

**Versions of contemporary London staged in *Westward Ho* (1604),
Eastward Ho (1605), and *Northward Ho* (1605).**

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Abstract

My thesis researches, for the first time, the dialectical relationships between a cluster of plays performed at indoor playhouses in London immediately following the 1603-04 plague, in a capital radically impacted by population loss. These relationships are examined through an analysis of how the plays produce different versions of contemporary London and the degrees to which these are unlicensed or regulated. Building on the theoretical writings of de Certeau and the anthropologist Tim Ingold, I identify how versions of London are produced through the scope and significance of characters' movements, through phenomenological and topographical excess, and through opportunities and agency afforded to women. In uncovering the playwrights' responses to successive comedies I identify that these responses were increasingly a reaction to state surveillance.

Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho*, performed at Paul's, stages an innovative version of an open, unregulated London. A contextual analysis explains how the drama is grounded in a metatheatrical meshwork of theatregrams and tropes from plays performed from 1598-1603 set in modern London, yet produces a startlingly new version in which women are afforded unlicensed agency to create new situations and opportunities. I argue that Chapman, Jonson and Marston's *Eastward Ho* at Blackfriars stands in antithetical opposition to *Westward Ho*. *Eastward Ho*, through satirising and parodying key elements of the first play, seeks to restore regulated civic and mercantile values. Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho* presents London life as a theatrical composition, where all is, potentially, a brand new play, circumventing authoritarian censorship and repression through a knowing metatheatrical artfulness. A final chapter considers how John Day's *The Isle of Gulls*, 1606, follows the *Ho* plays, and engages with and satirises London's new political scene by locating the drama in a foreign setting and, in a second distancing manoeuvre, turning back to pre-1598 generic conventions.

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This is for my lovely and brilliant son, Richard, and my wonderful wife, Anne. And in memory of Sally Ledger, 1961-2009.

Notes on the texts

References to Dekker's works are from *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* edited by Fredson Bowers, with the exception of *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, when Anthony Parr's 1990 edition is used.

References to Dekker and Webster's collaborative work are from *The Works of John Webster*, Volume 4, edited by David Gunby, et al. (*Works*).

References to Ben Jonson's work, including the collaborative *Eastward Ho*, are from the online *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, edited by David Bevington et al. (*Jonson*). (The online editorial content does not include page numbers.)

References to Thomas Middleton's work are from *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino.

References to Shakespeare's works are from *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, edited by Richard Proudfoot et al.

All the dramas are available on EEBO and have been consulted online. The texts are also available in print. I quote from the most recent scholarly edition, where there is one in existence. This has thrown up some anomalies. *Blurt, Master Constable*, for example, is available as a facsimile, but is also in the 1885 edition of the *Collected Works* of Thomas Middleton: in such cases I have quoted from the edited version. Similarly, for *The London Prodigal* I have referred to *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* of 1908, and for *Thomas Lord Cromwell* I have used Edward Malone's *Supplement to The Plays of William Shakespeare*, 1780, reprinted in 1995.

One consequence of using the most recent scholarly edition, where available, has been that the contrasts and differences explored between *Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho* played at Paul's and the Blackfriars production of *Eastward Ho* are made more marked by the first two plays' early modern spellings in *Works* contrasted with the latter's modern spellings in *Jonson*.

When quoting from texts with early modern spellings I have silently replaced 'v' with 'u' and vice versa, and similarly with 'j' and 'i' when required.

Chronology 1598-1607

One main object in the thesis has been to track and trace echoes, allusions and theatregrams across and through the dense metatheatrical meshwork of plays set in contemporary London. As Mary Bly has emphasised, ‘Renaissance dramatists are virtually all “highly imitative” (“Defining the Proper Members” 116) and working out the chronology of who borrowed from who is an inexact science. Fortunately there are no difficulties in determining the chronological sequence of my four main texts: *Westward Ho* premiered in 1604, *Eastward Ho* in 1605, *Northward Ho* later in 1605, and *The Isle of Gulls* early in 1606. The table below sets out the estimated timeline I have followed for selected plays: it includes plays that are not neighbourhood comedies but which are used in the latter, and which the dramatists of the neighbourhood comedies appear to have expected their audiences to be familiar with. The table draws on, in particular, the appendix on repertories for the Globe and Blackfriars in Sarah Dustagheer’s *Shakespeare’s Two Playhouses*, and Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson’s *British Drama: A Catalogue*, Volumes 4 and 5. With the exception of the 1604 run at Paul’s and the two *Ho* plays in 1605 there is no chronological order intended within discrete years. I have attributed 1601’s *Blurt, Master Constable* to Thomas Dekker as the sole author, rather than to Thomas Middleton alone or as a collaboration between the two: the negative evidence is the play’s absence from *The Collected Works of Middleton*, 2007.

Date	Title	Author	Playhouse
1598	<i>Englishmen For My Money</i>	Haughton	Rose
	<i>Every Man In His Humour</i>	Jonson	Curtain
1599	<i>The Shoemakers’ Holiday</i>	Dekker	Rose
	<i>Antonio and Mellida</i>	Marston	Paul’s
	<i>Every Man Out Of His Humour</i>	Jonson	Globe
	<i>Edward IV, Parts 1 & 2</i>	Heywood	Boar’s Head
	<i>Henry V</i>	Shakespeare	Curtain
1600	<i>The Blind Beggar of Bednall Green</i>	Day & Chettle	Rose

	<i>Jack Drum's Entertainment</i>	Marston	Paul's
	<i>Cynthia's Revels</i>	Jonson	Blackfriars
	<i>As You Like It</i>	Shakespeare	Globe
	<i>Hamlet</i>	Shakespeare	Globe
1601	<i>Blurt, Master Constable</i>	Dekker	Paul's
	<i>What You Will</i>	Marston	Paul's
	<i>Satiromastix</i>	Dekker	Paul's and Globe
	<i>Poetaster</i>	Jonson	Blackfriars
	<i>May Day</i>	Chapman	Blackfriars
	<i>All Fools</i>	Chapman	Blackfriars
	<i>Twelfth Night</i>	Shakespeare	Globe
1602	<i>Sir Thomas Wyatt</i>	Dekker & Webster	(? public)
	<i>The Fair Maid Of The Exchange</i>	Heywood	Rose
	<i>The Gentleman Usher</i>	Chapman	Blackfriars
	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>	Shakespeare	Globe
1603	<i>The Malcontent</i>	Marston	Blackfriars & Globe
1604	<i>The Phoenix</i>	Middleton	Paul's
	<i>Westward Ho</i>	Dekker & Webster	Paul's
	<i>Michaelmas Term</i>	Middleton	Paul's
	<i>Law Tricks</i>	Day	Blackfriars
	<i>The Dutch Courtesan</i>	Marston	Blackfriars
	<i>The London Prodigal</i>	Anon.	Globe
	<i>Measure For Measure</i>	Shakespeare	Globe
	<i>Othello</i>	Shakespeare	Globe
	<i>The Wise Woman of Hogsden</i>	Heywood	(? public)
	<i>The Honest Whore Part 1</i>	Dekker	Fortune
	<i>If You Know Not Me, Part 2</i>	Heywood	(public)
1605	<i>Eastward Ho</i>	Chapman et al	Blackfriars
	<i>Northward Ho</i>	Dekker & Webster	Paul's

1606	<i>The Fleer</i>	Sharpham	Blackfriars
	<i>The Isle of Gulls</i>	Day	Blackfriars
1607	<i>The Knight Of The Burning Pestle</i>	Beaumont	Blackfriars

Chapter One: Versions of the City

'The city is a map of the hierarchy of desire, from the valorized to the stigmatized' – Pat Califa ¹

John Stow, a Londoner born around 1525, published *The Survey of London* in 1598, with a revised edition in 1603. From the outset he emphasises his work is rooted in history, turning to Roman accounts rather than English legend to describe the city's origins. Just as the edges of a map define and regulate the space within, Stow first establishes the material limits and boundaries of the city, the Wall, before describing the associated ideological apparatuses that embody and preserve order within the walls. These include the ceremonies, customs and Orders, all grounded, as are the schools, legal establishments and the rights and expectations of citizens, in tradition. They are as old and seemingly solid as the towers, bridges and city gates he describes in the same opening section. The major part of the text is a detailed description of the city, arranged on a ward by ward basis, in accordance with the 'Auncient division' (1.117) to demarcate places. Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 1984, describes two contrasting 'spatial practices': the first is that afforded to an observer at the top of the World Trade Center with a cartographer's geometrical and panoptic view of the city; the second is that of the 'ordinary practitioners', who experience the city at ground level, by walking (91-93). Stow's methodology presages de Certeau's observations, and does so by adopting the two strategies simultaneously. From a panoptic level Stow is metaphorically mapping out a territory. The way he writes London's history and thus makes sense of the present is achieved, however, by walking the streets as a 'practitioner', through movement.

Stow's strategy is to describe London along two axes, walking east to west along principal streets and, at the centre point of this trajectory, crossing

¹ *Public Sex* 216

the course of the old Walbrooke River which ran north to south but is now built upon, 'therefore the trace thereof is hardly known to the common people' (1.119). In each ward he provides a detailed description of the connecting streets, alleys and lanes. His London is packed with monuments, statuary, churches and lists of the interred, with descriptions of the construction materials and rebuilds. There are passing references to existing shops and tenements. Stow's London is populated by figures from the past of whom, as also noted by Rhonda Sanford in *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England* (110), the majority were benefactors and the civic minded. Stow provides recollections and anecdotes: present-day London is strangely silent, with few people moving or speaking. The ghosts of the rebellious (Jack Cade, Wat Tyler) arise often as warnings of the dangers of insurrection and civil disturbance, emphasising the importance in post-Reformation London of the preservation of civic order. The antiquarian's nostalgic reflections deprecate sudden change, including the rapid ascent of self-made men, especially politicians, and the demolition of ancient architecture and traditions.²

Once the city wards are surveyed Stow looks across the Thames at the liberties and outlying suburbs, where 'incontinent' men visit 'the like women' (2.54); he concludes the tour at the City of Westminster. There follow lists and descriptions of officials and support services, enclosing the walking tour within another set of civic traditions. At the close are two chapters that, with a flourish, reaffirm London's pride of place and the 'singularities of the city' that, in both 'quantity' and 'quality', set it apart (2.205). The survey comprises a highly particularised set of instructions for walking and understanding the city and its topography.

Here is Stow in Farringdon: 'Now betwixt the south ende of Ave Mary lane and the north end of Creede lane, is the comming out of Paules churchyard on the east, and the high street called Bowier row to Ludgate on the west, which way to Ludgate is of this ward. On the north side whereof is St. Martin's church, and on the south side a turning into the Blacke friars'

² 'Nostalgia' is the epithet of choice when describing Stow's ruminations on the past, as used by, for example, Ian Archer ("The Nostalgia of John Stow"), Patrick Collinson ("John Stow and nostalgic antiquarianism"), Jean Howard (*Theater* 5), and Adam Zucker ("London" 99).

(1.312-13). Three centuries later Charles Wallace's research for *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, 1908, included perambulations along the same streets described by Stow. Wallace is an outsider in 'busy modern London', marking out a route for fellow Americans: 'If you are at St Paul's, and wish to reach the site of the Blackfriars theatre, go southward five minutes through narrow, crooked lanes or little streets or foot-ways down the hill to the elevated railway, thence alongside of it down Water Lane southward to Playhouse Yard' (9). The first clear feature is the post-Stow railway, helping to set bearings for a walk into the past. Instead of Stow's detailed trajectory the route is now a challenge, a path through an earlier urban and even geological formation, through 'unfrequented aimless little crevasselike streets' with 'unsanitary' corners and 'narrow, irregular' ways (24-25). Wallace's cautious foray, uncertain amidst (apparently) empty, dirty unplanned streets, contrasts with Stow's confident strides and his delineation of the capital's topography and routes along and besides sites of local significance.³ From Stow's description we might create a map of London at the turn of the seventeenth century, and follow with confidence the route from the playhouse at Paul's to the theatre at Blackfriars. With Wallace as a guide we would journey nervously with indeterminate instructions, heading south for the river and hoping to come across the railway. The footsteps of Stow, the London habitué - an insider - leave a marked and recorded trail; Wallace's leave a vestigial and evanescent flicker, those of an uncertain outsider. They offer two very different versions of London.

The term versions is taken from Franco Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* and his introductory discussion of 'the study of space in literature' (3, his italics). An example he gives is a possible study of 'Balzac's version of Paris' (3, his italics). For the purpose of this thesis, 'versions', as well as involving the study of space in the dramas, also usefully incorporates notions of discourses (as in, for example, the presence and significance of women's speech, the dramatists' tactics to avoid censorship), transactions (as

³ On his visit to London, Wallace may have been influenced by the lament in Thomas Cook's *Handbook for London*, 1905 and republished annually, that Christopher Wren's grand plans for a 'fine piazza' extending down to the river, with 'magnificent thoroughfares', never came to fruition, so the series of streets and lanes around Paul's 'resembles the London of before the fire' 109.

in the place and purpose of material commodities and props, how credit is assigned and valued), and movement in contemporary London, as both staged and imagined behind the scenes. 'Versions' also incorporates, as with Stow and Wallace's accounts of the walk from Paul's to Blackfriars, the potential for variance, the prospect of contrast and opposition.

This thesis is focussed on a series of four related dramas, *Westward Ho*, *Eastward Ho*, *Northward Ho* and *The Isle of Gulls*, performed across 1604-06 by the two children's companies based at Paul's and Blackfriars. They are amongst the first new dramas staged after a time of absence and dread, when theatres had been closed for a year because of bubonic plague. The titles of the three *Ho* plays reflect new movement and activity in the city, echoing the shouts of the watermen on the Thames calling out again for customers after a year of silence. In their first new play, *Westward Ho*, Dekker and Webster introduce their audience to a London teeming with phenomenological and libidinal excess, presenting a markedly different version from Stow's and one that, in contrast to Wallace's, is shaped by insiders' knowledge and experiences. One way the four dramas function as a series is through their metatheatricality, developed by accretion in relation to the preceding plays. The plays also operate, importantly, metatheatrically in relation to the dramas performed from 1598 to 1603, which also located their action in London, starting with Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*. The study analyses a set of interconnected issues, including how the plays form a related series, what they are trying to achieve, what they expected of their audiences, and what they are made of. Addressing these and other questions will explain the version of London each play produces, and how - and why - this is achieved. Along the way there will be answers to other apparently arbitrary questions: for example, why does Clare Tenterhook own two diamond rings; why does Touchstone hardly move from his shop; why does Bellamont imagine his new play will be premiered in France; why does the ruler of Arcadia hunt deer?

The Playhouses at the Blackfriars and Paul's

The history of the indoor hall and the players at Blackfriars is well documented, with Lucy Munro's *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* providing a detailed analysis of the work of the company from 1603 to 1613. James Burbage purchased the old monastery building in Blackfriars in 1596 and converted rooms on the upper floor into a large hall, measuring 21 by 14 metres, which was designed to serve as a playing space, with a raised stage, seats and at least two galleries. Opposition from local gentry to the installation of a company of adult players meant no plays were staged until 1600, when the enterprising Henry Evans rented the building and teamed up with Nathaniel Giles, the Master of the young choristers comprising the Children of the Chapel Royal, based at Windsor.⁴ The choristers were re-sited in the Blackfriars building and the young actors performed plays by, amongst others, Chapman and Jonson. In 1600 the children were aged between 10 and 14; by 1605 and *Eastward Ho* the same actors were 'well into their teens' and described by a contemporary as 'young men'.⁵ The success and popularity of the acting group is evidenced by their enjoying royal patronage and being renamed the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1604, when Queen Anna eventually followed the new King south.

There were perhaps as many as three performances a week by 1605, according to a record by a shareholder.⁶ Audiences paid between 6 pence and 2 shillings and 6 pence; at an outdoor public theatre admission cost between 1 and 6 pence. Munro refers to Andrew Gurr's estimate that the audience capacity would have been between 600 and 700; yet in *Northward Ho* Doll alludes to Chapman's *All Fools*, performed at Blackfriars, when she jokes she will 'make a foole of a Poet, that hath made five hundred fooles' (3.1.12). The same figure is expressly given in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, when Demetrius refers to how four hundred out of five hundred recognised Jonson's satiric

⁴ For a summary of the history of the site, the theatre and the management of the Blackfriars from 1596 see Sarah Dustagheer 12-20

⁵ cf. Munro *Children* 39-41

⁶ cf. William Strachey, in Munro *Children* 213 n.25

impersonation of Dekker and Marston on stage (cf. 1.2.242-44). In *Children of the Queen's Revels* Lucy Munro examines the '[j]okes, puns and jibes about social status' in the comedies performed at Blackfriars to identify how these 'confirm or confound audience expectation', thus helping to establish the social composition of those in attendance (57). The spectators would seem to constitute a range of 'disparate social identities', including courtiers, gallants, citizens and their wives, gentlewomen, prostitutes, and, possibly and occasionally, shopkeepers and servants (95). A 'significant minority' were the sons of 'ordinary gentlemen', enrolled as law students at the nearby Inns of Court (66).

In contrast to the wealth of contemporary detail concerning the theatre at Blackfriars, there are far fewer records relating to London's second indoor private acting area, the playing space at Paul's. Much of what is available is brought together in Reavley Gair's 1982 study, *The Children of Paul's: the Story of a Theatre Company, 1553-1608*, though his conclusions about the site, size, and audience (particularly from 1599) require reconsideration. Additionally, and perhaps as a consequence of some of Gair's research, there is a pervasive critical sense that the whole enterprise at Paul's was small, even tiny, as if there is a curious conflation of the supposed small stature of the supposed childish actors with their supposed required playing space in their minute auditorium before a small audience.

Back in 1926 Harold Hillebrand lamented that in attempting to locate the site of the playing space at Paul's 'we meet everywhere with the most baffling uncertainty' (112). Recent scholarship has unearthed some firmer evidence. Roger Bowers, in 2000, identified the singing school in the almonry as the space in which plays were performed; in 2001 Herbert Berry's sleuthing identified the probable location even more precisely, as a room on the first floor of the almonry. In *Shakespeare's Theatreland*, 2012, the archaeologist Julian Bowsher corroborates that the playing area was in an upper chamber (115). The almonry stood at the southwest corner of the building, facing down to the river, and to the left of the chapter house and the south door (leading into the infamous middle aisle) looking north. In Berry's imaginative recreation, '[p]eople going to a play at St Paul's would have turned into the narrow lane from St

Paul's Churchyard..., walked north along the lane, entered a door on the right near the south wall of the cathedral, and walked up a flight of stairs' (113). Berry's calculations suggest that the space in the almonry, a 'mansion house', was nearly nine metres wide and 'much longer' (111, 113). Briony Frost's recent research concludes that the venue was slightly squarer, at around nine by twelve metres: this comprises a floor area of 108 square metres (543). If, as Michael Shapiro argues, the plays were staged in a manner that reproduced the conditions of their playing in banqueting halls, 'the actors might play either on the floor itself or on a slightly raised stage' (33). One practical consequence is that, instead of using a dedicated and usually empty auditorium, the only requirement for each performance would have been the setting out of benches for the audience. The area's primary purpose, as Bowers suggests, may have been educational: it could have been used as the choristers' communal and teaching space, with light through windows facing south and west curtained over during performances.⁷ Thus, whilst Carol Rutter marvels over a stage so minute that there was barely room to swing a cat (98), we might perhaps more realistically conjure up a playing area large enough to accommodate the fourteen actors at the close of *Westward Ho* and at least seventeen actors at the close of *Northward Ho*, with bodies circulating across and around the stage.

At a conservative estimate, the room at Paul's would accommodate 200 seated patrons, on three sides of a stage which had a gallery running above and across the back wall.⁸ Gurr suggests a space containing 'two hundred bodies or less'; 'as few as 200' is the figure Siobhan Keenan presents in her

⁷ Bowers 71, 78 and passim. Roze Hentschell also calls it a 'multi-use hall'; 'there was likely not a dedicated playing space' 183.

⁸ Bowers 78

recent overview.⁹ These figures are important because they indicate that Paul's was not a site of minuscule audiences watching childish performers manoeuvring around a tiny stage.¹⁰

After a hiatus of some ten years, the Children of Paul's began performing again in 1599. Roslyn Knutson notes the 'orthodox' estimate of one show a week (173); Gurr asserts 'they performed only on Sundays and Mondays' and Keenan concurs, with shows 'once or twice a week'.¹¹ For Scott McMillin the figure has shifted upwards to 'probably three times a week' ("Middleton's Theatres" 75). As mentioned in the Induction to Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*, 1604, the company charged up to sixpence (equivalent to around £5.60 in 2020) for admission and performed for a maximum of two (theatrical) hours in the afternoon:

'But, gentlemen, to spread my self open unto you, in cheaper
Terms I salute you, for ours have but sixpenny fees all the year
long, yet we dispatch you in two hours, without demur'

1.1.63-65.¹²

⁹ Gurr, *The Shakespearean Playing Companies* 338; Keenan 134. Theodore Leinwand pushes the figure upwards, with 'but a few hundred spectators' 334. Reavley Gair's one hundred spectators (67) are halved by Lucy Munro, who squeezes in 'barely fifty spectators' (16). Mariko Ichikawa advises that 'The playhouse, particularly its stage, seems to have been very small' (9). Ichikawa uses as evidence the single reference to stage size in the Paul's repertoire, when the Induction to *What You Will* refers to the stage as 'very little' (9). However, the same Induction also describes, with ironic self-mockery, the play as a rushed and slight composition and the acting as inferior still. The Induction's ironic complaint about the playing space might echo the Chorus's lament in the opening speech of *Henry V*, first acted at the Curtain in 1599 before a much larger audience.

As a point of reference, the seating area in modern London's Sam Wanamaker Playhouse Lower Gallery and Pit is approximately 82.4 square metres and the stage is 28.35 square metres. The total of nearly 111 square metres matches almost exactly the dimensions of Paul's proposed by Frost. The Sam Wanamaker Lower Gallery and Pit accommodates 186 spectators, with, on average, larger bodies and with different expectations regarding physical proximity to one's neighbours, leg room and, perhaps, overall comfort, than the Jacobean patrons at Paul's. (Sam Wanamaker Playhouse stage dimensions courtesy of Will Tosh @ Shakespeare's Globe, via e-mail correspondence, 20 September 2018.)

¹⁰ At Paul's there would have been single level seating for the 200. For another modern comparison, the ground floor at the roomier Swan Theatre at Stratford-Upon-Avon holds 264 people.

¹¹ Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage* 51; Keenan 136

¹² cf. Tiffany Stern's paper for the flexible nature of an 'hour' on early modern London streets and, in particular, in London theatres.

The cheapest seats, based on the references from around 1600-1604 recorded by Shapiro, cost two pence (equivalent to about £1.80 in 2020) (21), double the cheapest admission prices at the Globe.¹³

The actors who performed *Westward Ho* in 1604 comprised the members of the Cathedral's singing school's choir, of whom there were usually around ten at any one time.¹⁴ In addition to this 'nucleus' of choristers there was an 'outer circle of probationers, and other boys directly connected with the cathedral services', as well as the citizens' sons who benefitted from the academic curriculum and the progression routes into ordination or 'one of the learned professions' (Lupton 156). This is endorsed by Gair: it was 'customary for at least some of these older boys to continue to be maintained for two years or more, until provision for their future could be secured' (35). For performances there were, therefore, 'older, well trained choristers' to hand, with an increasing experience of performing from 1599 onwards (Gair 35). Roslyn Knutson's detailed analysis in *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time*, 2001, of the dramas performed at Paul's and the opportunities for doubling parts indicates that by 1602 there were around 23 or 24 individual actors in the acting group (90). As Brandon Centerwall concludes, '[t]he name Children of Paul's was ... something of a conventional title for an acting company consisting largely of young adults, accompanied by younger boy sopranos' (86). The boys who formed the Children of Paul's, from young choristers to young adults, grew to be, from their reformation in 1599, in McMillin's words, 'sharply trained, and talented. They could sing, they could play musical instruments, they could act' ("Middleton's Theatres" 77). The 200 or so in the audience were not watching a troupe of small children squeak and pipe their way through scripts they scarcely comprehended: they saw experienced practitioners in action, many of whom would be the same age or older than members of the audience new to the Inns of Court.

The actors' musical and singing skills were honed through their academic curriculum; their acting skills were developed by dramatists. John

¹³ For admission prices at the Globe see Sarah Dustagheer, 25. The 2020 equivalences are derived from the website 'MeasuringWorth.com' via 'projects.exeter.ac.uk'.

¹⁴ cf. Hillebrand 110-112, Gair 184, Hentschell 180-81

Marston was the manager of the revived acting troupe at Paul's, producing and directing four of his early plays before departing around 1603 for the company at Blackfriars. As Gair notes, it is possible that the dramatists were also closely involved in preparing the cast for productions (160). The Induction to *What You Will*, for example, indicates the boys' familiarity with the dramatist when they refer to 'your friend the author' (A3r). In the Introduction to *Jack Drum's Entertainment* the audience is asked to imagine that 'hee that composes the Booke' has snatched the scripts from the actors and 'with violence keeps the boyes from comming on the Stage' (A2r). The audience at Paul's will be expecting, by 1603-04, highly polished performances, written and managed by professionals and acted by an experienced cast of players.

Sarah Dustagheer writes, with reference to the 'specific micro-politics' in areas of London, that 'the nature of the city comedy the playwrights created could be influenced quite specifically by the urban location of the playhouse for which they wrote' (78-79): the authors of *Westward Ho* appear to have been highly aware of their expected audience. Lucy Munro's method of analysing the jokes about social status at Blackfriars can also help identify the composition of audiences at Paul's when the theatre reopened in 1604. From the start of *Westward Ho* and for the first half of the play, there is a stream of comments and jokes about lawyers, and particularly young lawyers who would have been studying at the Inns of Court. The first set of references are humorously disparaging similes and examples of legal practice (of a type that will soon become common in London-based plays by Middleton in particular). Thus, in the first two acts, we hear that lawyers give their clients unquiet sleep, that their work is cursory, that they reject appeals from the indigent, and that they are promiscuous (1.1.58-59; 1.1.137-38; 2.2.18-19; 2.2.148). Their gowns are tired and ruffled, but there are rich pickings in town when the wealthy students and lawyers turn up in term time (2.1.12-13; 2.2.174-75). There is a play on legal terminology when Mrs Honeysuckle displays an imprecise grasp of legalese, misquoting 'forma paper' for 'former pauperis' (2.1.108-09). The workings of the legal system are known to every 'puny' legal scholar, being aware that desire is not a guarantee of 'certain inheritance' (1.2.81). It was

assumed the audience would be familiar with the Inns of Court sumptuary rules (4.1) and the high-spirited Christmas revels 'at one of the Innes a Court' (5.4.55-56). These are in-jokes and references for an audience much more sharply defined than the larger, more heterogeneous, audience at Blackfriars.

A large proportion of the audience at Paul's comprised therefore, in all likelihood, students at one of the four Inns of Court and their associated Inns of Chancery. Each Inn is just a ten to fifteen-minute walk away from Paul's. According to Wilfred Prest, in Tudor and early Jacobean times 'the usual age of admission seems to have been between sixteen and twenty years' (9), of whom three quarters were eldest or only sons, drawn from the 'main recruiting grounds' of the home counties, East Anglia and the South West, 'the most populous and economically advanced regions of England' (31). Native Londoners formed the 'largest single group', at around 11% of the total student body (33). Many students, in addition, headed into - or back to - London after completing their undergraduate studies at Cambridge or Oxford. As Prest notes, the students' 'passion for playgoing' was 'a stock literary joke' (155), a joke exploited to the full at Paul's from 1604 by Dekker and Webster, and Middleton. The law students who made up much of the audience for *Westward Ho* were either new to the city or had returned after fleeing the bubonic plague.

From *Westward Ho* we can also surmise what the dramatists expected of their audience. There would be a familiarity with many London places and buildings and of the standard routes between sites. The audience would include seasoned playgoers, alert to the metatheatrical meshwork the play is seeped in, as well as the dramas - new and revivals - acted in the capital in recent years. They would have registered that London was awash with an influx of impoverished new knights. The audience would be alert to, and relish, bawdry, sexual innuendo and erotic jokes and wordplay. The audience would, therefore, be strikingly similar to that which later in the decade began attending performances at Whitefriars, another compact playing hall with room for up to 200 spectators.¹⁵ The Whitefriars audience is identified by Mary Bly in "The Boy Companies" as 'a witty audience, a group who share knowledge and desire, theatrical and erotic' (142). As Scott McMillin writes in "Middleton's

¹⁵ cf. Bowsher, 124

Theatre”, the audience at Paul’s in the first years of the new century enjoyed ‘an ambience of familiarity’, knowing ‘they were in on a trend’ (78). Based on *Westward Ho* Act 4.1, discussed in Chapter Four, we can suppose that many in the audience at Paul’s are young, fashionably attired, with disposable incomes and the leisure time to attend an afternoon performance.

Neighbourhood Comedies: the Critical Background and Context

The dramas comprising ‘neighbourhood comedies’, to use Julie Sanders’s formulation from “In the Friars”, 2015, (24), have previously been studied as city or citizen comedies, with literary critics stressing their chiefly satirical critiques of subjects variously identified as, for example, city merchants and their wives, gallants attached to the new Court, and Puritans. In *Jacobean City Comedy*, 1968, Brian Gibbons identified Jacobean city comedy as a ‘distinct genre’ (1), with satirical presentations set in London and its topicality, as with *Eastward Ho*, appealing to its ‘supposedly exclusive audiences’ (11). Contrasting with Gibbons’s author-based study, Alexander Leggatt’s *Citizen Comedy in the Age of Shakespeare*, 1973, studied groups of themes and motifs centred on the ‘middle class’ (4) and followed these through various incarnations, also noting metatheatrical correspondences and allusions. Theodore Levin’s *The City Staged*, 1986, examined ‘class animosity’ (50), concentrating on the ‘dramatic triangle’ formed by the different ‘status groups’ (13) comprising citizens, gallants and women, importantly considered in their cultural and social contexts. In *The Place of the Stage*, 1988, Steven Mullaney developed this further, presenting a new historicist analysis of the dramas and their function. He defines how plays worked within ‘the ideology of space in the early modern city’, specifically through the (public) playhouses’ location on the city’s margins, a site of ‘hopes, fears, and desires’ (vii-viii). Mullaney concentrates on the radical ideological work undertaken on public stages. By contrast, he states ‘the private stages of London remained an interstitial form of drama, representing a less incontinent breach of civil authority’ (53). It is more likely, however, and following Lucy Munro (*Children* 72) and Sarah Dustagheer (78), that far more interesting dynamics were at work in the private theatres

1604-06. As Lucy Munro points out, at least two extant plays acted at Blackfriars, *Eastward Ho* and *The Isle of Gulls*, provoked both self-imposed censorship on the part of the printers, and severe penalties from the institutional state authorities. Mullaney's study does emphasise powerfully that there is, potentially, far more being contested in the dramas and their relationship with the city than matters of shifting genres and improvisations upon common types and themes.

Alongside the critical research and its increasing attention to social and cultural contexts are the studies of the acting companies, their playing spaces, repertoires and audiences. The most comprehensive and relatively recent history of the playing companies is Andrew Gurr's *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, 1996, with detailed presentations of companies and their relationships with each other. A fresh summary of acting companies, staging, audiences and patronage is provided by Siobhan Keenan in *Acting Companies and their Plays in Shakespeare's London*, 2014. Reavley Gair's study of the company at Paul's has been referred to above. In her analysis of the *The Children of the Queen's Revels* at Blackfriars Lucy Munro brings together 'all the currently available data about the company and its personnel' (5). She develops 'overlapping narratives' covering many aspects of the company's work, describing these as 'maps' (15); together they help chart 'the complexity of the way in which early modern plays reached the stage' (53), including relationships between shareholders and dramatists. The appendices include the company's repertory, biographies, actor lists and court and touring performances. Munro examines the business practices and company politics with reference to the Children of Paul's but has less on how the two companies interacted and responded with reference to actual plays and aspects of performances.

