁰ Bart van Es, analysing the crucial differences in terms of operational and managerial strategy between the Admiral's Men and the Chamberlain's Men, has pointed out that Henslowe's strong control over his playing company was achieved through his "taking ownership of company stock in the form of apparel and playbooks".¹⁰¹

At the same time, familiarity and connections with the local social and trade networks developed through his long-term residence in Southwark undoubtedly also helped him identify key figures in local communities, local dignitaries, and trade partners who in later days were able to contribute in multiple ways to both the operation of his playhouse and his social-political ascent. Large amount of material resources for the building, operation, and maintenance of the Rose, for instance, were evidently sourced from local tradesmen. He established contacts with leading figures in the watermen's company, who in the early 1590s helped put in a petition in support of his theatre business. He was perhaps in contact with some players living in the

⁹⁸ Cerasano, "The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn", 2000, p. 85. See also Cerasano, "Henslowe, Philip (c.1555–1616)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

⁹⁹ Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, 1987, p. 90.

¹⁰⁰ Cerasano, "The Geography of Henslowe's Diary", 2005, p. 337.

¹⁰¹ Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, 2013, p. 155.

neighbourhood early on. One of them, Richard Alleyn, who became one of the Admiral's players later, is known to have been a Southwark resident from as early as 1583. Several more were to move to Southwark—especially the Bankside—while they worked at the Rose in the later years. John Cholmley, the local grocer who entered into a catering and funding contract with Henslowe for the playhouse in 1587, was likely a fellow Sussex man. When Cholmley died before the term of their contract expired, as I will examine later, records suggest that Henslowe quite likely partnered up with another grocer living in his own neighbourhood in the Clink for handling the catering at the Rose. It is also interesting to note that when eventually Henslowe was ready to build the Rose, he contracted John Griggs, a carpenter who was not only a close family friend, but also a person with intimate knowledge about the history of James Burbage's Theatre.

And finally, by mid 1585 Henslowe's familiarity with the traffic and social network of Southwark would also have allowed him to perceive that, despite all its geographical advantages, Southwark's potential for theatrical business was certainly still far from being fully exploited. Records making specific references to early dramatic activities (pre-1500s) in Southwark are rare, although other forms of entertainment by itinerant troupes almost certainly visited the inns and fairs there. M. C. Bradbrook has noted an injunction against "common players who haunt the bankside" dated 1545.¹⁰² This is probably one of the earliest instances of the type of dramatic activity that concerns us in this chapter, as it does match the time when commercial playing was beginning to rise in London. A more well-known case of (possible) public performance is found in a letter from Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, to the Secretary of State on 5 February 1547—just after the death of King Henry VIII. In this letter Gardiner complains about the Oxford's players' irreverence and disobedience:

Tomorrow the parishioners of this parish [St. Saviour's] and I have agreed to have solemn *dirge* for our late sovereign lord and master, in earnest, as becometh us; and tomorrow certain players of my lord Oxford's, as they say, intend on the other side within this borough of southwark to have a solemn play, to try who shall have most resort, they in game or I in earnest.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Bradbrook, *The Rise of the Common Players*, p. 33; Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*, p. 17.

¹⁰³ PRO, SP10/1, fol. 8 (item 5); transcribed in Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry, and William Ingram, *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660*, p. 157.

Most of the proclamations and orders issued before mid-1570s against playing relating to the City of London did not make specific references to playing in Southwark, but generally referred to all the City's wards, suburbs and liberties. From around mid-1570s, however, orders from both the Lord Mayor and the Privy Council were more frequently addressing the justices of the Middlesex and Surrey separately, and making more specific references to playing activities in Southwark. This may be related to the increase of theatre-related activities in the suburbs following the building the playhouses in these areas. Documents in this period were sometimes more specific about dramatic performances in particular regions—among their usual all-inclusive phrasing. And in several cases, they were mentioning “the Borough of Southwark” (10 November 1578) or specifically naming “Newington Butts” (13 May 1580; 11 May, 1586).¹⁰⁴

As these records show, dramatic activities prior to 1585 most likely mainly concentrated either along Borough High Street, or in the Newington Butts area further down south. These areas might have served well in the earlier years for travelling players and local residence, but were also undoubtedly too far away to fully exploit a paying public from the City. The “Little Rose” messuage that Henslowe leased, by contrast, stood within walking distance from the London Bridge and the Borough High Street on the east; and was almost equally close to the bankside stairs in the Paris Garden manor on its west, a common landing place for ferries coming from across the river. All the available contemporary maps, and the large quantities of parish records, confirm unequivocally that the Little Rose's surrounding area was a densely populated neighbourhood. These details, therefore, jointly bring into light the impressive range and scope of the various benefits that familiar social environment and business connections may bring to Henslowe's career.

Conclusion

Thus, contrary to the common image of a quasi-illicit, speculative business finding its refuge in the chaotic Dionysian world of suburban London, therefore, the building of the Rose playhouse in Southwark should be better understood as a sound strategic move by Henslowe to embed his first major investment solidly in the social

¹⁰⁴ PRO, PC2/12, p. 300; PRO, PC2/13.10; PRO, PC2/14, p. 84. Transcribed in Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry, and William Ingram, *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 326, 81, 327.

relations and trade networks that he had already started to assemble around himself by the mid-1580s. And as later chapters in this thesis will continue to examine and analyse in detail, this Bankside playhouse, situated at the centre of such a district that had long been an integral part of London's civic life, and occupying a prominent nodal point in the urban as well as national traffic network, was to grow into a highly efficient, well organised, and shrewdly managed commercial institution, which in turn contributed in significant ways to the expansion of Henslowe's local and wider social-political networks.

Chapter Three

Henslowe's Social-Political Networks and his Character as an Operator

For a long time, the orthodox view on Henslowe as an illiterate, profit-driven, and controlling figure has set the tone for studies on the management of the Rose. The underlying notion of the disagreeable nature of Henslowe as a person and a theatre manager is found at least as early as the nineteenth century in William Rendle's biographical accounts and was endorsed by W. W. Greg in his quotation of F. G. Fleay's now well-known phrase—"the selfish hand-to-mouth policy".¹ It held sway for the greater part of the twentieth century. It was not until the 1980s that such a view came under re-examination. S. P. Cerasano in particular, in a series of articles as well as in her replacement of Sidney Lee's *DNB* entry on Henslowe in the *ODNB*, has contributed substantially to the discovery and accumulation of biographical information about not only the theatre impresario himself but also his family members and connections.² While these discoveries have broken new ground and provide useful materials for the re-evaluation of the character of Henslowe and the nature of his theatrical projects, what they have also given rise to in recent years are the contending revisionist accounts of Henslowe. Many debates are still being held over issues regarding Henslowe's personality and his management style.

R. A. Foakes, for instance, has read the entries in the *Diary* as revealing a "friendly and, on the whole, harmonious relationship" between Henslowe and the players.³ Cerasano and Julian Bowsher have also asserted that evidence from documentary research and archaeological work "proves that Henslowe was not a ruthless, greedy and illiterate bully...[but] was an educated, cultured, and benevolent, but prudent, theatrical 'angel'".⁴ Grace Ioppolo, in her paper presented at the SAA conference in April 2012 as well as in her talk given at the National Archives on 27

¹ For Greg's quotation of Fleay and his discussion of Henslowe's management style and its impact on the playing companies, see Greg, ed. *Henslowe's Diary, Part II*, pp. 111-3. For a brief survey of the conventional view on Henslowe and its main charges, see Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. viii-ix.

² See for example: Cerasano, "Revising Philip Henslowe's Biography", *Notes & Queries* 32 (1985), 66-71; "Revising Philip Henslowe's Biography: A Correction", *Notes & Queries* 32 (1985), 506-7; "The Master of the Bears in Art and Enterprise", *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 5 (1991), 195-209; "The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn", *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 13 (2000), 82-92; "Henslowe, Philip (c.1555-1616)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (2004); "The Geography of Henslowe's Diary", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005) 328-53; "Henslowe's 'Curious' Diary", *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 17 (2005).

³ Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, p. xxxvi.

⁴ Bowsher and Cerasano, "The Deed of Partnership in the Rose Playhouse", Digital Essays, Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project. URL: <http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/essays/rosecontract.html#fn01>.

September 2012, endorses this favourable view on Henslowe and, inferring from his response to Richard Topping's petition regarding Thomas Lodge's debt, further suggested that Henslowe was "incredibly loyal", and "fairly benevolent and protective of people who worked in the theatre industry".⁵

At the same time, what has been the most highly contended ground has been an issue closely related to Henslowe's character—i.e. the degree, nature, and impact of his involvement in the theatrical operation of the resident companies at his playhouses. Carol Rutter, tracing the progressive decline of Henslowe's image and reputation in scholarly works in the twentieth century, has made the counterarguments for Henslowe's role as merely the landlord and for his detachment from theatrical decision-making.⁶ William Ingram, on the contrary, surveying the economic background of late sixteenth century London theatres, has regarded Henslowe—and Edward Alleyn—as the forerunners and the very root of the emerging role of theatrical manager to whom and whose venture the companies of players owed their livelihoods.⁷ Bart van Es, analysing the author-sharer relations in theatrical production and questioning the current revisionist accounts about Henslowe's disengagement from playing companies' business, understands him as deeply involved in the daily theatrical operations and maintaining a "proprietary control" over his resident companies.⁸

Weighing the archival materials together with these currently contending views, it is interesting to note that sometimes the very same records in the Henslowe-Alleyn archive should have led to such a range of different, and at times directly opposing, interpretations. At the same time, it is also intriguing to observe the remarkable disparities between the different images of Henslowe as generated by the different records about him. The most persistent difference in scholarly views about Henslowe so far exists between interpretations of records that allow a peep into Henslowe's

⁵ For Topping's petitions and Henslowe's response, see Alleyn MSS 1, Articles 21-23. For discussions of Ioppolo's paper at the SAA meeting in 2012, see Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, p.64. For access to the recording of Ioppolo's talk at the National Archives at Kew titled "Philip Henslowe, Edward Alleyn and the Invention of London Theatre in the Age of Shakespeare", URL: <http://media.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php/philip-henslowe-edward-alleyn-and-the-invention-of-london-theatre-in-the-age-of-shakespeare>.

⁶ Rutter, *Documents of the Rose Playhouse*, pp. 1-9.

⁷ Ingram, "The Economics of Playing", in *A Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. David Scott Kastan, 1999. Blackwell Reference Online, 10 July 2014. URL: http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9780631218784_chunk_g978063121878420

⁸ Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, pp. 46-50, 106, 155.

personal life and those that reveal his business conducts. The former consists mainly of records such as Henslowe's personal correspondences and accounts of family matters; the latter, his business correspondences, tenancy and pawnbroking records, as well as the large bulk of itemised theatrical accounts. The personal records seem to have often painted a Henslowe who was generally respected, committed to family members and matters, usually on fairly good terms with his various associates, and even occasionally allowing a glimpse of his sense of humour. The business records, on the other hand, have often suggested a Henslowe who was shrewd, meticulous, holding considerable authority, maintaining a firm if not iron-fisted control over his business ventures, and would not hesitate to use threats in cases of emergency.

To what extent these interpretations and inferences may be made based on the two types of records is undoubtedly still open to discussions. At the same time, the more urgent question is how such disparities in the interpretations of records should be understood and handled. Instead of treating these seemingly polarised views and images of Henslowe as mutually exclusive, the fact that they emerge from records of the same person seems to beckon to some form of reconciliation of views that will recognise in them certain underlying consistencies. The current scholarly debates themselves have born clear witness to the complexity of theatrical operation and production of the period, whose multiple facets often resist being reduced to polarising sets of ethical or value terms. It calls for a more nuanced understanding of Henslowe the person, his background, and his managerial style, in order to obtain a clearer view of his involvement and management of this theatrical ventures. To construct a more concrete image of Henslowe the person as well as the theatre manager, and to establish a more grounded sense of the connections between his character and the management of the Rose, I propose to study them in the wider context of the extensive patronage network in which he was embedded. While documents related to Henslowe's theatrical ventures may not by themselves sufficiently reveal his character as an operator and investor, more valuable clues can be gathered by studying his interaction with his family, business, and political network.

The patronage network of Henslowe is a topic that has only recently started to receive more scholarly attention. In her revelatory works Cerasano has charted Henslowe's court career besides his theatre projects, and called for further studies on the large patronage network—far greater than previously thought—with which Henslowe as well as Edward Alleyn were in frequent contact, and which “ultimately

configured [their] theatrical activities”.⁹ Such a network, as Cerasano has shown, extended far beyond the familiar and immediately relevant figures to the theatrical circle such as the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Revels, and included numerous established Sussex nobilities such as the Arundel family, the Challoner family, the Lewkenors, and the Bowyers. Also implicated in this network were aristocrats who enjoyed royal favour as well as holders of eminent state positions, such as the first and the second viscount Montague, Lord Buckhurst (Sir Thomas Sackville), Sir Julius Caesar, and the Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbot.¹⁰

While extremely useful in highlighting the important yet hitherto obscure connections of Henslowe, and providing fresh leads for inquiries into the broader cultural/political contexts of theatrical production of the time, Cerasano’s study of the patronage network falls short of examining several fundamental issues in more detail, and as a result contains some problematic assumptions. With a blanket phrase, she has characterised this extensive network as the “conservative establishment”, and has understood Henslowe and Alleyn as sharing “the same goals” as their patrons and having “patrician and politically conservative” interests.¹¹ Instead of examining the internal structures of this network, it overstates the reach of this network and makes the assumption that all the parties connected to it shared unified interests. Second, arguing for the value of the patronage network to Henslowe and Alleyn, and being highly selective in the inclusion and exclusion of evidence, Cerasano’s characterisation of the network frequently falls back to the problematic presupposition that the patrons were always reliable, willing, and readily available to help. Third, without probing deeper into the ways in which Henslowe’s patronage network interacted with his theatrical projects, Cerasano’s study leads to an overgeneralisation, viewing the interests of the theatrical patrons and those of Henslowe and Alleyn as simply always “in league” with each other.¹² Put together, these assumptions easily lead to an overly simplistic and optimistic view about the patronage network as a kind of “safety net” to which Henslowe could always turn in times of trouble or need, and into which he could always safely fall back. But social networks are never founded on simple one-way traffics of

⁹ See especially the two articles by Cerasano, “The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn”, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 13 (2000), 82-92; “The Geography of Henslowe’s Diary”, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005) 328-53.

¹⁰ Cerasano, “The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn”, pp. 84-8.

¹¹ Cerasano, “The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn”, p. 89.

¹² Cerasano, “The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn”, p. 89.

agency from the centre to the peripheral, but exist—as Bruno Latour characterises it—in a constantly morphing state where social grouping and re-grouping is “an on-going process made up of uncertain, fragile, controversial and ever-shifting ties”.¹³ The assumption of simple patron-client relation underlying Cerasano’s view on the patronage network overlooks the much more complex interrelations that formed the fibres of this network, and fails to account for the constant process of negotiations of personal, social, and political boundaries between the clients like Henslowe and Alleyn and their patrons, as well as between the theatre entrepreneurs and their many other associates.

Thus, in the following sections of this chapter my goal is to first address these issues in the current scholarship by re-mapping Henslowe’s network. I will examine the leads provided by Cerasano’s works, and investigate each of the key links and personages in Henslowe’s network individually, in order to obtain a more objective view of the nature, internal relations, benefits, and limitations of this complex network of patrons. With this established, I will then examine the ways in which Henslowe’s character and his business style were both closely connected to and deeply influenced by the nature of his networks. And once I have established a clearer view of Henslowe’s character as an operator and investor with this chapter, I can then draw from this insight in the next chapter when I proceed to investigate key issues related to his management of the Rose.

Family Connections and the Sussex Nobility Network

One of the key nodal points of Henslowe’s network, as Cerasano has revealed, rested on the family connection with Ralph Hogge—and hence with the blooming and profitable iron foundry industry of Sussex. The county, especially the Weald area, saw a rapid growth of the industry between the 1540s and the 1590s. With rising numbers of operating forges/furnaces, the annual production of bar iron increased from about 1,000 tons in 1540 to about 9,500 tons by the early 1590s.¹⁴ This period of prosperity of the industry largely coincided with Henslowe’s generation and provided career opportunities for at least one member of the Henslowe family, John, and possibly for

¹³ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 28.

¹⁴ King, “The Production and Consumption of Bar Iron in Early Modern England and Wales”, p. 9.

Philip as well.¹⁵ What this connection with the industry also brought about was the familiarity with other local gentries and members of nobility who had their interests in the same business. Cerasano has drawn up a list of some of these families, suggesting that “in a roundabout fashion” the Henslowe-Hogge union brought about “a larger patronage network” for Henslowe.¹⁶ This list has certainly been extremely useful in identifying the active players in the Sussex family and business network. But what was the true extent of this network from the Henslowes’ point of view? To answer this question, I will now investigate these connections individually by using records in the Henslowe-Alleyn papers, the mining accounts of John Henslowe, and various other documents related to the Sussex nobility as well as the iron foundry industry. In so doing I will try to differentiate those that are demonstrably strong connections for the Henslowes as evidenced by the records from others that are at most tangential.

Surveying these records, it is apparent that Lord Buckhurst was closely connected to the Henslowes in multiple ways. References to dealings with Buckhurst are traceable in several bodies of documents. He appears several times in John Henslowe’s mining accounts, where he appears in various capacities such as the creditor of Ralph Hogge, or as the provider as well or receiver of different materials for production.¹⁷ Around 1590, among his other callings, Buckhurst was holding the analogous position of Master of the Game in Ashdown Forest and Broyle Park—the same position that Henslowe’s father Edmund had held.¹⁸ The Henslowe-Sackville

¹⁵ John Henslowe definitely worked as an agent for Ralph Hogge. Cerasano has also suggested that Philip Henslowe was involved in the sales of wood in Ashdown forest. See Cerasano, “Henslowe, Philip (c.1555–1616)”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (2004).

¹⁶ The individuals and families listed by Cerasano are Lord Buckhurst, Sir Richard Baker, Sir Alexander Culpepper, Sir Thomas Fane, Sir Walter Waller, Lord Abergavenny, Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir John Pelham, Sir Henry Sidney, Anthony Browne, the Challenor family. See Cerasano, “The Patronage Network of Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn”, p. 84.

¹⁷ For Buckhurst’s business dealings with Ralph Hogge and John Henslowe, see for example John’s mining accounts in the *Diary*: fol. 51r: “Reconed wt John Red the xviii daye of Aprell 1578 Generallye For all that he Can demand or Axe. Itm for x lodes of Coll he brayght of his Owne at ix^s the lod is iiii^{li} x^s More he sent ffor my lord A bachurst as ffoloweth ... More my bryther [Ralph Hogge] must Anser for hem to my Lord A Bachurst x^{li}.” See also fol. 10017r: “A not of All syche Cordes as hath Byn taken of my Lord A Bochurste & delivered by Mr Leche Or his Assynes in the fforrest of Ashedowne to the use of Mr Rauffe hogge”.

¹⁸ See Lower, *The Worthies of Sussex*, p. 192. Buckhurst was also constituted Chief Butler of England in 1590, and around this time was the Master of the Royal Swans in Sussex as well.

relationship was a close one that spanned over generations.¹⁹ When Henslowe's sister Margaret rented out a Sussex property called the "Locyers" to one Robert Wells—another likely contact from the iron foundry business—the lease was made before Buckhurst.²⁰ And in 1592 when disputes arose between Wells and Margaret concerning the same property, Henslowe paid visits to Buckhurst twice on behalf of his family.²¹ In what manner the latter influenced the course of this lawsuit is ultimately difficult to decide. Nevertheless, an entry in the *Diary* does show that the outcome was in favour of the Henslowes.²²

In similar ways the Henslowes' connection with members of the Challenor family can also be traced to various times and places. Francis Challenor, a long-term friend of the Henslowes, has been identified as living in Lindfield in 1576, the same place where the Henslowes resided. His marriage was to Mary Levett, the niece of Rev. William Levett, the rector of Buxted, a preeminent ironmaster in Sussex and the employer of Ralph Hogge. Upon Levett's death, Francis was given charge of the operation of one of Levett's furnaces in Oldland.²³ Prior to that time he seems to have already been administering others forges belonging to Levett.²⁴ Another member of the Challenor family, Thomas, also worked for Levett. Together with Hogge, Thomas was

¹⁹ Cerasano has referred to a "notorious episode" involving the theft of large quantities of wood from the Ashdown forest, and suggested that Edmund Henslowe's exemption from retribution might have been the result of Buckhurst's protection in the capacity of the overseer of the forest. The archival source for this incident is not given by Cerasano. The Ashdown forest had been subjected to "fraudulent usage" since at least as early as 1418, and by Henry VIII's reign it had evidently been "much neglected and encroached upon" with impunity. The incident involving Edmund Henslowe therefore might well have been just one of such cases. See Turner, "Ashdown Forest", p. 50. It is tempting to quickly note that one Edmund Henslowe, as Master of the Game in the Forest, filed a bill around 1692 regarding a disputed title to timber and wood, as well as to the right of deer-hunting and strays of cattle in the forest. This was certainly a different Edmund. See Turner, "Ashdown Forest", p. 51.

²⁰ For reference to the drawing up of the lease, see Dulwich MSS 3, Article 6. There is a Mr Wells mentioned in the mining accounts, to whom John Henslowe made a payment of rent in 1578. Foakes believed that this was the same Robert Wells who appeared several times in the *Diary*, see Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. xxiii-xxiv. This is not entirely impossible, especially considering the drawing of the lease by Margaret Hogge for Wells in front of Buckhurst, as well as Buckhurst's later engagement in the related lawsuit, both of which suggest personal acquaintances between all the parties here—a likely connection due to their involvements in the iron foundry business.

²¹ For Henslowe's records of his visits to Buckhurst on 20th May and 17th June 1593, see *HD*, fol. 41, fol. 123. For the disputes between Robert Wells and Margery, see Dulwich MSS 3, Article 6.

²² In the entry dated 24th May 1593, Robert Wells agreed to "delyuer vnto the Sayed Philip hensly...serten pece of Land lyenge in Buxted Caled Locyers qeuetly, wth owte any troble". See *HD*, fol. 127v.

²³ Stevenson, "Alexander Nesbitt, a Sussex Antiquary, and the Oldlands Estate", p. 164. See also Crossley, "Ralph Hogge's Ironworks Accounts 1576-81", p. 52.

²⁴ Awty & Whittick, "The Lordship of Canterbury, Iron-Founding at Buxted, and the Continental Antecedents of Canon-Founding in the Weald", p. 75.

among those who received bequests in Levett's will in 1557.²⁵ The Challenors apparently maintained connections with the Henslowe family throughout the years. In the *Diary* Henslowe recorded a loan to Thomas in 1592. The same was witnessed by Henslowe's brother William, who thus certainly also knew Thomas.²⁶ On another occasion Henslowe recorded receipt of a large bond of one hundred pounds from Thomas.²⁷ When viewed together, these entries offer a glimpse of the degree of the two families' connections as well as the scale of some of the dealings they jointly attended to. In 1605, again, it appears that Thomas was the owner of some property on the Bankside being sold to Henslowe.²⁸ Both Thomas and Francis Challenor were acquainted with Edward Alleyn as well. In a letter to her husband in 1603, Joan Alleyn remembered the gratitude of Thomas and his wife Mary to Alleyn for his "kynde vsage", and further mentioned the visit by a young servant of Francis Challenor asking for a loan for personal matters on his master's behalf.²⁹ Moreover, both Thomas and Francis, just like Henslowe and Alleyn, apparently achieved considerable level of social success and distinction, too. In a manuscript book, dated 1606-7, detailing the persons receiving annuities and fees from the Crown, both of Thomas and Francis Challenor are included among the eligible personages from Sussex.³⁰ In the same book can also be found Henslowe's name, listed among the a select few of twenty-one individuals, parishes, or institutions entitled to perpetuities from the Crown.³¹ The long-lasting personal friendship between the Henslowes and the Challenors, seen in the light of all these documents, therefore, does appear to be an enduring and mutually beneficial one between two families connected by geographical proximity, common business interests, as well as comparable social status.

Another long-term Sussex connection of the Henslowes was the Langworth family. Foakes has suggested that the connection is traceable to at least as early as the

²⁵ For William Levett's will: ESRO, AMS6326/37; TNA, PROB 11/37/73.

²⁶ *HD*, fol. 19.

²⁷ *HD*, fol. 124.

²⁸ Dulwich Muniments, Article. 132.

²⁹ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 38.

³⁰ BL, Add MS 14313, fol. 40.

³¹ BL, Add MS 14313, fol. 21. See also Cerasano, "The Geography of Henslowe's Diary", p. 338.

period of the mining accounts.³² Numerous Langworths subsequently appeared at various times in the *Diary* and the rest of the Henslowe-Alleyn archives, among which Sir Arthur Langworth was the most notable figure both for his involvements in large scale dealings with Henslowe and Alleyn, and for the important part he obviously played in Henslowe and Alleyn's efforts to advance their court positions. Some of Arthur Langworth's dealings with Henslowe and Alleyn, besides ordinary loans, involved remarkably large sums of money. In 1595, for instance, he negotiated the purchase of some properties from Henslowe at the price of one hundred pounds. When Margery, the widow of Edmond Henslowe, died, Henslowe sold her house to Langworth at a price of eighty pounds. In 1596, Langworth acquired from Alleyn the lease of "the parsonage of fvrllle" (Firle) in Sussex at a staggering price of three thousand pounds.³³ In June 1598, when opportunity came for Henslowe and Alleyn to obtain the joint office of the Masters of the Bears, Langworth was apparently privy to their plan and strategizing for it. The close relationship between the three men was beyond doubt. A letter from Henslowe to Alleyn from this time suggests that Alleyn was then staying in Langworth's residence in Brille. The latter appeared to be actively engaged in mobilising various connections with various "greate parsonages", as well as relaying information between Sussex and London and reporting to Alleyn "what paynes and travell" Henslowe had taken. In another letter from the same time when the hope of success was fading, Langworth, despite suffering some personal complaints from the frustrated Alleyn, assured the latter of his friendship and commitment to the course, and further said that he had "suddenly devised a wey to helpe" and would "helpe the best [he] can".³⁴

Apart from these connections outlined above, however, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that most of the other families or individuals in the Sussex iron foundry business as listed by Cerasano were connected to the Henslowes in any significant way. The *Diary* holds no reference to any of the other names she has

³² Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, p. xxiii. This connection, however, was not necessarily forged through dealings in the iron foundry industry, as Sir Arthur Langworth's appearance in the mining accounts was as the buyer of some sheep. Nevertheless this undated entry, as Foakes suggested, can almost certainly be dated to the mining period. See John Henslowe's mining accounts fol. 57r: "sales of xxxix ewes and xviii Lames [lambs] for nyne poudes [pounds], 17 of maye".

³³ *HD*, fol. 24, 98, 124. It appears, however, that Langworth's possession of the parsonage of Firles was passed back to Alleyn later in 1601. See Dulwich Muniments, Article 124.

³⁴ Dulwich MSS 2, Article 1, 2.

suggested, and the rest of the Dulwich records contain only a few references to a different Richard Baker (instead of Sir Richard Baker) in a collection of fifteenth century documents related to the history of the Dulwich Manor. The absence of reference to any of these other people in the voluminous Henslowe-Alleyn papers stands in stark contrast to the prominent presences in the same of personages such as Buckhurst, the Challenors, and the Langworths.

The households of the two viscount Montagues may also be regarded as connected the Henslowe, but only to a very limited extent. In her survey of the Henslowe-Montague connection, Cerasano has stated that Henslowe's "association" with the two viscount Montagues provided him with "two useful trump cards".³⁵ But indirect references to them in the records must caution us against overstepping the limits of evidence and interpretation. On the one hand, some tangible although indirect family and business links between the Montagues and the Henslowes may be discerned from documents related to the Sussex iron foundry circle. An investor in the iron foundry business himself, the first viscount, Anthony Browne, was undoubtedly well acquainted with Hogge's employer William Levett. In 1557 he was entrusted in Levett's will, together with the Bishop of Winchester and the Lord Chancellor of England, the task of providing advices on the distribution of Levett's gift of one hundred pounds to some local "poore Scollars".³⁶ On the other hand, however, the viscount does not appear to have dealt directly with the Henslowes at all; nor does John Henslowe's mining accounts seem to contain any records of business interactions with Montague's forges. The second viscount, Anthony-Maria Browne, similar to his grandfather, never directly appears in the Henslowe-Alleyn records. More will be said on this later in the chapter. One of the second viscount's bailiffs, Matthew Woodward, does appear in the Dulwich manuscripts on two occasions, as evidenced by two acquittances he issued to Edward Alleyn and Robert Bromfield for the half-yearly rent of a wharf in the Montague close.³⁷ In the aforementioned letter to Edward Alleyn in 1603, Joan Alleyn also mentioned paying the same rent for this wharf to the deputy of Matthew Woodward.³⁸ These

³⁵ Cerasano, "The Patronage Network", p. 85.

³⁶ ESRO, AMS6326/37; TNA, PROB 11/37/73.

³⁷ Dulwich MSS 4, Article 43, 45. See also Davison and Coates, "BROMFIELD, Robert (c.1575-1642), of Montague Close, St. Saviour's, Southwark, Surr.", in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629*. URL: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/bromfield-robert-1575-1642>.

³⁸ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 38.

documents, together with two others from the Dulwich Muniments about the earlier ownership of the same wharf, are the only ones in the entire Henslowe-Alleyn records related to the Montague households.³⁹ It is difficult, therefore, to accept Cerasano's overstatement about the Montagues as Henslowe's "trump cards". The extremely limited dealings between the two parties mediated through agents contrast sharply with the evidently frequent and deep level of direct personal engagements clearly observable from the Henslowes' other stronger connections examined earlier.

Thus, by examining available evidence from the *Diary*, the Dulwich archives, and various other documents related to the Sussex iron foundry industry, and by teasing out those among the Sussex nobility and business network whose connections to the Henslowes were evidently only tangential, we can now obtain a more realistic view of the true extent of the Sussex network from the Henslowe family's perspective. The strongest connections of the Henslowes through either family alliance or business interactions were those formed with Hogge, Buckhurst, the Challoners, and the Langworths. Plotting the geographical locations mentioned in records related to the Henslowes' dealings with these key figures and families also suggests that geographical proximity was a contributing factor in the forming of these connections. With Ashdown forest at its geographical centre, these connections linked up surrounding areas such as Buckhurst, Buxted, Lindfield, Firle, and Brille, and formed a significant part of the family and business network in east Sussex. On the reverse side of the coin, it may also be noted that the general lack of contact between the Henslowes and their other weaker connections in the Sussex network, such as the Montagues or the Fitzalans, seems also to clearly mirror the much greater geographical distances between the east Sussex cluster of towns around Ashdown forest on the one hand, and west Sussex locations such as Cowdray (Montagues) or Arundel (Fitzalan) on the other.

Sussex to London: Henslowe's Early Connection to Southwark

³⁹ This wharf was first leased in 1586 to John West, a bailiff to the first viscount Montague. John West Jr. later assigned it to his brother-in-law Robert Bromfield in 1601, who immediately assigned it again to Edward Alleyn. Alleyn, therefore, was likely the initiator of this move. See Dulwich Muniments, Article 121, 122. Bromfield and Alleyn were on very friendly terms. Matthew Woodward's aforementioned acquittance to Bromfield in April 1603, therefore, was most probably for the rent on the wharf paid by Bromfield on Alleyn's behalf.

But how did Henslowe move from Sussex to Southwark in the first place? Unsurprisingly, no attempt has been made by theatre historians towards answering this question so far, as no documents directly related to Henslowe's activities prior to 1579 has been uncovered. In the token books of St. Saviour's parish, the Henslowes did not appear until as late as 1588, when three of the Henslowe brothers, Edmond, John, and Philip, were all recorded as living in properties on the bankside.⁴⁰ Since many token books for the years prior to 1588 have not survived, it is possible that the Henslowes had migrated to Southwark some years before that time and were recorded in some of the lost books.⁴¹ A twice recorded entry in the *Diary* suggests that at least Edmond Henslowe had lived in another location in Southwark before he took residence on the Bankside.⁴²

For Philip Henslowe, records of his earlier association with Southwark are extremely sparse. The earliest definite reference to his activities in the area was his marriage to Agnes Woodward, the widow of Henry (Harry) Woodward, on 14 February 1579.⁴³ Only two other records could be found in the Dulwich manuscripts. These are covenants, dated 14 and 18 June 1584 respectively, between Henslowe and Richard Nicolson, a leather-dresser of St. Saviour's parish, for the purchase, dressing, and sale of goat-skins.⁴⁴ It is difficult to know whether or not by 1584—right before Henslowe took the lease on the “Little Rose”—he had been actually living in Southwark or somewhere else. His apprenticeship under Henry Woodward must have completed before Woodward's death on 8 December 1578.⁴⁵ There is no indication as to whether the apprenticeship actually took place in Southwark or London, for records of Woodward's residence in Southwark are also scanty. Among the token books there is

⁴⁰ LMA, P92/SAV/243. In the records of this year, Edmond Henslowe was living in Hunter's Rent, John Henslowe was in Unicorn Alley, and Philip Henslowe was in “the Bell (and the Cock)”. All these properties were known to be on the Bankside.

⁴¹ The token books for the years 1581, 1583, and 1585-7 have not survived.

⁴² See *HD*, fol. 39, fol. 122v. These were tallies of the expenses Henslowe had laid out for Edmond throughout the years. Henslowe recorded a loan of *iiij^{li}* to Edmond when the latter “tocke the Leace of his Howsse in sothwarke”, and another loan of *xxxx^s* later when Edmond “tocke the Leace of his howsse on the bancksyd”. Edmond appeared to have moved yet again to Lambeth later.

⁴³ The marriage record is both in the monthly bills, and the composite parish register. See LMA, P92/SAV/358/9, P92/SAV/3001.

⁴⁴ Dulwich Muniments, Article 86, 87.

⁴⁵ LMA, P92/SAV/3001. Henry Woodward was recorded as buried “in y^e church” of St. Mary Overie.

only one reference to Henry Woodward in the book of 1572, where he is recorded as living in the Clink liberty in a household most likely consisted of two adults.⁴⁶

In the face of such sparsity of evidence, probing into the Henslowes' family and business connections uncovers a document that may provide a possible lead about the beginning of Henslowe's move from Sussex to Southwark. In his will in 1592, John Henslowe made a bequest to Agnes Henslowe, which reads: "Item I giue and bequeath to my Cozen Woodward's wief all suche bondes, somm or somms of moneie, leases, goodes that I haue at London within her house".⁴⁷ The entry is intriguing, not only because John was still referring to Agnes as "Woodward's wife" as late as 1592, but also because it hints at the possibility that John was acquainted with Henry Woodward—an important piece of information that seems to have gone largely ignored by scholars.⁴⁸ In the 1570s John was involved in Ralph Hogge's iron foundry and gunshot manufacturing business in Sussex.⁴⁹ The operational circle of this business involved not only various parties in Sussex, but also clients from London, not to mention the Crown. The Wealden industry had long been supplying iron to the

⁴⁶ LMA, P92/SAV/181, fol. 17. Henry Woodward purchased two sacramental tokens this year, an indication that there were two people above the age of sixteen in his household. The other adult was most likely Agnes Woodward. Their two daughters, Elizabeth and Joan, were probably born sometime later. In the St Saviour's parish register, an Elizabeth Woodward was recorded as daughter of Harry Woodward, and christened on 23 January 1574. See P92/SAV/3001. Incidentally, another "Mr. Woodward" appeared in the token book of 1579 as living in "the Bell from the west side". It is tempting to think that this was Henry recorded before his death later in the year, and it was from him that Henslowe took over the residence in "the bell" when he married Agnes. This reading is incorrect in several ways. First, this "Mr Woodward" was living in a household with at least six people over the age of sixteen, and hence was actually one John Woodward recorded in other years' books, who usually purchased around six tokens and remained in the same property each year. Second, the "Bell on the west side", i.e. the west side of the Borough High Street, was a different property from "the Bell and the Cock" on the Bankside, where Henslowe was residing. See Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 34.

⁴⁷ ESRO, AMS6326/39. See also TNA, PROB 11/79/262.

⁴⁸ John Henslowe's will does not seem to have received much scholarly attention. Cerasano did make a reference to it in her article "Revising Philip Henslowe's Biography". But her comments were mainly about John's peculiar way of addressing Agnes. There was no discussion on the possible connection between John and Henry Woodward. Cerasano also apparently understood the word "cousin" as referring to "Woodward's wife", i.e. Agnes, and hence John was close to her—instead of Henry. She further suggested that John had been living with Philip and Agnes in London, since his bonds, money, leases, and goods were in their house. This is unlikely, however, since John clearly had his own house on the Bankside, according to the token book records of 1588. A more reasonable reading of John's mention of Agnes's house would be that it was a reference to a different property that Agnes had owned—very likely from her previous marriage to Henry—that was in a different location from the current residence of Agnes and Philip, "the Bell and the Cock".

⁴⁹ The centre of Ralph Hogge and John Henslowe's operation, as Crossley's study suggests, was Buxted, the town where Hogge's former master Rev. William Levett worked as the rector, and where Hogge resided. The partners were operating at least four blast furnaces. See Crossley, "Ralph Hogge's Ironworks Accounts, 1576-81", pp. 51-2.

manufactures in London.⁵⁰ Hogge's former master Levett had also been supplying gunshots exclusively for the use of the Crown. Hogge, as already discussed, was likewise granted the monopoly. In John's accounts in the *Diary* there are numerous references to both business dealings with persons from London and the delivery of cargos to the City. These travels between Sussex and London must have often brought John—acting as an agent for Hogge—to Southwark. The Borough of Southwark, as discussed in the previous chapter, for centuries served as the main travel route that connected London with the southern counties; and it would be only sensible for John to use Southwark as a hub or a final stopover point before entering the City proper. The headquarters of the Board of Ordnance, moreover, was in the Tower of London just a short distance from across the river, to which the shortest route would have involved entering the City from Southwark.

It was perhaps through these travels that John established contact with Henry Woodward. In what capacity Woodward was dealing with John is ultimately difficult to decide, but John's will certainly suggests that the two men had a more than cordial relationship with each other—so much so that John would have willingly left his “bonds, money, leases and goods” in Woodward's care.⁵¹ The fact that John stuck to addressing Agnes Henslowe by her previous husband's does also strongly suggest that the two men formed a connection before, instead of after, Philip Henslowe's marriage to Woodward's widow. No document has been found that sheds light on whether or not Henry was otherwise connected with Sussex, although Matthew Woodward, a supposed family relation, is demonstrably connected with Sussex in numerous ways. But again, there is no hard evidence that proves the family connection between Matthew and

⁵⁰ King, “The Production and Consumption of Bar Iron in Early Modern England and Wales”, pp. 1-9.

⁵¹ This may also be an indication that John might have stayed in Woodward's house from time to time during his visits to London. Whether or not he had lived in Southwark or London for any extended period of time, as Cerasano has suggested, however, is open to debate. John's peculiar address to Agnes as “Woodward's wife”, and the fact that his bequest was made to her instead of Philip Henslowe, may also be hints of his close relationship with Woodward—and hence also possible disapproval of Philip's prompt marriage to Agnes just a few months after Woodward's death. These, however, cannot be more than speculations.

Henry Woodward in the first place.⁵² These uncertainties disregarding, the fact that John Henslowe and Henry Woodward were on good terms and in close contact with each other seems beyond doubt. More importantly, such a connection might very well have provided a convenient solution when Philip Henslowe, at some point in the late 1560s or early 70s, was seeking apprenticeship—and hence citizenship of London. It was through apprenticeship and the freedom of the company subsequently earned that one started to become established in the City. And it seems highly likely that it was John's pre-established connection with Henry that had provided Philip with the possibility to take this significant first step. Moreover, the first half of the sixteenth century witnessed a cloth export boom in England, and trades related to cloth-finishing had been the main driving force for London's economy.⁵³ As an experienced dyer senior enough to be allowed to take on apprentices, Woodward had been in a profitable profession for quite some time and had likely become fairly well-off. And it is not unreasonable to think that, when Philip started his apprenticeship to Woodward sometime around the early 1570s, he was drawn to this profession by hopes of a similar prospect. After all, around this time the early signs of decline in London's cloth-finishing trades were only just starting to show.

Thus, despite uncertainties due to the paucity of records, it seems apparent that during the 1570s connections cultivated by the Henslowes through their engagement in the Wealden iron foundry industry eventually helped extend and stabilised the reach of the family's network from Sussex to London. It is probably following such a path pre-established through his family connections that Philip Henslowe made his move to Southwark. The very same practice of seeking apprenticeship through family connections seems to be a common one for the Henslowes, and was to be repeated decades later. In 1595, to help the children of his brother Edmond establish themselves

⁵² Matthew Woodward's wife, as earlier mentioned, was from Lodsworth, Sussex. Matthew himself was also involved in a series of property negotiations and sales in Sussex, usually jointly with one Huge Speke, gent. of Chichester, Sussex. Genealogical studies on the Woodward family in Southwark have been conducted by Virginia Sanders Mylius. (URL: <http://oursoutherncousins.com/woodward.html>. Mylius's study is also linked to the entries on Henry Woodward in the Ancestry.co.uk.) According to Mylius, the Woodwards of Southwark were originally from Kent, and migrated to Southwark and Lambeth in the early 1500s. Henry Woodward was included, in a working hypothesis, as one of the children of Edward Woodward, who executed his father's will in Lambeth in 1517. The Woodwards appeared to be a clan with considerable presence in Southwark and Lambeth, including the parishes of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's. Another possible family member that Mylius has proposed was Thomas Woodward, who appeared to be well acquainted with the sixth earl of Shrewsbury. Records of Thomas are mainly found in the Shrewsbury papers housed in the Lambeth Palace Library.

⁵³ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structure of Life in Sixteenth-Century London*, pp. 98-9.

in the City, Henslowe mobilised his own connections in the Dyers' company to apprentice his nephew, John, to Mr. Newman, a dyer; and his niece, Mary, to his close friend John Griggs.⁵⁴ In all these instances, pre-established family connections ensured a safe passage for the younger family members to reach and take a familiar and safe profession.

Theatrical Venture and Henslowe's Social-Political Connections

Following his arrival in Southwark and London led by family connections, Henslowe continued to develop his social-political connections throughout the years. For his cultivation and upkeep of this extensive network of patrons and associates, and for his social and political advancements, as we shall see, his investments in the entertainment industry—starting with the Rose—remained the most powerful engine.

Throughout the years of his theatre business, Henslowe continued to cultivate his connections in the local community as well as his image as a benefactor. The daily operation of the playhouse with the short cycles and rapid pace of theatrical production brought close contacts and reciprocal relations with practitioners of supporting trades such as tailors, dyers, cobblers, carpenters, copper lacers, and other metalworkers in the local community. In one of his letters Alleyn requested to have his stockings dyed a different colour, which was most probably done by some of Henslowe's associates in the Dyers' company.⁵⁵ The *Diary* also records numerous payments to two particular tailors in the Borough as well as what seems to be a particular copper lace man. Their frequent appearances in the theatrical accounts under imprecise references such as “the tailor”, “the little tailor”, or “the copper lace man” strongly suggest their great familiarity to Henslowe—and certainly the players as well. Also confirming such familiarity is the fact payments to these craftsmen for their works were not always made on the days of the purchase, but usually in batches later or instalments over longer periods of time—a clear sign of the existence of some form of pre-arrangements to deal with frequent and large quantities of transactions between the parties. Besides these, the construction of the Rose playhouse, its extensive remodelling in 1592, as well as its major upgrade in 1595, certainly all brought business opportunities to the community. Apart from the wages paid to the hired workmen, carpenters, and painters, building

⁵⁴ *HD*, fol. 41v, fol. 123.

⁵⁵ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 11.

materials were also frequently sourced from local shops. An ironmonger's shop in the Frying Pan alley, for instance, being just a short walk from the construction site, is known to be where Henslowe bought different types of nails on numerous occasions, and especially during the extensive remodelling of the Rose during early 1592.⁵⁶ Henslowe evidently went to this same shop when he hired John Griggs to build Alleyn's house on the Bankside during late 1592 and early 1593.⁵⁷ These local business connections, it seems, were maintained and kept alive over the years. It is not impossible that the nails for the Phase I Rose in 1587 was also sourced from this place. Henslowe undoubtedly took great care to stay on good terms with his important business associates. Expenses for the building works on the Fortune playhouse in 1600, for instance, includes an interesting entry that reads “y^e 10 [of June] to street to pasify hym ... iijj^s”.⁵⁸ The exact cause of Peter Street's displeasure is difficult to know. But Henslowe was obviously willing to do all that were necessary to maintain a harmonious relationship. During the building phase of the Fortune, he paid for dinners—sometimes breakfasts too—with Street and Gilbert East on almost daily basis from late May until early August, and also remembered to lay out drinking money from time to time to Street's workmen during these summer months.⁵⁹ At times, his theatrical ventures even brought work to people living far from Southwark or even London. The payments recorded on the back of the Fortune contract, for instance, involves a payment to a carpenter who came from Windsor, as well as two fairly substantial payments to a brewer from as far as Maidenhead.⁶⁰

On a large scale, the social meaning, implication, and status of the theatrical venture, as Marvin Carlson observes in his study of the semiotics of theatrical space, far exceeded its immediate function of providing a space for performances of dramatic texts.⁶¹ The Rose business over the years—being a site for pleasure, social gatherings and social displays, a source for various local employments, and a strong magnet for urban traffic and mobility—functioned in multiple ways as a powerful boost for its owner's social status as not only a purveyor of entertainment but also a bringer of

⁵⁶ *HD*, fol. 4v-5.

⁵⁷ *HD*, fol. 237.

⁵⁸ These payments are recorded on the back of the contract for the Fortune with Peter Street. See Dulwich Muniments, no. 22.

⁵⁹ *HD*, fol. 98v, 99.

⁶⁰ Dulwich Muniments, no. 22.

⁶¹ Carlson, *Places of Performance*, p. 8.

prosperity. The theatrical business and the large influx of spectators on a daily basis undoubtedly brought about various business opportunities to the area. Despite the long history of bear baiting on the Bankside, the beginning of the prosperity of the area in the 1590s, as recounted by John Taylor, was in all likelihood directly related to the theatrical business of the Rose.⁶² Henslowe himself certainly formed close connections with many members of the Watermen's company. The close ties between the theatres and the watermen's livelihood was clearly evident in the aforementioned joint petition to the Lord Admiral in 1592. One elderly waterman, Gilbert Rocket, one of the first few who signed (made their marks) on the petition, appears to be extremely close to Henslowe. In the *Diary* there is an entry made on 16 June 1596 in front of four witnesses, in which Henslowe was made Rocket's "ealdeste sone & ayer", and was also given the latter's house on the Bankside.⁶³

Another connection, Gilbert East, a local bailiff, appears to have maintained a good friendship with Henslowe over many years. The most well-known reference to East is in the list of expenses Henslowe laid out for building the Fortune in 1600. This was recorded on fol. 98v and fol. 99 of the *Diary*. East appears numerous times in these entries, going about the business related to the building of the Fortune with Henslowe and Peter Street. The friendship went back a long time. Henslowe had in fact already known East by at least 1593. In one of his letters to Alleyn from this year he mentioned that "[his] friend the baylle" had only just narrowly escaped the plague.⁶⁴ This "baylle" could not have been Matthew Woodward, as Warner's *Catalogue* suggests, but should instead be Gilbert East.⁶⁵ In 1603, East was again with Henslowe when the latter made a re-entry into a property upon none payment of rent.⁶⁶

The many connections that Henslowe established in the Southwark community through the Rose project also provided significant boosts for his social status and influence, which continued to develop beyond the Rose's years alongside his other business ventures. His several appearances among the assessors in the lay subsidy rolls from the 1590s onward bear witness to both his financial and social status. Such status

⁶² Taylor, "The Trve Cavse of the Water Mens Suit Concerning Players", EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 23725.

⁶³ *HD*, fol. 18v.

⁶⁴ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 12.

⁶⁵ As discussed earlier, Matthew Woodward only started living in Southwark from 1601 onwards.

⁶⁶ *HD*, fol. 179.

became further augmented through his appointments as the churchwarden in 1607 and vestryman in 1608—the latter position he continued to hold until his death in 1616. Alan Nelson, examining the vestry meeting minutes from these years, marks at Henslowe's apparent diligence, observing that he attended on average seven meetings per year.⁶⁷ Both Henslowe and Alleyn clearly successfully established their reputation for benefaction among local communities. Both men, according to the note taken of the poor rate book in 1609, headed the list of inhabitants in the Clink liberty who made weekly contribution to poor relief, and were among the few who paid the highest weekly sums (of 6^d on weekly basis).⁶⁸

Besides helping Henslowe's career in local politics, theatre business—together with his interest in the baiting business—had also been highly useful to his court career. The significance of his connection with the earl of Nottingham has been the most widely recognised by theatre historians and does not need reiteration. The popularity enjoyed by the Admiral's men at court in the late 1590s would undoubtedly have been beneficial to the company's patron. As a result of his engagement with the theatrical business, Henslowe's connection with Nottingham, his familiarity with members of the watermen's company, combined with his administrative activities in local communities, in turn also brought him in contact with Sir Julius Caesar—one of Nottingham's clients and another of Henslowe's allies. That Henslowe and Caesar were familiar and connected with each other is no news. From the mid-1580s onwards, just as Henslowe was about to embark on his first theatrical venture, Caesar became actively engaged with his duties as the judge of the court of Admiralty.⁶⁹ This court, as already discussed in the previous chapter, was held in Southwark. Dealing with matters touching a wide range of issues including piracy, watermen's businesses, as well as maritime trade and transportation, it also fell within the purview of the lord Admiral. Over the years the geographical proximity between Henslowe and Caesar, and the multiple common connections enjoyed by both men, would most likely have brought them into contact with each other. Under the patronage of Nottingham, Caesar was also an active committeeman in parliament dealing with various issues throughout the late 1580s and

⁶⁷ From notes taken from a talk given by Alan Nelson on the St Saviour's Parish records at the Globe Education on 21 May 2016.

⁶⁸ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 49.

⁶⁹ Alain Wijffels, "Caesar, Sir Julius (*bap.* 1558, *d.* 1636)", in *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; Online edn, Jan 2014.

1590s. In 1593, in particular, Caesar sat on the committee on the year's subsidy bills. Henslowe, as noted earlier, was one of the subsidy assessors for the Clink in this year.⁷⁰

In terms of the baiting business, long before Henslowe and Alleyn's purchased the position of the Master of Bears in 1604, the connections with people running this business had been established. Both Ralph Bowes, the previous Master who died in 1598, and John Dorrington, the master between 1598 and 1604, had evidently dealt with Henslowe and Alleyn in the 1590s.⁷¹ The continuation of the development of their relationship and the growing influence of Henslowe could be seen in a later letter. In May 1600, Dorrington wrote to Henslowe for help, entreating that the latter supply his own bears for baiting at court upon a very short notice from the Queen.⁷² Clearly, Henslowe and Alleyn had by this time already been operating the baiting business under Dorrington's licence.⁷³ It must be recognised that the reputation and experience of them as a purveyor of entertainment activities—theatre and animal baiting—built up over years of their operation on the Bankside, and a proven record of able management spanning over these years, were important contributing factors to their success in the acquisition of the office in 1604.

The revenues generated by investments were also instrumental for maintaining Henslowe's image and influence as a benefactor among his peers, and further develop his network of allies in court. The *Diary* contains various loans by Henslowe to his fellow courtiers. John Pallmer, Roger Evans, and Valentine Harris were all fellow grooms of the Chamber who had borrowed money from Henslowe at various times.⁷⁴ Similar loans were also made to others such as William Stonard, the servant to Edmund Tylney; as well as to Richard Hoope, William Blackwage, and Rafe Raye—all identified as Lord Chamberlain's servants.⁷⁵ Moreover, Henslowe certainly had also been looking after the people serving under him. The records of his expenses on fol. 20 and 21 related to his soldier Peter include all kinds of expenses including not only those for his training, the making of weapons, armour, and livery, but also for his drinking money. All these, building an image of Henslowe as a resourceful colleague and

⁷⁰ From the lay subsidy rolls that have survived, it is clear that Henslowe served at least three times as the assessors for lay subsidy, in 1593, 1594, and 1598. See PRO E179/186/349, 362, 370, Surrey.

⁷¹ *HD*, fol. 72v, 73v, 134, 151.

⁷² Dulwich MSS 2, Article 3.

⁷³ For more evidence besides the letter from Dorrington, see also *HD*, fol. 97v.

⁷⁴ *HD*, fol. 20v, 28v, 31v. For the connections between Henslowe and his fellow grooms, see also Cerasano, "The Geography of Henslowe's Diary", pp. 335-6.

⁷⁵ *HD*, fol. 3, 3v.

benefactor, would undoubtedly have been extremely useful in upholding his reputation and influence among his fellows at court.

Thus to understand the relationship between the Rose project and Henslowe's political and social networks is to step beyond the scope of current studies that view theatre business as an end in itself, and realise that the Rose, as well as Henslowe's other theatrical ventures, served as a means to a greater end. Besides revenues and funds, these projects also generated considerable social links as well as social influence for Henslowe both among the Southwark communities and in his court circle, enabling him to go beyond the role of a mere receiver of favour and benefits in his dealings with his various networks, and become an active benefactor himself. It was in this process that Henslowe with his theatrical ventures gradually became, in Bruno Latour's terms, an important actant and a key "mediator" in the multiple personal, trade, and political networks in which he operated.⁷⁶ Starting from the Rose venture, and gradually expanding his business territory over the baiting arenas and multiple properties along the Bankside, he became one of the key nodes onto which various forms of financial, material, and human resources converged. At the same time, being a mediator—a transforming force—in his networks, he also became a powerful output of social, material, and financial resources as well as influence. These, channelled through his connections, in turn strengthened his position in his network of associates. During the years between the late 1580s and the early 1600s, vast amount of Henslowe's capital—both those invested into the Rose business and those generated by it—were channelled through the local trade network, social relation, real estate development, and even institutions of the legal system in Southwark.

The reach of his business dealings, money, and influence as evidenced by the records is impressive. The operation of the playhouse pumped capital into the local trades such as cloth finishing, shoemaking, metalsmith, carpentry, transport, and grocery as well as brewing. As Henslowe made advances for commission of plays and productions, he also dispensed money on various occasions for the discharge of players or playwrights from the Clink or the Counter. At the same time, as a property owner,

⁷⁶ In his ANT (Actor Network Theory), Latour makes the crucial distinction between the "intermediaries" and "mediators" of a social network. He defines the former as entities in the network that only pass on influence, force, or agency; and the latter as much more complex entities that are capable of various ways of transforming meaning and elements they absorb, and whose output therefore carry decisive influences on the entire network. See Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, pp. 37-42.

he oversaw the management and rent collections of numerous properties along the Bankside. Beyond Southwark's local communities, his connections and business dealings also brought him to various places in Sussex and Kent. In later years, these were to expand further, with the relocation and expansion of the theatrical venture he shared with Alleyn to the north of the Thames, and with the acquisition of the office of the Master of Bears, whose purview covered not only the entire nation but its overseas territories.

Thus unsurprisingly, when plotting the various geographical locations mentioned in the *Diary*, in the Dulwich archives, and in various other documents related to Henslowe's activities, what is revealed is the clear geographical expansion of Henslowe's business network and influence—first within and then beyond Southwark—concurrent with his social ascent. Theatre business in many ways constituted important steps in Henslowe's ascent in the social-political ladder. The Rose project, in this sense, had been particularly significant both as a successful first step where multiple strands of forces in the extensive network converged, and as a powerful social and financial engine that in turn boosted the theatre entrepreneur's social-political advancements.

The Complexity of the Patronage Network and Henslowe's Character

In the previous sections of this chapter I have attempted to obtain a more objective view of the family and business network that Henslowe inherited and retained by identifying its more robust connections and teasing out the more tangential ones. I have also accounted for the ways in which Henslowe's theatrical ventures not only tapped into but also contributed significantly to the cultivation and upkeep of his network of patrons and associates. The next set of pressing questions to address are: What was the nature of this network in which Henslowe was embedded? And how did Henslowe's position in this network, and his interaction with his connections therein, ultimately shape his character as an operator and investor?

In her studies Cerasano has largely ignored these questions, and by characterising Henslowe's patronage network with the blanket phrase "conservative establishment", has regarded the political and financial interests of Henslowe and

Alleyn as simply directly in line with those of their patrons.⁷⁷ Such a view is at great risk of glossing over the different, competing, and even sometimes conflicting familial, political, as well as financial relations co-existing alongside alliances in this extensive network. Competitions and conflicts of interests undoubtedly existed, to begin with, in the Sussex network over the iron foundry business. In 1574 Ralph Hogge submitted a petition to the Crown complaining about the infringements by other ironmasters upon his own exclusive patent to export surplus ordnance.⁷⁸ The Privy Council responded swiftly and with a firm hand, ordering the drawing up of a comprehensive list of operating furnaces and forges as well as their management details, issuing warnings to a total of fifty-six ironmasters, requesting them to appear in person before the Council, and eventually binding forty-four of them with a two thousand pounds bond.⁷⁹ Cerasano has interpreted this episode as a sign of the authority's protective attitude towards Hogge and his monopoly.⁸⁰ There was, however, another side to the story. The measures adopted by the Privy Council, rather than a direct response to Hogge's "grievance", were actually more of a reaction to another document from the same year—a longer list of ironwork owners and operators—drawn up by one Christopher Baker serving under the Admiralty. According to Baker, the excessive consumption of wood by the growing ironworks was threatening the timber supplies for naval shipbuilding, and the exported guns were also becoming a threat to merchant shipping.⁸¹ Thus instead of any special favour for Hogge, it was military and commercial concerns raised by Baker, combined with the issue of national security mentioned by Hogge, that triggered the Privy Council's alarm and swift actions. Baker's list of ironworks and their operators subsequently went through a series of copying and revisions both before and during the Privy Council's investigation and restrictive measures. As a result, several versions of it with varying degrees of accuracy exist in the State Papers Domestic from Elizabeth I's reign, while an extra copy of an earlier version of the list could also be found in the Stowe manuscripts in the British Library.⁸² It was from this copy in the Stowe collection that Cerasano extracted the

⁷⁷ Cerasano, "The Patronage Network", p. 89.

⁷⁸ CSPD SP12/95/16.

⁷⁹ CSPD SP12/95/22-60, SP12/95/74-77.

⁸⁰ Cerasano, "The Patronage Network", p. 83.

⁸¹ CSPD SP12/95/21. See also Teesdale, "The 1574 Lists of Ironworks in the Weald: A Re-examination", p. 8.

⁸² Teesdale, "The 1574 Lists of Ironworks in the Weald: A Re-examination", p. 7.

names of the families and individuals who were supposedly Henslowe's "larger patronage network".⁸³ Even setting aside the question of the accuracy of the list, one must recognise the fact that many individuals named in it—and hence also included by Cerasano as Henslowe's potential patrons—are among the forty-four ironmasters who came under the Privy Council's warning and subsequently signed the bond against further production and sales of ordnance.⁸⁴ The recognition of the fuller picture of this episode in 1574, therefore, must serve as a reminder of the intricacies of the Sussex iron foundry network formed over its variously interested parties, and as a cautionary note against the reduction of such complexities into simple alliances.