Henry Turner discusses in *The English Renaissance Stage*, 2006, how, as London grew, 'the theatre provided a representational space in which different urban subjectivities and communities could project themselves, as in a cartographic mirror' (195). Thus, all types of locations and buildings 'emerge as structuring principles for representational action' on stage, 'because these

were the very sites in which the conflicts and fantasies of everyday urban life were taking place' (195). Turner uses *Westward Ho* to explain how staging techniques relate to a contestation between the public and the private (198-201). Chapter Four will also consider how the drama's phenomenological excess is enmeshed in this contestation, how spaces are produced, used and policed, and how commodities - and women's sexualities - derive value as subjects and objects of exchange.

In *London in Early Modern English Dramas*, 2008, Darryll Grantley examines how the plays address their audiences through the 'use of geographical reference' which 'gives recognition to the city's inhabitants as the prime constituency for its products' (7). He emphasises how 'the dramatic realization of London on the early modern stage' (13) involves the audience; through imaginative engagement with the theatrical construct, audiences 'impose a conceptual order upon it' (11). He notes audiences will respond differently to dramas set in their immediate locale than to those set in Vienna or Scotland, for example. Audiences would recognise the relevance of *Measure for Measure* or *Macbeth* to early Jacobean London: the significant point is that using 'identifiable localities' both enhances playgoers' interest in the drama as well as using stage characters' knowledge or ignorance of sites to 'define' them (57). Grantley regards taverns and brothels as too 'commonplace' (108) to merit attention, the former just a device to bring characters together. In this respect he is at odds with Julie Sanders in *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650*, 2011, where she states that 'inns and ordinaries' are 'crucial signifying vectors on the cultural and imaginative map of mobility', precisely because they are sites of 'encounter and social circulation' (135). Taverns and brothels will both be seen as important components in the dense interwoven web of the 1598-1606 neighbourhood comedies.

In her study *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre*, 2009, Edel Lamb notes how royal patronage from 1603 produced 'niches in the system' that 'enabled the temporary avoidance of the Master of the Revels' and the licensing requirements for staging plays imposed upon adult companies (70). This applied particularly to business at the Blackfriars, where Samuel Daniel was appointed as the in-house licensor of plays for performance. The

phrase 'niches in the system' echoes and matches Michel de Certeau's analysis of how a 'crack in the system' can open up possibilities for 'free play' and unlicensed actions (*Practice* 106). One consequence of this lack of official licensing is the increased level of inflammatory satire at Blackfriars, concluding with *The Isle of Gulls*, which generated reprisals and repression. Mary Bly's "The Boy Companies, 1599-1613", 2009, provides a summary of the companies and their playhouses, reflecting their locale and audiences. She defines five 'key characteristics' of the children's repertoires. They exhibit a 'humorous fascination' with sex and the body (138), homoerotic material including crossdressing, a frequent use of song and music, featuring the actors' musical skills, and dangerously high levels of satire, particularly at Blackfriars. The fifth characteristic is the prevalence of 'meta-theatricality' in plays that 'persistently challenge the audience by referencing the artificiality of stage practice' (147): this metatheatrical practice will be a particular focus of study.

By comparison with the recent critical literature on *Eastward Ho* there is very little written on Dekker and Webster's two collaborative plays, and even less on Day's *The Isle of Gulls*. In 1973 Clifford Leech noted that '*Westward Ho*, like its successors, was also a play about plays' (19); he outlined examples of the play's borrowings and echoes from new contemporary dramas and revivals such as *The Spanish Tragedy*. Jean Howard has written illuminatingly on the material contexts, sites and practices presented in each of the three *Ho* plays, examining "Women, Foreigners, and Urban Space in *Westward Ho*" (2000), "Staging Exotica in Early Modern London" in *Eastward Ho*, 2009, and prostitution and foreigners in *Northward Ho* in *Theater of a City*. Henry Turner considers the three *Ho* plays in *The English Renaissance Stage*, though not in chronological order and with relatively little attention to the second and third plays in the series. Kelly Stage's *Producing Early Modern London*, 2018, includes a chapter on how, she argues, characters in the three plays leave the city and see it 'from beyond rather than within its center', thus 'gaining purchase on their own projection of the city as an expansive space, and reassessing their notions of the city as a place' (30-31). Like Turner, she first discusses the two plays by Dekker and Webster before moving on to consider *Eastward Ho*.

This thesis is the first extended discussion of the relationship and serial development between and across the three *Ho* plays, and the first to ask additionally how *The Isle of Gulls* might form the fourth play in the series. It investigates a specific moment in early modern theatrical culture, analysing the business of producing neighbourhood comedies set in the contemporary capital and the opportunities and restrictions the dramatists encountered. This thesis develops, through the methodologies outlined below, a new reading of the three *Ho* plays, and a new contribution to the scholarship and understanding of the urban and theatrical cultures in the early seventeenth-century capital.

Theatrical Business and Theatregams

In *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare*, 1992, Douglas Bruster argues that London theatres were sites of 'business': playgoing was 'a regular cultural activity' and playhouses were 'institutional participants in the cultural milieu of a commercial London' (10-11). As Bruster writes, one important product of this form of cultural activity or commerce is a dialectical 'materialist vision' (38): this is constructed from the meshing together in performance of 'topographical building blocks', London's 'places and structures', with a conceptual or ideational sense of London. The synthesis of the topographical and the conceptual produces the 'imaginative structures', sited in material practice and localities, of contemporary dramas set in the capital (35). He describes how Jonson and Middleton, for example, 'enthusiastically catalogue the maze of taverns, streets, shops, and districts a rapidly unfolding London was to offer' (45). 'Unfolding' suggests a visitor opening out a map to discover the city, as well as the metropolis offering up its unexplored terrain. What is opened out and on offer are different versions of the contemporary city.

Roslyn Knutson's *Playing Companies*, 2001, builds on Bruster's study. Knutson argues that acting companies operated successfully as commercial entities because they enjoyed governmental protection and licence, and were thus 'within limits somewhat protected from the collective disapproval of civic officials and churchmen' (10), again echoing de Certeau's description of how oppositional discourses can seize on a 'crack in the system' (*Practice* 106).

She foregrounds a 'commercial disposition toward cooperation' (12): cooperation between companies was better than rivalry (20). The plays *Poetaster* and *Satiromastix*, for example, are indicative not of a literary and personal war between theatres and authors, but as elements within a 'serial drama', a 'theatrical game' that increases takings at the box offices (141). The three *Ho* plays form another serial drama, playing metatheatrical games with pre-plague performances as well as comprising a distinct and dialectical serial entity.

The concept of writers playing metatheatrical games and invoking past performances recalls Marvin Carlson's study of 'ghosting' and 'intertextuality' in *The Haunted Stage*, 2001, of 'weaving together elements of preexisting and previously read other texts' (8) in new dramatic contexts. He analyses three forms of haunting: the first is 'recycling of material', for example as rivalry, as parody, as variations on a traditional narrative or theme (27); the second is the 'recycling of characters', which can include parodic versions, as in the use of names from *Hamlet* in *Eastward Ho* (48-49). The third type of ghosting is brought to the theatre from the streets outside, when the 'audience is itself recycled... carrying in their collective memory the awareness that drives the theatre experience' (48). Jeremy Lopez comments, in *Theatrical Conventions and Audience Response*, 2002, on how early modern audiences 'enjoyed the self-reflexivity of the theatre - Hamlet's discussion of the boy companies, for example - and the feeling of being "in on" all the jokes this self-reflexivity provided' (34). In *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic*, 2014, Janet Clare also writes of audiences as an 'interpretative community', from whom the dramatists could anticipate 'collaboration' (26). The dramatists' confidence in their audiences' metatheatrical awareness and even sophisticated knowledge is evident in the three *Ho* plays, and particularly those performed for the more defined and homogeneous audience at Paul's. As examined in Chapter Seven, John Day's concern about his audience set rolling the dramatic missteps and misapprehensions that would ensure *The Isle of Gulls* failed spectacularly. Marvin Carlson also discusses how particular actors or characters, for example, are tied to 'a particular cultural moment' and 'that their vogue, however great, rarely lasts more than a decade' (50). The vogue for neighbourhood comedies

set in contemporary London matches this timeframe, from William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money* in 1598 to Francis Beaumont's 1607 *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (which was 'utterly rejected'), and overlaying the theatrical life of the two indoor companies, at Paul's from 1599 to 1606 and at Blackfriars from 1600 to 1608.¹⁶

In *Quoting Shakespeare: Form and Culture in Early Modern Drama*, 2000, Douglas Bruster emphasises that as readers of early modern drama we should be asking 'not only "What am I reading?" but also "What is it made of?"' (14). The dramas in the particular cultural moment from 1598 to 1607, comprising plays set in and about the contemporary capital, are particularly marked by, in Bruster's term, a "'thickness" of intertextuality', produced from a 'bricolage' (3) of 'patterns, habits and other instances of meaningful repetition' (50), for example, repetitions, allusions, borrowings and parodies. In *The Stage and Social Struggle*, 1994, Jean Howard describes the London-based comedies not as a succession of plays but in terms of recurring tropes and figures. For example, 'roving, crossdressed women' became 'ever more firmly fixed in the period's repertoire of theatrical representations and so in its cultural imaginary' (17). Furthermore, as Jacky Bratton explains in *New Readings in Theatre History*, 2003, this metatheatrical practice involves 'not only speech and the systems of the stage... but also genres, conventions and, very importantly, memory' (38). The 'fabric' of this memory is 'shared by audience and players' (38): as Carlson writes, this 'collective memory' - the 'cultural imaginary' - is produced in the audience by the accumulated experience of previous performances. The nature of this metatheatrical fabric is examined by William West in his essay "Intertheatricality", 2013, when he reflects on 'the possibility of understanding theatre as made out of other performances' (154). Thus, 'different patterns and forms of performance' are understood 'as belonging to a horizontally organized repertoire, never completed and slowly changing': the fabric or webs of 'lines, gestures, characters, situations, genres, and other smaller elements... cumulatively allow for new performances and new concatenations of actions' (154-55). West argues that '[r]ecreating these intertheatrical networks requires following performances step by step rather

¹⁶ That *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* failed when first staged is documented by Walter Burre in the 1613 edition he published (*Knight Dedicatory Epistle* 7).

than mapping them from an abstracting distance' (161), in another echo from *The Practice of Everyday Life*, when de Certeau distinguishes between the panoptic view from the top of the World Trade Center and the practice on the ground of walking and exploring the streets. This thesis will follow West in following the series of performances 'step by step' to analyse the dense bricolage the plays are made of and the associated development of the audiences' 'cultural imaginary'. However, whereas West proposes 'Let us call this way of looking at plays its 'intertheatricality'' (154-155), this study uses 'metatheatricality' to help emphasise the high degree of knowing artifice in the plays and the work of the different audiences. As Janet Clare writes in *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic*, 2014, early modern plays 'seem to have been written and produced in the knowledge that there was an interpretative community well acquainted with others representing similar dramatic narratives and motifs, and therefore in anticipation of some collaboration with their auditors' (26).

What the plays are made of includes a metatheatrical 'thickness' comprising, as above, recurring motifs and tropes, including Bruster's 'habits' and 'patterns', Bratton's 'speech' and 'systems of the stage', and West's 'lines, gestures, characters, situations, genres, and other smaller elements'. This study uses the term theatregrams to encompass these features and dramatic components, following Louise George Clubb in *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, 1989, where she defines theatregrams as 'accumulated stage-structures' (5), the 'units, figures, relationships, actions, *topoi*, and framing patterns' (6) that through a diachronic process of 'interchange and transformation' produce an 'accretive repertory' (19). In "Italian Stories on the Stage", 2002, she repeats the concept of theatregrams as 'interchangeable structural units' comprising 'characters, situations, actions, speeches, thematic patterns' (35). In the brief cultural moment that witnessed a vogue for plays set in contemporary London we can identify distinctive theatregrams that encompass, as Clubb writes, 'elements of high specific density, weighty with significance from previous incarnations' (1989, 6). The ways the playwrights develop and play metatheatrical games with these theatregrams generate, in the words of Henri Lefebvre, both 'repetitive and differential functions' that help determine

the 'style' and texture of the series of dramas (150). As Mary Bly emphasises in "Defining the Proper Members of the Renaissance Theatrical Community", the contemporary dramatists, including Shakespeare, 'belonged to a small theater community in which playwrights constantly adopted, appropriated, and mocked one another's work' (114). The 'significance', in Clubb's term, of the work of the reincarnated theatregrams would be incrementally apparent and appreciated by the audiences at Paul's and the Blackfriars as the metatheatrical series of *Ho* dramas were played out over 1604-05.

Theatregrams are a particularly appropriate critical framework for this study, by emphasising what the plays are made of and, in turn, what the dramatists could expect and assume of their audiences.

Space, Movement and the Meshwork

'London is..., as is space in general, a field of multiple actors, trajectories, stories with their own energies - which may mingle in harmony, collide, even annihilate each other', writes Doreen Massey in *World City*, 2007 (22). One distinctive feature of the three *Ho* plays is the concentration given to the staged and imagined trajectories of the multiple actors pursuing stories around and across early modern London. As de Certeau writes, 'A *space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables... It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it' (*Practice* 117). In this sense, the dramas from 1604 actuate and reactivate, diachronically and synchronically, post-plague London through their different ensembles of movements. In the *Ho* plays we can observe, as Jean Howard writes, 'the process by which, to use de Certeau's language, plays help to transform specific places into significant social spaces, that is, into environments marked by the actions, movements, and daily practices of inhabitants' (*Theater* 3). In *Westward Ho* and *Eastward Ho* the movements of characters behind the scenes are, additionally, imagined as if charted with precise topographical exactitude. In *Westward Ho* this produces for the audience a sense of psychogeographical verisimilitude, an imaginative following in the footsteps and the journeying of the characters. This way-

finding is along streets and routes described by John Stow, but instead of a ruminative stroll there is a whirlwind of breakneck dashes and expeditions. The play could also be regarded as the first of the dramas set in London to both represent the city as, in de Certeau's formulation, 'a map' (by referencing a 'knowledge of the order of places') and, at the same time, and innovatively, as 'a tour' (the spatialising of actions) (*Practice* 119). In *Eastward Ho*, as discussed in Chapter Five, exactly the opposite effect is achieved: instead of charting possible movements, the play dramatises a series of parodically inconceivable and impossible journeys. The 'heterogeneity of practices and purposes', in Doreen Massey's phrase from *For Space*, 2005, (107) enacted on stage and imagined behind the scenes produces different dramatic spaces and thus different versions of London.

In *The Perception of the Environment*, 2000, the anthropologist Tim Ingold echoes de Certeau when he maintains that places are not free-floating in space but are produced through the movements of their inhabitants: these practices produce 'places' that exist 'as nodes in a matrix of movement' (219). Those who are familiar with the matrix function within a shared 'historical context' (219); outsiders feel lost. 'Places gather things, thoughts, and memories in particular configurations' writes the anthropologist Arturo Escobar: one such communal gathering place is a theatre.¹⁷ Tim Cresswell presents a phenomenological account in *Place: An Introduction*, 2015, that is analogous to Ingold's and works, literally and metaphorically, with reference to the 1598-1606 metatheatrical matrix: 'places are performed on a daily basis through people living their everyday life' (64). This can be applied not just to Londoners but to types of audiences. The experienced theatregoer at Paul's and Blackfriars in 1604-06, has, by virtue of regular playgoing and knowledge of previous performances, and echoing Janet Clare's observation above, 'a greater sensitivity to cues in the environment and a greater capacity to respond to these cues with judgement and precision', to recast Ingold's words in a metatheatrical context (*Life* 48). Ingold's 'continuous itinerary of movement' (*Perception* 226) was arrested by the plague of 1603-04 for London as a city and for the playwrights as members of a thriving commercial practice. In this

¹⁷ quoted in Cresswell 71

regard the centripetal energy in the first acts of *Westward Ho* functions as a reassertion of the matrix of movement.

Another valuable analysis of space and place is Bridget Orr's essay "Laying the Scene Locally in Restoration Drama" (2013) where she exemplifies four meanings of 'scene' in Reynold's 1789 play *The Dramatist*. These four versions are described here with my examples from early modern plays. First is the imagined location (London, Venice, Ancient Britain); the second comprises a more precise setting: the tavern, the middle aisle at Paul's, the goldsmith's shop. A third scene, following Marvin Carlson on the haunted stage and Louise Clubb on theatregrams, involves echoes from earlier plays, the 'ghosting the discrete episodes' (15) (the tavern scene from *All Fools* revisited in *Westward Ho*, costume changes in *Westward Ho* recalled and parodied in *Eastward Ho*). The fourth involves 'replaying actions dependent on furniture and architecture - props and scenery' (15) (tobacco, specific costumes, tavern paraphernalia, drapers' wares). Amongst the theatregrams of the 1598-1606 matrix we also have a movement of characters and types - including schoolmasters, drawers, prostitutes, and lawyers - and linguistic formulations and running jokes. As Orr writes, the successful drama involves the 'manipulation of bodies and things in space' (15): the composition of these spaces involves the history and meshwork of discursive and material practices.

Related to Orr's work on the 'spatial characteristics' (26) is Julie Sanders's "In the Friars", examining the 'spatial and cultural geography' of the second Blackfriars and tracing the 'lived experience and the flow of people, things and ideas' (20) around and within the theatre with particular reference to two adjacent sites, the Wardrobe and Bridewell, and the Thames. She demonstrates how topographical references would have 'formed part of a deeper... offstage geography' (27); the 'flow and overlap' (25) between the theatre and the buildings and the river would have formed part of the audience's cultural imaginary. As Sanders writes elsewhere about comedies set in contemporary London, the plays 'are physically and psychologically mappable by early modern audiences and for these reasons this is a genre that is peculiarly alert to the conditions of its own reception, drawing attention to and hailing its contemporary spectators all the time' (*Introduction* 145).

Furthermore, Jean Howard in *Theater of a City*, 2007, which includes analyses of dramas performed in the children's companies and *Northward Ho's* treatment of brothels as commercial sites, comments that by localising the action, audiences enjoyed the 'pleasure of recognition' as, simultaneously, the plays '*construct* the city and make it intelligible for those *unfamiliar* with its places or the uses to which they can be put, and they parse the permissible and impermissible actions attendant on those places' (22-23). In this way, and as discussed in Chapter Two with reference to William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, the dramas construct with the audiences, in Howard's phrase, a 'shared literacy' (*Theater* 39). Attending a neighbourhood comedy at Paul's or the Blackfriars could work as an initiation, an introduction for those new to the capital's topography and places of significance and, simultaneously, an introduction to the metatheatrical meshwork of contemporary London's theatreland.

Tim Ingold's theoretical work on lines also, and of central importance to this thesis, supports the concept of an interconnected moving metatheatrical mesh, a 'complex process' rather than a static 'complex structure' (*Perception* 228). As discussed in Chapter Three, the new dramas represent a trajectory, a product and process moving forward in time: in this sense of path-making the dramas do 'not so much add another figurative layer to the ground surface as weave another strand of movement *into* it' (*Life* 61). In addition, the strands in the metatheatrical meshwork can also, through their use of theatregrams, be traced or drawn back in time. The dramas are recursive, functioning in part through allusion, repetition, parody and associations, employing tactical generic features based on commercial and artistic successes and failures, fashions and trends. These elements of the past are then looped forward into the next production, a transient space where, in Ingold's terms, each play becomes a knot or node in an open-ended matrix (*Lines* 174).¹⁸ This thesis's methodology develops an original understanding of the neighbourhood comedies set in the contemporary London of 1598-1606 by investigating the plays as parts of an

¹⁸ In the context of Ingold's conceptual framework the range of distinct theatergrams should properly be called 'lines': the tangle of lines produce the meshwork. However, because the study is examining literary productions that are composed of lines, 'theatregrams' is used throughout.

interconnected 'complex process', a meshwork with a distinct and evolving dramatic archi-texture (Henri Lefebvre's term 'archi-texture' is discussed in Chapter Three). The methodology also identifies the kinds of theatrical knowledge the dramatists might have expected of their audiences.

Open and Closed: Texts and Audiences

Rhonda Sanford in *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England*, 2002, distinguishes between 'closed' and 'open' spatial representations. The former, through maps and other texts, presents an official, civic version: in John Norden's *Speculum Britanniae*, 1593, London is 'A Citie of great Marchandize, populous, rich and beautiful' (27, E2). In presenting the city to outsiders, closed representations erase unfavourable aspects from view. Andrew Gordon's "Performing London", 2001, describes the 1604 Royal Entertainment as the presentation of a 'ceremonial city', 'in which the local activity of civic life disappears' (77, 78). By contrast open versions, Sanford argues, present the observer or reader with 'the city in all its variety' (99). Sanford analyses *Michaelmas Term* and *Bartholomew Fair* as theatrical open representations (128-35); another freewheeling open version, as discussed in Chapter Four, is *Westward Ho*. Sanford's approach recalls de Certeau's observations in *Practice* (120-21) on how by the seventeenth-century cartographers marginalised and then erased visible figurative traces of the original expeditions and explorations, as maps moved, in Ingold's terms, from representations of wayfinding to documents for navigation (*Perception* 233-34). The 1604 Royal Entertainment, with its defined route and stages, a series of staccato lines, thus contrasts with the swirling movement of the dramas, replete with marginalised characters, desires and accessories unsanctioned by civic authority. By analogy, de Certeau's discussion of strategies and tactics (*Practice* 29-42) lends itself to the study of the dialectical relationship between *Westward Ho*, *Eastward Ho*, *Northward Ho*, and *The Isle of Gulls*. Whereas James Bednarz in *Shakespeare and the Poets' War*, 2001, writes a history of the so-called earlier Poets' War as if it was a strategic undertaking, Knutson convincingly describes it as a more tactical skirmish (35-37). Similarly, three or

four years later, the three *Ho* plays and *The Isle of Gulls* represent quick-moving, opportunistic tactical interventions and responses. Three of the four plays oppose themselves - in different ways - to closed versions, referred to by Knutson as 'the discourses that ideologize the city' (94), as represented by, for example, the stream of royal proclamations issued from 1603 and, additionally, the sanctioned succession literature, including the Great Entertainment. The opportunistic and oppositional texts are, in de Certeau's analysis, examples of forms of discourse that 'compromise the univocity' of an authoritarian system: *Westward Ho*, for example, is an instance of a 'supererogatory semantic' overlaying of material and linguistic 'excess' and 'saturation', imposing itself upon a representation of the city in a novel manner (106). Sanford and Gordon's work meshes with Orr's arguments about the means by which texts can 'stage a contest between dominant understanding of place and the attempts of a whole variety of subordinate groups to undermine such meaning' (17). This study will identify and examine the specific ways this contest is enacted between and across the three *Ho* plays and then *The Isle of Gulls* from 1604 to 1606. The dominant, official 'understandings' can be regarded as a key component of the current ideological state apparatus: in turn, the contest beyond the theatres' stages, with arrests and imprisonments, is evidence of the surveillance and control exercised by the repressive state apparatus.

A second important 'open' and 'closed' continuum is that outlined by Marco De Marinis in *The Semiotics of Performance*, 1993. At Paul's, and particularly so with *Northward Ho*, Dekker and Webster treat their audience as knowledgeable or aspiring insiders, alert to the metatheatrical and topographical references and allusions. The play, as discussed in Chapter Six, is the epitome of a 'closed' performance, predicting a 'specific addressee' (168). The notion of an ideal audience at Paul's recalls De Marinis's theorisation of the 'Model Spectator'.¹⁹ The 'Model Spectator' in the auditorium has the required 'idealized competence' to identify the 'codes' at work in the performance, and to thus undertake the appropriate 'interpretive activity' (168).

¹⁹ As also discussed by Marvin Carlson in "Theatre Audiences and the Reading of Performance" 84.

The Isle of Gulls, by contrast, is at the furthest end of this 'closed and open' continuum. In De Marinis's words, 'a performance is "open" when the senders do not foresee a rigidly predetermined interpretive process as a requirement for their success, but allow the audience a variable margin of freedom deciding up to what point they can control the cooperation' (169). Day's play is an 'open' performance, capable of eliciting a range of responses beyond the control of the author. *Eastward Ho*, as discussed in Chapter Five, assumed a 'closed' audience but, to the consternation of at least two of its authors, became dangerously 'open'.²⁰ De Marinis's work on audience types will help develop arguments about audiences, hermeneutics and censorship, also building on the work by Annabel Patterson in *Censorship and Interpretation*, 1984, Janet Clare in *Art Made Tongue-Tied By Authority*, 1990, and Richard Dutton in *Mastering the Revels*, 1991.

From these three studies, and from what befell two of the authors following performances (and possibly the publication) of *Eastward Ho* and from the arrests following the staging of *The Isle of Gulls*, it appears that censors and unfriendly or suspicious audience members were especially alert to the possibility that actors were impersonating - often satirically - living persons. One contemporary term to describe this was 'personate'. It seems to have been first used at Paul's in the Induction to Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*: 'Whom do you personate?' / 'Piero, Duke of Venice' (Ind. 5-6). Ben Jonson uses the term twice before 1605, referring to the satirising of specific characters: 'Your arrows' properties, to keep decorum, Cupid, are suited, it should seem, to the nature of him you personate' (*Cynthia's Revels*, 5.5.67); and 'Whom should he personate in this, signor?' / 'Faith, I know not, sir; observe, observe him' (*Every Man Out*, 5.3.54-55). In *Northward Ho* the term is used by Bellamont: 'when I personate a worthy Poet' (4.1.9). In George Chapman's *The Old Joiner of Aldgate*, 1603, as Janet Clare writes, the playwright 'was consciously involved in the transmutation of real events into theatre and with the personation of living individuals under feigned names on

²⁰ To avoid confusing the two 'open and closed' continuums posited by Sanford and De Marinis the thesis will henceforth retain Sanford's use of 'open and closed' and rename the two extremes of De Marinis's model as 'problematic' (for his 'open' performances) and 'ideal' (for his 'closed').

the stage' (*Art Made Tongue-Tied* 90). Janet Clare's use of personation repeats the 1603 Attorney-General's Bill, which records that Chapman was provided with 'a plott' for a new play, in which Agnes Howe and others involved in her case were 'under colorable and fayned names personated' (from Sisson 58; cited by Clare 91). In his discussion of the same episode, and in his study as a whole, Richard Dutton employs the term shadowing: 'There is no clearer example in English Renaissance drama (despite the fact that the text is not extant) of a play having been written to 'shadow' specific current events and persons' (131). In his discussion of the furore over Samuel Daniels's *Philotas*, 1604, Dutton writes, 'There is no evidence that Devonshire himself is 'shadowed' in the text, but even so he took exception to having been dragged into the business. Cecil, however, very possibly saw himself 'shadowed' there and objected to that' (168). More recently Douglas Bruster has used the term 'embodied' to describe ways in which contemporary living persons were staged as literary celebrities or subjects of ridicule (*Shakespeare* 65-93).

In the 1598-1606 metatheatrical meshwork the term dramatists used most often was 'application' and, more specifically, 'personal application'. For example, in the Induction to *Poetaster* (1601/02) Jonson's character Envy announces how he will interfere with the audience's plain spectating by invoking troubling aspersions, including 'applications':

For I am risse here with a covetous hope
 To blast your pleasures and destroy your sports
 With wrestings, comments, applications,
 Spy-like suggestions, privy whisperings,
 And thousand such promoting sleights as these. (Ind. 22-26)

Poetaster, *Satiromastix* and *What You Will* are obvious examples of the use of 'personal application' to mock and satirise living playwrights. Chapman in the Prologue to *All Fools* deliberately sets his play apart from these contemporary theatrical disputes between 'bitter spleens' who employ 'satirism's sauce' in 'personal application' (15-19).

As is clear from the vicissitudes following upon *The Old Joiner*, *Philotas*, *Eastward Ho* and *The Isle of Gulls*, there were potentially serious repercussions when 'personal applications' were judged to exceed the limits of

political tolerance. Mocking and satirising playwrights and their dramatic styles and materials was permissible; the staging of political applications was far riskier. As discussed in Chapter Seven, John Day was acutely and anxiously aware of the possible presence of ill-disposed informers in the audience watching and listening out for potentially offensive caricatures. In 1606 Dekker remarked on the perils of going to press, when there are spies busy discovering ‘the most triviall and merriest Applications’ (*News From Hell*, To the Reader B1v). In *Volpone*, 1605-06, Jonson complained that ‘application is now grown a trade with many’ (Epistle 65). Under ten years later, in 1614, in the Induction to *Bartholemew Fair* he again derided in the most forceful and amusing terms those who attended plays only in order to identify contemporary applications:

it is finally agreed by the foresaid hearers and spectators that they neither in them selves conceal, nor suffer by them to be concealed, any state-decipherer or politic picklock of the scene so solemnly ridiculous as to search out who was meant by the gingerbread-woman, who by the hobby-horse-man, who by the costermonger, nay, who by their wares. Or that will pretend to affirm (on his own inspired ignorance) what ‘Mirror of Magistrates’ is meant by the Justice, what great lady by the pig-woman, what concealed statesman by the seller of mousetraps, and so of the rest. (101-108)

In this thesis the term ‘impersonation’ covers the meanings conveyed by ‘personate’, ‘shadowing’, ‘embodiment’ and ‘personal application’. The thesis contributes to research on late Elizabethan and early Jacobean surveillance of the theatres and the self-imposed or official censorship of performances and publications by investigating the methods dramatists used to outmanoeuvre, deflect or forestall charges of impersonation and political critique.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter Two first examines the techniques of citation used in the history plays from the late 1580s to enact scenes set in London, focussing on two plays first performed in 1599, Thomas Dekker’s *The Shoemakers Holiday* and

Thomas Heywood's *Edward IV*, and how characters' movements in and between specific London sites produce a version of the medieval capital. In the censoring of *Sir Thomas More*, 1601, we see a conflict between the staging of disruptive movements by protestors and an official, closed, version of London.

An analysis of William Haughton's *Englishmen For My Money*, 1598, Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out Of His Humour*, 1599, and Heywood's *The Fair Maid Of The Exchange*, 1602, considers the development of methods to stage or invoke the contemporary capital through the charted movement of characters and the audiences' recognition of, in Julie Sanders's term, the 'offstage geography' ("In the Friars" 27).

Chapter Three studies the dense metatheatrical meshwork generated by comedies performed from 1598 to the closing of the theatres in 1603. The first part of the chapter explores London as a metaphorical 'theatreland', with dramatists, actors and audiences sharing a knowledge of the fashionable contemporary theatrical milieu crammed with textual cross-referencing, borrowings and parody. The second part examines how the use of specific theatregrams produced a distinct metatheatrical meshwork, further contributing to, as Carlson writes, the audiences' 'collective memory' (*Haunted Stage* 48) and, in Lina Perkins Wilder's words, the sense of an audience as 'a theatrical community defined by common experiences from different plays' (14). The chapter also considers how much of the metatheatrical play and the theatregrams are picked up and reworked in dramas from 1604, and in *Westward Ho* in particular.

Westward Ho is the subject of Chapter Four, with an analysis of how the 1604 post-plague drama welcomes its audience back to a city emerging from catastrophe. The chapter examines how the play is grounded in the contemporary metatheatrical meshwork and its theatregrams, yet is also innovative in how it produces a new version of the capital in which women have the agency to create new situations and opportunities. The sense of fresh opportunities is supported and reflected in the drama's phenomenological density, its topographical excess, and in the women's unregulated opportunities to move around and beyond the city.

Chapter Five studies *Eastward Ho* as the antithesis of *Westward Ho*. It shares the same metatheatrical meshwork but, through satirising and parodying key elements of the first play, seeks to restore regulated civic and mercantile values. The chapter examines how the drama exercises controls and restrictions on the spaces in which characters move across 1605 London. Ironically, the play's move towards a more closed version of London, in Sanford's formulation, is shipwrecked by the excess of satire directed at the court and courtiers of the new King James.

Chapter Six considers the aesthetic techniques used in *Northward Ho* to produce a version of London that is replete with desire and activity, yet is curiously marked by indeterminacy and absences. The chapter explores how *Northward Ho* operates, at a metatheatrical level, as a synthesis of key elements in the first *Ho* plays, and at how, by reference to Bridget Escolme's *Talking to the Audience*, it evades charges of impersonation. A discussion of De Marinis's theorisation of audience types helps determine what Dekker and Webster expected of their audience, and what levels of metatheatrical knowledge and topographical experience informed the audiences' collective memory.

A final, brief Chapter Seven argues that John Day's 1606 drama *The Isle of Gulls* produces a startlingly satirical version of contemporary London, hedged about with distancing techniques, including a move back into an earlier metatheatrical meshwork, and disclaimers of any political intent or impersonation. The drama sets itself as the successor to the three *Ho* plays, yet, in immediate contrast with *Northward Ho*, exhibits a high level of anxiety about its audience and its possible reception.

The thesis thus explores and explains the dialectical connections that thread through the three *Ho* plays and beyond into 1606, asking what the plays are made of and how and why they produce different and conflicting versions of contemporary London in the shifting context of the 1598-1606 metatheatrical meshwork. The analysis necessarily involves investigations into the different audiences in the playhouses - and at Paul's and Blackfriars in particular - and what they expected to see and hear, and what the dramatists expected of their audiences and their knowledge of the capital as a place and a theatreland.

Chapter Two: London in History Plays 1597-1603

The chapter opens by examining the versions of London produced in English history plays from the late 1580s, focussing on dramatists' use of citation. It next considers how, in his two-part *Edward IV of 1599*, Thomas Heywood introduces the use of characters' imagined movements in and between specific London sites to produce a version of the capital through the spatialisation of actions. The staging of unregulated movement and actions can represent a threat to official 'closed' versions of London, in Rhonda Sanford's formulation, as evidenced by an analysis of the censorship imposed on scenes portraying protesting citizens in *Sir Thomas More*, 1601. The chapter moves on to an examination of how comedies performed from 1598 that are set in contemporary London, starting with *Englishmen For My Money*, develop an innovative use of movement on stage to invoke versions of the capital. Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out Of His Humour*, 1599, introduces a further refinement, with a scene where movement is used to imitate or enact daily business in the middle walk at Paul's. Heywood's *The Fair Maid Of The Exchange*, 1602, also uses movement to stage a recognisably typical London scene. In turn, the chapter concludes, the dramatists' experimentations with different dramatic techniques centred on the movement of characters in the contemporary capital produces for audiences new senses of psychogeographical recognition, with the dramas functioning as an initiation, a cultural entrée into contemporary London.

Citation and the Spatialisation of Actions

Between the early 1590s and 1602, a series of English history plays brought onto the London stages a version of the capital in which the city features centrally as the seat of government and the locus of civic broils and insurrection. From 1597 playwrights develop dramatic methods hinted at in

earlier history plays, threading back, for example, to the late 1580s and the anonymous *The Famous Victories of Henry V*.¹

The opening scenes of *The Famous Victories* connote an old, distant London through occasional topographical citations. As the prince prepares to abandon his wild youth, referenced by an 'old tavern in Eastcheap' (1.74), and take on royal responsibilities, the author cites 'the Counter' (2.91), 'the Fleet' (4.81) and the Court, all controlled by representatives of legal or civic authority. Yet, fleetingly, far from any historical source materials, a night watch comprising a cobbler, a pewterer and a costermonger wonder whether to remain 'here at Billingsgate Ward' or to make for Pudding Lane's End (2.3-4). These London trades-folk move around streets they know, figurative traces hovering on the edges of the closed, official discourse of the princely transformation and military success. The cobbler reappears with his wife in the play's final street scene, pleading with a Captain who is impressing him into the new King's army bound for France:

Cobbler	Oh, sir, I have a great many shoes at home to cobble.
Wife	I pray you, let him go home again.
Captain	Tush, I care not. Thou shalt go. (10.7-9)

With London as a backdrop, the repressive state apparatus gives orders and eliminates dissent.

The *Famous Victories*' technique of including geographical and historically accurate references to specific sites in and around London produces, in de Certeau's terms, a 'citation' of places, a version of a static officially sanctioned map (Practice 120). Shakespeare uses topographical citation to similar effect in *Henry VI 2*, circa 1591. For example, it is reported 'The rebels are in Southwark', camped at the White Hart, and that Jack Cade 'vows to crown himself in Westminster' (4.4.27, 31). Cade orders his men to 'pull down the Savoy' and 'th'Inns of Court' (4.7.1-2). Before his fortunes ebb, Cade urges his 'rabblement' by London Bridge (4.8.SD), 'Up Fish Street! Down Saint Magnus' Corner! Kill and knock down! Throw them into Thames!'

¹ *The Famous Victories* might have been first performed in the late 1580s; it was first published in 1598, possibly on the back of the successful *Henry IV* plays at The Globe.

(4.8.1-2). The drama, based on events some 140 years before, refers to sites and buildings known to its audience to add a sense of spatial verisimilitude. From a temporal perspective, those in the audience might also register that they are part of a living and unfolding urban history.

In *Thomas of Woodstock*, 1592-5, the narcissistic Richard II looks forward to when 'We'll ride through London only to be gazed at' (3.1.81) and, as in many of the history plays performed over the next ten years, there is a scene set in or in front of the Tower of London (5.4). In a more specific reference, the turncoat Nimble boasts of his legal lore, derived from monotonous learning: 'I have studied for my learning. I can tell ye, my lord, there was not a stone between Westminster Hall and Temple Bar but I have told them every morning' (5.6.30-32). Again, the citation of toponyms connotes historical authenticity.

The history plays written and performed from 1597 to 1602 continue to use citation. As in the earlier plays, the many familiar place names serve a symbolic function, as John Jowett writes in his Introduction to *Sir Thomas More*, by 'mapping the early Tudor past on to the projected audience's present' (39). At a diachronic level there is a resonance for late Elizabethan audiences as past actions are located, more particularly and regularly than in the early 1590 dramas, in modern streets and settings, with, occasionally, some added antiquarian and etymological interest. For example, Shakespeare's *Henry IV 1* and *2*, c.1597, present a monarch and his court struggling to impose and preserve national civic order in an indistinct version of early fifteenth-century London. There are very few references to places in London itself, apart from infrequent repetitions of Eastcheap, and almost no staged movement in the imagined London: instead there is a robbery at Gad's Hill, military excursions to Shrewsbury and Yorkshire, and a visit to Gloucestershire. In Shakespeare's treatment of the plot shared with *The Famous Victories*, the three tradesmen of earlier play are developed as Bardolph, Poins and Pistol (the latter emphasising elements of the character of Derick, the fool in the *Victories*) and all references to London places by the original three tradesmen are dropped; their faint traces are effaced altogether. In a little cluster of London references Falstaff quotes the proverbial 'I bought him in Paul's, and

he'll buy me a horse in Smithfield' (2: 1.2.52-53) and the Hostess, 'a poor widow of Eastcheap' (2: 2.1.70) refers to how Falstaff can be found by 'Pie Corner' and that he is expected at the Leopard's in Lombard Street (2: 2.1.25, 27). The capital is thus referenced mainly through the citation of places. Once Henry V has assumed his 'formal majesty' (2: 5.2.133) he removes himself from the people and places of his youth. As if echoing the grim Captain in the *Victories*, the closed discourse of state authority excludes and erases discordance: 'I know thee not, old man' (2: 5.3.47). London becomes an exclusive closed place of royalty and civic authority.

In *Henry V*, 1599, the King's triumphal passage through the city after Agincourt is conveyed by the ultra-patriotic chorus as a revisitation of classical triumphs:

... London doth pour out her citizens.
The mayor and all his brethren in best sort,
Like to the senators of th'antique Rome,
With the plebians swarming at their heels' (5 Cho. 24-27)

The Chorus adds a singularly unfortunate contemporary reference by looking to the future and the Earl of Essex's expected triumph on behalf of our 'gracious empress', whom the 'peaceful city' would be expected to 'welcome' (5 Cho. 30, 33-34). Set against this classical idealisation, however, the drama itself stages a version of London as a site of anger, sickness and loss. The unwilling recruits, fighting amongst themselves, straggle off to France and death whilst the Hostess and Doll try to recover from hospitalisation for venereal diseases (2.1); Falstaff dies (2.3), followed by the Hostess (5.1). The text contrasts an idealised and closed version of London (the Chorus's) with an open and more cynical version (that of the group around the Hostess), but the latter is situated within neither a specific space nor a set of movements. Again, at the close, despite the impending political fragility, the new royal family is settled back in London.

The Prologue to the *First Part of Sir John Oldcastle*, first performed in November 1599 at The Rose and written by Anthony Munday, Drayton, Hathwaye and Wilson, refers specifically to the *Henry IV* plays, declaring, 'It is no pampered glutton we present, / Nor aged counsellor to youthful sin' (Prol.

6-7). The association made between the dramas also links the new King to a specific awareness of London, shared with the audience, and denied the rebels. In *Part 1* the rebels plan to assemble at Ficket Field, 'Behind St Giles in the Field, near Holbourn' (v.51). They hope to avoid the terminal route commonly taken by rebels, starting at 'Newgate, up Holbourn, St Giles in the field, and to Tyburn; an old saw' (v.56-57). Munday and his fellow authors add a topographical detail not present in their source in Holinshed by describing how the rebel army is 'Dispersed in sundry villages about' (viii.65).² It is on the capital's citizens that the rebels must rely: 'our chief strength must be the Londoners' (viii.70): yet no rebellious Londoners gather on stage. Like Shakespeare's Henry V, appearing on stage at The Curtain almost contemporaneously, the King in *Sir John Oldcastle* is adept at disguises, moving through the streets of London rather than a field in France. His easy familiarity with the capital inside the walls (compared to the rebels' encampments without) emphasises his common touch: he will travel upriver: 'Go down by Greenwich and command a boat. / At the Friar's Bridge attend my coming down... / I'll go to Westminster in this disguise' (x.26-32). Henry and his entourage receive news of the rebels from a perspective inside the city walls:

The gray-eyed morning gave me glimmering
Of armed men coming down Highgate Hill,
Who by their course are coasting hitherward (xi.129-31).

In a final neat nod to the knowledge of the contemporary theatre audience the two servants charged with detaining Oldcastle in the Tower are commanded by the evil Bishop to stay outside the walls: 'Into the city go not' (xiv.8). Instead they nip out for a quick 'quart of wine... at the Rose at Barking', knowing they will 'come back an hour before he be ready to go' (xiv.12-14).³ Significantly, in

² The rebels form a ring around the capital:

Some here with us in Highgate; some at Finchley,
Tot'nam, Enfield, Edmonton, Newington.
Islington, Hoxton, Pancras, Kensington:
Some nearer Thames, Ratcliffe, Blackwall and Bow (viii. 66-69).

³ The editor of the *Critical Edition*, Jonathan Rittenhouse, states they visit the Rose in Great Tower Street. But Great Tower Street is inside the walls and in the opposite direction to Barking. It is more likely they are imagined as frequenting the Old Rose by St Katherine's, a mile to the east along East Smithfield.

addition to the citations, a sense of a specific place is presented through imagined movements, the mini-tours of the travelling King and the two servants.

In *Thomas Heywood's Theatre* Richard Rowland comments that Heywood's *Edward IV*, 1599, introduces a 'topographical specificity... almost unprecedented in pre-1599 drama' (42), with the dramatist possibly utilising Stow's *Survey*, as in the rebels' boast, 'See how St Katherine's smokes' (*Pt 1*, 2.85; Stow describes how the rebels, 'shooting arrowes and Gunnes into the Citie, fiered the suburbs, and burnt more than threescore houses' 1.30). The 'specificity', however, generally relates to a host of citations, naming sites of historical action, as in 'You guard both Aldgate well, and Bishopsgate' (*Pt 1*, 3.92). In *Part 1*, for example, characters are ordered or agree to move to named places: 'get thee to the top of St Botolph's steeple' (5.65); 'let us back retire to Mile End Green' (6.49); 'we will now withdraw us to Guildhall' (7.16). Similarly, the rebels imagine themselves in command of streets and buildings: 'walk by the Counter like a lord! Pluck out the clapper of Bow Bell' (5.75-76). The specific citations help establish a sense of topographical and consequent historical accuracy.

In *Part 1* Scene 17 Heywood introduces a more innovative dramatic technique to produce a 'strong sense of London locality'.⁴ Instead of citation or the announcement of orders to move to strategic sites, Heywood dramatises the specific movements of individual characters in London settings defined by their precise locale and cultural associations. As Rebecca Tomlin notes, the 'fictionalised historical account maps onto the playgoer's recollections of the real places of London in the scene in front of them' (203). On the stage at the Boar's Head auditorium two apprentices appear 'preparing the goldsmith's shop with plate' (17.0 SD) and Jane Shore 'sits sewing' (17.18 SD). The disguised King enters on the far side of the stage, 'At Lion Quay I landed' (17.24), and describes his movement and route to the scene of attempted seduction:

Soft. Here I must turn:

Here's Lombard Street, and here's the Pelican;

⁴ *Sir Thomas More*, Introduction 38

And there's the phoenix in the pelican's nest.' (17. 27-29)
'What would you buy, sir' asks Jane innocently, keeping shop whilst her husband is down the road 'in Cheapside' (17.17). The precise setting emphasises both Jane's domestic surroundings (from which she will be torn) and the incongruity of the King's lubricious passage into the heart of mercantile territory. An audience familiar with the capital's geography could imaginatively chart Edward's route on foot from Lion Quay by the bridge, across to and up Gracechurch Street, before turning left along Lombard Street.

In *Part 2*, the London settings and place names are clustered around the Shores; again Heywood dramatises Jane's movements, producing, in de Certeau's formulation, a spatialising of actions through her 'acting' and 'going' in defined settings (*Practice* 119). We first encounter Jane in Scene 9 dispensing alms to prisoners and the sick. Heywood establishes the South Bank setting: 'What prison's this? / The Marshalsea, forsuth' (9.5-6). Jane has, behind the scenes, crossed the bridge to Southwark and moved outside the closed walls of London, via 'St George's Field' (9.10). In contrast to her benevolent perambulations and her choice to 'take the air' (9.10), she is next escorted under guard to face the wrath of the Queen.⁵ With the death of the King her protector, Jane's troubles and impending doom are again emphasised by her movements through the threatening city. She heads for refuge to Mistress Blage's, 'an inn in Lombard Street, / The Flower-de-Luce' (13.84-85). When she is apprehended she is told of the new King Richard's command (echoing the public punishment Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, undergoes in *Henry VI 2*, as also noted by Paul Menzer and Jess Hamlet [86]):

You must be stripped out of your rich attire,
And in a white sheet go from Temple Bar
Until you come to Aldgate (18.193-95).

The start of Scene 20 specifies the location: 'this is Aldgate' (20.2); here 'the field's too open, and frequent' (20.205), so they head beyond the walls, where

⁵ She entreats the King to show mercy to an innocent passenger on a ship: 'Pass me no passages,' he retorts (10.162), repeating the formulation he first used in *Part 1*: 'Lot me no lottings' (13.87). The popular "x me no x" theatregram is discussed in Chapter Three.

Jane and her husband die. To commemorate the site of their deaths, Heywood offers a (fanciful) etymological definition:

The people, for the love they bear to her
And her kind husband, pitying his wrongs
For ever after mean to call the ditch
Shores' Ditch, as in the memory of them (23.71-74).

In these incidences where London is presented not simply as a cluster of citations, rather, the dramas enact or imagine a spatialising of actions, producing an open version that challenges authority and its sexual (Edward IV) and political (Richard III) forms of abusive power. The marginal figures on the map have taken centre-stage through their movements in and through defined locations. In Robert Weimann's formulation, we might observe that Jane Shore has stepped out of the *locus* and across to the *platea*, not through the character's direct anti-illusionary engagement with the audience, but through the audience's new engagement with the character meshed in a setting of which the audience have some direct experience. This sense of a London locality is produced not through citation but through action, de Certeau's 'acting' and 'going', and through a knowledgeable demarcation of the city as comprised of very different neighbourhoods and of the routes between and across these areas. The production, or invocation, of this version of London depends on how the character acts - or is permitted to act - within defined locales: how she or he can move. The spatialised actions and movements - sowing in the goldsmith's shop, taking a boat up the Thames, visiting the Rose at Barking - emerge in the dramas as characters begin to move around, in Ingold's words, 'purposefully and attentively, from place to place' (*Perception* 227).⁶

Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemakers Holiday*, a hybrid of chronicle and comedy, was first performed by the Admiral's Men at the Rose in 1599,

⁶ That a trend for chronicle plays set in a distinctive London was increasingly in vogue is indicated by the second Prologue in Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London*, 1601. The unique selling-point of the play about to be performed is precisely that it is not another of those 'Historicall Tales, as every one can tell by the fire in Winter'; better still, the Prologue continues, 'Had not yee rather, for novelties sake, see Jerusalem yee never saw, then London that yee see howerly?' (Pro. 30-33).

following the premiere of *Edward IV Part 1* at the Boar's Head.⁷ The play presents a historical and antiquarian London in the process of modernising itself through forces of labour and the erection of civic buildings to host increased mercantile activity. The sense of temporal distancing, of an emergent London nearly two hundred years ago, is amplified through Dekker's technique of spatial indeterminacy: he often places characters in unidentified sites from where they assert a destination to which they will travel, but which we never see them reach. Thus, for example, 'come / To the Guildhall' (1.64-65), 'At the Guildhall we will expect your coming' (1.70), 'make haste to the Guildhall' (1.95), 'To the Guildhall' (9.81), 'to the Guildhall I must hie' (9.105), 'run to Guildhall' (10.3), 'When I go to Guildhall in my scarlet gown' (11.11-12). The Guildhall is a frequent destination but no specific scenes are set in the building. This sense of hurried movement towards a central site that has yet to be realised both mirrors and emphasises the drama's characterisation of London as a city in the process of becoming.

The effect of a past London coming into being is also emphasised by the construction and naming of the Leaden Hall (21.132) and the King's granting of a new patent to 'hold market days in Leaden Hall' on Mondays and Fridays (21.160). There are also numerous references to topographical features: the taverns (The Boar's Head, The Swan, The Rose; 7.72, 7.94, 10.130), the locations (including Tower Hill, Cornhill, Pissing Conduit; 1.187, 13.57, 16.109) and buildings (Saint Faith's Church, Paul's, the Savoy; 14.30, 16.149). The effect of the etymological explanations and topographical citations is deliberate historicising, populating an older London with places still remaining at the close of the sixteenth century.

Another element that contributes to the temporal distancing is the way Dekker circumvents any close adherence to temporal or spatial unities. During the course of the play Eyre has managed to construct 'my new buildings' (17.40); Ralph leaves for France and returns wounded. Scene 10 closes with Eyre entering his workplace; in the very next scene he appears for a mid-day dinner at Mayor Oatley's country house in Old Ford, five miles east from Tower

⁷ The metatheatrical ways in which Dekker's play refers back to Heywood's are discussed in Chapter Three.

Street. The energetic fluidity of the medieval capital is reflected in characters' unmoored movements through space and time, brought to an ordered stasis by the elevation of Simon Eyre to Lord Mayor and the appearance and approbation of King Henry V.

The dramatisation of unlicensed purposive movement and the corresponding more open version of the capital it produces, noted in scenes in *Edward IV*, represented a threat to authority, as exemplified by the case of *Sir Thomas More*. Just over a year after Heywood's *Edward IV* was first performed, *Sir Thomas More*, 1601, putatively indicates historical London through a multitude of references to sites and streets. In presenting a version of London, the playwrights, including Thomas Dekker, had to contend, as the surviving manuscript demonstrates, with some severe censorship administered by Edmund Tilney, the Master of the Revels, occasioning a series of revisions and additions. Tilney's work of erasure indicates what kind of version of London was not permissible on stage.

The main references to London sites in the original version occur in two dense clusters in the opening scenes and comprise a violent 'tour' by the London poor. 'Fire the houses / Of these audacious strangers!' shouts the ringleader Lincoln (OT1a, 6-7): a cluster of streets and sites are enumerated by Londoners: 'This is St Martin's', 'the Green Gate', 'Moorfields', 'Ludgate', 'Bunhill', 'the Mitre by the Great Conduit', 'breakfast into St Anne's Lane', 'Bread Street', 'Dowgate' and 'Cheapside' (OT1a & b.) The resident population stake their rights to their city by naming its parts, the streets and places they move across and within as everyday practice. This movement and knowledge is censored.

The dramatists' second attempt at portraying an insider's London is also censored. Their revised opening scene showed 'free-born Englishmen' (1.80) in revolt against the 'aliens and strangers' who 'eat the bread from the fatherless children, and take the living from all the artificers, and the intercourse from all merchants' (1.123-26). 'Leave out the insurrection wholly and the cause thereof', commands Tilney (Text marked for Omission 1-2). The Earl of Shrewsbury's register of alarm at 'this frowning vulgar brow' and 'the displeased commons of the City' was deleted: 'Mend this', orders Tilney (3.1-8).

In its third iteration the censored text that remains is a series of episodes charting the judicious rise and principled fall of an alternatively droll and pedantic Thomas More. In the censored text London is insubstantial, with a hanging scene set at the Standard on Cheapside (7.6-7) and More's final days set in the Tower.⁸

Thus whilst, as Tracey Hill asserts, 'the writers of *Sir Thomas More* take... care to map out the city's topography' (4), it is exactly this topographical exactitude which produces the grounds for acting and movement - and that is erased in the official manuscript version. The citizens' tour is censored and eliminated: their unsanctioned movement is stilled. London becomes an inert place, nor is the play ever performed. Deleting the citizen's knowledge of, and movement through, London produces, in Sanford's term, a closed civic presentation, exactly as the censor required. We can observe the dramatists manoeuvring through successive rewrites and additions to represent an open, unofficial version of London. Yet they repeatedly fall foul of a censor who imposes the univocity, in de Certeau's term, of an authoritarian system, some eighty years or so since the play's protagonist was silenced at the hands of an earlier system (*Practice* 106). We can also observe that one technique the authors used to particularise and present an insiders' London was the exaggerated naming of places, streets and buildings, grouped in compacted clusters by characters on the move. Instead of an occasional citation there is, again in de Certeau's terms, a saturation, an excess that produces unlicensed 'free play' (*Practice* 106) and a staging of what Ingold describes as a 'continuous itinerary of movement' (*Perception* 226).

Sir Thomas Wyatt, 1602, is the first recorded collaborative work involving Dekker and Webster (two years later they would work together again on *The Royal Entertainment*). Henslowe lists five writers at work on the 'playe called Ladey Jane' (218). The quarto published in 1607 is generally regarded as a garbled condensation of two plays, with the writers between them relying heavily on Stow's *Survey*.⁹ The imagined settings vary from the court to

⁸ Tilney's censoring of the play is discussed in detail by Janet Clare in "I Like It Not" 52-55.

⁹ cf. for example, Hoy *Introductions* Vol.1 311; Jackson in *Works* 4.34.

Cambridge, to Rochester and the Tower (where Jane enters in advance of her coronation and from which she exits for her execution). A short scene is set in the west of the city near Fleet Street: 'Soft, this is Ludgate' announces Wyatt to his troops; Pembroke replies from 'upon the Walles', reminiscent of the London dignitaries defying the rebels in *Edward IV Part 1*, Scene 5 (xv.11 and SD). Whilst London as a setting is imprecise, there is an interesting if generalised description of the capital's workers and apprentices as fickle nationalistic bigots. Their lack of support dooms Wyatt: 'O London, London, thou perfidious Town" (xv.42). After his chastening experience in attempting to represent London in *Sir Thomas More*, Dekker's presentation of the mob in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is altogether less contentious. London is a static city with no room for Wyatt to move or manoeuvre: his rebellious tour is inert.

The history plays produce a version of London predominantly as a map, using historical records to present sets of citations, producing an accurate 'knowledge of the order of places' as described by de Certeau (*Practice* 119). The few exceptions, when dramas present characters moving in and through usually private or secluded sites, produce scenes where figures undertake a version of de Certeau's tour, recalling the metaphorical footprints of the figurations he describes in early maps. Additionally, the exceptions, the figurative traces, produce, in Sanford's formulation discussed in Chapter One, open versions of London, contrasting with the history plays' general movement towards an ordered closure and the reestablishment of state authority: a closed version. The figures moving in a defined imagined space, enacting a tour, staged or behind the scenes, are undertaking an operation: they step outside and beyond the closed map of the city. This form of dramatic practice will become a primary technical method in a new line of comedies that, from 1598, are set increasingly in contemporary London.

Tours and Invocations: Vertical and Lateral Modes

As editors and critics have stressed, William Haughton's *Englishmen For My Money*, first performed at The Rose in 1598, has a number of distinctive features. Jean Howard notes the play is 'the first English stage comedy set

specifically in London' (*Theater* 38). We could add that another innovative feature is its setting in *contemporary* London; as noted by Nina Levine, the play 'has the distinction of being the earliest surviving comedy of contemporary London' (20).¹⁰ Howard also notes the play's 'novel and insistent focus on London geography' (*Theater* 40) and Nina Levine also emphasises that it is '[m]arked by a self-conscious delight in the urban topography' (20). The play's most recent editor, Lloyd Edward Kermode, summarises critics' recognition that it is 'a play steeped in its London location', and that it 'relentlessly attempts to 'map' London' (*Englishmen* 42, 46). Importantly, Howard also highlights the contrast between some characters' insider knowledge of London's streets and places and the disorientated ignorance of those characters who are foreigners and outsiders. And this contrast would have been replicated in the audience: 'those literate in London geography would most fully appreciate' the comic misapprehensions of outsiders, whilst those in the audience who had little knowledge of the capital's ways and sites would be left 'in the dark' (*Theater* 40). There is, of course, another insider/outsider joke used by Haughton, in the race between the two sets of three men - the Englishmen and the foreigners - to be the first to insert themselves in the respective beds and bodies of Pisaro's three daughters, with the accompanying sexual and economic satisfaction this would afford. By entering the women's bodies the trio of Londoners transform them not just into wives but also into fully fledged Englishwomen. The stage business surrounding the sexual conquests is acted out in spatial terms: the three Englishmen are consummate insiders.

¹⁰ Charles Edelman, the editor of Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, 1597, states the 'most striking' aspect of the drama 'is that it is the first English comedy to be set in contemporary London', based on an argument that 'there is little to indicate a Parisian locale' and that 'the manners, habits, and social pretensions of English men and women' are satirised (4). There are, however, no geographical or topographical references to London places. Even the reference to 'old Lucilla's house' (8.82) is, as Edelman notes, only 'possibly an actual London brothel' (120): in the text the reference is followed immediately by, 'the muster-mistress of all the smocktearers in Paris' (8.83-84).

It is of course possible that those in the know would chuckle at a reference to a London brothel run by a Lucilla: they might have had in mind the house run by Luce Baynam, known as Black Luce, as discussed by Duncan Salkeld (128-50) and Imtiaz Habib (109). Chapman's *Humorous Day* is the first time we come across a Lucilla in a brothel, starting the ball rolling for a succession of Luces, often prostitutes, over the next ten years, up to *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. This particular theatrogram is discussed in Chapter Three.

Haughton uses a range of dramatic methods to present London to the audience. The first and most immediately apparent are the citations, the number of different locations mentioned by characters. There are over twenty references to specific streets and landmarks: these are first mentioned by characters who live in London. As the three foreign merchants are deliberately misdirected across east London, the insider Frisco reels off a cluster of streets and toponyms which the foreigners echo in part:

Frisco	O, now I know indeed where I am: we are at the far theft end of Shoreditch, for this is the maypole.
Delion	Sore diche? O Dio! Dere be some nautie tinge, some spirit do lead us. (3.3.54-57).

In contrast to the foreigners' absurd lack of coherent wayfinding, the three Englishmen are presented from the outset as moving across the stage with purpose as they undertake a planned tour:

Heigham	Come gentlemen, w'are almost at the house. I promise you, this walk o'er Tower Hill, Of all the places London can afford, Hath sweetest air, and fitting our desires.
Harvey	Good reason so, it leads to Crutchèd Friars Where old Pisaro and his daughters dwell. (1.2.1-6)

Like Heywood's characters on tour in *Edward IV*, there is explicit and charted movement across the stage and behind the scenes. There are two main imagined settings; inside Pisaro's house in Crutched Friars, 'Proud am I that my roof contains such friends' (2.1.4), and the street outside his dwelling. In the house he tries to attend to his daughters' conjugal settlements; from outside his plans are unravelled. As discussed by Jean Howard and others, there is one scene imagined as set in the Exchange, 'here at the Burse' (1.3.11), representing a staging of London's commercial centre, where Pisaro conducts financial business (*Theater* 38-49).¹¹ The Exchange is realised on stage through dialogue and the stream of individuals moving through on business and with news. There are simple props: the merchants' robes, sets of papers and a pealing bell. More interesting is the tour that is imagined in relation to

¹¹ cf. also Crystal Bartolovich, "London's the Thing".

Paul's, first referred to in 1.2 and then invoked as an imagined setting in 2.2. Anthony has been dismissed by Pisaro as tutor for his girls for taking too little heed of philosophy and mercantile matters and, on behalf of the three English sexual adventurers, concentrating instead on 'a word much like that word 'account'' (1.1.149). In 1.2 he encounters the three and concocts a plan that will involve Frisco, Pisaro's clownish servant, reemploying the disguised Anthony as the new French tutor for the daughters. Frisco asks the three 'where I may find such a man' and is informed:

Go hie thee straight to Paul's.

There shalt thou find one fitting thy desire. (1.2.93-94)

Frisco hurries off: 'I must to the walk in Paul's' (1.2.106).

In 2.2, following two lengthy scenes, Frisco arrives and sees Paul's for the first time. 'Now I know what manner of things Paul's is' he exclaims (2.2.1), marvelling at its size and, via his own comically garbled misunderstandings, its historical associations. He is most struck, however, by the current activity on which he reports: 'The best is that I have great store of company that do nothing but go up and down and go up and down, and make a grumbling together, that the meat is so long making ready' (2.2.12-14). And there, waiting for him, is Anthony, who, after a none too taxing examination of his mastery of foreign tongues, is employed by Frisco on Pisaro's behalf to tutor the girls: 'if you'll please to walk with me, I'll bring you to them' (2.2.47-48).