The same observation, moreover, is not to be limited to the Sussex connections, but is applicable to Henslowe's entire patronage network. In fact, instead of viewing internal alliances and struggles as something particular to Henslowe's network, it seems more accurate to say that the connections which the Henslowes—and the Alleyns as well—were born into and actively engaged with were a greater social-political network whose internal alliances as well as struggles spanned over generations and were deeply connected to the changing tides of history. While perhaps aptly summarised by Cerasano as "patrician and politically conservative" on the whole, this dynamic network consisted of not only common interests but also adversaries in its various personal, familial, political, religious, as well as financial relations. In current studies on theatrical patronage network related to Henslowe and Alleyn, these complexities have been largely left unexamined, despite their clear impact on the network's various multiple operators. While it is difficult to apply simple terms of characterisation to such a dynamic network, a few more case studies may serve to better illustrate the complex political, religious, and ideological inroads that Henslowe needed to navigate as he made contacts with the key personages in this network, and thus better highlight the qualities he possessed as an operator.

For outlining the complex ideological landscape of late Elizabethan England surrounding many members of the peerage connected to Henslowe's patronage network, Michael C. Questier's extensive and in-depth study on the history of the Catholic aristocratic community in the latter half of the sixteenth century has provided an

⁸³ British Library, Stowe MS 570. For more details on the differences between the lists, see Teesdale's article.

⁸⁴ Among these were Sir Richard Baker, Sir Alexander Culpepper, Lord Abergavenny, Sir Thomas Greham. See Teesdale, "The 1574 Lists of Ironworks in the Weald: A Re-examination", pp. 17-21.

extremely valuable source of information. The latter half of the sixteenth century saw a tendency to gradually replace the Catholic aristocratic authority of the previous era with a more protestant and conformist one.⁸⁵ Differences in political and religious allegiances during this time of transition undoubtedly caused many dissensions and struggles between the well-established Catholic aristocratic families under increasing pressure, and other nobilities more aligned with state ideology and was gaining in political influence.

What this changing political and religious landscape of late sixteenth century England meant for clients on the receiving end of patronage like Henslowe, was the necessary recognition of not only the empowering nature of the patronage network, but also its vulnerabilities. For instance, in her studies Cerasano has sought to emphasise the value of the Alleyn family's connection to the Sussex Fitzalan's by recounting the "strong political position" of Henry Fitzalan, the earl of Arundel, and the episode about his support to Alleyn, Sr. in 1561. While this connection may indeed be an important one for the Alleyn family during the 1560s, the Fitzalans' decline in later years in the face of other rising political rivals brings into question the value or even validity of this connection during the later years when Edward Alleyn pursued his career. Old connections in the patronage network could break and disappear over time, while new ones were being forged and strengthened. Among the political rivals of the Fitzalans can be found persons who were also in contact with Henslowe and Alleyn. Among these, most notably, was Buckhurst, who was a vital support for the nominations that defeated the Fitzalan faction in the contest over the knights of the shire of Sussex in 1584.⁸⁶

During this period there remained, nevertheless, a significant and deeply interconnected Catholic presence especially among the Sussex nobilities, of which the Brownes was of central importance. Under Anthony Browne, the first viscount Montague, the Brownes maintained their status both locally and in court. The first viscount had adopted a more conformist stance in court as well as a protective policy for his Catholic connections. Many of the Brownes' associates, however, came under mounting political and religious pressures. The close family friend Henry Wriothesley,

⁸⁵ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 63.

⁸⁶ Cerasano, "The Patronage Network", p. 85. For the competition between Buckhurst and the Fitzalan faction in October 1585, see Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 63. See also Zim, "Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first earl of Dorset (c.1536–1608)", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, online edition, (2009).

the second earl of Southampton, for instance, was a known Catholic with radical followers. Sir Alexander Culpepper, Lady Montague's brother-in-law and one of the Sussex ironmasters bound by the Privy Council in 1574, was involved in a series of troubles for the suspicion that he had fraternised with Edmund Campion, the Jesuit priest charged with high treason in 1581.⁸⁷ Archpriest George Blackwell, a key figure in the Archpriest Controversy in the 1590s, was another close friend of the Brownes. His mother, Margaret Blackwell, owned an estate in North Chapel, Sussex, and was also involved in the iron foundry industry. The Blackwell family for a long time were in the service of the earls of Northumberland. The seventh earl of the title, Thomas Percy, apparently also owned a forge in Sussex, which again was named in Baker's 1574 list of ironworks as under the management of William Blackwell. By that time, though, the uprising led by Northumberland had long been suppressed, and Percy himself had also lately been executed.⁸⁸ Further, the Successor of Blackwell's archpriesthood, George Birkhead, was also a key figure among the Catholic community and apparently was acquainted with the second viscount Montague as well as other Catholics among his domestic servants, including his bailiff, Matthew Woodward.⁸⁹

Such was the aristocratic and trade network that for a long time co-existed alongside Henslowe's family and business network centred around the Ashdown forest in Sussex. In this light, it is interesting to observe that, forming a sharp contrast with the general lack of association with known Catholic families or their sympathisers in Henslowe's social-political network, those who were at the core of his patronage network were invariably prominent figures or members of nobility who were generally aligned with state ideology, such as Lord Buckhurst, the earl of Nottingham, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Burghley, Sir William More, George Abbot, and Sir Julius Caesar. This is a telling sign that Henslowe had been exercising great caution in cultivating his connections after his relocation to Southwark and London.

But even when dealing with these personages, what Henslowe faced was far from a unified ideological position or simple alignment of interests. Between his key patrons outlined above, their attitudes towards their Catholic peers, and their individual connections to them, varied in significant ways. These will now be briefly summarised

⁸⁷ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* p. 155.

⁸⁸ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 215.

⁸⁹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 316. See also Questier, *Newsletter from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead*, p. 96.

to form a clearer picture of the ideological makeup of this group of key connections with which Henslowe maintained close contact throughout his career. Among these, George Abbot, who was the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611 to 1633 and the one who consecrated the chapel of the Dulwich College in 1616, was perhaps the most fervently anti-popish of all.⁹⁰ The most notorious manifestation of his attitude is found in his treatment of Sir George Browne, the uncle of the second viscount Montague. Four days after the death and burial of Sir George Browne, Abbot forbade the burial of his body either in church or churchyard, and ordered that his body be disinterred and buried “by the highway”.⁹¹

At the opposite end of the spectrum may be found Sir William More. A protestant himself, More maintained close connections and friendship with some of his Catholic peers—especially the first viscount Montague and the second earl of Southampton. When the latter was under house arrest in Loseley house, More performed his duty with sympathy, although he apparently also managed to fulfil the task entrusted upon him to bring his prisoner to conversion—a temporary one, as it turned out to be. More’s son—Sir George More, who served various important positions in Surrey and Sussex from the 1580s onwards including JP, deputy lieutenant, and MP—was also a trusted friend of the second viscount Montague, as clearly shown by correspondences between them.⁹²

Between Abbot and More, Lord Burghley, Nottingham, Hunsdon, and Buckhurst may be understood as occupying more or less the middle ground in terms of their attitudes and actions. William Cecil had been one of the key figures in the Religious Settlement early in Elizabeth’s reign. Both Hunsdon and Nottingham had also been instrumental in defeating Catholic threats, domestic or foreign. Despite their unequivocal religious views, the relationship between these prominent figures of the state and their Catholic peers appear in general to be a peaceful one. For Buckhurst it was a little more complicated. On the one hand, as a judicial commissioner he performed his duties unequivocally in cases involving Catholic recusancy. During the 1560s and 1570s, Buckhurst was dispatched on various missions to the continental

⁹⁰ For the consecration of the Dulwich College chapel, see Piggott, “A Brief History of Dulwich College”, in the Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project. URL: <http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/history/college.html>. See also Cerasano, “The Patronage Network”, p. 88.

⁹¹ Archives of the Archdioceses of Westminster A XIV, No. 5, P.11, quoted in Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, pp. 358-6.

⁹² See for instance: SHC, LM/6729/2/47-8.

Catholic countries. From 1585 onwards, as a privy councillor, Buckhurst sat on a series of trials of Catholic plots, including the trial of the earl of Arundel for his connection in the Ridolfi plot, of Anthony Babington and his conspirators for the Babington plot, and of Roderigo Lopez, the queen's physician, for the conspiracy with Spanish emissaries to poison the queen. In 1586 he was also specially selected to convey the death sentence to Mary Stuart.⁹³

On the other hand, Buckhurst in many ways appears to be more ready to sympathise, only moving against recusants "when forced by external pressures", rather than out of "personal incentive or zeal".⁹⁴ His relation with the Montagues, his Sussex Catholic neighbours, in particular, appears to be a peaceful and friendly one. In 1569, Buckhurst and the first viscount Montague were appointed the joint lord lieutenant of Surrey, although in 1585 when the position became permanent and was commissioned to Charles Howard, it was Buckhurst, not Montague, who was called upon to share it again.⁹⁵ But Buckhurst's connections with the Browne family went deeper. In 1593, his daughter Jane Sackville was married to the second viscount Montague. Buckhurst might have regarded the Brownes as "sufficiently conformist", but the second viscount Montague was unlike his grandfather, and the alliance of the two families was a troubled one.⁹⁶ With a more vocal and aggressive Catholic programme, the second viscount suffered more retributions and restrictions. Among other things, the particularly radical episode of his refusal to christen his child under Church of England auspices, and his subsequent attempt to perform a private christening by himself, was said to send Buckhurst "into a frenzy", and caused the viscount to be fiercely questioned before the Privy Council and placed under house arrest. Among the suppressors of him, unsurprisingly, could be found such privy councillors as Lord Burghley, Howard, and Hunsdon.⁹⁷

Numerous other conflicts, competitions, and dissensions besides those outlined above certainly existed, alongside alliances, in this vast network full of rapid undercurrents. It would have been dangerous for Henslowe—and inadvisable for

⁹³ Zim, "Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first earl of Dorset (c.1536–1608)", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, online edition, (2009).

⁹⁴ Zim, "Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first earl of Dorset (c.1536–1608)", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, online edition, (2009).

⁹⁵ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 166.

⁹⁶ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 234.

⁹⁷ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 236-8.

modern scholars—to overlook or underestimate these complexities. With this in mind, the almost total lack of reference to any business dealing or personal contact with the Montagues in the Henslowe-Alleyn papers becomes highly revealing about Henslowe’s character and his preferences in choosing his allies and associates. This lack of reference should not be simply dismissed as the result of a lack of familiarity between the two parties. The Montagues were Henslowe’s neighbours in Southwark. The Montague Close during the 1590s and early 1600s was a well-known hub for Catholic activities and recusancy. On the whole, as Jeremy Boulton has noted, Catholic recusants in Southwark were “an insignificant minority” at that time, making up “less than one percent of the communicants” in 1603. These, however, were “mainly concentrated in Montague Close”.⁹⁸ In July 1580, an important synod was held at an unspecified location very close to the Montague House, which was attended by George Blackwell and other important Catholic clergymen.⁹⁹ For quite a few years surrounding the Gunpowder Plot, the Montague house was closely monitored by state authorities, and at least two raids were made on the premise.¹⁰⁰ During all these years, Catholic recusants refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance to James I seemed to have also used this area as a centre for communication, where letters were delivered to and collected. It was also from this place that Matthew Woodward and his wife—both known recusants—were taken and committed to the Clink in 1610.¹⁰¹ All these events happened while Henslowe was residing and managing his theatre business in Southwark, at a distance just minutes’ walk away; and it is highly unlikely that he was

⁹⁸ Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, p. 284. See also Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 516.

⁹⁹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁰ One was made on 10 August 1599, when searches were made in the Montague Close for gunpowder “supposed to have been lately brought thither”. The report on this search was made by the JPs of Southwark to Buckhurst and Nottingham, then joint lord lieutenant of Surrey. See *CSPD*, SP12/272/31. Another search was made on 9 April 1606, following a report that a person, being “one of those whom the King had proclaimed guilty of the power-treason”, had gone into the Montague house. See *CSPD*, SP14/20/20.

¹⁰¹ Matthew Woodward was labelled a recusant several times in the token books of St. Saviour’s parish. During his time in the parish, he appeared to have purchased the tokens for his households every year, but from 1605 onwards records of these purchases in the token books were often not crossed out later—an indication that the Woodwards rarely actually attended the Easter communion during these years. See LMA P92/SAV/194-203, P92/SAV/206-10. In 1601, Matthew’s wife Elizabeth was denounced excommunicate in the parish of Lodsworth, Sussex. See also Questier, *Newsletter from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead*, p. 92-6.

not aware of any of them.¹⁰² For some years up to 1605, the second viscount was involved in a series of disputes with the churchwardens of St. Saviour's parish over tithe, just two years before Henslowe himself became one of the vestrymen of the parish.¹⁰³ The tithe disputes with the viscount are unlikely to have escaped Henslowe's attention, as by that time he had certainly already established contacts with the parish authorities, having served several times as one of the lay subsidy assessors. And by the time Matthew Woodward was arrested in 1610, in the height of the religious tension, Henslowe had already become, as noted, a vestryman for the parish. It is unthinkable that his evidently active engagement with the overseeing of administrative matters of the parish in this capacity during those years of heightened religious tension did not bring to his attention the troubles that frequently visited the Montague Close.

Despite Henslowe's geographical proximity to Montague Close and his unquestionably abundant knowledge about the Montagues and their entourages, the only recorded dealing between the two parties in the Henslowe-Alleyn papers, as noted before, was the lease on the wharf, first through Robert Bromfield and then through Matthew Woodward. When the same wharf was mentioned in Joan Alleyn's 1603 letter—that is, outside the format of formal documents such as leases or acquittances—what was written did not suggest anything of a cordial relationship or even familiarity between the two parties.¹⁰⁴ In her study on Henslowe's connections, Cerasano identifies Matthew Woodward as an import connection of Henslowe, and suggests that the former “had charge of Montague's house” in general and “collected rents on Montague's local property”. But upon closer scrutiny, it becomes apparent that this interpretation based

¹⁰² That Henslowe lived on the Bankside is beyond doubt. The exact location of his residence, however, is still unclear. Cerasano has noted in the *ODNB* that he lived “between the Clink prison and an inn called the Bell”. The St. Saviour's token books also regularly recorded him as living in “the Bell”. A rather obscure document in the Loseley manuscripts in the Surrey History Centre may shed more light on this issue (LM/1154/2). This is a draft interrogation notes in a lawsuit in 1620 against William Henslowe and Jacob Mead regarding the lands surrounding the Hope theatre. The details of it will not be discussed here. It suffices to say that it mentions a property that Henslowe had owned called “the Bell and the Cock”, which was granted by the Bishop of Winchester. A plot of land with the same name is documented by Martha Carlin in *Medieval Southwark*, p. 27. If this was indeed where Henslowe lived, then it would undoubtedly have provided effortless access to many of the properties Henslowe owned on the Bankside, including the Rose, the bear garden, the Boar's Head, as well as other properties in the Unicorn alley, all of which virtually standing next to each other.

¹⁰³ Questier, *Newsletter from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead*, p. 518. For the churchwardens' accounts of St. Saviour's Parish, see LMA, P92/SAV/450, pp. 343, 351, 361, 369, 390.

¹⁰⁴ Joan Alleyn told Edward Alleyn in the letter that the deputy of Matthew Woodward charged her “a groat” (4^d) as “the baylives fee” besides the usual rent of fifty shillings, and she did not know if it was usually done this way or if they had “made a simple woman of [her]”. Unfamiliarity and suspicion like this, even in cases where Joan was acting on behalf of Alleyn, was rare.

on the existence of only two references to Matthew's actions on a particular wharf cannot be substantiated. And this interpretation becomes more untenable when one traces the existence of Matthew Woodward in Southwark through the St Saviour parish's token books. While Anthony-Maria Browne succeeded his grandfather as the second viscount Montague in as early as 1592, my examination of the token books reveals that Matthew Woodward appears to be living and serving in the Montague Close in Southwark only from 1601 onwards.¹⁰⁵

The scanty reference to the Montagues in the Henslowe-Alleyn records thus seems more likely the result of Henslowe's deliberate effort to maintain a cautious distance from his Catholic neighbour—just like his family and their many associates had always been doing back in Sussex. His close contacts with patrons such as Buckhurst and Nottingham, and the numerous links with the Sussex network he maintained over the years, suggest that there must have been ample available sources for information on the Montagues. The latter's Catholic inclinations, activities, as well as perils during that period of increasing protestant aristocratic authority may well have sounded the cautionary note for Henslowe against forming too close a relationship with the Montagues and their Catholic entourages—i.e. including Matthew Woodward and other recusant families among the Sussex peerage as well as trade network. The internal differences among Henslowe's key patrons in terms of attitude and their personal histories with the Montagues, as I have already recounted, also means that it would have been highly difficult for Henslowe—as a client under the aegis of multiple patronage—to gauge and determine the appropriate degree of engagement with his Catholic neighbour without upsetting the balance between various political, financial, and ideological interests within his complex networks. On top of these, the geographical

¹⁰⁵ I have traced Matthew Woodward's presence in Southwark through the yearly sacramental token books of St. Saviour's parish in the London Metropolitan Archives. This extensive body of records, at first reduced to microfilm format in the LMA but now transcribed and converted into a searchable online database thanks to the invaluable works of Alan Nelson and William Ingram, provides a useful tool for tracking the movements of individuals within the parish between 1571 and 1643 (with some gaps). The token books were compiled by parish authorities upon handing out sacramental tokens, at a small charge, from door to door before Easter to every head of household for every individual above sixteen in the house. The tokens were then returned when the parishioners attended Easter communion. In this way the token books also doubled as attendance records for church service during Easter. Matthew Woodward appears for the first time in the token books in 1601 as living in the Montague Close. He is addressed as "Mr Woodward" in this year's record (as well as in 1602), with "my Lords bayly" inserted in a margin. From the records it appears that Matthew continued to reside in the Montague Close until 1621. See LMA P92/SAV/194-203, P92/SAV/206-10. For the searchable database of transcriptions and facsimiles of the token books by Nelson and Ingram, visit URL: <http://tokenbookslma.cityoflondon.gov.uk/index.php>.

proximity between the faction of Catholic recusants based in Montague Close, and the business and social network that Henslowe painstakingly cultivated across Southwark, if anything, must have added to the necessity for a well-maintained distance. With much at stake, the result of all these considerations and weighing of benefits against risks, therefore, not surprisingly, was taking the safest option—to distance himself and his business completely. In choosing his ideological and political allegiance, Henslowe's strategy was in fact not dissimilar to that adapted by one of his patrons, Sir Julius Caesar. Of Italian descent, Caesar was born into a Catholic family with deep connections with prominent Catholic associates included the first viscount Montague, Henry Fitzalan, and even Queen Mary.¹⁰⁶ These connections greatly faded later, however, in the course of Caesar's long political career and social ascent, as he surrounded himself with strong patronage of Nottingham, William Cecil, and Walsingham. Henslowe, similarly, appears also to make conscious efforts to completely distance himself from any Catholic association. Such an effort and level of caution on Henslowe's part are remarkable, considering the fact that his undoubtedly had multiple possible ways, should he have wanted to, for establishing connections with the Montagues—having shared with the latter great geographical proximity in Southwark, common close connections with Buckhurst, and not to mention various other long-standing connections embedded in the Sussex family and iron foundry network. For Henslowe as an operator and investor in frequent and close contact with his patrons, such heightened political sensitivity and such a level of caution were necessitated, and in turn further cultivated, by the external as well as internal ideological complexities of his patronage network.

But what was it like for Henslowe to conduct his various dealings in his patronage network at other times when no issues of religious contention, ideological allegiance, or subtle political self-positioning were involved? To answer this question one must turn, again, to the Henslowe-Alleyn papers for evidence. Among the Henslowe-Alleyn papers there is a well-known petition, drawn up by the watermen on the Thames most likely sometime between 1591 and 1592, for overturning a previous restraint placed specifically on the Rose playhouse.¹⁰⁷ The petition was in fact addressed to the lord High Admiral, Charles Howard. And as the wording of the petition

¹⁰⁶ Alain Wijffels, "Caesar, Sir Julius (*bap.* 1558, *d.* 1636)", in *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; Online edn, Jan 2014.

¹⁰⁷ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 17.

suggests, the restraint was intended and directed in the first place by none other but Howard himself.¹⁰⁸ The fact that this petition, unlike most other ones touching the closures of playhouses, was addressed to an individual councillor instead of the whole Privy Council suggests that the original restraint may be directly related to the lord Admiral's own considerations and decision. And the great caution exercised by Henslowe in this case in choosing to speak to his patron through his connections in the watermen's company instead of directly submitting his own petition seems also to encourage the interpretation that this restraint might have been the result of Howard's personal displeasure incurred by some unknown actions from Henslowe. Even if the restraint was the collective decision of the Privy Council, the addressee of the petition indicates that Howard was certainly among the decision makers. It is interesting, therefore, to observe in this episode an instance when a powerful political patron acted directly against his own client's interest.

And this was certainly not a singular case. Another well-known incident came just a few years later. In 1596 when James Burbage made his first attempt to build an indoor theatre at the Blackfriars, his company's own patron at the time, the second Baron Hunsdon, George Carey, was the second among the thirty-one people who signed the petition that stayed the construction. The reasons cited in the petition, dated to be from November 1596, were the usual vices frequently associated with theatrical activities. But this time such "great annoyance" was to be prevented from entering a neighbourhood that Hunsdon himself was living in.¹⁰⁹ Both the Lord Admiral and Lord Hunsdon, in moments of clash between the clients' benefits and graver considerations, or moments when the interests of their clients ran contrary to their own, are known to have taken actions against their own clients at certain point. Both cases, thus, constitute strong evidence against oversimplified views of the patron-client dynamics based on assumptions of simple alignment of interests.

At other times, even without a direct conflict of interests, the patrons could still be unwilling, and choose not to, offer assistance. This is clearly borne out by documents related to Henslowe and Alleyn's failed attempt in 1598 to obtain the office of the Master of Bears. Among these, a letter from Henslowe to Alleyn, in particular, offers a rare insight into the delicate balance of interest underlying the patron-client

¹⁰⁸ The petition reads, "whereas yo^r good L. hathe derected your warrant vnto hir ma^{ties} Justices, for the restraynte of a howse belonging vnto the saide Phillipp henslo".

¹⁰⁹ CSPD, SP12/260/116.

relationship, and will help highlight some important traits of Henslowe's character. From this letter, it is clear that the two men had sought assistance from at least two of their most important patrons—Dr Julius Caesar and the earl of Nottingham.¹¹⁰ Both patrons, however, had remained largely disengaged. In the letter Henslowe complained to Alleyn that he feared he “shall lose all, for docter Seasser ha[d] done nothings”. As for Nottingham, Henslowe reported that there was “nothing to be hade but good wordes”. He was also sure that the “lord Admerall [would] do nothings”, for despite the latter's promise to “move the queene a bouthe yt”, he rode away from the court to Windsor on the very next day. An interesting detail to note is that it was clearly not Nottingham's intention to let Henslowe know about his prompt departure from court after making the promise to help. From the letter it is also known that Henslowe and Sir Arthur Langworth had “moved other greate parsonages for yt” as well. Lacking the support from both Caesar and Nottingham, however, the impact of these others persons on the course seemed doubtful to Henslowe. From the overall tone of this private letter one can clearly detect Henslowe's disappointment at the situation. From another related letter between Alleyn and Langworth written at this time, it is apparent that Alleyn was also extremely frustrated.¹¹¹

A closer reading of other details in the letter will offer more insights about the reasons behind Sir Julius Caesar and Nottingham's reluctance to help. Henslowe reported in the letter that he had personally spoken to one Lady Edmonds—apparently a noblewoman close to the Queen—who immediately sought an interview with the Queen. She was prevented from doing so, however, by the groom of the Privy Chamber, Edward Darcy, who told her that the Queen had already given the position to John Dorrington. This news, as Henslowe reported, was then further confirmed by Dorrington himself. The fact that the Queen had already made a decision by then, it seems, was the main reason behind Caesar and Nottingham's inaction.

But did the patron refuse to help in the first place? And how close were Henslowe and Alleyn to success? There is another side to the story. Besides the letters between Henslowe, Alleyn, and Langworth related to this episode in the Dulwich archives, there are two other less well-known documents now in the National Archives at Kew. Among the Court of Wards and Liveries records, these are two unsigned draft

¹¹⁰ Dulwich MSS 2, Article 1.

¹¹¹ Dulwich MSS 2, Article 2.

letters patent granting the office of the Masters of Bears to Henslowe and Alleyn individually.¹¹² Each document, written formally on a large single sheet in clear bold letters and decorated with drop caps, make grant in the Queen's name, in the voices of the Privy Councillors, and are supposed to be issued to all levels of local authorities and officers. The very existence of these drafts bring into sharp focus the often overlooked fact that Henslowe and Alleyn were actually extremely close to successfully obtaining the office. It also suggests, then, that political patrons like Nottingham and Caesar most probably did offer their assistance during the earlier phases of their effort, since otherwise it is rather unthinkable that the matter would have been able to gathered enough momentum to reach such an advanced stage. And most crucially, the fact that the office could still fall into the hands of John Dorrington even after official procedures for granting it to Henslowe and the Alleyn had apparently already been set in motion puts into clear perspective the immensity of the political influence and force that turned the tide on the outcome of the event. Befittingly, such an influence came directly from the Queen. It is not surprising that both Nottingham and Caesar chose to drop their intervention. For them, it was a choice whether to risk contradicting the Queen's decision on Henslowe and Alleyn's behalf, or withdraw their assistance and preserve their own personal and political interests.

Thus, even in cases when no religious or ideological contention was involved, the transmission of influence and agency through the patronage network were still complicated by multiple other factors such as differences in political position and status, and subtle balances between various forms of interest, allegiance, and obligation. With the help of additional documents, we have seen in this case the careful weighing by Nottingham and Caesar of risks against benefits, and of political self-interest against promises and obligations of favour. At the same time, reading Henslowe's prediction of the likely outcome of the event in his letter, we can also see his shrewdness and sharp political sensibility. Upon learning about Nottingham's departure for Windsor, Henslowe was quick to grasp that the true intention of Nottingham was to "do nothing" despite the latter's perfunctory gestures to help and empty "good words". Moreover, for all his disappointments, Henslowe's character as a cautious operator comes through clearly. We see him carefully weighing his words in his letter, constraining his press for assistance and containing his complaint about Nottingham's empty "good words"

¹¹² TNA, WARD 2/61/241/42; WARD 2/61/241/43.

within the limit of decorum, and at the same time remembering to show his gratitude towards Lady Edmonds for “very onerably” helping him—although to little effect. After learning that the Queen had given the office to Dorrington, he also took care to confirm the news with Dorrington in person. Finally, viewing this case in larger context, we know from later documents that although Henslowe and Alleyn did not succeed in obtaining the office of the Masters of Bears until 1604, they were in fact resourceful enough to quickly find their way around their defeat in 1598 by becoming Dorrington’s deputies, and hence in practical terms did obtain the charges of the office and part of its profits.

Conclusion

Until now studies on Henslowe’s patronage network have been mainly focused on charting possible connections between Henslowe and the various members of the Tudor and Jacobean establishment. In her studies Cerasano has made a strong argument for the value of Henslowe’s patronage network for his financial gains and personal advancements. Studying records related to Henslowe’s interactions with his patrons together with records that track his business advancement and social ascent, a story of success does emerge. Based on my examinations of these documents, in this chapter I have first sought to obtain a more objective view than hitherto available about the true extent of Henslowe’s patronage network by differentiating his deeper or more robust connections from others that were more superficial or weaker. Besides family and personal connections with political patrons, I have also sought to map out the wider social and trade network that Henslowe painstakingly cultivated following his settlement in Southwark. And to obtain a clearer view of its internal driving mechanisms, I have analysed in detail the ways in which Henslowe—through his business ventures kicked off by the Rose project—functioned as a strong mediator who both tapped into, and further contributed to, his extensive social-political network of patrons and associates.

But we should not lose sight of the other side of the coin. Among the large amount of records that bear witness to Henslowe’s financial, social and political advancement, it is often the oddities—such as the seemingly curious lack of reference to certain important personage, the evidence of fierce internal conflicts within the network of allies, or records generated during times of failure—that allow us greater insight into the complexities of the social-political networks that Henslowe inhabited.

Studying these incidents exposes problematic overgeneralisations of the patron-client relationship, and dispel false impressions of simple alignment of their various interests. By analysing the conflicts of personal, ideological, and political interests underlying these incidents, I have sought to put into better perspective the fact that Henslowe essentially moved among—and belonged to—the social category of people whose career growth and business operations depended heavily upon being under the aegis of powerful patrons. Although Henslowe undoubtedly reached a level where he was never far removed from the uppermost echelon of society, and in fact was often just a few connections away from reaching the monarch, the political and family network woven around these intervening connections and personages was deep water not without treacherous undercurrents. At the same time, being a strong mediator, Henslowe evidently was still able to have agency in this network. Thus, finally, by revealing the nature of Henslowe's extensive social-political network as both immensely empowering and at times highly restrictive, and by observing the ways as evidenced by the records in which Henslowe navigated this network's ideological inroads with considerable caution, political sensitivity, and agility, in this chapter I have sought to bring into light his typical character as a shrewd, highly risk-averse, resourceful, and an effective operator.

Chapter Four

Henslowe's Management of the Rose

In the previous chapter I have studied the extent and nature of Henslowe's extensive social-political network, and examined in detail its cultivation and upkeep over the years through his career in a variety of roles, of which the first major step was becoming the owner and manager of the Rose playhouse. This chapter will look at this first step in detail, and investigate key questions regarding the Rose's management and operation: Why did he decide to invest in a playhouse in the first place? What were the circumstances in the mid-1580s that contributed to this decision? How was the playhouse managed and how exactly was its operation funded on daily basis? What was the business relationship between Henslowe and the playing companies that used the Rose? What duties, rights, as well as powers were involved in Henslowe's role as the owner of the playhouse? What risks were there in the Rose's operation and how were they managed? These questions have always been central to scholarly enquiries into the multiple facets of the Rose playhouse.

The Beginning of the Rose: Opportunity, Timing, and Partner

By the 1580s, with the help of what early family connections had eventually brought about—marriage to a well-to-do widow, the freedom of the Dyers' company, as well as the resulting financial capability, Henslowe appeared to have been securely established in Southwark and London, and was ready to move onto his first large-scale investment: the Rose playhouse. Very few archival documents directly relevant to the Rose's beginning have survived, besides Henslowe's lease on the "Little Rose" estate acquired in 1585 and his "Deed of Partnership" with John Cholmley. As a result, very little scholarly attention so far has been given to the beginning of the Rose project. Some interesting suggestions, however, may still be attempted on important questions such as why Henslowe would have considered investing in a playhouse in the very first place; and why he would have chosen that particular time and location. To try and answer these questions requires examining the inception of the Rose project in relation to a broader range of documents. These records, when viewed together, do seem to suggest that Henslowe's investment decision was made not only with considerable caution and business acumen, but also with a level of political sensitivity and foresight difficult to attain without advanced connections.

To begin with, Henslowe's familiarity with the traffic network on Bankside and the Boroughside of Southwark mean that it would not have been difficult for him to perceive the business potential of building an entertainment establishment at a nodal point of this network. As I have already discussed in an earlier chapter, with a major travel route running through the centre and numerous inns, taverns, and alehouses lining its main streets, there was little doubt about the area's attraction to theatrical activities. At least a decade before the building of the Rose, the Borough High Street of Southwark and the playhouse at Newington Butts had been known for housing regular performances. Most of the Privy Council's orders regarding playing in Southwark in this period made specific references to either the Borough or Newington Butts. On 10 November 1578, for instance, an order was issued against "the alluring of people to plays" in the Borough of Southwark, presumably in some temporary venues along the High Street.¹ On 13 May 1580, a letter from the Privy Council to the JPs of Surrey referred to performances on "sundry days" every week at Newington Butts. Another order dated 11 May 1586, again, made specific requests for the prohibition of playing in the Theatre and in the playhouse at Newington Butts.² Right up to the building of the Rose, it seems then, a dedicated playhouse had been a popular choice for playgoers and a potentially profitable form of investment. The location of the existing playhouse in Newington Butts, however, being a mile away from the City, was not ideal. The "tediousness of the way" leading to Newington was made apparent in a later document from the Privy Council.³ Yet by the mid-1580s the Newington Butts playhouse was still clearly popular. It required no small amount of business acumen on Henslowe's part, in that case, to detect its geographical disadvantages and foresee the bigger business potential of a new dedicated playhouse readily available for performance and at a location more easily accessible from the City. The attraction of such an idea to both playing companies and playgoers was promptly confirmed by the immediate success of the Rose. While in the previous year playing activities were still concentrated in

¹ PRO PC2/12, p. 300. See also Wickham et al., ed. *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 326. This order has sometimes been interpreted as a reference to playing in Newington Butts. This is unlikely, however, since Newington Butts was not regarded as part of Southwark, whose southern boundary, as discussed in the previous chapter, terminated at the southern end of the Borough High Street near the church of St. George the Martyr. At this point, the High Street joined up with Blackman Street and led to Newington Butts. St. George Church was also the southern end and the turn-back point of the Lord Mayor's procession through the annual Southwark Fair.

² PC2/13, p. 10; PC2/14, p. 84. See also Wickham et al., ed. *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 326-7.

³ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 18.

Newington Butts, by October 1587, as suggested by clear references in another order from the council, it had shifted to the Clink liberty.⁴

The timing of the project is also worth a note. William Ingram, surveying the economic crisis in London in the sixteenth century, regarded 1576 and the mid-1580s as particularly bad years, with political instability as well as poor “economic odds”, for making successful investments in the theatres. The success of the Theatre and the Rose, hence, seemed perplexing to Ingram.⁵ The Privy Council’s orders mentioned above, on the other hand, reveal that the popularity of playgoing persisted throughout this period. More importantly, both 1576 and 1585 were the years when a statute clause from the 1572 royal proclamation against vagrancy was extended and renewed. This particular statute, in effect, prohibited City authorities from extending their jurisdiction into the adjoining areas of Surrey and Middlesex.⁶ Seen in this light, the jurisdictional environment in Shoreditch in 1576 and on the Bankside in 1585, with the protective policy newly reaffirmed, would have been ideal for theatrical ventures. Both Burbage and Henslowe, it should be noted, were enjoying advanced connections at the start of their respective theatrical projects. For Burbage it was the earl of Leicester whose political status needs no reiteration. Patrons occupying equally powerful positions could also be found in Henslowe’s network in the mid-1580s. Lord Buckhurst, in particular, was at this time jointly holding the position of the lord lieutenant of Surrey with the privy councillor Charles Howard. Buckhurst was also soon to become a privy councillor himself. What had twice brought together the renewals of the statute clause and the building of the two theatres, therefore, seemed more than mere coincidence. For the Rose in particular, to what extent the patrons had a direct influence on its building is of course impossible to know. What is more important, however, is the recognition of Henslowe’s impressive political sensitivity conditioned by his frequent contacts with this advanced patronage network, which allowed him to appreciate the political significance of the 1585 renewal of the statute clause, as well as the potential business opportunity behind it.

Last but not least, Henslowe’s shrewdness and cautious business style are also worth a note. Despite his ability to finance the construction of the playhouse all by

⁴ PRO PC2/14, p. 477. See also Wickham et al., ed. *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 88.

⁵ Ingram, “The Economics of Playing”, in *A Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. David Scott Kastan, 1999. Blackwell Reference Online, 10 July 2014.

⁶ *Statutes of the Realm*, IV.i. 590-8; 610; 718. See also Wickham et al., ed. *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 62-3.

himself, Henslowe had chosen to share the costs with the grocer John Cholmley. The mystery regarding the identity of Cholmley has given rise to different speculations. David Kathman has proposed that it could be a John Cholmley baptised in St. Martin Ludgate on 9 September 1565.⁷ Ingram, on the other hand, posited another Cholmley, a country tanner from Bletchingley, Sussex, who later purchased his membership in the Grocers' company.⁸ Facing the sheer paucity of material on this issue, an understanding of Henslowe's habit of relying on existing connections may at least help provide some extra points of reference for inquiries and, inevitably in this case, speculations. Seen in this light, Ingram's candidate seems a lot more promising, both for his Sussex background and for his involvement in the tanning business. Henslowe was involved, as noted earlier, in the purchase and dressing of goat-skin in 1584, just a year before he leased the "Little Rose" estate. Such a business engagement might very well have brought him in contact with a tanner like the Cholmley of Bletchingley. Besides, Henslowe's "Deed of Partnership" with Cholmley indicates that the latter was already in tenure of the little house on the southern side of the plot. Ingram has also suggested that Cholmley the tanner might well have used this house for storage of hides near the City.⁹ It is not inconceivable, therefore, that Cholmley the tanner—who had also recently acquired membership in the Grocers' company—was a contributing factor in Henslowe's decision to lease the "Little Rose" estate. In any case, with the renewal of the statute around this time and the rising opportunity for a large-scale investment on the Bankside, it was entirely possible that Henslowe would have turned to an already established connection and a fellow Sussex man to share the financial costs. This reading, of course, runs contrary to Ingram's speculative narrative in which Cholmley was just an unexpected complication in Henslowe's plan.¹⁰ The understanding of Henslowe's risk-averse investment style, however, does lend support to the Cholmley that Ingram has posited.

Connecting this wider range of documents related to the beginning of the Rose project reveal that the Rose in many ways had been the converging point where Henslowe's family networks, his business acumen and political sensitivity, as well as

⁷ Kathman, "Citizens, Innholders, and Playhouse Builders", pp. 49-50.

⁸ Ingram, "John Cholmley on the Bankside", pp. 45-52.

⁹ Ingram, "John Cholmley on the Bankside", p. 57.

¹⁰ In Ingram's narrative, Henslowe was only aware of Cholmley's occupancy of the small house south of the plot after plans for the Rose had already been set in motion, and hence only sought partnership with Cholmley to mitigate his losses.

his newly cultivated business connections in Southwark all came together. The very same observation regarding Henslowe's shrewdness, caution, and reliance on his patronage and business networks may be made when we tread on much more solid ground and examine the large amount of records generated over the subsequent years in the management and operation of the Rose.

These characteristics of Henslowe's business style and the records they have produced, however, have often been interpreted as signs that Henslowe was a calculating, controlling, and "moneyed" man—a Shylock-like figure. The revisionist accounts, on the other hand, have often cited the apparently harmonious relationship between Henslowe and the players as proof of his benevolence and good intention. The most fiercely contested ground, as mentioned earlier, has been the issue of control. While revisionist accounts maintain that Henslowe had limited control and involvement in theatrical decision-making, many scholars have pointed to the astronomical debts owed to Henslowe by the companies, as well as many of Henslowe's theatrical correspondence as proof that he maintained a tight control over his theatres' tenants. The following discussions will therefore examine some of the key evidence behind the arguments from both sides, as well as important details in the records that have not received sufficient scholarly attention. Through close re-examination and re-connection of archival materials, in this chapter I will highlight significant consistencies underlying some of the records that so far have produced sharply contrasting interpretations. At the same time, I will also demonstrate that there is in fact a more complicated side of the issue of control that has not been sufficiently explored, and that Henslowe was perhaps neither as ruthless and miserly as his many critics have believed, nor as benevolent and generous as the revisionist accounts have painted him to be.

Operating a repertory playhouse in the early 1590s was still very much a new form of business for a playhouse manager like Henslowe. The transition in the operational mode of major playing companies from travelling to London residence, as I will examine in detail in the next two chapters, was a long and piecemeal process. The relationship between Henslowe and the resident playing company at the Rose—a newly established connection still delicate and changeable during the early 1590s—would certainly require a great deal of caution to handle. The unstable nature of this new connection between the playing venue and its playing company means that disruptions to business, dissolution of the player-playhouse partnership, and the ensuing financial difficulties were all genuine risks to manage and make provisions for. The fairly rapid

succession of brief occupancies of the Rose by various playing companies in the first two years following its extensive re-building, as well as the long closure of London playhouses in 1593, both bore clear witness to the reality and gravity of such threats.¹¹ Sailing largely in uncharted water, Henslowe's great caution and conservative managerial style were perhaps not entirely unwarranted. Managerial style and personality, however, should not be confused as one and the same. While observations about the former may be made based on large volumes of available records, the leap from this to making speculations about the latter is jumping onto slippery ground, let alone using such speculations about Henslowe's personality—be it in favourable or unfavourable lights—as guiding rods for interpretations of his theatrical records.

In the previous chapter, I have sought to obtain a clearer view of Henslowe's character as an operator by examining records that bear witness to the ways in which Henslowe interacted with his patrons and various associates both during times of success and at moments of failure. The more consistent traits that have emerged from these records show him to be a shrewd, resourceful, and effective operator who was also highly risk-averse.

The same level of caution and meticulousness can be observed in many major decisions he made for his theatrical ventures. His risk-averse strategy of copying existing examples from his competitors may be easily seen in all his theatrical projects. As I have briefly discussed in chapter two, for building the Rose playhouse he contracted John Griggs, a friend of his and one who had detailed knowledge about Burbage's Theatre. Rose in Phase I, as suggested by archaeological study and digital reconstruction carried out by Bowsher and MoLAS, was very similar to the Theatre in terms of physical dimensions and basic internal structure. The same strategy was to be repeatedly deployed in the subsequent years. We see him upgrading the decorations and the staging capacity of the Rose in 1595 as soon as Langley's magnificent Swan was in construction. In 1600, the building contract for the Fortune was given to Peter Street, the builder of the then newly erected Globe; and the Fortune itself was also specified

¹¹ In his letter to Edward Alleyn dated 14 August 1593, Henslowe sent commended himself to Alleyn's fellow players on the tour and further said that because the company had not been playing in the Rose due to the plague closure, he had grown "poore for lacke of them" and therefore had no gifts to send them but a faithful heart. The pleasantries and diplomacy in this greeting notwithstanding, it is worth noting the underlying notion that the financial well-being of the playhouse—and of its owner as well—had by then started to be tied to the business performance of its resident playing company. See Dulwich MSS 1, Article 13.

as in many aspects a direct copy of the Globe. In 1613, again, the Hope was in many ways copying the nearby Swan.

Textual Characteristics of the *Diary* and Henslowe's Bookkeeping Habits

Records in the *Diary*, both in terms of content and spatial arrangements, also testify to Henslowe's remarkable caution and risk-averse managerial style. That he was meticulous in logging his transactions and loans does not require much reiteration. The spatial arrangements of many entries in the *Diary*, although unmistakably characteristic of an organic textual growth and accumulation over the years, do still suggest that Henslowe was methodical in making his accounts. The volume is clearly divided into functional sections, with different types of accounts occupying recognisably separate spaces. Most notable are certainly the separations between the several batches of daily receipts from performances, and the two lengthy stretches of pawn broking accounts.¹² The pages between fol. 73 and fol. 81, for example, contain a running account for the pawn broking business in 1593 and 1594. These records are sandwiched between mainly theatrical accounts from the 1599-1600 period. The majority of the theatrical records from the 1593-4 period, on the other hand, are concentrated between fol. 8 and fol. 11v. The most logical explanation for such a textual layout would be that Henslowe, while setting down his theatrical and pawn broking records in 1593, had originally assigned different spaces in the volume for them. It was only in the later years that the various records had filled up the empty pages between the performance receipts and the pawn broking accounts (i.e. between fol. 11 and fol. 73) and was forced to continue on the other side (i.e. after fol. 81), thus generating a sense of haphazardness in the textual layouts.

Loans to the same person, quite often, are also deliberately recorded in the same place. This habit is observable in records of loans made at both short and long intervals. Fol. 31v, for instance, contains loans to John Pallmer, a fellow groom of the Chamber, at three different times: 5 January 1598, 8 July 1599, and 7 April 1599. The last entry, interestingly, is for a loan made before the second one, a telling sign that it was later copied onto the *Diary* from an earlier original bill. Henslowe was apparently deliberately keeping the records about the same person in the same place. Fol. 20v,

¹² In her study of the textual features of the *Diary*, Cerasano has also made the suggestion that some of the theatrical accounts display characteristics of being copied from some other sources in batches. See Cerasano, "The Geography of Henslowe's Diary", p. 339.

similarly, contains several loans in the course of several months to another groom of the chamber, Roger Evans, between March 1598 and January 1599. Fol. 230, again, contains entries for several loans to Richard Alleyn (or Allen)—and later his widow—over an even longer period, i.e. from 27 May 1597 to 19 September 1602. For his dealings with players and playwrights associated with the company, Henslowe also appeared to distinguish between loans made to them for personal use, and advancements to them on behalf of the company's business. Fol. 30, for instance, contains records of some personal loans to Henry Porter in 1599, whereas the advances to Porter for his plays from around the same time were recorded in a batch of theatrical accounts from fol. 43v to fol. 54v. Similarly, while loans to Thomas Towne could be found on fol. 28v, production-related loans involving Towne are found among the theatrical accounts between fol. 68v and fol. 71. Although it is difficult to know whether Henslowe was turning back to the same page every time to make these accounts or copying them in one batch from a collection of original bills, these entries do suggest that Henslowe was separately keeping track of his business and personal dealings with his various associates.

Another interesting point to note is that sometimes Henslowe recorded batches of entries twice in different areas of the *Diary*. Between fol. 122v and fol. 124, for instance, there is a long list of Henslowe's expenses on various matters related to Edmond Henslowe and his children. Many entries in this list appeared to be copied verbatim from entries scattered under several headings in an earlier part of the *Diary*, between fol. 39 and fol. 41v. The later copies thus appear to be made when Henslowe was casting up his total expenses on his brother's family across the previous years. My closer comparison and examination of these two batches of entries reveal that the later copy also provides updates of certain events. For instance, while in the earlier copy Henslowe recorded a payment in 1595 to Mr. Newman for the apprenticeship of his nephew, John; in the later version, after logging the same entry, he further added another expense from 1605 for buying John a place in the watermen's company.¹³ The same method was used in the theatrical accounts as well. On fol. 37 there are records of several loans to Robert Shaa and Thomas Downton for theatrical production. When later Henslowe cast up the company's debts with the players and copied some of these

¹³ *HD*, fol. 124. What became of John's apprenticeship to Mr Newman the dyer is unknown. In Henslowe's will in 1616, John was identified as a waterman. See TNA, PROB 11/127, fol. 45r.

earlier entries onto fol. 43v and fol. 44, only records about Shaa's debts were actually transferred. This update most probably suggests that by the time of the reckoning Towne had already paid off his debts. The deeper significance of this transfer of accounts from fol. 37, 38, and 39 onto fol. 43v and 44 will be discussed in more detail later. Between fol. 20 and fol. 21, once again, almost verbatim copies are found in Henslowe's recorded expenses on Peter, his soldier.

As a whole, these textual characteristics of the *Diary* do not appear to be the results of any hard-and-fast rules that Henslowe unequivocally followed. But the *Diary*'s textual layout overall clearly point to some of Henslowe's more discernible bookkeeping habits or tendencies that emerged from his heavy use of the same volume over the years. The spatial arrangements of the entries, appearing at first glance to be haphazard, upon closer examination reveal conscious and generally effective textual control and management on Henslowe's part for the maintaining of the integrity of the records. The textual transfers, copies, and trimmings as outlined above further show that Henslowe was mindful of the need to tidy up his accounts for ease of future reference, and was also careful to monitor as well as to keep up with the latest state of his financial investments.

Manager-Player Relationship

The next issue to examine is the manager-player relationship—an issue that can be studied through surveying a large amount of evidence from the *Diary*'s records. In the small number of surviving letters from Henslowe to Alleyn when the company was on tour during 1593, Henslowe commended himself to Alleyn's fellow players on at least two occasions.¹⁴ These perhaps should not be dismissed straightaway as mere courtesy, as these letters were strictly personal correspondences to Alleyn about family matters and hence such formalities—if they truly were—could well have been dispensed with. Henslowe also seemed to send gifts to the players and playwrights from time to time. Fol. 65 contains a record of a payment of ten shillings to Antony Munday and a few other playwrights upon the first performance of *Sir John Oldcastle*. The entry was written by Munday and marked by Henslowe on the side with “as a gefte”. While this might be understood as Henslowe following customary practice, the reference to gifts to the players in one of his aforementioned letters does suggest that this was more

¹⁴ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 10, 13.

than a one-off practice. Even though these fragments of events may not necessarily point to close friendship between Henslowe and members of the playing company, they certainly cannot have been produced by acrimony. And if there had been financial or legal disputes between the players and Henslowe, no records of them have been found. Henslowe's carefully maintained records of all the personal and business dealings with the players and playwrights, rather than being signs of his penny-pinching nature, might very well have contributed to the prevention of disputes.

Another observation that lends support to this view is that Henslowe certainly kept equally detailed records about loans, expenses and debts concerning his close family members as well as himself. Besides the aforementioned long list of entries about Edmond Henslowe and his children, in the *Diary* one can also find both detailed entries about expenses on other family members such as William, Margaret, Anne, and Francis Henslowe, and also records of expenses kept on Alleyn's behalf as well as Henslowe's own debt to Alleyn.¹⁵ At times, moreover, Henslowe was apparently even willing to allow a bit of leeway in repayments for personal loans. A pawn record on fol. 28v about a loan of ten shillings to Thomas Towne upon a pair of stockings contains the remark: "w^{ch} stockens he fetched agayne & payd vs not so oweth vs styll". Another similar instance is found on fol. 41v, where Henslowe recorded giving back "ij gewells of gowld" to William Birde without the latter's repayment. A debt is still a debt, of course, but these tiny details do seem to add more weight to arguments against a Shylock-like image of Henslowe. In other words, what the *Diary*'s records do not seem to bear out, are suggestions that Henslowe deliberately sought to obtain undue profits or benefits for himself at the cost of his associates. But importantly, neither do they lend sufficient support to any portrayal of him as particularly generous—certainly not to the extent that he would willingly sacrifice his own rightful profits or benefits for his associates. He appears to be a helpful and resourceful friend in need, but this does not mean that he treated matters of business lightly or did not guard his money closely. This is clearly seen in the written replies he gave to Richard Topping's allegation against him for Thomas Nashe's debt in front of Henry Carey, the Lord Chamberlain, in 1596. Topping asserted that since Henslowe became Nashe's bail, and since Nashe had by then escaped abroad, Henslowe should be made to either pay the debt or acquaint Topping of the whereabouts of Nashe. Henslowe's reply essentially states that he was

¹⁵ *HD*, fol. 234-8.

no longer legally liable to be Nashe's bail or pay his debt since Nashe had earlier already successfully removed the account of debt via *habeas corpus* in the King's Bench. As I have already noted in the previous chapter, Grace Ioppolo has interpreted Henslowe's reply as an effort to protect Nashe from the pursuit of Topping, and has hence viewed this episode as a sure sign of Henslowe's great friendship and benevolence towards Nashe. But this reading of a steadfast and almost heroic stance on Henslowe's part does not seem to square with either the tone or the content of Henslowe's reply, whose main purpose seems to be to distance himself from the lawsuit and assert his neutrality in the matter. After explaining in length that although he had indeed agreed earlier to be Nashe's bail "for meere goodwill [and] beeinge somewhat acquainted wth him", he was in fact released from this obligation due to Nashe's legal actions later, Henslowe further added: "and in that respect (I do confes) I haue been unwilling to paie another mans debte".¹⁶

Henslowe was apparently willing, as we have seen in the records above, to make loans to cover for the players and playwrights at their moments of extremities, and at times even allow a little flexibility in the due dates for repayments. But surveying the records for these friendly gestures, it is also obvious that all these extensions of favour were invariably limited to those he was familiar with—those with whom he dealt on almost daily basis. At the same time, all these loans were as quickly logged into the *Diary*'s account as they were dispatched; and every one of the delayed repayments freshly noted down as allowances for their extension were granted. At one time in March 1598, Henslowe laid out five shillings to the players just "for good cheare" at a tavern called the Sun in New Fish Street after a reading of a new play. In the *Diary*, its record sits neatly on fol. 45 among other usual entries of loans to the company for productions. The arrangement here is clear. The theatre manager laid out the money for the merriments at the tavern, but the players still needed to repay that sum later.

An interesting further point to note is that this entry, read together with two other entries on the same leaf about the same reading at the tavern, strongly suggests that Henslowe was *not* present with the players at the Sun at that time.¹⁷ This small

¹⁶ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 21.

¹⁷ *HD*, fol. 45. These three entries are: "lent vnto the company to paye drayton & dyckers & chetell ther full payment for the boocke called the famos wares of henry the fyrste & the prynce of walles the some of ... iiii^l v^s"; "lent at that tyme vnto the company for to spend at the Readaynge of that boocke at the sonne in new fyshstreate ... v^s"; and "layd owt the same tyme at the tavarne in fyshstreate for good cheare the some of ... v^s".

detail becomes more revealing about Henslowe's character and his attitude to business when it is compared with another two entries on fol. 236. Among the entries about Henslowe's personal expenses laid out on the Admiral's Men in 1594 are these two lines: "layd owt for drinckinge wth the Jentellmen ... iiij^s 8^d"; and "layd owt at a nother time for drinckinge ... xij^d".¹⁸ The phrasing in these two entries show that Henslowe was present with the company on these two occasions in 1594. The rest of the leaf is torn out, so it is impossible to know for sure whether these records were intended as an account of loans or simply Henslowe's personal charges. The latter, however, seems the more likely scenario. The first reason is that these entries are found among pages containing other lists of Henslowe's personal expenses rather than his loans. The second reason is that the latter scenario conforms better with Henslowe's usual behaviour on these occasions as evident in other records—i.e. it seems that it was often Henslowe who willingly picked up the bill for drinks and meals if he was present. In the earlier chapter I have mentioned the fact that, during the construction of the Fortune theatre in 1600, Henslowe paid for drinks, dinners, and sometimes also breakfasts for Peter Street, Gilbert East, and himself on almost daily basis from late May until early August.¹⁹ If we accept this reading, then the record of money given to the company for "good chearie" at the Sun in 1598, which Henslowe counted as part of the company's debts, and the expenses that he took upon himself for drinking with the company in 1594, make interesting comparison. The script-reading at the tavern, and the bit of merriment afterwards, were both regarded by Henslowe as part of the company's business and operation, for which he provided loans, but which he did not participate. The two occasions in 1594 when he drank together with the company, on the contrary, were regarded by him as his treats to his theatrical associates. This comparison offers an insight into the pragmatic attitude underlying the balance Henslowe struck between effectively conducting his business, and maintaining his social connections as well as his own image and status. The same attitude, as I have shown in detail in the previous chapter, was consistent in his interactions with his patrons and associates in his wider social-political network in general.

On the whole, surveying the large amount of records in the *Diary* and Henslowe-Alleyn papers yields an overall impression of fair dealings between

¹⁸ *HD*, fol. 236.

¹⁹ *HD*, fol. 98v 99.

Henslowe and his theatrical associates, and show him as a capable manager who is clearly meticulous in keeping accounts. While he undoubtedly kept close tabs on his investments, he was also mindful of the necessity to square shrewd business calculations with social pleasantries and gestures of friendship. There is perhaps no better embodiment of the nuances in such a manager-player relationship than the batches of loan accounts to the playing company as recorded between fol. 64 and fol. 70. Records contained in these leaves are Henslowe's advances for productions between 27 Sept. 1599 and July 1600, and are frequently written in the players' or the playwrights' own hands with autograph signatures—most notably Shaa, Downton, Rowley, Bird, and Wilson. It is remarkable to observe that Henslowe should have so often allowed his theatrical associates to draw up such a significant amount of these initial records in his account book. This phenomenon is not usually found in the earlier loan records to the Admiral's Men, nor in their later loans after the company's relocation to the Fortune. Neither is it observable, for that matter, in the loan records to Worcester's Men when they took residence at the Rose. The great geographical proximity between Henslowe's house and the Rose playhouse can perhaps partly account for such a phenomenon. These production records belong to the final year of the Admiral's Men's residence at the Rose, and thus were most likely produced when the players and playwrights went to Henslowe's house in person to collect the loans. This also explains the disappearance of this phenomenon in the Admiral's Men's loan records after their relocation to the Fortune.²⁰ But geographical proximity does not explain why this does not exist in Worcester's Men's records at the Rose between 1602 and 1603, or in the Admiral's Men records before 1599. Thus, besides geographical proximity, another factor seems to be the degree of familiarity between Henslowe and the players he was dealing with. And if it took such a cautious and risk-averse operator as Henslowe almost five years to become trusting enough to allow some of the Admiral's Men to draw up some of the initial loan records in his accounts, it is perhaps little wonder that he should stick to writing every one of his loans to Worcester's Men himself. Overall, the existence of these autograph writings embedded in the *Diary's* records suggests that the relationship between Henslowe and his theatrical associates can be a very close one—even if not necessarily an intimate and fully trusting one. At

²⁰ As suggested by the many short notes written to Henslowe from Rowley, Shaa, or Bird, during the Fortune years the players' notes for loans were usually delivered to Henslowe's house on the Bankside via bearers, who then took the money on their way back.

the same time, the absence of this phenomenon in the Admiral's Men's earlier loan records and Worcester's Men's records later also shows that the cultivation of the manager-player relationships—just like the forging of others of Henslowe's business and social connections—was a long process of growing familiarity and trust-building through carefully maintained accounts and, perhaps, distance. And for the most part of his career—i.e. until conflicts broke out with Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1615—such a managerial and bookkeeping style, and the business relationship he formed with his associates of players and playwrights, do appear to have been largely effective for the prevention of disputes, which contrasts sharply with situations at some of the other playhouses contemporary to the Rose as borne out by records of various drawn-out disputes and litigations over matters of ownership, manager-player relationship, loans and repayments, or fairness of the distribution of profit.²¹

The Management of the Rose

To obtain a clearer picture of Henslowe's development as a theatre manager, and of the important changes that took place in the operation of the Rose and its companies, I believe a much more carefully chronological approach is needed for the examination of the large number of loans Henslowe made to the Rose's resident companies over the years. Such an approach calls for a better awareness of the historical specificities—and therefore also limitations—of these documents as evidence for the different manager-player relationships, dynamics, considerations, priorities and so on at different stages of Henslowe's career as a theatre manager. Tracing and understanding these key developments, moreover, also helps make better sense of some of the key archival documents that have hitherto led to conflicting views on Henslowe's character, method, and his relationship with his theatrical associates. Close examinations of the theatrical accounts in the *Diary* reveals significant differences in the degree of Henslowe's involvement in the Admiral's Men's daily operation before and after October 1597.

²¹ Such as the disputes between James Burbage and the Admiral's Men around 1590-1; the lawsuits between Francis Langley and the five players from Pembroke's Men between late 1597 and early 1598; or the series of conflicts at the Boar's Head from late 1599 until late 1603. For the latest summary and collection of records from the series of litigations related to the Boar's Head playhouse, which involved multiple persons including Francis Langley, Oliver Woodliffe, Richard Samwell, Robert Browne, as well as members of Worcester's Men, see Wickham, et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 463-86.

Records before October 1597 reveal much less involvement by Henslowe in the playing company's operations and decisions. This lack of involvement is directly evident in the lack of details in his accounts for advances made for theatrical productions. Most of the theatrical accounts from this period were very succinct and unspecific, recording often neither the exact dates nor the purposes of the loans. The most important information to Henslowe at this stage was apparently only the borrowers' names and the amount of their debts. The purposes of these loans were clearly much less of a concern for him. The list of expenses from October 1596 recorded on fol. 23, for instance, stands in sharp contrast to later ones for their lack of specifications. These were no small loans by any means, reaching fifty shillings on several occasions, and yet were written down in ways such as "lent vnto them for hawodes bocke", "lent vnto them at a nother tyme", or "lent them to by a boocke". A more typical example may be found on fol. 71v, which contains a list of loans in May 1596 to Alleyn on behalf of the company. These entries were recorded with no other information but the dates and the amount of the loans. And so were their repayments, set down in the lower half of the same leaf, which were made largely on daily basis.²² Only very occasionally do we see accounts taken in the format that was to become the standard in the later years (i.e. after October 1597), where Henslowe recorded the purposes of the loans besides the amount and the borrowers' names. Fol. 22v contains such an example, with records of advances to Donstone and Slater for the play *Vortigern*, as well as loans to "steuen the tyerman" and Edward Alleyn for buying costumes.²³ One of the loans to the company on fol. 71v also specifies that it was to "feneshe vp the blacke veluet gowne". This clearly further shows that Henslowe's advances during this period was only occasionally required by the company to make ends meet, rather than an on-going necessity.

During this period, advances like these were mainly repaid from time to time by the company collectively. The lower half of fol. 71v, as mentioned, contains a list of such repayments in their typical minimalist form. On fol. 23 may be found an interesting anomaly. Repayments records on this page contain not only their dates and amounts but also the circumstances in which they were made. At a glance these entries

²² HD, fol. 23, 71v.

²³ HD, fol. 22v.

take the form of Henslowe's daily receipts from the plays.²⁴ Close examinations reveal, however, that the receipts recorded after these performances were different in their amounts from the actual half-gallery shares that Henslowe recorded, on fol. 25v and 26, for the same days' performances. The more likely explanation for the receipts on fol. 23, therefore, is that they were the company's repayments to Henslowe for his earlier advances during productions.

Besides these dealings with the company on collective terms, another way in which Henslowe might be considered as involved in theatrical operations in this period was through his sales of costumes to individual players. These transactions, personal in nature and often paid up in weekly instalments, could be found throughout the early years of the Admiral's Men's residence in the Rose. The earliest recorded transaction of this type was made on 2 September 1594, just a few months into the partnership; and the latest one in this period was recorded on 27 May 1596. Beyond October 1597, only one such transaction could be found, which was made on 2 January 1598.²⁵ For these sales, again, the records were unspecific about their intended usages.

These largely irregular dealings—either with the company collectively or with its individuals, together with the regular half-gallery receipts from daily performances, constitute the main bulk of the theatrical records in this period. Only one additional list of expenses to these are those found on fol. 236. under the heading: “Layd owt for my Lorde Admeralle seruantes...as ffoloweth 1594”. As already mentioned, these are most likely entries about Henslowe's own expenses laid out for travels and drinking when the company performed four times in Somerset house and two times in court, as well as some money paid for making the company's livery uniforms.²⁶ The infrequency of Henslowe's advances to the company and his sales of costumes to individual players, as well as the general irregularity and lack of specificity of these entries, stand in sharp contrast to the large amount of daily half-gallery receipts from performances in this period. Thus Henslowe's role in the theatrical operations of the Admiral's men at this

²⁴ Such as: “Rd at the second time of playing that wilbe shalbe the 4 of Janewary 1597 the some of...xxx^s”; or “Rd at elexsander & ladwicke the 14 of Janewarye the fyrste time yt wasse played 1597 in parte... v^l”. *HD*, fol. 23.

²⁵ Records of these sales of costumes to individuals in the playing company could be found on: fol. 15: to Richard Jones (2 Sep. 1594); to William Sly (11 Oct. 1594); fol. 16: to Donstone (27 Aug, 1595) (with partial repayments and residue recorded below); to Steven Magett (the “tyrman”) (20 Jan 1595); fol. 22v: to Richard Jones (27 May 1596) (with full repayment in instalments below); fol. 24: to Thomas Towne (to begin repayment from 2 Jan. 1598).

²⁶ *HD*, fol. 236.

stage still appears to be mainly that of a landlord whose main responsibility—as the 1595 upgrade to the Rose suggests—was still the maintenance of the playing space. His primary investment goal in this partnership—as the performance receipts testify—was to collect rents from the half-gallery share. Although his occasional advances to the company and payments for logistics suggest that he also doubled at times as a facilitator for theatrical production, these occasions were extremely limited. The general lack of specificity in the majority of his loan records indicates that Henslowe was often unaware of, or did not seem to care about, what uses his loans to the players were put to—a telling sign that his influence on the company's theatrical decision-making was weak. Despite the already established connections between the playing company and the playing space, the internal managerial and financial structure of the partnership had not yet fully taken shape.

All this underwent significant changes after October 1597. The first remarkable change to note is the signing of binding contracts between Henslowe and several key players in the Admiral's Men and Pembroke's Men. The earliest one with Thomas Hearne was signed a day before the closure of the theatres following the *Isle of Dogs* incident on 27 July 1597. The majority of the contracts were signed soon afterwards, in August of the same year. The latest contracts, with Charles Massy and Samuel Rowley, were signed on 16 November 1598.²⁷ These contracts, which contain strict terms regarding the players' length of service secured by threats of heavy financial penalty, have been widely interpreted as strong proof for Henslowe's ruthless control over the livelihoods of the players.

Whether or not he had always wanted to exert high levels of control over his playing companies is of course more difficult to know, but even if he did, for the first few years of his partnership with the Admiral's Men he had certainly not been in a strong position to fully implement it until the summer of 1597. After this point, with the continual restraint placed on the Swan and the reopened Rose being one of the only two licensed playhouses in London, Henslowe was undoubtedly in a much stronger position to make bargains with the players. But at the same time, the players, and

²⁷ The sequence of these contrast runs: Thomas Hearne (27 July 1597), John Helle (2 August 1597), Richard Jones and Robert Shaa (6 August 1597), William Bird (10 August 1597), Thomas Downton (6 October 1597), Richard Allen and Thomas Heywood (25 March 1598), Charles Massy and Samuel Rowley (16 November 1598).

especially those from Pembroke's Men, may also crave more security from legitimacy, clarity in the bookkeeping of theatrical accounts, as well as fair dealings from the theatre manager—all of which had been, or had become, unavailable with Langley and the Swan after the summer 1597. At the same time, had signing bonds with the players been an unwelcomed necessity exercised on the previous defectors as well as “new recruits” from Pembroke's men, it is quite surprising to see loyal veterans in the Admiral's Men such as Charles Massy and Samuel Rowley should willingly enter into the same with Henslowe in 1598 (fol. 230v).

But fundamentally—the theatre manager's or the players' intentions notwithstanding—one must recognise that this was clearly a development that took place only at this later stage of the Admiral's Men's residence at the Rose, and hence should not to be mistaken for a policy that Henslowe had been actively implementing throughout the Rose's years. Had Henslowe and members of the Admiral's Men signed similar bonds before 1597, it is unlikely that Henslowe should have let Jones and Downton defect to Pembroke's Men in early 1597 without bringing legal actions on any of them—as Francis Langley certainly did later. The absence of any lawsuit or legal proceeding record regarding this, and the absence of any records of the two players' forfeits in the *Diary*, strongly suggest that no such bond was signed prior to those after the Summer of 1597.

At any rate, from October 1597 onwards, theatrical records show a radical increase of Henslowe's involvement in the company's daily operation, as well as an increasingly strong financial bond—in both senses of the word—between him and the players. Henslowe's loans and advances to the company started to happen at increasingly shorter intervals—from about one loan every one or two weeks around October 1597 to at least one loan every week in around January 1598. From February onwards it quickly became several loans per week on regular basis, with sometimes even multiple loans in a single day.²⁸ Average daily loans increased accordingly. For the 139 days between 21 October 1597 and 8 March 1598, a total loan of 46^{li}-07^s-03^d was made, at an average of about 6.7 shillings per day.²⁹ For the next 138 days from 13 March 1598 to 28 July 1598, the total amount of loan quickly climbed to 120^{li}-15^s-04^d,

²⁸ *HD*, fol. 43v-48.

²⁹ *HD*, fol. 43v-44v.

or at an average of 17.5 shillings per day. The precise amount of total loans over the next fifteen months—between 29 July 1598 and 13 October 1599 (when a “reckoning” happened)—cannot be accurately calculated, but even the most conservative estimation revealed that the average daily loans in this period had climbed to at least 21 shillings per day.³⁰ The company’s debt, as a result, climbed rapidly. While by 25 March 1597 the company’s total debt to Henslowe was still merely thirty pounds (fol. 22v)—which was probably paid off later, since this entry was crossed out on the page; by 8 March 1598, it had grown to 46^l-07^s-03^d (fol. 44v). After this date it went on a steeper climb. By October 1599 the company’s total debt can be calculated to be around 274 pounds (fol. 48v, 64v). And by July 1600, despite the various efforts by the company to make repayments, the total run-on debts had reached 300 pounds (fol. 69v, 70). After their relocation to the Fortune in late 1600, judging by figures from the next reckoning, their financial situation finally appeared to show some improvement during their residence in the new playhouse. Detailed analysis of the development of this situation runs as follows.

The amounting debt is evident in a series of efforts of repayments by various means recorded in the *Diary*. At first repayments were done in the same way as before—putting together however much the players could spare from their takings for a regular weekly repayment. These repayments were recorded in two batches, covering 21 October 1597 to 4 March 1598, and 2 April 1598 to 8 July 1598.³¹ Humphrey Jeffs, however, was making a curious separate repayment to Henslowe out of his own share in the gallery for a short while in the same period (21 January 1598 - 4 March 1598).³² The purpose of this particular batch of Jeffs’s repayments was unclear, and from the records it appeared to be some mistaken double repayments for loans already repaid collectively. These double repayments were soon realised: four days after the last payment, on 8 March 1598, there was a “reckoning” between Henslowe and the players, in which the latter acknowledged their debts by signing under the records (Fol.44v).

³⁰ There were 442 days between 29 July 1598 and 13 October 1599. When the “reckoning” happened on this day, Henslowe calculated that by this time he had laid out a total amount of 632 pounds to the company. It is unclear which date was used by Henslowe as the starting date for this calculation. However, even by the most conservative estimation, which supposes that Henslowe had used the earliest possible date—21 October 1597, when the theatres reopened—as the starting point, the total loans for these recent 442 days would have been close to 466 pounds (632^l-120^l-46^l=466^l), averaging at about 21 shillings per day.

³¹ *HD*, fol. 35, 36v.

³² *HD*, fol. 36.

The sum of Humphrey Jeffs's separate payments was also on this day "payd backe agyne vnto the companey" and "shared ..a monste them" (fol. 36). Such collective repayments, however, were apparently not enough to offset the growing debts quickly enough, and other regular repayments by individual players followed before long, which were also made on weekly basis and out of their own gallery shares. Soon after the "reckoning" on 8 March, we see the two Jeffs and Gabriel Spenser paying back their debts in such a way. The two Jeffs' payments were made weekly from 29 April to 21 July 1598 (fol. 34), while Spenser's payments were made from 6 April to 24 June 1598 (fol. 33v).

Even with their various weekly repayments, apparently it was soon realised that the rate of repayments was simply not catching up with the rate of growth of their debts. Thus, a major change in the system of repayment soon followed. From 28 July 1598 onwards, the players started to repay their debt with the *full amount* of their gallery shares (fol. 48v). In effect Henslowe was now receiving the whole gallery money—hence his record on fol. 48v which reads "Here I begyne to Receue the whole gallereys".³³ Fifteen months later, by 13 October 1599 there was another "reckoning", in which Henslowe and the players reckoned together a total debt of 632 pounds, with 358 pounds already repaid out of the players' gallery receipts and 274 pounds still remaining (fol. 48v, fol. 64v). Further repayments in the same manner resumed in the following week, commencing on 20 October 1599 and continued all the way until 13 July 1600. A reckoning on 10 July 1600 shows that by that time the company's collective debt had increased to 300 pounds (fol. 70). The players acknowledged this debt and promised to repay it "out of [their] part". There was no reckoning together in the following year—their first year in the Fortune playhouse—but when it did happen in February 1602, it appeared that they had been able to pay Henslowe about 304^{li}-06^s-4^d as part repayment for their newly accumulated debt plus the "three hundred of owld"—a total of 604^{li}-06^s-04^d (fol. 104). Perhaps the new playhouse and Alleyn's

³³ Greg and Chambers have both speculated that this might have been an occasional practice by Henslowe throughout the years between 1594 and 1603. See Chambers, *ES*, II, 182. There is no hint of such a practice, however, in the relatively simpler daily receipts from the pre-1597 Diary records. Neither, it seems, is there any evidence of such a need for the players to relinquish their half-gallery shares in such a formal manner until at least March 1598. Moreover, the wording of this entry, its late appearance in Henslowe's bookkeeping accounts, as well as its connection to the players' separate half-gallery repayments examined earlier, suggest that this was a fairly new development in the financial arrangement between Henslowe and the Admiral's players.

return had brought a more profitable year to the company than their final one at the Rose. This reckoning does not state clearly how much remaining debts there were. From the figures in the next one which happened on 5 May 1603, however, it appears that it was 211^{li}-9^s-0^d (fol. 109v).³⁴

Concurrent with the increase in Henslowe's loans and the company's run-on debt, Henslowe's bookkeeping habit for recording his play receipts also changed soon after his relationship with the company changed (i.e. since October 1597). He stopped taking notes of daily receipts from performances, but instead focused on recording the weekly repayments from the players' gallery shares. A reasonable explanation for this would be that by this time these weekly receipts, rather than the half-share in the gallery, had become his main source of theatrical income. In other words, with his increased involvement and investment in the daily operations of the company, the daily takings from his half-gallery share would have been easily outweighed by his large amounts of daily expenses on the company. Recording such daily receipts, therefore, would have been rather meaningless in representing his profits. It was only when the weekly repayments were received that Henslowe could compare them with his weekly expenses and obtain a clearer idea of his potential gains and losses. In other words, with his increased involvement in funding the daily operation of the playing companies after October 1597, the most decisive factor in the ultimate calculation of profit or loss became the extent to which he could recover his loans. Thus although during this period Henslowe undoubtedly continued to receive his own share of the half-gallery receipt as before, he soon stopped taking note of it. Instead, logging his loans in detail, casting up the players' collective debt, and confirming the true amount of their repayment at regular intervals became of paramount importance and the primary purpose of the accounts.

Accounts for the Admiral's Men continued to be taken in this format beyond their Rose years. But for Pembroke's Men's unsuccessful stint at the Rose in late Oct 1600 (fol. 83), Henslowe's record reverts to earlier format of itemised daily receipts used before October 1597. This shows that Henslowe's relationship with Pembroke's

³⁴ The reckoning on 5 May 1603 acknowledges a newly accumulated debt of 188^{li}-11^s-0^d (Feb. 1602 – May 1603), which is added to a then standing sum of 211^{li}-9^s-0^d, arriving at a total of 400^{li}-00^s-06^d. The logical interpretation, therefore, is that the standing sum represents the standing debts from the previous reckoning, i.e. the one in Feb. 1602. By 5 May 1603, the players remaining debts to Henslowe was 197^{li}-13^s-4^d.

Men was fundamentally different from that with the Admiral's Men. No binding contract between Henslowe and Pembroke's men seems to exist, and neither are any detailed loans for production expenses found in the *Diary*. The relation that Henslowe had with Pembroke's Men at this moment in time belong to the same simpler type of collaboration in which he was only the provider of the playing space and hence was mainly interested in collecting rent from the performance. And when Worcester's Men started their short residence at the Rose in 1602 and started to borrow regularly from Henslowe, unsurprisingly, we see their relevant loan records in the *Diary* change back yet again into the same format as that for the Admiral's Men's later years. This further shows that the nature of Henslowe's dealings with different playing companies changed over time and varied from case to case; and that the theatre manager obviously consciously adjusted his bookkeeping method according to the degree and manner of his involvements in these companies' operations.

Conclusion

For the length and scope of Henslowe's career as a theatre entrepreneur, the management of his theatrical ventures—and especially that of the Rose—during a period of important transitions in the operational mode of professional adult playing companies in England produced complex phenomena that resist being reduced to issues of polarised value terms, moral dichotomy, or simple power structures. With the recognition of the manager-player partnership as an emerging and developing form of business in the late sixteenth century, a gradual change in Henslowe's managerial style and the degree of his involvement in theatrical decision-making seems not only entirely possible but inevitable. To discover and interpret the textual traces of these developments embedded in the voluminous records in the *Diary* and the Henslowe-Alleyn papers, in this chapter I have built my study from key conclusions drawn in the previous chapter about Henslowe's important character as an operator and investor, and also adopted a more rigorously chronological approach, for tracing the development of Henslowe's managerial strategy, financial goal, and his relationship with his client playing companies throughout the Rose's operational years. And having now accounted in detail for the development of Henslowe's management of the Rose and his relationship with his tenant playing companies as evidenced by the records, in the final section of this chapter I will briefly discuss how this more chronological approach may shed more light on two key issues related to Henslowe's management of this theatrical

ventures that are still under much debate. Did Henslowe take hold of large quantities of theatrical stock during his Rose years? Did Henslowe deliberately exerted a tight control over his tenant playing companies' theatrical operations?

Taking hold of large quantities of company's theatrical stock has also been identified as an important motivation behind Henslowe's theatrical management, and the documents produced against Henslowe by Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1615 have been the primary supporting evidence. While Henslowe was evidently in possession of a substantial amount of theatrical stock by 1615—to the extent that he was able to supply these to Nathan Field and his fellows at the Hope—having a clearer view of the development of his career as a theatre manager means that we should now recognise this as a very late development rather than a position that Henslowe held throughout the 1590s and early 1600s.³⁵

So far, no solid evidence has been found that suggest Henslowe acquired any significant quantity of theatrical stock during the Rose's operational years (1587-1603). He might well have owned a substantial amount of textile products through this pawn broking business, and is certainly known to have occasionally sold some pieces to individual players over the years. But these individual sales recorded in the *Diary*, as I have already discussed, are shown to have been paid off by instalments already, and hence are closed transactions with no obligations or liabilities attached to them. The most solid and unequivocal evidence of Henslowe's personal purchase and possession of theatrical stock during the Rose's years found in the *Diary* is the short list of costumes, fabric, and metalwork on fol. 43 titled "A not of all suche goods as I haue Bowght for playnge sence my sonne Edward allen leafte laynge". Besides this, among the now lost inventories of 1598 there is also a list of ten pieces of costumes entitle "Note of all suche goodes as I have bought for the Companey of my Lord Admirals men, sence the 3 of Aprell, 1598".³⁶ Neither document suggest that Henslowe's possession of theatrical stock during the Rose years was in any way substantial.

Although it is highly likely—and also reasonable—that the large amount of theatrical stock purchased with Henslowe's loans were regarded as security for the players' collective debt over the years, it is crucial to recognise that holding such a large amount of theatrical stock for security is fundamentally different in nature from

³⁵ Dulwich Muniments, Article. 52, in Warner, *Catalogue*, p. 241. Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary*, p. 31.

³⁶ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 325.

personally owning them. More will be said on the significance of this crucial difference in the later chapters. For the moment it is sufficient to note that the *Diary* clearly shows both the Admiral's Men and the later Worcester's Men continuing to acknowledge their cumulative debts to Henslowe throughout the years, which are in fact nothing less than the players' continued efforts to assert their claim on the theatrical stocks that they purchased—albeit with borrowed money. In this light, the only real indication that Henslowe might have eventually come into possession of large quantities of theatrical stock is the fact that, on 14 May 1604, the Admiral's Men's debt of over 194^{li} at that point was all of a sudden curiously reduced to exactly 24^{li}.³⁷ The entry for this states: “all Reckonynges con sernynge the company *in stocke* generall descarged” [italics mine]. The meaning of it is ambiguous. It is possible that the company suddenly found a way to repay this debt at this point. But the two much more likely scenarios seem to be either that the debt was cancelled out when the players directly relinquished their claim on a large amount of the theatrical stock, or that it was paid off with money obtained from selling the theatrical stock elsewhere. In one of these scenarios, Henslowe would have suddenly come into possession of a substantial amount of costumes and perhaps some playbooks. But by the time this happened in mid-1604—if it did—the Rose had already ceased to function as a playhouse. Had gaining control of large amount of theatrical stock been Henslowe's main goal all along, then forming partnerships with his theatrical tenants—at least during the entire life the Rose playhouse—would have looked a curiously tortuous way to achieve this goal. Without intending to form with the sort of partnership that Henslowe entered into with Lady Elizabeth's Men in the later years, and under the funding regime of the Rose's companies that came into effect October 1597, it makes little financial sense for him acquire possession of theatrical stock in any substantial amount.

The issue of control is more complicated. While revisionist accounts have been arguing for Henslowe's detachment from theatrical control and decision-making, contending arguments for his active and firm-handed control over players, playwrights, and company stock remain strong. The “Articles of grievance” and the “Articles of oppression” drawn up against Henslowe by Lady Elizabeth's Men, as well as a series of theatrical correspondences between Henslowe and various theatrical personnel—the playwright Robert Daborne in particular. The many complaints in the “Articles of

³⁷ *HD*, fol. 109v, 110.

grievance” and “Articles of oppression” against Henslowe have sometimes been used as evidence for his various “schemes” to take control of company stock to the ruin of the players. However, as Neil Carson has pointed out, the fact that the articles were drawn up shortly before Henslowe’s death and hence no answer to them were made in time by Henslowe, should caution us against taking these “grievances” at face value.³⁸ Carson’s approach to this document and his caution in handling its hyperbolic tone is commendable. Without Henslowe’s answer to these complaints, it is difficult to deduce any more about the actual situation besides the fact that Henslowe was at that time in actual possession of a considerable amount of company stock, and probably had also sold some of them. Venturing any further from this point inevitably enters into the realm of conjecture, let alone accepting without question the players’ accusation about Henslowe’s malicious intentions. As much as it might be attributed to greed, it could equally have been extreme caution—a quality Henslowe certainly had—that had motivated him to withhold the company’s stocks as security for their debts. Suspending conjectures about his intentions, the fact that Henslowe was in possession of company stock at this point and hence was in a strong position to exert his influence seems certain.

Such a strong position of Henslowe is further confirmed by examining many of Daborne’s letters in the Dulwich records. These letters are often for soliciting partial payments for commissioned plays, and are frequently in anxious and apologetic tones. Analysing the many factual details contained in these letters as well as the underlying power relation between Henslowe and Daborne, Bart van Es has made a convincing reading of Henslowe’s deep involvement in—and firm control of—not only the financial freedom of many playwrights associated with him, but also the daily theatrical decisions and even the physical movements of his playing company. Such an advanced level of control, according to van Es, was obtained by Henslowe through taking hold of company stock such as playing costumes and playbooks on the one hand, and on the other through keeping the players and playwrights deeply in debt to him.³⁹ Such a view, while revelatory and highly useful in redressing overly revisionist accounts about Henslowe’s detachment from theatrical decision-making, needs to be further supplemented by the recognition that such a deep level of involvement and control on Henslowe’s part was very much a later development in his theatrical career. The

³⁸ Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe’s Diary*, p. 32.

³⁹ Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, pp. 46-50, 106, 155.

majority of the archival materials in support of this view come from the post-1600—and often post-1613—period. For the greater part of the 1590s and the early 1600s, that is, the years of the Admiral's Men's and Worcester's Men's residence in the Rose, such a strong connection between Henslowe and his resident company had not fully developed.

Records of Henslowe's loans for productions in the *Diary* frequently mention that they were made at the appointment of members of the playing companies. Examining the several later manuscripts notes delivered to Henslowe by Shaa and Rowley for production loans during the early 1600s, it is also clear that Henslowe did not have significant control over decisions regarding the selection and commission of plays, but was primarily acting upon authorisations from the company. These notes contrast sharply with the larger number of letters from Daborne to Henslowe not only in terms of tone and the underlying manager-player power-relation, but also because they contain no evidence of the existence of a system in which Henslowe became the commissioner and supplier of new plays as clearly evidenced by Daborne's letters. Together these documents show that Henslowe's involvement in theatrical decision-making for the Admiral's Men and Worcester's Men during the late 1590s and early 1600s had clearly not reached the same high level that he was to attain in his management of Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Hope after 1614.

But at the same time, one should not conflate aesthetic or artistic influence with financial influence. Not being deeply involved in theatrical decision-making is different from not having any involvement or influence at all. Henslowe's financial capability and his financial influence are clearly borne out by the steep increase in the amount of loan records in the *Diary* and the sheer amount of the company's rapidly accumulating debt. The players knew all too well—as their always courteous and earnest letters to Henslowe clearly suggest—that having once entered this situation, true long-term stability for the company was in the continuation of the running accounts, whereas any sudden cessation of funding would be potentially disastrous. It is dangerous to overlook or underestimate the reality, as well as the true extent, of the influence carried in Henslowe's direct involvement at such a fundamental level in the company's daily operation.

And finally, while records from after October 1597 bear clear witness to Henslowe's increased involvement in his tenant playing companies' theatrical operations, they do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the manager-player

relationship must be a strained one. So far the strongest support for arguments for a strained relationship comes primarily from documents generated during the very last few years of Henslowe's theatrical career—especially those related to Henslowe's dealings with Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Hope playhouse from 1614 onwards; whereas ample records from the earlier years found in the *Diary* and rest of the Henslowe-Alleyn papers show a shrewdly maintained and generally harmonious manager-player relationship. Despite all the debts and potential risks involved in the theatrical ventures, there is little indication of any significant conflict arising between Henslowe and his client companies throughout the Rose's years. For the two companies October 1597, their on-going collective debts, although significant, appear to be recognised by the players as true and just—as they were usually “Reckneyd to geather” by Henslowe and the players (fol. 48v, fol. 105). And as I have already discussed earlier, various other textual details embedded in the *Diary's* theatrical records show that Henslowe was evidently also careful in updating his accounts and eliminating old debts that had previously already been paid off. These details together lend strong support to the overall picture of honest dealings between Henslowe and the players. Whether or not the financial terms and arrangements they entered into were entirely fair in the first place, of course, may still be open for debates. Nevertheless, one should recognise the fact that the Rose's funding and repayment regime as shown in the *Diary* was built and carried out upon mutual agreement between the manager and the players. Had there been grave grievances from either side, no record about them has been uncovered yet.

Chapter Five

The Performance History and Repertory of the Rose Playhouse 1587-1597: From Travelling to Semi-Permanent London Residence

Making the case for a playhouse-repertory perspective

As primarily a playing space, the role of the playhouse has often been accorded a secondary position in narratives of theatre history. Taken for granted as the passive, empty spaces awaiting occupancy, the playhouses have generally been understood as merely the neutral receptacle, rather than an integral part, of the various agencies of theatrical production. The tendency to prioritise playing companies over playhouses is observable in the striking contrast between the relative abundance of discussion on playing companies' repertory and a general lack of the same on repertory history as organised from the playhouse's perspective. Scholarly attention has been given to the repertories of almost all the major adult playing companies operating in London in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹ In most of these accounts, however, the playhouses have mainly been understood as personal or shared properties, as objects of contention, and most frequently as convenient geographical markers for charting the movements of playing companies.

Surveying the various records of the activities of playing companies yields fascinating materials for narratives of transformation and development. A playing company over the years might undergo changes of personnel, patrons, and performance venues due to reasons such as political pressure, financial stress, bankruptcy, amalgamation, reconstitution, and so on. On the other hand, documents related to the major London playhouses seem to tell stories of relative stability. Despite some of them being entangled in protracted lawsuits, vehement complaints, political controversies, notorious hoaxes, or suffering temporary destruction by fire, major playhouses maintained a considerably more stable physical and economic presence in the theatrical landscape of London. Such stability, however, should not be mistaken as stasis or a general lack of development. In fact, while public playhouses perhaps started in the 1570s and 1580s as more or less a neutral playing spaces ready for hire and temporary occupancy, by the late sixteenth century they were to become increasingly well-funded,

¹ Examples of book-length studies of adult playing companies include: Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays*; R. L. Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company 1594-1613*; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company*; *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company 1594-1625*; Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays*.

profitable, highly institutionalised and influential units of theatrical production. For the major London playhouses operating in the 1590s and early 1600s, such as the Theatre, the Rose, the Globe, and the Fortune, such a status was augmented through the partnerships that their owners formed with the pre-eminent playing companies of the time following the latter's shift of operational focus from touring to London residence.

Such geographical, economic, and operational stability sustained in the playing company-playhouse partnerships had significant impact on both the theatrical operations of the major playing companies and the playgoing culture of London on the whole. As has been shown, for example, by Bart van Es' recent study on the relationship between Shakespeare's dramaturgical development and the unique organisational structure of the Chamberlain's Men, the operational stability achieved through the company-playhouse partnership and its underlying economics had profound artistic consequences for the company's repertory.² At the same time, as Scott McMillin noted, the rotation of each playing company's distinct repertory over time cultivated among Londoners "a habit of playgoing" associated with the "particular playhouse" where the company performed.³ Recognising this phenomenon while examining the success of the Strange's Men in the early 1590s, Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth MacLean have pointed out that the company's repertory strategy at the Rose enabled it to appeal to the Rose audience's playgoing "habit" and create a set of "contemporary classics" or "repertorially canonical" plays.⁴

Although these studies so far have been conducted mainly through the individual companies' perspectives, the important observations they have made about the long-term significance of the player-playhouse partnerships have broken grounds for issues of residence to be examined, and new questions to be asked, from the other side, i.e. from the playhouse's perspective. For instance, despite the unique qualities of the Chamberlain's Men's fellowship, the connections identified by van Es between a playing company's theatrical outputs and the economics of its organisational structure, may provide a useful perspective for examining and understanding the mechanisms

² Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*. See for example pp. 112-24, for discussions on the influence of the Chamberlain's Men's organisational stability on Shakespeare's development of a new form of "relational drama" which explores complex inter-character relationships. For discussions on the significance of the Globe partnership in the unification of playing company and playhouse ownerships, see pp. 149-62.

³ Scott McMillin, "Professional Playwriting", in *A Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. David Scott Kastan, pp. 226-7.

⁴ Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays*, pp. 69-70.

underlying not only intra-company but also company-playhouse partnerships such as those between the Admiral's Men and the Rose. In a previous chapter I have responded to the overly schematic view on the city-suburb relationship underlying Steven Mullaney's seminal work *The Place of the Stage*. However, the socio-cultural dynamics between the geographical and theatrical spaces as mapped out by Mullaney remains a highly useful perspective for examining the ways in which commercial theatrical activities became increasingly localised in the late 1590s. The increased awareness of the impact of shared cultural practice and experience on the cultivation of collective identities as well as memories of specific public spaces has also been central to recent studies conducted in the "Making Publics" project led by Steven Mullaney.⁵ In the same vein, the playgoing "habit" as outlined by McMillin, as much as it is connected to the playing company, may also be understood as essentially a form of collective, localised experience and memory about a particular playing space and its associated theatrical activities. And while Manley and MacLean have mainly considered the Strange's Men's repertory at the Rose as both shaped by, and shaping, the practice of playgoing at the Rose, a survey of contemporary references to playgoing reveals that the impact of the playing company-playhouse partnerships—exceeded the scope of any single company's repertory. Indeed, it will be my argument here that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it was the major London playhouses, more so than the companies in their residence, that became the convenient shorthand for the practice and experience of playgoing.

Overlapping broadly with the emergence since the mid-1590s of commercial playing in resident playhouses in London, references to playgoing can also be shown to be increasingly "site-specific". In *A Perambulation of Kent*, William Lambarde drew an analogy between the Boxley clergy's profit-driven "prettie policie" and the London entertainment venues' multi-staged admissions-fee-charging system. In the first edition of the book published in 1576, the Theatre—built in the same year—was apparently still too obscure a presence to be considered among the well-known London entertainment venues. By the time the second edition of the book was published in 1596, however, the Theatre, where the Chamberlain's Men had been operating, had been mindfully added to the list of famous London "common places" besides Paris Garden

⁵ See for example Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph P. Ward, ed. *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy*.

and the Bel Savage Inn—an addition clearly made by Lambarde himself, as suggested by the book’s title page.⁶ When the Chamberlain’s Men moved from the Theatre to the Curtain in 1598, contemporary references were quick to pick up the change. In Edward Guilpin’s *Skialetheia*, the Theatre was now described as “unfrequented”, left “in dark silence and vast solitude”.⁷ The Curtain, on the other hand, started to figure more frequently in playgoing references. It is generally accepted that in Marston’s satire *The Scourge of Villainy*, the phrase “Curtain plaudities”, which appeared near an allusion to *Romeo and Juliet*, is very likely a reference to that particular playhouse.⁸ Guilpin’s satire now also spoke wryly of the Curtain as the place where “many an old, cold, grey-beard citizen” was by the comedies there not only made “young again” but apparently also with their sensual passions rekindled. Elsewhere Guilpin also referred to choosing between the two playhouses of the time occupied respectively by the Chamberlain’s Men and the Admiral’s Men: “[I]f my dispose / Perswade me to a play, I’le to the *Rose*, / Or *Curtaine*, one of *Plautus* Comedies, / Or the *Patheticke Spaniards* Tragedies”.⁹ The choice, apparently, was regarded not simply as one between different plays, but also between the specific sites of performance that had become commonly associated with their respective genre and style. Finally, this association is also clearly visible, on the larger scales, in the changes in the titlepage attributions of printed plays. While title pages of printed plays throughout the 1590s and early 1600s often contain the name of the playing company that performed them, by Charles’s reign a considerable number of published playtexts also named the specific playhouses at which the plays were performed.¹⁰

As playhouses continued to be used as the convenient shorthand for playgoing experiences in the Jacobean era and beyond, the association of playhouses with their styles as well as the differentiation between playhouse styles were complicated even more by the emergence of the private indoor theatre. In an earlier chapter I have

⁶ For comparisons between the two editions, see William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent*, 1576, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 15175, p. 187; William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent*, 1596, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 15176, p. 233.

⁷ Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia*, 1598. EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 12504, sig. D6. See also Glynne Wickham et al. ed. *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 375.

⁸ Marston, *The Scourge of Villainy*, 1598. EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17485, sig. H4.

⁹ Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia*, 1598. EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 12504, sig. B8v, sig. D4v-5. See also Glynne Wickham et al. ed. *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 412, 433.

¹⁰ Of the 500 or so plays published during Charles’s reign, 150 contain on their titlepages the name of the playhouse at which the plays were staged. See Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare’s London* (3rd edition), p. 90.

considered such contemporary comments on the differences in style and milieu between the outdoor and the indoor playhouses as are expressed in works like *The Roaring Girl* and *the Doubtful Heir*.¹¹ Surveying more extensively these contemporary comments on the theatrical particularities of various playing venues, Alexander Leggatt has observed that playgoing in Jacobean London had become “a decision to visit a particular playhouse”.¹² Moreover, as is made clear in the recent collection of studies on the Chamberlain’s Men’s operation at the Blackfriars, not only did the playing company’s repertorial characteristics contribute to the forming of the playhouse’s image and reputation, but the various physical, cultural, and historical aspects of the playing venue itself had also significant impact on the company’s theatrical outputs.

Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa have both observed the many changes in both the staging convention and its conceptualisation in playwriting in the first place as effected by the differences between the Globe’s and the Blackfriars’ physical resources.¹³ Comparing Shakespeare’s writing style before and after the company’s move into the Blackfriars, Bart van Es has pointed out the importance of recognising the persistent presence of the Blackfriars’ previous theatrical legacy, and traced the complex ways it interacted with Shakespeare’s earlier “Globe style” in a “protracted and changing relationship... stretching from early hostility, through accommodation, to absorption”.¹⁴ Uncovering the manifold history of the Blackfriars premise, Tiffany Stern has also revealed that the Blackfriars’ monastic, parliamentary, and theatrical past prior to its current incarnation not only infused the physical structure of the playhouse with memories—or “nostalgia”—but were also recognised, responded to, and perhaps strategically exploited in the repertory of the Chamberlain’s Men.¹⁵ As these studies have demonstrated, the physical particularities, cultural status, historical as well as theatrical legacies of the playing space to a considerable extent may exert an impact, greater than previously recognised, on the activities of its resident playing company. By taking residence in a playhouse, a company comes into contact with the unique

¹¹ Middleton and Dekker, “To the Comicke, Play-readers, Venery, and Laughter” in *The Roaring Girl*, 1611; James Shirley, *The Doubtful Heir*, 1652.

¹² For Leggatt’s discussions and more examples of contemporary comments on the differences between playhouses and their styles, see Alexander Leggatt, *Jacobean Theatre*, p. 9-10, 14, 16, 19, 20-1.

¹³ Andrew Gurr, “The New Fashion for Indoor Plays”, 206-7; Mariko Ichikawa, “Continuities and Innovations in Staging”, 83-5.

¹⁴ Bart van Es, “Reviving the Legacy of Indoor Performance”, 240-51.

¹⁵ Tiffany Stern, “‘A Ruinous Monastery’: The Second Blackfriars Playhouse as a Place of Nostalgia”, 99-108.

image, characteristics, and memory associated with the playing space. Not only does this playhouse culture inform, transform, and in turn become transformed by, the repertorial practice of the resident company, but over time its legacy may also interact with the repertorial practice of later companies who come to occupy the same space. To account for the repertory of a playhouse is thus far more complex than simply assembling the respective repertories of its different resident playing companies.

There is much to be learnt, therefore, in supplementing the company-based perspective on repertory with a playhouse-oriented perspective. For this purpose, the Rose playhouse undoubtedly holds its unique value. Starting as the rentable alternative playing space to the inn-yards offered to playing companies in the late 1580s and early 1590s, the Rose during its active years saw both the early attempts by playing companies at playhouse residence in London, and the full maturing of the company-playhouse partnerships. As perhaps the best-documented playhouse in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Rose provides valuable materials both for constructing an overview of the history of commercial resident playing in London, and for gaining microscopic insights into the company-playhouse partnership's underlying economics, capital structure, operational mode, and financial arrangements. In the rest of this chapter I will therefore seek to 1) examine the particularities of the Rose's performance history; 2) analyse the history of resident playing at the Rose, and propose a more nuanced understanding, in place of the hitherto still influential umbrella notion, of London residence, 3) analyse the economics underlying the Rose's partnerships with several different playing companies, and outline the characteristics of the Rose's repertory on the whole as formed through these partnerships.

Before the start of residence: Rose's repertory 1587- c.1592

To construct a view on the repertory of the Rose as a whole, it is inevitable that one must tackle the problem of the playhouse's early history. Frustratingly little is known about the first five years of the Rose's existence, as no evidence has been found so far that would tell us with certainty what playing companies had used the playhouse, or what plays were staged there. However, proceeding from the information that we do possess, educated guesses about the playhouse's early usage and possible performances could still be attempted by piecing together a series of reliable, albeit peripheral, documents.

To begin with, it seems reasonably certain that the Rose was intended to function as a playhouse from the very beginning. In the earlier chapter on the evolution of the Rose's physical structure I have considered various views and proposals concerning the Rose's early function, including those advanced by Julian Bowsher, C. Walter Hodges, Jon Greenfield, and Andrew Gurr. It suffices to quickly summarise here that archaeological studies on the Rose's physical features, especially its fixed stage and the raked yard surface, have pointed to the unlikelihood of the playhouse being used in its early years for any other purposes than stage entertainments.¹⁶ Tallying well with these findings from archaeological studies, the "Deed of Partnership", drawn up between Henslowe and John Cholmley in January 1587, also in several places repeatedly specifies the use of the playhouse as for "playe or playes"; or for "such *personne* and *personnes* players to vse exersyse & playe". The playhouse revenues, moreover, are also specified in this document as being generated from the audience coming to "vew see and heare any playe o^r enterlude".¹⁷ It may reasonably be supposed that other forms of staged events such as jigs, acrobatic shows, prize fighting, and challenges were also among the activities at the Rose, just as they had been in the Theatre and the Curtain across the river.¹⁸

It is difficult to know for sure how frequently these performances were carried out in the Rose in the first five years, although the surviving records of the Privy Council's orders to the local authorities of Surrey do seem to reveal the theatre's remarkable popularity.¹⁹ Given the geographical significance of Southwark as the southern gateway to London, such popularity is perhaps not unexpected.

¹⁶ By stage entertainment I mean various forms of entertainment that would require the use of a stage, as opposed to activities that only require the yard of the playhouse, such as bull-baiting or bear-baiting, as has been suggested by Greenfield and Gurr.

¹⁷ Alleyn Muniment 16. See also: Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 304-6.

¹⁸ Prize fighting is known to have been staged in the Theatre, for example, on 25 August 1578 by Edward Harvie. The Curtain is also known to have hosted fencers between 1579 and 1583. The great contemporary comedian Richard Tarlton, together with the Queen's Men, certainly also brought their "medley" form of entertainment to the Theatre occasionally. See Wickham, et al. *English Professional Theatre*, pp. 340, 345, 409.

¹⁹ For example, the Privy Council order to the Justices of Surrey on 29 October 1587, which is generally accepted as evidence for the Rose being in business, singled out the Clink liberty as the place where violation of the prohibition against playing was particularly severe. The Council's order on 25 July 1591, which prohibited playing on Sundays and Thursdays and cited that Thursdays had been commonly reserved for "other games", has also been understood as an attempt to protect other forms of entertainment, especially bear-baiting, against the competition from the theatres. For these two orders, PRO, PC2/14, p. 477; PRO, PC2/18, p. 440. See also Wickham, et al. *English Professional Theatre*, pp. 88-9.

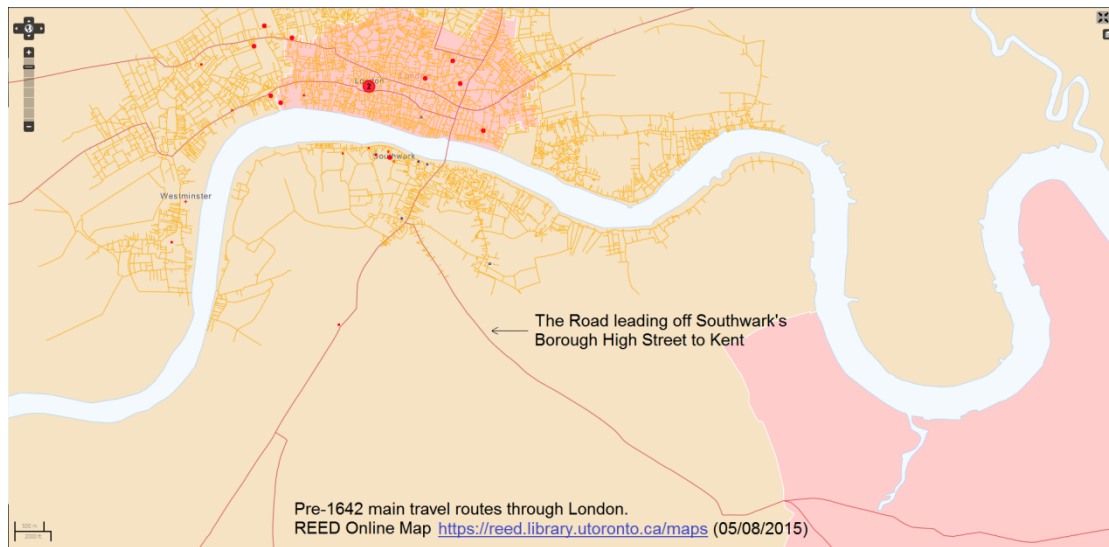


Fig. 12 Pre-1642 main travel routes through London.²⁰

As is shown in the map of pre-1642 main travel routes of England created by the REED project, the Borough High Street of Southwark was connected with the two main travel routes into the southern counties of Sussex and Kent. As the Borough High Street extended northwards, it also directly connected with the London Bridge, which was in turn connected with Gracious Street and the great travel route leading north from the City. Most of the playing companies travelling between Kent, Sussex, and the northern counties—if they were looking for direct routes rather than detours through the south-western regions—would have logically travelled by way of London. With this in mind, it is extremely interesting to observe that records of touring before the 1590s emphatically underscore the overall desirability of Kentish towns for travelling playing companies. Of the approximately 1430 recorded visits—including performances and dismissals—before 1587 by adult playing companies, about 444 (or 31%) took place in Kentish towns, ranking unquestionably the highest among all the English counties, cities, and towns covered by REED project's current records. Calculations using data from the years between 1587 and 1591—the Rose's first five years—yield remarkably similar statistics. Of the approximately 243 visits by adult playing companies, 82 (or 33%) were to Kentish towns, a figure significantly higher than the 24 visits to Coventry,

²⁰ Records of Early English Drama (REED) Online Map: <https://reed.library.utoronto.ca/maps> (accessed 05 August 2015).

the second most visited location in these years.²¹ Kentish towns such as Hythe, Lydd, New Romney, Dover, Faversham, Maidstone, and Folkestone figure prominently among the various companies' destinations in these records. The Rose in Southwark, then, seems to have occupied a strategically advantageous place to exploit this situation, presenting itself as the easily accessible and readily rentable playing space for both companies travelling northward out of Kent, and those travelling southward into Kent. Travelling by way of London makes even more sense when we consider the fact that the only alternative route running north-southwards in and out of Kent at the time was the one between Gravesend and Chelmsford which, as it still is today, required ferrying across the Thames.²²

Which playing companies, then, were using the Rose during its first five years? If travelling through or near London constituted the most likely circumstances for a playing company to use one of the available purpose-built playhouses, then theoretically those companies that figure most prominently in the REED records, and especially those which made frequent visits to Kentish towns, would have a higher chance of having used the Rose at certain points. A quick case study may perhaps help illustrate the logic underlying this conjecture. On 20 September 1589, the Queen's Men were mentioned in a letter written by the 9th Baron Scrope as having already stayed in Carlisle for ten days.²³ This means that the company must have already arrived at the city by 10 September. Their last appearance before that date was three days ago and about 113 miles away in Knowsley Hall in Lancashire, where they performed in the evening of 6 September as well as in the afternoon of 7 September.²⁴ In order to arrive at Carlisle on 10 September, the company would have had to travel at a speed of

²¹ I made these calculations using the search results obtained from the REED project's online database: *Patrons and Performances*. The database allows searches that specifically target records of visits by adult playing companies within user-defined date ranges. After obtaining the initial data in this way, I then counted the number of visits to all the different locations and re-arranged the results by counties and cities. Besides Kent, popular among the counties / cities visited by adult playing companies before 1591 are, Coventry, Sussex, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, Norwich. None of these, however, reached the level of popularity of Kent.

²² This would appear a much less tenable plan than it looks considering that the companies were very likely travelling with a cart. When the Admiral's men played privately in March 1598, Henslowe recorded a payment for coaches. Even as late as 1600, Henslowe still made payments to the coach man before the Admiral's men went on the brief tour in February. See *HD* fol. 45, 67v. Gurr and Ichikawa have also suggested that when travelling, the playing companies were likely relying on "a cart and a few horses". See Gurr and Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres*, p. 57.

²³ REED *Cumb/Westmid/Glouc*, 65.

²⁴ REED *Lanc*, 181.

approximately 38 miles/day.²⁵ With this in mind, it is interesting to observe that twelve days before the company arrived to perform at Knowsley Hall, on 25 August, they were still in Rye, Sussex.²⁶ They are not known to have appeared in any other places in the twelve days between 25 August and 6 September, and it is highly likely that the company travelled the approximate 256 miles directly from Rye to Knowsley. A quick glance at the pre-1642 route map suggests that the most logical route to take would have been to travel by way of London, through perhaps Coventry, before eventually entering into Lancashire. With a travelling speed of about 38 miles/day, it would have taken the company only six to seven days to complete the journey. It was entirely feasible, then, for the company to give out a few performances in London to exploit the bigger consumer power of the City. If so, they could easily have chosen the Rose when they were passing northward through Southwark into London; and perhaps also the Theatre or the Curtain while they departed the City via the northern travel route. Admittedly, without the existence of more documents to supply further details, this scenario has to be built on assumptions. Yet it would have been no less genuine a possibility than any other options that lay before the Queen's Men when they were planning their route from Rye to Knowsley in late August 1589. And even if they did not in reality travel in this way this particular time, it is entirely possible that they, or other playing companies, could have planned their path through London when travelling into, or out of, the popular south-eastern counties. If we accept this logic, then it helps provide a lens into the REED records from this period for identifying playing companies with particular characteristics in the ways they toured. These characteristics are frequency of travels and the tour routes' proximity to London.

Around twenty playing companies are traceable in the REED records between 1587 and 1591. Statistics from these visits do highlight several playing companies that travelled more frequently. Among the total 243 visits covered in the REED records for these years, 110 were made by the Queen's Men. Other relatively frequent travellers were companies such as Essex's Men (29 records), Leicester's Men (28), Sussex's Men (21), Admiral's Men (16), Worcester's Men (12), Lord Beauchamp's Men (8), and Lord Chandos' Men (6). Most of these companies, according to the records, adopted

²⁵ This would not have been too difficult a task, given that the average walking speed of an adult is about 3.1 miles/hour. It is also worth bearing in mind that, as mentioned earlier, the playing company was likely to be travelling with cart and horses.

²⁶ REED *Sussex*, 134. Before playing in Rye, the company was just over the county boarder in Kent, where they played in the town hall of Maidstone on 23 August 1598. See REED, *Kent*, 719.

itineraries involving fairly frequent visits to Kentish towns, with the exception of Worcester's Men, which appear to be touring more in the northern and mid-western regions; and Sussex's Men, who seem to distribute their visits more evenly across the country. The Queen's Men, in contrast, although touring particularly widely, frequently circled back to Kentish destinations.²⁷ And it was often their journeys between the south-eastern regions and places to the north of London that offered the best chance for exploiting the City's paying ability for temporary boosts of profit. Finally, regarding Leicester's Men, it is worth a quick note that although they were highly active in 1587 and 1588, they in fact ceased to appear in the records shortly after 4 September 1588 when they were last known as playing in Norwich.²⁸ The death of their patron Robert Dudley was perhaps the most likely cause. Manley and MacLean have suggested that it was just a few months later, i.e. by the Christmas season of 1588/9, that some of the former Leicester's players—including Will Kemp, Thomas Pope, and George Bryan—joined the new company under the patronage of Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange; and that it was this newly expanded and strengthened Strange's Men that very soon made their way to London when Lord Strange was summoned to Parliament.²⁹ Combining historical records and statistics, then, it seems these companies outlined above, i.e. the Queen's Men, Leicester's Men, Essex's Men, Admiral's Men, and Strange's Men, were perhaps the more frequent users of the Rose during its early years. Other groups that travelled less in general or toured mainly in the northern and south-western regions,

²⁷ It must be recognised, however, that the Queen's Men sometimes also travelled westwards out of Kent by way of Sussex and into the western regions such as Devon and Dorset. From these areas the company would then go north into places such as Somerset, Bristol, and Gloucestershire. In these cases, it was less likely that they would travel through London.

²⁸ REED *Norwich 1540-1642*, 90.

²⁹ Strange's Men appear only five times in the REED records between 1587 and 1591. Apart from one visit to Coventry in November 1587, the company appear to be to have performed mainly in Knowsley or Lantham house, the Stanley's family house in Lancashire. See REED *Coventry*, 321, *Lanc*, 180, 181, 182. For the discussion on the timing of the personnel migration from the Leicester's Men to the Strange's Men, see Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and their Plays*, pp. 35-6.

such as Sussex's Men, Worcester's Men, Lord Beauchamp's Men, and Lord Chandos' Men, might still occasionally swing by the Rose when they did pass through London.³⁰

What plays, then, might possibly have been staged in the early Rose? Given the conjectural nature of the reconstructed list of playing companies for the playhouse and the general obscurity of their repertory in the first place, it is risky to venture too much further for a list of Rose plays between 1587 and 1591. Putting together the results from archaeological studies and archival researches, it appears reasonably certain, however, that the early Rose's offerings were highly heterogeneous in nature. The audience that frequented this Bankside establishment over these years would have witnessed a medley of different types of staged entertainments alongside the plays that whichever company of players happened to be in the house had to offer.

But there appear to be also continuities, perhaps much stronger ones than hitherto recognised, between the early Rose's plays and those in its later repertory (i.e. post-1592). It is important to realise that several of the likely pre-1591 users of the Rose—the Queen's Men, Sussex's Men, Strange's Men, and Admiral's Men—are also companies known to have used the Rose extensively later. More importantly, several of the key players from these companies would have used the Rose repeatedly while wearing different liveries over the years. Richard Tarlton had certainly been dead for several years by 1594 when the Queen's Men had their recorded stint in the Rose, but he would most likely have graced the Rose's stage in the years before 1591—just like he did in the Theatre. Edward Alleyn is known to have started his career with Worcester's Men by 1583. It is likely that he switched to the Admiral's Men sometime around early 1589; and by late 1590 or early 1591 had already become connected with Strange's Men.³¹ During these years he would have had multiple chances to appear on the Rose's stage and be in close contact with Henslowe—before sealing the family bond

³⁰ In any case, the Queen's Men's and Strange's Men's involvement in the Marprelate controversy in 1588/9, as well as the Lord Mayor's reference to Strange's Men and the Admiral's men in his letter to Lord Burghley in November 1589, do suggest the presence of these playing companies in London during this time. Manley and MacLean have pointed out that a contemporary reference to the playing companies' involvement appears to specify "the Theatre" as the site of theatrical assaults. It is hardly imaginable, however, that other playhouses such as the Curtain and the Rose would have been entirely exempt from any involvement, given the scale and length of the controversy. See Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays*, pp. 38-9, 378. For the reference to the Theatre, see *Martins Months minde* (1589), sig. E3v.

³¹ For discussions of Edward Alleyn's company affiliation, see for example S. P. Cerasano, 'Alleyn, Edward (1566–1626)', *ODNB*, online edn, Jan. 2008. For discussions on the theory about the "amalgamation" of Strange's Men and Admiral's men, see Manley & MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and their Plays*, pp. 48-9, 56-7.

with the marriage to Joan Woodward. When Strange's Men used the Rose from time to time in the years between 1589 and 1591, their cast, if we accept Manley and MacLean's theory, would have included Kemp, Pope, and Bryan, all of whom might have already gained experience of the Rose when playing with Leicester's Men in the previous years. These men, together with Edward Alleyn, would later return to use the Rose in 1592. Alleyn would become more deeply connected with the Rose in the years to come. And Kemp, moreover, would be returning to the Rose yet again in a decade's time with the new Worcester's Men. Thus alongside other forms of staged entertainments, the Rose's repertory in its first five years might very well have had its fair share of the sensations created by these leading performers of the time carrying the roles from works by playwrights such as Greene, Wilson, Peele, Kyd, and Marlowe. Some plays in this repertory were immediate successes; and some in the years to come would even prove to be of definitive significance in the shaping of the playgoing memories of the Rose, and exert major impact on the repertorial strategies of the playhouse's later occupants.

The start of playhouse residence

With the Admiral's Men starting their daily performances at the Rose and the Chamberlain's Men doing the same at the Theatre, the year 1594 has been commonly regarded by theatre historians as a watershed in the history of commercial playing in London in the late sixteenth century. It has been the orthodox view that this year marked the beginning of the two playing companies' full residence in their respective playhouse. Gurr, with his "duopoly" theory, has argued most forcefully for the special importance of 1594.³² While this theory has met with critique from scholars citing evidence of activities by other playing companies and playhouses in London, the general consensus maintains that the forming of the playing company-playhouse partnerships at the Rose and the Theatre marked a significant development in 1594 in London's theatrical landscape.³³

³² Gurr has been making this point consistently in his articles and book-length works, see for example, Gurr, "Three Reluctant Patrons and Early Shakespeare", p. 164; *The Shakespeare Company*, pp. xiii, 1-2; *Shakespeare's Opposite*, pp. 1-5, 15-8, 171.

³³ See for example: William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age*, pp. 108-11; David Kathman, "The Shakespeare Company (Review)", pp. 160-1; R. L. Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time*, pp. 8-11; Holger Schott Syme, "The Meaning of Success", pp. 495-7; Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, pp. 100-1.

The start of residence in 1594 is undoubtedly a useful perspective for studying company history. The umbrella notion of residence, however, needs to be examined more closely: What exactly does residence mean? Apart from daily performances, what other changes did it bring to the operation of the playing companies and the playhouses? Unpacking this baggy notion of residence, one encounters pressing questions on almost all aspects of the playing company-playhouse partnership. Trends and tendencies in repertorial strategy and characteristics, financial and funding arrangements, inter-playhouse as well as inter-company competitions, etc. are all key factors of the resident playing situation that need to be examined.

The over-simplified narrative on the start of residence in 1594 should not be applied to the situations at both the Rose and the Theatre alike without qualification. The specificities of the performance history at each playhouse resist sweeping generalisations about the start of residence. In earlier chapters I have argued both for the Rose's physical change in 1592 as anticipating the start of playing company residence; and for the recognition that Henslowe's deepened involvement with the Admiral's Men did not start until late 1597. Both phenomena suggest that, at least for the Rose, the forming of the symbiosis between the playing companies and the playhouse was a much longer and more gradual process than mere events in the summer of 1594 could fully represent or account for. This was a bonding process that took place over the course of several years and in multiple aspects of the playing company-playhouse economics. For the Rose, as I will proceed to argue, the company-playhouse partnership started with a simpler form of residence adopted by the Strange's Men in 1592, which was largely replicated by the Admiral's Men in their first three years (i.e. June 1594 – July 1597). In the following three years (October 1597 – July 1600) after the theatres reopened in late summer 1597, the Admiral's Men's residence at the Rose gradually changed into a much more complex form of partnership that was not without significant repertorial consequences. This complex form of residence was then carried on briefly by Worcester's Men at the Rose (August 1602 – March 1603) before the playhouse was finally abandoned.³⁴

³⁴ Statistics on the Worcester's Men's residence at the Rose shows very similar production rates and expenses. During their seven months at the Rose (17 August 1602 – 16 March 1603), the company's total expenditure was 233^l 13^s 3^d, averaging at about 22.04 shillings per day. The total number of their commissions/purchases of new plays was twenty, averaging at about 3.14 new projects per month. With about six of these new projects being either unfinished or finished at late dates, the overall "ne" production rates during this time was about 2.29 "ne" plays per month.