The scene involves a set of key and interlocked components. Firstly, Frisco walks to Paul's and has the time to do so; he and Anthony will then walk back to Crutched Friars: there is movement behind the scenes that can be undertaken by anyone actually walking the half mile journey from near the Exchange to Paul's. An audience with a knowledge of London's geography will recognise, even if sub-consciously, that the time that passes in the theatre between Frisco setting out for Paul's in 1.2 and his arrival in 2.2 corresponds to the time it might take to actually walk from near the Exchange to Paul's. In this movement behind the scenes there is a correspondence, therefore, between temporality and spatial distance. Movement is expressed through time, and would be recognised as such by an audience conscious of the 'offstage geography', in Julie Sanders's term ("In the Friars" 27). This is one component

of the way dramatists after 1603 in particular immerse an audience of insiders in the psychogeography of the drama: it also underscores and explains an increasing trend for comic dramatists to adhere (however approximately, hazily or chaotically) to the classical unities of time, place and action.¹² Secondly, the presentation of Paul's will only be recognised by the audience if, for example, the actual building really is impressively large, has historic significance, is a place where food is prepared and sold, and where enterprising tutors and others can be located by those seeking to employ them. Thirdly, it must be full of people who spend their time walking up and down, chatting and grumbling. The scene works because, despite Frisco's folly and errors, he describes a building and the activity within that, regardless of the satire, the members of the audience at *The Rose* recognise as accurate; as Helen Ostovich writes, the scene 'highlights the key factors of identifiable types, movement and babble' ("To Behold" 80). The movement inside Paul's is not replicated: the audience experiences an invocation, not an imitation. In contrast to the twenty plus citations scattered through the play, in this scene Paul's is invoked on stage through descriptions of the 'acting' and 'going' in that space: the recognisable and replicable movement to and from the site (Frisco's tour and Anthony's journey there before him) contributes to this invocation.

In another example, in the scene at the Exchange, the merchant Balsaro announces: 'Master Pisaro, the day is late; the bell doth ring' (1.3.271). This observation can only work if many in the audience know that a bell is rung at the Exchange at noon to end the morning trading ('the day is late' indicates it is time for lunch). Later a bell is rung again, this time to mark time passing: 'God's me, 'tis nine o'clock! Hark, Bow-bell rings' (2.3.354), invoking the actual ringing of the church bells of St Mary-le-Bow. (Bow Bell had a very distinctive low sonorous peal: if the same bell was rung behind the stage in 1.3 and 2.3 then there is an added aural joke for those in the audience who knew that the

¹² Ralph Alan Cohen touched on the significance of these unities to late Elizabethan and early Jacobean comedies in his 1978 analysis of Ben Jonson's revisions to *Every Man In His Humour*, noting how Jonson, by 'limiting the scope of the action to the smallest area of London that the original play would allow... enhances the appearance of unity of action' (190).

More recently Crystal Bartolovich, in her discussion of the market and the place of foreigners in Houghton's *Englishmen*, writes that the play 'adheres - unusually - to the unities' (149).

bells at the Exchange and Bow made very different sounds.¹³) Frisco's exchange with Pisaro about the route he has led Vandal the Dutchman across the city can only be comic to an audience that knows there is a standard route from Bucklersbury to Crutched Friars (4.1.316-327) that Vandal has conspicuously failed to follow. As a final example, Pisaro is at home after supper with his foreign guests. He orders Frisco to be ready at eleven at night to collect Vandal, to bring him to the bed of his daughter Laurentia:

Hie you to Bucklersbury to his chamber,
And so direct him straight unto my house. (2.3.268-79)

Pisaro turns to his three prospective sons-in-law: 'Well, we'll go to the Rose in Barken for an hour' (2.3.272) (in the footsteps of the servants from *Sir John Oldcastle*). The audience includes members well aware that it is perfectly feasible for the four merchants to stroll from Crutched Friars down to the Rose and for Pisaro to return home later at nine o'clock (2.3.354). Pisaro, an insider, 'in London I have dwelt' (1.1.16), conjures up a walk behind the scenes, invoking in the minds of the audience both the movement and the destination. In an urban environment with regular chimings of clocks and bells, the minutes in an hour would not have been experienced as now, which also permits some fluidity about the exactness of timings: according to Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, 'until the end of the sixteenth century... [i]n everyday life this hour was divided into halves, thirds, quarters, sometimes into twelve parts, but it was not divided by sixty or understood as the period of sixty minutes' (282). The caveat, of course, is that the topographical and diachronic accuracy can only be registered by those members of the audience who are themselves insiders and thus also in possession of the topographical and socio-cultural knowledge presented on stage. For audience members new to the capital and aspiring to become insiders, the drama works as an initiation, through a form of psychogeographical immersion in the topographical details and the movements in time.

A critical factor in this form of dramatic presentation is the perceived accuracy and correspondence of the dramatised functions and characteristics of a stated setting (the Exchange, the middle aisle at Paul's) and its empirical

¹³ For the 'booming' bass 'faburden' of Bow Bell see Sugden 71 and Charles Nicoll's *The Reckoning* 203.

characteristics in the material London the audiences experience on a regular basis. Another critical factor is that the staged or imagined tour or passage of movement by characters between places must be recognised by the audience as either accurate or manifestly ironic: hence the implicit emphasis in *Englishmen* on spatial and temporal unities. Whether Haughton's drama and subsequent contemporary comedies set in the city register the illusion of unities implicitly or explicitly, it is important that the illusion is sustained, that the spatial and temporal movements are as accurate a presentation of progress as the descriptions and attributes assigned to places are accurate. Adherence to the unities thus becomes an experiential category: it forms part of the psychogeographical experience of insiders' play-going at the turn of the century.

The shift of perspective conveyed on stage through invocation and movement is reflected in a shift of perspective for the audience. In terms of Tim Ingold's analysis, Haughton's play is innovative on the contemporary London stage in establishing, in however nascent a fashion, a dramatic methodology that demonstrates a 'contrast between *vertical* and *lateral* modes of integration' (*Perception* 227). As Ingold explains, 'In the vertical mode, embraced by modern cartography as well as by cognitive map theorists', local details are gathered into 'an abstract conception of space', producing 'a representation of the world as though one were looking down upon it from 'up above'' (*Perception* 227). This vertical mode is analogous to de Certeau's description of a 'map': exactly what we observed in the history plays and corresponding to, say, the view from the top of the World Trade Center. Ingold's lateral mode corresponds to de Certeau's 'tour', the spatialising of actions: as Ingold writes, the lateral mode of integration is 'performed by the organism as a whole as it moves around' - just as the three Englishmen and Frisco move in Haughton's play. These movements connect places that are already part of a 'framework of spatial coordinates'; the movements 'bring these places into being as nodes within a wider network of coming and going' (*Perception* 227): they produce, in de Certeau's formulation, 'space', here constructed in a field of practice formed of localised knowledge.

Thus, for those audience members who are outsiders or newcomers to the capital, the drama they witness on stage presents a set of discrete topographical fragments. Without the insiders' knowledge the topographical references are citations; the staged or imagined movements lack spatial or temporal verisimilitude: there is no psychogeographical match. The unfamiliarity of the outsiders in the audience mirrors that of the outsiders on stage. Through experience these fragments are first brought together vertically, as a spatial map. By contrast, for those audience members who are, or are well advanced in the process of becoming, insiders, what they witness is an invocation, produced through cultural and topographical familiarity. This form of imaginative consciousness is constructed from the materials staged and invoked in the drama; it produces a psychogeographical recognition and integration in the minds of the insiders: they enact a tour, a journey. By producing this form of imagined wayfinding the dramas are performing a specific instance of cultural work, enacting a normative contemporary London through spatialised actions. Normative is defined here in the sense used by the University of Stanford's Literary Lab, where sites of 'enigmatic private trajectories' are contrasted with place names which 'had a public and almost *normative* ring: it implied that everyone knows (or should know) what the Bank of England, Billingsgate and Scotland Yard stand for' (Moretti, Steiner and Heuser, 89). For Inns of Court students freshly arrived in the capital, for example, attendance at these dramas is part of their induction into a select cultural environment, a fast-tracking to their becoming cultural and geographical insiders.

The analysis of Haughton's 1598 drama in the context of the 1580s - 1590s history plays provides a conceptual framework to start considering more precisely how London is represented in *Englishmen* and subsequent comedies. One means of staging London is, as examined in many of the history plays, through the citation and iteration of place names, producing a gazetteer. In de Certeau's terms, what is produced is 'a place', a 'configuration of positions' (117) that is in essence, again in de Certeau's terms, 'a map', a vertical formation. From the citation and iteration of places we find that London has

many streets, a bridge, churches, many shops, many places to visit: but this is effectively just an inert list. An example is the map of London provided in his edition of *Englishmen* by Lloyd Kermode (350). The map lists many places referred to in Haughton's play, but tells us nothing about their function or significance in the drama nor about the imagined movements of characters in and between these places. The method used by Haughton, and observed in some scenes from the history plays (and particularly in the censored passages from *Sir Thomas More*), is that of invocation, producing, in de Certeau's term, 'a space', where a scene of localised action is, as de Certeau writes, 'actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it' (*Practice* 117). Instead of a map we have a tour, a lateral practice that involves both staged movements and imagined movements and wayfaring behind the scenes in a recognisable 'offstage geography'.

A year after the premiere of *Englishmen*, Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour*, 1599, was first performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Men at the Globe, a new public playhouse on Bankside. In his latest drama we see Jonson following and developing Haughton's techniques for staging versions of specific London sites familiar to many in the audience. *Every Man Out* is set in contemporary London, 'near and familiarly allied to the time' (3.1.410-11). The play emphasises the imagined location of the action through a framing device; Cordatus and Mitis sit to the side of the stage, acting as a critical chorus. The former is 'The author's friend; a man inly acquainted with the scope and drift of his plot' (Characters 87); Mitis's role is to feed Cordatus questions to which he offers finely tuned learned judgements and observations. A primary function of Cordatus's role is to establish the imagined locations; 'You understand where the scene is?' (3.3.132-33).¹⁴ In one instance the scene setting surely parodies the Chorus of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, on stage that year at the Curtain: 'let your imagination be swifter than a pair of oars, and, by this, suppose Puntarvolo, Brisk, Fungoso, and the dog arrived at the court gate, and

¹⁴ Other examples of generic settings include: 'The scene is in the country still, remember' ;(2.1.8-9) 'transfer your thoughts to the city with the scene, where suppose they speak' (2.1.335); 'Let your mind keep company with the scene still, which now removes itself from the country to the court' (3.2.132-33).

going up to the great chamber' (4.3.177-79). Towards the close of the play, Mitis is confident enough to offer his own scene-setting declaration: 'O, this is to be imagined the Counter, belike?' (5.6,4). One effect of Cordatus's knowledge is to emphasise the metatheatrical nature of the play itself. His commentary and his overdetermined staging notes make clear that we are watching a performance: what the audience observes has been played out before. Cordatus knows the ending: he is the ultimate insider, fully conversant with literary and geographical London.

In general, the play's settings are non-specific, with few particular details or topographical features cited or invoked. Characters move around the imagined city (and, in the first two acts, the countryside) with a degree of fluidity, loosely adhering to spatial markers: a sergeant is expected 'at a notary's by the Exchange presently' (4.1.84), Puntarvolo plans to disembark 'on the Tower Wharf' (4.3.35) and Sogliardo hangs out 'at Horn's Ordinary yonder', a tavern on Fleet Street (4.3.64). There are three other instances when Jonson sets the action on stage in particular London sites. In 5.1 the scene begins at court: the 'great chamber' (4.5.179) comprises a groom with a basket and there are references to a 'porter's lodge', 'fine hangings' and 'the Woodyard' (5.1.10, 34, 5.2.158). Act 5 Scene 3 is set in a specific ordinary, the Mitre, before shifting via Deliro's house (Scene 4) and a street scene outside the Mitre (Scene 5) to a prison, the Counter, 'so sour a place' (5.6.2), with references to an unseen keeper and the 'twopenny ward' (5.6.18, 75). If the Counter is an indistinct iteration, the opposite is the case for the Mitre itself. Chapman had rustled up a tavern in *A Humorous Day's Mirth* and ordinaries and taverns were not uncommon settings in contemporary dramas, appearing as we have seen already in, for example, the two parts of *Henry IV* and in *Henry V*. In Jonson's drama Puntarvolo has asserted earlier that there is 'No better place than the Mitre' (3.1.124) and he repeats the claim; 'Your Mitre is your best house' (3.1.380). In 5.3 a group of characters assemble at the Mitre. The props required for this staging are a table and chairs, 'wine, pot, cups, and all' (5.3.77 SD) and a serving board with a loin of pork. Two drawers scurry back and forth with food and wine. Jonson also refers to a fire on which a pig is being cooked and a wine cask, through a door and off-stage. What we can not know (being

outsiders) is how many additional details would have been staged in order to imitate even more exactly a precise Mitre tavern (there were at least three in London at the time). One surmise, however, is that the Mitre in question could have been identified through the presence on stage of a drawer called George (5.3.3). The same tavern and drawer are invoked five years later in *Westward Ho*. Taverns, like Counters, are simple to stage: the Mitre in Jonson's play is rendered more specific through the apparent portrayal of an individual known to the insiders in his audience.

There is one brief example when imagined movement behind the scenes is described in temporal terms: two sets of characters plan to reach the court by river; 'you three take one boat, and Sogliardo and I will take another, we shall be there instantly' (4.5.114-15). Cordatus comments, in his role of choric choreographer, 'Macilente and Sogliardo, we'll leave them on the water till possibility and natural means may land 'em' (4.5.144-45). We are to imagine, through a brief glimpse behind the scenes, the grim satirist and his clown companion afloat on the river in real time until they arrive at court at 5.1.47.

Jonson's most innovative staging of a particular London site is accomplished in Act 3 Scene 1 where he stages, in de Certeau's phrase, an 'ensemble of movements' (*Practice* 117) to invoke the social whirl in the middle aisle of Paul's. Cordatus commends Mitus and the audience, in order to have a 'better illustration' of the setting, 'to presuppose the stage the middle aisle in Paul's' (3.1.2). Where Haughton invoked the middle aisle of Paul's through Frisco's discourse, Jonson sets about replicating 'this scene of Paul's' on stage (3.1.31). There are three techniques Jonson uses. The first is his assembly of stereotypes: Jonson mimics and satirises the groups' behaviours, variously absurd, foppish, mercantile-minded, blustering, and rehearsing lascivious chat-up lines. Secondly, there are a few props, items that the audience could themselves observe across in Paul's; these include advertisements tacked on a wall, the smoking of tobacco and some fine clothing. More interesting is Jonson's third method: he seeks to replicate the ambience of the middle aisle through movement. The key element in Jonson's recreation of the middle aisle are the stage directions; 'They walk', 'walk', 'shift', 'mixes', 'walks by'.

As noted by Helen Ostovich in her detailed editorial commentary on this scene (60-68), Jonson choreographs the walks of the different groups, their movements paused when they variously take centre stage. The mixture of different groupings, conversations and interactions produce on stage an imitation of the noise and sights in the middle aisle of Paul's. The sense of fluid movement (which is carefully orchestrated) is amplified by the number of entrances and exits: in all there are sixteen sets of movements onto or from the stage involving single characters or groups. In the middle of the scene there are eleven characters (and a cat and a dog) moving on stage, all observed from their seats on stage by Cordatus and Mitis. The staging technique, very different from Haughton's invocation of Paul's, also calls, as Ostovich comments, 'upon the London audience's insider knowledge of the place and its customs' (67-68). We can note too that none of Jonson's characters in this scene are undertaking any purposeful journeys: the whole point is that the patterned swirl of human movement is an index of the pointlessness and affectation of the multiple conversations and encounters. In terms of his dramatic method, Jonson's aesthetic contrasts with Haughton's use of movement as a tour. Jonson uses movement on stage in his central middle aisle set piece, not as a means of wayfinding, but to replicate the activity in a location through elaborate repetitive animation.

At the close of the scene, Mitis voices his critical judgement that, as a comedy, the play would have been improved with scenes of romance rather than depictions of current fads and foolishness. The seasoned literary critic Cordatus has an instant response, quoting Cicero, 'who would have a comedy to be *imitatio vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritas*' (3.1.415-16). Cordatus glosses this, idiosyncratically, as 'a thing throughout pleasant and ridiculous, and accommodated to the correction of manners' (3.1.416-17), stressing the ethical purpose of satirical comedy. A more literal translation would be, 'an imitation of life, a mirror of custom, an image of truth'. The term 'imitatio' also helps define Jonson's dramatic method in this one scene, for it emphasises the aesthetics of the staged imitation, where a form of mimesis, the summoning of a defined place, is achieved through movement.

The final act includes one curious contemporary reference, when Macilente is sitting in the Mitre and discussing the mystery of the dog's death, 'how, or by whom, that's left for some cunning woman here o' the Bankside to resolve' (5.3.94). Although the Mitre is north of the river, Macilente situates himself at this point in the Globe, 'here o' the Bankside'. The effect is of a minor metatheatrical jolt: the players are actually in the Globe, not in the Mitre tavern nor in a staged imitation of the Mitre. The metatheatrical jolt might also function as a joke, reminding the audience on Bankside that the first play in the 'Every Man' mini-series was performed north of the river in Shoreditch at the Curtain: now, with Macilente and the cunning woman, we are in the new theatre on the South Bank.

Between them Haughton and Jonson develop a range of related dramatic techniques to enact particular London sites as key elements in comedies set in the contemporary city and offering different versions of London (in Haughton's play foreigners in the capital are treated with suspicion and disdain; in Jonson's play the city is awash with feckless affectations which require purgation). Haughton develops Heywood's early dramatic methodology and extends the use of invocation and, importantly, the development of the spatial/temporal tours, both staged and imagined behind the scenes. Jonson uses props (as Haughton does in the scene in the Exchange) to stage, for example, a tavern and a prison; he also uses, in the scene set in Paul's, a singular instance of choreographed imitation.

Heywood himself continued to explore methods of staging settings in his new city comedies. In *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*, 1602, set in the modern capital, he develops citation and the use of movement, like Haughton, onto and across the stage to invoke specific areas of the capital. As in *Edward IV*, Heywood utilises the stage at The Rose to portray sets of movements, with groups of characters occupying different areas of the stage and then meeting, overhearing, observing. There are precise directions to direct these movements: for example, 'Enter at one doore Cripple, at the other Bowdler' (613 SD), 'Enter Boy in a Shop cutting of square parchments, to him enter Phillis' (1160 SD), 'Enter M. Richard Gardiner booted, and M. William Bennet, two gentlemen, at one ende of the stage' (1199 SD). In other instances,

characters' dialogue describes their movements. Mall Berrie walks across the stage musing on love: 'ile unto the Drawers, heele counsell me, / Heere is his shop' (172-73). Phillis makes the same journey later, 'Yonder's his shop' (852) and is followed in turn by Frank: 'this is the shop / And in good time the Cripple is at worke' (1283-84). London is a place of pathways and routes, familiar to insiders.

There are two main sites the characters in *The Fair Maid* move towards and between. The first is outside Cripple's shop in Fenchurch where he works as a cloth drawer and dispenses wisdom and literature.¹⁵ The second main setting is inside Flower's upmarket drapers shop on the square comprising the first floor of the Exchange (1265); the Flowers live next door, 'in Cornhill by th' Exchange' (1108) and in the shop daughter Phillis supervises affairs. John Stow describes Cornhill as 'beene inhabited for the most part with wealthie Drapers' (1.199), of whom Flower is one; the passage towards his shop is 'a beauteous gallant walke' (1211). It is striking just how exactly the dramatist has located the shop, just across from Drapers' Hall. After the performance a member of the audience at The Rose could have crossed back over the bridge, strolled on up Gracechurch Street, taken a left and be at the Exchange in around twenty minutes. More importantly, members of the audience who were London insiders would be familiar with the shops in the Exchange and recognise the location, if not a specific draper's shop. Chapman, Jonson and Marston use a similar method in locating Touchstone's goldsmith shop in *Eastward Ho* in a highly recognisable Cheapside without portraying or offending any specific goldsmith on Goldsmith's Row. Heywood's use of movement, and the props in the draper's shop, help constitute a typical London scene, one that is recognisable but not a replication or direct imitation.

In the following year's *The Wise Woman of Hogsden* Heywood populates London through a host of topographical citations.¹⁶ The Wise Woman reels off a list of London-based wise women (and one man) and their special skills (425-438), variously based north of the river in Clerkenwell, Cole Harbour,

¹⁵ 'Cripple' is the only way the character is addressed and spoken of in the play. In Genevieve Love's *Early Modern Theatre and the Figure of Disability* she refers to him as Cripple, 'named by and for his disability' (69).

¹⁶ See p.88 note 10 re. the date for *The Wise Woman*.

Golden Lane and, south of the river, in Southwark, in Pepper Alley and Bankside (the latter echoing the 'cunning woman' from *Every Man Out of His Humour*). Sencer relates how after a late supper at the Mitre he assaulted a constable and so gained lodgings for the night at a Counter (666-680). Sir Harry lives in Gracechurch Street (825), near 'Grace Church by the Conduit' (1949); the Wise Woman meets a client from Kent Street (474). Chartley asserts 'there are brave things to be bought in the Citie; Cheapside, and the Exchange' (1255-56), including a ring he brings Luce 1 from the Exchange (261). London is a place of commercial and promiscuous movement and exchange, packed with places cited in the play and, with its 'Tavernes, Ordinaryes, Bowle-allyes, Teniscourts, Gaming-houses', a place where outsiders like Chartley flock to and immerse themselves (1946). When Chartley's father, 'new come out of the Country' (1936 SD), appears late in the drama he is struck by what he witnesses:

Good heaven! This London is a stranger growne,
And out of my acquaintance; this seaven yeares
I have not seene Pauls steeple, or Cheape cross (1938-40).

For Londoners and those who have made themselves at home in the capital all is familiar: the insiders know the city and its topography as well as the staged places, the types of characters and the tropes, jokes and correspondences that knit together and distinguish the 1599-1603 dramas.

Haughton's key innovation, which will be worked up by later dramatists, is the idea of setting the drama in contemporary London and using the technique of invocation, including the movement behind the scenes, to portray the drama's settings within the capital. The insider/outsider motif is developed through the characters' familiarity with or ignorance of the capital's geography and its topographical features. By 1603 a range of dramatic techniques were available to dramatists producing city comedies set in the contemporary capital, including methods of staging spaces and places, as well as invoking accurately characters' imagined movements in the city both on stage and behind the scenes.

Chapter Three: The Meshwork

In *Lines*, 2007, Tim Ingold applies Henri Lefebvre's description of a meshwork in *The Production of Space* to narratives. For Lefebvre, the web of movements practiced in early history by 'animals, both wild and domestic, and by people' produced interwoven and unplanned paths and traces, and 'such traces embody the 'values' assigned to particular routes: danger, safety, waiting, promise': this web of movements produces a 'texture' (118). Lefebvre proposes that, for example, architectures, each building or monument 'viewed in its surroundings and context' can be considered as 'archi-textures' (118). In relation to narratives, Ingold notes how 'drawing a line on a sketch map is much like telling a story ... the storyline goes *along*, as does the line on the map' (92), and as do Lefebvre's paths and traces creating a web of movement. Ingold differentiates between networks and a meshwork: 'the lines of a network... join the dots', whilst a meshwork is formed of 'interwoven trails rather than a network of intersecting routes': the mesh is produced through 'the entanglement of lines, not in the connection of points' (83). A narrative is necessarily recursive, 'retracing a path' and 'picking up the threads of past lives ... in the process of spinning out their own' (93). There is a weaving and looping back and across paths and new lines, an 'interplay of forces that are conducted along the lines of the meshwork' (*Being* 92). The neighbourhood comedies performed in London from 1598 develop an entangled interplay within a dramatic meshwork that in turn produces a distinct metatheatrical archi-texture.¹

This chapter applies Ingold's appropriation of Lefebvre's concept to a particular group of dramas performed in London from 1598 to 1603. It examines Ingold's 'tangle of threads and pathways' (*Being* 91) that came to form the texture, the '*lived* sense', in Lefebvre's term (192), of the dramatic meshwork produced by the neighbourhood comedies set in contemporary London. This meshwork is made up from the flowing entanglement of

¹ The distinction between the network and a meshwork recalls Ingold's work on vertical and lateral modes discussed in the previous chapter: the connecting of the dots along routes in a network is observed from above; the interweaving of paths and traces in the meshwork is practised through more spontaneous lateral movements, as dramatists respond to and rework metatheatrical trails.

theatregrams, Louise Clubb's 'characters, situations, actions, speeches, thematic patterns' ("Italian Stories" 35). This echoes Marvin Carlson's description in *The Haunted Stage*, also noted in Chapter One, of how the texture arises from 'weaving together elements of pre-existing and previously read other texts' (8), with a 'recycling of material' (27) and a 'recycling of characters' (48). This set of dramas is, in Jonathan Gil Harris's term, a 'theatrical formation' (*Rematerializing* 92), with a characteristic texture arising along and through the meshwork as new plays revisit, reshape and innovate with the distinctive theatregrams.

The first part of the chapter explores London as a metaphorical 'theatreland', with dramatists, actors and audiences revelling in a strikingly heightened metatheatricality. The term 'theatreland' is indicative not of a place - London's West End, New York's Broadway - but of an activity, a reflexive metatheatrical process that encompassed theatres and their management, playwrights, actors, and audiences. The second section considers how dramatists produced the dense, swarming texture of the metatheatrical meshwork by examining the dramatic materials and practices they used. The development of London as a theatreland defined by contemporary topography and a knowing metatheatricality built upon a mesh of theatregrams, developed in turn the audiences' sense of being insiders. Not only do they experience a psychogeographical grasp of London's streets and sites cited or invoked on stage, they also appreciate and extend a knowledge of the fashionable contemporary theatrical milieu. This form of initiation is described by Lina Perkins Wilder in her reflections on Polonius's recollection of his playing Caesar being killed by Brutus. The staged nexus of Caesar / Polonius / Heminges and Brutus / Hamlet / Burbage, she writes, 'reinforces the play's structure as well as gathering the audience into a theatrical community defined by common experiences from different plays' (14). This approach thus builds on Carlson's analysis that the 'audience itself is recycled... carrying in their collective memory the awareness that drives the theatre experience' (*Haunted Stage* 48). As Jacky Bratton argues, metatheatricality involves, 'very importantly, memory. The fabric of that memory, shared by audience and players' (38) is produced from the layers of previous performances and

embedded in the dramatic meshwork. Thus the chapter also notes how audiences are increasingly involved and implicated in the dramas, through their understanding and appreciation of the weave and tangle of textural pathways looping through and across the emerging meshwork: dramatists and audiences in the indoor playhouses in particular are drawn into and engaged with a distinct 'London aesthetic'. In addition to their psychogeographical knowledge of London streets, buildings and monuments, the audiences would have also been drawn into, in de Certeau's words, the metatheatrical 'paths' and 'interlacings' (*Practice* 2. 136). These networks of paths and routes comprise a bricolage of entwined tropes, jokes, parodies, duplications and borrowings. They are the theatregrams that form, as Ingold writes, a 'continuous itinerary of movement' (*Perception* 226): and staged and imagined movements are themselves a key characteristic of this distinctive dramatic vogue and its metatheatrical archi-texture.

1598-1603: London as Theatreland

From 1598 the playwrights producing dramas set in contemporary London appear to have made two cultural assumptions about audience members in the playhouses, and in particular about those audience members who perceived themselves as fully engaged with the current theatrical milieu. The first, as noted in the discussion of *Englishmen For My Money*, is an expectation that audiences would have a firm topographical knowledge of the capital and the ways around it, together with an understanding of the normative features of streets and sites. Audience members with this insider knowledge could have a psychogeographical grasp of characters' movements, of, in de Certeau's phrase, of their 'acting' and 'going' on stage and behind the scenes (*Practice* 119). The second cultural assumption is a metatheatrical one. Chapter One identified what might have been expected of the audience at Paul's in terms of legal knowledge: for the plays set in contemporary London from 1598 there seems to have been an expectation that many audience members were seasoned playgoers with an insiders' awareness of both new productions and of popular revivals.

In Haughton's *Englishmen* the drama performs metatheatrical work as the latest in a series of plays drawing on and using successful features and theatregrams from new dramas and revivals. Whilst Haughton introduces a new form of contemporary neighbourhood comedy set in very specific London locations, he also situates the play as the latest in a line of dramas acted in London over the previous fifteen years or so, with some additional non-theatrical literary referencing. For example, Marlowe's *Dr Faustus*, c.1590 and performed regularly throughout the 1590s by The Admiral's Men, is comically invoked in Frisco's garbled misquotation, 'as the ancient English Roman orator saith, 'So-lame-men, misers, housewives' and so forth' (2.2.11-12). Mathea quotes the title of Thomas Nashe's 1590 pamphlet, *An almond for parrot*, as she mocks Vandal, 'the old wencher' (3.4.73, 67). At a lexical level the play includes the annoyed or exasperated "x me no x" formulation, used by Prince Henry in *The Famous Victories*, 'Tush! Case me no casings!' (4.64-65) and Heywood's *Edward IV* (as noted in Chapter Two). The expression was popularised by Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet* (c.1591-95), 'Thank me no thankings nor proud me no prouds' (3.5.152) and *Richard II* (c.1595), 'Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle' (2.3.86). Haughton plays with both the double and the single version: 'Signiore me no Signiores, nor cassa me no cassas' and 'Prithee me no prithees' (3.2.47, 4.1.139). George Chapman used the same construction the previous year in the 1597 production of *An Humorous Day's Mirth*: "Cuck me no cucks!" (4.245). In another nod to a recent drama the basket trick played on Vandal is a reworking from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597). Anthony's performance as a salacious schoolmaster develops the plots in which men disguise themselves as tutors to approach and woo women, as in *The Taming of the Shrew*. The metatheatrical references and repeated theatregrams form an expanding and increasingly familiar site - an archi-texture - of shared cultural knowledge in the audience. In terms of the dramas in repertory from the 1590s, a new play's references and allusions can be imitative, deferential, parodic, satiric, a form of pastiche: what is important is that the new drama is forming the next link in a dramatic succession, created in part by its looping back to reference earlier dramas. In turn the new drama generates a new store of metatheatrical materials, introducing refashioned and

new theatergrams that will be referenced and used in plays that follow, producing a new texture in the meshwork.

Dekker's *The Shoemakers' Holiday* of 1599 performs an important role in initiating a distinctive theatregram in which modern London is enacted as a site of theatrical practice. In *The Shoemakers' Holiday* modern London is summoned through the play's anachronistic borrowings, allusions and references to contemporary dramas, contrasting with the drama's historical version of the emergent nature of fourteenth-century London. Dekker weaves the metatheatrical theatregram forward in two ways. The first comprises the reworkings of scenes from recent dramas; the first example is the return to a scene from *The Famous Victories* noted in Chapter Two. Dekker's play reenacts the cobbler's fruitless resistance to impressment into military service: Ralph's master, Simon Eyre, urges him to 'Fight for the honour of the Gentle Craft, for the Gentlemen Shoemakers, the courageous cordwainers, the flower of Saint Martin's, the mad knaves of Bedlam, Fleet Street, Tower Street and Whitechapel' (1.214-17). The audience is whisked back to earlier times and actions set amidst landmarks and practices that are still extant in 1599. The audience could appreciate two related cultural frameworks. Firstly, there is a possible recognition of the drama's metatheatrical work in its reference to the earlier play. Secondly, and as noted in Chapter Two with reference to Shakespeare's *Henry VI 2*, there is the knowledge of places and streets that were once the spaces through which Eyre and his fellows moved, and which are now the site of the audience members' lived experience: the past resonates in the present.