Simpler form of semi-permanent residence and its economics

The period between 1592 and June 1594 was a time of transition for the Rose. With its structural remodelling and the change of its intended function from that of a rentable playing space into that of a residential playhouse, the Rose witnessed both early attempts at residence by the Strange's Men as well as short stretches of stays by the Sussex's Men and the Queen's Men.³⁵ Manley and MacLean, examining Strange's Men's recorded opening season at the Rose in 1592, have argued that the company had most likely already sustained an extended period of playing at the Rose or elsewhere in London. The fact that ten out of the total twenty-seven plays offered by Strange's Men at the Rose were staged only once—most of which clustering around the beginning of the season—suggests that these plays were already near the end of their repertorial life for a London audience.³⁶ Being a company with a fairly noticeable presence in London since their arrival in 1588/9, it is not inconceivable that Strange's Men had indeed carried out a period of sustained daily performances in the city. If this theory can be accepted, then the curious absence of the mark “ne” to accompany several titles' first appearance in the *Diary* may perhaps be better explained: it is possible that Henslowe had maintained another account, prior to inheriting the book for the *Diary* from his brother, in which he recorded stretches of performances by Strange's Men and perhaps other companies in very much the same way. The curious “first appearance” of these titles in the *Diary*, then, could be simply records of continuations of performances recorded in the older volume. On the other hand, the remarkably high number of plays old enough to qualify for only one performance could perhaps also be understood as a sign that the company was only using them to fill the vacuum at the very beginning of their residence before newer offerings could be commissioned. These conjectures and speculations aside, examining Strange's Men's post-1592 seasons at the Rose reveals signs of both an intention for long-term residence and effective repertorial management.

Surveying the daily takings from the 134 performances shows that the company's repertorial schedule relied heavily on a few of its more successful plays. These included both profitable new offerings, such as *Henry VI*, *Titus and Vespasian*,

³⁵ The Strange's Men's two recorded runs (134 performances) at the Rose were: 19 February 1592 to 22 June 1592; and 29 December 1592 to 1 February 1593. Sussex's Men's run at the Rose was from 27 December 1593 to 6 February 1594 (30 performances). Sussex's Men and Queen's Men's joint run at the Rose was from 1 to 8 April 1594 (8 performances).

³⁶ Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men*, pp. 66-8.

2 *Tamar Cham*, *A Knack to Know a Knave*; and revivals of older offerings as well as a few high quality long-term favourites, such as *Sir John Mandeville*, *The Spanish Tragedy* and *The Jew of Malta*. The company maintained a careful control over the spaces between the repetitions of these more popular offerings, distributing them fairly evenly across the season and filling the gaps between them with less popular or older offerings. On the whole, however, it does appear that Strange's Men's profitable plays were put through faster cycles than those in the Admiral's Men's repertory later.

The prioritisation of the more successful plays over lesser ones is obvious in the fact that a number plays which proved to be unpopular were very quickly cycled out—in some cases with only a single performance—even though they might be new (i.e. marked as “ne”).³⁷ At the same time, with a relatively stable stock of profitable plays, the company was commissioning new plays at a fairly relaxed rate—only one “ne” in every three to four weeks. The effect of this cycling system was that, towards the end of their first season, Strange's Men's daily performance schedule gradually gravitated towards a very select number of tried-and-true, well received plays that formed the core of the company's repertory at the Rose—namely: *Alcazar*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The Jew of Malta*, *A Knack*, *Henry VI*, *Titus*, and 2 *Tamar Cham*. With a stable and sustainable repertory to operate with, the company's intention to continue their residence in the Rose seemed obvious. When they returned to the playhouse for the second season in late December 1592, it was essentially this same repertorial core that was again put through the daily cycles and slowly renewed with “ne” plays commissioned at a rate comparable to that in the previous season. Just shortly before the Rose was closed again on 1 February, they had added to their staple another of Marlowe's plays, *The Massacre at Paris*—a timely addition that no doubt would have invigorated an operational repertory that had just started to feel strained following the previous unsuccessful premier of *Jealous Comedy*. To what extent they anticipated the closure of the theatre is perhaps anyone's guess. What can be observed, however, is that the company was not in a hurry to exploit the freshness and sensational success of the “ne” *Massacre*. Its sole performance before the end of the season suggests that the company was likely planning for it a similar cycling schedule just like those for other

³⁷ Two “ne” plays were dropped after only one performance each. *Jealous Comedy* was marked “ne” on 5 January 1593, with a mediocre half-gallery taking of 44 shillings. *The Tanner of Denmark* premiered on 23 May 1592, curiously, was also dropped after its initial performance despite an impressive half-gallery taking of 73.5 shillings. It is possible that the high takings for this play reflected high expectation met with gross disappointment.

profitable plays in their repertory. In other words, they were most probably anticipating a return to the playhouse and were planning ahead for longer runs. Their two stretches of runs in the Rose had undoubtedly been profitable. The first one earned a total half-gallery income of nearly 180 pounds, averaging at a remarkable 34.28 shillings per performance. The second, shorter run earned a total of close to 49 pounds, averaging at 33.76 shillings per performance.³⁸ Strange's Men's repertorial behaviour suggests that it is entirely conceivable that the company would have returned to continue their residence at the Rose had it not been for the ferocity of the plague in 1593 and perhaps also the political frustration of the company's patron around the same time.

Sussex's Men's short run at the Rose shows very different repertorial intentions and behaviour. Of the twelve plays they staged during this time, five—each staged two to four times—constituted the backbone of the repertory. *Buckingham*, staged four times, was on the whole spread fairly evenly across the month. The other four plays, *God Speed the Plough*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Friar Francis*, and *The Fair Maid of Italy*, were each also arranged with even spaces between performances. To these may also be added *Abraham and Lot*, which was very likely an older play still found popular among the audience. Filling the spaces in between were several other plays each appearing only once or twice: *William the Conqueror*, *King Lud*, and *Richard the Confessor*. The first two were old plays by that time and were perhaps used to fill up the gaps between the regular cycles. *Richard the Confessor* could be a relatively recent yet unpopular offering, as the poor takings (11 shillings) from its second performance indicates. What remains more difficult to account for is the play *George-a-Greene*. Very likely an old play by 1594, the play nevertheless saw five performances in total. Martin Wiggins suggests that the play's multiple appearances could be a sign that it was “still at a

³⁸ These figures are calculated by adding the total half-gallery takings as recorded in the *Dairy* and dividing the sum by the total number of performances. The figures compare extremely favourably with data about the income from touring. Barbara D. Palmer's study on the economics of touring suggests that visits to great family houses were in general much more profitable than those to cities and towns. Yet even in these households—at the Clifford family's Skipton Castle, for instance—the total money spent on rewarding travelling groups in the course of eleven months in 1615/6 amounted to only 15^{li} 2^s 8^d. It was even less in the cities and towns. In York, for instance, the total expenditure from the same time was 5^{li} 4^d. See Barbara D. Palmer, “Early Modern Mobility: Players, Payments, and Patrons”, p. 271. William Ingram has also pointed out that many common stage players of the time would have found it difficult to make more than ten pounds a year. See William Ingram, “The Economics of Playing”, *A Companion to Shakespeare*. Kastan, David Scott (ed). Blackwell Publishing, 1999. Blackwell Reference Online. 14 October 2012 <http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9780631218784_chunk_g978063121878420>

relatively early stage of its repertory life”.³⁹ The average gallery performance of the play, being comparable to most of the other plays in the middle of their performance cycle, does seem to support this interpretation, although it is equally possible that the play had previously been reasonably popular but in 1594 was only used to fill the gaps between the regular offerings. On the whole, Sussex’s Men’s stay at the Rose shows fairly clear signs of repertorial control geared towards managing the demands for, and pressure from, daily performances. The fact they scheduled older plays and those of average quality at the beginning of their season to maximise profits—a strategy also frequently employed by later companies that used the Rose—also shows their understanding of the London market’s behaviour.

On the other hand, however, Sussex’s Men’s repertorial behaviour appears to lack signs of any plan for longer-term residence. Apart from *George-a-Greene* and *Buckingham*, all the other plays that made up the backbone of the repertory were running on much shorter cycles than those in Strange’s Men’s repertory at the Rose. *God Speed the Plough*, which opened the season, was quickly cycled out after another performance near the beginning of the season. The three performances of *Huon* had also been cycled out by the first fifteenth day. Replacing *Huon* during the middle stretch of the run were *Friar Francis* and *Abraham and Lot*. Both completed their respective three performances by the end of the season. *Fair Maid*, which joined the cycle later than both *Friar Francis* and *Abraham and Lot*, had only saw two performances before the season was over. The shorter repertorial life of these plays is perhaps understandable considering that none of them were entirely new by that time. It was only towards the very end of their run at the Rose that the company premiered the entirely new *Titus Andronicus*. In stark contrast to Strange’s Men’s treatment of their new plays earlier, Sussex’s Men staged *Titus* three times within their final six performance days before the break for Lent.

In sum, the lack of new plays and the short cycles of older ones together suggest that the company was *not* planning on long-term residence, but was focusing on taking advantage of London audience’s paying power and making the most out of a short stretch of stay. Hence in order to manage the strain on their repertory from demands for daily performances, they first relied on stretching the repertory by putting older stock of plays through a relatively rapid succession of shorter cycles, and then sought to

³⁹ On the dating and discussions of this play, see Martin Wiggins, *British Drama*, III, p. 109.

maximise profit on the truly new offering (i.e. *Titus Andronicus*) through high frequency repetitions before the season concluded.

That Sussex's Men were not in possession of a sufficiently sustainable repertory and were most likely not planning on longer residence in the Rose is also evident in the fact that, after the break in Lent 1594, the company joined forces with the Queen's Men in the Rose. This joint run, lasting only eight days, appears to be a typical short stint in the City to cash in on the holiday season instead of a planned residence. Of the five plays staged during this stint, two of them were by Sussex's Men: *The Jew of Malta*, and *Fair Maid*. The rest three, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *Ranger's Comedy*, and *King Leir*, belonged to the Queen's Men. None of these plays were fresh enough by that time to be exploited in the same way as *Titus Andronicus* was just before Lent. The two companies had to join up and interpose their repertories to create enough spaces and avoid direct repetitions. It is difficult to speculate as to how long the joint company stayed in London after their run at the Rose. When the temporary cooperation ended, Sussex's Men were not known to appear in the touring records. The Queen's Men had been touring before their appearance in the Rose, and were found to be touring afterwards. They were in York in September 1593 and were definitely in Coventry on 4 July 1594. The chronological order of their visits to other locations between these dates cannot be established with precision, but they appear to have made their way to Bath, Gloucester, Norwich and very likely visited several Kentish towns and cities including Canterbury, Faversham, and Maidstone.⁴⁰ An itinerary drawn through these locations, in whatever sequence, would contain plenty of opportunities for visits to London, where they could join with the Sussex's Men for a short stay.

But here one might also quickly consider another theory and some of the wilder propositions it might lead to regarding the possible sequence of events related to the Sussex's and Queen's Men's temporary cooperation. Scott McMillin and Lawrence Manley have both suggested that the Sussex's Men who played at the Rose before Lent 1594 might have included some players from the former Strange's – Derby's Men and Pembroke's Men, including Edward Alleyn.⁴¹ This is not improbable. The connections

⁴⁰ REED York, 455; Coventry, 341; Somerset, 17; Cumb/Westmld/Glouc, 312; Norwich 1540-1642, 105; Kent, 230, 561, 721.

⁴¹ See Scott McMillin, "Sussex's Men in 1594: The Evidence of *Titus Andronicus* and *The Jew of Malta*", in *Theatre Survey*, No. 32 (1991), pp. 214-23; Manley, "From Strange's Men to Pembroke's Men", in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Autumn, 2003), p. 286.

between the Rose and Alleyn as well as perhaps some other former members of Strange's Men might have drawn them back to the playhouse where they had played successfully in the past. Their dispersed repertory, now mixing with those from other companies, perhaps made it difficult for this "cobbled-together" version of Sussex's Men to sustain a resident playing schedule in any effective ways. Besides, it is likely that not all members of this mixed group would be planning on long-term residence in the Rose. Thus after a month's performance, the company of players perhaps broke up again during Lent, causing once more the dispersal of the repertory. The men who stayed behind in the Rose, still calling themselves "Sussex's Men", had apparently lost the new play *Titus Andronicus* but retained *Fair Maid*. *The Jew of Malta* is more difficult to account for. It could have been in the possession of either Henslowe or Alleyn. At the same time, according to Henslowe's record, the Queen's Men had apparently also broken up and went into the countries in May 1593, taking with them Francis Henslowe. Henslowe recorded that Francis promised to repay him the fifteen pounds he laid out for the share at the fellows' "Retorne owt of the contrey".⁴² It is hard to know how many of the "broken-up" Queen's Men returned to London in 1594. But could some of them be the "Queen's Men" who joined with the "Sussex's Men" in the Rose after Easter 1594? If so, the resumption of playing and the holiday season might have provided enough incentive to stay for a short run. And the diminished repertories retained respectively by the two fragmented companies might indeed lead to the necessity of a joint run. Whichever scenario it was, both Sussex's Men's solo run and the joint run with the Queen's Men appear to be financially profitable on the whole. The former averaged at 33.63 shillings per performance; and the latter, 37 shillings per performance. Holger Schott Syme has compared them favourably with the Admiral's Men's later resident seasons (1594-1597).⁴³

But these figures are not entirely representative, and Syme's narrative of success is problematic upon more rigorous examination. First of all, both runs—especially the joint one—were very short, which means the days with higher takings would inevitably have a much higher statistical impact on the overall daily average. Besides, the high takings in Sussex's solo season mainly clustered around the opening few days of the

⁴² HD fol. 2v. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 7.

⁴³ In his narrative of the Admiral's Men's decline over their three seasons at the Rose, Syme notes that the company "never reached the average performance income of their predecessors at the Rose", see Holger Schott Syme, "The Meaning of Success", p. 516.

season, when the demand for theatrical entertainment was usually high. Another spike in profit could be found towards the season's end, but this was entirely brought about by the company's exploitation of the freshness of *Titus Andronicus*. For most of the other days in the middle of the season the takings were mediocre, averaging only at 24 to 27 shillings per performance. The "success" of the joint run by Sussex's and the Queen's Men, in the same way, appear to be mainly brought by the holiday and the re-opening of the theatre after Lent. The characteristics of the data point to the more opportunist nature of these two stretches of performances. They should not be taken, therefore, as evidence for making arguments about the Sussex's and the Queen's Men's intention for sustained residence at the Rose.

It was not until May 1594 that the Rose saw the second serious attempt at residence by a playing company. After a bumpy start with three performances as well as a joint run with the Chamberlain's Men at the playhouse in Newington Butts with rather disappointing takings, the Admiral's Men began their residence at the Rose on 15 June 1594 and the transitional period for the playhouse came to an end.

The operational mode of the Admiral's Men's at the Rose shared several key similarities with that of Strange's Men. On the whole the repertory revolved around the more profitable plays at each given moment, which were usually new offerings. Several of these new plays would prove to be long-term favourites, such as *The Wise Men of West Chester*, *Seven Days of the Week*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *The Comedy of Humours*, *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, and *I Hercules*.⁴⁴ Old classics such as those by Kyd and Marlowe, as well as older favourites such as *Guthlac*, *Warlamcester*, *The Siege of London*, *Long Meg of Westminster*, were also revived from time to time to interpose with the newer plays. There appear to be similar signs of control on the frequencies at which the profitable offerings were given. This is more discernible in the schedules for new plays. In general, a new offering would be staged at a higher frequency during its initial four to five performances.⁴⁵ As the play aged, the spaces between subsequent repetitions gradually increased. As the repertory continued to roll forward, aging plays gradually migrated to the peripheral of the repertory and their central positions were taken up by the newer offerings.

⁴⁴ A list of the top-grossing productions by the Admiral's Men between 1594-1597 with performance statistics can be obtained in Syme, "The Meaning of Success", p. 507.

⁴⁵ See also Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company*, p. 32.

It should be recognised that these were more of the company's strategies for the day-to-day micromanagement of a rolling repertory rather than hard-and-fast rules to which the company unflinchingly adhered. Varying from case to case, the frequency at which a particular play was repeated, as well as the total number of its repetitions, were repertorial decisions weighed in conjunction with other considerations such as the remaining profitability of earlier offerings at each particular moment and their corresponding repertorial longevity. Complicating this issue even further were decisions for revivals either to re-harvest the commercial value of old favourites, or to accompany a new play with similar subject, theme, character, or character type.⁴⁶

A quick example will help illustrate these principles. *Gliaso*, for instance, had a successful premiere on 26 June 1594 with a half-gallery taking of 3^{li} 4^s.⁴⁷ The play, however, was not hurried into rapid repetitions but waited eleven days before its second appearance on the stage. The subsequent four repetitions were on average eight performance days apart. Examining the repertorial context of *Gliaso* reveals that it was at this time surrounded by several other strong offerings. *Bellendon (Belin Dun)*, which opened Admiral's Men's season at the Rose with equally impressive takings at 3^{li} 4^s, had by then only been staged twice. The company had clearly given it priority over *Galiaso*, as it was staged regularly at an interval of usually three or four performance days. Other offerings still going strong at the moment were *The Massacre*, two revivals—*Guthlac* and *The Jew of Malta*—as well as a play late in its repertorial life, *The Ranger's Comedy*. Moreover, even before *Galiaso* had its second performance, the company had already premiered another play, *Philipo and Hippolito*. This play was apparently also given the priority over *Galiaso*, with its first four performances staged at a frequency of about once every three or four days, which increased to once every seven or eight days during the subsequent four performances. Joining this growing array of fairly fresh offerings was *2 Godfrey of Bouillon*, premiered only eight days after that of *Philipo and Hippolito*. Staged at a frequency somewhere between that of *Galiaso* and *Philipo and Hippolito*, this play was repeated at intervals of about seven days for its first three performances, and at about ten to twelve days for the later ones.

⁴⁶ Syme has observed that plays whose commercial values were exhausted might recover their marketable appeal after a period in retirement. See Syme, "The Meaning of Success", p. 509.

⁴⁷ HD, fol. 9v. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 22.

Towards the end of *Galiaso*'s run between August and October, the repertory rolling at the time was joined by yet newer plays such as *Tasso's Melancholy* and *The Venetian Comedy*, perhaps to continue cashing in on the taste for Italian subject matters at the time. On the other hand, as *The Massacre* and the revived *The Jew of Malta* had nearly run out of commercial value by then, the company swiftly substituted them with another two earlier Marlovian favourites: *I Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*. The latter, it is worth noting, was also soon accompanied by yet another short revival—*The French Doctor*—possibly to cash in on the similarity between their titles. As the repertory rolled forward during all this time, the gaps between the last few performances of *Galiaso* increased to about sixteen days. Its final performance, on 25 October, was nineteen days from the previous one. This final show, earning only eleven shillings, was clearly intended to just fill a day to create enough space between the first and the second performances of a new play, *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*.⁴⁸

Besides similarities between the Admiral's Men's repertorial strategy and that of Strange's Men, there were also interesting differences and developments. The Admiral's Men were clearly much more proactive than their predecessors in commissioning new plays. Manley and MacLean understand this as a sign that the company was new to the practice of playhouse residence in mid-1594 and was busy in the process of establishing a repertory sustainable under the demands of daily performances.⁴⁹ This, however, has only revealed half the situation. Apart from the necessity to enlarge their repertory at the start of residence, it should also be recognised that, comparing to Strange's Men's earlier seasons, the Admiral's Men during their first three years at the Rose were also facing a higher demand for new plays in general. If the Admiral's Men's higher rate of new productions was only to cope with the initial pressure on the repertory, one would surely expect to see this rate decline, as the season wore on, to a level similar to that at which Strange's Men had operated successfully before. Calculations reveal, however, that after the initial three and a half months of performance, by the end of their first continuous run at the Rose (i.e. by 14 March 1595),

⁴⁸ *HD*, fol. 10v. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 25.

⁴⁹ Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays*, p. 68. Comparing the Strange's Men's and the Admiral's Men's opening seasons at the Rose, Manley and MacLean observes that the Admiral's Men offered eight "ne" plays among a total of seventeen different plays during their first 105 performances; whereas the Strange's Men offered five "ne" plays among a total of twenty-four different plays during the equivalent period in their own season. In other words, during the Admiral's Men's first 3.5 months, they were staging on average 2.29 new plays per month, whereas the Strange's Men were staging on average 1.43 new plays per month.

the Admiral's Men's rate of new productions levelled at an average of 1.8 new plays per month.⁵⁰ This rate was fairly well maintained in the following seasons. Overall, during their first three years at the Rose (June 1594 – July 1597), they staged a total of fifty-two new plays in about thirty months of performance, averaging at 1.73 new plays per month. In contrast, during Strange's Men's residence at the Rose, the company staged a total of seven new plays in the course of five months of performance, averaging only at 1.4 new plays per month. The fact that the Admiral's Men's rate of new productions during all this time maintained steadily at a higher level than that of their predecessor is clear indication of a general increase in the demand for new plays—at least from the Rose's audience. On the other hand, the demand for fresher materials at a faster pace is also indicative of the audience's growing familiarity with the repertory that the playhouse and its resident playing company had to offer. Combining daily performances in a fixed playing venue with a repertorial cycling system in which the majority of the plays were repeated at various frequencies, such a growing level of familiarity is hardly surprising.

The increase in the demand for new plays by the Rose's audience during this time appears to be part of a visible general increase in the appetite for playing in London. Although it is difficult to precisely quantify such a demand in any given period, indications of its changes over time may still be gleaned from comparing the total number of performances a play was usually given in different periods. In a 1572 lawsuit about playscripts, the defendant Rowland Broughton was sued by Lawrence Dutton, John Dutton, and Thomas Goffe for failing to deliver enough number of plays within a limited period of time.⁵¹ The original agreement specified that Broughton was to complete eighteen new plays within thirty months for performances “upon all Sundays and holidays in the year and otherwise as occasion shall serve”. Given the clarity and specificity of the terms, it seems unlikely that the number of plays agreed upon was decided without any careful consideration or calculation. It may be safely assumed, then, that the eighteen plays were deemed sufficient for lasting the course of the thirty months. An Act in 1552 had specified that a year contained a total of twenty-seven holidays in addition to Sundays.⁵² With a typical year containing fifty-two Sundays, the

⁵⁰ Between 15 June 1594 and 14 March 1595, the Admiral's Men performed mostly continuously for ten months, during which time they staged eighteen new plays, averaging at 1.8 new plays per month.

⁵¹ PRO, C2/Eliz./D11/49. See also Wickham et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 234-5.

⁵² W. G. Hoskins, “Provincial Life”, p. 171.

total number of performances to be expected in a year would amount to about seventy-nine. Hence the total number of performances for the eighteen plays in thirty months would be around 198. On average each play, therefore, was expected to last for ten to eleven performances before their commercial value was exhausted.

It is difficult to compare this data directly with those from Strange's Men's repertory because, as discussed earlier, this company relied much more heavily on a small number of plays that were staged a lot more frequently than the lesser ones in the repertory. Popular plays such as *Henry VI*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Alcazar*, *The Jew of Malta* were frequently staged between fourteen to seventeen times; whereas lesser ones usually saw less than ten performances. The Admiral's Men's repertory, in contrast, shows a much more even distribution of the number of performances among the majority of its plays. Comparing the data from the Admiral's Men's repertory with those calculated from the 1572 lawsuit reveals a clear increase in the total number of performances that a play might be expected to last. On the whole, it is obvious that the majority of the plays in the Admiral's Men's repertory saw more performances. Popular offerings, such as *Wise Men*, *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, or *Seven Days of the Week*, were typically staged between fifteen to around twenty times in a single run.⁵³ A large number of the less popular plays, such as *Venetian Comedy*, *Tasso*, *2 Godfrey*, *Philipo and Hippolito*, were also frequently staged up to twelve times. Although it is entirely possible that some audience members might have seen a particular play multiple times, a more reasonable explanation for this phenomenon seems to be that there had been an increase in the number of regular playgoers by the mid-1590s. The general increase in the demand for playing, the growing familiarity with the Rose's repertory, as well as the higher demand for new plays at faster rates, all point to the forming and maturing a playgoing culture specific to, and familiar with, the Rose playhouse. Such a localised playgoing culture had its origin in Strange's Men's two seasons at the Rose, and was gradually maturing during the Admiral's Men's longer residence.

Despite its relative short length, Strange's Men's residence at the Rose had its far-reaching impact on the forming of both the company-playhouse partnership as well as a playgoing culture specific to the Rose. The consequence of Strange's Men's highly selective repertorial cycling system, as Manley and MacLean observes, was the creation

⁵³ By "in one run" I mean later revivals are excluded from the calculation.

of a set of “company style” characterised by a keen contemporary awareness of topical materials as well as a tendency towards the sensationalist, spectacular displays of passion and power.⁵⁴ But Strange’s Men’s repertory was not merely defining the company’s own style. Plays like *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Alcazar*, *The Jew of Malta*, *Tamar Cham*, and *The Massacre* became theatrical vehicles through which their leading actor Edward Alleyn achieved and maintained his distinction in both fame and personal style. As Alleyn’s personal notes on his own copy of the *Orlando* parts show, play texts from theatrical manuscripts and printed books do not tell nearly enough about the level of emotional and psychological energy that could have been invested in the theatrical space—by both players and audiences. A significant part of the actual day-to-day trafficking of theatrical spectacles and sensations on the stage was transient and would eventually become irrevocably lost. Yet in cases of exceptional talent and popularity such as those enjoyed by Alleyn, his daily appearances became a driving force for the consolidation of a “house-style” during his active periods. The impact of the star actor is evident in the remarkable phenomenon that it was the particular type of heroic roles that gravitated towards Alleyn, rather than the other way around.⁵⁵

It was this legacy of Strange’s Men and Alleyn at the Rose that the Admiral’s Men came into contact with when they took over the playhouse in 1594. And in many ways, this legacy was not only carried over through Alleyn’s continued presence on the same stage for the Admiral’s first three years, but also continued to inform the company-playhouse partnership’s repertorial choices as his legacy persisted during his absent years.⁵⁶ Their opening week at the Rose, most tellingly, consisted almost entirely of plays containing typical roles for Alleyn’s acting style: the highway robber Belin Dun, the Duke of Guise, Barabas, King Guthlac—and possibly also a ranger of some kind. The star actor’s portrayal of Guthlac, with what Guilpin termed “Alleyn’s Cutlack’s gate [i.e. gait]”, was perhaps particularly impressive.⁵⁷ These plays became effectively the backbone of the Admiral’s Men’s rolling repertory for the several months that followed. And as they were gradually replaced with fresher offerings, the

⁵⁴ Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange’s Men*, pp. 69, 166-81.

⁵⁵ For example, Wiggins has suggested that the appearance of 1 and 2 *Tamar Cham* in the Strange’s Men’s repertory could be understood as the need to create for Edward Alleyn a comparable role to that in the two *Tamburlaine* plays left behind in the old Admiral’s Men’s repertory. See Wiggins, *British Drama*, Vol. II, p. 375.

⁵⁶ This continuity would be even stronger if one accepts McMillin’s theory about the presence of former Strange/Derby’s and Pembroke’s Men in the Sussex’s Men that used the Rose in 1593/4.

⁵⁷ Guilpin, *Skialetheia*, Sig. B.2b.

rolling repertory was joined by plays such as the two parts of *Hercules*, *The Blind Beggar*, and *Longshank*—plays that allowed very similar latitudes for the dramatisation of volition, passion, and power. At the same time, the daily repertorial cycles also included revivals such as *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Doctor Faustus*, *1&2 Tamburlaine*, *1 Tamar Cham*—classics that in the late 1580s and early 1590s had either made the name for Alleyn and the Admirals' Men, or had become closely associated with Alleyn, Strange's Men, and their activities at the Rose.

Last but not least, the continuities in the Admiral's Men's repertory at the Rose are also visible in the company's strategy for sequels. Apart from the ordinary format of sequels divided into parts, such as *1&2 Tamburlaine*, *1&2 Caesar and Pompey*, *1&2 Hercules*, *1&2 Tamar Cham*, *1&2 Robin Hood*, and the four parts of the *Civil War of France*, there were also sequels in the Admiral's Men's repertory that harkened back to earlier plays in Strange's Men's repertory through either similarity in titles or narrative links. *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, for instance, clearly invoked the Rose's audience's memory about one of their favourites during Strange's Men's time, *A Knack to Know a Knave*, despite the fact that the sequel shared little narrative connections with its predecessor. *2 Godfrey of Bouillon*, on the other hand, likely shared both main characters and narrative links to Strange's Men's *Jerusalem*.⁵⁸ There were also similar intra-repertorial references in which plays with distinct narratives were deliberately given titles reminiscent of some earlier offerings, such as *The Seven Days of the Week* and *The Second Week*, *1&2 Two Angry Women of Abington* and *Two Merry Women of Abington*, *The Spanish Tragedy* and *The Spanish Comedy*. As a marketing strategy, the deliberate repetition in these titles functions through appealing to the audience's familiarity with the earlier titles in order to generate the desire to see the sequels and explore their narrative, thematic, or sometimes merely nominal connections with the earlier works.

The fact that the Admiral's Men adopted such a strategy also indicates that a localised playgoing culture particular to the playhouse, its resident company, and its audience was gradually coming into being. As S. P. Cerasano notes, in the 1590s the audience's familiarity with Alleyn and his companies' style were starting to cultivate a demand for "a particular kind of play and a particular kind of actor".⁵⁹ More importantly,

⁵⁸ Wiggins, *British Drama 1533-1642*, Vol. III, p. 241.

⁵⁹ Cerasano, "Edward Alleyn, the New Model Actor", p. 52. For similar discussions of the actors' impact on the taste of the audience, see Manley and MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays*, p. 71.

the companies and their star actor's "trademarked" theatrical style, consolidated through the resident playing schedule in the Rose's stable playing space, was also starting to fuse with the image of the playhouse itself and shaping a localised playgoing culture where the experiences, memories, and expectations of the company-actor's style became increasingly indistinguishable from those of the specific playhouse. Admittedly, it would be misleading to suggest that any playhouse and its resident company during this time was monopolising over any particular dramatic genre or style. A variety of different types of performances were certainly available in all the major playhouses of the time. But it was exactly the increasingly common association of the particular playhouses with their famous actors, long-time favourite plays, and most notable theatrical styles that was at work behind the numerous, increasingly site-specific contemporary playgoing references such as those found in *Skialetheia*, *The Scourge of Villainy*, *The Roaring Girl*, *The Doubtful Heir*, and so on. In this light, it is perhaps not unreasonable to say that the set of "contemporary classics" associated with Strange's Men, the Admiral's Men, and Alleyn, through their partnerships with the Rose, was also becoming effectively a set of "Rose classics".

At the same time, there appears to be signs that the aesthetic appeal and staging capacity of the playhouse were also starting to become contributing factors in the inter-company as well as inter-playhouse competitions. In Lent 1595, Henslowe carried out another series of large-scale "Repracyones" of the Rose, including the well-known addition of the "throne" in the "heavens".⁶⁰ There was definitely carpentry work involved in the reparations. But it is also interesting to observe that nine out of a total of twenty-three itemised entries of expenditure were payments to painters. The fact that the first payment of this kind happened very early in the record—the third entry on the list—and is followed by three more, suggests that the work in 1595 was mainly decorative rather than structural.⁶¹ It is likely that such an extensive cosmetic "make-up" of the playhouse at the time was prompted by the actions of Francis Langley in Paris Garden just to the west of the Rose. William Ingram has suggested that Langley had probably already had plans to develop his properties in the Paris Garden manor by late 1593 and later decided to build a playhouse there as well.⁶² That Henslowe was

⁶⁰ *HD*, fol. 2v. See also Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 6-7.

⁶¹ Unlike the list for the structural remodelling of the Rose in 1592, the 1595 list does not contain at its beginning payments for "breacking vp & palyng". See *HD*, fol. 4. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 9.

⁶² Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age*, p. 111.

entirely unaware of the commotion in the nearby areas at this time seems improbable. The Swan project, according to Ingram, had apparently gathered enough momentum by late 1594 to cause the alarm of the Lord Mayor of London.⁶³ Seen in this light, the timing and nature of Henslowe's decision to decorate and upgrade the Rose as soon as performance ceased in Lent 1595 seem highly understandable. In his study of the Admiral's Men's first three Rose years, Syme has constructed a narrative of the company's decline in profit.⁶⁴ His calculations are based on the grouping of performance by the year instead of season. While this provides an overview of the company's financial performance over a long period of time, it glosses over details and signs of fluctuations as effected by short-term decisions like the 1595 renovation. In fact, my calculations of the average income per performance from both the season before and after this renovation clearly reveals its efficaciousness.

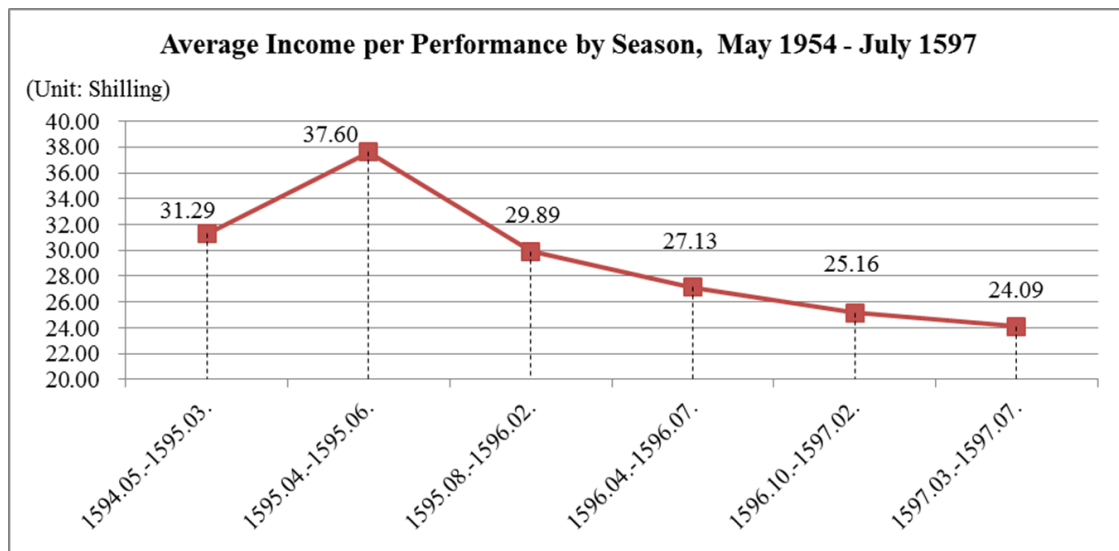


Fig. 13 Average Income per Performance by Season, May 1594 – July 1597. [Data collection, calculation, and diagram done by me]

Takings from the Admiral's Men's season from June 1594 to March 1595 averaged at 31.29 shillings per performance. After the renovation of the playhouse in Lent, performances resumed from April until late June 1595. The average takings from this period spiked to 37.60 shillings per performance. Of the fifty-seven performances during this Easter-summer season, twenty-eight of them earned thirty shillings or above, i.e. outperforming Admiral's Men's overall average takings at 29.21 shillings per

⁶³ In a letter to the Lord Treasure in November 1594 the Lord Mayor of London complained about Langley's playhouse project. See CLRO, Remembrancia, II, 73; Ingram, *A London Life*, p. 108; Wickham et al. *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 440.

⁶⁴ Syme, "The Meaning of Success", pp. 516-9.

performance from their entire three years (June 1594 to July 1597). Of these twenty-eight performances, moreover, twenty of them earned fifty shillings or above, with the most profitable day bringing in seventy-three shillings, the highest single-day taking among all Admiral's Men's daily receipts in record. What's more, even when the two most popular plays *I Hercules* and *Seven Days of the Week* were excluded from the calculation of average daily takings in this period, the rest of the plays, at 32.85 shillings per performance, was still noticeably higher than that from the company's previous run (June 1594 to March 1595) with plays of even higher gross income and average takings per performance such as *The Wise Man of West Chester* and *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*.

While short term boosts from newly upgraded and decorated playing space were possible, in the long run the more magnificent Swan—constructed with perhaps over one thousand pounds—certainly proved a formidable presence for the Rose and its resident company.⁶⁵ There is no clear evidence that the Swan was seeing daily performances before February 1597 when the Pembroke's Men entered into their contract with Langley, although sporadic playgoing accounts do suggest that it was in operation during 1596, at some point with possibly even some members of the Queen's Men.⁶⁶ The Rose's average daily income by the seasons, which dropped sharply in summer 1595 from the earlier spike and continued to go down, also seem to suggest the presence of a strong competitor.

Fiercer competition came in 1597. Although Pembroke's Men appeared to have signed their contracts with Langley only from February 1597 onwards, it is not impossible that the company had arrived and played quite successfully at the Swan sometime before that.⁶⁷ Surveying the Rose's average income per performance by the months lends support to this conjecture. My calculations show that the dismal opening

⁶⁵ For the estimation on the cost of the Swan, see Ingram, *A London Life*, p. 111. The special magnificence of the Swan among the four London playhouses of the time is also captured in the now well-known drawing and account of Johannes de Witt. See Wickham et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, p. 437, 441.

⁶⁶ Besides the account by De Witt, there is also the account by Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Cöthen in June 1596. See Wickham et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 440-1. On the possible presence of an iteration of the Queen's Men at the Swan with George Atwell and Francis Henslowe, see Ingram, *A London Life*, pp. 110, 118-9; Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce*, p. 30.

⁶⁷ According to the lawsuits between Langley and members of the Pembroke's Men, the company signed their contracts and became "bound" to Langley in February 1597. See PRO Req.2/266/23, also Wickham et al. *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 441-3.

month between late October and November 1596 saw its average daily takings drop to a historical low at 20.05 shillings.

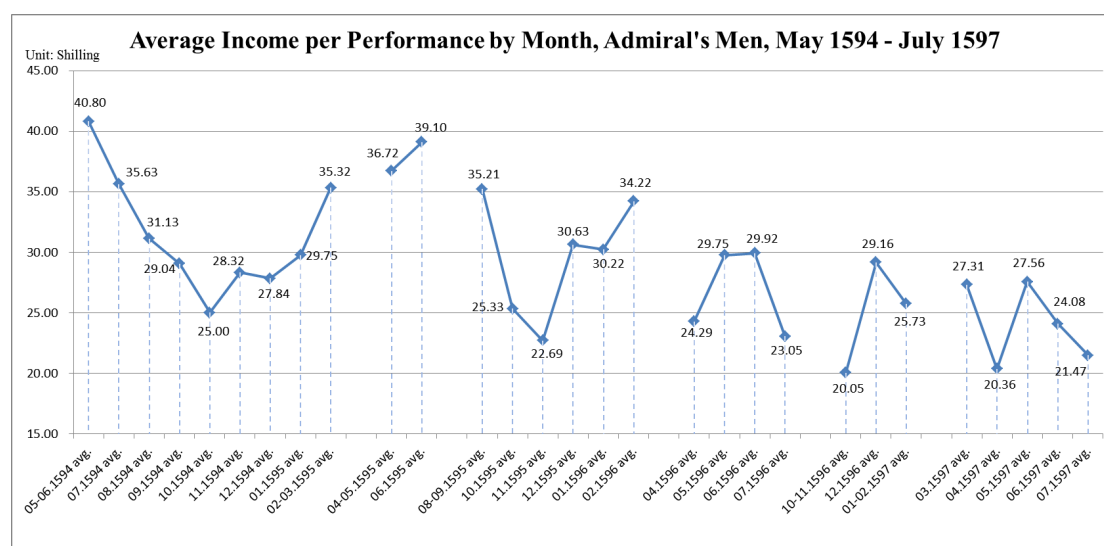


Fig. 14 Average Income per Performance by Month, Admiral's Men, May 1594 – July 1597. [Data collection, calculation, and diagram done by me]

Henslowe's daily performance accounts reveal that this was not unrelated to the fact that the company did not stage a single new play during this month.⁶⁸ The severe delay in new productions is confirmed by the fact that the company staged four new plays within the following month (December). Several other corroborating details in the *Diary* also suggest that the Admiral's Men at this time were having problems with casting. It has been a common assumption that Richard Jones and Thomas Downton defected to Pembroke's Men sometime in 1597.⁶⁹ However, they could well have done so by late 1596. Jones was still mentioned in Henslowe's loan to the company on 3 July 1596, but neither he nor Downton appeared any more in records after October 1596, despite the fact that these sporadic loans continued all the way till December.⁷⁰ Moreover, it appears that the company was also seeking to hire more players around this time, possibly to fill the vacancies left by Jones and Downton. On fol. 23 of the *Diary*, Henslowe recorded two loans to the company to "feache fleacher", and one to "feache browne", all of which taking place in October 1596.⁷¹ The identity of this "browne" remains unknown, but Foakes has identified the "Fleacher" to be Lawrence

⁶⁸ *HD*, fol. 25-25v. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 54-5.

⁶⁹ Richard Perkins, Alleyn's apprentice, apparently also joined the Pembroke's Men in 1597. For discussions on the lawsuit between Alleyn and Perkins, see David Mateer, "Edward Alleyn, Richard Perkins and the Rivalry between the Swan and the Rose Playhouses", p. 63-5.

⁷⁰ *HD*, fol. 22v, 23. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 49-50.

⁷¹ *HD*, fol. 23. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 50-1.

Fletcher, a contemporary player. These records of loans for what look like temporary hired hands, coinciding with the delay in the staging of new plays and the low average daily takings, may suggest logistic problems with the Admiral's Men as well as disruption of production at the Rose at this time.

Surveying the average daily takings from this time all the way until July 1597, it can be seen that it is in these months that the all-time lowest daily takings at the Rose were recorded. Plays were frequently staged three or four extra times even after their takings had dropped to the lower levels—sometimes well below ten shillings. *Vortigern*, which started well, averaged at less than twelve shillings during its last six performances. The takings from *Stukeley* were frequently below twenty shillings. The last six performances of *Nebuchadnazzar* were all below twenty shillings, with the lowest day only fetching five shillings. The takings from *That Will Be Shall Be* were mostly around a lowly ten shillings. The last four performances of *A Woman Hard to Please* were dismal, too, with three of them fetching only five shillings each. At the same time, because the takings tended to drop rapidly after the initial few performances, many plays during this period were given less total number of performances than those from previous years. The only truly popular play from this period, which was also one that became one of the all-time top-grossing plays, was *The Comedy of Humours*. Performance records of this play clearly show that it was heavily exploited. Premiered on 11 May 1597 and regularly fetching two to three pounds with each of its subsequent repetitions, it was performed eleven times in two months—seven times between 11 May and 11 June, and another four times by 13 July. In other words, it was sometimes repeated within the same week—something that the Admiral's Men, unlike their predecessors at the Rose, had previously been careful to avoid overdoing. Last but not least, it was also during this difficult period that several old popular plays were brought out for brief revivals. Old favourites such as *The Wise Man of West Chester*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *Crack Me This Nut*, *Alexander and Lodowick*, and *Bellendon*—all of them among the all-time top-grossing Rose plays before October 1597—were dusted down and given brief runs to save expenses on new productions, fill the gaps between short lived unpopular current offerings, and occasionally exploit the commercial potential of holidays. Overall, the average income per performance for the Rose partnership during this period dropped to an unprecedented low at 24.09 shillings.

From all these details examined above—the defection of veteran players, generally low number of runs for plays, and all-time lowest average income per

performance—a picture of continual financial pressure for the Admiral’s Men seems to emerge. The partnership formed between Pembroke’s Men and the more opulent Swan in the nearby Paris Garden area appears to be drawing crowds from the Admiral’s Men-Rose partnership.⁷² In a period when the culture of resident commercial playing in London was gradually maturing, both the temporary success of the Rose’s upgrade in 1595, and the data regarding its logistic and financial stress brought about by the new Swan venture, point to new developments in the playing company-playhouse partnership where the playhouse had become a factor of increasing significance. It should be recognised, however, that both Strange’s Men and the Admiral’s Men’s early residence at the Rose were relatively *simple* forms of partnership. This was a partnership developed out of the earlier travelling tradition and was held together by no newer or stronger connections than those in a typical touring situation. When a group of players were formed, no matter under which patron’s aegis, the need arose for playing spaces. The purpose-built playhouses, needing tenants, thus provided for the need. When these two lines of interests intersected with each other, a form of playhouse residence would naturally materialise. But when a stretch of run was concluded in a particular playhouse, the players could always choose to stay on or to depart.

Most crucially, the system for the division of profit underlying both Strange’s Men’s and the Admiral’s Men’s partnerships with Henslowe was a relatively simple one. The players took half the gallery share in addition to the door money, while Henslowe took the other half of the gallery profit. This system essentially replicated the earlier arrangements between Henslowe and John Cholmley in the “Deed of Partnership”. In the original one, the players took only the door money while Henslowe and Cholmley divided the gallery profit.⁷³ In other words, the playing company, by taking up the half-gallery share, assumed the role of Henslowe’s “partner”. As it turned out, while the position was constant, its holder could change from time to time. As van Es has pointed out, during this period the playing companies and the playhouses were in nature “separate entities”.⁷⁴ Beside the division of profit, there was in fact very little

⁷² The partnership between Pembroke’s Men and Langley has often been dismissed by theatre historians as a total disaster. The most commonly cited reasons for this argument have been the *Isle of Dogs* fiasco and the disputes between Langley and five members of Pembroke’s Men. But it is important to recognise that the *Isle of Dogs* incident was essentially a political controversy, and the disputes were also issues of management as well as perspective. Neither of them bear sufficient witness to the actual financial situation at the Swan for the months before the political disaster.

⁷³ Dulwich Muniments, No. 16. Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 304-6.

⁷⁴ Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, p. 155.

financial connection between the playhouse and the resident playing company. With both parties remaining essentially independent financially, the bond between them was inevitably a weak one. As I will argue in the next chapter, this differs profoundly from the later more complex financial relation between the playing company and the playhouse manager underlying the Admiral's final three Rose years and Worcester's Men's Rose seasons between 1602 and 1603.⁷⁵ Although the company's activities during a long period of residence certainly exerted significant and lasting impact on the image of the playhouse and the playgoing culture associated with it; the partnership itself, without deeper financial connections between the two parties, could dissolve with ease. The Rose's performance history with its several playing companies during its transitional period bear clear witness to such a weak bond underlying this simpler form of semi-permanent partnership.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to tackle several fundamental issues related to key aspects of the Rose playhouse's repertory: 1) the murky performance history during the playhouse's first five years; 2) the widely held assumption that resident commercial playing in London started at both the Rose and the Theatre simultaneously in 1594; and 3) the current lack of nuanced understanding of, and distinction between, the different company-playhouse partnerships formed throughout the 1590s in terms of their underlying repertorial strategies, organisational structure, and financial arrangements.

In making educated guesses about the most likely companies that used the Rose between 1587 and 1592, in this chapter I have examined the touring records of various playing companies accumulated by the REED project. The prominence of Kentish towns as destinations for travelling companies revealed by the REED project's records, considered in conjunction with evidence about the geographical and civic importance of Southwark as a gateway to the southern and southeastern regions of England, points to the distinct possibility that several companies travelling frequently to and from Kentish towns—including the Queen's Men, Leicester's Men, Essex's Men, Sussex's

⁷⁵ The radical change of the format of Henslowe's records, as already discussed in the previous chapter, reflects the change of the level of involvement in his tenant companies' operation. And it was to the earlier simpler format of daily receipts that Henslowe reverted to, when an incarnation of Pembroke's Men performed very briefly at the Rose in late October 1600. See *HD*, fol. 83. Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 164.

Men, and the Admiral's Men—might well have used the Rose while passing through London.

As the best-documented Elizabethan playhouse, the performance history of the Rose also provides ample evidence for studying the history of resident commercial playing in London. Contrary to the claims of the still widely held umbrella notion about the start of London residence by playing companies, I have argued in this chapter that the transition from travelling to taking residence in London playhouses was in fact a series of localised phenomena unique to each of the playing company-playhouse partnerships formed throughout the 1590s. And rather than the results of a single event in June 1594, this was a much longer and more piecemeal process. Crucially, regarding the performance history of the Rose, I have argued for the recognition of a key distinction between an earlier simple form of playhouse residence (practiced at the Rose until July 1597), and a mature and more complex form of partnership later (after October 1597).

In this chapter I have examined each of the several stretches of performance history of the Rose—from February 1592 up to the closure of the theatres in summer 1597—in relation with Strange's Men, Sussex's Men, the temporary Sussex's-Queen's Men, and the Admiral's Men. Analysing and comparing the repertorial characteristics and commercial strategies of each of these company-playhouse partnerships, I have sought to demonstrate that, at least as early as 1592, efforts to sustain long-term resident commercial playing could already be detected in the repertorial strategies of Strange's Men's Rose seasons—and especially in their institution of a repertorial cycling system revolving around a key group of popular plays. This mode of residence, pioneered by Strange's Men, was largely replicated by the Admiral's Men during their first three Rose years (June 1594 – July 1597)—although the Admiral's Men's repertorial strategy showed a better-maintained balance between the staging of their more commercially valuable plays and that of their less popular offerings. By contrast, the two intervening short stretches of runs by Sussex's Men and the combined Sussex's-Queen's Men at the Rose showed little intension of long-term residence; and instead displayed strong signs of short-term exploitation of the City's paying potentials. Accordingly, the transition of the Rose's function from the rentable playing space to a repertory playhouse, after its early start, was also a more gradual process not without momentary regressions during this period, instead of the straightforward linear development as it has hitherto been understood. And finally, as revealed by analysis of the financial and

organisational structures of Strange's Men's Rose residence as well as the Admiral's Men's first three Rose years, their early mode of residence was a simple form of company-playhouse partnership where both parties remained financially largely independent of each other; and hence were only held together by fairly weak financial and legal bonds.

Chapter Six
The Performance History and Repertory of the Rose Playhouse 1597-1603:
The Mature Form of Playhouse Residence

When London playhouses reopened in October 1597, the Admiral's Men did not simply resume their residence at the Rose. By signing individual contracts with Henslowe over the following year, they ushered in a new phase of their playhouse residence in a much more complex form, and with a different financial structure as well as operational mode. This crucial distinction has hitherto been largely ignored by the orthodox narrative and umbrella notion of playhouse residence in the 1590s.¹ The economics underlying this new form of residence, moreover, was far from inconsequential to the artistic choices and tendencies in the Rose partnership's theatrical productions.

It is interesting to observe that most of the players who signed the initial series of binding contracts with Henslowe in late 1597 were former members of Pembroke's Men; and that these contracts were essentially the same in nature with those that they signed earlier with Langley at the Swan.² The arrangement with Langley at the Swan was that the landlord was first responsible for "making ready of the [playhouse] and providing of the ... apparel", and then to "acquaint the [players] with the value thereof". After performances, the landlord would be "allowed for the true value thereof [i.e. the sum of his advances] out of the [players'] moiety of the gains for the several standings in the galleries of the said house".³ In late 1597 it was exactly this same system of monetary advances and reimbursement that was carried over by the former Pembroke's players into the Admiral's Men-Rose partnership.

At a time of grave uncertainties in London's theatrical landscape, forming an alliance with the Rose—a licensed playhouse—and with a theatre manager who enjoyed powerful financial as well as political resources would appear to hold better promise for financial security and operational stability. In the wake of the *Isle of Dogs* incident and the closure of London theatres in the summer of 1597, the multiple uncertainties facing the Admiral's Men and Pembroke's Men were perhaps even further complicated by both the imminent retirement of Alleyn as well as the possible movement of the Chamberlain's Men following the latter's

¹ To this distinction may also be added the differences between the Chamberlain's Men's earlier, simpler residence at the Theatre, and their later, more complex form of residence at the Globe; although as I will argue later, the Chamberlain's Men-Globe partnership and the Admiral's Men-Rose partnership (October 1597- July 1600) still differed in significant ways.

² Four of the initial six players who signed contracts with Henslowe in late 1597 came from the Pembroke's Men: Richard Jones, Robert Shaa, William Borne, and Thomas Downton.

³ PRO, Req.2/266/23. See also Wickham et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 443-5.

own problems with the lease on the Theatre. With all these uncertainties coinciding, it is not unreasonable to interpret Pembroke's and the Admiral's Men's signing of contracts with Henslowe as at least partly a move to secure for themselves a stable playing space as well as source of funding. In any case, what certainly became observable was that the years following October 1597 saw a radical increase of Henslowe's involvement in the Admiral's Men's theatrical operation.

In chapter four I have examined the increase of Henslowe's loans to the Admiral's Men after October 1597 in detail from a managerial perspective. To provide a clearer context for this chapter's discussions, it is necessary to quickly recapitulate some of these key developments. As Henslowe's bookkeeping method shifted from recording daily performance receipts to recording itemised advances to the playing company for costumes and playbooks, the total amount as well as daily average of his loans went on a steady climb. Punctuated by the several "reckonings" between the landlord and his tenant company, the Admiral's Men's borrowing from Henslowe increased from a total loan of 46^{li} 7^s 3^d between 21 October 1597 and 8 March 1598 (138 days), to the 120^{li} 15^s 4^d between 13 March 1598 and 28 July 1598 (137 days).⁴ The daily average, thus increased from 6.7 shillings per day to 17.5 shillings per day. The months that followed saw an even more dramatic increase. Between the 9.5 months from 29 July 1598 to 13 October 1599, depending on the interpretation of specific wording in the *Diary*, the company's total borrowing was between 466^{li} and 632^{li}, averaging at 21 to 28.6 shillings per day.⁵ Perhaps the mounting debts raised some alarm for the players, for their average daily borrowing returned to an earlier lower level during their final months at the Rose. Between the 9 months from 14 October 1599 and 10 July 1600, the company's daily expenditure returned to 16.38 shillings per day, and the sum total of their loans from Henslowe was about 222^{li}.⁶

While the increase of the Admiral's Men's overall debts to Henslowe during the company's second phase of residence at the Rose is directly observable, signs of the impact of this remarkable change on the partnership's operational, repertorial, as well as artistic characteristics in this period have appeared much more elusive and have remained little

⁴ *HD*, fol. 44v, 48. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 87, 94. The several "reckonings", either between Henslowe and the players or done by Henslowe alone, took place on 8 March 1598, 28 July 1598, 13 October 1599, and 10 July 1600.

⁵ Calculated from records in *HD*, fol. 48v, 64v. See also Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. II, p. 182.

⁶ By 10 July 1600 the company's total debt to Henslowe was reckoned to be 300^{li}. Their total loans between 14 October 1599 and 10 July 1600 could be calculated by adding up the amounts from daily records from fol. 65 to fol. 69v. My own calculation yields a total sum of 222^{li} 10^s 6^d. This is close to the 222^{li} 5^s 6^d from the calculation by Chambers. See Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. II, p. 182.

commented upon. Nevertheless, several key pieces of corroborating evidence of these significant developments could still be found through examining various operational and financial records, play texts, playhouse documents, as well as archaeological reports.

Changes in the Rate of New Commissions

The exact total number of new commissions of plays within each period of the Admiral's Men's residence during these years is difficult to decide, due to the fact that occasionally Henslowe referred to a new commission only in generic terms such as "a book", "a tragedy", or "a comedy". The loans to the company for these entries make it clear that they were "in earnest of"—i.e. to commission—a play from particular authors. Occasionally some *Diary* entries for commissions left the play title in blank—most likely because the name had not yet been decided by the time the record was made. While sometimes the titles were later filled in, other times they were left in blank. Unspecific entries of commissions like these undoubtedly create difficulties for statistical analysis, but as they only appear occasionally, a reasonably accurate and fairly representative statistics regarding the company's production rate is certainly obtainable. Using the same "reckoning" dates set by Henslowe in the *Diary* as chronological markers, I have calculated the total number of commissions for new plays within each time period, as well as the average number of new commissions per month.

Between 21 October 1597 and 8 March 1598, the Admiral's Men authorised payments "in earnest of" a total number of about ten plays. One other play, *Black Joan*, does not appear in the transaction records but could be traced in both the now lost list of plays purchased by Henslowe and one of the company's inventory lists. The total number of new commissions thus averaged at about 2.44 new plays per month. It appears that at least six of these eleven new commissions were completed. This is judged by either the total amount of payments for each play reaching five or six pounds—the usual amount that Henslowe paid for a new play—or by the fact that other expenses for their productions have been recorded.⁷ Each of the other five plays received total payments significantly less than six pounds, which may be an indication that they were aborted projects.⁸ At the same time, the Admiral's Men's repertory at the Rose was also enlarged by six additional plays brought in by the former Pembroke's Men—*Hardicanute*, *Friar Spendleton*, *Bourbon*, *Branholt*, *Alice Pierce*, and *Dido and Aeneas*.

⁷ This means that the play was already in production, and hence was most likely completed despite the fact that records of its full payment do not appear in the *Diary*.

⁸ However, as I will discuss later, it is still possible that these plays were actually completed eventually but were perhaps paid for directly out of the company's own pocket.

Taking all these into consideration, the total number of new plays that saw actual productions at the Rose during this period should be at least twelve—i.e. six finished new commissions by the Admiral's Men plus the six brought in by the former Pembroke's Men. If one also allows for the possibility that some of the other five "unfinished" plays were in fact also completed and produced, then the total number of new productions would have been even higher. In other words, during these four and a half months, the playing company at the Rose was staging about 2.67 "ne" plays per month on average at the very least.

I have analysed data from the Admiral's Men's following three periods at the Rose by applying the same criteria. Between 13 March 1598 and 28 July 1598, the company authorised payments for a total of approximately sixteen new commissions, averaging at around 3.56 new commissions per month. With due allowance made for four plays that were possibly unfinished, as well as for plays that might have been finished later than 28 July, the total number of new productions during this period should be around twelve, averaging again at 2.67 "ne" plays per month.

During the following fourteen and a half months from 29 July 1598 to 13 October 1599, the company commissioned about thirty-nine new plays in total, averaging at 2.69 commissions per month. The majority of these new commissions—thirty in total—occurred within the first ten months (i.e. from 29 July 1598 to 3 June 1599), during most of which time daily performances were carried out at the Rose.⁹ The more representative rate of production for this period should thus be about 3 new commissions per month. There appear to be no performances during the four summer months (3 June to c.1 October 1599), although Henslowe's daily loans suggest that commissions of plays and other preparatory work continued throughout this time.¹⁰ By 13 October 1599, the playing company had authorised payments "in earnest of" nine other plays. The average new commissions during the summer and early October is thus calculated to be about 2 commissions per month. Of the total thirty-nine new commissions during this period, about sixteen of them are recorded with payments less than the usual full amount (i.e. five or six pounds)—an indication that they might be unfinished. A cautionary note should be sounded here, however, regarding the assumption about these "unfinished" commissions. For nine of these sixteen plays, Henslowe had actually already paid at least three pounds each. It is entirely possible that these were in fact finished plays paid for either jointly by Henslowe and

⁹ According to Henslowe's weekly takings from this time, there appears to be no interruption to daily performances apart from a break for about a month during Lent (i.e. from 24 February to c. 20 March 1598). See *HD*, fol. 48, 48v. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 94-5.

¹⁰ *HD*, fol. 63-64v; Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 121-5.

the company, or by the company alone.¹¹ With due allowances made for these possible scenarios, it appears that the Admiral's Men were staging around twenty-three to thirty-two "ne" plays during their 9.5 months of actual daily performances (i.e. excluding Lent and the summer months). On average, then, they were staging 2.42 to 3.36 "ne" plays per month in this period.

During their final nine months at the Rose, from 14 October 1599 to 10 July 1600, the Admiral's Men authorised payments for about twenty-eight new plays, averaging at 3.11 plays per month. Eleven of these projects did not receive full payments, although it is likely that at least four of them—*Jugurtha*, *Lust's Dominion (Spanish Moor's Tragedy)*, *The Devil and His Dame*, and *Judas*—actually saw completion later. The situation is further complicated by the fact that plays commissioned as late as June 1600 might very well be too late to see productions at the Rose, and were more likely to be premiered at the Fortune later. These uncertainties aside, the company likely staged around seventeen to twenty-one "ne" plays, averaging at about 1.89 to 2.33 "ne" plays per month.