A more significant reworking, because it is from a contemporary play, is in Scene 12, when Jane works alone as a sempstress in a shop 'in the Old Change' (9.51), a mile to the west from Eyre's premises on Tower Street, and where Hammon, 'muffled', deceitfully seeks her out to obtain her hand in marriage (12.1 SD). The scene, as also discussed by Leslie Thomson (150-51), consciously echoes Heywood's seduction scene in *Edward IV Part 1*, on stage in repertory at Whitechapel in the same year. Unlike Edward IV, Hammon does not describe a journey to the shop, telling the audience instead

of his static positioning: 'Thus I oft have stood / In frosty evenings' (12.15-16). Like Jane Shore, Dekker's Jane sits sewing. In further references to Heywood's scene, Hammon describes how his looking at Jane 'hath seemed as rich to me / As a king's crown' (12.19); as he grabs her hand despite her resistance, he tells her he is 'Enjoined to disobey you by a power / That controls kings' (12.39-40). Jane tells Hammon she hopes her husband is alive in a passage that resonates with Heywood's drama: 'Whilst he lives, his I live, be it ne'er so poor; / And rather be his wife than a king's whore' (12.78-79). It is as if Jane has been a spectator at Whitechapel and is anxious to avoid Jane Shore's fate. Dekker seems to assume many in his audience will have seen *Edward IV Part 1* and that they will recognise and appreciate the metatheatrical connections.

The drama's second metatheatrical strand comprises the medieval characters' unlikely and detailed knowledge of Elizabethan London's theatreland and cultural milieu. Brian Walsh notes the prevalence of literary anachronisms (340) and the play's various editors have noted many of the theatrical references; from these we can infer the kind of familiarity with plays performed as new offerings or as revivals that Dekker expected of his audience. The dramas include *The Spanish Tragedy*, Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*, the anonymous *Tamar Chan*, Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Henry IV Part 1*, *Henry V*, and, as above, the brand new production of Heywood's *Edward IV*. In a neat touch, Dekker has Simon Eyre quote and allude to bombastic characters in older Elizabethan dramas whilst the romantic Rose refers to the *Dream* and the star-crossed lovers (20.51; 2.1, 15.8).

An in-joke for the audience at The Rose occurs when Firk is given three pence and announces 'I smell the Rose' (10.130): the Rose is a London tavern, but this might also be the cue for the actor to turn to his audience and hold his nose. Another smell is generated by tobacco, making an anachronistic yet highly trendy appearance on stage. Hodge offers Margery Eyre 'a pipe of tobacco' and she responds demonstratively in a manner that will be repeated on stage for years to follow: 'O, fie upon it, Roger! Perdue, these filthy tobacco

pipes are the most idle, slaving baubles that ever I felt. Out upon it, God bless us - men look not like men that use them' (10.54-57).² A growing theatrogram of simian references - in *Englishmen* a daughter dismisses a suitor as 'That antic ape tricked-up in fashion' (4.1.83) - is added to when Oatley complains that his daughter Rose (perhaps another theatrical in-joke by Dekker) is disobedient: 'The ape still crosseth me' (11.31). Simon Eyre's eccentric verbal mannerisms and prolix expressions are echoed by other shopkeepers in later dramas and most notably inherited by Touchstone in *Eastward Ho*. The many theatrical allusions and references, together with tropes, verbal mannerisms and phrases, all contribute in turn to the meshwork of the 1598-1603 comedies and reach forward into the archi-texture of the post-plague dramas from 1604.

Dekker's drama, though set in the medieval past, is thus deliberately situated as the newest production in contemporary London theatreland, the latest in a metatheatrical series, referencing and borrowing from contemporary new plays as well as from the revivals and revised version of older dramas, all available to his audience at The Rose and in the other public playhouses.

In *The Shoemakers' Holiday* the contemporary modern capital is invoked as the achieved outcome of the process of becoming, which is enacted in the drama. London is, additionally, a site crammed full of dramatic productions. Following on from *Englishmen For My Money*, the play contributes to the meshwork a distinctive metatheatrical theatrogram, drawing on the cultural knowledge of the audience. A slightly earlier example on the public stage is the comic literary pretentiousness of Matheo in *Every Man In His Humour*, 1598, who is first seen extolling passages from the *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Is't not simply the best that ever you heard?' (1.3.111). Bobadilla contrasts Kyd's play with current dramatic productions: 'I would fain see all the poets of our time pen such another play as that was', he exclaims (1.3.103-04). Jonson's metatheatrical joke identifies Bobadilla with an older, swaggering style, out of touch with the modern comedies of humours. In the following year, *Every Man*

² Julian Bowsher notes that fragments of tobacco pipes dating from the 1570s through to around 1610 'have been found at all the playhouse excavations' (192); he includes photographs of clay pipes found at the Rose (193). Perhaps the actor playing Margery fixed his eyes on a tobacco-taking member of the audience as he spoke these lines.

Out of His Humour is also woven into this metatheatrical mesh. References in *Every Man Out* to contemporary dramatic offerings include the puppet play *The City of Nineveh* on Fleet Bridge (2.2.202), *Midsummer's Night Dream*, 'Lord, lord, what things they are' (2.3.209), the *Henry IV* plays, 'this is a kinsman of Justice Silence', 'as fat as Sir John Falstaff' (5.2.18, 5.6.134-35), and *Julius Caesar*, 'Et tu, Brute' (5.3.213). The play emphasises its metatheatricity through its references and allusions to plays performed in London.

At the turn of the century and for the next three years, the theatrical air was dense with references, borrowings and reworkings from both the plays of a previous generation of playwrights, still running in repertory on public stages, and more contemporary dramas. These are not recondite allusions but declarative citations and reworkings of well-known quotations, characters and incidents. The expanding dramatic archi-texture helps constitute the sense of a developing theatrical culture, a vibrant, collaborative and commercial enterprise across the London theatres, of a meshwork comprised from the metatheatrical work of new dramas in the modern capital.

John Day and Henry Chettle's *The Blind Beggar of Bednall Green*, performed at the Rose by the Admirals' Men in 1600, recasts what Martin Wiggins calls the 'multiple-identity scenario' (4.231) of Chapman's 1596 drama *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* to in and around London at the time of Henry VI. Whilst the drama contains little topographical specificity it does, as in *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, develop anachronistic metatheatrical associations with contemporary dramas. Two coney-catchers, Canbee and Hadland, are on the run; they lie low by taking lodgings with 'an odde fellow snuffels i' the nose, that shows a motion about Bishopsgate' (F1r). When next on stage Canbee and Hadland are now running the 'motion', a puppet show: their repertoire includes *Tamberlayne the Great*, *The Massacre at Paris* and *Julius Caesar*, echoing established authors alluded to in *The Shoemakers' Holiday*. The same scene also refers to the brand new 'amorous conceits and Love songs' featuring the real-life London puppeteer Captain Pod (also mentioned in *Every Man Out of His Humour*) and a Mrs Rump of Ram Alley (G2r). In a later example from a public theatre, a joke is made in Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, Part 2* about the sophisticated tastes in the capital contrasted with country ways. A pedlar

from the Midlands comments on the latest rage in the countryside, clearly not having seen, unlike Hobson and the members of audience, a production of *Twelfth Night*:

Pedler ... many of our yong married men, have tane an
 order to weare yellow Garters, Points, and Shoo-
 tyings; and tis thought, yellow will grow a custome.

Hobson T'as beene usde long at London. (B1r)

The metatheatrical series of borrowings, exchanges and cross-references are most pronounced and sustained, however, in plays performed by the two children's companies at Paul's and Blackfriars in front of audiences who the dramatists could assume were familiar with the very latest theatrical fashions and performances. Marston's *Jack Drum's Entertainment* was one of the first plays performed by the Children of Paul's in 1600. In contrast to plays performed by the company just two and three years later, the text seems designed for a relatively inexperienced cast, with short scenes and short speeches, interspersed with songs and dances. Only the two manipulators, Winifred and Planet, have longer speeches, used to scheme and arrange the plot; presumably the roles were played by more experienced actors. The drama has an innovative metatheatrical opening when the Tiring Man announces the show cannot proceed because the author has snatched the scripts and 'with violence keepes the boyes from comming on the Stage' (A2r). An actor appears and corrects the Tiring Man: the author's actions sprung from a concern that, 'Wanting a Prologue, & our selves not perfect' (A2v), his offering would not suit the audience, 'this choise selected influence' (A2r). If the flattered watchers will 'pardon his defects and ours' the play can proceed, presenting 'pleasing sceanes' (A2v). In place of other dramas comprising 'mouldy fopperies of stale Poetry, / Impossible drie mustie Fictions', the author offers novelty (A2v). A second reflexive metatheatrical joke (with a simian image) occurs when Sir Edward announces,

I saw the Children of Powles last night,
And troth they pleasde mee prettie, prettie well,
The Apes in time will do it hansomely. (H3v)

Planet commends the select 'good gentle Audience that frequenteth there / With much applause' and Brabant Junior agrees: 'Tis a good gentle Audience, and I hope the Boyes / Will come one day into the Court of requests' (H3v). Again, the emphasis is on the sheer novelty of the occasion, with discerning observations about what the future will hold. This is humorously and ironically hammered home when Brabant Senior wishes the company well, if only,

they had good Playes, but they produce
Such mustie fopperies of antiquitie,
And do not sute the humorous ages backs
With cloathes in fashion (H3v).

Brabant Senior, unlike the audience, has not appreciated the metatheatrical novelty of the play of which he is a part.

Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, first performed at Blackfriars in 1600, opens, like *Jack Drum*, with children on stage discussing their audience and the current state of drama in the capital. One child tells his two companions, 'suppose I am one of your genteel auditors' (Prae. 92-93) and proceeds to impersonate a gallant sitting on a stool on stage, carping at a play and players and, in the manner of Fastidius Brisk in *Every Man Out*, pausing only to puff away at his pipe. He follows with a second impersonation, of 'a more sober, or better-gathered gallant; that is (as it may be thought) some friend, or well-wisher to the house' (Prae. 106-08). Again, through the characters' critical observations we catch sight of both the nature of the audiences in the private theatres and of contemporary discussions about the dramas, including the taste for novelty and originality. In fashionable London theatrical circles, 'they could wish your poets would leave to be promoters of other men's jests', 'That they would not so penuriously glean wit from every laundress or hackney-man; or derive their best grace with servile Imitation from common stages' (Prae. 140-41, 143-45). Members of the audience are mocked as well, including those who look back wistfully at the first performances of *The Spanish Tragedy*, 'the only, best, and judiciously-penned play of Europe' (Prae. 166-67)).

Cynthia's Revels thus contributes to the sequence of metatheatrical jokes coursing around the two private playhouses from 1600.³

The dramatists producing materials for the two children's companies recognised their audiences' appreciation of comedies seeped in the literary and theatrical cultures of contemporary London and developed a distinctive new thread in the meshwork. The 'Poetomachia', as Dekker termed it, (*Satiromastix To The World* 7) involved private audiences paying an entrance fee to watch plays about plays and playwrights, performed for the benefit of a culturally literate and sophisticated audience. What was most important is that, as discussed with reference to Douglas Bruster and Roslyn Knutson's analyses in Chapter One, the move made good business sense in both playhouses. As Marston's Lampatho Doria acknowledges in *What You Will*, 1601:

This is the strain that chokes the theatres;
That makes them crack with full-stuff'd audience;
This is your only humour in request. (3.2.165-67)

Marston's drama, first acted at Paul's, purportedly set in Venice, is populated by characters up to date with the latest metatheatrical currents of modern London. Predictably, in a play contributing to the satirical presentations of contemporary dramatists, there is an ironic and on-going set of theatrical quotations, allusions and parodies. When Quadratus puts on a show of bombastic declamation he, knowingly, speaks like a player:

A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!
Look thee, I speak play-scrap. (2.1.126-27)

Quadratus refers to a speech from *Julius Caesar* as if it was familiar to both the Duke he addresses and the audience members: 'I am fat, and therefore faithful'

³ The frequency and consistency of the parodic references to *The Spanish Tragedy* in plays performed across 1598-1603 indicates the continuing popularity of Kyd's drama, as also attested to by the frequency of the revisions Henslowe paid for and recorded in his diaries. Early Modern dramatists found it hackneyed and tired but it still pulled in the crowds. The parodies could only work in the private theatres if the audience members had also read or attended a revival of the play. Webster's Induction to *The Malcontent*, when performed at the Globe, raises the possibility that *The Spanish Tragedy* was actually performed at Blackfriars, as discussed by Lucy Munro in *Children* 134-36.

Emma Smith's edition of Kyd's drama contains a comprehensive account of 'Hieronimo's Afterlives', citing many references and allusions to the play up to 1640. The early performance history of Kyd's play and the parodies are also discussed by Clara Calvo and Jesus Tronch in the introduction to their edition (61-65).

(5.1.216). Simplicius, with his 'copy of phrases' (5.1.108), is another in the series of characters, on private and public stages, with a stock of quotations at the ready, stretching back to Jonson's Matheo from *Every Man In at The Curtain* in 1598 and forward to Heywood's Cripple at *The Rose* in 1602. Marston parodies Jonson's elaborate scene setting in *Every Man Out*: 'Suppose this floor the city Utica' (5.1.243).

Another of the Poetomachia plays, Jonson's *Poetaster*, acted at Blackfriars in 1601, is set in Rome yet seeped in contemporary metatheatricality. Tucca discusses his generic preferences with the actor Histrio: 'I would fain come with my cockatrice one day and see a play, if I knew when there were a good bawdy one: but they say you ha' nothing but humours, revels and satires that gird and fart at the time' (3.4.153-56). In an adroit topographical imaginative manoeuvre Jonson places this scene on London's south bank, where the public theatres were open every day except Sunday, as seen in Histrio's response: 'No, I assure you, captain, not we. They are on the other side of Tiber. We have as much ribaldry in our plays as can be, as you would wish, captain. All the sinners i' the suburbs come and applaud our action daily' (3.4.157-59). The joke for the audience is that they themselves are in a playhouse north of the river, 'on the other side of Tiber', listening to a discussion of contemporary theatrical practice in the capital's different theatrical milieus. In the same scene, Tucca's young pages perform parodic skits of dramatic set pieces (doleful, amorous, fierce, etc.) from older plays, some still in repertory, including *The Spanish Tragedy* and Chapman's *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*: 'Murder! Murder! / Who calls out 'murder'? Lady, was it you?' (3.4.198-99). Jonson's own drama is enmeshed in contemporary theatrical practice even as it asserts his own new and innovative artistic credentials.

Dekker's *Satiromastix*, performed at the Globe and Paul's, is ostensibly set in the medieval England of William II and again presents characters right up to speed with theatrical controversies in the London of 1601-02. Dekker's own version of Tucca is aggressively critical towards the writer Horace, complaining that no 'Gentleman, or an honest Cittizen' is safe from Horace's satire, 'and his humour must run upo'th Stage: you'll ha *Every Gentleman in's humour*, and

Every Gentleman out on's humour (4.2.55-57). He asserts that Horace joined a troupe of travelling players 'and took mad Jeronimoes part' and accuses him of involvement in the *Isle of Dogs* scandal and its aftermath (4.1.131, 133). There are wildly anachronistic references (as in *The Shoemakers' Holiday*) reaching forward from the late eleventh century to declamatory dramas, including the belligerent Tucca's allusions to, and quotations from, *Gorboduc* (1.2.339), *Tamburlaine* (4.3.169), *Cambises* (5.2.249), *Tamor Chan* (5.2.182) and *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Goe by, Ieronimo, goe by' and 'my smug Belimperia'; 1.2.372, 3.1.131): part of the joke is that these dramas were old and dated by 1602. Tucca is also familiar with modern drama; 'my name's Hamlet revenge' (4.1.121) and 'Doctor Doddipol' (5.2.323). Horace refers to Inns of Court students as 'spangle babies, the true heires of Master Justice Shallow' and notes their appetite for plays (2.2.34-35). Tucca riffs on the usual joke about the audience at the Rose; 'th'ast breath as sweet as the Rose, that growes by the Beare garden' (3.1.227-28). As noted above, the significance of the dramas forming the Poetomachia lies not in debates about competing classical models of satire and comedy, nor in measuring the levels of friction between dramatists: the key factor is that audiences in the private playhouses were becoming so immersed in the metatheatricality of the dramas from 1599 that they visited the indoor playhouses to watch new plays about contemporary dramas. At the same time, through their references to and borrowings from other modern dramas, the Poetomachia plays form another strand in the metatheatrical sequence set running by *The Shoemakers' Holiday*.

This sequence in the meshwork was developed energetically by George Chapman, who would soon be collaborating with Jonson and Marston on *Eastward Ho*. Chapman's *All Fools* was first performed at Blackfriars by the Children of the Chapel circa 1601 and was one of the plays revived by the company, now the Children of the Queen's Revels, when the theatres reopened in 1604. The setting is a very hazily realised Florence in an even hazier sixteenth-century time frame: 'the seventeenth of November, fifteen hundred and so forth' (4.1.331). Despite their Italian names, the characters appear well versed in the various cultural fashions of London at the start of the seventeenth century, including its theatrical trends. A preening courtier, Dariotto,

distinguishes himself through his attire - he 'sacks milliners' shops / For all the new tires and fashions' (5.2.13-14) - and his appreciation of theatrical culture. When mildly injured in a fight he has sparked he compares himself to the tragic victim of a popular drama:

Valerio: What, art thou hurt?

Dariotto: A scratch, a scratch.

Valerio: Go, sirrah, fetch a surgeon. (3.1.349-350).⁴

The metatheatrical knowledge shared by the characters and the audience explains why, when Dariotto enters the distinctly un-Florentine establishment the Half Moon Tavern (5.1.55), Valerio greets him with, 'Ay, well said, lovely Paris' (5.2.24), a reference to the over-confident and unfulfilled wooer in *Romeo and Juliet*.

Chapman's *May Day* was in the repertory at Blackfriars at the same time as *All Fools*. A conspicuous feature of the play is, again, its heightened metatheatricality, with a host of dramatic references many audience members would be expected to appreciate. The play opens with a parodic rephrasing of lines from *The Spanish Tragedy*, 'O hair, no hair but beams stol'n from the sun' (1.1.33) and closes with a parody of Pistol's exclamation in *Henry IV Part 2*, 'And with round echoes make the welkin roar' (5.1.354, cf. *HIV2*, 2.4.166), which is itself a parody of a line from Marlowe's *Dido of Carthage*. Sandwiched between, the drama, set in an ahistorical Venice, references and alludes to a host of plays performed on London stages from the early 1580s, include verbal borrowings from Kyd and *Titus Andronicus*.⁵ There are borrowings from two plays by Shakespeare, including *Hamlet* - 'Come, be not retrograde to our desires' (3.3.196). The challenge sent to Giovanello in 3.3 reworks the scene involving Aguecheek in *Twelfth Night*; there is also an echo from Shakespeare's comedy in Lodovico's soliloquy: 'some are born to riches, others to verses, some to be bachelors, others to be cuckolds' (3.3.144-47).

⁴ Benvolio: What, art thou hurt?

 Mercutio: Ay, ay, a scratch, a scratch. Marry, 'tis enough.

 Where is my page? Go, villain, fetch a surgeon. (*R&J* 3.1. 93-95)

⁵ '... she's a woman, is she not?' 1.1.151; cf. *Titus* 'She is a woman, therefore may be wooed; / She is a woman, therefore may be won' 2.1.83-84.

The significant point is not that all audience members would instantly identify all the borrowings, allusions, in-jokes and parodies, but that these theatregrams and others helped create a metatheatrical meshwork soaked in familiar patterns of, for example, speech, behaviour and situations. Jacky Bratton makes a similar point, commenting that the ‘fabric of memories’, ‘shared by audiences and players, is made up of dances, spectacles, plays and songs, experienced as particular performances... woven upon knowledge of the performers’ other current and previous roles’ (38). For the audiences who frequented Paul’s and Blackfriars, the theatregrams, styles and themes shared between the two stages would give added definition and depth to their theatrical experiences and their ‘collective memory’, in Carlson’s phrase. Through the threads of the meshwork there emerges a distinct texture, a ‘London aesthetic’, in which London is not only a vibrant site of theatrical productions but is also a theatrical space, reenacted on private stages in particular. For the audiences in the indoor theatres there is an awareness and understanding not just of places in the capital cited or invoked, but of the metatheatrical theatregrams, the threads in the meshwork, tying audiences into the on-going processes of production and performance.

There is also, branching out from the reflexive metatheatrical meshwork, another, entwined, sequence: the development of a running gag centred on inept or ridiculous poets and dramatists. This theatregram is obviously central to the *Poetomachia* dramas, but was well in vogue already. In Jonson’s *Every Man In His Humour* Matheo attempts to pass off lines from *Hero and Leander* as his own, claiming he composed them that morning at the Mitre (3.3.49-80). In *Poetaster* the writers Crispinus and Demetrius are arraigned for publishing ‘beggarly and barren trash’ (5.3.329), whilst in *Satiromastix* the ridiculous Horace is first seen busy penning his latest effusion:

For I to thee and thine immortall name -
 In - sacred raptures flowing, flowing, swimming, swimming:
 In sacred raptures swimming,
 Immortal name, game, dame, tame, lame, lame, lame,
 Pux, ha it, shame, proclaime, oh -
 In Sacred raptures flowing, will proclaime... (1.2.11-16).

Chapman in particular enjoyed presenting dreadful versifiers as either idiotic pedants or affected aspirants to literary fame; in the pre-plague years he develops this in, for example, *All Fools*, *The Gentleman Usher*, and *May Day*.

Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* contains a striking example of a metatheatrical motif centred on authorship. As well as being an expert in drawing texts and patterns on fabrics, Cripple is an expert in producing literary texts to order. He has accrued the library of a dead poet, including songs, ditties and epigrams which, when required, he can 'reserve to my owne proper use' (1395). The rest of the library comprised,

just nothing,
But rolles, and scrolles, and bundles of cast wit,
Such as durst never visit Paules churchyard (1390-91).

The joke about the poet's unpublishable oeuvre is additionally amusing as it follows on from Cripple's description of the man himself, just recently deceased. Importantly, he is a contemporary, part of the London literary scene:

Why thus there liv'd a Poet in this towne,
(If we may terme our moderne Writers Poets)
Sharp-witted, bitter-tongd, his penne of steele,
His incke was temperd with the biting juyce (1380-83).

The dramatist might well have had a satiric poetic candidate in mind; the point, aside from the droll mocking of London's current crop of poets, is that audience members aware of London's literary scene would themselves be working to spot who Cripple is referring to, living or dead. They are inserted into the cutting-edge of literary London, just as they are when they catch hold of the metatheatrical allusions, parodies and borrowings.

The concept of the audience's insertion is exemplified and extended when Cripple describes how he can produce his own literary materials: he follows the 'best witted Gallants' (1407) to the tavern, he sits in the next room as they dine,

And over-heare their talke, observe their humors,
Collect their jeasts, put them into a play,
And tire them too with payment to behold
What I have filcht from them (1410-13).

Cripple draws down the best tales, anecdotes and jokes from the brightest young men about town, draws the material together into a play and draws in an audience to pay for the privilege of watching their own witticisms and words performed. And, of course, some of the same 'best witted Gallants' will be in the audience watching *The Fair Maid*. The audience in contemporary London thus becomes the source of dramas set in, and about, contemporary London and its audiences: they are inserted as (flattered) subjects in a dramatic architecture full of highly reflexive and topical plays.

Theatregrams and the Swarming Structure of the Street

Across the dramatic meshwork of 1598-1603, and increasingly so from 1601, a cluster of dramatists worked, often collaboratively and sometimes more rebarbatively, to produce a set of plays seeped in a metatheatricality that would only be clearly apparent to an audience of theatrical insiders. These audiences were expected, increasingly, in the private playhouses at Paul's and Blackfriars, to appreciate the dramas produced, individually and in collaborative combinations, by Chapman, Dekker, Jonson, Marston, Middleton, and Webster. The shared subject matter and concerns of the neighbourhood comedies recall, by analogy, James Sanders' account in *Celluloid Skyline* of how in the 1980s film makers portrayed New York, when directors used location shots and 'stayed close to the ground, drawing on the spontaneity of daily street life, entertaining audiences with flavorful vignettes that might well be glimpsed in the real city, it was implied, on any given day' (223).

The second part of this chapter identifies key theatregrams running through the meshwork of the 1598-1603 dramas that work to produce the shared 'lived sense', in Lefebvre's term, of a thick metatheatrical plenitude, intensified as the plays and their theatregrams are meshed into a distinct architecture. This whirl of recurring 'flavorful vignettes' is drawn from contemporary London, from, in de Certeau's expression, the 'swarming structure of the street' (*Practice* 2.3). The web of theatregrams contribute, performance by performance, to, as Carlson writes, the theatre-goers' 'collective memory' (*Haunted Stage* 48).

I first identify how four distinct theatregrams were practised on private and public stages from 1598 to 1603; namely, fashionable attire and tailors, the taking of tobacco, the use of the name Luce, and the references to apes and monkeys. The section next identifies other theatregrams in the meshwork that, together with the four above and the reflexive metatheatrical theatregram and the associated trope of feeble dramatists, are brought together most strikingly, in different combinations, in the post-plague dramas *Westward Ho*, *Eastward Ho* and *Northward Ho*. The chapter concludes with a brief analysis of how tropes and motifs in two contemporary dramas by George Chapman are taken up and reworked in *Westward Ho*.

Tailors and their fine wares make frequent appearances on stage from 1598 to 1603, usually in the company of either foolish gallants or up-market courtesans: the latter trope is taken up with a vengeance in *Eastward Ho*. On stage at the Globe in 1599, an Inns of Court student, newly arrived in the capital from the country, spends his allowance on clothes instead of books, trying, with the help of Master Snip his tailor, to keep up with the latest expensive fashions in a vain attempt to match the apparel worn by the affected courtier, Fastidius Brisk. In an amusing cycle, the young student Fungoso, 'enamoured of the fashion' (*Every Man Out of His Humour*, 2.2.183) appears repeatedly wearing the suit last flaunted by Brisk, who then enters wearing a still newer outfit. In *The London Prodigal* Young Flowerdale's prodigality is dramatised through the series of extravagant costumes he wears; he recalls dates by reference to his extensive wardrobe:

... what breeches wore I a Satterday? let me see: a Tuesday my Calymanka; a Wednesday my peach colour Sattin; a Thursday my Vellure... (1.1.154-56).

Women can be just as absurdly fashion-conscious. Sir Lancelot Spurcock's daughter Franke with her mania for the latest fashions and fine clothes is a forerunner of *Eastward Ho*'s Gertrude. Franke will be dressed 'like a Citizen / In a garded gowne, and a French-hood' (3.1.19-20): this is the costume that Gertrude wears when we first meet her in *Eastward Ho*, and which she is tearing off and replacing with bold and 'court-like' clothing as she awaits her

husband-to-be (1.2.61).⁶ Heywood's *If You Know Not Me Part 2* reworks a gag about female sexual desire and its association with a promiscuous taste for the latest fashions, played out around puns on 'commodities' and 'country':

What news i' th' country? what commodities

Are most respected with your country girls? (B1r).

Chambermaids are on the look out for 'your huge poking-stick' whereas Puritan women prefer 'a long, slender poking stick' (B1r). The bawdiness continues: 'changeable fore parts are common; not a wench of thirteen but wears a changeable fore part' (B1r). The fore part innuendo is repeated in *Westward Ho*: 'I know nor the name of your forepart, but tis of a haire colour' (1.1.67-68).

The trail through the meshwork from Dekker's *Blurt, Master Constable* to *Eastward Ho* is distinct. In 2.2 we meet Imperia in her brothel; she is dressing, putting on a gown and a ruff. She also sings a song extolling women's attractive physical qualities in which 'the only joy to men' is 'in a woman's middle ... plac'd' (2.2.62, 64-65). When we first encounter *Eastward Ho*'s Gertrude she is first undressing and then dressing whilst singing sexually charged verses. When Chloe in *Poetaster* prepares to appear at Court, she wears jewels, a ruff, fine linen, a muff, a fan, a mask and she carries a lapdog (4.1.1-10, 16), prefiguring Gertrude's dressing up in *Eastward Ho*. As Bellafront in *The Honest Whore* applies her make-up and finishes dressing (she puts on a ruff, a gown and a fall) she too sings a mildly bawdy song, again foreshadowing Gertrude's sensational entrance in *Eastward Ho*.

The late Elizabethan craze for smoking tobacco is reflected on the contemporary London stages. Jonson's early dramas include characters at ease with the habit. Bobadilla in *Every Man In His Humour* boasts a knowledge of the finest Trinidad; 'it cannot be but 'tis most divine' (3.2.59), praise echoed by the gull Matheo, 'the most divine tobacco as ever I drunk' (3.2.102-03). The more prosaic Cob is unconvinced: 'this roguish tobacco. It's good for nothing but to choke a man' (3.2.78-79). The young lad impersonating

⁶ A 'garded gown' was 'guarded' with velvet, and worn by 'the higher rank of female citizens' (Malone 321). This gown is obviously not fine enough for Gertrude, who speaks disparagingly of her sister's more modest 'buffin gown with the tuftaffety cape, and the velvet lace' (1.2.12-13).

In Dekker's *The Shoemakers' Holiday* Margery Eyre desires a French hood (10.36) and Eyre hands her one on stage when he is made Mayor (10.140); she is wearing it in the next scene when the new Mayor and his wife enter in their finery (11.0 SD).

a genteel auditor at the start of *Cynthia's Revels* has 'my three sorts of Tobacco' (Prae. 94-95) and the gallant Anaides has 'a pipe of pudding-tobacco (2.2.77). In *Every Man Out of His Humour* Brisk is au courant with the latest trend, puffing away at his pipe on stage in the presence of a lady:

Troth, sweet lady, I shall (*tobacco*) be prepared to give you thanks for those thanks, and (*tobacco*) study more officious and obsequious regards (*tobacco*) to your fair beauties (*tobacco*).

(3.3.59-61)

In *What You Will*, for perhaps the first time at Paul's, tobacco is smoked on stage; the Duke uses a petition delivered to him to light his pipe whilst others have 'tobacco-pipes in their hands' (1.1.231 SD). The foolish Asinus in *Satiromastix* is a committed smoker, inviting Demetrius to 'take a whiffe this morning' (1.2.173). He owns the latest tobacco and accoutrements: his 'pudding' tobacco' was unusually praised (he claims unconvincingly) by 'a Lady or two', who 'took a pype full or two at my hands' (1.2.173, 180-81). A more typical feminine response, following Margery in *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, is that of Bellafront in *The Honest Whore* when she refuses the offer of some 'Herculean tobacco' : 'Faugh, not I. Makes your breath stink like the piss of a fox' (6.100, 102-03). Imperia in *Blurt, Master Constable* responds similarly to Lazarillo's offer of 'the most divine soul of tobacco': 'No no no, fie fie fie, I should be choked up, if your pipe should kiss my under-lip' (2.2.340-41). This smokey series wafts forward to the scene, meshing together sex, scandal, smoking and subterfuge, in the inn at Brentford at the close of *Westward Ho*.

A name that recurs across the meshwork is Luce, a series that runs into 1607 and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. In an early version, she appears in Heywood's *Edward IV Part 1* when the rebel Spicing, facing execution, declares 'Commend me to Black Luce, bouncing Bess, and lusty Kate, and all the other pretty morsels of man's flesh' (10.162-63).⁷ The Luce in *The Blind Beggar* is a malevolent laundress, leading a set of creditors demanding payment from the disgraced Momford (B3v). A 'coy' waiting woman named Lucea in *What You Will* is an honorary member of the sequence of Luces (1.1.29). Sir Lancelot Spurcock in *The London Prodigal* has three daughters,

⁷ For details of the contemporary brothel keeper Black Luce see Chapter Two, footnote 10.

one of whom is called Luce. In this instance Luce is a model of long suffering and devotion, demonstrating resolve and charity in reforming her spendthrift and deceitful husband to virtue and good sense. *The Wise Woman of Hogsden* features not one but two characters called Luce, one a goldsmith's daughter with a 'pretty little Apes face' (175), the second a 'yong Countrey Gentlewoman' (352 SD) on a mission (echoing Luce in *The London Prodigal*) to reclaim her reprobate fiancé. All these Lucas thread forwards to the scene-stealing appearance of Luce in Birdlime's brothel in *Westward Ho*.

Apes and monkey form a fourth distinctive series, with dramatists employing stock phrases (base poets as servile imitators, unmarried women fated to lead apes in hell) and more nuanced similes and images. Apes and monkeys can variously be imitative or sardonic, lascivious, and objects of affection. In *The Blind Beggar* Momford's villainous peers laugh at his condition, 'This is a toy to mock an Ape withall' (C4r); a phrase repeated by young Strowd when his father is arrested: 'here's a jest to mock an Ape withall' (E3r). Brabant Senior in *Jack Drum* dismisses new playwrights, 'they are all Apes & gulls, / Vile imitating spirits' (G1v), and the actors are referred to as 'Apes' (H3v). As also noted above, Oatley in *The Shoemakers' Holiday* refers angrily to his daughter Rose as an 'ape' (11.31). In Chapman's *All Fools* Valerio outwits and manhandles a lawyer, leaving him 'on his posteriors / Like a baboon (2.1.17-18); later Cornelio 'looks much like an ape had swallowed pills' (5.1.21). The character of Envy in the Induction to *Poetaster* wonders if any of modern London's 'poet-apes' are present; the armed Prologue next informs us 'tis a dangerous age', with audiences 'Of base detractors and illiterate apes' (Ind. 35, 67, 70). The play's final song closes with the proverbial 'And apes are apes, though clothed in scarlet' (5.3.559). *Satiromastix* is particularly well stocked with apish references: Sir Adam reckons that 'if love should bee turned into a beast' it would be 'an Ape' (2.1.44-45, 51), Asinius is Horace's 'Ape', with both imitative and sexual connotations (2.2.15); Horace dismisses his rivals as 'Poet-apes' and this is thrown back at him sarcastically at the close: 'All Poets shall be Poet-Apes but you' (2.2.43, 5.2.339).

Jean Howard notes the symbolic associations with 'licentiousness and dirtiness' ("Bettrice" 329), the former voiced in *Henry IV Part 2* in Falstaff's

phrase 'lecherous as a monkey' (3.2.309) and repeated twice in *Othello*: 'as hot as monkeys', 'Goats and monkeys!' (3.3.406, 4.4.263). In another instance *Blurt's* Lazarillo, whilst tutoring the prostitutes on how to be good wives, cites the standard proverb, 'be saints in the church, angels in the street, devils in the kitchen'.⁸ He tacks on an original fourth precept: '... devils in the kitchen, and apes in your bed' (3.3.154-56).

Apes and monkeys also featured in expressions of tenderness or admiration, generally of a sexual nature regarding women desired by men. An earlier example, with gender roles reversed, is also from *Henry IV Part 2*, when Doll comforts Falstaff: 'you sweet little rogue, you! Alas, poor ape, how thou sweatest!' (2.4.211). As above, one of the two Luces in *The Wise Woman of Hogsden* has a 'pretty little Apes face' (175). In *The Honest Whore Part 1* Bellafront the courtesan is a 'little marmoset', 'the most bewitching honest ape under the pole' and 'the waspishest ape' (6.71, 209-10, 272). Indoors at Paul's, in *Blurt, Master Constable*, there is a series of simian references: 'your tame monkey is your only best, and most only beast' to your Spanish Lady' asserts Lazarillo (1.2.9); the courtesan Imperia is fondly importuned by Hippoloto, 'Come, my little lecherous baboon' and he calls her an 'Ape' (2.2.262; 3.1.58). In *The Gentleman Usher* Chapman includes references to 'apish trash' and 'apish souls', whilst a virtuous wife, responding to her husband's moods and wishes, is 'in all things his sweet ape' (2.1.168, 3.2.210, 4.3.21). In Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* Franceschina is addressed as a 'Monkey'; and Crispinella as a 'proud ape' and a 'tart monkey' (2.2.50; 4.1.21, 39). The theatregram populated by apes and monkeys attains a spectacular climax in *Eastward Ho*, sparked by a line in *Westward Ho* which threads together these pre-plague apish and monkey theatregrams into one sensual knot.⁹

Other theatregrams interwoven through the meshwork will be replayed and revised in the post-plague dramas *Westward*, *Eastward* and *Northward Ho*. Heywood's *The Fair Maid* is woven out of metatheatrical allusions and

⁸ cf. Dent 751: 'Women are in Churches Saints, abroad Angels, at home Divels'.

⁹ cf. Appendix 1 for a visual representation of the mesh arising from these four theatregrams, and for comments on other lexical tropes.

borrowings and also initiates new theatregrams. The latter includes Frank calling his new father-in-law 'Dad' (2658); Quicksilver in *Eastward Ho* uses 'Dad' familiarly with Security (2.2.39, 84 and passim), and Philip Bellamont in *Northward Ho* speaks to and refers to his father as 'Dad' (3.1.2). *The Fair Maid*'s love-lorn Anthony seeks a 'guide / Out of this laborinth of love and fear' (1529); this is reworked in *Westward Ho* in Clare Tenterhook's advice on how 'a woman will be free in this intricate laborinth of a husband' (3.1.35-36). Heywood's Cripple bids farewell to Bowdler, 'A due fond humorist, Parenthesis of jests' (2205); the humorist and dispenser of jests in *Westward Ho* is Justiniano, in his disguise as Parenthesis. Cripple's facility to produce all kinds of texts for any purpose, whether 'filcht' from his library or from taverns, foreshadows Bellamont in *Northward Ho*, a more original writer, who is able to improvise texts to suit any occasion, and who habitually regards all that passes before him as materials for a play.

Heywood's *The Wise Woman of Hogsden* shares theatregrams with *Westward Ho*, in addition to the two Luces. The Wise Woman chuckles over 'how many trades have I to live by', including fortune telling, healing, palmistry and playing 'the match-maker' for 'young wenches' who 'furnish such chambers as I let out by the night' (993-1000): she is clearly a soul mate of *Westward Ho*'s highly resourceful Birdlime. 'I am somewhat thick of hearing' says the Wise Woman when trying to avert some tricky questioning (1692); Birdlime uses the same 'knavery' when challenged: 'I am very thicke of hearing' (1.1.53, 46). Chartley, the serial sexual predator, who believes that 'Marriage is like Dedalus his labyrinth' (309), is mirrored in *Westward Ho* by the libidinous Monopoly (as well as repeating the labyrinth image Clare Tenterhook uses).¹⁰

In *Blurt, Master Constable* the Spaniard Lazarillo pronounces 'city' as 'chitty', picking up on Winifred's praise in *Jack Drum's Entertainment* of young Brabant's 'chitty well complexioned face' (B2v) and weaving forward to Gertrude's dismissal of the 'chitty' and its 'chittizens' in *Eastward Ho*

¹⁰ *Westward Ho* and *The Wise Woman* are, possibly, contemporaneous: it is not possible to be definite as to which was performed first. The borrowings and echoes suggest that the first play was successful and striking enough to warrant these repetitions. Michael Leonard in his edition of *The Wise Woman*, citing other scholars, suggests 'early 1603' as a possible date of composition (6, 8). If the play was written in 'early 1604' (8) it could not have been performed in London until late spring that year.

(1.2.100-01). Similarly, Lazarillo speaks to the ladies of possible adventures, ‘if I were to make a discovery of any new found land, as Virginia or so’ (3.3.37-38), anticipating Seagull and Flash’s planned expedition to Virginia. Jonson’s Puntarvolo, the lunatic ‘vainglorious knight’ from *Every Man Out of His Humour* (Characters 11), is planning a voyage to Constantinople; another thread in the mesh towards the voyaging Sir Petronel Flash.

At the close of Dekker and Middleton’s *The Honest Whore Part 1* the Duke and his retinue visit many of the rest of the characters who are now, for various reasons, incarcerated with mad men and women at Milan’s very own version of Bethlem. In *Northward Ho* a key set of characters (including Bellamont, echoing the honest whore’s name) pass through London’s Bethlem on the way north. At the close of *The Honest Whore*, the gallant Matteo is tricked into agreeing to marry the reformed Bellafront; at the close of *Northward Ho* Featherstone is tricked into marrying the prostitute Doll. (The Duke out hunting deer in scene 3 is a new, highly contemporary motif, picked up in greater satiric detail in *The Isle of Gulls*.) In the final scene of *Satiromastix* the lustful King is presented with Celestine, the object of his desires, as if dead, sparking a remorseful repentance on his part: the same scene is reworked by Dekker and Webster in *Westward Ho*.

The anonymous *The London Prodigal*, performed at the Globe in 1604, generated a series of references and allusions in the following year’s *Eastward Ho*, in addition to the sartorial associations noted above. Franke Spurcock’s new husband, Civet, has an income from Cuckolds Haven (3.1.36) and boasts he will ‘maintaine [his] wife in her french-hood, and her coach, keepe a couple of geldings, and a brace of gray hounds’ (3.1.53-55). In *Eastward Ho* Quicksilver owns a ‘running gelding’ (2.2.39). Franke ‘scorns’ to ‘be companions to cooks and kitchen-boys’ (4.1.46); her wedding present for her sister Luce will be ‘my Fanne’, and Civet will in turn buy Franke ‘a new one, with a longer handle’ and ‘russet feathers’ (5.1.390, 394-96); her social pretensions and obsession with fashionable objects again prefigures Gertrude. Spurcock’s third daughter, Delia, is an early version of Gertrude’s sister Mildred, with her pious platitudes and strong sense of moral and ethical

certainty. The modern-day knight Sir Lancelot Spurcock is a sorry contrast with the Arthurian Sir Lancelot invoked in Gertrude's mournful complaint (5.1.24).

The assortment of theatregams 'entertaining audiences with flavorful vignettes' arises from the 'daily street life', as it were, of the metatheatrical work that characterises the neighbourhood comedies. For the audiences attending the post-plague performances of the three *Ho* plays the recognition of the accumulated resonances, allusions and tropes from the 1598 to 1603 repertory might confirm a sense of an insider's knowledge, picking up with increasing sophistication on how the new dramas use and play with theatregams to produce a distinct dramatic archi-texture.

When the theatres opened again in the spring of 1604 it is possible that the first plays to be staged were conveniently available revivals of popular dramas from the immediate pre-plague repertory. The many uses Dekker and Webster make of Chapman's pre-1604 plays in their own 1604 *Westward Ho* also suggests that the immediate post-plague repertory (at Blackfriars in particular) was comprised of revivals of pre-1604 plays. Chapman's *All Fools*, for example, was in a fit state to be performed at court on 1 January 1605.¹¹ The audiences, therefore, might well have recalled popular theatregams from the 1598 to 1603 neighbourhood comedies; they might also have had far fresher memories of revivals performed since the playhouses reopened.

In *All Fools* Valerio is arrested for debt; Cornelio, however, has arranged that the officers will 'sequester him / In private' (5.1.39-40). In *Westward Ho* Monopoly is arrested for debt; Clare Tenterhook has 'dealt with a Sargeant privatly' and arranged for Monopoly to be detained with the Sergeant as 'a prisoner in my house' (3.1.39-40, 3.2.96). The tavern is staged in *All Fools* with props similar to those in *Every Man Out of His Humour*: 'A drawer or two, setting a table' and chairs (5.2.1.SD), cups of wine, dice, music, with an implied band on stage (5.2.39). The scene includes a learned discussion of different tobacco leaves and the type of linstock used for lighting the pipes. During the course of the scene different groups of characters sneak on stage to observe and then join in the action. The close of *Westward Ho* is also set in a tavern, with music playing and gallants, including a Master Linstock, taking tobacco; as

¹¹ cf. Chambers 4.119 and Munro, *Children* 170

the scene develops other characters sneak on stage to observe and then engage with the action.

The almost ubiquitous tailor appears on stage in *May Day* in order to be the butt of jokes, including being called a thief (2.1.579). In *Westward Ho* the insult is extended: 'Taylor, you are a kinde of Bawd' (1.1.6). Lodovico disparages old Gasparo, 'the son of a sow-gelder' (2.1.70): the insult attracted Dekker and Webster who use it twice in *Westward Ho* to signify 'filthy' occupations (2.3.96, 5.4.71). In *May Day* a group of fiddlers are dismissed: 'Farewell, scrapers, your reward shall be that I will not cut your strings nor break your fiddles' (4.1.39-40). In *Westward Ho* the fiddlers are dealt with more harshly: Monopoly insults them, 'Plague a their Cats guts, and their scraping' (5.1.11), and they are then set upon by the townsfolk of Brentford; the 'poore fellowes have their Fidle-cases puld over their eares' (5.4.298-99). In *May Day* Lorenzo's chimney sweep disguise is a cover for his sexual exploits and is described as necessary for 'some matter of policy that concerns town government' (3.1.36-37). In *Westward Ho* 3.3 Justiniano is disguised as a collier, necessary for some matter concerning sexual liaisons. There are other clear verbal references to *May Day* in *Westward Ho*. In the last act of *May Day* the ironically named Madam Temperance is presented by Lodovico as a 'virtuous matron', 'that is able to do much good in a commonwealth; a woman of good parts, sells complexion, helps maids to services, restores maidenheads, brings women to bed, and men to their bedsides' (5.1.329-32). Over at Paul's in *Westward Ho* Mistress Birdlime, the keeper of a brothel where men are brought to women in bed, steps on stage with a tailor and explains that in her basket she has 'three or foure kindes of complexion' (1.1.11). *May Day*'s Angelo congratulates himself on his cunning cross-dressing plan, concluding with, 'Oh, the wit of man when it has the wind of a woman!' (4.2.108-09). In *Westward Ho* it is Clare Tenterhook's turn to revel in her stage management: 'O the wit of a woman when she is put to the pinch' (3.1.44-45). The echoing of Angelo's phrase emphasises that in *Westward Ho* it is now a woman who is running proceedings.

As de Certeau and Luce Giard describe the experience of moving through Paris, where 'many heterogeneous places cross paths and compose

the interlacing of our memories' (*Practice* 2.136), so the operations of the theatres at the start of the seventeenth century show the development and crossings of interlacing paths - or theatregrams - and the on-going production of an echoing and responsive dramatic meshwork. This archi-texture - Gil Harris's 'theatrical formation' - comprises a 'London aesthetic', where through movement and metatheatrical play a fictive space on stage invokes and enacts modern London in ways recognisable to the audiences in Paul's and Blackfriars. For regular attendees by 1603 the dramas will now do more than emphasise their position as knowledgeable insiders with regard to the capital's topography and possible tours. They become insiders with regard to the actual work of the dramas themselves, immersed in a metatheatrical meshwork they recognise and understand.

By the late spring of 1603 the plague in London was so virulent that the theatres were closed. The voices and movement on stage were stilled.

WESTWARD HOE

SCENE LONDON

'Even now, now...' (2.1.182)

Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *Westward Ho*, first acted in the autumn of 1604 at Paul's, is a startlingly novel drama, staging a version of contemporary London as a terrain of opportunity and intense sensory experience. *Westward Ho* is the newest of the new: as Kathleen McLuskie notes, the drama has an 'explicitly modern setting' ("Lawless Desires" 119). It is also an explicitly post-plague text, performed when the theatres reopened after the pestilence that devastated the population from the summer of 1603 through to February 1604. In his prose text *The Wonderful Year*, written in London in 1603, Dekker describes the contagion with a typical metatheatrical flourish, as 'Death... like stalking Tamberlaine', stormed the city like a savage invader (D1r). Death's army, advanced, 'with the sound of Bow-bell in stead of a trompet', and 'marcht even thorow Cheapside, and the capital streets', 'making havock of all' (D2r). Dekker estimated that 40,000 died (cf. C3r): London's population at the turn of the century was around 200,000. In *Westward Ho* Dekker and Webster repopulate the streets of Cheapside and the capital, after a period of enforced confinement and fear, with characters, noise and bustling movement. *Westward Ho*, I argue, produces a new and distinctly post-plague version of contemporary London, a new formation in the dramatic meshwork delineated in the previous chapter.

The study of the drama's whirl of temporal and spatial movements, and in particular the ways women, now they are free to move about the city again, have agency and exploit space, explains the techniques the dramatists use to produce both a 'spatializing of actions', in de Certeau's phrase (*Practice* 119), and a psychogeographical resonance for the original audiences. The topographical excess is related, in turn, to the play's distinctive plethora of

¹ *Westward Ho* 1607, A3r

staged properties and material objects. Similarly, the play's verbal sexual 'Squirrility' (2.1.87) and the high incidence of women's voices are shown to contribute to the play's thick layering of current material and sexual practices. The most distinctive feature of this new version is the range of unregulated and transgressive opportunities available for women: they are able to create, in Guy Debord's phrase, new situations, new 'psycogeographic articulations' of contemporary London ("Theory" 84). Where just recently, as Dekker writes, in a 'pittifull (or rather pittillesse) perplexitie stood London, forsaken like a Lover, forlorne like a widow, and disarmde of all comfort' (*Wonderful Year* D3v) now, by contrast, in the time of recovery, the dramatists' version of London is of a place where women conspire and play together, cheerfully devising their own comforts and pleasures. I also consider how two significant groups of males - the Inns of Court students who comprised much of the original audience and the courtiers and hangers-on at the new court - are treated and satirised in contrasting ways. The new version of London staged by Dekker and Webster was so unregulated and open that it engendered, in turn, an urgent response the following summer from three of London's most prominent dramatists, Chapman, Jonson and Marston.

Post-plague: Restaging London, Reworking the Meshwork

Westward Ho, by Dekker and Webster, was the first collaborative play staged at Paul's, and the second of three new dramas performed at Paul's in 1604. The other two are Thomas Middleton's *The Phoenix*, premiered at court in February (see Chambers 3.439 and *Middleton* 91) before its staging at Paul's, and, after *Westward Ho*, the same author's *Michaelmas Term*. The latter is set in contemporary London and packed with jokes and witticisms directed at lawyers and, in particular, the students of the Inns of Court. *The Phoenix*, the first of the three plays, is set in the Italian province of Ferrara, where folk are conversant with 'that notable city called London', in which 'stand two most famous universities, Poultry and Wood Street' (14.18). In a similar parodic vein there is a string of jokes satirising and mocking the legal profession, 'the dizzy murmur of the law' (12.39), and aspiring lawyers, many of

whom were sitting in the audience. The young legal students ‘in a term time... fill all the inns in the town’, each one a ‘term-trotter’ (4.31-32, 126). Not only do the young students of Ferrara bear a striking similarity to the audience at Paul’s, the imagined site they inhabit at term time is comprised of a ‘City and suburbs’ with ‘walls and liberties’ (15.242, 251), and where financial exchanges are transacted with pence, groats, shillings and royals (2.128, 4.24, 8.8). There are also satirical barbs aimed at the rash of new knights created by the new King James as he processed south towards London. Justice Falso humorously apologises for greeting a libidinous knight inaptly: ‘Gentleman? I cry ye mercy, sir! I call you gentleman still, I forget you’re but a knight’ (9.3-5). In a soliloquy satirically directed at members of the audience a Captain, pulling together theatregrams from the 1598-1603 meshwork, reflects upon the fortunate lifestyles of young men who have left the country to live in the city. Such a one is now transformed into a ‘perfumed gentleman’, spending his father’s money on ‘tobacco’ and ‘his pretty queasy harlot’ and dressed by his tailor: ‘Why this is stirring happiness indeed’ (2.59, 60-66). As an invitation to the pleasures of the city the Captain’s speech both satirises and arouses the young members of the audience, offering the promise of a city experience ‘bathed in sensuality’ (2.68). At Paul’s the next dramatic move, undertaken by Dekker, Webster and Middleton, was to recast the action from foreign proxy sites and into contemporary London itself, whilst retaining and refining the parodic and satiric features of the meshwork.

Westward Ho turns the promise of ‘sensuality’ into an immersion into the steamy carnality of 1604 post-plague London, including the sexual appetites of the play’s audience. The drama insists upon and celebrates its sparkling modernity; repossessing post-plague London and seizing the present, as Justiniano emphasises: ‘even now, now’ (2.1.182). The siege of Ostend, which ended on September 11, 1604, is referred to twice, once at the very beginning, confirming the play’s topicality (1.1.92; 4.2.186-87). The play’s opening sentence announces its contemporary setting, a place full of materials right at hand:

Stay Taylour, This is the House, pray thee looke the gowne be
not ruffled: as for the Jewels and Pretious Stones, I know

where to finde them ready presently (1.1.1-3)

The modern, new version of London is constructed and reinforced in two ways. Firstly, *Westward Ho* is an explicitly post-plague text. Monopoly explains to Clare why he has been 'kept from Towne a little' (since the summer): 'let mee not live if I did not heare the sicknes was in Towne very hot' (3.4.4-5). Luce observes that 'the pox', venereal disease, is 'as catching as the plagu, though not al so general' (4.1.85-86). Mabel Wafer's child at nurse is said to be 'wonderous sicke'; in a simulated panic she asks, 'What is it sicke of... a burning Feaver?' (3.3.36, 57-58). Her husband is dispatched to run to Bucklersbury and buy 'Draggon water, some Spermacaety and Treakle' (3.3.57). When Monopoly refuses to see or correspond with Clare, Birdlime presses him to 'send her a Box of Mithridatum and Dragon water, I meane some restorative words' (2.2.217-18).² The plague and its popular preventatives are disturbingly fresh in characters' minds, even amidst the new opportunities to move and mingle in the capital city of 1604. To emerge from a lockdown does not erase memories and fears.

Secondly, the city is being repopulated, with characters depicted as returning to the capital or visiting for the first time. Thus, for example, Mr Honeysuckle has just returned from business in France and inquires, 'Que nouvelles: what newes flutters abroad? Doe Jack-dawes dung the top of Paules Steeple still' (2.1.30-32). New characters in town include Monopoly, 'you know how welcome yare to the Citty' (2.2.218-19), his fellow gallants, and the 'Yorkshire gentlewoman' (2.2.239). Luce has just recently moved in with Birdlime: 'how doth your good worship like your lodging?' asks the latter (4.1.2). Mr Justiniano has settled in London from Italy; in his role as Mr Parenthesis the writing master he appears to other characters as a newcomer. There is a reference to another newcomer: the King. Monopoly could have his money

² Mithridatum was regularly prescribed as a curative in 1603-04 plague texts: 'As touching purgation, it ought to be administred in the beginning, but rather with gentle and pleasing medicines than violent, which doe weaken and force Nature, and with them we ought to mixe some powlder, as the powlder of the electuary *Theriacal of Guidon*, or the powlder of *Bole Armenus*, with luniper berries: or for the rich, with *Terra sigillata*, or treacle, or good mithridate', Lodge, H2r. In *The Wonderful Year* Dekker writes that 'every house lookte like S. Bartholmewes Hospitall, and every streete like Bucklersbury, for poore Mithridatum and Dragon-water' D2r.

from Tenterhook in 'new sovereigns': the coinage to hand is freshly minted, stamped with an image of James I (1.2.11). The sense that the capital has welcomed back a multitude of characters is emphasised through the proliferation of trades and occupations that are referred to: as the list below demonstrates, the capital is absolutely stuffed with work and business of all kinds. This is a thriving, bustling place where insiders are reclaiming the terrain.

The women, in particular, will assert their autonomy through wayfaring, recreating space through, in de Certeau's phrase, their 'ensemble of movements' (*Practice* 117).

In addition to its sense of reclaiming and reshaping a site of plenitude and activity, *Westward Ho* is also immersed in and reshaping the metatheatrical meshwork and its associated theatregrams discussed in Chapter Three. Importantly, as well as taking up and running with key features of the 1598-1603 meshwork, the play flaunts its originality. Birdlime emphasises this when she describes an attractive and sexually desirable young woman:

Work and trades

Appearing on stage or referred to the social roles, professions and trades include:
 lord, knight, courtier;
 bawd, prostitute;
 adventurer, captain, lieutenant;
 alderman, merchant;
 yeomen of the guard, justice of the peace,
 barrister, lawyer, attorney, Inns of Court
 scholars, Inn of Chancery man;
 sergeant, constable;
 physician, apothecary, nurse;
 writing master, student; goldsmith,
 cobbler, baker, butcher, poulter;
 vintner, brewer, innkeeper, ostler, barman,
 drawer, chambermaid;
 mercer, tailor, linen maker, sempster,
 feather maker, laundress, dyer;
 cosmetic seller, broom seller;
 scrivener, cashier; apprentice, servant,
 menials;
 bargeman, waterman; collier;
 pawnbroker;
 painter, poet;
 dairyman, thresher, thatcher, sowgelder

... shees like a play. If new very good company, very good
 company, but if stale, like old Jeronimo: goe by, go by.

(2.2.182-84)

Metatheatrical references to 'new very good company' include Tenterhook's urging the three supposedly cuckolded husbands to enact a well known recent role: 'let these husbands play mad *Hamlet*; and crie revenge' (5.4.49-50).

Chapter Three noted the metatheatrical mesh involving the different theatregrams drawn between, for example, Chapman's *All Fools* and *May Day*

and Dekker and Webster's drama.³ Allusions to more recent revivals include Birdlime's rendition of her physical weaknesses to the impatient Earl, recalling, as Cyrus Hoy notes (192), the Nurse's complaints in *Romeo and Juliet* (2.2.2-9). In the inn at Brentford there is a direct reference to *Midsummer's Night Dream*, when Whirlpool likens Monopoly's frustrating failure to grasp hold of Clare with the way Pyramus was kept from Thisbe by the wall (5.1.237-38). Monopoly immediately retorts by recalling *Troilus and Cressida*, circa 1602: if he cannot have his Thisbe there will certainly be no Pandarus to bring a Troilus to a Cressida this night (5.1.239-41). (A quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* was printed in 1599; the first quarto of the *Dream* followed in 1600: the references in *Westward Ho* might be threaded around very recent, post-plague, popular revivals at the Globe.) There is a reference to Dekker's own *Blurt, Master Constable*, also circa 1602, when Justiniano tells the citizens to 'lye close in straw, like the hoary Courtier' (4.2.211-12), repeating Lazarillo's stock phrase from *Blurt*: 'I am an old hoarie Courtier, and lye close, lye close' (2.2.170 and passim). There are further literary allusions and references to still-popular literature, including Marlowe's erotically charged verse, 'I warrant they walk upon Queen-hive (as Leander did for Hero)' (5.4.120-21), to *Orlando Furioso*, 'mad like Orlando for one woman' (2.1.162-63), and to Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* (4.2.86 and 154-58). These metatheatrical and literary allusions are contemporary, meshed into fashionable texts and new dramatic performances or wellknown revivals.

Westward Ho is, furthermore, closely tied into the mesh of theatregrams staged in London's theatres from 1598. One conspicuous example is the scene-stealing show by Luce in Act 4.1, the latest and most brilliant iteration of the line of Luces. The 'wryting Mekanically Pedant' (2.1.21 SD) is the latest in the string of disguised pedagogues. The playing with tobacco, another favourite contemporary theatregram, intensifies throughout the course of the play. In 1.2. Clare sends her servant off to Bucklersbury for two ounces of preserved melons, and 'looke there be no Tobacco taken in the shoppe when

³ As noted in Chapter Three, the dense cluster of allusions, borrowings and echoes between Chapman's two plays and *Westward Ho* suggest that *All Fools* and *May Day* were amongst the first plays revived at Blackfriars when playing recommenced in 1604. They would be fresh in the minds of many audience members at Paul's.

he weighs it' (42-43). When arrested by the watch, Monopoly is just about sober enough to extemporise upon *The Aeneid*, substituting tobacco for meat: 'Implentur veteris bacchi, pinguisque Tobacco' (3.2.25-26). The climax of the tobacco trope occurs at Brentford: Clare, recalling a long line of tobacco-hating women, exclaims against Monopoly's plan to 'take a pipe of Tobacco' (5.1.119). In an increasingly vociferous set of denunciations she concludes, 'pray spawle in another room: fie, fie, fie' (5.1.135-36). With the men away the wives devise and enact their celibate stratagem. Two other theatregrams from the meshwork will be parodied and reworked in *Eastward Ho*. Firstly, the tailor who accompanies Birdlime and who dresses Moll Justiniano will feature again in the 1605 play, as will Moll's costume. Moll finishes the play on stage in the expensive finery she has been given by the Earl: Gertrude will undress and change into almost exactly the same costume, with a couple of European substitutions (perhaps reflecting the costumes available at Blackfriars) in the second scene of *Eastward Ho* (see Chapter Five). Secondly, in a fabulous stroke, the same scene in *Eastward Ho* will enact an idea derived from a single one-liner in *Westward Ho* when Monopoly, in an amorous mood, addresses Clare: 'You are a Monky' (1.2.57). Cue the performing monkey on stage with Gertrude as she dresses up as a lady.

There is another form of metatheatrical work in operation, in which characters devise and enact scenes and performances (Dekker and Webster will reprise and exaggerate this on-stage reflexive configuration in *Northward Ho*). At the close of 1.1 Justiniano enumerates his plan to make other men cuckold by turning their wives to infidelity. He describes himself as a theatrical director, staging my 'comicall businesse'; he will direct 'Citty dames' in his production, for they are the 'most proper persons for a Comedy' (218-222). Ironically, however, by learning to write, the citizen wives additionally take on the power to direct proceedings according to their own script. Justiniano can entrap the Earl with his dramatic production in 4.2, but not the women at Brentford. It is no surprise that the three wives disrupt Justiniano's plot by devising and performing their own finale up-river. The women's ability to act and to direct men is well in evidence before then.

Mabel Wafer, as noted above, orders her husband to stay in London and to rush off to Bucklersbury for medicines. Moll ends the play in the rich costume provided for her by the Earl. Clare Tenterhook becomes adept at fabrications: she manoeuvres her husband to arrest Monopoly and she then manipulates Ambush to detain Monopoly whilst she determines his fate. At Brentford she feigns illness and thwarts the gallants' desires. In the final scene she lies unashamedly when denying her role with Ambush and the diamonds: 'Of me, you pewter-buttoned rascal' (5.4.207). In this instance she is saved from exposure by the arrival of Birdlime with the rings, thus heaping embarrassment on the three husbands who have 'committed fleshly treason' with Luce (5.4.226). *Westward Ho*, therefore, operates across three, related, metatheatrical formations. The first comprises the references and allusions to memorable performances on contemporary London stages of new productions and popular revivals. The second form comprises the ways Dekker and Webster take up and rework contemporary theatregrams. At the third level there are the instances where characters on stage concoct and strive to produce their own dramas: in an innovative and striking manner, it is the women in the play who are most adept, in this reclaimed London, at managing and directing actions and their outcomes.

The drama's antecedents are metatheatrical, from the meshwork, rather than from moral or civic tradition. The women's facility in directing the course of the drama, often at the expense of male characters' plans and wishes, is possible because, to use Robert Weimann's formulation, there is no controlling *locus*, the 'privileged site on which matter of "worthiness"... could be presented', in the play (*Author's Pen* 184). In this regard *Westward Ho* contrasts markedly with, for example, the regal power restored at the close of the history plays set in London (as discussed in Chapter Two), with the civic authority bestowed upon Simon Eyre in *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, and, looking ahead, with the control exercised from the goldsmith's shop and the Wood Street Counter invoked in 1605's *Eastward Ho*. Instead, *Westward Ho* operates on the site of the *platea*. According to Weimann, the *platea* functions at three levels or areas: firstly, it foregrounds bodily desires and decay. Secondly, by evoking the 'visceral world of ordinary living' it 'helped incorporate

what was a marginal region in contemporary London', a 'world identified with scandalous licentiousness'. Thirdly, it provides and provokes element of '(dis)continuity between playing and working', from role to actor (*Author's Pen* 195-96). *Westward Ho* enacts the 'visceral world of ordinary living', with added lashings of bodily desires. *Westward Ho's* version of London is, in Rhonda Sanford's term, 'open', offering to outsiders - and the audience at Paul's - the sensual pleasures known to the insiders, with no civic pressures or checks. In an unregulated version of London, where men neither exercise nor uphold traditional forms of paternalistic and civic authority, the women are given licence to devise their own narratives and trajectories.