Overall, then, during their final three years—or nearly thirty-three months—at the Rose (October 1597 to July 1600), the Admiral's Men authorised payments for a total of ninety-four new projects, averaging at about 2.88 projects per month. Of these projects, about sixty-four to seventy-seven likely saw actual productions during a total of twenty-seven and a half months of daily performances, averaging at about 2.32 to 2.8 "ne" plays per month. Both the rate of new commissions and the rate of likely "ne" plays per month, comparing to the 1.73 "ne" plays per month (i.e. fifty-two "ne" plays in thirty months) from their first three Rose years (June 1594 to July 1597), saw a significant increase. In other words, against the background of the drastic increase in borrowing from October 1597 onwards, records in the *Diary* reveal an overall increase in the Admiral's Men's production scale at the Rose.

¹¹ The details in the payment record for a later play, *Jugurtha*, serves as an example. In an entry made by William Bird dated 9 February 1600, Bird recorded a loan of 30^s from Henslowe in earnest of a play by William Boyle. The entry reads: "lent vnto me Wbirde ... to paye for a new booke to will: Boyle. Cald Jugurth XXX^s w^c if yo^u dislike Ile repaye it back". Bird's mention of repayments on conditions is interesting. Normally, repayments for Henslowe's advances should be unconditional. The logical explanation for this entry should be that Henslowe was perhaps originally thinking about buying this play himself—although in all likelihood the play was going to be staged by the Admiral's Men at the Rose. The 30^s loan to Bird, as usual, was probably for fetching a part of the play for a preview. As this was the only entry in the *Diary* related to payment by Henslowe for this play, it is most likely that Henslowe did in fact take a dislike of it. If this was the case, with the company being the next most likely buyer of the text, there would be two possible scenarios: 1) the company paid for the play and took it into their repertory; or 2) the play was not accepted by the company either. Either way, the 30^s loan would be counted as part of the company's total run-on debts. What this example makes clear is that the lack of records of full payment (i.e. a sum of five or six pounds) for a play in the *Diary* does not necessarily mean the play was not completed. Neither does it necessarily mean that it was not accepted into the Admiral's repertory.

Changes in Production Expenses on Costumes and Stage Properties

Records in the *Diary* clearly reveal that overall single-play production cost during this period amounted to striking sums from time to time, with loans frequently made to the company for acquiring large amounts of theatrical stock, including stage properties, ready-made costumes, and textile materials, besides various other unspecified items. For the production of *1 Civil Wars of France*, for instance, Henslowe laid out a total sum of ten pounds to “bye divers thinges”. For its sequel, *2 Civil Wars of France*, the production cost rose to twenty pounds. The expenses on the production of *Fortunatus*, a play selected for court performance in 1599, included at least ten pounds for various purchases in addition to another three pounds for alterations to the playscript.¹² *Vayvode*, a play bought for the company from Alleyn at a cheaper-than-usual price, nevertheless cost altogether seventeen pounds to produce, including making purchases for “[a] sewte & a gowne” amongst other “diverse thinges”. The playbook of *The Padge of Plymouth* already cost an unusual eight pounds, and its production involved further expenses for “wemen gownes” at a total of another ten pounds. *Fountain of New Fashion*, again, involved purchases of “diverse thinges” as well as “wemenes gownd [i.e. gowns]” at a total of seventeen pounds. Even more staggering production expenses were recorded for the plays *Pierce of Winchester*, *The Spencers*, and *Seven Wise Masters*, at over twenty-nine pounds, thirty pounds, and thirty-eight pounds respectively.¹³ Production costs of such scales contrast sharply with records of expenses from the earlier travelling tradition, where a company of players usually relied on a much humbler set of playing apparel for more extended stretches of time.¹⁴

¹² As Richard Dutton has noted, the Admiral’s Men was evidently prepared to spare no expense in order to make the court production of *Old Fortunatus* “as impressive as possible”. And in these occasions the stage properties acquired for making spectacular special effects would most likely remain with the company and be used for performances in the public playhouses. See Dutton, “The Court, The Master of the Revels, and the Players”, 369-70.

¹³ *HD*, fol. 49v, 50v-52, 54v, 63v, 64, 68. Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 97, 98-102, 106-7, 122-4, 132.

¹⁴ As suggested by a lawsuit from c. 1530s between John Rastell and Henry Walton concerning playing apparel, a set of costumes consisting of about twenty players’ garments with a total value of about twenty marks (i.e. about thirteen pounds) could have lasted for at least half a year. Examining the list of costumes involved in this lawsuit also reveals that the majority of them were made of buckram, a cheaper stiff-finished fabric of cotton or linen; and only a small number of them used sarcenet, a type of soft thin silk. The total value of about 20 marks in the 1530s would be equal to about 33.5 pounds in the 1590s, when an expensive production could have easily cost as much. See PRO, Req.2/8/14 for Rastell v. Walton. See also Wickham et al., *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660*, pp. 229-33.

My calculation of the 1590s equivalent total value of the costumes in the Rastell v. Walton lawsuit is based on the data obtained from the online currency calculator provided by the National Archives. According to its estimation, one pound in the 1530s is worth about 322 pounds today; whereas one pound in the 1590s is worth about 125 pounds today. Hence one pound in the 1530s would be worth around 2.58 pounds in the 1590s.

At the same time, while older costumes were undoubtedly still used and reused in different productions, they also went through frequent alterations and re-decorations as specific circumstances of performance required. The most noticeable records of expenditure on decorations in the *Diary* are those for acquiring copper laces—an economical substitute for gold and silver laces used extensively by stage players to represent the “finery of the court”.¹⁵ Although a cheap material in itself, its purchase in large quantities over time amounted to significant sums. The way in which payments were made for copper laces during this period suggests that the company was buying them in large enough quantities, and frequently enough, to necessitate payments in instalments. Within the fortnight from 26 May 1599 to 8 June 1599, for instance, Henslowe recorded three loans to the company for “part payments” to the “lace man” amounting to a total of fifteen pounds. In the month between 9 January and 9 February 1600, again, Henslowe laid out a total of eleven pounds for the company to acquire copper laces.¹⁶ Similar loans and payments are also recorded for Worcester’s Men during their residence at the Rose later. These were by no means insignificant or negligible sums of expenditure. To put it more into perspective, they were in fact on par with, and often exceeded, the total *annual* income of wage earners in even some of the best-paid professions as prescribed by Elizabethan regulative statutes.¹⁷ Even for aristocrats and wealthy entrepreneurs, these were still large enough sums. The average annual expense on apparel by Alleyn between 1618 and 1622, for instance, was around eleven pounds. An annual average of seventy-seven pounds was spent on clothing between 1624 and 1642 in the household of Sir Thomas Cullum, of Hastede, which was enough to cover the needs of the entire household including family and servants.¹⁸ Thus, it seems clear that, apart from purchasing new playbooks and making advances for new commissions, payments for playing costumes and stage properties also accounted for another major part of the overall increase of production expenditure during this period.

¹⁵ On the copper lace’s “special place in the theatre” and its status as being almost “a metonymy for the professional players”, see Peter Stallybrass, “Properties in Clothes: the Materials of the Renaissance Theatre”, p. 190; see also Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p.191.

¹⁶ *HD*, fol. 63, 67, 67v. Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp.121-2, 129-31. For more calculations of Henslowe’s records of payments for copper lace between January and July 1599, as well as between May and September 1601, see Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 191.

¹⁷ As Ingram has noted, the best skilled and most well-to-do wage earners in the late sixteenth century, such as goldsmiths and brewers, were earning an annual income of about eight to ten pounds. See Ingram, “The Economics of Playing”, *A Companion to Shakespeare*. Kastan, David Scott (ed). Blackwell Publishing, 1999. Blackwell Reference Online. 14 October 2012 <http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9780631218784_chunk_g978063121878420> A complete transcription of the wages for different tradesmen in London as stipulated by a royal proclamation on 23 July 1598 is provided in Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, Vol. III, pp. 39-41.

¹⁸ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 178.

The Financial Structure of the Permanent Residence

It is hardly surprising to observe the simultaneous occurrences during these years of the drastic increase in the Rose partnership's production rate, the rapid accumulation of its operational assets, and the steady climb of the Admiral's Men's run-on debts to Henslowe. As the partnership's operational assets, the large quantities of theatrical stock were initially purchased by Henslowe's advances. Thus although they nominally should belong to the playing company, for most of the time they remained outside their claim. On the other hand, although Henslowe had in practice paid for them, technically he did not have a full claim on them either—as long as the company kept their promise for repayments. Thus it is at once as Henslowe's securities and the playing company's liabilities that the large quantities of theatrical stock were involved in the daily operations of a cash-generating theatrical engine running on future money. Underlying the Rose partnership's remarkable affluence and productivity was a strong financial as well as material bond between the playing company and the playhouse manager with huge liabilities and risks attached to it. Such a bond relied on, and necessitated, a long-term mutual financial commitment between its two parties.

But why would the Admiral's Men—and Worcester's Men later—enter such a relationship with Henslowe? What were the important benefits brought about by this form of partnership? Comparing the company's gross income and their overall expenses during their final three years at the Rose reveals that, with Henslowe functioning as the external source of funding, the company could spend more than what they effectively earned for extended periods of time. Although the takings from the nine months between October 1597 and July 1598 are not recorded in Henslowe's records, the gross income from the following fourteen months (July 1598 – October 1599) can be calculated from the weekly half-gallery takings recorded on fol. 48 and fol. 48v.¹⁹ During this time, the half-gallery income amounted to a total of 358^{li}. This is significantly lower than the total expenditure of at least 466^{li} from the same period. The main reason behind this discrepancy is the fact that the playing company remained in London—instead of going on tour as they used to do—during the entire four-month break in the summer of 1599 when no performance was given while purchases of new plays, costumes, as well as

¹⁹ Henslowe's heading to these weekly takings refers to them as the "whole gallery". Given this phrase, it is tempting to think that the weekly receipts recorded represent the full-gallery takings. It is highly likely, however, that the weekly sums recorded were only the players' half of the gallery takings, because the sum total of these weekly takings was counted as part of the players' repayments for their debts. If these were indeed "full-gallery" receipts, it would have made little sense for Henslowe to include his own rightful share in the players' repayments of their debts. See *HD*, fol. 48v. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 94-6.

stage properties continued all the way through.²⁰ Records from the nine months that followed (October 1599 – July 1600) show less of a discrepancy between the Admiral’s Men’s overall expenditure and their income; although the former, at about 222^{li}, was still higher than the latter, which was around 207^{li}.²¹ It is highly likely that the company stayed in London again during most of the summer in 1600, just before their relocation to the Fortune. and continued to spend on productions while giving few or no public performances.²² Such a way of operation would have been extremely difficult to sustain in the earlier, more “hand-to-mouth” mode of playhouse residence where the company and the playhouse manager were financially largely independent of each other; and where the company’s main source of funding was their own performance income. The new funding scheme, on the contrary, allowed the spending of future money upon promises of repayments. In practice, the playing company could carry on with their productions even during periods with low or little income.

This is also where the new Rose partnership as formed after summer 1597 differed significantly from the Chamberlain’s Men’s residence at both the Theatre and the Globe. In terms their financial structures, the Chamberlain’s Men’s earlier residence at the Theatre was in nature similar to the stretches of semi-permanent residence at the Rose by Strange’s Men and the Admiral’s Men before summer 1597. After summer 1599, the Globe venture had yet again an entirely different financial structure from that of the Rose partnership.²³ For the Chamberlain’s Men, maintaining ownership of the Globe playhouse meant that, when it came to productions on the day-to-day level, the company’s main source of funding would have been the playhouse revenue from performances. As such, it would have been difficult for the

²⁰ This is also confirmed by the absence of the Admiral’s Men in REED project records from this period. The last known record of Admiral’s Men’s activities in the countries before this time was a curious one in April 1597, when a payment was made to “one of my Lord Admiral’s Men”, see REED *Newcastle Upon Tyne*, 117. The company’s next appearance in the countries was sometime between 25 December 1599 and 25 March 1600, see REED *Kent*, 237. This most likely took place during the short tour in Lent 1600, as Henslowe also made a note around this time about the company going into the country, see *HD*, fol. 67v. Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 130-1. According to the REED records, then, it appears that the Admiral’s Men did not go on extensive tours at all during its final three years at the Rose.

²¹ *HD*, fol. 62v. Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 120-1.

²² Giving public performances during the hottest months of the summer was certainly improbable. At the same time, however, Henslowe’s records suggest that the company was still making purchases of theatrical stock as well as commissions for new plays between August and November 1600. An interesting extra note is that, according to the playgoing accounts of Simon Forman, the company was most likely back at the Rose and performing sometime around October. Forman recorded a visit to the Rose for either part one or two of *Sir John Oldcastle* on 16 October 1600. As Cerasano suggests, this was perhaps one of the very last performances given by the company at the Rose. See Cerasano, “Philip Henslowe, Simon Forman, and the Theatrical Community of the 1590s”, p. 157.

²³ For detailed discussions on the financial and operational innovations of the Globe venture, see Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*.

company to spend more than what they had effectively earned. This certainly does not mean that the Chamberlain's Men necessarily had access to fewer funds, but that the self-sustaining nature of the partnership would encourage a keen awareness of the vital connection between the company's spending power and its revenue. For the Rose partnership operating on funds borrowed from Henslowe—a source external to the playing companies—theatrical productions would have been much less affected by the limits of performance revenues. The companies would have had theoretically unlimited funds for production as long as their joint liability was duly acknowledged and future repayments promised through the setting of hands. In fact, as earlier calculations have revealed, such overspending was exactly what took place during the Admiral's Men's later years at the Rose, as well as during Worcester's Men's Rose seasons in 1602 and 1603.

At the same time, with this funding scheme underlying the Rose partnership, the playing company also became much more resilient to short bursts of financial stress. Sometime in March 1598, for instance, the Admiral's Men played for a private occasion in Fleet Street in London. Henslowe recorded in the *Diary* a payment to the “carman for caryinge & bryngyn of the stufe backe agayne” after the performance. The stocks, which were sizable enough to require a cart to move around, however, were lost during transport.²⁴ Losing theatrical stock, as the earlier lawsuit about theatrical costumes suggests, would normally have been a serious situation for a playing company. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that Henslowe recorded this incident in nothing more than a matter-of-fact tone. Not only so, but only a few days later he laid out money for the company “for good cheare” in a tavern. Although undoubtedly still a setback, such a loss was apparently by no means regarded as seriously incapacitating as it would have been in the past.

In fact, the playing company could now withstand, and operate under, much higher financial pressure. After the summer of 1600, by the time the Admiral's Men moved from the Rose to the Fortune, their run-on debt to Henslowe had climbed to 300^{li}. Judging from the records in the *Diary*, it is clear that their gradual repayments dragged on for at least another nineteen months before it was fully repaid in February 1602.²⁵ During all this time the company continued to operate at the Fortune on new loans from Henslowe. Thus by February 1602 when their old debt cleared, they had already accumulated a new one totalling at 211^{li} 9^s.²⁶ What the long-term partnership between Henslowe and the Rose's resident company had created were

²⁴ *HD*, fol. 45. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 88.

²⁵ *HD*, fol. 104. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 198-9.

²⁶ This figure is confirmed by records on both fol. 104 and fol. 109v.

the long-term financial arrangements that, in turn, also allowed the investment of much larger sums of operational funds as well as a much longer repayment cycle.

It should be recognised, however, that such a remarkable level of flexibility was nevertheless premised upon a general *restriction* on the movements of both the players and the theatrical stock—via bonds, terms in contracts, the seizing of theatrical stock as securities, as well as threats of forfeiture and lawsuits. One way or another, major London theatres since the late 1590s were undoubtedly running on large sums of borrowed money. For the Chamberlain’s Men at the Globe, as members of the company testified, the playhouse itself was built in the first place with large “summes of money taken up at interest”.²⁷ For the companies that used the Rose, their borrowed money was used to acquire large amounts of assets. For the Chamberlain’s Men, their liability was more or less the initial sum borrowed for the Globe’s construction (plus interest). Through stable theatrical operations, this initial debt—although a heavy one—was eventually repaid.²⁸ For the companies at the Rose, on the other hand, although their residence started with little initial cost, their joint debt soon became, and remained, an on-going liability that was constantly renewed as theatrical productions continued over the years. Under such circumstances, both Pembroke’s Men’s contract with Langley and the Admiral’s Men’s contracts with Henslowe were clearly mindful about placing specific restrictions on playing in places other than the designated playhouses. Henslowe’s later article of agreement with Lady Elizabeth’s Men, as discussed earlier, also specifically restricted the movements of theatrical costumes to strictly within the premise of the playhouse. This is hardly surprising considering that the large quantities of theatrical stock were also the collective embodiment of the playhouse manager’s serious financial commitment to the partnership.²⁹ It was by complying with the restrictive terms that the playing company made their comparable commitment to the partnership, and made possible the banking system operating on credits.

Herein lies the most crucial difference and development between playhouse residence in the late 1590s and its earlier semi-permanent forms. It was not until such a more complex form of company-playhouse symbiosis came into being in the late 1590s that the practice of

²⁷ C. C. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakespeare’s Stage*, 132. See also van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, p. 160.

²⁸ For discussions of the unique structure of the Chamberlain’s Men-Globe partnership, see van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, pp. 155-62.

²⁹ Lena Cowen Orlin has compared the operation of the theatre with the business of running tenant houses, and observed that, in the same way as a tenancy agreement would require the landlord to provide fixities in the house, a theatrical partnership also required the playhouse owner’s commitment in the form of theatrical goods. While this provides a very useful perspective for understanding the idea of mutual commitment in the playing company-playhouse partnership, Orlin’s confusion of the playing company’s own stock with the partnership’s operational assets is problematic. See Orlin, “Things with Little Social Life: Henslowe’s Properties”, p. 118.

resident commercial playing in London playhouses finally reached full maturity. This mature form of company-playhouse partnership, after being pioneered at the Swan and developed at the Rose since 1597, was replicated at the Fortune from 1600 onwards, and carried on through Worcester's Men's partnership with Henslowe in August 1602. Lady Elizabeth's Men's partnership with Henslowe, again, was in many aspects a similar one. In a way perhaps not dissimilar to the transition from nomadic tribes into land-bound farming societies, by entering into a much stronger financial and legal bond with the playhouse, the playing companies effectively traded their *physical mobility* for better *financial stability*.

Key Repertorial Continuities

With the banking system in place, the rapid accumulation of theatrical stock, and the clear increase in production rate, scale, as well as cost, should presumably translate into noticeable artistic and stylistic developments in the Rose's repertory of this period. Frustratingly, however, it is also in this respect that evidence becomes much more elusive, and crucial repertorial developments, largely veiled. To a considerable extent, the repertory of the Rose, during both the Admiral's Men's and Worcester's Men's residence, appears to rely heavily on the continuation of successful formulae for its "house style" formed through the earlier years of its residence.

Many of the plays from the Rose's final years harked back to earlier popular Rose productions such as *I&2 Tamburlaine*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Alcazar*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Doctor Faustus*, in terms of their subject matter, thematic elements, plot structure.³⁰ The 1599-1600 play *Old Fortunatus* serves as a good example here. Its opening scene where Fortune makes her entrance attended by the fallen kings in their chains and shackles is clearly reminiscent of similar scenes in the earlier *Tamburlaine* and *Alcazar* plays. In one of her speeches, in particular, Fortune addresses one of the defeated kings, Basaset (i.e. Bajazeth), and describes the latter's tragic end at the hands of Tamburlaine:

Fortune.

Poore Basazet old Turkish Emperour,

And once the greatest Monarch in the East;

³⁰ Only a small fraction of the plays survive from this period, although educated guesses regarding their subject matter and possible plot may still be made based on their titles. As Gurr has counted, "Henslowe's diary provides 878 entries for the performance of 119 plays between February 1592 ... and the end of the daily notices in 1597. Titles are known for 229 plays staged by the company between its creation in 1594 and its demise in 1625. Texts for only 33 of these plays are still extant". See Gurr, "Lord Admiral's Men (act 1594 – 1625)", *ODNB*.

Fortune her selfe is said to view thy fall,
 And grieues to see thee glad to lick vp crommes
 At the proud fêete of that great Scithian swaine,
 Fortunes best minion, warlike Tamberlaine:
 Yet must thou in a cage of Iron be drawne
 In triumph at his heeles, and there in grieve
 Dash out thy braines.³¹

For an audience group familiar with the Rose's popular offerings, the gruesome mental picture invoked by the speech would certainly jog their memories of one of the most striking and memorable scenes from the Marlovian *Tamburlaine* plays.

In several other places, and to varying degrees, *Old Fortunatus* also makes references to, or adapts, familiar imagery and ideas from *Doctor Faustus*. After Agripyne has stolen the magic purse from Andelocia, her confidant Anthelstane revels in the acquisition and its magical power, boasting: "If this strange purse his sacred vertues hold, / Wéele circle England with a wast of Gold".³² This is just another version of a familiar image found in the scene in *Faustus* where the scholar indulges in his fantasies about the power of black magic and claims he could have spirits "wall all Iermany with brasse".³³ Based on the very same idea, the direct contrasts between gold and brass, between white and black magic, between the hints of pleasure and that of war, as well as between a light-hearted half-joke and a grand vision, all suggest that conscious decisions were made in *Old Fortunatus* to adapt—and perhaps to a certain extent subvert—a familiar image in *Faustus*.

Other allusions to *Faustus* can also be found. When Fortune chastises Fortunatus for abusing her gift, for instance, her rhetoric is built on the very same idea of the individual's ascent from base origin to lofty heights before being smitten down again:

Fortune.

Thou art no sonne of Fortune, but her slave:
 Thy Cedar hath aspir'd to his full height.
 Thy Sunne like glorie hath advaunc'd herselfe
 Into the top of prides Meridian,

³¹ Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, STC (2nd ed.) / 6517, Sig. B2.

³² Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, STC (2nd ed.) / 6517, Sig. G3.

³³ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, STC (2nd ed.) / 17429, Sig. A4.

And downe amaine it comes. From beggerie
 I plum'd thee like an Estrich
 ...
 And now take I must pride to cast thee downe.
 Hadst thou chosen wisdom, this blacke had been white,
 And deaths sterne browe could not thy soul afright.³⁴

Almost all the key images here recall their counterparts in *Faustus*. “From beggerie” is reminiscent of the Chorus’s account of the origin of Faustus, whose parents were “base of stocke”.³⁵ In both plays, personification is used to convey the ideas of divine retribution and doom. The fearful image of “deaths sterne browe” in *Old Fortunatus* invokes memories about the similar image described by Faustus near his final moment: “And see where God stretcheth out his arme, / And bends his irefull browes”.³⁶ When Fortune speaks of taking pride in striking Fortunatus down, the clear sense of divine will and agency behind the main character’s downfall is not dissimilar to the view conveyed by the Chorus in *Faustus* that “heauens conspirde his ouerthrow”.³⁷ And finally, the metaphor of the cedar growing to full height in *Old Fortunatus* clearly also recalls the similar image of the tree in the Chorus’s final lament about Faustus’s tragic end: “Cut is the branch that might haue growne ful straight”.³⁸ Similar references, allusions, or adaptations are found in other plays as well. *Lust’s Dominion* (*The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy*), for instance, with a scheming moor as its central character, and with a plot where the schemer ends up falling victim to his own torture machine, shares multiple connections with *The Jew of Malta*. Plays such as *Stukeley* and *Longsword*, for instance, consciously follow the same tried-and-proven formula of expeditions into foreign territories underlying the plot of *Alcazar*. On the whole, thus, plays from the Rose’s final years appear to have continued to favour the populist, sensationalist theatrical style.

A large number of plays from these years also seem to conform to a general continuity in the Rose repertory’s preference for stories structured around the title characters’ heroic or villainous actions. Belonging to this category besides the earlier Marlovian classics, is a long list of later works such as *1&2 Hercules*, *Longshanks*, *Chinon*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *Vortigern*, *Stukeley*, *Pendragon*, *1&2 Robin Hood*, *Brutus*, *Vayvode*, *Longsword*, and so on.

³⁴ Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, STC (2nd ed.) / 6517, Sig. E3.

³⁵ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, STC (2nd ed.) / 17429, Sig. A2.

³⁶ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, STC (2nd ed.) / 17429, Sig. F3.

³⁷ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, STC (2nd ed.) / 17429, Sig. A2.

³⁸ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, STC (2nd ed.) / 17429, Sig. F3.

Many other plays also share with earlier Rose classics the tendency towards spectacular displays of violence on the stage. The stories of *Beech's Tragedy* and *Ferrex and Porrex*, for instance, both involve dismemberment or mutilations of the body such as those found in *Doctor Faustus* or *Titus Andronicus*. *Cox of Cullompton*, again, contains several gory murder scenes, one of which involves the bashing out of the brain. *Judas*, similar to *The Spanish Tragedy*, includes in its climatic scenes the hanging of Judas's body on the tree. When the Admiral's Men moved to the Fortune—presumably taking away with them the device for staging such scenes—the Worcester's Men paid for a similar one to be made with pulleys and other contraptions in order to stage the scene where Absalom is hung from a branch.³⁹

From time to time, multiple supernatural characters in plays such as *The Devil and His Dame* and *The Three Brothers* also continued to provide ample opportunities for the creation of complex visual, aural, as well as other sensual stimulations such as lightning, thunder, and even sulphurous smells.⁴⁰ The sensationalist style was also exploited through the display of strong passion or violence in a series of domestic plays such as *Patient Gressil*, *Stepmother's Tragedy*, *Beech's Tragedy*, *Medicine for a Curst Wife*; as well as through topical plays about contemporary incidents or notorious crimes such as *Padge of Plymouth*, *Cox of Cullompton*, *English Fugitives*, *Cutting Dick*, and *1&2 Black Dog of Newgate*.

Examining the Admiral's Men's plays for both the Rose and the Fortune playhouses from a company-oriented perspective, Gurr interprets the stylistic continuity in the company's offerings as the sign of a conservative repertorial strategy.⁴¹ While it recognises the lasting impact of long-term popular Rose plays by playwrights such as Kyd, Peele, and Marlowe, Gurr's narrative of conservatism does not tap sufficiently into the crucial financial and operational differences between the earlier semi-permanent Rose partnership and the later fully mature form of partnerships. Because of this, it also overlooks the financial significance and the artistic as well as repertorial consequences of the introduction of the banking system into the Rose partnerships' operation.

Rather than a result of simple conservatism, the "Rose style" maintained through the playhouse's productions in the late 1590s and early 1600s should be understood as the

³⁹ HD, fol. 116v. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 217.

⁴⁰ For *The Three Brothers*, in particular, Henslowe recorded multiple loans to the Worcester's Men for making suits and gowns for devils and witches, as well as for making and painting of stage properties, including a coffin. It is difficult to know for sure how lightning effect was made in the theatres. Sulphurous smells could be easily generated through firecrackers and squibs. The sounds of thunders could be created, it seems, by rolling of cannon balls. See Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatre*, p. 176.

⁴¹ Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, p. 173.

manifestation of both the lasting presence of the theatrical legacy accumulated through the Rose's performance history, as well as a conscious response to the demands and expectations from a playgoing populace familiar with the playhouse's most memorable offerings. As I argued in the previous chapter, the Rose's long history of partnerships with several playing companies, as well as important continuities between these companies in terms of personnel, resulted in the forming of both the particular image and style of the playhouse, and a stable, localised playgoing culture associated with it.

At the same time, underlying the daily productions that sustained the Rose partnership and its style was an operational mode that was highly collaborative in nature, responsive to the demands of the playgoing public, and geared towards the continuation of the playhouse's particular style. Surveying the records of new commissions during the playhouses' final years, it is clear that both planned and *ad hoc* collaborations between playwrights were common for the Rose plays. On the one hand, the highly collaborative nature of the Rose's operation undoubtedly made it more difficult for a unified, consistent authorial ideology, voice, and style to take precedence over the strong presence of the familiar "house style". On the other hand, as van Es has astutely observed, many playwrights working for multiple companies and playhouses at the time were almost certainly keenly aware of the specificities of each of their clients to begin with; and certainly displayed remarkable stylistic flexibility and agility for "shift[ing] their ideological and aesthetic standpoint in line with circumstance and market demand".⁴²

With the increase in production rate as well as scale, the situation was also further complicated by the fact that the financial structure underlying the Rose partnership meant that Henslowe was almost certainly involved to some extent in the theatrical decisions. In an earlier chapter I have accounted for his generally risk-averse business style. The impact of such a personal style on the playhouse's repertory is not inconceivable considering the fact that Henslowe was undoubtedly jointly purchasing plays for the company from time to time. His clear preference in these purchases, as evidenced by the purchase of *Jugurtha* discussed earlier, would to a considerable extent reflect in the playhouse's style that consolidated over time. What's more, he was clearly also involved in the traffic of texts and other theatrical stock between different playing companies in partnership with him. The play *Medicine for a Curst Wife*, for instance, was originally intended for the Admiral's Men at the Fortune, but was later transferred to the Worcester's Men at the Rose. At other times Henslowe also liaised

⁴² Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, p. 206.

transactions between the two playing companies. On 19 September 1602, for instance, he made a payment to Robert Shaa on behalf of Worcester's Men. On 22 October 1602, he bought several old costumes from Alleyn for Worcester's Men. On 6 December 1602, again, he recorded purchases of multiple costumes from the company at the Fortune for the one at the Rose.⁴³ It seems fair to say that such a level of involvement as necessitated by the financial structure of the partnerships, as well as the inter-company connections thus formed through Henslowe, over time resulted in a homogenising effect on the repertories of the several partnerships in Henslowe's theatrical empire.

Key Repertorial Developments

But besides the repertorial continuities outlined above, there was in fact also a key repertorial development in the Rose's repertory of the late 1590s and early 1600s. This key change, however, has remained largely unaccounted for in the studies of the plays from this period. This is due not only to the general sparseness of surviving literary texts and accounts of performances from this period, but also to the fact that much of the rich materiality of the period's day-to-day commercial theatrical operations could not be fully recorded by written accounts or play texts alone. Despite being physically and materially more durable than paper, costumes and stage properties are often more "ephemeral"—as pieces of historical evidence—than the various types of theatrical documents such as play scripts, theatrical plots, prompt books, or even play bills.⁴⁴ Unlike these documents that were intrinsically theatrical artifacts and playhouse records, large amounts of the theatrical stock functioning within the sphere of the transient daily traffics inside the playhouses were never meant primarily for long-term preservation on historical scales. As objects of chiefly functional values and non-verbal properties, they moved into and out of theatrical spaces as they were manufactured, bequeathed, purchased, used, worn, worn out, re-sold, recycled, and eventually disposed of. In other words, costumes and stage properties circulated in very different channels from, and hence often became less preservable than, the various theatrical records and accounts.

At the same time, various forms of the sensual—visual, aural, olfactory—impact of the theatrical experience often relied heavily on effects created with such non-verbal elements of the productions as costumes, stage properties, scenery, and stage constructs. In other words, the relative reticence of a play's text regarding the construction of theatrical effects should by

⁴³ See *HD*, fol. 116, 117, 118. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 216, 128, 220.

⁴⁴ For discussions on the ephemerality of various theatrical documents, see for example Stern, *Documents of Performance*, pp. 37, 50, 212.

no means be mistaken as evidence of an unremarkable production in the first place. The text that has survived, after all, is just a structural remnant of the multiple productions whose rich materiality has but largely disappeared. Thus even in plays that do survive, cues embedded in speeches or stage directions for the showcasing of the opulence of the theatre, the abundance of its theatrical stock, and its technological capacity for staging, could often be deceptively simple or unremarkable; and hence might be easily glossed over in studies focused primarily on textual analysis.

Despite this general difficulty, however, various corroborating evidence for artistic and stylistic developments in the Rose's repertory during the late 1590s and early 1600s may still be gleaned from both close-readings of surviving play texts, and examinations of archival as well as archaeological documents related to the rich materiality of the playhouse's daily operation. The following sections, therefore, will survey first different types of available evidence, and then conduct a few detailed case studies on surviving Rose plays.

i. Alleyn's List of Theatrical Stock

In keeping with the marked increase in production costs during this period, examining a list of playing apparel drawn up by Alleyn in the early 1600s confirms that expensive and elaborate productions were being mounted on the Rose's stage during this period. Alleyn's list, though possibly drawn up from a slightly later period, contains rich details about the remarkable value and visual potential of fine theatrical costumes.⁴⁵ Most of the costumes listed were made of high quality fabrics such as silk, velvet, taffeta, or satin; and were in a variety of colours—a property of special significance to the construction of the visual language on the stage. They were also often finely decorated with high value materials in various forms such as gold or silver buttons, laces, spangles, and twists. Several of them were lined with luxurious furs. One exceptional robe, moreover, was even faced with ermine, a rare and exotic type of fur usually reserved for exclusive use by members of royalty.⁴⁶ Although it is possible that a large portion of this dazzling array of magnificent costumes could be Alleyn's personal possession, this document clearly shows the extent to which investments in theatrical stock of genuine value could reach. With its concrete details, the list also provides useful guidelines for

⁴⁵ Dulwich MSS 1, Article 30. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 291-4.

⁴⁶ Peter Stallybrass has noted in Allyn's list the special magnificence of a particular crimson robe "strypt w^t Gould fact w^t ermin". Ermine, according to Stallybrass, was during the Tudor period "one of the most costly imports from Russia and Scandinavia", and was reserved only for royal usage during ceremonies. Its appearance in Allyn's list suggests that it was most likely acquired second-hand through some court connections. See Stallybrass, "Properties in Cloths", pp. 189-90.

better visualising what mere numbers in the *Diary*'s production records could never fully represent—the level of opulence and magnificence that the Rose partnership's productions during this period could amount to.

ii. Archaeological Findings

Archaeological evidence found on the site of the playhouse also suggests that elaborate productions were mounted on the Rose's stage. During the excavations, fragments of high-quality fabric materials have been found on site, in both the stage area and those occupied by audience members. In a way that challenges the much-reiterated story about high-profile parading of fashion and sumptuous clothing as a phenomenon particular to the playgoing culture of the private indoor theatres, this discovery suggests that, despite the more socially heterogeneous audience group, extravagance of clothing and the showcasing of fashion existed in the open-air playhouses as well. As Bowsher reports, high-quality fabrics used for decorations have been found at the Rose's site, including silk and patterned velvet. One particular velvet lace, a possible import from Italy or Spain, also shows signs that it "once had an edging of metal thread and was a luxury item stitched to a stylish garment". An "extremely unusual" discovery among the leather footwear found on the site was that of two pieces from two separate boots. One was a "buskin" made of fine goatskin typically associated with the portrayal of high-status characters from classical drama. The other one was almost certainly also meant for using on the stage, as it was located among the demolition deposits over the stage area. The large amount of pins unearthed on site—which were used to attach various types of decorations to cloths, and were among the most numerous and ubiquitous of all the dress accessories unearthed from the site—also suggests that players and playgoers alike could well be elaborately clothed.⁴⁷ Related to these findings, other findings, such as gold or silver threads for embroidery, glass beads that were used as attachable decorations to garments, as well as a particular piece of copper-alloy chain-linked bone beads, are also indicative of the fine quality and richness of costumes.

Considering the design of the playhouse, with its thrust stage and the spatial intimacy between players and playgoers, these discoveries should really come as no surprise. The playgoing environment of the public playhouses was where the theatrical and the real-life social dress codes came into close contact and often intermingled. This was also an environment where issues of status, designation, and classification in both processes of social identification and theatrical characterisation depended heavily on appropriate clothing. Social

⁴⁷ Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, pp. 178-84.

dress codes, after all, could only function when acknowledged and recognised by not only men and women of status, but also commoners who would have been equally “clothes-conscious”.⁴⁸ Thus there was more of a need for the players to impress the audience with the more eye-catching costumes, not only to define the characters they portray, but also to drive home the impression and experience of distance—temporal, spatial, and cultural—between the real and theatrical. The commercial playhouse, after all, was the institution that profited from selling wondrous sights. It is perhaps not surprising that direct references to, and conscious parading of, elaborate costumes would from time to time become the focus on the stage. In the citizen and artisan comedy *Shoemaker’s Holiday*, for instance, the playwriting and staging of it made sure that the play should contain numerous dialogues that allow the parading of various pieces of elaborately decorated clothing, shoes, garlands, bands, ruffs, and so on.⁴⁹

iii. Titles of Plays in the *Diary*

A repertorial continuation that certainly also benefited from the developments in the partnership’s financial structure in the late 1590s was the continued interest for plays with subject matter and settings in various remote time and places. Wiggins has observed in the Rose’s repertory a long-term general interest in the pre-Saxon British history.⁵⁰ Belonging to this category are plays such as *The Conquest of Brute*, *Mulmutius Dunwallo*, *Conan*, *Brute Greenshield*, *Ferrex and Porrex*, *Tristram de Lyonesse*, and so on. Educated guesses at the subject matter of numerous plays from this period based on their titles suggest that there has also been a noticeable preference for stories set in geographically remote and culturally exotic places: *Longshank*, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *Stukeley*, *Nebuchadnazzar*, *Frederick and Basilea*, *Phaeton*, *Vayvode*, *Longsword*, *Jugurtha*, *Absalom*, and so on. These are all plays set in various African, Mediterranean, or Middle-eastern regions. *New World’s Tragedy*, as suggested by its title, was most likely staged to capitalise on contemporary news from, and imaginations about, the colonies across the Atlantic. The marked popularity of subject matter related to the French civil wars is evident in the high production expense on the original *Civil Wars of France* as well as its multiple sequels. Stories set in various other European regions are found in plays such as *Pythagoras*, *Julian the Apostate*, *Phocas*, *Troy*, *Tasso*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Damon and Pythias*, *Seven Wise Masters*, *Fair Constance*, and so on. These plays in

⁴⁸ Stern uses the phrase “clothes-conscious” to characterise the audience of the private theatre at the Blackfriars. For her discussion on the indoor playing environment, and especially the private boxes, as “social sites”, see Stern, ‘The Second Blackfriars Playhouse as a Place of Nostalgia’, pp. 108-14.

⁴⁹ For a comprehensive list of all the possible costumes and properties in this play, see Wiggins, *British Drama*, IV, p. 115.

⁵⁰ Wiggins, *British Drama*, IV, p. 78.

various genres, including history, pseudo-history, romance, tragedy, comedy, and biblical stories, account for the majority of the Rose's offerings during the mid-to-late 1590s as well as the early 1600s.

The continuation of such a repertorial preference during the mature phase of the partnership seems more than accidental. Not merely designed to cater to the audience's imagination about the remote and exotic cultures and landscapes, this was a commercial strategy that was deeply connected with the economics and financial structure of the Rose partnership. Their themes centred on exotic times and places in practice allowed a particularly wide latitude in their staging for the showcasing of the Rose's impressive wealth of theatrical stock and its staging capacities. It is entirely conceivable that some of the remarkable pieces of the materially complex and visually captivating theatrical stock such as those listed by Alleyn would be used for the productions of these plays. The rare and luxurious robe faced with ermine, for instance, was likely reserved for portraying members of royalty or some foreign dignitaries on the stage, and presumably could also become one of the key points of attraction itself for the spectators of the day to wonder at. At the same time, however, it remained almost completely unmentioned in any written or printed texts of perhaps multiple plays in which it might have been involved. The fine costumes might from time to time take precedence on the stage as a central element and the focus of the overall theatrical effect and experience, despite the fact that these unmissable moments of spectacular displays could often be textually implicit or even mute.

iv. Corroborating Textual and Archival Evidence: The case of *1&2 Sir John Oldcastle*

At other times, where costumes are mentioned in play texts, the verbal simplicity and terseness of the references could easily veil—for a modern reader of the text—much of their original theatrical impact and effects that would have been immediately conveyable to the contemporary audience. Both the Admiral's Men's 1599 productions and the later Worcester's Men's 1602 productions of the two parts of *Sir John Oldcastle*, for example, contain scenes where references to costumes are made in stage directions and speeches. In scene nineteen of *1 Oldcastle*, most notably, Club and Kate appear together "*in lord Cobham and ladies apparel*" respectively, after their own clothes were stolen. While the stage direction for their entrance remains neutral regarding the physical properties of the costumes, the subsequent lines clearly make the latter the focus of the scene:

Const.

VVho comes heere?

Club

VVho comes here? a plague found ome, you bawle quoth a, ods hat, Ile forzweare your house, you lodgde a fel|low and his wife by vs that ha runne away with our parrel, and left vs such gew-gawes here, come Kate, come to mee, thowse dizeard yfaith.

Maior

Mine hoste, know you this man?

Hoste

Yes maister Maior, Ile giue my word for him, why neibor Club, how comes this geare about?

Kate

Now a fowle ont, I can not make this gew-gaw stand on my head, now the lads and the lasses won flowt me too too.

Const.

How came this man and woman thus attired?

Hoste

Here came a man and woman hither this last night, which I did take for substantiall people, and lodgde all in one chamber by these folkes: mee thinkes, haue beene so bolde to change apparell, and gone away this morning ere they rose.⁵¹

Even in such a situation of sustained attention to the onstage costumes, however, very few direct references to the latter are found among the lines.⁵² Nevertheless, close-reading suggests that these seemingly sparse and simplistic phrases were in fact carefully chosen and laid out in order to draw attention to, and play on, the remarkable material quality, stylistic sophistication, as well as social implications of the fine pieces of clothing in question.

As Club and Kate struggle in confused ways with the unwieldy, out-of-character clothing and headdress, the costumes are referred to disparagingly as “gew-gawes”, and their original owners angrily called “dizeard” (fools).⁵³ The word “gew-gaw”, used twice by Club and Kate to refer to Oldcastle’s clothes and Lady Cobham’s headdress respectively, clearly

⁵¹ Munday, *1 Sir John Oldcastle*, STC (2nd ed.) / 18795, Sig. I3.

⁵² It is perhaps for this reason that Wiggins reads these lines as only vaguely hinting at the use of fine costumes in the play. See Wiggins, *British Drama*, IV, p. 156.

⁵³ “Dizeard”, or “dizard”, denotes “a fool” in early modern northern English. See Javier Ruano-Garcia, *Early Modern Northern English Lexis: A Literary Corpus--based Study*, pp. 159-61.

suggests that the costumes are richly decorated and visually impressive. This is also confirmed as the host recalls his impression from the previous night that the original owners of the clothes looked like “substantiall people”. The stylistic sophistication of the costumes is also clearly conveyed, perhaps not without comical effects, by Kate’s loud frustration as she struggles to wear the headdress correctly. It is important to realise that although the player-boy playing Kate had here only one line in the script to deliver, he almost certainly had considerably more to act out, both before and after the speech, in order for both the stylistic complexity of the headdress and Kate’s bafflement to be sufficiently conveyed to the audience. Building on the comical effect of the scene, the questions asked by the host and the constable—regarding Club and Kate being “thus attired” as well as the origin of their “geare”—serve also to further foreground the sharp visual contrast and conceptual discrepancy between the social status as embodied by the fineries, and the real social status of their current wearers.

In other scenes where they do not make the focus of attention, costumes certainly still maintain their function as the readily recognisable indicator of the characters’ social and material standing. Oldcastle and Lady Cobham would, presumably, have continued to walk the stage in either their finer or plainer clothes—as their circumstances dictate. But it is during moments like those in scene nineteen—where the dramatic effect and thematic thrust of the scene depend much more on the theatrical stock’s physical attributes than on their verbal representations, and where the visual rhetoric of stage costumes takes precedence over the verbal commentaries constructed around them—that more solid textual evidence for the material quality of the Rose’s theatrical stock during this period may be found.

Moreover, for the *Oldcastle* play, the use of valuable and visually impressive costumes is not only suggested by close-readings of the texts, but also confirmed by corroborating evidence from their production records. Relevant accounts in the *Diary* reveal that the plays were indeed expensive productions—perhaps for both the Admiral’s Men in 1599 and Worcester’s Men in 1602. Traceable expenses on the two-part plays include total payments of at least fourteen pounds for the original playbooks in late 1599; thirty shillings in March 1600 for making stage properties for the Admiral’s Men; a total of fifty shillings for further additions to the texts for Worcester’s productions in 1602; as well as over fifteen pounds for costumes and stage properties in the same year—including “[a] sewt for owld castell”, another unspecified “sewt”, a “dublet of satten”, “ij wemens gownes”, a “tvrckes head”, and some “fresh watr”. It is highly likely that the expensive suit purchased for Oldcastle, and perhaps also one of the women’s gowns, would have been the ones that greeted the audience of the 1602 productions and became the centre of attention on the stage in the scene examined above.

And although most of the large production expenses recorded by Henslowe were for Worcester's Men in 1602, there is no compelling reason to doubt that the key characters' costumes featured in the Admiral's Men's earlier productions were visually and dramatically just as effective; as it was on the immediately recognisable quality of the costumes that significant parts of the plays' visual rhetoric and effects depended. These valuable pieces of theatrical stock, rather than being left behind in the old playhouse, most logically moved with the Admiral's Men as the company relocated to the Fortune in the summer of 1600. And it was perhaps exactly for this reason that in 1602, for producing what were essentially the same plays in the same playhouse, Worcester's Men needed to acquire their own expensive set of theatrical stock.

v. Corroborating Textual and Archival Evidence: The Case of *Old Fortunatus*

Another well-documented example of expensive production by the Rose partnership from this period is found in the play *Old Fortunatus*. The surviving text of the play is that of a version prepared for court performance during Christmas 1599.⁵⁴ Surveying the relevant production records in the *Diary*, it is clear that the play underwent fairly substantial revisions soon after its initial composition. The payment of twenty shillings to Dekker for "the altrenge of the boocke" was recorded on 31 November 1599 (1 December 1599), merely a day after the final payment was made for the original script. On 12 December, Henslowe recorded a further payment of forty shillings "for the eande of fortewnatus for the corte". The revisions, then, amounted to three pounds—half the usual cost for a new commission. Around the same time, another ten pounds were laid out "ffor to by thinges ffor ffortunatus".⁵⁵ Altogether, therefore, the preparation of *Old Fortunatus* for court performance involved at least nine pounds for making ready the playbook and ten pounds for costumes and stage properties on the partnership's side. The play—a romance with comical and "magical" elements—would conceivably hold considerable potentials for stage effects. The high production expenses, as Richard Dutton interprets them, suggest that the partnership was prepared to go to great lengths in order to achieve in the play "some spectacular effects" and "make the court performance as impressive as possible".⁵⁶ At the same time, it is possible that some costumes, properties, and

⁵⁴ Dekker, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, STC (2nd ed.) /6517.

⁵⁵ *HD*, fol. 65v-66v.

⁵⁶ Dutton, "The Court, The Master of the Revels, and the Players", p.370. Dutton also interprets the *Diary's* records as signs that the Master of the Revels might give suggestions on both textual revisions and acquisitions of new stage properties. Although difficult to prove, this remains a distinct possibility.

perhaps also stage constructs, were supplied directly by the Revels Office.⁵⁷ Although no corresponding record of the Revels Office's expenses on this particular play has been found, the institution is well-known for supplying court performances with a variety of theatrical stock as well as elaborate stage constructs for scenic effects. Records from the Elizabethan Revels Office contain frequent payments for a wide variety of fabrics, costumes, candlesticks, torches, lights, reparations of chandeliers, as well as different contraptions of pulley systems for scenic or operational purposes.

As textual analysis will show, such a taste for spectacles and grandeur is also clearly evident on the dramaturgical level. The play contains a fairly simple basic plot structured around the fortunes of Fortunatus and his two sons both before and after their acquisitions of the magical purse and the wishing hat. Sharply in contrast with the simplicity of the play's plot, however, is its writing's preoccupation with not only the invocation of the ideas of wealth and magical power, but also the visualisation and parading of them on the stage. While the play gestures towards striking a moral tone in the end, for most of the time during the course of its performance it appeals, unapologetically, through dramatising the surplus of wealth, the surfeit of extravagance, and the abuse of magical power. Wrapped around its skeletal structure of a didactic moral tale was the flesh of a sensually rich, complex, and stimulating theatrical experience filled with references to, and displays of, seemingly inexhaustible wealth, as well as frequent employments of spectacular stage magic. These effects, as the following sections will show, are achieved through impressive costumes, rich visual symbolism in the construction of the onstage visual language, multiple sensory stimulation, as well as clever manipulation of suspensions and audience expectations.

As key indicators of the characters' social and financial standing, costumes are undoubtedly of central importance to the construction of the play's visual language. Just like in the *Oldcastle* plays, on several occasions in *Fortunatus*, the very quality and properties of visually impressive costumes momentarily become the very focus of attention on the stage through both direct verbal references and other non-verbal staging techniques. Soon after Fortunatus's initial encounter with Fortune and his acquisition of the magical purse, he re-enters, to his sons and servant, dressed in what must have been highly remarkable piece of costume, whose quality draws wonder and direct comments from the other characters:

⁵⁷ See Albert Feuillerat, ed. *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth*. For a summary of the variety of stage properties, see entry "Properties", p. 509; for a summary of different costumes, see p. 501; for examples of records related specifically to various pulley systems, see pp. 263, 296, 338, 353, 501, 509-11.

Enter Fortunatus gallant

And.

Peace, good vertue, Shad. here comes another Shadow

Shad.

It should be a Camelion: for he is all in colours.

Amp.

Oh, tis my Father, With these teares of ioye,
My loue and duetie greete your faire returne:
A double gladnesse hath refresht my soule;
One, that you liue, and one, to seee your fate
Lookes freshly howsoever poore in state.

And.

My father Fortunatus, & thus braue?

Sha.

Tis no wonder to seee a man braue, but a wonder how he comes braue.⁵⁸

This second entrance of Fortunatus onto the stage is certainly designed for, and focusing on, striking a sharp contrast with the old man's initial appearance. Words and phrases in both the stage direction and the speeches, such as "gallant", "brave", "in colours", "faire returne", all point to the fact that the title character must now be wearing some splendid and colourful clothes.⁵⁹

In terms of staging, the first two lines spoken by Andelocia and Shadow clearly suggest that Fortunatus has not yet been recognised by his sons at this moment. This is also confirmed by the line that follows, spoken by Ampedo, which starts with the sudden recognition: "Oh, tis my father". On a dramaturgical level, then, the first two lines serve the double purposes of both drawing the attention to the fine costume appearing on the stage, and allowing time for its wearer to make his way across the stage from the entrance. Admittedly, it is difficult to

⁵⁸ Dekker, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, STC (2nd ed.) /6517, Sig. C2.

⁵⁹ Although the actual costumes used for different productions of the play could well differ, the fact that the garment worn by Fortunatus at this moment should be of remarkable quality, however, is beyond doubt. The woodcut illustration of the 1509 German chapbook *Fortunatus*, the only known image of the title character, portrays him as wearing a rich, long garment, possibly faced with some type of fur. The woodcut, although monochromatic and simple in its stokes, clearly conveys a sense of the garment's considerable thickness and weight, as well as its lustrous, possibly silky, surface.

determine from textual evidence alone the precise dimensions of the staging area for which the surviving text was originally written. Still, it is interesting to observe that, even though the actor playing Fortunatus should certainly have completed his stage entrance and be standing right in front of the other players by at least the end of the third line, he does not speak for the length of another six lines.⁶⁰ Altogether, then, the actor playing Fortunatus has a silent stretch of nine lines after entering the stage. It is inconceivable that he would not make use of this space to show off the colourful costume to both the onstage characters and the audience, perhaps through a variety of deliberately conspicuous body movements. Some of these movements, moreover, could be designed as well-timed direct responses to the other characters' comments on the costume. Thus despite his complete silence on the textual level, the actor playing Fortunatus—and hence wearing the impressive garment—still has in fact a wide range of staging possibilities at his disposal that would, rightfully, make him and his costume the main focus of dramatic attention and energy on the stage. At the same time, complementing the direct visual effects created by the costume's colourful fabrics in constant movements following the actor's steps and gestures, the reference to chameleon also invokes the mental image of colours in constant change and mutation. Moreover, it is not impossible that this reference also sought to draw on the contemporary common (mis-)understanding of the animal as feeding only on light and air. The idea was frequently used by early modern authors and certainly well known to the contemporary audience.⁶¹ Its invocation in relation to the actor in costume here could, arguably, help augment the audience's perception of the wonderful garment as delicate and lustrous with ever-shifting colours.

On the rhetorical level, the image of the “chameleon” could also be understood as a reference, in a self-reflexive manner, to players in various costumes and to theatrical acting in general. The stage players, as M. C. Bradbrook observed, were quite often “scornfully termed chameleons rather than comedians”.⁶² Comparisons and associations of this kind, often not without negative connotations, were part of the anti-theatrical polemic familiar to the contemporary cultural consciousness. At the same time, it is also worth noting that the rhetorical self-reference to the “chameleon” is a response made, befittingly, by the jester-type character Shadow to Andelocia's initial observation upon Fortunatus's entrance. And it is in

⁶⁰ The fourth line, spoken by Ampedo, contains direct address to Fortunatus in the second-person pronoun. This will only work when the actors are already standing close to each other.

⁶¹ For more examples of early modern literary references to the chameleon in this particular way, see Stephen Gosson, *The Epherides of Phialo*, STC (2nd ed.)/12093, Sig. O5. See also Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III.ii.99; *3 Henry VI*, III.ii.193; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II.i.177, II.iv.25.

⁶² Bradbrook, “Shakespeare and the Multiple Theatres of Jacobean London”, p. 104.

connection with Andelocia's pun on the word "shadow" that the reference to "chameleon" fully realises its theatrical (metaphorical) and meta-theatrical (rhetorical) functions. Apart from being the character's name, the word "shadow" was also commonly used, in a theatrical context, to mean players. Thus Andelocia in this line may be understood as both referring to the appearance of a character he has not yet identified, and to the stage entrance of the actor. And it is in this context that Shadow's response and his reference to the chameleon could be understood as a comment on both the character in a colourful garment, and the actor in the fancy costume. And while "shadow" was the word commonly used by players themselves for self-reference, the word "chameleon" used by the jesting Shadow was obviously appropriated from the enemies of the theatre.

This momentary combination of self-reference with strategic appropriation—of the archetypal image of the player-in-costumes with the principal embodiment of the anti-theatrical sentiment—serves the double purposes of self-advertisement and rhetorical self-defense. On the one hand, by directly drawing attention to the production's own theatricality and its use of sumptuous costumes on the stage, it helps advertise the partnership's affluence and capacity for elaborate productions. On the other hand, with a gesture of self-acknowledgement achieved through its appropriation of the image of the chameleon, it also cleverly anticipates and effectively turns the table on one of the key arguments of contemporary anti-theatrical polemic. Essentially, by appropriating the image of the chameleon from the decriers of the theatre and putting it in the mouth of a jesting "Shadow", this meta-theatrical moment subverts the image's usually negative connotation and invests it with a more positive one: a desire for legitimisation. Its strategic value and rhetorical power become even more appreciable when one considers the fact that the surviving version of the play was originally prepared for court performance—the single most important among the few occasions where extravagant spending on sumptuous costumes and highly elaborate theatrical productions, far from being the usual targets of anti-theatrical attacks, were granted official approval, active support, and often handsome rewards.

In two other separate places in the play, as the stage directions show, Andelocia and Shadow also make their entrances wearing clothes described as "very gallant".⁶³ It is unlikely, although possible, that the same piece of impressive colourful garment would be used on different characters in these situations. Despite the lack of direct verbal references to Andelocia's and Shadow's handsome clothing in the speeches following their respective entrances, it seems safe to assume that the original court production would certainly have

⁶³ Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, Sig. D3, G3.

involved multiple pieces of fine costumes and properties to fully maintain the integrity of the overall visual effects on the stage. Hence, although the surviving play text remains almost completely silent about Andelocia's and Shadow's "very gallant" costumes apart from the terse references in its stage directions, the original performances of the respective scenes most probably featured costumes and / or properties that were no less visually captivating and eloquent than those used for Fortunatus's earlier entrance.

Overall, the staging of the play appears to emphasise more on actual "showing" than "telling". With the obsession with wealth and the fascination with magic at the centre of its theme, the play text in multiple places invokes the ideas of inexhaustible wealth and magical power. When it comes to actual staging, these imageries, rather than left in the realm of the audience's imagination, are usually matched by the showcasing of various pieces of theatrical stock such rich garments, shinny coins, golden keys, caskets, and so on. The emphasis on "showing", however, does not always lead directly to the immediate satisfaction of the audience's desire for spectacular displays, but sometimes also provides opportunities for skillful manipulations of the audience's expectations.

One of these moments is found near the end of Fortunatus's initial encounter with Fortune. After receiving the magical purse, Fortunatus stays on the stage while other characters make their exits. Standing alone, he examines the purse while remembering aloud Fortune's prophecy: "[t]hou shalt spend euer, and bee neuer poore". Instead of proceeding directly to the demonstration of the stage "magic", however, the writing withholds it. As the text clearly suggests, the actor at this moment needs to first shake the purse and act as if listening, in silence, for the sound of coins. It seems only logical that this is done at least once, before the character-actor proceeds to voice a sense of doubt in the next sentence: "yet I féele nothing here to make mee rich, heres no swéete Musicke with her siluer sound".⁶⁴ It is also worth noting that this is the first time the "magical" property of the purse is to be tried out by Fortunatus; and thus also the first time it is shown on the stage. The design of the scene, with the single character-actor standing on the stage and his verbatim recitation of Fortune's words about the power of the purse, effectively focuses theatrical attention onto the single piece of stage property. Further heightening the moment's suspense, the shaking and listening actions also tickle the audience's aural senses by inducing them to "listen along". It is only after all this that the character-actor tries again and successfully takes the gold coins out of the purse, one by one, for the audience

⁶⁴ Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, Sig. B4. I use "character-actor" to refer to both the designs of the play's plot and its staging.

to witness. And it is only through the prolonged suspense and the deliberate initial withholding of aural satisfaction that the final moment of visual confirmation achieved its fullest effect.

It is perhaps not surprising that the text then allows for such a moment of satisfaction to be repeated several times, with Fortunatus drawing several more times from the purse. This is a moment when Fortune's promise of "wealth", despite the momentary doubts and suspense, is repeatedly proven to be true. On the dramaturgical level, while the emphasis of the scene undoubtedly rests on the final visual confirmation—i.e. the "showing"—of wealth and magic through clever uses of the stage properties, it is the playwriting with a sound understanding of the potential visual power and theatrical value of impressive theatrical stock that helps stimulate the audience's senses and focus the scene's dramatic energy onto the key piece of stage property.⁶⁵ Written and acted out in such a way, the scene channels the audience's attention and theatrical experience from the initial expectation, through momentary suspense, to final satisfaction. This process of skillful manipulation of the senses via the withholding and granting of satisfaction, importantly, is also the process through which the idea of inexhaustible wealth ceases to be the earlier abstract concept placed alongside Fortune's other offers such as "youth", "wisdom", "beauty" or "strength", and becomes fully substantiated—i.e. sensually concrete and striking—on the stage.

The same progression from the conceptual to sensual perception of wealth, as well as the same technique for prolonged suspense and the withholding of aural-visual satisfactions, are found again in the scene where Fortunatus demonstrates the magical power of the purse to his sons and servant. Following his re-entrance in the "gallant" garment, he first greets his companions with a floral speech filled with imagery of inexhaustible wealth:

Fortunatus hand
Can now powre golden showres into their laps,
That sometimes scorn'd him for his want of gold.
Boyes, I am rich, and you shall ne're be poore;
We are gold, spend gold, we all in gold will féede,
Now is your father Fortunate indéede.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ The same could be said about the playwriting's framing of the scene of Fortunatus's re-entry around his impressive garment examined earlier; although in that instance, as I already discussed, the writing also strategically exploits the theatrical stock's impressive quality for rhetorical purposes.

⁶⁶ Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, Sig. C2.

The insubstantiality of the mental images is immediately called into question by Andelocia, who challenges: “You gild our eares with a talke of Gold, but I pray dazell our eyes with the maiestie of it”. The differentiation and polarisation here between the verbal and the material, the conceptual and the visual, are obvious; and the preference, clearly voiced.

For the audience who only moments earlier experienced the very same doubts and desire for visual confirmation, Andelocia’s incredulity is certainly appreciable and familiar. In a perhaps deliberately recognisable manner, the scene dramatises the audience’s earlier similar experience. The subtle yet significant difference, however, is that the audience is now assured of the efficacy of the purse’s “magical” power, and thus disengaged from sharing the characters’ doubts. Yet far from undermining the scene’s dramatic suspense, such an arrangement in fact renews it by transforming the audience’s earlier expectation for visual proof of the purse’s magical power into their anticipation for its demonstration—i.e. repetition—in front of the characters on the stage. It is only with the audience engaged again in anticipation that the same technique of withholding of satisfaction may continue to function. Despite Andelocia’s speech pressing for visual proof, Fortunatus continues to tickle his companions’ senses and curiosity: “First will I wake your sences with the sound / Of golds swéete musicke”. The deliberate withholding of sensual satisfaction is prolonged as he asks them individually to listen, in vain, for the sound of the coins. In terms of staging, therefore, this section is three times as long as its earlier counterpart. And the audience is hence also forced to wait longer before being finally granted the much-awaited demonstration. Thus through structural parallelism and subtle shifting of the audience’s expectation, the playwriting not only retains the dramatic tension of the scene, but also refocuses theatrical attention and energy again onto the key piece of stage property.

Besides frequently drawing attention to various pieces of theatrical stock, the play also employs rich symbolism in the construction of its visual language on the stage. Possibly due to its connection with court performance, the surviving text of the play, comparing to other play texts from the same period, contains more detailed instructions for the uses of costumes and stage properties. This is most noticeable in its designs for the two entrances of Fortune—first attended mainly by the fallen kings, and later by Vice and Virtue:

Enter a Gardiner, a Smith, a Monke, a Shepheard all crown'd, a Nymph with a Globe, another with Fortunes wheele, then Fortune: After her fowre Kings with broken Crownes and Scepters, chained in siluer Giues and led by her. The

*foremost come out singing. Fortune takes her Chaire, the Kings lying at her feete, shee treading on them as shee goes vp.*⁶⁷

*Enter vice with a gilded face, and hornes on her head: her garments long, painted before with siluer halfe moones, increasing by litle and litle, till they come to the full: in the midst of them in Capitall letters this written: CRESCITEVNDO: her garment painted behind with fooles faces & diuels heads: and vnderneath it in the midst this written, Ha, Ha, He: she and others wearing gilded visards, and attirde like deuils, bring out a faire tree of Gold with apples on it: after her comes Vertue, a coxecombe on her head, all in white before, and this written about the middle: Sibi sapit: her attire behind painted with Crownes, & Laurell garlands, stuck full of starres, held out by hands, thrust out of bright cloudes, and among them thus written, Dominabitur astris: Shee and other Nimphes all in white with coxecombs on their heads, bring a tree with greene and withered leaues mingled together, and litle fruit on it: after her Fortune, one bearing her Wheele, another her Globe; and last, the Priest.*⁶⁸

Stage directions for these two entrances stand out from the rest as they are remarkably long and packed with highly specific instructions spelling out the colours and style of costumes and makeup, the designs of key stage properties, the ways in which they are to be used, and even the placement and actions of the characters. As a whole, these stage directions leave little room for deviations in the performance, and show strong signs of the kinds of forethought, clear aesthetic vision, as well as conceptual design not dissimilar to those behind the design and preparation for royal or mayoral processions.

In the same vein as the processions, the speeches that follow the stage directions also directly draw attention to the details in the stage properties, costumes, and characters' makeup. Almost all the eye-catching elements shown on the stage are directly referred to in the subsequent speeches. In the first instance, the fallen kings in golden chains and silver shackles, as well as their relative positioning on the stage relative to Fortune, are all directly mentioned either in their wailing songs or in Fortune's recounts of their tragic stories. In the second instance, the entire scene following the entrance of Fortune and her minions serves the purpose

⁶⁷ Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, Sig. A4.

⁶⁸ Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, Sig. C3.

of interpreting the striking visual contrasts constructed with the various pieces of costumes, stage properties, and makeups. Direct verbal references are made, often repeatedly, to the planting of the two trees, to Vice's gilded face and her garment with the silver waxing moons, to Virtue's coxcomb and the motto on her cloths, as well as to Fortune's iconic wheel and golden globe. For such a scene, its heavy investment in visual symbolism invites interpretation through close engagements with the visual details on the stage. The speeches and actions are clearly designed around the eye-catching elements on display, in order to spell out, describe in detail, and engage with the rich visual cues intricately woven into the elaborate pieces of theatrical stock. In other words, this is a scene where the theatrical stock ceases to be secondary to the speeches (i.e. play text), and becomes of primary importance for the construction of meaning on the stage.

Another often-neglected aspect about the use of theatrical stock in *Old Fortunatus*—to which the surviving play text also bears clear witness—is the importance of the costumes and stage properties' texture and predominant colour scheme to the overall aesthetics of the production. Golden and silver objects feature prominently among the theatrical stock used in this play. Various specified in the text, these include thirty pieces of gold coins, Fortune's golden globe, a gold key, a likely gilded chair of state, the sultan's casket secured with golden chains, a tree full of golden apples, a number of silver chains and gyves for the fallen kings, several crowns and scepters—broken or otherwise—and so on. At the same time, there are also notable golden or silver colours in makeup or costumes, including Vice's gilded face and the drawings of silver moons on her garment.⁶⁹ On top of these, it is entirely conceivable that other unspecified costumes—fine garments for members of royalty or nobility—would also, as usual, feature a variety of golden or silver decorations and trinkets.

Such a high level of consistency in the vision for the play's overall colour scheme seems more than coincidental. It is important to remember that the original production was prepared for court performance in the dead of winter—and hence most likely in an indoor, candle-lit playing space.⁷⁰ While lustrous and colourful fabrics certainly still show well on a well-lighted stage, it is the reflective surfaces of golden or silver objects that bounce off the most light and catch the audience's attention most effectively. As the speeches repeatedly invoke various mental images of excessive wealth and opulence, the florid language is also matched by

⁶⁹ For a comprehensive catalogue of the stage properties, costumes, and makeup mentioned in the surviving text, see Wiggins, *British Drama*, IV, pp. 170-1.

⁷⁰ The court performance was given on 27 December 1599 at Richmond Palace. See Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. III, p. 291.

frequent displays of not only colourful and luxurious costumes, but also all the captivating golden or silver stage properties large and small. Throughout the performance, with the multiple spots of flickering lights from the candles, torches, and chandeliers in the original palatial performance space constantly reflected on the various stage properties in movements—shiny coins, quavering chains, dangling trinkets, golden apples, the golden globe, the arabesque casket, the royal crowns, and so on—the overall visual effect and theatrical atmosphere thus created would certainly have been nothing short of dazzling and mesmerising.

Last but not least, it is important to realise that, while many of the remarkable textual and dramaturgical characteristics of *Old Fortunatus* are connected to the play's original production for court, they should still be understood as indicative of how public performances of the play at the Rose might look like. This is of course premised upon the belief that the play actually saw public performances at the bankside playhouse. With almost all the archival footprints of the play also related to the court production, however, the association of the play with public staging is still open for debate.⁷¹ On the one hand, Wiggins places the play by default among the Rose productions, and gives December 1599 as the time of its public performances.⁷² W. L. Halstead, on the other hand, believes that the length of the play, which is nearly 3000 lines, makes it unsuitable for public performance. The play's tight preparation schedule during December 1599, and its appearance in the Stationers' Register soon afterwards, on 20 February 1600, according to Halstead, both also suggest that there was unlikely any chance for the play to greet the public stage.⁷³

Upon closer examination, however, neither the length of *Old Fortunatus* nor the performance schedule seems to be really prohibitive for its public staging. A play text with around 3000 lines does not seem to be outrageously long in the first place. Quite a number of Shakespeare's plays are of comparable or longer lengths. The longest among them, *Hamlet*, has over 4000 lines. The usual performing time for *Romeo and Juliet*, a play with over 3000

⁷¹ This is also a point hitherto seldom addressed by scholars studying the play, who have mostly focused on ascertaining the connections between the 1599 text and the lost *1 Fortunatus* as well as the latter's possible sequel. See for example Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642*, Vol. I, p. 126; Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. III, p. 291; Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, Vol. II, p. 179; Halstead, "Note on Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*", pp. 351-2; Feuillerat, *The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays*, p. 18; McInnis, "Fortunatus and the 'Tree of Gowlden Apelles' in Henslowe's Inventory", pp. 271-2.

⁷² Wiggins, *British Drama*, IV, pp. 167, 171.

⁷³ Halstead, "Note on Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*", pp. 351-2.

lines, was probably around two hours—as the play’s prologue famously states.⁷⁴ For *Old Fortunatus*, therefore, by the same standards, its length should not have presented any practical problem to the Rose partnership. And even if the extra factor of short daylight hours during the winter was also to be taken into consideration, there were certainly still other possible solutions. For one, the players could omit certain parts of the play in the actual performances. Alternatively, they might also choose to split the play into two parts to be performed on separate days. Cutting out sections of the original text during performance was far from uncommon on the early modern stage. The printed full text of the plays that we have come to inherit are not always necessarily the same as the sum total of the players’ parts used for actual performances. “The text”, as Stephen Orgel observes, “was not the play”, and “cuts were determined by the occasion”.⁷⁵ There is no compelling reason why the same should not have applied to *Old Fortunatus*. The stable, crystalised textual specificity of its printed text should by no means obscure the remarkable adaptability of the players, or the mutability of the performing text in their hands.

There has been relatively little evidence, in comparison, for the practice of splitting longer plays into two or multiple parts. The lack of evidence is not surprising, considering that such a practice would, more often than not, compromise the structural and narrative integrity of a play. However, this does seem to remain a distinct possibility for the text of *Old Fortunatus*. In terms of its narrative structure, the play represents a somewhat unusual case. The story of Fortunatus’s adventures and that of his sons’ not only remain fairly independent of each other in terms of their narrative, but are also of comparable lengths. In fact it is exactly this structural and narrative characteristic that has sparked scholarly speculations about both the plot of the original *I Fortunatus* play as well as the possible existence of a *2 Fortunatus*.⁷⁶ Its connections with the earlier play or plays notwithstanding, the *Old Fortunatus* from court production could certainly be split neatly into two narratively complete and independent parts of around 1500 lines each, corresponding well with the two parts of the romance’s source material—the German Volksbuch about Fortunatus—if nothing else. Admittedly, these would have been very

⁷⁴ Whether the “two hours’ traffic of our stage” in the prologue of *Romeo and Juliet* is a truthful statement or an understatement does not really affect the argument here. If it is truthful, then it shows that a play with over 3000 lines can somehow be fitted within the span of a couple of hours. If it is an understatement, then it suggests that the performances in contemporary public playhouses could sometimes be even longer than two hours.

⁷⁵ In his discussions of this phenomenon, Orgel also cites as evidence Humphrey Moseley’s accounts in his introduction to the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher folio: “When the *Comedies* and *Tragedies* were presented on the Stage, the *Actours* omitted some *Scenes* and *Passages* (with the *Authour’s* consent) as occasion led them”. See Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare*, pp. 21-2.

⁷⁶ See for example Wiggins, *British Drama*, III, pp. 7, 30.

short plays by early modern standards. Yet they were not impossibly short, especially for the afternoons of December and January.⁷⁷ Besides, given the company's knowledge of the original *1 Fortunatus*—and perhaps also the *2 Fortunatus*—it is not impossible that scenes or passages that had been omitted by Dekker's redaction might still be pulled out again to further substantiate the separate performances.⁷⁸

Thus one way or another, the length of the text of *Old Fortunatus* should not have prevented its public staging at the Rose. Neither were the production and performance schedules of the play prohibitive. Records in the *Diary* suggest that production for the play should have largely finished by 12 December 1599 at the latest.⁷⁹ This would have allowed the partnership about fourteen days—or twelve weekdays—for easily scheduling in at least a couple of performances of the play on the Rose's stage, perhaps as rehearsals, before the court performance at Richmond on St John's Day (27 December) 1599. The playhouse certainly remained open during all this time, as Henslowe continued to record his full gallery receipts throughout the Christmas season and all the way until 10 February.⁸⁰ These dates suggest that it is also highly likely that the play continued to greet the Rose's stage during the seven weeks or so after its court performance. It was perhaps only after the playhouse closed for Lent, around 10 February, that the play was finally released to the printer. By even a conservative estimate, assuming that the play followed the usual repertorial cycling system and was given no more than one performance per week, then during mid-December, January, and early February, it could have gone through about nine performances in total—and perhaps close to eighteen if the partnership had chosen to split the play for separate performances. By the Rose's standard, judging from previous statistics, this should appear a fairly healthy run for such a play.

Besides, from a financial perspective, putting the play on the public stage also makes compelling economic sense. As records show, the partnership's total reward for their court performances of *Old Fortunatus* and another play during the Christmas was twenty pounds—

⁷⁷ For instance, the A-Text of *Doctor Faustus* is less than 1500 lines; the shortest among Shakespeare's plays, *Comedy of Errors*, is approximately 1800 lines long.

⁷⁸ *1 Fortunatus* was staged by the Admiral's Men at the Rose in January 1596. Henslowe recorded five more performances of a play titled only as *Fortunatus*. Any of them could be either *1 Fortunatus*, or perhaps *2 Fortunatus*.

⁷⁹ The last payment of the initial six pounds to Dekker was made on 30 November 1599, indicating that the initial composition should have been finished by then. The subsequent payments for its revisions and the purchase of theatrical stock were all made before 12 December, suggesting that the play was very likely ready for the stage by this date. Adding some further support to this reading is the fact that the partnership usually made purchases of theatrical stock very close to a play's debut.

⁸⁰ *HD*, fol. 62v. See also Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 120-1.

just about breaking even with their total production expenditure.⁸¹ Thus in order to make any profit from the play at all, the partnership would undoubtedly need to bring the play onto the Rose's stage. The set of fine costumes and stage properties retained from the court production, as Dutton suggests, could well serve such a purpose.⁸² For such a play that was essentially a redaction of largely familiar narratives, its main attraction to the public by then would have been its "material upgrades", with the dazzling array of colourful costumes and sparkling stage properties from the original court production. The mention of the play as being freshly out of court—i.e. good enough, by implication, for the royal and courtly audience—probably carried considerable appeal in itself. The title page of its printed text from 1600 certainly appears to proudly advertise such an association.⁸³ A playgoing public familiar with the style of the Rose partnership's often expensive and elaborate productions during this period would have expected nothing less. While the naturally lighted, open-air public stage was perhaps not nearly as atmospheric as the luminous palatial playing space, the performances with frequent displays of high quality, eye-catching theatrical stock and improved overall visual effects were probably still attractive enough to draw in some crowds.

vi. The Case of *Doctor Faustus*: A-Text and B-Text

Plays such as *1 & 2 Sir John Oldcastle* and *Old Fortunatus* were not isolated, exceptional cases of elaborate productions. For the Rose partnership during this period, the rapid accumulation of theatrical stock sustained by the banking system had its impact on not only productions of new plays and those selected for court performance, but also revivals of older plays. Among the older popular offerings that underwent multiple revivals, *Doctor Faustus* is one for which the most amount of textual and archival evidence has survived. The theatrical longevity of the play and evidence of its textual alterations make the play another suitable case for examining the stylistic and dramaturgical developments of the Rose partnership's productions.

What is of unique value about *Doctor Faustus* is its survival in two distinct versions—the A-text and B-text—first printed in 1604 and in 1616 respectively.⁸⁴ As the *Diary* also shows,

⁸¹ See Wiggins, *British Drama*, IV, 171; Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, Vol. II, p. 139. The other performance by the Admiral's Men during this Christmas season was likely Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*.

⁸² Dutton, "The Court, the Master of the Revels, and the Players", p. 370.

⁸³ The printed text of *Shoemaker's Holiday* (1600), for that matter, also clearly states that the play had lately been acted before the Queen. See Dekker, *Shoemaker's Holiday*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 6523. These were of course the printers' ways of advertising their products. To a certain degree, however, they do still reflect where the contemporary public taste partly lay.

⁸⁴ For the 1604 A-text, see Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17429. For the 1616 B-text, see Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17432.

the play was pulled out for multiple performances every year from 1594 right up till at least October 1597, when Henslowe switched to the later format for his records. Despite the absence of any specific reference afterwards in the *Diary*, it is entirely conceivable, and quite likely, that the play continued to be staged on the Rose's stage from time to time.⁸⁵ In November 1602, moreover, Henslowe recorded a payment to Rowley and Borne for making "adicyeones" to the play—apparently in preparation for another revival.⁸⁶ The textual relations between the A- and B-texts, as well as between both printed texts and the play as performed throughout the 1590s, have long been issues open for debate. Despite the uncertainties, based on educated guesses about the interrelations between these documents, it is my contention that the textual differences between the A- and B-texts should be understood as reflecting key stylistic and dramaturgical developments in the Rose partnership's productions in the late 1590s and early 1600s.

The argument relies on sorting out the connections between the two printed texts and the performing texts from up to two decades before their publication dates, i.e. from the 1590s and early 1600s. Two important hypotheses in this regard have earlier been advanced by Bevington and Rasmussen: 1) the performances in the early 1590s were based on some form of the A-text; and 2) B-text contains distinct authorial stylistic marks of Rowley.⁸⁷ Based on these two theories it is possible to posit that a substantial amount of the textual changes in the B-text most probably post-dates the version of the play in A-text. An extra piece of evidence is found in the 1619 edition of B-text (B2). This edition has on its title page the phrase "With new Additions", whereas the text itself remains the same as the earlier 1616 version (first B-text). The "new additions" must be referring to the same extra contents already incorporated in the 1616 text. Although itself a misattribution for the 1619 text, the phrase does at least suggest

⁸⁵ The absence of specific records for the play's performances at the Rose between October 1597 and July 1600 is perhaps mainly because Henslowe stopped recording receipts from daily performances. Besides, it is possible that a reference, in Middleton's *The Black Book*, to a particular performance of *Doctor Faustus* at the "old theatre" during which the building reported cracked. The "old theatre" has sometimes been interpreted as referring to the Theatre. But as Wiggins has pointed out, it is also entirely possible, and perhaps more likely, that it is referring to the Rose—the Admiral's Men's old theatre. If Wiggins's interpretation may be accepted, then the reference may very likely be to a performance during the Admiral's Men's final three years at the Rose. See Wiggins, *British Drama*, II, p. 426. This anecdote, of course, could also be entirely fictional. See Middleton, *The Blacke Booke*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17875, Sig. B3.

⁸⁶ *HD*, fol. 108v. See also Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 206. This revival, judging by the date of the records, was most probably for the Fortune playhouse.

⁸⁷ Through inter-textual comparisons as well as close-readings of both texts, Bevington and Rasmussen base their first argument mainly on both A-text's greater fidelity to the play's source material, the *Damnable Life*; and on notable textual similarities and echoes between A-text and other plays from early to mid-1590s such as *A Looking Glass* and *The Taming of A Shrew*. Their second argument is based mainly on the presence in B-text of prominent authorial habits of Rowley for versification found also in *When You See Me You Know Me* (1603-5). See Bevington and Rasmussen, ed. *Doctor Faustus A- and B-texts (1604, 1616)*, pp. 64-74.

that the 1616 text was viewed by the publisher as containing newly acquired materials—perhaps newly released by the playing company. This lends support to the idea that the extra contents in B-text were most probably chronologically later than the play text in A-text.⁸⁸

At the same time, it is also interesting to note that Henslowe's payment for Rowley and Borne's "adyceones" in 1602 was a proportionally very large four pounds. The substantial payment suggests that the textual additions must have been so, too. This corroborates well with both the significant increase of almost 670 lines—nearly half the length of the A-text—made in B-text, as well as Bevington and Rasmussen's identification of Rowley's distinct authorial marks in B-text. Thus it seems also reasonable to suggest that there might well have been a close connection between the 1602 addition by Rowley and Borne, and the textual changes in B-text. In other words, there is a distinct possibility that B-text largely embodies the textual results of the 1602 addition. Related records in the Stationers' Register also seem to support this idea. Among the Register's records prior to 1642, only two entries are found that relate to the publications of *Faustus*.⁸⁹ Thomas Bushell, for whom the 1604 A-text was printed, originally acquired the rights to the book in 1601. John Wright, who obtained the rights to the book from Bushell in 1610 and whose first two printed texts of the play were both A-texts, was also the person who subsequently had all the B-texts printed.⁹⁰ Given the absence of record of any further transfers of rights before 1642, it is unlikely that a lost third version of printed text ever existed. Where else could the very substantial additions made in 1602 have gone, then, if not into the source materials for the printing of the B-text? It seems highly unlikely that the large amount of textual additions from 1602 would remain hidden and unpublished while another substantial addition of almost 670 lines from an unknown source became mysteriously incorporated into the B-text in 1616. A more likely scenario now seems to be that the revised *Faustus* after 1602 remained as a performing text with the playing company; and was only released to the printer sometime before 1616. After nearly fourteen years in the company's repertory, its commercial values, even with the earlier substantial additions, were probably

⁸⁸ Of course it is still possible to argue, as Greg and Kirschbaum most notably did, that the B-text only restored "original" sections of the play that had previously been cut out to make the shorter A-text. In this case the phrase "new additions" was only advertising the recovered parts as "new" from a publisher's point of view. However, there seems to be no compelling reason, nor any other corroborating evidence, for favouring such a more tortuous way of interpretation over the more straightforward explanation that the additional materials in B-text were indeed new—i.e. chronologically later than the content of A-text.

⁸⁹ There is also a confusing early entry from 1592, apparently indicating some conflicts of rights to the play. See Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, p. 422.

⁹⁰ See Wiggins, *British Drama*, II, p. 426; and Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, p. 422. The publication years of the A-texts were: 1604 (Bushell), 1609 (Wright), and 1611 (Wright). The publication years for the B-texts were: 1616 (Wright), 1619 (Wright), 1620 (Wright), 1624 (Wright), 1628 (Wright), and 1631 (Wright).

running low by 1616. Meanwhile, when John Wright acquired the rights to the play from Bushell in 1610, he would naturally have had only in his possession the much older materials for the A-text, and hence could only continue to publish another edition of the A-text in 1611. And it was not until the revised performing text of *Faustus* became available around 1616 that he was able to print the subsequent series of B-texts. With these links established, it becomes more obvious that despite the B-text's relatively late date of publication, its contents were most likely contemporaneous with the play as performed just after the turn of the century. The textual changes that B-text embodies, therefore, should in fact largely reflect the partnership's theatrical needs in the late 1590s and early 1600s—when Rowley and Borne were commissioned to make their “adyceones”.

On the whole, the textual changes in B-text constitute a general “material upgrade” to the A-text. The strategy behind such a decision was not dissimilar to that behind the elaborate production of the *Oldcastle* plays, or the public staging of *Old Fortunatus*. The revisions reflect the same general tendency in the partnership's productions in this period for allowing wider latitude for showcasing its impressive theatrical stock, and achieving bigger-scale, technologically more advanced, as well as theatrically more spectacular productions.

One of the key differences between the two versions is the introduction of a series of new roles in the B-text. According to Wiggins's calculation, the A-text contains up to forty-one speaking parts, whereas the B-text contains up to forty-seven speaking parts. By contrast, the increase in non-speaking roles is considerably greater. At least fifteen non-speaking new roles are introduced in the B-text. Overall, then, there is an increase of over twenty new characters. The increase in character count perhaps also meant a larger-scale production with generally bigger stage presences on the whole. It is unlikely that the logistic challenge arising from the addition of over twenty characters may be handled entirely through heavier doubling. A more practical solution might be additional hired hands or other supernumeraries. The partnership is certainly known to have used such a strategy. This is confirmed by evidence related to another production from the same period—the “plott” for the revival of *I Tamar Cham*.⁹¹ It is difficult to speculate, due to the non-survival of the play text, about the exact differences between the original production of the play by Strange's Men and this revival by the Admiral's Men. The theatrical plot, however, does show clear signs that the latter was a fairly large-scale and elaborate production overall. This is particularly notable in the final scene,

⁹¹ It has generally been accepted that the “plott” of *I Tamar Cham* dates from sometime between October 1602 and John Singer's retirement in early 1603. See Foakes, ed. Henslowe's Diary, p. 332; Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 177; Greg, *Henslowe Papers: Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary*, 144-8.

which involves a grand procession of a large number of characters. Twenty-two different characters make consecutive entrances to the stage, likely wearing a variety of costumes and makeups representing different races or ethnic groups, as well as holding various iconic stage properties. As the theatrical “plott” shows, the production of this colourful and eye-catching parade involves not only official members of the company and contracted boy actors, but also six supernumeraries and three other boy actors who appear only in this grand finale of the play.⁹² For the production of the B-text of *Faustus*, with its even higher character count, it seems highly likely that a similar strategy would be used.

The remarkable increase of characters also brought more fundamental “upgrades” to the play. As the majority of the new roles are non-speaking ones, their textual presence has remained limited; and hence often glossed over in critical comparisons of the two texts. However, when it came the actual staging of the play, the impact of the additional roles would undoubtedly have been immediately appreciable. It is important to note that the majority of the new characters, speaking or non-speaking, fall into two categories: members of nobility or high ecclesiastical order, such as the cardinals of France and Padua, the bishops of Lorrain and Rheims, Bruno of Saxony, Darius, several monks attending the Pope, the knights Martino and Frederick; or supernatural beings, such as the four devils attending Lucifer, the devils Belimoth, Argiron, and Ashtaroth, at least four other minor demons, and two cupids.⁹³ Although influencing the textual changes of the play in only minor ways, the significant increase of new characters from these two categories certainly expands the play’s capacity for various theatrical spectacles considerably. While it is obvious that B-text, compared with A-text, certainly contains more speeches, it also has a lot more to display. Characters of high social status provide more opportunities for showcasing the partnership’s collection of high quality costumes and eye-catching stage properties both more frequently and in higher concentration. At the same time, supernatural characters not only make visually striking presence on the stage themselves, but also allow ample room for staging their entrances and exits with sensually synthetic, pyrotechnical special effects. Firecrackers and squibs, although familiar props for such scenes already, when used generously and frequently—with their hisses, sudden flashes, bangs, black smoke, as well as permeating sulphurous smells—would undoubtedly continue to

⁹² Foakes, ed. *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 332-3; Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, pp. 145-8.

⁹³ See Wiggins, *British Drama*, II, p. 420-1.

startle the audience, increase the tension on the stage, and enhance the overall theatrical atmosphere.⁹⁴

The drive for frequent displays of spectacles and special effects also led to several additional scenes of stage slapsticks. Altogether, B-text contains six major comical scenes: the rescue of Bruno, the disruption of the Pope's banquet, the jest of the horn on Benvolio, the trick on the horse-courser, the ambush attacks on Faustus, and the magical dumbing of Faustus's victims. Generally accepted now as integral parts of the play, the slapstick subplots are often regarded as adopting a semi-satirical stance in showing Faustus repeatedly squandering his power on mere legerdemain. As Wiggins notes, forming a stark contrast with the "poetic magnificence" of Faustus's initial fantasies, his petty trickeries are invariably "imaginatively trivial".⁹⁵

But these "trivial" scenes are almost always theatrically spectacular. With their preoccupation with various forms of stage magic and special effects, these scenes are not only integral parts of the narrative, but are in fact also theatrically important and highly indispensable to the production. The additions in B-text, which almost doubled the amount of these scenes, invested the text with considerably more potential for spectacular staging. The B-text, as Christa Knellwolf King notes, is "more conscious of theatrical tricks".⁹⁶ The main bulk of its textual additions are devoted to the creation of more scenes involving a variety of magical tricks. Thinking from the partnership's perspective, making this the chief goal of the textual "upgrade"—besides introducing more opportunities for showcasing the theatrical stock—would certainly have appeared a most sensible and efficient way to enhance the appeal of a magician play like *Faustus*.

Not only is B-text invested with greater potential for theatrical spectacles, but some of its specific additions also reflect better awareness of the available staging facilities in the playhouse setup. For the A-text, almost all its scenes may be staged solely on the stage level, with perhaps the arguable exception of occasional uses of the space beneath the stage via a trapdoor. By sharp contrast, the stage directions in B-text bring the actions into a more three-dimensional space by making uses of different areas surrounding the stage. The scene of the

⁹⁴ An example of such typical moments is the scene where Faustus summons the devils to vanquish the soldiers who ambushed him. The stage direction suggests that at least six actors playing the devils are required, carrying a battle drum, a military ensign, and diverse pieces of weaponry. Mephistopheles also appears and throws around firecrackers and squibs. As the devils set upon and drive out the soldiers, the smoky scene with characters running around would certainly also involve a lot of shrieks and screaming on top of the sounds from drumming and the explosions of fireworks.

⁹⁵ Wiggins, *Shakespeare and the Drama of His Time*, pp. 43-4.

⁹⁶ King, *Faustus and the Promises of New Science*, p. 177.

affliction of Benvolio with a pair of massive horns, for instance, is now staged on both the stage level and in the acting space above the stage.⁹⁷ Showing better familiarity with the stable playhouse setup and its staging space, entrances and exits in B-text are now often specified as via different doors; whereas no such specific requirements are made in the A-text.⁹⁸ The B-text also reflects a clear awareness of the consistent availability of the off-stage space—the tiring-house—as a potential staging area. The additional scene, where the victims from Faustus’s earlier trickeries sought revenge on him in the Duke’s house, contains a fairly substantial, and likely also loud, exchange of about twenty lines between three characters on the stage (the Duke, his servant, and Faustus), and three others from within the tiring-house (Dick, Carter, and the Horse-courser).⁹⁹

More remarkably, the B-text also shows signs of advances in staging technologies and techniques. One such example is found in the specific reference, in a scene near the end of the play, to the use of the descent-ascent mechanism over the stage. Right before Faustus’s damnation, the Good Angel shows him a glimpse of the glory and joy of heaven the doomed magician has forsaken. The stage direction clearly instructs that a heavenly throne to be lowered from above the stage, accompanied by music. No such instruction exists in the earlier A-text. The confidence of the stage direction in the availability of such a device also contrasts sharply with the tentative tone found in the final scene of Greene’s *Alphonsus*: “*Exit Venus. Or if you can conueniently, let a chaire come downe from the top of the stage, and draw her vp*”.¹⁰⁰ As soon as the Good Angel’s speech about Faustus’s loss of heavenly bliss finishes, the throne pulls back from the stage and ascends again—visualising in physical terms Faustus’s exclusion and departure from salvation.¹⁰¹ What’s more, following the verbal and physical imageries in the temporary glance at heaven, the atmosphere on the stage is almost immediately reversed by the verbal and physical imageries of hell. As suggested by the stage direction “[h]ell is discouered”, with the Good Angel’s condemnation “The jaws of hell are open to receive thee”, and the Evil Angel’s command: “let thine eyes with horror stare / Into that vast perpetual torture-house”, a “hell-mouth” is revealed in or near the discovery space. The Evil Angel’s description of the horrifying images seen through the “hell-mouth” transforms the entire

⁹⁷ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17432, Sig. E3-F.

⁹⁸ For a summary of scenes in B-text that make uses of the playhouse’s different doors, see Wiggins, *British Drama*, II, p. 424.

⁹⁹ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17432, Sig. G1-2.

¹⁰⁰ Greene, *Alphonsus, King of Aragon*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 12233, Sig. I3. It is interesting to further note that this play was probably largely contemporaneous with the original *Doctor Faustus*. Wiggins assigns both plays to date range 1587-9. See Wiggins, *British Drama*, II, pp. 381, 491.

¹⁰¹ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17432, Sig. H2-3.

discovery space into “hell”. While the speech invokes the images of hell and forces Faustus’s attention on them, its implication that the “hell-mouth” is the portal, in reality, also serves to focus the audience’s attention onto this single piece of stage property. In terms of staging, the stark contrast between the images of heaven and those of hell is also further reinforced by both the horizontal symmetry created between the entrances of the Good and Evil Angels “*at seuerall doores*” at the beginning of the scene, and the vertical symmetry between the heavenly throne and the gaping hell-mouth in the discovery space.¹⁰² Comparing this scene with the final scene of the A-text where Faustus gazes frantically up and down between the wrathful heaven and the gaping hell, the “upgrades” in B-text becomes obvious. What the B-text has essentially done is considerably enhancing the scene’s theatricality by expanding Faustus’s final few lines in the A-text into full speeches, and bringing its central verbal imageries to full-fledged physical visualisation on the stage with the help of improved staging facilities and properties.¹⁰³

Another more extraordinary example of the impact of upgrades in staging technologies and techniques is found in the B-text’s several scenes where Faustus’s body is mutilated. Scenes with extensive mutilations of the body—with perhaps the exception of the amputation of the hand—usually presented considerable technical challenges to staging.¹⁰⁴ Such moments were quite often only implied—with the actions of mutilation happening offstage—than

¹⁰² It seems most logical that the throne attached to the descent-ascent mechanism would be placed somewhere above central upstage. The discovery space, it seems, is also usually found in central upstage. The two facilities would therefore most likely be, at least roughly, vertically aligned.

¹⁰³ For the final section in A-text, see Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17429, Sig. F3. The visualisation of “hell” on the stage has been regarded by some scholars as detrimental to the overall theatrical effect. King, for instance, argues that the physical rendering of “hell” on the stage “subverts the psychological terror” of the verbal imageries and “undercuts the horror with which Faustus is expected to stare [into the hell]”. See King, *Faustus and the Promises of the New Science*, p. 177. It is problematic, however, to assume that achieving psychological reality necessarily means the exclusion of the audience’s awareness of the theatricality of the performance. It is also ultimately reductive to overly prioritise the verbal over the visual elements of a performance, which has long been the prejudice underlying the myth about the bare minimalistic Elizabethan stage. The Elizabethan audience in the public playhouse, as theatre historians are becoming increasingly aware, were as much there to see a play as to hear it. Finally, it is entirely conceivable that a “hell-mouth” was also used for some productions of the A-text of *Faustus* during the 1590s. Although the A-text contains no specific reference to it in the stage directions, it does in fact allow the use of such a piece of stage property, particularly in the performance of the final scene. The “hell-mouth” could be revealed as the devils make their final entrance right before Faustus’s final entreat “[u]gly hell gape not, come not Lucifer” (A-text, 1604, Sig. F3). Instead of merely invoking a mental image, the line could very well be a literal description of what is revealed on the stage. The existence of a “Hell mought” in the Admiral’s Men’s 1598 inventory lists also supports the idea that such a piece of stage property might have been used for the play at some point.

¹⁰⁴ Philip Butterworth has noted that the severing of the hand was commonly staged in mediaeval plays. As Farah Karim-Cooper suggests, the amputation of the hand could be staged, with achievable illusion, by the actor holding a dummy hand, which may then be cut off or ripped away. See Karim-Cooper, *The Hand on the Shakespearean Stage*, p. 219.

directly shown on the stage.¹⁰⁵ The B-text of *Faustus*, however, not only retains the scene where the horse-courser pulls off one of Faustus's legs, but also adds a much more spectacular scene where Faustus's head is struck off on the stage by the knights.¹⁰⁶ Onstage decapitation had been rare in the Elizabethan theatre—at least until early 1600s.¹⁰⁷ The inclusion of such a spectacle on the stage would have been highly striking for the contemporary audience, and would certainly have also required improved staging technology. The key piece of equipment for staging this scene, as the stage direction makes clear, is the Faustus's false head. Walking onto the stage while wearing the false head, the actor playing Faustus, naturally, is only given a monosyllabic "O" to speak before he is stabbed and decapitated. What happens next, however, is perhaps even more striking for the audience; and certainly suggests that the false head required in this scene is probably a much more sophisticated piece of stage property than hitherto recognised. Unlike the false heads used in many other plays, Faustus's severed head in B-text continued to be the sole focus of intense theatrical attention all the way till the magician's resurrection. The three knights' speeches following Faustus's decapitation go over each of the key features of the false head—the stern facial expression, the forehead, the thick beard, the eyes, and the lips. Not only written as conversions between the characters, the speeches also serve to draw the audience's attention to the fine details of the stage property. Moreover, it is quite possible that the talks of further mutilations to the head in Benvolio's speeches are not merely his gleeful fantasies. As he describes his plans—to nail a pair horns onto the head, pull off its beard, pluck out the eyes, and stuff them into its mouth—these actions could well be carried out simultaneously on the stage. In fact, Martino's speech that follows—"now, sirs, having divided him, what shall the body do"—does seem to confirm that all these actions have likely taken place already. If this reading can be accepted, then it must also suggest that this scene was written with a special false head in mind. With several detachable parts and surpassing most other false heads in sophistication, this kit was capable of creating some striking stage effects. As much as Benvolio's speech describe the semi-macabre and semi-comical visions of mutilation, it also makes possible a detailed onstage demonstration, and showing-off, of all the remarkable features of this extraordinary piece of stage property.

¹⁰⁵ Similar observations are made by both Lucy Munro in her analysis of the relevant passages in *The Battle of Alcazar* and *Orlando Furioso*, and Karim-Cooper in her study of *Titus Andronicus*. The killing and disembowelment of the three kings in *Alcazar*, as revealed by the dramatic "platt", took place offstage and was largely implied through bringing onto the stage "3 violls of blood & a sheeps gather". Similarly, the most horrific and complex mutilation of Lavinia in *Titus Andronicus* took place offstage. See Munro, "They Eat Each Other's Arms", pp. 84-5, 90-1; Karim-Cooper, *The Hand on the Shakespearean Stage*, p. 222.

¹⁰⁶ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17432, Sig. F2.

¹⁰⁷ Munro, "They Eat Each Other's Arms", p. 87.

Finally, it is important to realise that, to understand all these textual revisions found in B-text as reflecting changes in the circumstances of performance around the early 1600s, is emphatically not to assume that these changes took place all at the same time right before the revision. It would be over-simplification and reductive thinking to interpret the apparent pre-1602 textual stability of the play as the sign of a total lack of development in the play's various productions during the 1590s. The A- and B-texts represent two versions of the play that were most probably over a decade apart from each other.¹⁰⁸ Neither the mutability of the circumstances of performance, nor the players' adaptability, should be underestimated. Temporary textual additions, omissions, and adaptations might well have taken place as circumstances required during this time, despite the fact that they perhaps rarely found their way into archival records or resulted in permanent, perhaps often paid, textual revisions.¹⁰⁹ Some of the changes in B-text, such as those showing improved familiarity with the upgrades in the playhouse setup, might very well reflect the more gradual changes in staging habits that were already taking place throughout the 1590s. Some of these changes, therefore, might already have been incorporated into some productions based on the A-text during the Admiral's Rose years. Finer costumes and better stage properties, by the same token, might also have been incorporated into some of the productions in the late-1590s already. On the other hand, some other changes seen in B-text—the inclusion of the decapitation scene, for instance—could well be due to more recent developments in staging technology and techniques for special effects.

Exactly what triggered the partnership's decision to spend on the "adyceones" to *Faustus* in 1602 is certainly still open for debate.¹¹⁰ But the undeniable fact that the textual modification was deemed important enough to warrant substantial payment is telling evidence

¹⁰⁸ That is, as I discussed earlier, if we accept that hypotheses that 1) A-text represents a version of the play closer to what was being performed during the late 1580s and throughout the 1590s; and 2) B-text largely embodies the results of the textual additions in 1602.

¹⁰⁹ When it came to record keeping, it stands to reason that only changes and updates that were substantial enough to require extra payments were recorded in the *Diary*. These were, perhaps more often than not, writing additional materials for the play like the 1602 revision of *Faustus*, or redactions like what Dekker did for *Old Fortunatus*.

¹¹⁰ One related event could be Thomas Bushell's acquisition of the rights for printing the A-text in 1601. It needs to be noted, though, that Bushell's acquisition of the rights to A-text was in January 1601, whereas the payment to Rowley and Borne for the revision was made in November 1602. A possible explanation could be that the partnership did not have a plan for a revival of the play until sometime late 1602, by which time a substantially modified text would most likely be necessary. Another possible scenario could be that the partnership had already deemed the A-text unsuitable for further productions sometime around 1601, and hence released it to the printer soon afterwards; in which case the 1602 revision was a necessary effort to update the play to suit new situations and new staging possibilities. The necessity for textual additions in either scenario, however, should not really contradict the argument that the textual changes should still reflect the stylistic and dramaturgical developments of the partnership's productions during this time.

that this move was viewed as an investment that made sound commercial sense. For the partnership around the early 1600s, long-term gradual changes and recent developments in the circumstances of performance—physical staging facilities of the playhouse, financial and theatrical resources, staging technologies and techniques, as well as audience taste—had apparently reached such a point where the best strategy to adopt was to invest in textual modification that served to finalise some of these key changes required of the play-text. It should be recognised, therefore, that the “adyceones” of 1602 not only updated the play for a single revival, but more importantly, also anticipated the partnership’s staging needs and possibilities for further runs in the near future. Ultimately, it is important that the A- and B-texts *not* be mistaken as merely two mutually exclusive, isolated, and definitive versions of the *Faustus* play that were followed to the letter in the performances at different times. Instead, it is far more meaningful to understand the two printed texts as two permanently marked-out spots in a whole spectrum of performing texts with their varying degrees of textual alteration and adaptation during the play’s long theatrical life. Conducting detailed textual comparisons between the A- and B-texts, therefore, is useful not because it can determine which of the two versions was performed at which specific points in time, but because it helps reveal the larger trend of stylistic and dramaturgical development in the partnership’s productions during its mature phase.

Thus barely a decade had passed since resident commercial playing started in London, the Rose partnership by the late 1590s was capable of highly elaborate productions—at fairly fast paces—of both new and old plays that utilise the large amount of theatrical stock in its possession. Not merely to signify the wealth and status of the characters in the plays or to create spectacular special effects, the elaborate productions with fine costumes and impressive stage properties served not only aesthetic but also practical economic purposes. As Jonathan Gil Harris notes, theatrical stock had by this time become “in very real sense capital assets” of the theatre.¹¹¹ Crucially, they effectively conveyed to the audience the wealth, status, and staging capacity of the partnership itself. These were moments when the theatrical and the meta-theatrical intersect and merge with each other. The audience members, while immersed in the sensually stimulating theatrical experience, are at the same time appreciating the remarkable staging capacity of the theatre and its playing company. If any playbills for the advertising and promotion of performances at the Rose had survived, they would probably not look too

¹¹¹ Jonathan Gil Harris, “Product Placement in Artisanal Drama”, p. 48.

dissimilar, in their efforts to promote the theatre's capacity for spectacles, to the printed plot for Vennar's notorious hoax, *England's Joy*.¹¹²

Thus the rapid increase in production costs and the accumulation of theatrical stock could be understood as a form of investment. As Harris has noted, in this period the "exhibition of stage properties for the express purpose of commercial profit" had become in many ways "one of the hallmarks of the professional Elizabethan theatre".¹¹³ For the Rose partnership in its mature phase, the huge investment in production and theatrical stock was vital not only because it helped cater to the growing demands from the playgoing public, but also because it was an investment in the image and reputation of the theatre. Various pieces of elaborate theatrical stock became instrumental to the generation of revenue not only through the specific productions they were involved in, but also through the promise they made about the resourcefulness of the partnership as well as the quality of future productions.

My calculations using data from the *Diary* also reveal that expensive productions with elaborate theatrical stock became the core of the Rose partnership's financial engine during this time.

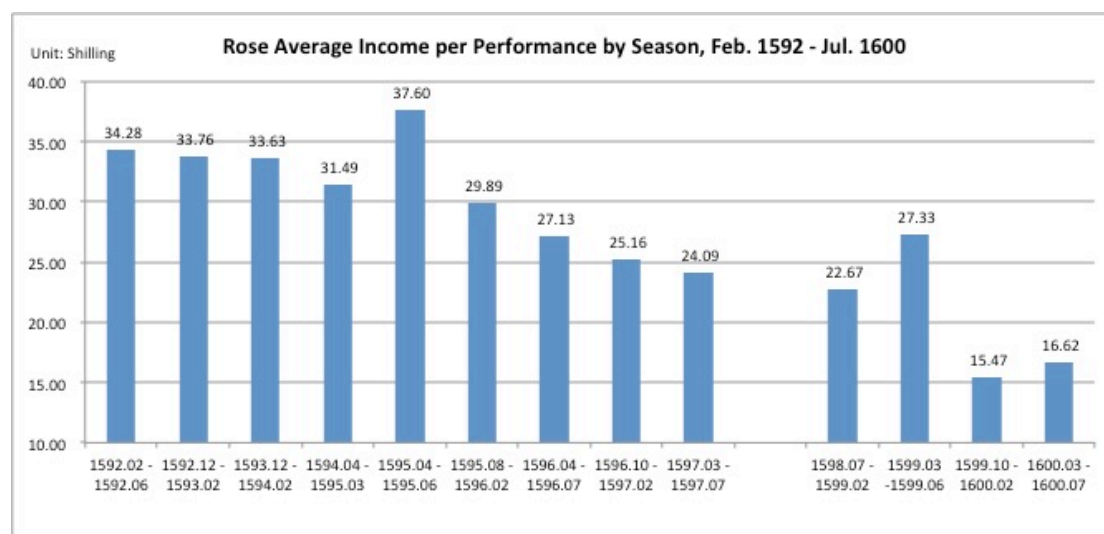


Fig. 15 Average Income per Performance of the Rose by Season, February 1592 – July 1600. [Data collection, calculation, and table by me]

¹¹² No playbill for theatrical performance from the late 1590s and early 1600s has survived, although they were almost certainly produced in large quantities during this time. There is a manuscript bear-baiting bill from the 1590s, as well as a few other surviving bills from the early-to-mid 1600s for other types of entertainment including a rope-dancing performance, a challenge, and a puppet show. The earliest surviving playbill for a theatrical performance dates to 1687. See Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance*, p. 37. For the plot advertisement of *England's Joy*, see STC (2nd ed.) / 24636.7.

¹¹³ Harris, *Product Placement in Artisanal Drama*, p. 47.

On the whole, figures in Henslowe's records show that during the months between July 1598 and October 1599, the Rose was doing reasonably well financially, with takings per performance averaging at 22.67 shillings (July 1598 to February 1599) and 27.33 shillings (March to June 1599) respectively.¹¹⁴ Chronologically matching the weekly half-gallery incomes against Henslowe's records on commissions and production costs for individual plays during this period reveals that the weeks with higher gross incomes largely coincided with runs of plays that were more costly to produce. The fairly high takings that occurred more frequently during the weeks from late July to early December, for instance, arose from a period when several of the remarkably expensive productions—*Pierce of Winchester* (29-2-0), *Vayvode* (17-5-0), *Fountain of New Fashion* (17-0-0), *1 Civil Wars of France* (10-0-0), and *2 Civil Wars of France* (20-0-0) were rolled out almost in a row. In much the same way, it seems more than mere chance that another two spikes in takings were recorded in late February and between April and early June 1599, when another two expensive plays—*2 Two Angry Women of Abington* (18-0-0) and *The Spencers* (30-0-0)—were most probably at the centre of the rolling repertory.

From summer 1599 onward, fierce competitions arose with the relocation of the Chamberlain's Men to the Globe and the re-emergence of the Children of Paul's at the Blackfriars. With markedly different underlying organisational as well as financial structures, these companies were offering plays that also differed significantly in genre and style. The Chamberlain's Men were staging more generically innovative, thematically fresher, and structurally more sophisticated plays in their magnificent new playhouse right across the street from the Rose.¹¹⁵ And the children's company was also putting on more fashionable, increasingly rhetorically charged plays. Facing competition and decline in revenue, the Rose partnership continued to exploit, in a more heavy-handed manner, the commercial value of the large amount of theatrical stock in which it had invested. Both the partnership's overall spending and average production rate saw little significant drop. And some of the highest single-play production costs in the partnership's history were recorded during this period, such as *Padge of Plymouth* (18-0-0), *1&2 Sir John Oldcastle* (over 14-10-0 for the Admiral's Men

¹¹⁴ The calculations are made using the weekly half-gallery takings recorded in *HD*, fol. 48, 48v, 62v. Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 94-5, 120-1. The approximate seasonal average takings per performance are calculated by dividing the total sum of income in the season by the total number of weekdays (i.e. minus the number of Sundays) in the season: Sum of income / (total number of days in the season – total number of Sundays in the season).

¹¹⁵ For discussions of the development of a unique type of "relational drama" in the repertory of the Chamberlain's Men, see van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, pp. 112-24.

and 18-0-0 for Worcester's Men), *Patient Grissel* (10-10-0 to buy the play), *Old Fortunatus* (around 20-0-0), and the historically high *The Seven Wise Masters* (38-0-0). Heavy spending on elaborate productions was needed in order to sustain both the fast turnover rate of new plays, and the sensually rich theatrical style that had become the Rose's forte and chief appeal. At a time when business was declining, carrying on with these expensive productions must have been regarded by the partnership as either investments that made sound business sense, or decisions made out of sheer necessity. The latter, as suggested by records of the Rose's plummeting revenue from October 1599 onwards, was perhaps more likely the case.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

This chapter continues the examination of the Rose's repertory and performance history, and focuses on the years between October 1597 and May 1603. Specifically, I have analysed the more complex and binding financial and organisational structures underlying the mature phase of residence at the Rose by the Admiral's Men and Worcester's Men during this period. Crucially, as revealed by calculations using Henslowe's detailed records of various production costs, one of the most fundamental differences between the mature form of playhouse residence and its earlier, simpler form lies in the introduction of a banking system into the operation of the Rose partnership. This banking system, on the one hand, served as a highly secure source of abundant funding for the partnership's theatrical productions at fast paces; but on the other hand it also bound the two parties tightly together through their heavy mutual financial and legal commitments.

Under these circumstances, the Rose's repertory in the late 1590s and early 1600s displayed both identifiable continuities with the playhouse's popular offerings from the earlier years, as well as important material, artistic, and dramaturgical developments. Examination of extant plays and educated guesses based on surviving play titles in the *Diary* suggest the lasting influence in this period of a core set of Rose "classics"—in terms of subject matter, setting, storyline, and an overall sensationalist aesthetic tendency—formed through the playhouse's earlier partnerships with Strange's Men and the Admiral's Men (1594-1597). Catering to and capitalising on the demand from a playgoing public familiar with the Rose's style, plays from

¹¹⁶ *HD*, fol. 62v. Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 120-1. As calculations show, after the opening of the Rose in the summer 1599, the Rose's income dropped from the previous season's 27.33 shillings per performance to 15.47 shillings per performance in the season from October 1599 to February 1600. After the brief tour, the final recorded season from March to July 1600 fetched an average of 16.62 shillings per performance.

the later years often consciously harkened back to, or built from the audience's memories of, familiar scenes from old favourites.

At the same time, with the banking system underlying the Rose partnership's operation, the rapid accumulation of theatrical stock in this period also brought important artistic and dramaturgical developments to the Rose's repertory. In particular, heavy investments in costumes and stage properties meant that theatrical stock in this period became the Rose partnership's main operational assets—a phenomenon that required plays to be written and staged in ways capable of fully maximising the theatrical and commercial potentials of the large amount of theatrical stock in the partnership's possession.

Such a need in fact had its impact on multiple aspects of the Rose's repertory around the turn of the seventeenth century, despite the fact that it only led to occasional implicit textual traces and little material remains. As revealed by various pieces of corroborating evidence ranging from archival documents, archaeological findings, and detailed textual analysis on several surviving plays, the Rose partnership during this period was frequently putting on expensive productions featuring impressive theatrical stock as well as spectacular special effects. And as the case studies also show, ambitious productions were not limited to new commissions or plays chosen for court performances. Textual revisions were also conducted on older plays in order to increase their theatrical potential for revivals with new theatrical stock and improved staging facilities.

Chapter Seven

Epilogue and a Narrative Reconstruction of a Day at the Rose

What this thesis has attempted to do is to uncover and reassemble as much as possible the details underlying both the Rose playhouse's operation and the creation of the voluminous theatrical records in Henslowe's *Diary* as well as other documents in the Henslowe-Alleyn papers. To give a better-rounded image of the Rose playhouse, the preceding chapters have examined and pieced together what records in the *Diary* and related archival, textual, as well as archaeological evidence may jointly reveal about the Rose's geographical surroundings, physical presence, financial management, commercial operation, as well as key aspects of its performance history. And having examined in the preceding chapters these various aspects of the Rose and its operation, in the following final section of this thesis I will revisit and better contextualise the *Diary's* records that I have highlighted at the very beginning of this thesis—and especially the entry on folio 27v about the performance of *Doctor Faustus* at the Rose on 14 October 1597. Drawing from historical facts, deduced information, and educated guesses examined and obtained in the preceding chapters, I will attempt a detailed narrative reconstruction—with due allowance, inevitably, for a reasonable amount of inference, speculation, or embellishment—of a typical day of the Rose's operation that lay behind the creation of something as simple as a single entry among the *Diary's* vast amount of records.

Printing and Setting up the Playbills

For anyone walking in the streets of London and Southwark on 14 October 1597, it would be hard to miss that the play of the day at the Rose playhouse was going to be *Doctor Faustus*. Those who had attended the performance of *The Comedy of Humours* on the previous day would have already learnt about the title of the play today.¹ For others, almost anywhere their wandering eyes might turn, there was likely a playbill posted close by: outside the playhouse itself in Maiden Lane; outside the booksellers' stores by St. Paul's yard—one of the City's "information hubs"; on the walls, doors, and doorposts of homes, shops, and public houses; on the countless common tethering posts outside various establishments that lined the streets; on the numerous wooden posts marking the pedestrians' walks from the horse tracks;

¹ For discussion and an example of this common practice, see Stern, *Documents of Performance*, p. 36.

and in some places perhaps also on some of the “pissing posts”, pillories, and whipping posts.² These bills had been freshly printed for the Admiral’s Men, and must have been delivered to the company either sometime earlier that morning or by the previous evening. As no playbill from this period survives, it is difficult to know for sure the exact logistics involved in the production and delivery of the Rose’s playbills. But since the printer of these bills has already been identified, some educated guesses regarding the most likely location of the printing shop and the possible channels of the playbills’ circulation may now be ventured.

Between 1593 and c.1603, the printer in London with the exclusive right for printing playbills was James Roberts.³ Roberts took over this right from John Charlewood—who had held it since 1587—through marrying the latter’s widow in 1593. As Roberts secured the right for printing playbills, the Stationer’s Company also turned over to him Charlewood’s former printing shop and stock of books. Several pieces of typographical and biographical information related to Roberts and Charlewood provide useful leads for locating this printing shop with relative accuracy. Among these, the title pages of Charlewood’s printed books provide the most direct and reliable evidence. While title pages of printed books from this period almost always include the name of the bookseller, the location of the bookshop, and quite often also the name of the printer, they only mention the address and sign of the printing shop occasionally. Fortunately, one such example exists for Charlewood. The surviving title page of one of his printed books from 1590 identifies him as “dwelling in Barbican, at the signe of the halfe Egle and the Key”.⁴ The phrasing of this attribution is entirely formulaic; and the word “dwelling” denotes as much the residence of the printer as the sign and address of his printing shop. This was clearly also the case, as discussed in an earlier chapter, for Peter Treveris and his Southwark printing shop at the sign of the Savages (or “Wodows”).⁵ The Half Eagle and the

² For a survey of these various possible places for posting the playbills, see Stern, *Documents of Performance*, pp. 50-3. The supporting post of a pillory sometimes doubled as whipping posts. There were at least two documented pillories in the public streets of Southwark during the mid-sixteenth century. As the street plan of 1542 (PRO MS MPC 64) clearly shows, one of them was in the middle of the Borough High Street, and the other, completed with a cage, was in Tooley Street. Bruce Smith notes that St Paul’s, Westminster Hall, and the Royal Exchange were “all centers of hearing the latest—and spreading it by voicing it”. See Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, p. 60-1.

³ David Kathman, “Roberts, James (b. in or before 1540, d. 1618?)”, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004. See also Stationers’ Company (London, England), *A transcript of the registers of the company of stationers of London*, London: Birmingham : Priv. Print., 1875-77 ; 1894. Electronic reproduction. v. 1-5. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Libraries, 2007, p. 652. For the career of Roberts and his predecessor John Charlewood as printers of playbills, see also Stern, *Documents of Performance*, pp. 39-40.

⁴ Edward Dering, *A short Catechisme for Housholders, with Prayers to the Same Adioyning*. EEBO. STC (2nd ed.) / 6715.4.

⁵ Many of the title pages of Treveris’s printed books either identify the printer as “dwellynge in the sygne of the wodows” or state that the book was “emprynted at London: In Southwarke, at the sygne of the wodowes”.

Key in Barbican, in other words, was where Charlewood dwelled and ran his printing shop by 1590.

But was this the same printing shop that was turned over to Roberts in 1593? The name “Barbican” in Tudor London, as clearly shown on Agas’s *Civitas Londinum*, referred not to the general area but to a specific street that stretched east-west, connecting Aldersgate Street (on the west) with Redcross Street and Golden Lane (on the east), just outside the north-western corner of the city wall.⁶

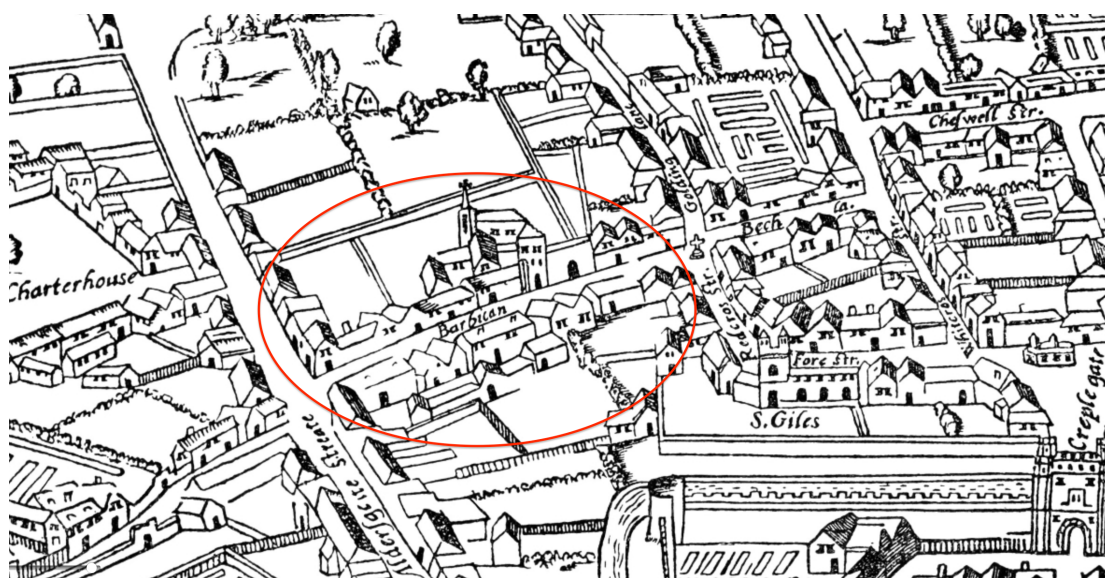


Fig. 16 Detail from Agas’s *Civitas Londinum* showing Barbican Street near the church of St Giles-without-Cripplegate and the Charterhouse. Detail taken from the online digitised edition of the map by MoEML, University of Victoria, [<https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm>].