In this contemporary, swirling version of London, with new inhabitants jostling alongside a new construction of women's agency, it is hardly surprising that some of the dramatic clichés that characterised pre-1604 city-based comedies have disappeared. One obvious absence is generational conflict and its resolution through a dictatorial or clunking morality. A second absence, occasioning the former, is any palpable or coercive sense of institutional power. There are no figures of civic authority: officialdom is represented by Sergeant Ambush, easily bribed by Clare Tenterhook. When Birdlime and the tailor discuss 'equality and coherence' (1.1.22) they are not contemplating regulated moral virtues, but examples of likely sexual partnerships. To underscore this version of London, it is a capital without an established history (just as the play has no source): anything from the past is recent, almost contemporary, including the plague and the jackdaws fouling the steeple at Paul's. The only historical tale is a story Justiniano tells of a rampant outbreak of syphilis in the time of Henry III (3.3.9-30). As Mr Honeysuckle observes, commenting on the decayed state of Charing Cross (and including a wry sideswipe at Scots new to London), it 'was olde, and olde thinges must shrinke aswell as new Northern cloth' (2.1.40-41). These emphases on the present, and the lack of tradition or history, foreground the opportunistic, appetitive swirl.⁴ At its crudest there is Monopoly's declaration, 'Come lets satisfy our appetite' (5.1.144), lusting after

⁴ The term 'appetitive' is employed by Rhodri Lewis in *Hamlet and the Vision of Darkness* to describe the 'nature of one's existence' (10). I use it to describe not an essentialist philosophical version of predation but a more genial urge to enjoy what *Westward Ho* calls a 'lusty dyet' (1.1.132-33).

tobacco, alcohol, food and sex. The Earl offers a loftier rhetorical paean to ‘the Magick of our appetite’ (4.2.29). The three wives have an appetite for what is novel, including new learning, intrigues and fresh experiences. Clare in particular reveals a superb alacrity for rapid learning: by the evening of the first of the play’s fictional three days she has learnt to write and has penned Monopoly a letter (1.2 and 2.2). Again, the wives’ movements and appetites in this new version of London are, in de Certeau’s term, ‘tactical’ and unregulated (cf. *Practice* 29-42).

The historical landscape of the city has been recovered as spaces characterised by movement, not by past regulations and the apparatuses of the state. Hence the drama’s carefree amorality, its enthusiasm for opportunity over upright principles. This is encapsulated in a sparkling pronouncement by Birdlime when her maid appears: ‘Her name is Christian, but mistress Luce cannot abide that name, and so she calls her Opportunity’ (4.1.28-29). As Birdlime remarks, ‘Many are honest, either because they have not wit, or because they have not opportunity to be dishonest’ (1.1.85-86). Later in the opening act Justiniano berates Birdlime: ‘opportunity, that which most of you long for... opportunity!’ (1.1.122-21). With its emphasis on ‘opportunity’ the post-plague London of the play is characterised by material, sexual and topographical excess: as Justiniano counsels Clare Tenterhook, ‘Why, even now must you and I hatch an egg of iniquity’ (2.1.189-90). The London of the play is pulsing with libidinous possibilities:

every lip has his Lettice to himselfe: the Lob has his Lasse, the Collier his Dowdy, the Westerne-man his Pug, the Serving-man his Punke, the student his Nun in white Fryers, the Puritan his Sister, and the Lord his Lady (2.2.190-93).

This version of London is, in Giuliana Bruno’s words, an ‘erotic terrain’ (96); a city ‘thick’, in Julie Sanders’s term, with a celebration of phenomenological plenitude and amorous possibilities.

Excesses, Phenomenological and Libidinous

One example of phenomenological plenitude is evident in the drama's manifest topographical excess. *Westward Ho* cites over forty London parishes, places, streets and buildings, building up a kaleidoscopic sense of an insiders' London. One specific place is invoked on stage, the Rhenish wine house in the Steelyard on the north bank of the Thames. Other locations are cited, with a

London Gazetteer
Citations or topical references:
Gunpowder Alley, Long Lane and Wood Street; Paul's Cathedral, Charing Cross, Crouched Friars House, St Martin's; Bedlam; the Counter in Wood Street; Banqueting House; the Exchange, the Custom House; the Bear Garden, the Pawne at Gresham's Burse; the Inns of Court including Grays Inn, Temple Bar; the Shambles; a Glasshouse; Bridewell Dock, Cuckold's Haven, Queenhythe, Cole Harbour.
Areas of London: Billingsgate, Blackfriars, Bucklersbury, Cheapside, Limehouse, Ludgate, Newgate, Tyburn, Whitefriars.
Inns: the Lion at Shoreditch, the Greyhound at Blackfriars, the Mitre in Chancery Lane, a wine house in the Steelyard.

definite sense of their main normative features: the middle aisle at Paul's as a rendezvous for sexual affairs (2.1.216, 2.2.44), 'to the pawne to buy Lawne: to Saint Martins for Lace' (2.1.210-11), the revels at the Inns of Court (5.4.53-76), for example. There is also a clear sense of where many of the characters live in London. The play begins with a burst of accurate site-setting. The Justinianos live in Aldgate; Birdlime's cover story in the opening scene is that she is delivering linen from a laundry nearby 'in Gunpowder Ally, (neere crouched Fryers)' (1.1.8-9). Birdlime's parenthetical rider is significant; she means the Gunpowder Alley in the east of the city, not the one off Fleet Street: this is an exact topography. The three merchants will have homes and premises further north and west, in Cheapside. They are accustomed to moving around the city: Honeysuckle's daily regime takes him 'To the Customs-House: to the Change, to my Ware-house, to divers places' (2.1.122-23); the diversions include trips to Birdlime's brothel. Luce used to travel to Lambeth Marsh to ply her trade (4.1.239-40); she is now working from Birdlime's,

most probably in the liberty of Whitefriars, near the Inns of Court. The debauched Earl is associated with a riverside residence: he promised Moll he

'would build me a lodging by the Thames side with a watergate to it: or els take mee a lodging in Cole- harbor' (4.2.78-80) and Justiniano and the three citizens appear to be close to the river when they leave the Earl at the end of 4.2. The audience of insiders (who have also, like some of the characters, returned to the city) will identify these locations and note their geography and relative significance.

The sense of a London bursting with opportunity and excess is performed on stage through the unprecedented number and scale of personal and social properties, the stage props. The figures that follow are based on Frances Teague's six categories of props, namely: lights; weapons; documents; riches/gifts; tokens of character (gloves, rings, diamonds); 'other'.⁵ According to Bruster's calculations, based on the above criteria, a sample of contemporary comedic dramas have the following incidence of material props: *All Fools* has 8.07 props per 1000 lines, *A Trick to Catch the Old One* has 7.94; *Eastward Ho* has 7.83.⁶ In *Westward Ho* there are 55 props in a play of 2458 written lines (*Works* 4:164). Using Bruster's formula we see that *Westward Ho* has an unparalleled 22.38 props per 1000 lines. The London of *Westward Ho* is a site of remarkable material excess, teeming with things. And, in conjunction with the play's absent figures of authority and jurisdiction, these material objects are either personal, domestic or work-related: there are no symbols or marks of establishment power. In *Westward Ho* characters freewheel through a London packed with possessions and possibilities, an open version of the capital thick with personal effects and desires.

The primary method Dekker and Webster use to fill the stage with artefacts is to have them brought on by junior members of the cast. For example: in 1.1 the tailor brings on the velvet gown; in 2.1 Boniface hands Honeysuckle his cloak and hat in exchange for his master's nightcap; in 2.3

⁵ The following criteria also apply: the props must appear on stage, including items of costume when specifically mentioned (as per Teague's 'tokens of character'); plurals are counted only when significant (the single example being Tenterhook's two diamond rings); cups of wine, masks, etc. are counted respectively as one item; items are only counted once regardless of how often they appear. The one exception is a sword that appears three times, but in the hands of different characters (Ambush, Monopoly, Gosling); tables and chairs are not counted (cf. Teague 157).

⁶ Bruster's formula is X props divided by number of written lines x 100 = number of props per 1000 lines (*Shakespeare* 113).

Staged Properties

- 1.1 velvet gown, book, bag, types of complexion, purse (cf. 2.2.15), Birdlime's sugar-loaf hat (cf.5.3.38)
- 1.2 sealed bonds, cloak, bag of money
- 2.1 brush, cloak, cap, nightcap, pen, paper ruler, inkhorn
- 2.2 aqua vitae, french gown, scotch fals, Italian head tire, jewels, cork shoes, floor rushes, letter
- 2.3 masks, cloth, two pots of wine, glasses, buns
- 3.1 book of bonds
- 3.2 torch, sword
- 3.3 coal sack, riding hat, kirtle
- 3.4 two diamonds
ell of cambric
- 4.1 shilling, pack of cards, glass of sack, muffler, candle
- 4.2 banquet, jewel, letter
- 5.1 possets of sack, pipe, tobacco, sword
- 5.2 fiddles
- 5.3 sword
- 5.4 velvet cap, beaver cap

Hans enters with a cloth and some buns, some glasses and two pots of wine; in 4.1. Christian brings in a bottle of water (and, probably, a drink of sack and a pack of cards); in 5.1. the Chamberlain enters with possets of sack. This carrying on of props is an instance of what Evelyn Tribble describes as 'cognitive thrift', minimising the 'cognitive burdens' taken up by the actors playing major parts (*Cognition* 32). Every character, no matter how small their role, contributes to crowding the stage with objects: and there are, of course, many more than 55 individual props brought on stage. The effect is to emphasise the sense of London being repopulated, as discussed above, filling up with characters returning or discovering a site thick with material stuff.

The staged properties also contribute to the play's representation of unstable and unexpected gender roles. With regard to props, women are associated with clothes,

baskets, masks, a domestic candle, and a copy of Castillogne's *The Book of the Courtier* (Birdlime uses *The Courtier* as a handbook on infidelity and female beautification). The men pick up financial paperwork, a purse, a bag of money, as well as using outdoor clothes, weapons and smoking paraphernalia. There are also props which are shared: at one level this includes, as expected, drink, food and packs of cards. More significantly, there are props which are intended to belong to men, but which the women appropriate. The wives who are learning to write, using the pens, ink and paper associated with men, is one example. A second instance is the way Clare Tenterhook's diamond rings pass between characters, as also noted by Simon Morgan-Russell (72): Clare to Ambush to Tenterhook to Luce to Birdlime and, as implied by Birdlime's

dismissive last words (in response to her own dismissal) and her taking up of two oars, back to Clare (5.4.276-77). More pertinent is Clare's foray into the masculine sphere of labour, delving into her husband's 'booke of bonds' (3.1.2) in order to find he has lied about Monopoly discharging his debt: she achieves her aim and has the courtier arrested for her own ends. Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths' research in *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household* into the accounting procedures adopted by the aristocrat Alice Le Strange in Hunstanton, Norfolk, at the start of the century highlights the strategic role women could take in relation to domestic and financial economies. Clare Tenterhook's intervention in her husband's business affairs is of a more spontaneous, tactical kind.

If the stage is thick with props, so is the London behind the scenes. The opening scene makes explicit the play's emphasis on, in Natasha Korda's

Off Stage Properties in 1.1

jewels and precious stones, linen, fowl to eat, Scotch farthingale, forepart, German clock mechanical engine, threescore smocks, complexions' ingredients, coach, oysters, cuckold's cloak, plate, women's waistcoat

phrase, 'superfluous expenditure' (64). Moll Justiniano berates her husband for his 'prodigality': 'your dicing, your riding abroad, your consorting your selfe with Noble men, your building a summer house hath undone us, hath undone us' (1.1.181-83). The first scene also establishes a sense of excess and repletion, with references to off stage

realisable props once every 16.34 lines. This thickness is made denser by the many pluralities. In the first scene, again, Birdlime has three or four complexions to sell, Moll has sixty smocks (!), each worth three pounds, there is an assortment of wild fowl to be eaten. These other objects referred to add to the thick materiality of the drama: Birdlime's improvisation on the beautifying properties of her lotions and potions (1.1.111-17) is one example. Her list is a parody of contemporary pamphlets with recommendations for warding off the plague,⁷ and is also the first of a series of lists that emphasise the repletion of material and sexual life in modern London. Other lists include, for example,

⁷ For example: 'It shall not be amisse likewise to carrie an *Angelica* roote in your mouth, or a *Gentian* or *Zedoary* roote, or else the rine of an *Orange*, *Lemon*, or *Pomecitron*'; 'it will be good to give him a clister of the decoction of mallowes, béetes, borage, mellon séedes, and a little annice séede, and branne, and dissolve therein an ounce of *Catholicon*, or *Cassia*, oyle of violettes, and grosse sugar' (Lodge, R3r).

Justiniano's report on Judith Honeysuckle's writing skills (2.1.88-103), his enumeration of the villainies brewing 'even now' (2.1.182-88), and Birdlime's list of all the sexual liaisons currently afoot (2.2.188-193). Luce's register of clients (4.1.61-68) will be soon echoed by John Marston in *The Dutch Courtesan* when Mary Faugh reels off a roll-call of customers she has acquired for Franceschina (2.2.13-18). The impression created by the lists in *Westward Ho* is that at any moment or opportunity a discursive flow can burst forth, thick with examples of current material and sexual practices.⁸

The most notable form of excess in the capital of the play is sexual: the drama throbs with desire and 'squirrility': as Sasha Garwood writes in her review of a 2008 production, the plot is 'comprehensively driven by sex and sexuality' (334). Even now, London is a site of vigorous unregulated sexual activity, with every type of occupation and social position enjoying libidinous companionship; there is 'flesh' in 'every Shambles' (2.1.164-65) with more sex available at the Inns of Court revels, for example. On stage, the central characters' relationships and advances are almost solely sexual in nature. Both plot lines kick off with sexual intrigue: Birdlime is tasked with bringing Moll to the Earl; Justiniano is convinced he has been cuckolded and sets about turning other men into cuckolds too. Mr Honeysuckle is also convinced he is a cuckold, but assumes that is just the way of the world (2.1.11-19). Monopoly and his gallant friends are on the prowl for sex, with Birdlime the provider of a 'diligate face' for his evening's entertainment (2.2.233). The citizens all frequent the same brothel, just three of Luce's long list of clients. The three wives travel west, ostensibly for sex. Clare declares her passion for Monopoly to her two friends in sexually explicit terms and action - 'love shoots heare' (1.2.84): in her review Sasha Garwood's comments on how Clare's line was delivered 'rapturously', supplemented by 'her companions' eager squealing' (332). At Brentford, Clare drives Monopoly to erotic distraction by calling out how she is being undressed, just out of his reach: 'Pray let my cloathes be utterly undone, and then lay mee in my bed' (5.1.224-25). For Monopoly she is tantalisingly disrobed yet unattainable:

⁸ This is also paralleled by the high incidence of music and singing: as Ross W, Duffin writes in *Some Other Note*, '*Westward Ho* is unusual in having so many references to instrumentalists on stage' 326.

he responds by whipping out his sword and commanding his colleagues to leave the other women alone. The men have sexual fantasies that fail to come to fruition: the Earl does not attain Moll's sexual favours; Monopoly does not lay waste to a brothel and fifteen prostitutes (cf. 3.2.14-18); the citizens do not discover their wives in flagrante at Brentford. Nor, despite Justiniano's own sexual fantasy, will the three husbands enjoy the dominating pleasure when

your wives you shall see kneeling at your feet, and weeping, and wringing, and blushing, and cursing *Brainford* and crying *pardona moy, pardona moy, pardona moy*, whilst you have the choise to stand either as Judges to condemne 'hem, beadles to torment 'hem, or confessors to absolve 'hem (5.4.87-91).

Instead, it is the three men who are humiliated when Birdlime appears with evidence of their time spent at her house of pleasure.

In this version of the modern London of 1604, courting with sexual desire and illicit liaisons, the language is, predictably, seeped in sexual double entendres and puns. Birdlime and the tailor start the ball rolling with their play on 'Country Wenches' in the first scene (19-21), echoing Hamlet's jest before 'The Mousetrap'. The joke is replayed towards the close of the drama when Clare celebrates her plan to deny the gallants their pleasure: 'tho we lye all night out of the Citty, they shall not find country wenches of us' (5.1.170-71). Birdlime's joke about Moll's forepart 'of a haire colour' (1.1.68) was noted in Chapter Three; a similarly predictable joke is Boniface's, 'If she bee a right Cittizens wife, now her Husband has given her an inch, sheele take an ell, or a yard at least' (2.1.20-21). Justiniano has a particularly ribald exchange in 2.1 with the dimwitted Mr Honeysuckle about Judith Honeysuckle: 'Shee was talking of you this morning, and commending you in her bed', the latter asserts (80-82). Justiniano will 'ply her', 'So far as my poore tallent can stretch' (72, 74); although 'She leanes somewhat too hard uppon her pen', practice will cure her, and, as Justiniano says, 'Its but my paines to mend the neb agen' (76-79). A consideration of Judith's writing skills occasions a stream of bawdiness (with yet another play on country women):

Just. 'her O. of a reasonable Size: at her p. and q. neither
Marchantes Daughter, Aldermans Wife, young countrey

Gentlewoman, not Courtiers Mistris, can match her.

Honey. And how her v.

Just. You sir, She fetches up you best of al: her single you she can fashion two or three waies: but her double you, is as I would wish it.

Honey. And faith who takes it faster; my wife, or mistris Tenterhook?

Just. Oh! Your wife by ods: sheele take more in one hower, then I can fasten either upon mistris Tenterhooke, or mistris Wafer, or Mistris Flapdragon (the Brewers wife) in three (2.1.94-103).

Judith too contributes to the sexual innuendos, as also noted by Michelle Dowd (230): 'have you a new pen for mee Maister, for by my truly, my old one is stark naught, and wil cast no inck' (119-120). Justiniano recommends the wives should not 'daunce after one mans pipe', 'what need one woman doate upon one Man' (2.1.154, 161-62). Mabel Wafer jokes at how 'most of your Cittizens wives love jolting' (2.3.70) and the play finishes with an aural celebration, as Jean Howard notes ("Women" 163) of prostitution and whores:

Oares, Oares, Oares, Oares:

To London hay, to London hay (5.4.311-12).

As the above examples illustrate, the audience would be alert to this linguistic playfulness, attuned to a version of London where everyday life - even now - is pulsing with the possibilities of erotic exchanges and intrigue, with a sexually charged discourse that is grasped by insiders.

A more fruitful critical approach than one which finds a troubling amoral hole at the heart of the play, or one which casts around trying to locate a wellspring of victorious virtue, is that taken by Michelle Dowd in her 2002 article "Leaning Too Hard Upon the Pen", where she examines the parts played by the citizen wives in the playwrights' version of contemporary London in the context

of the expected 'proper spending habits' of urban wives (224).⁹ As she argues, the play presents 'the illicit pleasure associated with female mobility and buying power' (228), in a version of London where 'women are literally able to buy their way out of patriarchal control'; in which the three wives take their 'consumer savvy too far and use it to purchase the wrong goods' (238). Their 'containment' in the last act is 'superficial and temporary at best' (238): as Dowd concludes, 'maybe tomorrow they will go ahead and add sex to their shopping lists' (239). The strength of this analysis is its concentration, not on morality and the identification of virtue, but on the sheer materiality of the drama on stage. By affirming the sense of the possible, this critical approach correlates precisely with the plays' insistence on the present and with what could happen - 'even now, now' - just outside the doors of the auditorium. It also correlates, and particularly with regard to the women's movements around and out of the city, with de Certeau's description of how walking creates new spaces and situations, producing 'something surprising, transverse or attractive compared with the usual choices' (*Practice* 101). Even now, right next door in the middle aisle of Paul's, 'where domestics touted for hire, commercial introductions were made, harlots cruised for trade, and runners picked at the sleeves of potential punters they hoped to lead to a nest of pornographic bookshops' (Sinclair 125), all kinds of choices might be available, and new illicit and subversive assignments might be under way.

Women's Voices, Women's Wayfaring

It is notable that in this version of the capital women's voices are heard frequently and prominently: 39.35% of the lines are shared between the seven

⁹ The following exemplify the two prevailing approaches. Cyrus Hoy laments the drama's 'moral inconsequence' (2.162) and Larry S. Champion complains the tone of the play 'is frankly prurient', with an 'amoral attitude' (253). The second approach includes Mardock's identification of 'a bias toward citizens threatened by lascivious gentlemen' (61); the editors of *Eastward Ho* in Jonson's *Works* claim 'the bourgeois virtues of marital fidelity, financial probity, and class solidarity are victorious' (2.540). Other commentators have also identified various (and contradictory) ethical or communal principles in operation: Leggatt pronounces the drama is about 'class warfare' (8); along the same lines, Leinwand presents the gallant Monopoly as receiving his 'final comeuppance' at the hands of the three citizen wives' 'down-to-earth propriety' (96). Henry Turner comments that the play's 'primary ideological preoccupation' is about 'domesticating' women (207).

female characters, with Birdlime and Clare to the fore. In comparison, *As You Like It* has nearly 40% of lines spoken by female characters (the majority of them by Rosalind whilst disguised as a man); *Romeo and Juliet* has 31% (OUPblog). By my calculations *Every Man Out* has 6% of lines spoken by female characters; *Eastward Ho* has 19%; *Michaelmas Term* has 13.2%. Of course, these figures do not indicate the significance, quality or consequence of the women's utterances, but they do indicate that women's voices in *Westward Ho*, in role as women, are heard for an unusual length of time. In her chapter "City Talk", on Jonson's *Epicene* (first performed at Whitefriars in 1609), Carol Newman observes how the play is 'peopled with talkative women' whom Jonson portrays as 'monstrous precisely because they gallivant about the city streets spending breath as well as money' (134-35). In Dekker and Webster's earlier play, by contrast, women's talk amongst themselves is naturalised as a genial constituent of city life, indoors and outdoors. Groups of women variously plot, joke, reflect and tell stories together, with no male characters on stage: extended examples include Birdlime and Moll Justiniano planning the latter's infidelity, Clare and her friends discussing sexual dalliances and learning to write, and Birdlime and Luce discussing customers at the brothel. This city talk is subversive in that it is usually witty at the expense of males; but, whilst female talk in *Epicene* might, as Newman writes, 'threaten masculine authority' (135), in *Westward Ho* it is the vacuum caused by the lack of competent or credible masculine authority that is cheerfully filled by the more dominant discourse of the women.

The three characters who manoeuvre others speak nearly half the lines in the play. Justiniano speaks 23.1% (569 of 2458 lines); Clare and Birdlime between them speak 25.1% of the play's lines (10.4% with 255 lines and 14.7% with 362 lines respectively - Birdlime also sings a song in 5.3). Their time actually spent on stage is obviously higher than the percentage of lines they speak. Birdlime is visible for 29% of the play's dialogue: her presence for these 712 lines is almost exactly twice the number of lines she speaks, reflecting her improvisational acumen in the toing and froing of the conversations she both engenders and responds to. Clare is on stage for 34% of the dialogue, for 833 lines (these include 75 lines in 5.4 when she and the other two wives are off-

stage but in dialogue with the merchants and Justiniano). Clare leads conversations and instigates actions, but is also happy to listen in to her two friends' exchanges and banter. The two women are thus, between them, on stage for 63% of the play's dialogue, emphasising their leading roles as stage managers and schemers. This sense of the two women's controlling presence is emphasised by their only being on stage together twice, in conversation at the close of 2.3 and in the last scene's denouement: one or the other is always about to take charge.

The sense of the two women as controlling agents is emphasised in the context of Scott McMillin's analysis in "The Sharer and His Boy" of the cues offered by an experienced male actor to a boy player, which he identifies as typical of rehearsals and performances at the Globe, devised to support a young actor playing a major female role. The emphasis in relation to *Westward Ho* is that nothing of the sort appears to have occurred. Clare and Birdlime both, as the charts in Appendix 2 indicates, receive and give cues from a wide range of characters on an almost random, freewheeling basis.¹⁰ Clare and Birdlime are taking control; between them they are conducting an ensemble of voices and, as argued below, of movement. The wide range of interchanges on stage also emphasises, as discussed in Chapter One, the proficiency of the company of actors and the confidence the two dramatists had in the cast's collective abilities.

As well as having the dramatic licence to speak and manoeuvre others, the roles of the women in the play are typified by their ability and willingness to move around the reclaimed capital. The movements or tours of Clare, Judith, Mabel, Moll and Birdlime across and even beyond the city are, in Tim Ingold's terms, 'lateral', whereby the women are integrated in London spaces as part of a 'network of coming and going' (*Perception* 227). To refer back to Tim Ingold's work on maps, the movements undertaken in *Westward Ho* produce a form of wayfaring, where the lateral tours, informed by the London characters and the

¹⁰ McMillin also argues that a form of 1:1 training took place in rehearsals at the Globe, with the older player leading the boy through their scenes together. For *Westward Ho* at Paul's a 1:1 model in rehearsals for scenes involving Clare or Birdlime would not be possible, with the exceptions of Clare and her husband in 3.1. and Birdlime and Gosling in 5.3.

audience's 'knowledge of the order of places' (de Certeau, *Practice* 119) create a space derived from the 'network of coming and going' (*Perception* 227). The absence of any controlling civic or moral authority parallels the absence of a vertical, abstract perspective. Similarly, the women undertake tactical movements, rather than undertaking strategic or officially sanctioned operations: it is as if the marginal, figurative presences on the old map take centre stage.

There are two sets of imagined movements in the play. The first is centripetal, as characters repopulate the streets of post-plague London. The second, the sets of journeys and excursions discussed below, produces an effect of movement that is, as Jean Howard describes it, 'centrifugal' ("Women" 16): there is no *locus* holding or drawing characters into a regulated and established civic sphere. Thus, associated with the plethora of places and residences is a dense series of closely plotted lateral movements in the play, as characters journey to and fro across and beyond London. Together these constitute, in Doreen Massey's words, 'a field of multiple actors, trajectories, stories with their own energies' (*World City* 22). Moll Justiniano, a cockney (2.2.199), makes the play's first imagined journey westward when she leaves her home at midnight and travels by carriage the mile-long route from the east to Birdlime's residence in the west of the city (1.1.128-31). Her journey west across the city emphasises the distance she is putting between herself and her obsessional husband. From Birdlime's she travels by coach to Paul's, where she is met by three men hired by Birdlime at Long Lane, who escort her to the Earl's (cf. 2.2.42-46). For the group of three wives to fulfil their first assignation they are imagined to walk behind the scenes from Cheapside to Paul's, where they meet the three gallants; from thence they are escorted the half mile walk to the Rhenish Winehouse in the Steelyard by the waterfront (2.1.205, 226-29). They walk, in an imagined real time, just like Haughton's characters in *Englishmen*, behind the scenes from 2.1 to 2.3, whilst the long second scene in Act 2 is played out between Birdlime, the Earl, Moll and Monopoly. Here we also get a sense of the excess and doubling in the play when the three wives repeat a version of Moll's walk, being escorted from Paul's to a liaison. The time passing on stage as the wives walk behind the scenes approximates to

the time it takes to actually undertake the route: the audience would experience this not in terms of specific minutes, but as a psychogeographical awareness of the fit between the spatial and temporal distances. For the audience in the playhouse, the temporal passage approximates to their spatial experience and knowledge. In addition, and building on Briony Frost's research on sounds in the playhouses, this might have been further underscored and measured by the noise of the bells ringing at St Mary-le-Bow Church along the road ("O'erwhelmed by Noise" 554).

At the same time, the sense of excess with regard to the field of actions and related trajectories is thickened through all the doublings of movements and narrative lines, some noted above. Other doublings include women (Moll and then the three wives) travelling westwards for (unconsummated) sexual liaisons, a journey which Birdlime also undertakes; the three wives embarking on two assignations (Steelyard and Brentford); and the two errands to Bucklersbury, for melons and then for medicinal compounds. For the audience, the version of London on stage (and behind the scenes) is teeming with movement and journeys, all of which can be replicated on the streets of the capital. This unregulated, free-flowing version of the city can be realised, literally and figuratively. As Jean Howard notes, some members of the audience will have a 'shared literacy' regarding a familiarity with the staged site of actions: if, additionally, they have a knowledge of the realisable movements within and between spaces, then this 'identify formation', in Howard's phrase, constitutes a psychogeographical experience and understanding (*Theater* 39-40).

The audience's knowledge of what Sanders calls the 'offstage geography' ("In The Friars" 27) thus informs their apprehension of the many movements accomplished by characters behind the scenes. In 2.3 the fun-loving wives plan their next reconnoitre: from home they will walk the two minutes to the Greyhound at the east end of Fleet Street in Blackfriars and then head south for a five-minute stroll to Bridewell Dock, where they will travel by water west to Brentford. In 3.1 Mr Tenterhook plans his pursuit of Monopoly, following his wife's orders. From his home he calls in at the Counter nearby in Wood Street and then has a walk of over a mile, heading north east and

beyond the city walls to the Lion in Shoreditch, accompanied by Ambush and Clutch. There they encounter the sozzled gallants, some who have been drinking since they met the wives in the Steelyard that afternoon. In Act 4 the wayfaring intensifies. Justiniano calls in to Birdlime's to alert the three citizens about their wives' trip to Brentford. He will next pick up his wife, with whom he is reunited, visit the Earl and meet the three citizens at Putney. The three husbands plan to go from Birdlime's brothel to the river from where they will go by boat to Putney before heading off to Brentford. In a twist to the plot, and as an added move, they too they turn up at the Earl's, pretending to be accomplices in the latter's murder (4.2.127). Meantime Birdlime is also on the move, heading a short way east to Queenhythe dock to catch a boat to Brentford, where she can save the wives' credit. The audience, whether following characters' movements in a fictional real time behind the scenes, or charting characters' intended and actual movements, is aware that all these journeys are entirely credible: these are journeys that can be replicated exactly, even now, by anyone in the playhouse. In de Certeau's formulation, the audience has a psychogeographical understanding of the characters as undertaking 'tours'. The dramatists organise the characters' movements as a series of 'goings' (*Practice* 119): a spatialising of actions.

Another technique that Dekker and Webster employ is the use of long scenes or speeches to simulate time passing as characters off-stage journey behind the scenes. For example, whilst the three wives head west by boat, the Justinianos perform their playlet for the Earl, a scene that feels further elongated with the unexpected appearance of the three husbands and a rerun (another doubling) of the affront and humiliation they feel because of their wives' elopement. When we next see the wives, they are at Brentford. Similarly, but with the roles reversed, Clare, in the next scene (5.1), tells the tale of Sir Fabian; this is followed by the stage business with tobacco and Clare's simulated illness. This is followed in turn by Gosling's attack on Birdlime and then her song. Meanwhile the pack of pursuing husbands is heading west by water, and by 5.4 they have arrived. Of course, both journeys to Brentford would take far more time than the actual time that passes in the playhouse whilst the respective scenes are enacted, but the effect is to create a

fictional off-stage temporal dimension through which characters pass behind the scenes. A non-travelling variant of the same technique is used in 3.2, at the start of the play's second day, when Justiniano's lengthy discourse to the Wafer's serving boy on prostitution and venereal disease gives Monopoly time to sober up and manage his next meeting with Clare in 3.4.