As such, more than half of it fell within the boundary of the parish of St Giles-without-Cripplegate. Further biographical information about widow Charlewood and Roberts tallies well with this topographical detail. At the time of Charlewood’s death in 1593, his widow was known to be living in the parish of St Giles-without-Cripplegate, where she soon re-married Roberts.⁷ While Roberts had resided in St Martin Ludgate before this marriage, his relocation

⁶ “Barbican” remained the name of a particular street until at least as late as 1888, when it was described by Sir John James Baddeley as a “good broad street well inhabited by tradesmen, especially salesmen of apparel new and old”. See Baddeley, *An account of the church and parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, in the city of London*, p. 27. The Barbican Street of Tudor London roughly overlaps with today’s Beech Street near Barbican Underground Station. The name “Beech Street” is apparently a continuation and extension of a shorter stretch of road extending eastwards from the Tudor Barbican Street past Golden Lane and Redcross Street. On Agas’s *Civitas Londinum* this road is marked “Bech La[ne]”.

⁷ David Kathman, “Roberts, James (b. in or before 1540, d. 1618?)”, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004.

to St Giles-without-Cripplegate is further confirmed by the existence of a later record, in the parish register, of the burial of one of his sons.⁸ Last but not least, the title pages of three of Roberts' later printed books—one from 1598 and the other two from 1603—either state that he was “dwelling in Barbican”, or that the book was to be “sold at his house in Barbican”.⁹ Roberts' relocation to this place thus seems most likely the direct result of his marriage and his taking over of Charlewood's printing shop.

Together, these records pinpoint Roberts' printing shop in the eastern stretch of Barbican Street, in the parish of St Giles-without-Cripplegate. Thus between Charlewood and Roberts, and for nearly sixteen years from 1587 to c.1603, the playbills for London playhouses were all printed at this location. Whether or not the bills were picked up directly from the printing shop by members of the playing company, however, remains uncertain. Just like Charlewood, Roberts was known to be printing for various booksellers in the City, the majority of which ran their bookshops in the vicinity of St Paul's yard. It is thus equally possible that the playbills were delivered to St Paul's yard—or some other prearranged location within the City—before being picked up by members of the company.

Presumably, the bills needed to be set up fairly early on the day of performance in order to allow enough time for the information to spread to a wider public before playing was due to start around two o'clock in the afternoon. The journey from the Bankside to either Barbican Street or St Paul's yard, no matter by water or on foot, would have been a reasonably short and easy one to make. There were several convenient routes between the Rose playhouse and the City used almost daily by spectators. These will be described in more detail later. It is impossible to know whether or not the master players were willing to trouble themselves with the errand of fetching the printed playbills. If not, the boys in the company or some hired hands might be sent down one of these well-travelled routes, and perhaps set up a few bills where they saw fit on their way back.

The Return of Performance

How exactly was the decision to stage *Doctor Faustus* on this particular day received by the public? A clear answer to this question is difficult to obtain, as no half-gallery income or any direct eyewitness account from this day is available. Nevertheless, educated guesses may

⁸ This record, dated 7 September 1603, reads :“John sonne of James Robeartes Prynter”. LMA, P69/GIS/A/002/MS06419, Item 001.

⁹ See Joseph Armes et al., *Typographical Antiquities*, pp. 1034, 1036. See also the title page of Samuel Harsnett, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 2880.

be attempted by weighing together related records in Henslowe's *Diary* as well as other known facts about the events that took place in the summer of 1597. To begin with, the *Diary* shows that the half-gallery takings from the previous two performances were both over two pounds—satisfactory sums that usually indicate fairly decent turnouts of audience. Although by this time neither of the two plays performed—*The Spanish Tragedy* and *The Comedy of Humours*—could be regarded as new by any means, it is important to note that both were among the Rose's all-time top-grossing offerings. The nature and timing of their performances bespeak a strategy frequently employed by the Rose partnership to exploit the remaining commercial value of older plays by capitalising on the usual surge of appetite for playing at the opening days new seasons. The decision to stage *Doctor Faustus*—another old favourite—on the third day of performance in the new summer season was clearly the result of these same considerations and a continuation of the same strategy. The fairly decent half-gallery takings recorded from the previous two days thus may serve as good indications that *Faustus* was likely similarly well received.

To identify other contributing factors that led the spectators to flock to the playhouse for these familiar “Rose classics” at this time, the confluence of events in the summer of 1597 needs to be examined. By this time the playhouse had already been closed for two and a half months, and the hiatus had not been without its own drama and suspense. The Privy Council's order for the closure of playhouses on 28 July in the wake of the *Isle of Dogs* incident, unlike the usual suspension of playing during the summer months as a precautionary measure against the spread of plague, demanded not only the suppression of public performance but also the demolition and defacement of all the London playhouses.¹⁰ The impact of this strongly worded order and its aftermath on the general mood, expectation, and atmosphere in the Bankside's theatrical circle as well as the local playgoing communities need careful unpicking.

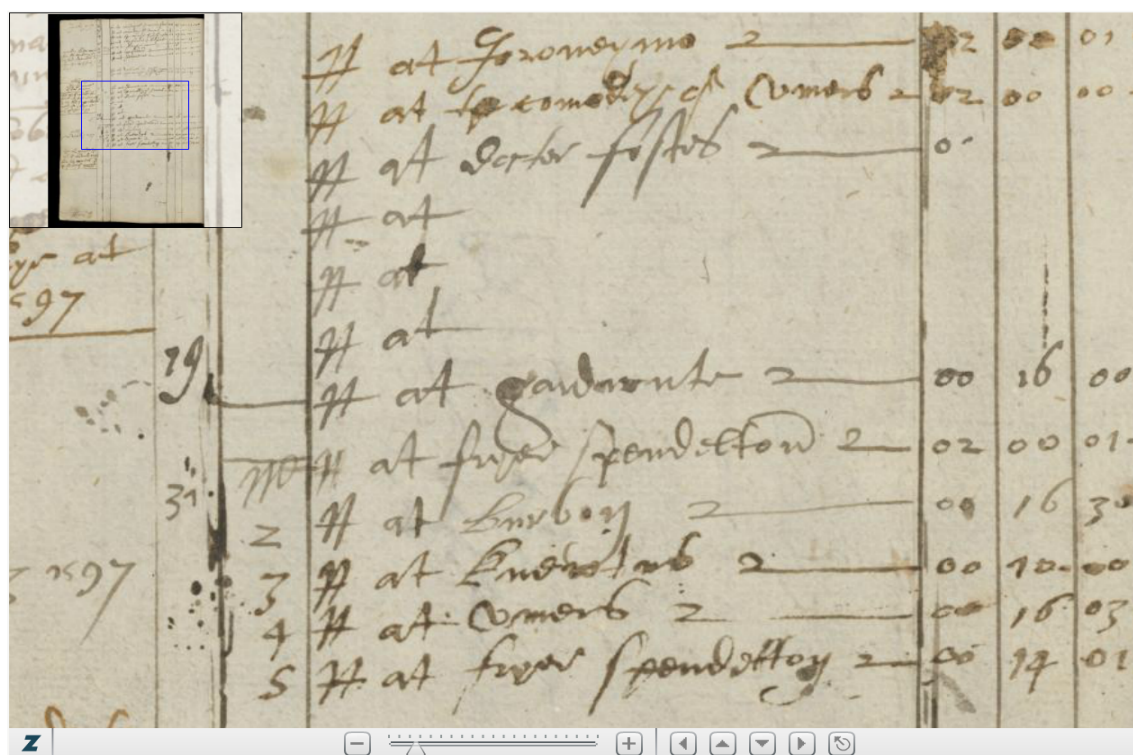
On the one hand, swift and heavy-handed retribution—the immediate total ban on playing, the imprisonment of Jonson, Spencer, and Shaa, the seizure of Nashe's papers, as well as the subsequent investigations—descended in rapid successions. These, normally, would have generated a fair degree of apprehension and uncertainty among not only the theatrical community but also the local community familiar with the Rose's manager and players. On the other hand, however, the absence of any record or expenditure in the *Diary* for any structural work on the Rose for either its dismantlement or restoration around this time suggests that the

¹⁰ For the Privy Council order dated 28 July 1597, see Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England* Vol. 27, 1597, p. 313-4.

Privy Council's order was not enforced or followed to the letter. Further suggesting a not insignificant amount of optimism held by the Rose partnership was also the fact that quite a few of the contracts between Henslowe and the players were formed exactly during these months. But to what extent such optimism trickled out to the local communities of Southwark is difficult to know. Although Southwark's local residents were closely interwoven with the Bankside's theatrical community, with all the public channels as well as various personal connections and inroads sending around a cocktail of mixed information, it is ultimately difficult to gauge to what extent facts were muddled up with rumours, and optimism with apprehension.

Understanding this uncertainly helps put the Rose partnership's decision to give public performances in mid-October into context. By mid-October, with the recent release of Jonson, Spencer, and Shaa, the storm would seem to have largely blown over. But the re-opening of the playhouse was yet to be officially sanctioned.¹¹ Frequent interruptions to regular daily performances could still, and did, take place. The delicacy of the situation is clearly captured in the physical details of the *Diary*'s records. Among the performance records on fol. 27v, there are nine more entries following that of *Faustus*. The first six of them were apparently made in one batch, as they were all written in the same type of ink of a darker colour. The typical bookkeeping method that Henslowe used was to jot down in advance the heading "tt at" for each potential day of performance, and fill in the titles of the plays later. Of these entries, three consecutive ones after *Faustus* bear the heading "tt at" written in advance, but were left blank in the end. This suggests that the Rose partnership was most likely expecting to give more performances immediately after *Faustus*, but eventually was unable to.

¹¹ For the Privy Council order to the Keeper of Marshalsea for the release of the players, see Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England Vol. 28, 1597-1598*, p. 33.



[<http://www.henslowe-alley.n.org.uk/images/MSS-7/027v.html>]

At the same time, changes and uncertainties perhaps also brought about opportunities. While the Rose had faced strong competition from the neighbouring Swan for the most part of

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early and mid-1597, by mid-October its officially confirmed status as the only licensed playhouse south of the river, and the new concentration of theatrical talents after the re-shuffling of personnel between the Admiral's and Pembroke's Men now placed it in the strengthened position as the leading playhouse on the Bankside. The new situation that emerged from the eventful summer brought ample opportunities for fresh theatrical productions as well as exciting advertisement materials that could tickle the playgoing public's curiosity and capture their imagination. On the one hand, some of the former Swan plays could now be produced in new ways as they were adapted to the Rose's stage and resources. On the other hand, with the changes in personnel there was also the potential for fresh faces to appear in familiar Rose plays and some of their most memorable roles. The organisational shakeup in the Bankside's theatrical community and its possible impact on future productions were likely to have generated vast amount of speculations, rumours, excitement, and intrigue.

Last but not least, it may be noted that by mid-October, the Rose's principal celebrity player Edward Alleyn was going to retire from the stage very soon. The precise date of his final performance in late 1597 is unknown, but it must have happened before 29 December at the latest, for that was the earliest date among a batch of records, on fol. 43 of the *Diary*, written by Henslowe under the heading "A not[e] of all suche goods as I haue Bowght for playnge sence my sonne edward allen leafte [p]laynge". By mid-October Alleyn's departure would probably have looked imminent. For the playgoing public, Alleyn's many memorable portrayals of popular characters over the years—Tamburlaine, Barabas, Orlando, Hieronimo, Cutlack, Faustus, and so on—would soon become pure memories only. In the tightly knit community of the Bankside where players mingled with local residents on daily basis, news that carried such weighty implications would have been in wide circulation by the time the Rose re-opened on 11 October. It is hard to imagine that the staging of "Rose classics" such as *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Doctor Faustus* in close proximity during these opening days was not advertised as among the final opportunities to see Alleyn perform on the stage. The long-standing association between Alleyn and the Rose that had formed since perhaps as early as the late-1580s, as Cerasano has pointed out, had played a key part in the marketing of the Rose's productions until now.¹³ And now its impending dissolution was also used for the same purpose.

¹³ Cerasano, "Edward Alleyn, the New Model Actor", pp. 47-8.

Locating the Rose's Players

Thus, after the uncertainties and organisational re-shuffle in the summer of 1597, the Rose emerged as more solidly embedded in Southwark with its legitimacy and privileged position as the sole licensed public playhouse south of the river. Situated at one of the nodal points in a wide network of traffic routes by both land and water, the strategically placed playhouse was easily accessible from all directions. Such geographical positioning, instead of being a sign of the theatrical institution's exile and refuge in the urban margin as suggested by such orthodox schematic views of the City-suburb opposition as found in Mallaney's *The Place of the Stage* or Carlson's *Places of Performance*, emphatically underscores the nature of commercial public theatre of this time as at once a locally-based and urban-centric phenomenon that emerged from, and became consolidated through, the wider shift during the early- and mid-1590s in major playing companies' operational mode. For the Rose, its deep connections with both Southwark and London is evident in the playhouse's heavy reliance on the trade and traffic networks as well as the human resources from both Southwark and London for its daily supplies, operations, and profit.

So what exactly was it like for the players and the playgoers to travel from their various places in and around the City to the Bankside playhouse? Regarding the company's players, in order to gain a more concrete sense of what the commute to work was like for them, one must first turn to the voluminous token books of St Saviour parish for details of their exact residential locations. By early 1597, as the token books reveal, many members of the Rose's company had already moved to Southwark. Several of them, in fact, were Bankside residents living in close proximity not just to the playhouse but also to each other.

In the same neighbourhood on the eastern end of Bankside could be found Thomas Hunt, who had newly moved into Norman's Rents; and Thomas Downton, a long-time resident in the nearby Horseshoe Alley who had lately moved to Three Tuns Alley. In the yearly token books these properties or places almost always appear close to each other—a good indication of their physical proximity, as the records were taken from door to door and alley to alley. In all the token books, records for these places are also always just a few pages away from those of the Rose Alley, next to which the playhouse was standing. For Downton and Hunt, the distance between their home and workplace was literally just a couple of minutes' walk.

Similarly, Richard Jones—Downton's neighbour in Horseshoe Alley back in 1593—had by 1597 moved to the Bell, the property where Henslowe and his family had been staying for years. Situated in the middle section of Bankside near the Bear Garden (by today's Bear Gardens Lane), the Bell was even closer to the Rose. At the same time, on the western part of

Bankside could be found Edward Juby, living in Oare's Rents; and John Singer, who had lately moved from Shoreditch into Austen's Rents.¹⁴ Oare's Rents, as suggested again by the sequence of properties among which it appears in the token books, was in the area by Molestrand Dock (near today's Tate Modern). And Austen's Rents, according to corroborating evidence both from the token books and a later survey map of the Paris Garden area, was slightly further inland and close to the Swan playhouse.¹⁵ Both properties thus were still within five minutes' walk from the Rose.

Finally, living just slightly further from work than his colleagues, on the Boroughside of Southwark, was William Bird. In 1597 he was recorded as living in Chequer Alley, on the east side of the Borough High Street and very close to the southern bridgehead of London Bridge.¹⁶ In two years' time he was to move into Pepper Alley just on the opposite side of the High Street. Also living on Boroughside was Richard Alleyn, although the exact location of his lodging remains unclear due to the fact that two persons of this name are found in the token books. In 1597, one was recorded as living in Wilson's Rents, near Foul Lane just south of the parish church (today's Bedale Street); the other, in Christopher Alley further down south of the Borough High Street, and on its east side (probably near today's St Christopher's Inn). Despite the ambiguity, these records do identify Richard Alleyn as another of the Rose's players who, by 1597, was living within easy walking distance from the playhouse. And to this list of players one might perhaps also add Martin Slater, a resident in Horseshoe Alley on the Bankside since 1596. Although he had left the company by mid-October 1597, records show that he continued to live in the same place until 1602. The now soon-to-retire Edward Alleyn, similarly, also appears to remain a regular Bankside resident after his departure from the stage. It is not entirely clear where exactly he lived due to his curious absence from the parish token books. However, he does appear regularly in many of the lay subsidy assessments for Southwark, listed among the residents of the Clink liberty. In 1602 he was also listed among the rent-paying tenants of John Maulthouse's Rents, which at that time was in Henslowe's possession. These documents, to a considerable extent, point to Alleyn's continued presence in the Bankside communities.

¹⁴ For Singer's residence in Shoreditch, see Berry, 'Singer, John (fl. 1583–1603)', *ODNB*.

¹⁵ See Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642*, p. 24. The survey map shows a patch of ground with buildings, under the name "Mr Austin", close to the Swan (marked as "olde playe house") and sandwiched between Winchester Park and another property named "Copt Hall". This location of Austen's Rents is further confirmed by the fact that the token book records from this property usually appear very close to those from Copt Hall.

¹⁶ This now non-extant alley was probably between today's Tooley Street and Duke Street Hill, to the north of London Bridge Underground Station.

For these players who had become Southwark locals in 1597, the commute to work was undoubtedly short and easy. As for the other half of the company—Thomas Towne, Charles Massey, Robert Shaa, Humphrey Jeffes, Antony Jeffes, Samuel Rowley, and Gabriel Spencer—their places of residence during this time have been more difficult to track down. The *Diary* and the token books show that a few of them were to move to Southwark in later years.¹⁷ In 1597, however, it is entirely possible that some of them were also living south of the Thames but in areas beyond the scope of St Saviour's token books. These might include places such as the nearby parish of St Olave on the east, the communities around Lambeth Palace on the west, or close to Newington on the south. Some, just like Rowley, could also be living north of the river either within the City or in some of its adjacent neighbourhoods such as Shoreditch, Clerkenwell, Whitechapel, or Mile End—all of which had their various connections with the history and development of London's theatre industry. For these players, the routes taken on their commute to work would have been no different than those taken almost daily by the playgoers.¹⁸

Thus quite some time before the performance was due to start, the company's players and other helping hands would have already arrived at the playhouse, via various routes, to make their final preparations. Besides production-related work that had already been completed in the previous two weeks or so, such as casting, rehearsals, making ready the wardrobe, and so on; there were still plenty of other detailed logistical tasks for making ready the stage that could only be carried out on the day of performance. For *Faustus* today, these involved putting up the backstage plot, moving large stage properties such as the dragon, a chariot, and the Pope's banqueting table and chairs to their standby positions, testing out the pulley system for the throne, raising the backdrop of the City of Rome into place so that it could be revealed mid-performance, and perhaps also taking out some squibs from their storage place and carefully tucking them away in some hidden pockets sewn into the devils' shaggy costumes.

Making Way to the Bankside Playhouse: The Playgoers' Routes

¹⁷ Thomas Towne became a resident of Rocket's Rents, in Henslowe's possession in 1602, and remained there until 1612. Humphrey Jeffes's name appears only once, in the token book of 1604 (P92/SAV/196, fol. 18), among the records taken from Frying Pan Alley. His presence in this place during this time is dubious, however, as the name appears to be crossed out. Samuel Rowley lived and died in the parish of St Mary, Whitechapel. For this, see Cerasano, "Rowley, Samuel (d. 1624)", *ODNB*. Stephen Magett, the company's "tyreman" since at least early 1595, is listed among Henslowe's tenants of the Rose Rents in 1602 (*HD*, fol. 178).

¹⁸ These routes will be examined individually and in detail in the next section.

While all these were busy underway inside the Rose, as two o'clock in the afternoon drew closer, traffic along Maiden Lane outside the playhouse was also getting increasingly heavy. Playgoers all over London were making their various ways to the Rose. City dwellers, Southwark locals, and travellers, drawn by words from the playbills and from mouth to ear, were now streaming in from all directions and converging on the Bankside establishment that had been unfrequented for the past two and a half months.

a. From the Bankside

Bankside residents, just like some of the company's players, enjoyed the most direct access to the Rose. From Winchester Palace on the east to the Upper Ground on the west, the Bankside consisted of over one thousand residents housed in tenements built upon plots of ground and messuages with names reminiscent of the old "stews" that had once stood there, and segmented now by alleyways running between the riverbank and Maiden Lane. The riverfront walk, according to a survey map of the area from a 1618 lawsuit, was particularly wide—the breadth of which being "sufficient for twoe cartes a fronte".¹⁹ This road, together with Maiden Lane and the multiple alleys running in-between, formed the Bankside's ladder-shaped traffic grids. For the inhabitants in this network, travelling from end to end on the Bankside, even on foot, was usually a matter of a few minutes. Going to the Rose, for them, meant perhaps little more trouble than visiting a neighbour's house. The remarkable social and spatial intimacy between the players and the playgoers went far beyond the confines of the playhouse's space or the limited hours of performance. to the forming of the phenomenon what Susan Bennett has understood as the playgoers' "double recognition" of both the player himself and the well-known roles he played.²⁰ This two-fold recognition, for many playgoers among Southwark's local communities, happened just as frequently outside as it did inside the Rose. Without such a deep level of familiarity underlying the interpenetration between the theatrical and the local communities, or the fluidity of the social boundary between players and playgoers, the remarkable "flexibility" as observed by Bennett in the "relationship between the stage and audience worlds" would be unaccountable.

b. From the Boroughside

¹⁹ LMA, COL/CCS/PL/01/205/26

²⁰ Bennett, *Theatre Audiences*, p. 152.



Fig. 19 Screenshot of the modern street layout from Google Map showing the upper (northern) section of Southwark's Borough High Street. [<https://www.google.co.uk/maps/@51.5053492,-0.090925,17.12z>] [Screenshot taken by me]

From New Rents, the playgoers entered into a longer road labelled in the 1618 survey map as “[a] broade Carte waie leading vnto the Bancke ende”, whose contours largely followed the southern and western boundaries of Winchester Palace.²² It was into this broad road that playgoers streaming down from New Rents converged with those coming up from the lower (southern) half of the Borough High Street.



²² This road is still extant today and forms the eastern half of the modern-day Park Street.

Fig. 20 Detail of the section from the survey map related to the 1618 lawsuit (LMA, COL/CCS/PL/01/205/26) showing the “broade Carte waie leading vnto the Banc ende”, west of the Winchester Palace and its gardens (labelled here as “The Clinck”).

For the latter, their journey to this broad cart way consisted of three legs. Coming out of the tenements, inns, taverns, and victualing houses that lined the main street as well as its side-alleys, local residents together with travellers going in and out of London by way of Southwark needed first to reach the common market place near St Margaret Hill where the Borough High Street split—as it still does today just in front of the St Saviours Southwark War Memorial—into a “Y” shape. In Tudor times the left fork of the road continued northward for a short stretch before making a westward turn towards Winchester Palace. At the latter’s southern boundary the road reached its end and turned at a sharp angle into the broad cart way. To trace this route in modern-day Southwark, one takes the left fork road still called the Borough High Street, makes an exit into Southwark Street, and continues on the opposite side into Stoney Street. About one third of the way from its southern entrance, Stoney Street is joined with the eastern entrance of the modern-day Park Street at a sharp angle. And it was at this turning that Tudor playgoers coming from all parts of Boroughside merged and entered into the broad cart way leading towards Bankside.

With this turning, which bypassed the expansive Winchester Palace, there also came a dramatic change of scenery. Coming out of the beating heart of the Borough’s civic life through a network of alleyways and streets nestled between dense buildings of sooty timber and plastered stone walls, the playgoers were now in a much wider, greener area with open view of the vast Winchester Park sporadically dotted with trees and shrubberies. The raucous noises of the high street taverns were now reduced to a far-off murmur creeping beneath the many happier sounds—from the wind through rustling leaves, the long gurgling ditches, the grazing herds and flocks, as well as the merry conversations between playgoing companions. If they looked in the north-western direction across the park, some might even get a glimpse of the playhouse, standing tall over ridges of roofs in the near distance, with its sign of the blooming rose proudly flying from a pole.

But this view was soon to be obstructed again, as people continued along the well-trodden cart way, by re-emerging clusters of buildings near the eastern part of Bank End. Just before reaching the riverbank, the road branched out on its left to connect with the eastern entrance of Maiden Lane.²³ Here, all the playgoers coming from the Boroughside would merge, once again,

²³ The junction where the broad cart way joined Maiden Lane is also clearly visible in Hollar’s *Long View*. In modern-day Southwark, these two old roads make up the entire length of Park Street.

into the traffic oozing out of the Bankside alleys and tenements, and moved together towards a common destination.

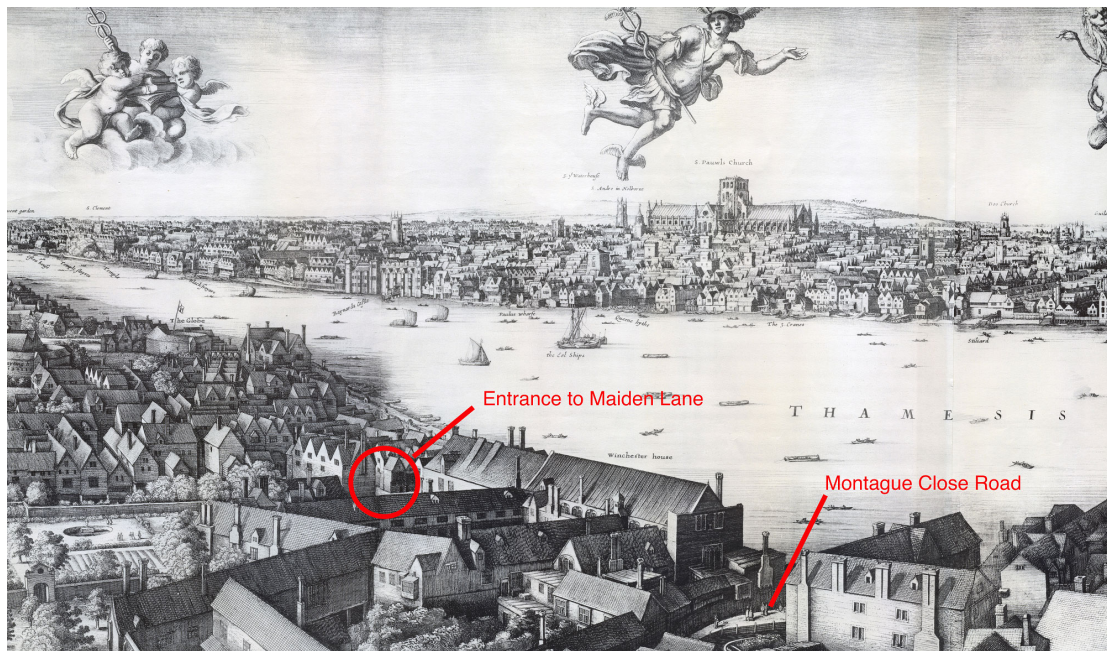


Fig. 21 Detail in Hollar's *Long View* (1647) showing the bent road of Montague Close and the eastern entrance of Maiden Lane [highlights and labels mine].

How long did it usually take for playgoers from the Boroughside to reach the playhouse? As almost all their travel routes can still be traced in the modern-day street layout of Southwark, some estimations can be obtained. Personal research by repeated timed walks at a leisurely pace following these routes shows that, nowadays, with all the extra obstructions from modern buildings that carve up the area around Southwark Cathedral and Montague Close, the journey from the southern end of London Bridge to the site of the Rose playhouse typically takes only around six minutes.²⁴ A Tudor playgoer on this route, as mentioned, would usually need to take a detour around the Winchester Palace. Even so, the whole walk from the bridgehead to the Rose would take only about nine minutes. Similarly, for those setting out for the Rose from the church of St George the Martyr at the southernmost end of the Borough High Street, the whole journey could still easily be completed within about eleven minutes. What is more, with the broad cart way well-connected with the Borough High Street, it would have been an even shorter journey for those who chose to travel by coaches or carts.

c. From North of the River

For people travelling to the Rose from across the river, there were also multiple options available. Those who preferred walking could easily take a stroll across London Bridge. And

²⁴ This practice-based research by timed walks on these routes as well as on the other routes mentioned in the subsequent sections, was conducted by me on 23 April 2016.

once they reached the southern bridgehead, they could join with the rest of the playgoers from the upper half of the Borough High Street on their way to the Bankside. Time-wise, my practice-based research shows that walking at a leisurely pace from Bishopsgate all the way down modern Gracechurch Street to the northern end of London Bridge typically normally takes about twelve minutes. The time needed for this walk would not have been too different for a Tudor playgoer, as the length and direction of this main traffic route has remained largely unchanged throughout the centuries. Nowadays it takes about four and a half minutes to walk the length of the modern-day London Bridge. The old London Bridge that connected Tudor London and Southwark in fact stood just a little further to the east, whose northern bridgehead led directly to the church of St Magnus-the-Martyr. The post-Great-Fire reincarnation of the church still stands today, making it easy to estimate that the extra distance that Tudor playgoers needed to cover on their way to the playhouse could not have cost them more than an extra minute or two.

For those from other parts of the City further from the Bridge, going by water was undoubtedly the more straightforward method. Coming down to the northern riverbank, playgoers embarked on ferries that launched from multiple points along the riverfront. Navigating skilfully through the Thame's busy currents, each boat, depending on its departure location, made its own way towards one of the several main landing stairs along Bankside—the Barge House stairs on the Upper Ground, the Paris Garden stairs near Langley's properties, the Falcon Stairs next to the well-known inn of its namesake, and Mason Stairs near Moss Alley. From their boats bobbing up and down on the waves, the playgoers could clearly see the riverfront view of Southwark growing ever closer and larger, with three taller and wider polygonal structures looming behind a much humbler roofline.²⁵ While for quite some time since late 1596 the one on the right—the newer, larger, and better-decorated Swan playhouse—had often been the more desirable place to see a play; today, it was the one on the left that was all the playgoers' common destination.

Once landed, the playgoers could either choose to stroll eastwards along the spacious riverbank walk and enjoy on their way the riverside view with ships, barges, and ferries shuttling to and fro against the magnificent background of London's familiar roofline with all its iconic church steeples; or go down directly to Maiden Lane first, and make their way towards the Rose with the idyllic Winchester Park and the open fields beyond rolling back on their right-hand side.

²⁵ From left to right, these were the Rose, the Bear Garden, and the Swan.

d. From Westminster and Lambeth

Also joining the playgoers landing on the Bankside were those who had travelled from further west. Residents of Westminster had earlier crossed the Thames from the west bank and landed near Lambeth Palace at either Stangate Stairs or Horse Ferry Stairs. From there, together with local residents of Lambeth, some had made their way along the riverfront walk following the bend of the river before joining Londoners landing directly on the Bankside. Others had come via a different route further inland: by a long road running along the northern edge of St George's Field before turning into Gravel Lane, a well-travelled road leading directly to the western entrance of Maiden Lane.



Fig. 22 Detail in Agas's *Civitas Londinum* showing ferries and landing stairs between Westminster and Lambeth. Screenshot taken from the online digitised edition of the map by MoEML, University of Victoria, [<https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm>] [Screenshot taken by me].

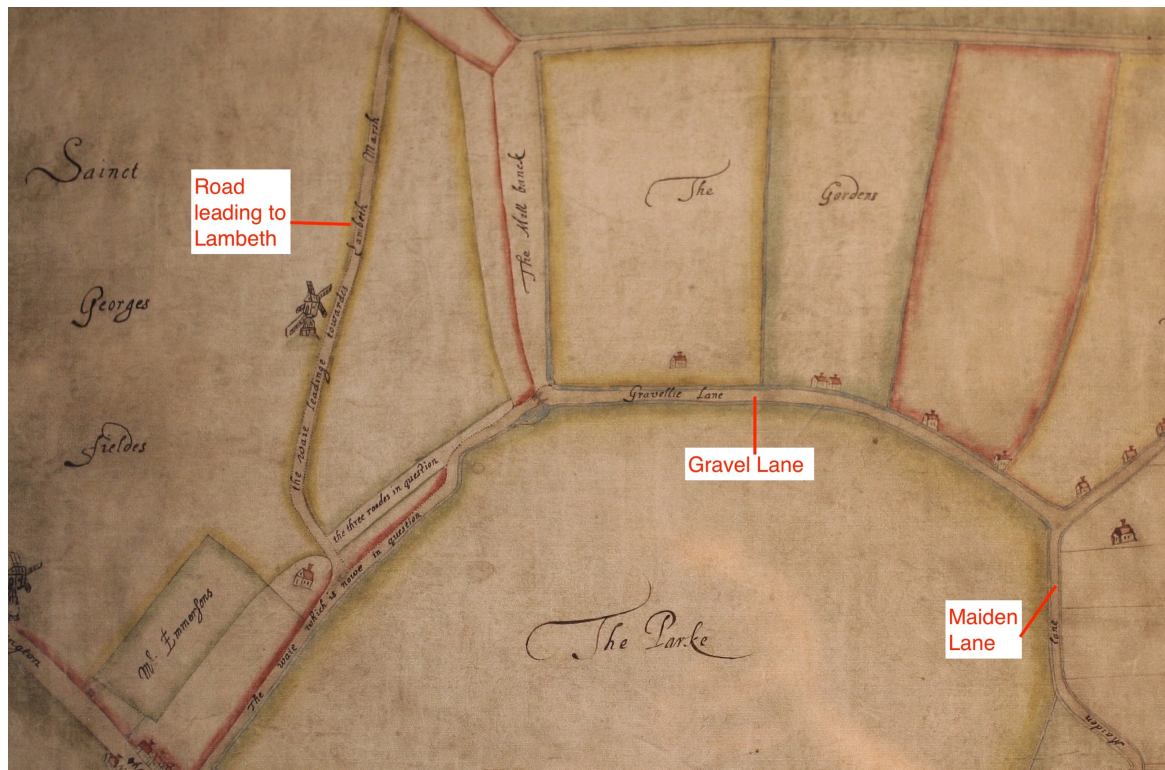


Fig. 23 Detail in the survey map related to the 1618 lawsuit (LMA, COL/CCS/PL/01/205/26) showing Maiden Lane, Gravel Lane, and the road leading to Lambeth [highlights and labels mine].

In terms of length, both routes were undoubtedly among the longer ones taken by playgoers to the Rose. The riverside walk from Lambeth to the Bankside can still be easily replicated in today's Lambeth and Southwark. The old Gravel Lane and the long road leading to Lambeth marsh, however, have long been lost to the urbanisation of these areas, and hence can only be roughly traced along a succession of modern streets in Lambeth. Nevertheless, repeated timed walks that replicate both routes in modern-day Lambeth and Southwark show that both take slightly over thirty-five minutes to complete. For the Tudor playgoers travelling on the original routes—which were certainly much less hindered by modern buildings, crossings, and heavy traffic—the whole journey might well have taken considerably less time.

Walking into Maiden Lane

Thus, like the confluence of multiple tributaries into the main stream, playgoers from in and around London—who had journeyed by various routes in the expansive traffic network surrounding the Bankside—poured into Maiden Lane from both ends. Turning into such a street at the centre of the Bankside's hustle-and-bustle—especially for those who had just travelled on roads through open fields or along the riverbank—brought about an immediately

appreciable change of view and ambience. On the one hand, this area still had its easily recognisable suburban characteristics, such as the long sewers; the view of Winchester Park through the gaps between trees, shrubberies, or houses; the existence of several garden plots and ponds of various sizes sandwiched between tenement buildings or fenced within messuages; the occasional dust clouds churned up from the well-trodden unpaved road by passing coaches carrying the wealthier sort; and of course also the two imposing ring-shaped structures standing by the middle stretch of the street.

On the other hand, this area also partook heavily of Southwark's geographical and cultural position as an integral part of London's civic life. City dwellers entering Maiden Lane, far from entering into the "alien" space or the quasi-legitimate and disreputable area as commonly described by contemporary literary pamphleteers, would have found themselves in a highly familiar and easily navigable extension of the urban civic life. A strong reminder that one had now entered a well-populated neighbourhood was the concentration of buildings. In Hollar's *Long View*, the area immediately surrounding Maiden Lane is depicted as a densely built-up district whose street surface, at a lower angle, is almost completely blocked from view by numerous rows of buildings and their gabled roofs.

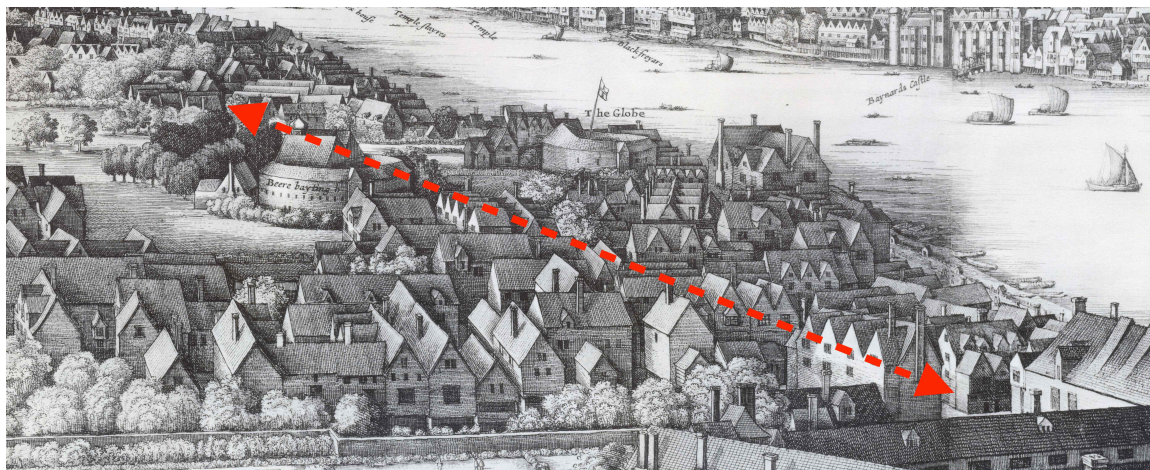


Fig. 24 Detail from Hollar's *Long View* (1647) showing dense buildings along Maiden Lane. I have indicated with the dotted line the general direction of the eastern and middle sections of this road.

While the view captured by Hollar was that of 1647, it was the result of a development process already in full swing by the early 1590s. Providing a better glimpse of what Maiden Lane was like during this period are the extensive sewer commission records from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In Tudor times the common sewers ran along almost the entire length of Maiden Lane on both sides of the street. Connecting the upper (northern)

sewer and the Thames were also multiple back ditches and cross ditches.²⁶ As a result, Maiden Lane figures prominently in the sewer commission's surveys and orders throughout the years, whose pragmatic, matter-of-fact attitude and unembellished prose help preserve some fascinating—at times gritty—details about the landscape, daily activities, and characteristics of this area as well as its inhabitants.

Concerned primarily with issuing orders for the upkeep of the common sewers, the commissioners often took note of sections of the ditches near areas with higher concentration of buildings, residents and activities. As one survey from 1593 reported, the area along the southern ditch at the eastern end of Maiden Lane had by that time already boasted multiple houses. Concerned with the blockage caused in the sewer in this area, the commissioners also observed that still “more [houses were] like to be [built]” and reiterated a court order for the prohibition thereof.²⁷ On the other end, in the western section of Maiden Lane could be found another fairly large neighbourhood by the Boar's Head rents—a property later in Henslowe's possession.

At the same time, the middle section of Maiden Lane and its several side alleys also had their fair share of houses and tenants—a fact clearly borne out by the long lists of names and properties in the yearly token books from the area. Tallying well with the token book records as well as the sense they convey of the existence of sizable and stable communities along Maiden Lane, the sewer commission's records make multiple mentions of various properties and their owners from this area. Some of those proprietors, such as Henslowe, Richard Woar (a dyer), Thomas Brand (a landlord)—just to name a few—were in fact fairly regularly named, ordered, or fined for numerous matters related to the maintenance of the sewers. One local brewer, Henry Draper, in particular, was mentioned in nearly every order between 1585 and 1606 for causing recurring problems. There were even a few times, moreover, when the entire Maiden Lane was named collectively, with all the landholders in possession of properties by the sewer ordered to clean up their own sections of the ditch.²⁸

Besides the area's remarkable concentration of buildings and population, the playgoers walking into Maiden Lane would certainly have also quickly noticed the dynamic atmosphere of the place. In the many buildings in this busy district were not only tenements and living quarters, but also the workshops belonging to all sorts of local tradesmen, such as brewers, bakers, butchers, carpenters, dyers, shoemakers (cobblers), weavers, leather dressers, and so

²⁶ LMA, SKCS/018 (Microfilm X067/001), ff. 312r-318v.

²⁷ LMA, SKCS/018 (Microfilm X067/001), ff. 187r-189r, 189v-191v.

²⁸ LMA, SKCS/018 (Microfilm X067/001), ff. 187r-189r, 189v-191v, 312r-318v.

on. With these various types of work and activities busy underway, their trade-related sounds and noises collectively formed the distinctive “soundscape”—to use Bruce Smith’s term—or the acoustic signature of the Bankside which the playgoers entered into.²⁹ Leaving behind the City’s signature sounds punctuated by, and accentuated with, bells tolling from churches across the City, upon entering Maiden Lane one entered the soundscape dominated by manufacturing activities. Mixing with the familiar sounds of nature were the monotonous clanks from the ironsmith’s and the armourer’s anvils, the rhythmic rasps of timber put to the carpenter’s saw, the pounding and tapping from the stonemason’s mallet and chisel, the jingle and jangle from the cutler’s store, among other perhaps less distinctly identifiable noises. Every now and then, there were also the clip-clops, rumbles and creaks of passing horse-drawn carts heavily loaded with hay and straw.

At the same time, carried through the air were a plethora of smells as well. The olfactory characteristics of Maiden Lane were also closely related to the area’s demographic and occupational landscape, and as a direct result of the heterogeneity of the playgoers would most likely have been no drastically different from the mixed smells of the Rose’s interior during performance. Andrew Gurr has aptly summarised them as “occupational smells”, surveying the succinct and rather disparaging descriptions by Marston and Dekker of the “stench of Garlicke”, the “barmy Jacket of a Beer-Brewer”, and the “garlic-breathed stinkards”.³⁰ Now with more detailed knowledge of the types of artisans living and working along Maiden Lane, a more concrete sense about these “occupational smells” could be obtained. Carried in the air would be the smells from the stoves in the bakery, from the docks where the fishermen unloaded their fresh haul, from the fishmonger’s stands, or from the burning piles of dry leaves and twigs scraped up at the corner the gardens.

Inevitably, there were also a whole range of other smells of a less savoury nature. Of these, the sewer commission records bear ample evidence. A large number of these surveys and orders dealt with stench and offensive odour from contamination, blockages, or overflowing of the sewer caused by unauthorised or sub-standard structures built by local residents for drainage and waste-disposal purposes. The playgoers walking down Maiden Lane would certainly have come across a whole variety of these structures—all too familiar to the sewer commissioners—such as privies and pissers set up over the ditches, or sewage gullies, pipes, and troughs extending into the common sewers from nearby buildings. On this day some of

²⁹ Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, p. 55, 60.

³⁰ Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare’s London* (2nd. ed.), p. 38.

those who travelled from the Boroughside had in fact just escaped an area—by St Saviour Dock near the parish church—that had recently been plagued by a pervading stench arising from floating and decaying hay and straws dumped into the Thames by the brewers, innkeepers, and carmen nearby.³¹ Having just come away from that, since entering Maiden Lane, they were now in the constant presence of all those waste-disposal units—“houses of office” as they were sometimes called—of various contraption, sizes, and shapes. This situation was to continue, as it turned out, for another few years until at least late 1603. According to one particular survey from that year, Maiden Lane, as a frequently-used footway into St George’s Field, was by that time “full of privies standing upon the sewer there”.³²

Apart from personal uses, these structures were also often made for draining wastewater from odoriferous industrial production processes such dyeing, felt-making, leather dressing, or tanning—many of which were among the more widely practiced trades by Southwark residents.³³ It was not until 1603 that a clear ban was finally placed on dumping wastewater from washing skin and wool into the sewers in times of low tides. For the many years prior to that, numerous local leather dressers, felt makers, as well as dyers were presented for casting “filthy oil, water, and other noisome things” from their trades into the common sewers. Not only causing foul odour to arise in surrounding areas to the great annoyance of passers-by, the wastes also spoiled the water in the sewer which, occasionally, was used by unwitting neighbouring brewers for brewing.³⁴ As one approaches the Bear Garden—standing in silence today—near the middle section of Maiden Lane, these smells were further mixed with the musty gamey odour from the kennels and cages kept outside the baiting arena.³⁵ Thus, all these acoustic and olfactory stimuli together generated the overall ambience of Maiden Lane. In her analysis of the underlying mechanisms of stage performance Patrice Pavis observes that the activation of the olfactory senses in the theatre can “unleash very potent emotions and memories” in the spectators.³⁶ Such a mechanism was certainly at work not only inside the

³¹ This particular situation was noted in the sewer commission’s report on 7 October 1597, just a few days before the performance day of *Faustus*, and thus was highly likely still unresolved by this time. See LMA, SKCS/018 (Microfilm X067/001), ff. 264v-268v.

³² LMA, SKCS/018 (Microfilm X067/001), ff. 382r-385r.

³³ This is based on the list of names and occupations extracted from local parish records transcribed and compiled by Alan Nelson and William Ingram, available at: [<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~ingram/StSaviour/vocations.html>].

³⁴ LMA, SKCS/018 (Microfilm X067/001), ff. 126r-127r, 129v-131v, 232v-236r, 382r-385r.

³⁵ The detail about the inactivity of the Bear Garden, as earlier mentioned, is based on the existence of the order from the Privy Council to the Mayor of London and justices of Surrey and Middlesex, dated 25th July 1591, which made mention of Thursdays as the days usually reserved for holding games of bear-baiting.

³⁶ Pavis, *Analyzing Performance*, trans. David Williams, p. 196.

theatrical space but in fact throughout the entire playgoing process as well. For the playgoers travelling from their various locations to the Rose, this was the process in which they traversed the boundaries of various soundscapes and olfactory spaces as they travelled in and out of the City, the fields, or the Borough, before converging into Maiden Lane and coming into a common familiar ambience that over the years would undoubtedly have become a widely shared part of the playgoing experience and memories associated with Rose.

Arriving at the Rose

To the east of the Bear Garden, at little more than a stone's throw, was the Rose playhouse. By this time this three-storied, timber-framed, thatch-roofed, and elongated polygonal structure standing in the small clearing within the Little Rose messuage had become the only licensed playhouse south of the river. Access from Maiden Lane to the playhouse was provided by a small bridge over the upper sewer. Here, even the wealthier and more prestigious visitors who had arrived on coaches had to alight and, like most others, make the crossing on foot. To sustain the daily crossings of thousands of spectators over this bridge, Henslowe had some posts stuck up underneath it for extra support. While solving this one problem, the posts often disrupted the flow of the water and easily caused blockages in the sewer, for which the reluctant theatre manager had been fined multiple times over the years.

Upon clearing the bridge, the playgoers could choose either to go straight into the playhouse, or stop by the small shed serving as a refreshment kiosk at the south-western corner of the Little Rose premise. Here could be found pots of ale for the parched mouths, bread to satisfy the empty stomachs, and various types of seeds, nuts, shellfish, as well as dried fruit for those who simply wanted something to munch on. It is unclear who at this time was managing this "catering service" attached to the Rose. The grocer John Cholmley—Henslowe's original partner in this—had only been running it for just about a year and a half before he died in April 1589.³⁷ No mention of any successor to the business or any formal agreement similar to the "Deed of Partnership" has been found in the *Diary* or among the Henslowe-Alleyn papers. A few pieces of more circumstantial evidence from the *Diary*, the St Saviour token books, the lay subsidy assessment rolls, and other parish records, however, seem to jointly highlight one John Shepherd (or Sheppard) as a possible candidate. The John Shepherd outlined by these documents was a grocer in Southwark, a long-time neighbour and acquaintance of Henslowe

³⁷ See Ingram, "John Cholmley on the Bankside", p. 51.

in the Clink liberty, and the latter's fellow lay subsidy assessor on several occasions over the years. Most interestingly, he had apparently also known most of the key members of the Admiral's Men by at least late 1594. Thus his personal profile, profession, and multiple connections with not only Henslowe but also the company at the Rose make him stand out as a suitable person to manage the catering business at the playhouse. Even if it was not Shepherd, it seems reasonable to suggest that it would have been someone similar to him in these key aspects. For Henslowe, partnering up with someone he was very familiar with would be a move well in accordance with the cautious style in which he conducted his business. For Shepherd, at the same time, it is perhaps not difficult to appreciate the advantages for a local resident running a predominantly local business. Besides obvious benefits from his great familiarity with his main clientele and their varying needs, there were economic benefits from easy logistics, too. As a local grocer, he could easily source his various goods from neighbours running their own local businesses—bread, fresh out of the ovens, from nearby bakeries; bottles of ale from the neighbouring brewers; and cockles and oysters from local fishermen or fishmongers. Even some of the more exotic fruit, presumably, could also be brought in from the dock located within just a few minutes' walk from his store.

The Interior of the Playhouse

Now with only a few minutes to spare before the performance was to start, those who were still outside were beckoned in by the cheerful noises of expectant crowds gathering in the yard and the galleries, as well as bits and pieces of music while the musicians did the final tuning of their instruments. The keen-eyed gatherer, with a glazed peach-shaped money box in hand and several more tucked away somewhere about him, continued to man the main entrance.³⁸ Upon putting a penny in, one could enter into the circular, now rather crowded yard, at the far end of which stood the trapezoid stage still empty for the moment. Those who came in early and got a standing room in the front rows against the mouth of the stage, however, could just make out through the small gaps between the curtains and the floor board busy shadows of legs swiftly moving about inside the tiring-house.

If they looked upwards, they could see the underbelly of the stage cover, inside of which, hidden from view—as experienced playgoers would know—were the pulleys and riggings for the descent-ascent mechanism attached to a “throne”. While the stage-cover and its columns

³⁸ Authentic fragments found at the Rose's site, as well as modern replicas, are on display in the Museum of London.

were old additions made to the playhouse back in 1592, the current paintings, decorations, and the entire pulley system were all commissioned by Henslowe two years ago in an attempt to “upgrade” the Rose as best as he could, against the new and flashier Swan. The *Diary*’s records do not specify exactly where the painting jobs were done to. But since upgrading the staging capacity of the playhouse in the face competition appears to be Henslowe’s main goal, it is not unreasonable to think that the staging area probably took up a considerable portion of the painting job. The strategy clearly worked well—at least for the initial couple of months—as Henslowe’s receipts for May and June 1595 suggest. The audiences were perhaps thrilled to find that the staging of some of their familiar plays “newly improved”. It is quite possible that the playbills of the time had spared no effort in advertising these upgrades. But the boost from the upgrade, as we know, turned out to be temporary.

Among the spectators today there might be some special guests or friends invited by Henslowe to watch the play free of charge. In the original “Deed of Partnership” it was clearly spelt out that it was within the owners’ power to “suffer their friendes to go in for nothinge”. Although this contract had expired by this time, it seems unlikely that Henslowe had not reserved for himself such a right or something similar in effect. None of these special guests or their visits were recorded, however, and it is ultimately anyone’s guess who, among Henslowe’s wide personal as well as business connections, he wanted to entertain, and with which day’s performance. Nevertheless, to venture a guess for this narrative, for attending the performance of *Doctor Faustus* today it is possible that he might have invited, among others, Simon Forman, the well-known astrologer of Elizabethan London. Forman could, of course, simply come as an ordinary paying visitor; but it seems equally plausible that he could, at least once at some point, come as a special guest—given his familiarity and wide connections with members of the theatrical community of the time.³⁹ The subject matter of *Faustus* would quite likely appeal to Forman’s primary interest in representations of the occult and the supernatural elements in theatre—as clearly borne out by his playgoing notes taken during the later years⁴⁰ Besides, the date of the performance also falls within a period when Henslowe was known to be in contact with Forman.⁴¹ And by mid-October 1597, Forman had most likely just moved

³⁹ Cerasano, “Philip Henslowe, Simon Forman, and the Theatrical Community of the 1590s”, pp. 145, 150.

⁴⁰ Cerasano, “Philip Henslowe, Simon Forman, and the Theatrical Community of the 1590s”, pp. 149, 157-8.

⁴¹ Henslowe consulted Forman at least twice during this period. The first visit was in March 1596, when Henslowe inquired about ways to find stolen goods; and the second visit was in February 1597, when he complained to Forman about certain illness. See Cerasano, “Philip Henslowe, Simon Forman, and the Theatrical Community of the 1590s”, pp. 151-2.

to Lambeth and was lodging near the Church of St Mary next to Lambeth Palace.⁴² From there he could quite easily join the other playgoers, as already mentioned, on either of the two main travel routes to the Rose. In fact, in the later years it was exactly from Lambeth that he made his several documented visits to the Rose and the Globe.

Who else might be among the special guests at the Rose today? It is perhaps safe to assume that, if any member of Henslowe's extended family had wished to attend a performance, it is fairly unlikely that the theatre manager would insist on their paying the entrance fees. After all, as his own *Diary* reveals, Henslowe had always actively maintained close connections with his family, offering advice to his siblings, arranging apprenticeship or work for his nephews and niece, and providing all forms of financial support to almost all of them—paying for dowry, gifts, bail, debts, fees, and so forth—on various occasions. Those among his extended family who were residents in Southwark around this time were: his wife Agnes, his stepdaughter Joan Alleyn, his nephew and long-time helper in the pawn-broking business, Francis; his other nephew, John, who by now had been training under the local dyer Mr Newman; his niece Mary, who at this time was apprenticed to John Griggs; as well as his other niece, Anne, for whom he had bought several gifts over the years. Any among these people could potentially be among the special guests for the performances at the Rose at any day.

It is unclear, however, where these special guests might be seated. They might simply mix with the other spectators in the galleries; but there is also a hint that there might be some more exclusive areas in the playhouse for seating them. In describing the three-staged fee-charging system in the inn-yards and the Theatre, Lambarde made reference to some “quiet standing” available at the price of three pennies—i.e. besides the one-penny yard and the two-penny galleries.⁴³ If this description is to be taken literally, then it suggests that it was perhaps not uncommon for the playhouses to boast some more exclusive areas for those who were willing pay a premium to further distinguish themselves from not only the groundlings but also the spectators in the common galleries. If the special guests were to be treated with special favour, then it is perhaps not entirely unreasonable to speculate that they, too, might be allocated to some of these more exclusive areas. Special boxes, it seems, very likely existed in the Theatre in Shoreditch; and similar arrangements could well have been made for the Rose,

⁴² Simon Forman in fact moved between Lambeth and London a few times over the years. Records found him newly moved to Lambeth in autumn 1597. By the summer of 1598, however, he had moved back to London. In early 1599 he moved back to Lambeth again, and remained there until his death in 1611. See Lauren Kassell, “Forman, Simon (1552–1611)”, *ODNB*.

⁴³ Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent*, 1596, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 15176, p. 233.

too.⁴⁴ Along with other spectators who had paid the premium entrance-fee, the special guests might be seated somewhere in the top gallery, or set apart from the rest of the galleries somewhere in the northern bays of the playhouse, where the Lord's room was also located.⁴⁵ These suggestions, admittedly, can hardly be more than speculative—and inevitably so—due to the complete lack of information about either the arrangement regarding special guests or the Rose's actual gallery design. With due recognition of this limitation, nevertheless, in making necessary conjectures for the current narrative reconstruction, perhaps a certain degree of liberty for imagination may still be allowed.

The Day's Performance: *Doctor Faustus*

What was the day's performance of *Faustus* like? Or more specifically, was the performance text closer to the A-text or B-text? As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the performance texts of plays existed in a far more nebulous and unstable state than the printed texts that later emerged from them. As part of the working documents, the performance texts over the years were susceptible to changes and alterations according to the playhouse-company partnership's material as well as human resources at any given moment of production. By 1597, the Rose had already undergone both the extensive remodelling in 1592, and the upgrade of its staging facility in 1595. In the previous chapter I have surveyed and discussed reasons for the argument that the A-text of *Faustus* possibly represents a version of the play as performed during the early 1590s, whereas the longer B-text, with signs of Rowley's authorship, might represent a version of the play that had already incorporated the textual revisions Henslowe paid for in late 1602. Moreover, when Rowley and Bird set about revising *Faustus* at this time, they might be working on a version of the performance text that had already incorporated various earlier changes that took place during the previous runs of the play. It is therefore very difficult to date each of the numerous textual changes between A-text and B-text, as many of them could have taken place in the performance texts produced during any of the revivals of the play over the years. For instance, one of the interesting differences between the A- and B-

⁴⁴ It may also be noted that some special boxes perhaps existed in the Theatre as well, as suggested by the agreement between James Burbage and Giles Allen, that Allen was allowed to have a special box or "room" in the playhouse for his family. See Wallace, *The First London Theatre*, pp. 13-4. In Sir John Davies' "In Fufum", there is also the mention of a "best and most conspicuous place" available "at the Theater". See Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (2nd ed.), p. 217.

⁴⁵ Bowsher suggests, in one of our private email exchanges on the possibility of calculating the maximum audience capacity of the Rose using the highest half-gallery takings recorded in the *Diary*, that the top gallery might be where the three-penny seats or "quiet standing" as mentioned by Lambarde were located. This remains, as he further adds, inevitably unverifiable, due to the current lack of material and archival evidence about the Rose's superstructure.

texts is the addition in B-text of two stage directions making direct reference to the descent and ascent of the “throne”.⁴⁶ It is difficult to know when this addition was made, and when it became a standard part of the performance text of *Faustus*. Was it included soon after the throne was added to the “heavens” at the Rose in mid-1595? There are twelve known performances of *Faustus* between mid-1595 and October 1597, was it during any of these revivals? Or could it be even later? When Rowley and Bird worked on additions to the play, were they working on a performance text that by then had already incorporated this scene, or is it their part of their own additions in 1602? Can it be an addition that happened even later, between late 1602 and sometime before the B-text was printed? All these are theoretically possible scenarios. However, if one is to venture a guess, it seems not unreasonable to think that the “throne” scene—or an early version of it—might be an addition made soon after the 1595 upgrade to the Rose. Such an addition does not seem to incur any substantial amount of extra production cost or logistics, and would have been relatively ease to execute with a bit of rehearsal. The new upgrade to the playhouse’s staging capacity and its apparent positive impact on performance receipts during the following couple of months might be the incentive.

Thus, returning to the question regarding the performance text of *Faustus* on 14 October 1597, a straightforward answer is that it is impossible to know where exactly it sits between some versions of the A-text and some versions of the B-text, or even whether or not it perhaps contained some scenes and textual details lost in both A- and B-texts. But without being bogged down by a relativist stance, a clearer picture of the day’s performance may still be obtained by piecing together reasonable and educated guesses based on information about the Rose partnership’s physical and human resources at this time. And in following section I base my reconstruction, with certain degree of embellishment, broadly on the key scenes as included and arrangement in the 1616 B-text.⁴⁷ The Rose by 1597 had already undergone both the two physical upgrades, and the company that performed at this site had also undergone its organisational re-shuffle, thus it is perhaps reasonable to think that some of these updates and changes—as suggested by the possible link between the 1595 upgrade and “throne” scene—could find their ways into the performance text of the play at this time. And as I have discussed in the previous chapter, some of the textual additions in B-text indicative of a general increase in the elaborateness of staging style to a considerable extent also reflect the financial circumstances as well as dramaturgical tenancies of the Rose partnership during the final years

⁴⁶ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (1616), EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17432, Sig. H2, H3.

⁴⁷ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (1616), EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17432.

of the 1590s. Weighing all these together, it seems reasonable to suggest that the textually richer B-text may offer more clues for reconstructing the details of a performance of *Faustus* in late 1597.

Before performance started, the larger stage properties would have been mostly moved into place and ready to be revealed or rolled out. Faustus's desk, as the stage direction suggests, would most likely have been placed in the central discovery space, with perhaps a few books that would soon be used in the opening scene placed on it. The scenery cloth of the City of Rome was perhaps folded up and also placed somewhere in the discovery space, ready to be revealed later. The "dragon", likely yoked to a chariot—perhaps one that had been featured in several other productions— would likely have also been stationed not far from an entrance.⁴⁸ And right behind it, according to the sequence of stage appearance, was perhaps the long banquet table as well as several high-back chairs. The prompter took position near a stage door, close to a newly drawn-up or updated plot of the play, with the boys of the company on alert for his commands. The players who had parts to act in the first few scenes were by the entrances, too, with some smaller stage properties in their hands.⁴⁹ Alleyn, wearing a surplice and the crucifix, waited for the start at Faustus's desk in the discovery space.⁵⁰ The rest of the players awaited their turn further back in the tiring-house, where the costumes were kept. After the organisational shake-up in the summer, this was the company's third public performance together. The several newcomers in the company—Shaa, Spencer, and Bird— had learned their parts in this play and already rehearsed with their rivals-turn-fellows—veterans at the Rose—for whom this play had been part of a very familiar repertory. For Jones and Downton, it seems likely that they could just return to the same roles that they had played before.

After a quick flourish of trumpets, the player charged with delivering the Chorus's lines—perhaps John Singer—made his entrance, and the performance went underway. Of the nearly two thousand spectators that had gathered today, the majority of them would have already known the Rose's production of *Doctor Faustus* extremely well. The play, after all, had by now been staged twenty-two times by the Admiral's Men since September 1594. Most of the

⁴⁸ This detail is derived from Wagner's speech accounting for Faustus's many quests, where the magician and his companion were said to be "seated in a chariot burning bright, / Drawne by the strength of yoky dragons neckes". See Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (1604), EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 17429, Sig. D1. The playtext suggests multiple dragons, but the Admiral's Men's inventory list from early 1598 only lists "j dragon in fostes". See Foakes, ed. *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 320.

⁴⁹ For Tiffany Stern's discussion on the function of the stage plot, its relation to stage traffic and the use of stage properties, see Stern, *Documents of Performance*, pp. 210-4.

⁵⁰ For a contemporary reference to this outfit worn by Alleyn during performance of *Faustus*, see Rowlands, *The Knave of Clubs* (1609), EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 21387, Sig. D3.

audience were here to refresh their memories—while they still could—of one of Alleyn’s most popular portrayals; as well as to re-experience some of the play’s memorable and spectacular moments.

The first scene was carried almost entirely by Alleyn alone. The celebrity player, as his contemporaries testified, was able to “make [even] an ill matter good”.⁵¹ The speech of over sixty lines, in which Faustus reviewed and rejected one scholarly subject after another, was perhaps delivered with a series of gestures and movements added by Alleyn to bring the words better to life. These movements were the results of his study and weighing of the lines, and might have also been marked down on his own part of the script—a practice as may be seen in the surviving parts of the actor’s script of *Orlando*.⁵²

Soon after that came the moment of Faustus’s first conjuring, a verbally dense scene laden with images of the deep gloom of the night. The descriptions in the text of the drawing up of magical circles, charts, symbols, and anagrams were perhaps to a considerable extent enacted. If so, these would have been visible to both the spectators pressing at the front of the stage, and many from the galleries. At the same time, while only one player is needed on the stage, this scene must have brought busy work to those inside the tiring-house charged with creating special effects. The stage directions in the printed text make several specific references to “thunder” and “lightning”. Given the time and environment of the performance, it seems quite unlikely that “lightning” in the text should mean actual flashes of lights, which is difficult to produce in the first place. It is more likely that both “thunder” and “lightning” are references to sound effects. Exactly how these effects were produced is difficult to know. One of way to simulate the crashing and clapping noises of lightning may be to hold and continually fan a large thin metal sheet, which may in turn be followed by echoing sounds of thunder created with swift successions of percussions on large drums. The fading rumbling noises of thundering may also be produced by rolling a metal cannon ball over wooden surface of large hollow structures such as the tiring-house floor.⁵³

⁵¹ Nashe, *The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse, Or, Strange News*, EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 18378, Sig. G1.

⁵² For the manuscript script of *Orlando*, see Dulwich MSS 1, Article 138.

⁵³ The details about the metal sheet and drum technique are inspired by the 1983 film, *The Dresser*, directed by Peter Yates, where the technique was used in a fictional modern production of the storm scene in *King Lear*. The same technique is also dramatized in the 2015 film of the same name, directed by Richard Eyre. The *Diary* contains records of the Admiral’s Men’s purchases of multiple musical instruments, including a “drome”. See *HD*, fol. 67v. A cannon ball, now on display in the Museum of London, was among the artefacts discovered from the excavations on the Rose’s site. My current narrative reconstruction follows the suggestion that the it might have been used to create the sound effect of thunder. See Bowsher, *Shakespeare’s London Theatreland*, p. 176.

These sound effects continued to be produced during Faustus's incantation. This part of the scene appears to be a rather unusual moment among the theatrical performance of this period when the theatrical make-belief spellcasting almost takes on the quality of a real performative utterance. The long string of Latin words—rendered in quick succession, in Alleyn's resonant voice, accompanied by sound effects, and culminated in the final invocation of the devil's name, does not only gesture towards, but appears to almost fully enact, what J. L. Austin termed a speech-act.⁵⁴ The devil's entrance at the height of the spellcasting crescendo must have been further accompanied by the use of squibs and firecrackers, adding a sulphurous smell to the air. This also seems to be the only moment in the play that hints at the need for the sudden appearance—a quick entrance—of the devil. The frontispiece repeatedly used for the play's printed texts might offer some small clues as to how this could be achieved, although any suggestion that it is a literal rendering of the actual staging is certainly far-fetched. The sudden appearance might be achieved by using the trap door that likely still existed on the Rose's stage at this time in combination with smoke produced by the squibs and firecrackers. And if the player for Mephistopheles only initially appeared—like in the frontispiece—with his upper body through the trap door, the whole sequence from the final invocation through firecracker casting to the devil's entrance could conceivably be completed in rapid succession, thereby adding to the illusion of sudden appearance. It may also be noted that if during the spellcasting moment Alleyn was to stand in the "magical circle" that he had needed to draw earlier on central stage to substantiate his lines, then the player for Mephistopheles would also need to appear rather close to central stage—as opposed to appearing by the door entrance or the discovery space. And since the player for Mephistopheles needed to disappear again after only four lines spoken by Alleyn—if the staging follows the B-text here—dropping back through the trap door also seems to be the most straightforward solution.

And so the performance went on, with the familiar story of Faustus distilled into a succession of key moments in the magician's life. There would have been no shortage of broad comedy or thrilling demonstration of the pyrotechnical prowess of the company's production. Among these, the scene of the signing of the infernal pact—when Faustus put to his arm the seemingly burning coal—perhaps made one of the more spectacular moments. Exactly how this was achieved is hard to know. But at least two methods for making substances that would burn brightly and harmlessly at low temperature are found Thomas Hil's *Naturall and*

⁵⁴ Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, p. 40.

Artificiall Conclusions from 1581.⁵⁵ One of them, which among other ingredients calls for the use of the juice from adder's tongue, seems rather far-fetched. But the ingredients for the other method seem to more easily available. This method involves making an ointment with common oil, brimstone powder, and orpiment. Brimstone could be obtained from squibs and firecrackers. And orpiment was in fact a substance commonly used as dye or painter's pigment.⁵⁶ The brief comical moment of the crowning of Faustus by the demons, according to the stage direction in the 1616 B-text, was perhaps accompanied by dancing all over the stage, and possibly also presented an opportunity for the company to showcase some of their finer costumes in stock. For this performance, perhaps they could include one of their latest acquisitions—a plush and luxurious cloak only recently brought into the company's stock by the several former Pembroke's players.⁵⁷ Another of these opportunities was perhaps the procession of the Seven Deadly Sins, a long sequence for parading characters, costumes, and makeups individually in front of the audience, whom Covetousness and Wrath also directly addressed and bantered with. There were also several more entrances of devils. Were these generic characters also costumed in generic fashion? It is hard to know. But their entrances and exits, it seems reasonable to assume, would have been accompanied by the uses of squibs and firecrackers. In this regard, the moment when the infernal triumvirate appeared all at once on the stage was perhaps the most boisterous and dazzling—if not rather pungent as well.

About half way through the performance came the scene of Faustus's visit to Rome and the Pope's banquet. This would have been a particularly busy sequence involving the movements of several large pieces of stage properties, and heavy traffic not only on the stage but also inside the tiring-house. Coming back into the tiring-house from the previous scene, the players for the Seven Sins needed to change out of their costumes, wipe off makeups on their faces, and switch into the cardinal's robe or the friars' habits. The prompter, upon the end of Wagner's account of Faustus's travels, would perhaps to give signal for Alleyn and the player of Mephistopheles to mount the chariot attached to the "dragon" and make their entrance. The dragon, according to the company's inventory list, appears to be specially made for this play. We do not know the details about the materials used for it. But if it was to be attached to the chariot, then it seems reasonable to think that its interior would need to be able to

⁵⁵ Thomas Hill's *Naturall and Artificiall Conclusions* (1581), EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 13480.5, Sig. D ii. It is of course equally possible that some other method was used for the production to achieve the same effect.

⁵⁶ See "orpiment, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2016.

⁵⁷ This detail is inspired by an entry in the *Diary*, which records that A "Riche clocke" of about three pounds was fetched back from pawn by four of the former Pembroke's players on 4 October 1597, just over a week before the performance of *Faustus*. See *HD*, fol. 33v.

accommodate at least one person, so that the chariot could be actually drawn across the stage. Using some lighter materials for the “dragon” thus seems a to be distinct possibility. A reference to “terrible monster made of broune paper” can be found in Gosson’s *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*.⁵⁸ To venture a guess for this production of *Faustus*, the “dragon” was perhaps made with some coloured paper and leather over a frame made of light materials such as stiffened willow; and was probably also with painted scales and eyes.

This complex movable unit of stage property would likely be a strong magnet for attention. Although the B-text contains no direct reference to how it is used on the stage, a semi-circular passage across the stage from one stage door to another seems the most efficient way to both showcase the impressive stage property and avoid the need to reverse it or make it do an awkward 180 degree turn back into the tiring-house. The showing of the dragon-drawn chariot would also have allowed time for a stage-hand to enter into the discovery space and unfolded the “sittie of Rome” backdrop. Since Mephistopheles’s speech makes direct reference to landmarks of Rome, it is possible that this scenery cloth would be painted with these landmarks. It is impossible to know what exactly it was like, but it seems reasonable to assume that it could model some of its details—bridges, monuments, and palaces—after various other views of the city published in contemporary works. The hint from the playtext seems to be that it was most likely made to resemble the view from a window in the Pope’s privy chamber, as it is from there that Mephistopheles describes the city of Rome to Faustus. Thus for this imagined narrative I have turned to some of the more influential views of Rome from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Two well-known maps of Rome had been published by late 1590s. One was by Etienne Duperac, published in 1577; and the other, by Tempesta, in 1593. Both works, however, take the bird’s-eye view and are lacking in architectural details, despite their being topographically more accurate. Better suited for use in the scene in *Faustus* was perhaps another work—a woodcut from around 1490 by an unknown artist—collected in Hartmann Schedel’s *Weltchronik*. Although a topographically more impressionistic rendering, this particular work adopts a much lower viewing angle and thus contained richer architectural details, including those of Ponte Sant’Angelo and Castel Sant’Angelo, to which Mephistopheles directly refers to in the play. And since Mephistopheles’s speech focuses on these two

⁵⁸ Gosson, *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*, sig. D1r. The detail about painting the stage properties is based on a record in the *Diary*, on fol. 117v, for payments made to the painter of stage properties. Although this particular payment, on 23 October 1602, was related to the production of a different play by Worcester’s Men at the Rose, it seems safe to assume that this was not a unique case but a more ubiquitous practice.

structures, it is possible that they occupied a prominent spot near central foreground in the scenery cloth.



Fig. 25 Detail of the woodcut by an unknown artist from Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* (Nürnberg 1493), fol. lvii verso and lviii recto. The image was originally scanned and transferred with free licence by Aristeia to *Wikimedia Commons*, and is now in the public domain.

The Papal banqueting scene that soon followed was likely filled again with the typical slapstick beating around on the stage along with the escalating misfortune of the public enemies portrayed in highly stereotyped ways—from the invisible Faustus's whispering down the Pope's neck, through the snatching of food and slapping of face, to the final screaming and smoking onstage pandemonium. At the same time, as the spectators followed the busy trajectories of fake food and wine flying and splashing about on the stage, many of them certainly had in their hands their own food and drinks, which had been brought in from the refreshment kiosk and sold in the yard and the galleries. Archaeological studies on the Rose site has uncovered an impressive range of food remains. For a quick nibble there were a whole variety of seeds, nuts, as well as dried fruit to choose from; such as pumpkin or squash seeds, walnuts, hazel nuts, almond, raisins, prunes, dates, and figs. For those who favoured crunchy or squishy fresh fruit, there were apples, pears, plums, grapes, elderberries, and so on. And for anyone who preferred the hot, flavoursome salty food and did not mind all the trouble in having to handle forks and picks without a table, there were also such delicacies as cooked or grilled oysters, cockles, mussels, winkles, and crabs.⁵⁹ The synthetic theatrical experience was not limited just to the visual, aural, and the olfactory, but also included a range of flavours for the palate.

⁵⁹ Remains of all these various types of food were found during the archaeological excavations on the Rose's site. See Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, pp. 188-190.

The remaining part of the performance presumably had its fair share of boisterous knee-slappers. But this part of the play is also where A- and B-text differ most considerably. It is difficult to know which of all the major scenes as found in B-text—such as the conjuring at the Emperor’s court, the revenge of the knights, the horse-courser’s misfortune, or the scene at the Duke of Vanholt’s house—had already been incorporated into the performance text of *Faustus* by late 1597; and which were later augmentations. In terms of staging, the majority of these scenes, with a few exceptions, do not appear to be particularly technically demanding; and hence do not offer sufficient clues for their broad dating through comparisons against knowledge about the Rose’s staging capacity at the time. For instance, unlike the initial entrance of Mephistopheles earlier which required the creation of an illusion of sudden appearance, the conjuring of Alexander and his paramour, or Helen of Troy, or appearance of the infernal triumvirate, could all be staged as normal stage entrances. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, among the additional scenes found in B-text as compared to A-text, the more technically demanding ones are the rare moment of onstage decapitation of Faustus, and the scene in which Faustus was shown the descent and ascent of the “throne”. While the existence of these scenes in B-text suggest an observable general progression towards more resourceful and technically sophisticated staging over the years, it does not lend itself directly to making conjectures about any particular production of the play at a particular time. That said, it is not unreasonable to think that both the decapitation and the “throne” scenes in some form could have already been incorporated in the performance of the play on 14 October 1597, since by this time the technology and facility for staging both scenes, as I have already discussed, had certainly already existed at the Rose.

Besides these two scenes, perhaps making one of the highlights of the second half of the performance was the scene of the conjuring of Alexander and his paramour. In the B-text, this is presented as a distinctly quieter scene than that in A-text, with Faustus explicitly requesting silence during conjured moment. It is also an expanded scene in B-text, with the additional mimed battle between Alexander and Darius.⁶⁰ The additional requirement on silence may perhaps be understood as an effort to focus the theatrical attention and energy onto the visual by the temporary suspension of aural stimulation. This begs the question, on what in particular was the theatrical and visual attention momentarily concentrated and channelled onto? My guess is that this was perhaps designed to focus the attention on Alexander’s impressive armour. The detail about the additional mimed battle between Alexander and Darius provides a

⁶⁰ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (1616), EEBO STC (2nd ed.) / 17432, Sig. E4.

convenient clue for imagining what this armour might possibly look like. In a Roman floor mosaic from c. 100BC discovered in Pompeii—commonly known now as the Alexander Mosaic—contains a depiction of the battle between Alexander and Darius III of Persia.⁶¹ It seems to be particularly useful, therefore, as a basis for making conjectures about the possible details of the body armour that might have been used. In the mosaic depiction, which currently is believed to be appropriate to the historical period, Alexander wears an intricately decorated cuirass of plate iron shaped in the iconic form of the linothorax, with a short sword by the scale amour around his waist. It is of course open to debate as to what extent this would be replicated on the Rose's stage. But as suggested by the archaeological discovery of a buskin from the staging area of the Rose suggests, it does seem that a certain degree of attention to historical accuracy or proximity was exercised in the choice of costumes.⁶² If this was the case, the visual effect produced by the subtle glitters and reflections bouncing off the fine linked metal pieces of the armour as the regal pair made their pass in measured steps across a quiet stage would probably have been fairly eye-catching.

But to what extent this scene might have been staged in this way is difficult to know. Small linked metal pieces in body armours require skilled and intensive work, which ultimately leads to increased production expenses were the Rose's company to acquire such a piece of armour. Whether or not this would be deemed a sound investment depended largely on its reusability. But on the whole, by late 1597 the Rose's company had just emerged from a period of mediocre financial performance followed by over two months of inactivity and organisational re-shuffle, and the new funding scheme they entered into with Henslowe was only just starting. It seems doubtful that the company at this time was in a strong position to make such an acquisition. Thus, while it is ultimately impossible to know how exactly this scene was staged on 14 October 1597, information related to possible costumes used in it as well as the Rose company's financial circumstances at this time jointly suggest that this performance might well have involved a somewhat less extravagant piece of armour. And if one is to make conjectures about when a finer and more visually impressive piece of armour might be procured to replace the old one, it seems not unreasonable to suggest that the revival of the play after Rowley and Bird's additions in late 1602 is a more likely moment for the company to invest more money into the production.

⁶¹ The Mosaic is now in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples.

⁶² Bowsher has noted that the sixteenth century perception of buskins was particularly associated with classical drama. See Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 184. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the player for Alexander in *Faustus* might also be wearing a pair of calf-length buskins.

Moving towards the end, the final scene of Faustus's damnation, similar to the opening scene, is for the most part carried by Alleyn's monologue. The portrayal of Faustus's emotional and psychological crescendo towards the final overwhelming sense of despair was almost certainly accompanied again with carefully designed movements and gestures. The A- and B-text's versions of this part do not appear to differ in significant ways. The same observation, in fact, may be made about Alleyn's long monologue at the opening scene as well. This perhaps reflects a general textual stability of these parts across all the performance texts of the play over the years. Before Alleyn's retirement in late 1597, the role of Faustus had certainly been tightly cemented with its celebrity performer, and thus the textual stability of the monologues in the play's performance texts does seem to bear witness to what Cerasano has described as a process through which particular ways of rendering particular roles became stabilised through their long-term association with famous actors.⁶³ In this light, it is more interesting to observe that, while the role of Faustus was inevitably passed onto another player in the company after Alleyn's retirement, the textual stability of these monologues in the performance texts suggests that the legacy of Alleyn's portrayal of the role remained strong enough to survive the dissolution of the actual character-performer association. It seems not surprising to see, for instance, that it was Alleyn's portrayal of Faustus, not those that came after, that Samuel Rowlands vividly remembered in 1609.⁶⁴

And so the performance of the day concluded—perhaps with some more spirit-lifting jig-dancing after the play. It is difficult to know whether on this particular day the announcement for the next performance was made at the end of the performance or not, as we do not know if the company was aware at that time that daily operation was to be interrupted again. The remaining work to be done inside the playhouse would be cleaning up and returning all the valuable assets—stage properties, facilities, and costumes—to their storage positions. As for Henslowe, unfortunately we do not know for sure when he entered the day's performance entry into the *Diary*, or why it is left incomplete. Perhaps the day's gallery receipt had not been fully counted by the time he jotted down the title “docter fostes” after the “tt at” already written in advance, and hence he could only put in a provisional “0” in the tens place in the column for pounds. It is equally possible, however, that he only sat down to record this day's performance a few days later, and by that time had quite forgotten the exact amount of his share of the gallery receipts from this day.

⁶³ Cerasano, “Edward Alleyn, the New Model Actor”, p. 49.

⁶⁴ Rowlands, *The Knave of Clubs* (1609), EEBO, STC (2nd ed.) / 21387, Sig. D3.

Although it seems less than satisfying to end, on a note of uncertainty, this reconstruction which has set out to investigate the many uncertainties behind a line in the *Diary*'s record in the first place, it is my hope that during the course of this endeavour the sections above have both provided more vivid details about the historical, geographical, and social context in which the operation of the Rose was embedded, and also demonstrated ways in which educated guesses about some of the fine details of the Rose's theatrical production at particular moments in time may be attempted. By so doing I also wish to bring home the keen awareness that currently there are still many uncertainties—both in the closest details and on much larger scales—surrounding the history of even one of the most well-documented early modern playhouses. Some of these uncertainties might perhaps never be resolved, but it is through the continued efforts of making queries about them that more related important discoveries may be made. Thus finally, upon coming to the end of my own study on the Rose exactly forty years after the publication of Ernest L Rhodes's work, and wishing to reiterate the need for future theatre history studies to continue to bestow attention upon inquiries into the local and the historically specific, it is perhaps appropriate for me here to echo once again the call from Allardyce Nicoll which prompted Rhodes in the 1970s to study the Rose in the first place—that “[e]ach theatre and its plays should have their appropriate volume”.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Allardyce Nicoll, “Studies in the Elizabethan Stage Since 1900”, p. 15.

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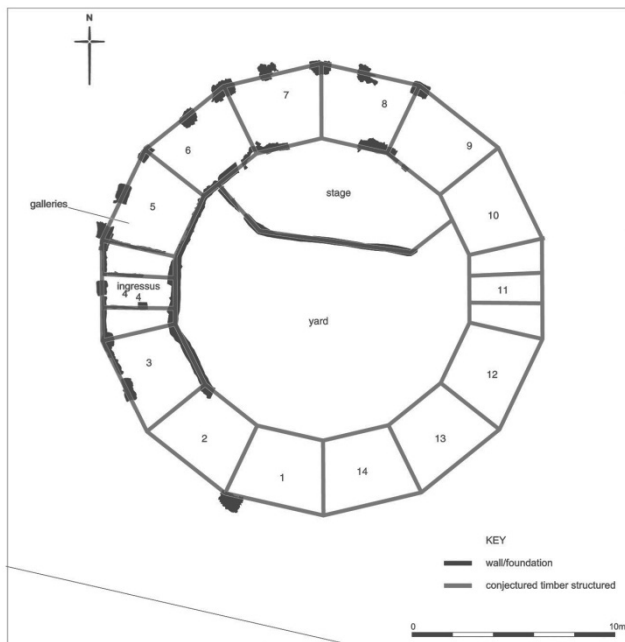
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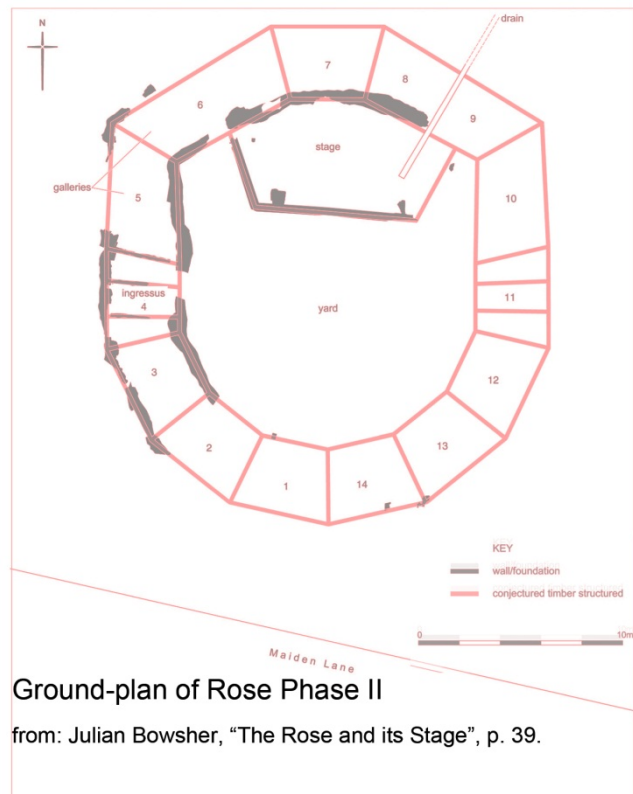
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Appendix: Images Related to the Stage, Playhouses, and Inns



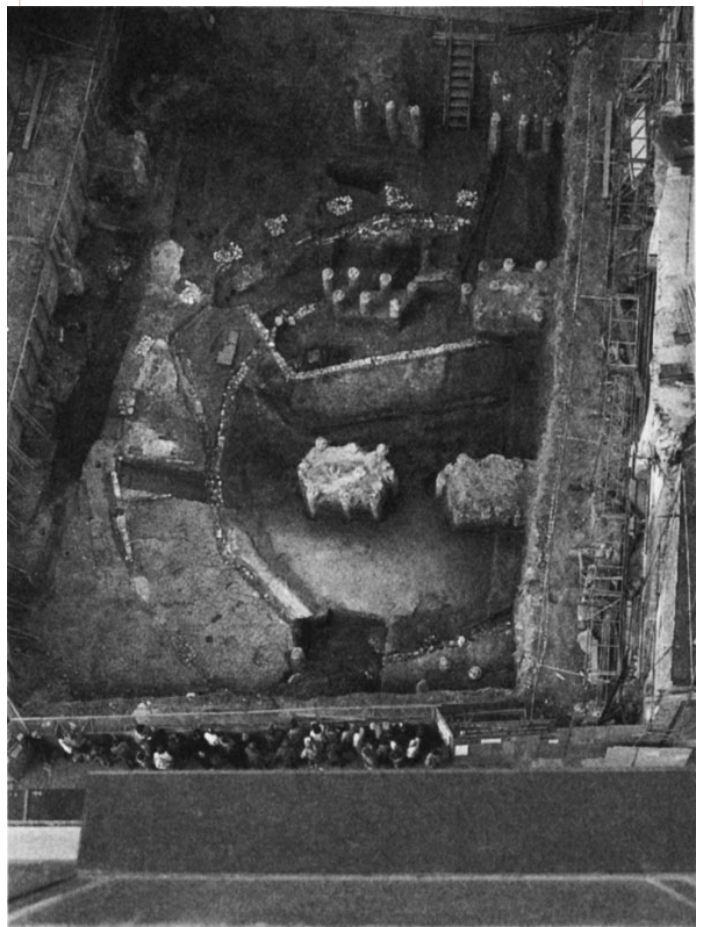
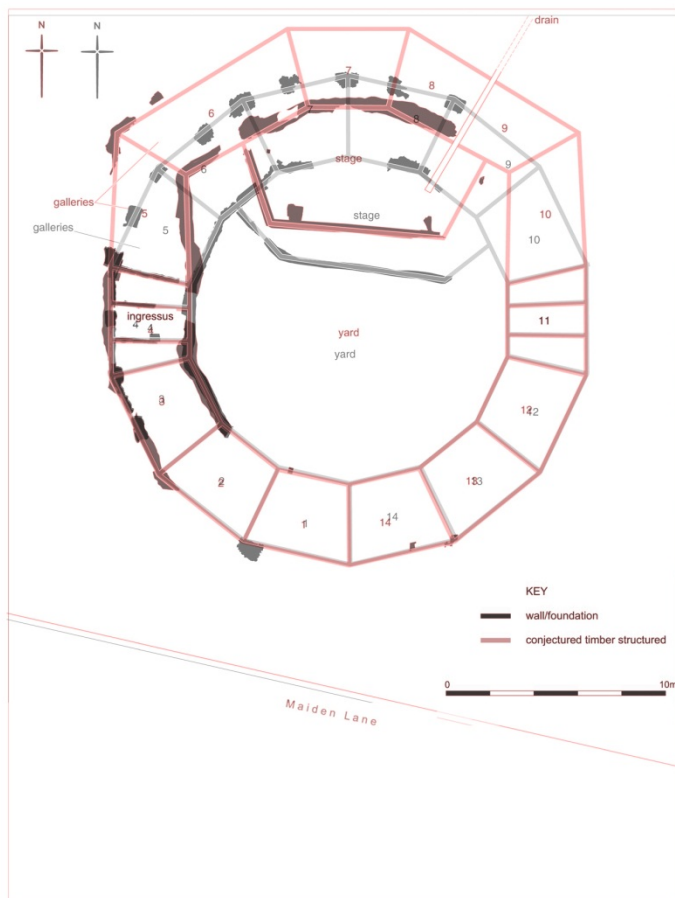
Ground-plan of Rose Phase I

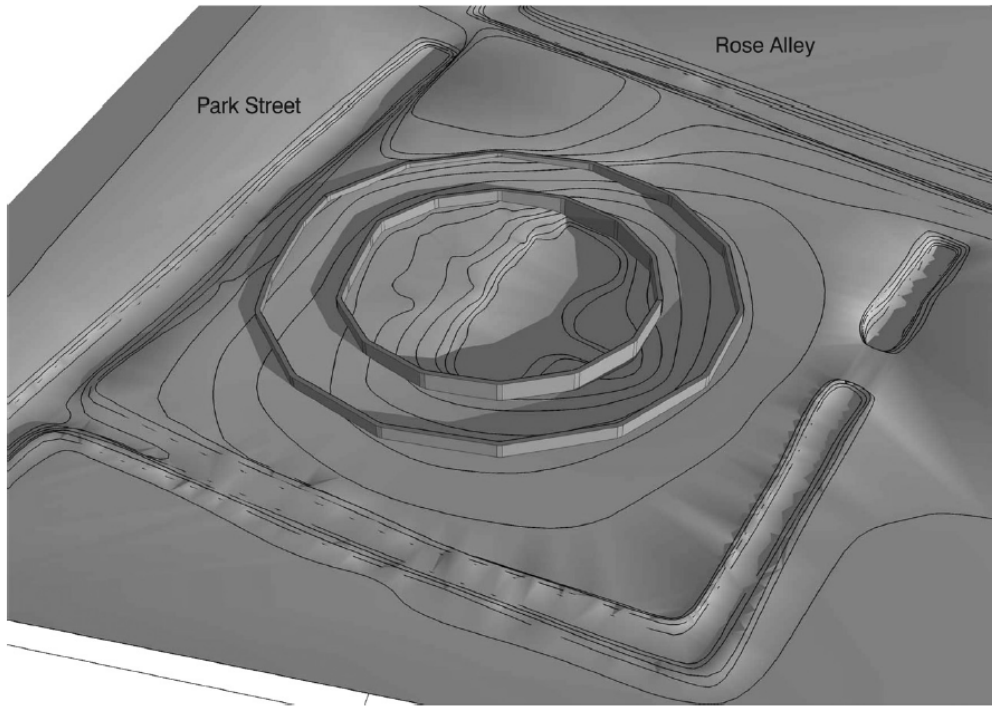
from: Julian Bowsher, "The Rose and its Stage", p. 38.



Ground-plan of Rose Phase II

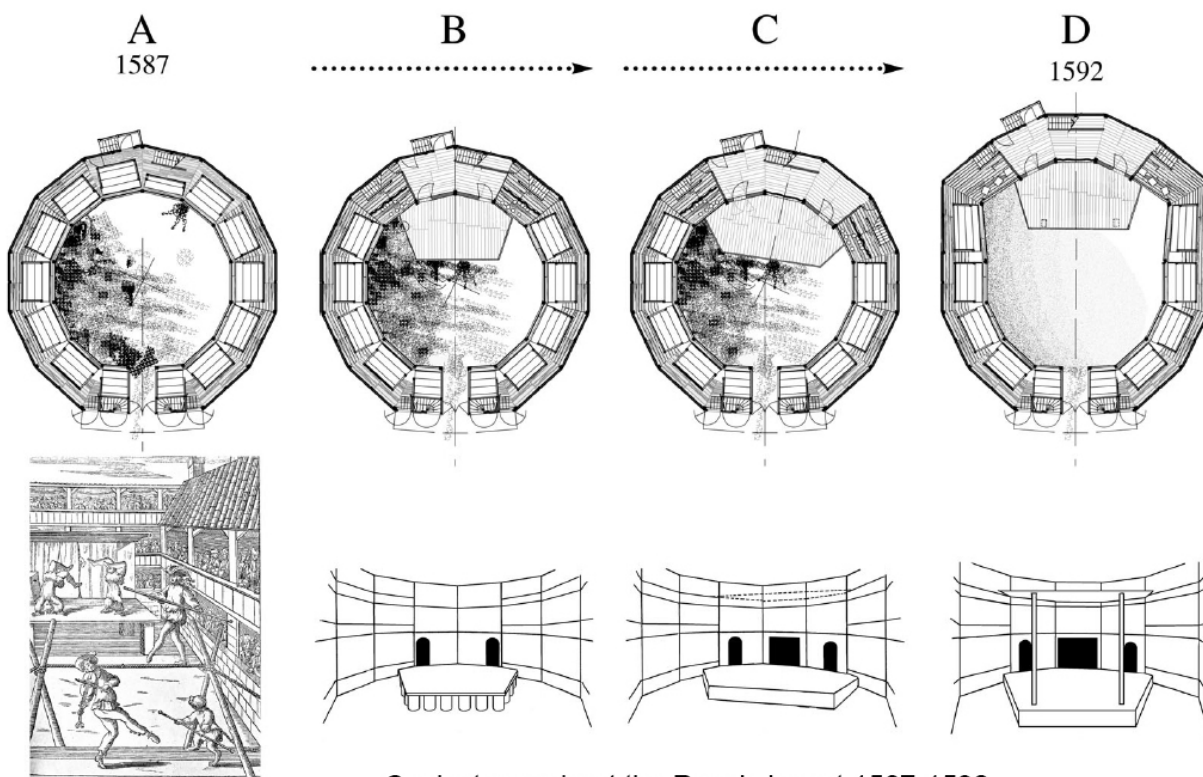
from: Julian Bowsher, "The Rose and its Stage", p. 39.





A contour model of the Rose site based on known features from 1587.

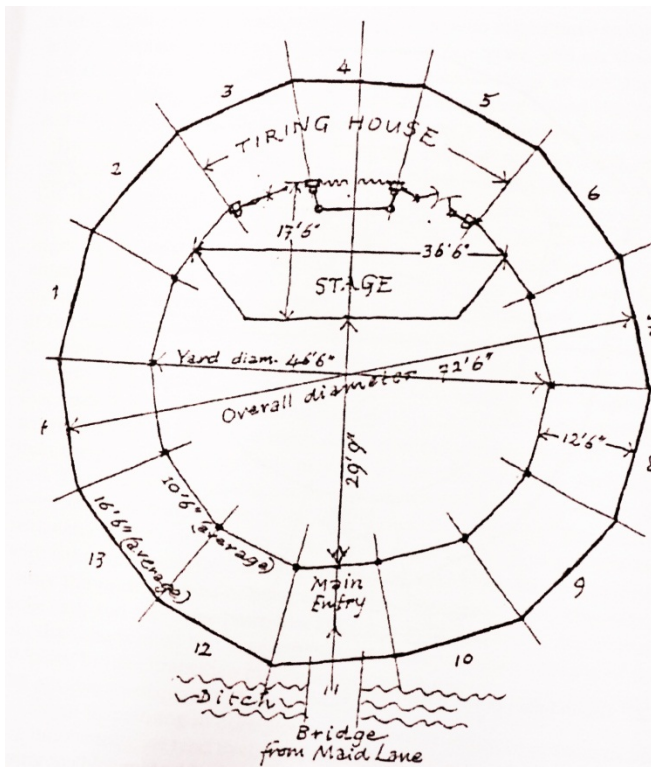
from: Jon Greenfield, "Reconstructing the Rose: Development of the Playhouse Building between 1587 and 1592", p. 26.



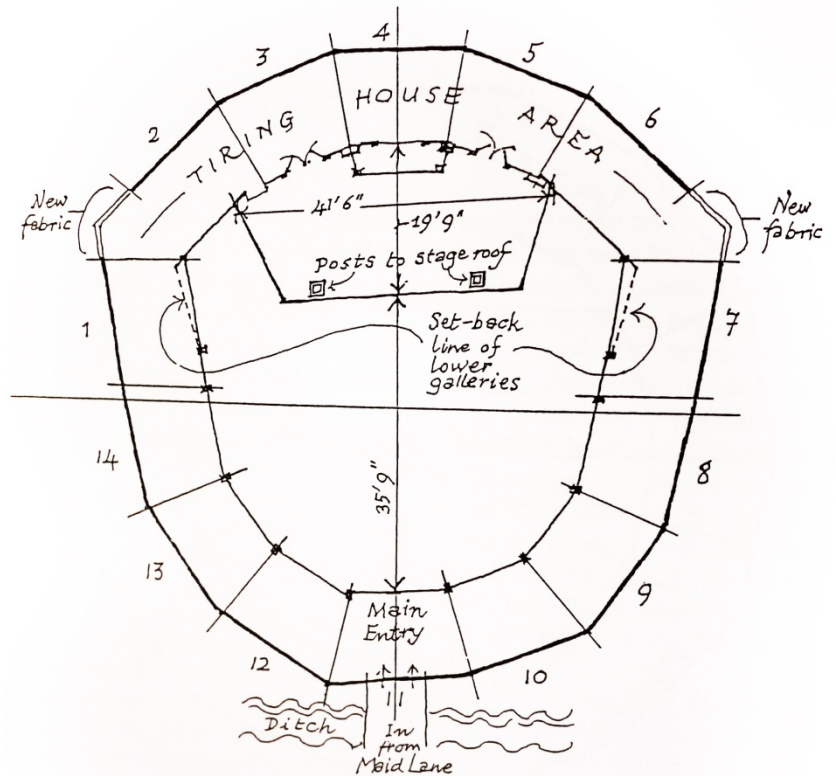
Conjectures about the Rose's layout 1587-1592

Jon Greenfield, and Andrew Gurr, "The Rose Theatre, London: the state of knowledge and what we still need to know", p. 335

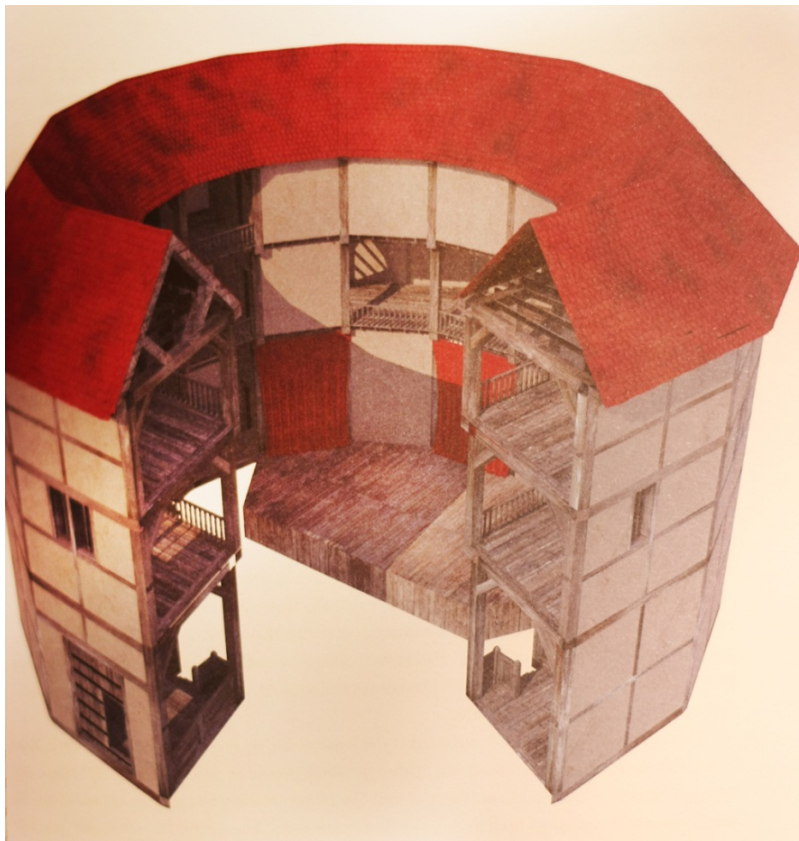
Figure 6. Stages in stages.



Ground-plan of Rose Phase I by C. W. Hodges from Julian Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 73.



Ground-plan of Rose Phase I by C. W. Hodges from Julian Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 79.

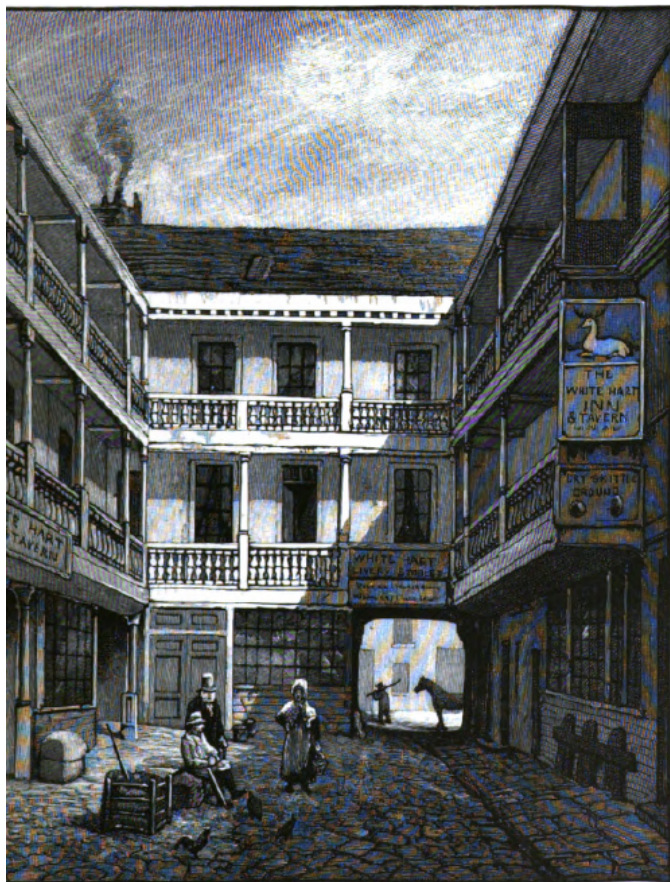


Computer Generated Image of the Theatre with a segment cut away to reveal the interior from Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 165



Computer Generated Image of the Theatre. Galleries viewed from the stage.

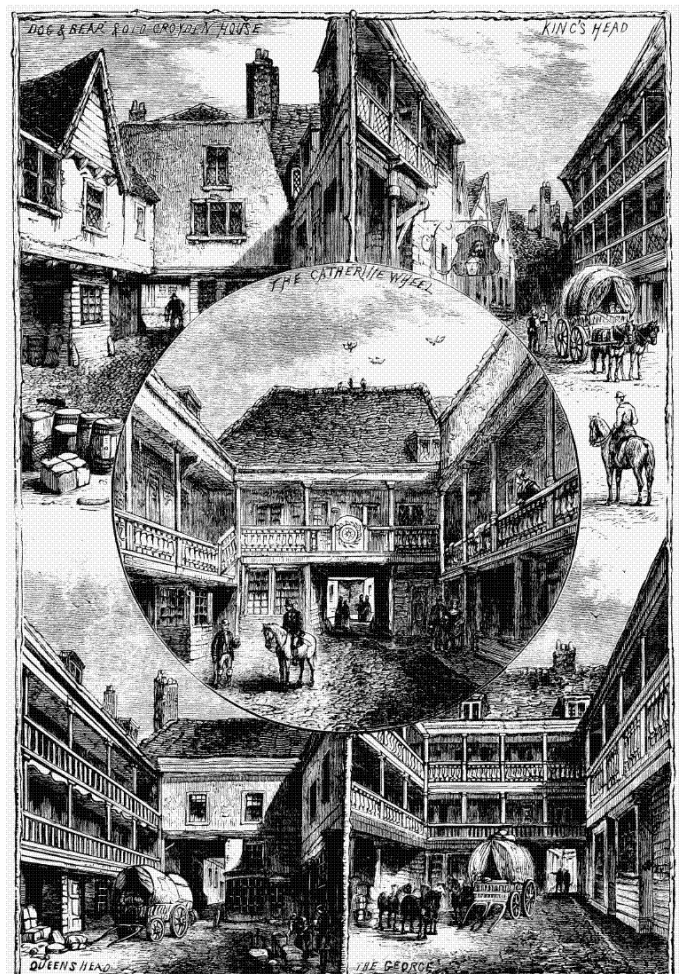
from Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 171.



THE WHITE HART IN 1827.

: White Hart Inn

n William Rendle, *The Inns of Old Southwark*, p. 145.



<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>



The George inn, location 17, which dates from the 1670s

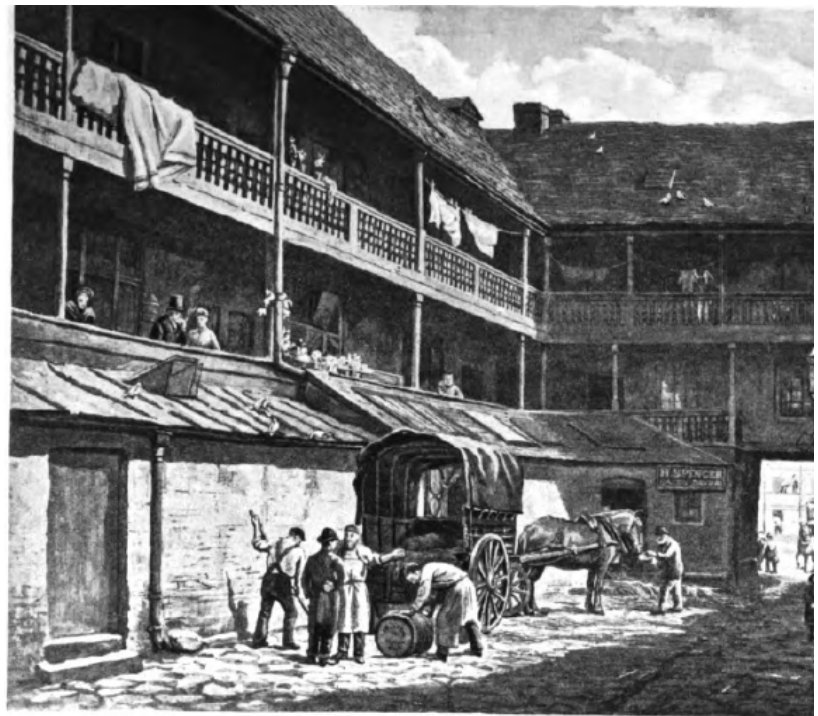
The Goerge Inn, Southwark.

from Julian Bowsher, *Shakespeare's London Theatreland*, p. 230.



George Inn.

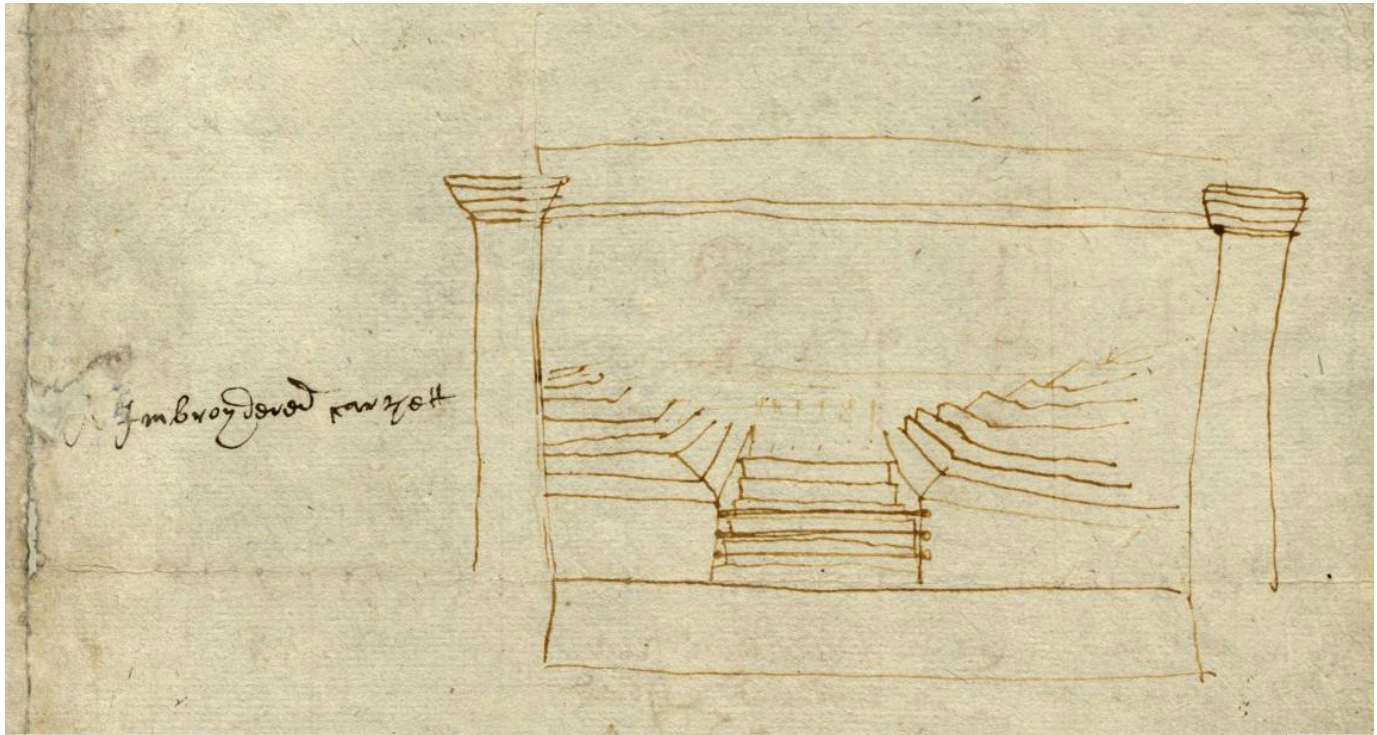
ie George Inn,
m William Rendle, *The Inns of Old Southwark*, pp. 170-1.



White Hart Inn Yard.

The White Hart Inn,

from William Rendle, *The Inns of Old Southwark*, pp. 148-9.



Sketch of a possible stage or ingressus at the back of a letter from Henslowe to Alleyn dated 28 Sept. 1593. MSS 1, Article 14, fo.2r.



THE CENTRAL STAIRCASE, GEORGE INN.
The Central Staircase to the George Inn,
from William Rendle, *The Inns of Old Southwark*, p. 164.

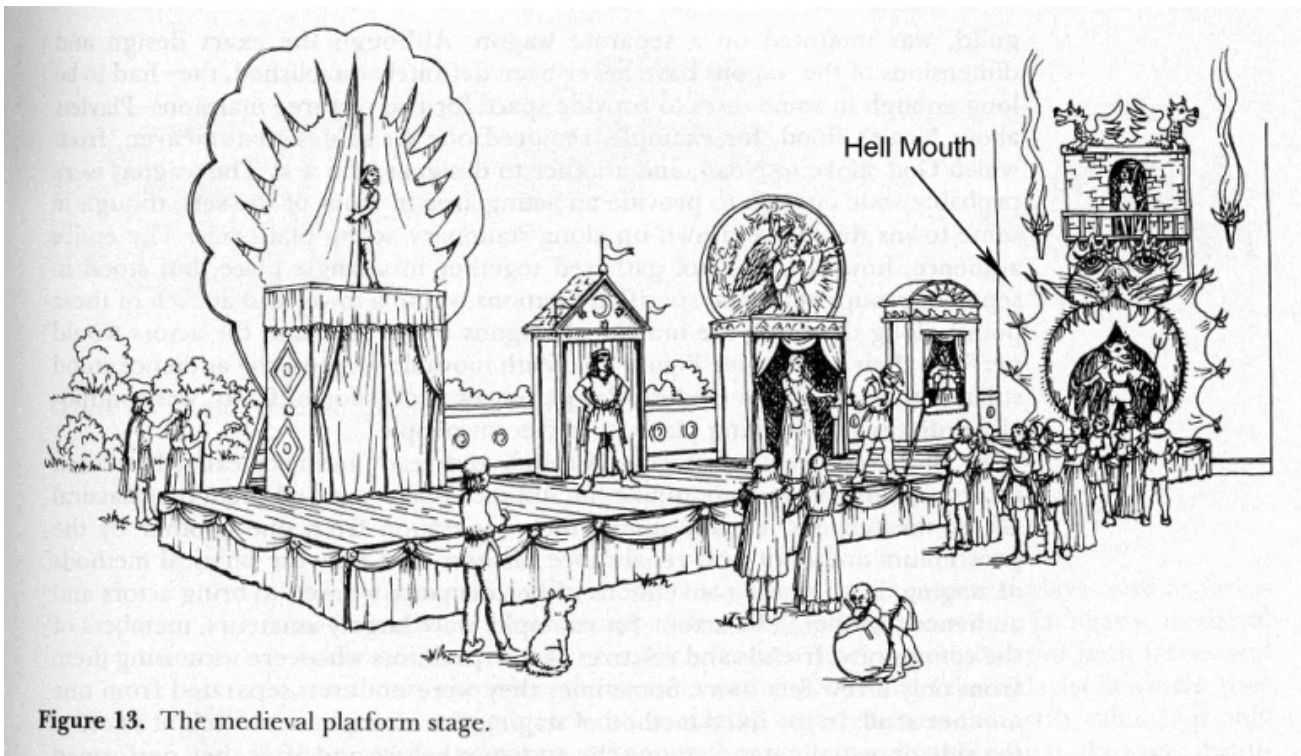


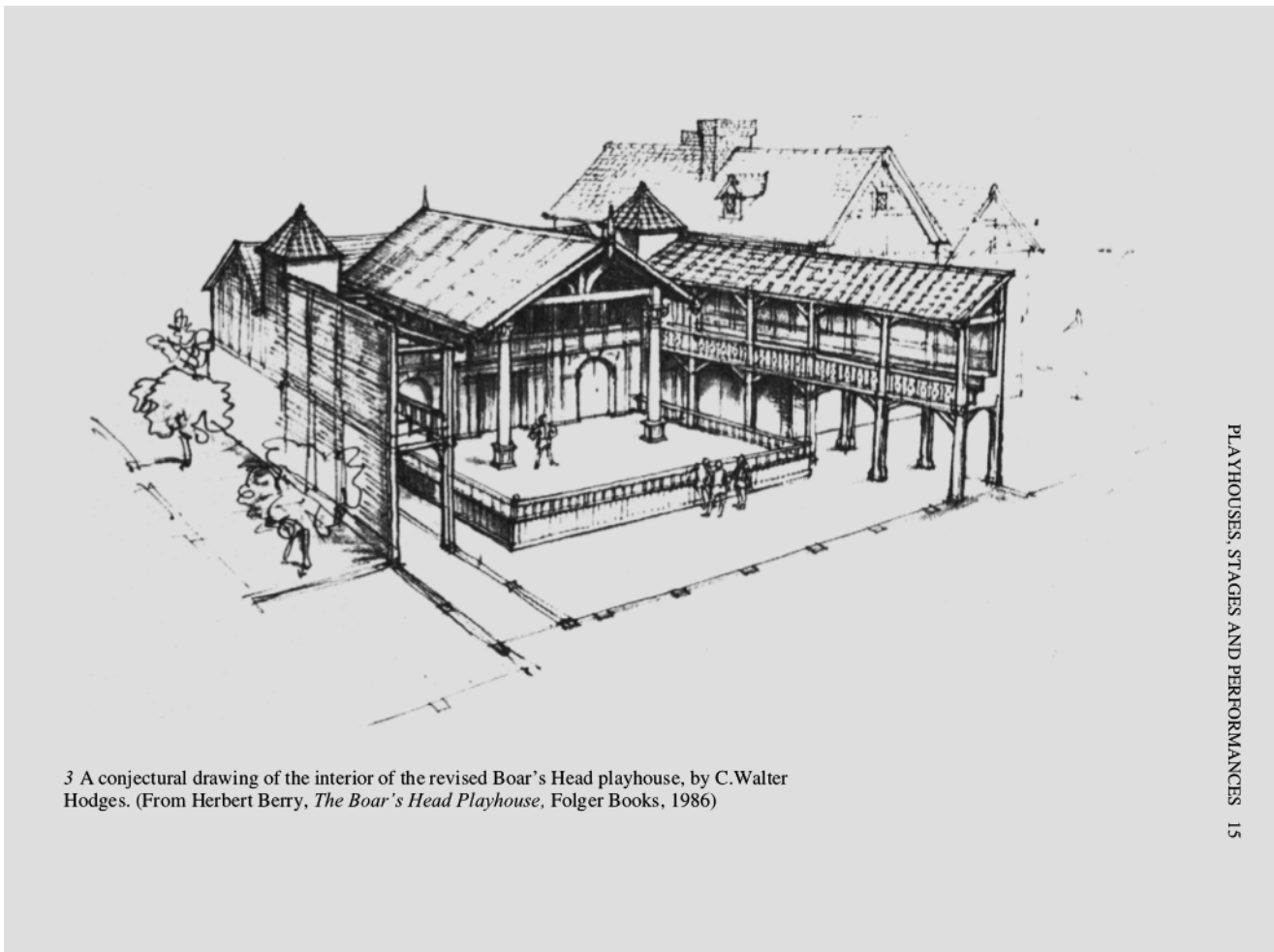
Figure 13. The medieval platform stage.

"Hell Mouth" on platform stage

Carl H. Klaus, Miriam Gilbert, and Bradford S. Field, jr., *Stages of Drama:*

Classical to Contemporary Masterpieces of Theater, 2nd edition,

New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. < <http://workforce.calu.edu/aune/Medieval%20Theater.html>>



3 A conjectural drawing of the interior of the revised Boar's Head playhouse, by C. Walter Hodges. (From Herbert Berry, *The Boar's Head Playhouse*, Folger Books, 1986)