The dramatists are, therefore, employing two techniques to spatialise offstage actions. The first projects an implicit synchronicity between the temporal and the spatial, as when the wives undertake their tour to the Steelyard. The second technique recognises an empirical mismatch between the passage of time on stage and the actual time it takes to undertake the journey or tour, and both acknowledges and conceals this slippage in fictional time by introducing extended speeches or stage business (Clare's disquisition on Sir Fabian, Birdlime's song).

The 1604 modern London of *Westward Ho* is the site of the haptic, where unregulated sensory experience is primal: in Giuliana Bruno's formulation, it is a 'terrain of affect' (227). The spatialising of actions, and the understanding of their significance, forms in the mind of audience members: for insiders there is a psychogeographical grasp that the characters' movements are as realistic as the thick materiality in which the play is soaked. At the same time, as discussed in Chapter One, specific places become, in de Certeau's phrase cited by Jean Howard, 'significant social spaces, that is, into environments marked by the actions, movements, and daily practices of inhabitants' (*Theater* 3). As noted earlier with reference to normative features, examples from the tours include the middle aisle of Paul's, the Steelyard, and the inn at Brentford; citations include Crouched Friars for 'hot houses' (1.1.8-9), the Exchange and St Martin's for ladies' upmarket shopping trips (2.1.210-11) the Counter on Wood Street (3.1.30), and Bucklersbury for exotic preserves and apothecaries (1.2.41-42, 3.3.56). As John Stow writes of Bucklersbury, 'on both the sides throughout is possessed of grocers and apothecaries' (1.260). Insiders can navigate the drama played out across the city and its spaces with the same confidence as the experienced Londoner characters on stage. For example, the version of the Steelyard invoked on stage in 2.3 is typically contemporary. A centre for Hanseatic traders since medieval times, in 1598 it

was taken into 'the hands of the Crown' (Lloyd 345). This explains why the Rhenish wine bar is run by a Dutchman, serving Dutch buns with the wine, but is open to non-commercial locals. This form of detailed up to date business and topographical cognition is, as its psychogeographical feature suggests, a construct of a proto-situationist aesthetic. To apply the words of Guy Debord, the play displays a 'materialist perspective', the women's movements and actions produce a 'disorientation of customary routines' and, further, constitute 'a sum of possibilities' ("Introduction" 59, 62). Most significantly, the play generates in the minds of its audience, through its psychogeographical methods, an effect 'on the affective comportment of individuals' (59).

Credit and Audiences: Inns of Court Students, Courtiers

Whilst sensory experience might be unregulated and forces of officialdom effectively absent, there are still two controlling forces in operation: the first is understood and valued by specific characters; the second is a product of the authors' satirical approach to new aspects of 1604 London.

The important self-administered check that provokes and tempers characters' actions is a potential loss of credit in the eyes of others. This credit can be financial or, as in the majority of instances in the play, sexual. Justiniano tells his wife, with bitter irony, that she will be regarded as a prostitute if she leaves him: 'your credit would goe farre with Gentlemen for taking up of Linnen' (1.1.173-74) and Clare declares that Moll is a 'wicked creature' for leaving her husband and going to the Earl's (1.2.35). Birdlime assumes Honeysuckle must be 'some man of credit' because he turns up at her brothel with his face muffled (4.1.20). When the three citizens hear of their wives' trip to Brentford they are eager to catch them and prevent themselves being cuckolded: 'As you respect your credit lets go' (4.1.22-23). Tenterhook is equally anxious that Luce should hand back the diamond rings; 'it stands upon my Credit' he exclaims, foreseeing marital complications should Clare discover the diamonds are now with a prostitute (4.1.224-25). Birdlime, meanwhile, takes the two diamonds to Brentford in an act of feminine solidarity: 'the getting of these two Diamonds may chance to save the Gentlewomens credit'

(4.1.231-32).¹¹ On the financial front the chief creditor is, apparently, Justiniano, but this was just part of his obsessive ruse: 'the world is much deceived in me' (cf. 3.3.99-102). The real creditors, having borrowed money from the merchants to buy their knighthoods, are Monopoly and his gang of courtly gallants. Monopoly's concern that his landlord should not realise he has some ready cash in hand emphasises the precarious nature of the courtiers' financial credit (1.2.49-54). In the drama's version of London, in the absence of any moral or civic discipline, the characters regulate their various forms of transaction on an individual basis, either possessing, or pretending to possess, financial or sexual credit. In this vein, Clare looks forward to regaling her 'pewfellowes' with the tale of how the three wives tricked the gallants 'at christnings, cryings out, and upsettings this 12. month' (5.1.173-74): women's social gatherings are an opportunity for female laughter at the expense of male credit.

Dekker and Webster's satire can be identified most clearly by examining their contrasting treatment of the majority of their audience - the Inns of Court students - and of the courtiers new to the capital. In Chapter One we saw how the first half of the play establishes a bantering relationship with large sections of its audience, with the jokes about lawyers and their distinctive ridiculous and amusing traits. The second half of the play includes two scenes which encapsulate and emphasise the authors' jocular and indulgent version of their audience, London's young legal students. At the start of Act 4 young Luce, after her critique of the knight, turns to another of the previous night's inconveniences:

Luce ... what a filthy knocking was at doore last night; some puny Inn-a-court-men, Ile hold my contribution.

Bird. Yes in troth were they, civill gentlemen without beards, but to say the truth, I did take exceptions at their knocking: took them a side and said to them: Gentlemen this is not well, that you should come in this habit, Cloakes and

¹¹ For other contemporary examples of the sex/credit nexus cf. William Shakespeare *The Tragical History of Hamlet Prince of Denmark*, Q1, 1603: Corambis to Ofelia, 'you do not understand yourself / So well befits my honour and your credit' 3.54-55; John Day's *Law Tricks*, c.1604: 'What talks of credit? art not knowne a strumpet?' (741).

Rapiers, Boots and Spurs; I protest to you, those
that be your Ancientes in the house would have come to
my house in their Caps and Gownes, civilly, and modestly.
I promise you they might have bin taken for Cittizens, but
that they talke more liker fooles (4.1.9-18).

The jokes in the passage cut across every which way. The Inns of Court ban on beards had 'lapsed' over the course of Elizabeth's reign (Prest 93): the beardless young lawyers entering Birdlime's brothel are thus young and inexperienced, as attested by their over-eager knockings and foolish chatter. As Victoria Sparey argues, 'awaited beards' can be 'framed as promising vitality' (448): the young law students at Birdlime's have spent the evening honing their masculine generative prowess. Birdlime gives them a dressing-down, contrasting their impatient clamour with the modest, civil entries made by the previous generation of students. These previous visitors are now, of course, the seasoned lawyers and instructors of the young lawyers in the audience: these elders also visited the brothel, but in a less conspicuous manner. The third joke concerns the young lawyers' costume: according to Prest, 'by 1600 gowns were officially required to be worn at all times, in town as well as at the inns' (93). Yet, instead of the stipulated 'plain, sleeveless black gowns with a flap collar, topped by a round black cloth cap' (Prest 48), the modest 'Caps and Gownes' of the ancients, Birdlime's night time visitors were dressed like citizens (lacking only beards). The joke is extended and carried right into the heart of the playhouse, of course, because the (beardless) young lawyers in the audience would, for the humorous correspondence to work at its best, be dressed exactly like the Inns of Court punies forcing admittance into the brothel the night before. Their behaviour in both the brothel and the playhouse is transgressive; though whilst lawyers' sexual appetites are unchanging, the modern generation's costumes are more outré than in Elizabeth's time, as is their taste for satirical sexually charged theatre. As a final flourish to titillate the young lawyers' libidos there is Luce's recital of her clients as she tries to guess who is covering her eyes: we can imagine the young lawyers squirming in happy and embarrassed expectation that their name will be included in her growing register (4.1.61-68).

The second scene that directly concerns the Inns of Court is when Justiniano warns the three merchants not to declare themselves publicly as cuckolds by making a song and dance about discovering their wives in flagrante with the gallants at Brentford. 'Ile tell you a tale', he begins, and recounts how a citizen and his wife were, last Christmas, 'invited to the Revells one night at one of the Innes a Court' (5.4.53-56). As W.C.Richardson noted, 'Before the end of Elizabeth's reign, Christmas revels at the Inns had gained a reputation for splendor' (218); they were also synonymous with wild spirits and general abandon. The citizen entrusts his wife to enter alone whilst he concludes his business: in order to recognise his call when he returns, above the din of the 'croud' and 'clamors' (5.4.63), it was agreed that he would blow a horn to signal his arrival. His indignity is twofold, though he is only 'sencible of his own disgrace' at one level, having behaved like a 'sowgelder' or 'simple man' (5.4.71-72). For, at a second level, the joke, made more forceful by the associated fears of the three merchants on stage, is that he has accurately proclaimed he has been cuckolded, his wife having been entertained in 'a roome' in his absence by the sprightly young 'punyes' (5.4.57, 74) as they play, in John Stephens's satire from 1615, with 'delitious ladies' and 'maintaine the sport, / Of Christmas revels at an Inne of Court' (11-12). Again, the sexual proclivities of the many members of the audience, whether real or fantasised (and depicted as a non-coercive sport in contrast to the violence associated with the courtiers' sexual advances, discussed below), are played on and flattered by the drama acted out before them and in which they play a vicarious part.

More specifically, there are two tropes at play with reference to the young lawyers' sexual appetites. The first is humorously disdainful about lawyers' sexual prowess. For example, between Westminster Bridge and Temple Bar, the Inns of Court territory, things of an 'honorable erection' have now 'falne to decay' (2.1.44-45); at the younger age range, Birdlime's nocturnal visitors from the Inns of Court are beardless novices (4.1.11). In contrast with jocular assessments of the lawyers' sexual inexperience and incompetence, a second set of jokes laughs at the young lawyers' libidinal appetites and promiscuity. Templers would 'have no pretty woman scape them' (2.2.150);

every student has his 'nun' as a sexual partner (2.2.192). Punks or prostitutes keep the same term-time dates as lawyers (3.3.14). Customers at Birdlime's establishment include men from 'an Inne of Chauncery' and, more specifically, 'Maister Counterpaine the Lawier' (4.1.53-4, 65). Young Philip Monopoly intends to 'have swaggering' with Birdlime's latest catch, 'as Lawyers' do (2.2.235-36). The playwrights are clearly not offering a moral or reasoned critique of young lawyers and their behaviours or capabilities: instead they are presenting all the young students crammed into the playhouse with a whirl of witticisms designed to amuse, disparage, provoke and flatter.

The depiction of London's new influx of courtiers is very different. In this version of 1604 London the new courtiers, knights and their hangers-on are unwelcome outsiders. Thus, whereas the Inns of Court students who are members of the audience are picked out for especial indulgent playful satire and repartee, the courtiers on and off-stage are subject to scorn and ridicule. New courtiers include Monopoly, who has purchased his entry to court through borrowing from Tenterhook (1.2), Sir Gosling Gloworm, 'a Knight made out of waxe', who 'took up Silkes upon his bond' (2.1.200-01), and Sir Fabian Scarecrow, another who has 'climb'd up this costly ladder of preferment' (5.1.64-65). Monopoly is an outsider, and has already got a reputation for his vanity and his sexual and culinary appetites: he is 'an excellent Trumpetter, He came lately from the university, and loves Citty dames only for their victuals' (1.2.87-88). The sense of his being an outsider is intensified when Clare refers to him as 'one that comes from beyond Seas' (1.2.61). Additionally, although he is down from university he has not, as was often the case, enrolled at the Inns of Court; instead he is attached to the new court. Like the decadent Earl, his uncle, he is living on the edge of London's mercantile society, as when he leaves London to pursue alcohol and female flesh in Shoreditch, outside the city walls.

As a group the courtiers are conspicuously incapable of holding their drink: 'Am not I drunke now' exclaims the sozzled Monopoly on his return from Shoreditch (3.2.25); in Brentford Gosling 'has almost lost the use of his legs' and drunkenly insults the townsfolk (5.1.22-23). Sir Fabian, the 'New-minted knight' is invited to the Tenterhooks whereupon he insults the company, 'made

Wine the waggon to his meat', and halfway through the meal 'was not scarce able to stand' (5.1.76-77). The new courtiers have made inroads into London society, where they display an outward veneer of confidence and suavity - hence Clare's initial interest in Monopoly - yet they are boorish indigent drunkards.

It is also noticeable that the courtiers share a remarkably aggressive disposition towards women. Monopoly's drunken libidinous fantasy is to 'go to a valting house', smash the glass windows, destroy the furniture and the women's clothing and make-up and, and, he boasts, 'undergo fifteene bawds by this darkness' (3.2.14-18). Sir Gosling forces Birdlime to undergo his crude sexual advances, commanding her to take his 'instrument' and 'marke too and fro, as I rub it' (5.3.59). Sir Fabian, before his drunken collapse round at the Tenterhooks, asserted, 'like a foul-mouthd man', that 'women were like horses', 'Theyde break over any hedge to change their pasture' (5.1.81, 88-89). In Act 4.1 Luce's first words inveigh against a recent client: 'A poxe of the Knight that was here last night' (4.1.4). Not only was he drunk but he will ignore his promises to her (4.1.7-8). Birdlime presents Moll Justiniano with a choice of sexual partners: she can choose Birdlime's client the old Earl, or select 'a young perfum'd beardles Gallant' who will only 'spit al his brains out of his tongues end' (in contrast to the emissions of a more experienced lover) (2.2.169-70). Tenterhook splutters to his wife that they cannot arrest Monopoly, 'a Courtier, a gentleman'. Her answer encapsulates the drama's portrayal of courtiers: 'Why, may not a gentleman be a knave' (3.1.16-17). A fuller embodiment of a knighted courtier new to London who is an uncreditworthy, drunken sexual predator appeared the following year at the Blackfriars, in *Eastward Ho's* Sir Petronel Flash.

The Earl, Monopoly's uncle, is ridiculed for both his predatory and notorious sexual appetite (his predilections are well known, so that Clare and her husband can refer to him simply as 'the party' [1.2.34-35]) and for his outmoded effusive verbosity. Debauched and lascivious, the Earl is an anachronism, his over-ripe versifying out of place amid the pounding pace of the play's demotic street-wise prose. His lyric outpourings as he awaits his

procured sexual encounter with Moll in 4.2 is typical of what Charles Forker describes as his 'absurd Petrarchanism' (95):

Goe, let musicke
Charme with her excellent voice an awfull scilence
Through al this building, that her sphaery soule
May (on the wings of Ayre) in thousand formes
Invisibly flie, yet be injoy'd (4.2.2-6)

As Kathleen McLuskie comments, the Earl's language 'feels old-fashioned and out of place' (*Dekker* 113). Moll's repugnance for the Earl at their first meeting stems not only from his age, 'I wonder lust can hang at such white haire's' (2.2.82), but on aesthetic grounds because of his stilted and outmoded utterances. If his nephew and colleagues are trying to force themselves into the modern London of 1604 then the Earl is also an outsider, in his case because he is absurdly behind the times. The Earl's language is also seeped in literature that was still popular in 1604 but hardly contemporary. As the commentary by Hoy indicates, in the first fifty or so lines of verse at the opening of the 4.2 the Earl quotes from or alludes to a translation of Ovid and Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. Justiniano responds in similar fashion by alluding to *The Rape of Lucrece* - 'the Christal wals of my chastity' (4.2.86) - and the Earl responds melodramatically in turn with a reference to the screech owl from 3 *Henry VI* (4.2.126). The Earl is marooned in a worn out quasi-chivalric Elizabethan fantasy world whilst young Monopoly tries to barnacle himself to the latest fads of a new, debauched court. At a 1604 production of *Westward Ho*, to be an Inns of Court member of the audience is to be wittily indulged; should a courtier be present he would feel contemned and scandalised.

The song at the close of *Westward Ho*, celebrating a transgressive harmony, is (typically in this drama of excess) only one of a number of endings. The four sets of wives and husbands are reunited (but how will the wives react to news of their husbands' infidelities?). Birdlime is excluded from the proceedings, but will return to her 'up-rizers and downe-lyers within the Citty': 'you cannot hem me out of London' (5.4.255, 275). Monopoly has lost possession of his ready wealth; 'your creditor has 'hem' (5.4.213-14), and stands silently on stage with Whirlpool and Lynstock, excluded from

reconciliations (but do they join in the final song?). Another ending is reserved for a courtly representative, the knight Sir Gosling Gloworme. At the close of 5.3 he commands the fiddlers to go into Brentford, where they will 'sing bawdie songs under every window' and incite a loud commotion (5.3.81). The final entrance on stage in 5.4 is by the Chamberlain, who announces to the married couples and gallants that the fiddlers have had 'their Fidle-cases puld over their eares' (5.4.297-98) and that Gosling 'bleedes like a Pig' (5.4.301); the townsfolk's response to the insolence of courtiers. If, as Weimann argues, the *platea* is apt to 'preclude closure' (*Author's Pen* 192), the multiplicity of endings in *Westward Ho* is fitting for a drama where a *locus* is lacking and the various narrative threads are resolved neither neatly nor finally.

The contemporary London of *Westward Ho* is, to return to Rhonda Sanford's formulation, 'open', and open to an unprecedented degree. It is a London free of regulatory and official governance and the controlling hands of ageing parents. It is a site of thick phenomenological plenitude and libidinous tours where - even now - desire is in circulation, managed and checked as required by women, according to their abilities and needs. We can imagine where the material phenomenon was at its most crowded and dense, and where it also needed to be controlled most closely. Literally behind the scene at each performance of the play at Paul's a group of younger cast members had to ensure that every one of the myriad of staged properties was available exactly when required, either handing items to performers as they made their way on to the stage, or bringing items on stage themselves in role.

On stage the main characters manage the material props and develop a new, appetitive and bawdy knot to the meshwork of city based comedies from 1598: the drama is enmeshed in the pre-plague matrix, but presents unexpected new formations, the most notable being the leading women's facility to manage and subvert proceedings. In their pamphlet of 1604, *News From Gravesend*, Dekker and Middleton lamented how London, the 'Empress of cities', was transformed by the plague to an 'Infected city', where 'Corpses do so choke thy way' (751, 802, 770). Just a few months later a new version of London is on offer, where women move and roam around, taking control of

spaces and places. The tours and journeys reassert and exaggerate a 'continuous itinerary of movement', in Ingold's words (*Perception* 226), which the plague had arrested. This movement bursts out on the stage at Paul's, in a repopulated and phenomenologically rich and diverse version of the capital, replete with what de Certeau and Giard call the 'swarming structure of the street' (*Life* 141).

The tours and journeys are also important for the audience's involvement in the unfolding drama. Gathered round the stage the audience experiences a kaleidoscopic swirl of material props, discursive and ribald excess and, startlingly, evidence of women's voices and agency. The whole experience is further enhanced and confirmed through the psychogeographical operations developed by the dramatists. Exactly because of the spatial and temporal synchronicities (in fact and in fictional effect), discussed above, the tours and movements work as a psychogeographical affirmation of what is possible, of how space in London can be constructed and populated. And even now, as the audience members jostle out of the playing hall and step outside into London by the Thames in the early evening, even now, in this situation, there might exist unregulated, unlicensed opportunities, for de Certeau's 'free play' (*Practice* 106) grounded and made normative through the continuous itinerary of movement just performed on the stage at Paul's.

Audiences at the London private theatres would need to wait until the following year for the reestablishment of a 'worthiness' and a regulatory centre. Set firmly against the proto-situationist aesthetic of *Westward Ho*, *Eastward Ho* offers a critique grounded, not on what is possible to be imagined and enacted, but on a grinding functionalism: 'Work upon that now' (*EHo* 1.1.10 and *passim*).

Chapter Five: *Eastward Ho*

'I have intelligence, by a false brother' (4.2.67-68)

Eastward Ho was first performed at the Blackfriars playhouse by the Children of the Queen's Revels in the summer of 1605: in all probability it was unlicensed and was staged when the court was away from London on a royal progress to Oxford.¹ The opening scene is set outside Touchstone's business premises in Goldsmith's Row on Cheapside. For a Touchstone, an exemplar, the goldsmith's character has inspired a surprising range of contradictory critical responses. Is he, for example, as C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson write, 'homely, peremptory, but tender-hearted' (2:33)? Or might he be, in Jean Howard's words, 'a send-up of the sober citizen', one who 'gives propriety a bad name' ("Bettrice" 334). Or a gullible representation of 'moral failure' (Knowles xxiii)? Suzanne Gossett and W. David Kay, the play's most recent editors, tread a wary line: this Touchstone is 'presented ambiguously' (*Jonson*). What seems incontestable, however, is that Touchstone exerts power and control, and that this is extended when his son-in-law Golding becomes a civic dignitary with powers of jurisdiction. *Eastward Ho's* final scene is set in a prison, the Counter in Wood Street, where just retributions are exercised and the prodigal penitents brought back into the fold of the righteous. Henry Turner describes accurately the 'overall feeling of institutional power that pervades the play' (213). This chapter explores how this sense of institutional power and authority is staged, examining how the drama, in a striking contrast to *Westward Ho*, exercises forms of control over space and discourse.

The chapter first considers how the play marks out a distinct version of London in how it takes up and reworks theatregrams from the 1598-1603 dramatic meshwork, moving on to an analysis of the restrictions forced upon disruptive characters' loquacious and desirous speech. A discussion of Gertrude's monkey (following Jean Howard) further emphasises the new play's critique of the lack of restraint in *Westward Ho*. There follows an examination of stasis and wayfaring, and how the management of spatial and temporal

¹ cf. Suzanne Gossett and W. David Kay, "Introduction" *Jonson*; Van Fossen 5-7.

movements in sharply defined topographical spaces aligns with the play's controlling centripetal force and the production of a closed version of London under surveillance. The conclusion identifies why a satirical drama that set out to counter and parody the excess and licence of Dekker and Webster's version of contemporary London, should have, paradoxically, landed the authors of *Eastward Ho* in such deep trouble with powerful civic and court-based authorities.

Metatheatre and Discourse

The play opens by affirming its direct relationship with *Westward Ho*, first staged in the late autumn or winter of 1604. The prologue declares the new play seeks neither to 'imitate' nor 'better' the earlier drama, whilst sardonically noting that *Westward Ho* cannot inspire 'envy' and declaring that eastward 'exceeds' westward: the new play is naturally superior (Prol.1-9).

Studies of *Eastward Ho* usually reference its relationship to *Westward Ho*, as in the following examples. C.G.Petter, the editor of a 1994 edition of *Eastward Ho*, asserts that the prologue 'replies to' *Westward Ho* and that the play itself is a properly crafted work of deep satire, both a 'challenge' and a contrast to *Westward Ho*, which Petter does not care for: 'a farcical cony-catching intrigue as fatuous as it is formless' (xxiii, xxviii). For another editor, R.W. Van Fossen, *Eastward Ho* is both a 'reply' and a 'foil' to the earlier play; Brian Gibbons calls it a 'parody' (108) whilst Jean Howard states that *Eastward Ho* is an 'answer' to *Westward Ho* ("*Bettrice*" 332). Heather Anne Hirschfeld's claims that the three authors produced a 'malicious mockery' (29), Andrew Gurr also says that *Eastward Ho* 'mocked' its predecessor ("*Within the Compass*" 122). Suzanne Gossett and W. David Kay introduce the play in their edition as 'an allusive piece of intertextual wit' which 'plays on the title of Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho*' (*Jonson*). In relation to the business of running theatres, Henry Turner states 'there is every reason to think that the commercial success of [*Westward Ho*] was precisely what prompted Chapman, Jonson, and Marston to write their own' (210).

This chapter identifies the means by which the three writers of *Eastward Ho* staged a version of London, through representations of restricted space and impossible movement, that is almost completely antithetical to the opportunistic spaces and movements opened up in *Westward Ho*, as discussed in the previous chapter. At an imaginative biographical level, we can envisage the three earnest satirical playwrights brought together by a shared and shocked reaction to the flashy amoral possibilities played out in *Westward Ho*.

In the Prologue the authors announce that their play is for and about London: 'We only dedicate it to the City' (Prol. 14). For *Eastward Ho*'s set of materialistic and sexual adventurers, however, London is not worthy of dedication. Gertrude is coarsely derisive about the capital and its inhabitants, 'chitizens, chitizens! Sweet knight, as soon as ever we are married, take me to thy mercy out of this miserable chity' (1.2.100-01). She longs to be out of 'the hearing of Bow-bell' (1.2.102; cf. 1.2.25, 5.5.152) and the sight of 'your coif with a London licket' and other unfashionable items of feminine clothing, as worn by her sister Mildred (1.2.12; cf. 17-19). Petronel complains of the lack of sportive entertainment in the stale and tedious capital:

Here's now no good action for a man to spend his time in.
Taverns grow dead; ordinaries are blown up; plays are at a stand;
houses of hospitality at a fall; not a feather waving nor a spur
jingling anywhere. I'll away instantly. (2.3.1-4)

Quicksilver contrasts his opportunities for maintenance available at court with the lack of the same in 'the silly city' (2.2.49). Gertrude leaves London by coach in search of Petronel's non-existent castle, whilst Petronel and Quicksilver attempt the two first stages (to the Blue Anchor tavern at Billingsgate and then east on to the docks at Blackwall) of a failed voyage westwards to Virginia. Their version of London is a place of limited opportunities, a place to leave.

In contrast, for the goldsmith Touchstone and his apprentice Golding, London is a place where orderliness and virtuous labour will procure rewards. Both are dedicated to 'honest and orderly industry' (2.1.61-62); in the next speech Touchstone's repetition emphasises these virtues, as he admires how Golding 'woos honestly and orderly' (2.1.67-68). By adhering to virtuous, even

pious, mercantile values, both men have status and power within the civic institutions. In Act 4 Golding, now married and his apprenticeship completed, returns from a summons to the Guildhall as a member of the Court of Common Council and elevated to the position of deputy Alderman for his ward. Golding is officially licensed by city authorities to dispense justice and preserve order, and thus to help preserve this particular version of London.

One threat to the capital's ordered governance and mercantile values is presented, in a metatheatrical paradox, by the disruptive influence of contemporary dramas. From the meshwork of the 1598-1603 London theatreland *Eastward Ho* develops a range of theatregrams, whilst dropping others altogether. In the latter category the play is without, for example, any smoking (even in the tavern scene), any characters called Luce, and any school masters or teachers of writing. Yet, as Clifford Leech noted, *Eastward Ho* is, like *Westward Ho*, 'a play about plays' (19): one element of the meshwork that is very much in evidence is the theatregram based around metatheatricality and contemporary London dramas.

The play's disruptive characters are those most closely associated with theatre-going. As noted, Petronel is fed up that one source of amusement is unavailable; 'plays are at a stand' (2.3.3). Quicksilver's aspirations to be a companionable gallant are reflected in his love of the theatre; his unrealistic pretensions are accentuated by his selection of flamboyantly delivered quotations from popular revivals and new dramas. His recitations are also defiant rejoinders to his master's and his fellow apprentice's 'good wholesome thrifty sentences' (1.1.41), a burst of liveliness amidst sententious prose. Quicksilver's vigorous quotations suggest he has been impressed by Pistol's bluster at the Globe in the two parts of *Henry IV*, as well as relishing revivals of *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Tamburlaine*, in all probability just north of Goldsmiths Row at Henslowe's Fortune (cf. 1.1.85-86, 1.1.99-108, 2.1.70). His 'Who cries on murder? Lady, was it you?' (2.1.88) is recycled by Chapman and Jonson from, respectively, their own plays, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (9.49) and *Poetaster* (3.4.199). Quicksilver has also seen *Hamlet* and alludes to it in 'the cold meat left at your wedding night might serve to furnish their nuptial table' (3.2.50-51). He has clearly not only 'clapped what-d'ye-call'ts in

the garret' with Gertrude (3.2.61-62), but has also taken her with him to watch the King's Men; straight after his funeral baked meats reference she recites from Ophelia's mad song, letting Quicksilver know that she and he 'never will come again' (3.2.64-69). Gertrude's name is another parodic lift from Shakespeare's drama. The playwrights' expectations that the Blackfriars audience would be conversant with *Hamlet* ushers in the play's best joke for an audience of London theatregoers, when Gertrude's serving-boy rushes on stage and Potkin cries, "Sfoot, Hamlet, are you mad?" (3.2.6). The usurer Security, discovering his wife's deception, is mocked through his echo of the doomed Richard III's final words: 'A boat, a boat, a full hundred marks for a boat' (3.4.3-4).

Touchstone has no time for Quicksilver's thespian utterances, his 'play ends' (2.1.107). He later dismisses Quicksilver's appeal for mercy as a piece of acting: 'Thou hast leant to whine at the play yonder' (4.2.250). Touchstone favours an alternative dramatic genre, the civic history in the style of Heywood's recent *If You Know Not Me*. In a self-referential metatheatrical mode he forecasts a time when Golding becomes 'one o' the monuments of our city', 'and thy deeds played i' thy lifetime, by the best companies of actors' (a local, metropolitan echo of Cassius's words over the dead Caesar) (4.2.53, 57-58). The other literary genre he recognises and appreciates is the religious confessional ballad: as he listens to Quicksilver's self-penned lament he first marvels, 'This can not be feigned, sure' (5.5.64). Because Quicksilver is operating within an approved genre his discourse, according to Touchstone, must be sincere, regardless of the increasingly manic parody the prisoner-poet is spouting: 'But I confess, I have not the force / For to cut off the head of a horse ...' (5.5.86-87). 'I am ravished with his "Repentance"', declares Touchstone (5.5.98-99). *Eastward Ho* concludes with another self-referential metatheatrical moment, when Quicksilver looks out into the audience, where a 'multitude are gathered together to view our coming out at the Counter', as if the actors are about to step out on to Cheapside, before inviting the audience to return to the Blackfriars 'once a week' (Epilogue 1-2, 10). *Eastward Ho* is, clearly, 'a play about plays' in that it continues and adds to the metatheatrical thread in the meshwork in vogue from 1598, assuming the audience's

familiarity with a range of new and revived plays and setting the audience up as knowing interpreters and judges of characters' responses to literary texts. More importantly, and to develop the relationship between the two dramas noted above, it is a play about one other play in particular: *Westward Ho*.

For those in the Blackfriars audience who had seen *Westward Ho* at Paul's, the new play is shot through with knowing character and plot references and lexical allusions to *Westward Ho*, including explicit and pointed contrasts. *Westward Ho* moves away from plots centred on generational conflict; *Eastward Ho* revives this, with the generic formula inverted so it is the younger generation who are called to account. Touchstone the frugal Londoner businessman contrasts with Justiniano the free-spending Italian merchant; in *Westward Ho* goldsmiths are cited for their tricks (1.1.163); in *Eastward Ho* Touchstone and Golding are models of probity. In 3.4 Gertrude fails to read the paper she signs, and so loses her inheritance, in contrast to Clare's close examination of her husband's business papers. Gertrude and her mother associate travelling by coach with sexual excitement (3.2.27-31), recalling the bawdy joke about jolting coaches in the earlier play (2.3.69-70). 'Wilt thou be gone, sweet honeysuckle' asks Petronel (3.2.45), picking up on a minor theatregram that began with Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*'s 'most honeysuckle sweet ladies' at Paul's in 1599 (5.2.41-42), and which was taken up in *Westward Ho* in Mr and Mrs Honeysuckle themselves and Justiniano's 'nowe my sweete Honisuckle' (2.1.139). Sinfy recalls that Winchester was where the knights of the Round Table met; in *Westward Ho* Winchester is recalled as the site of a major outbreak of syphilis (*EHo* 5.1.34; *WHo* 3.3.9-31). Birdlime assures Mr Wafer that Luce has been waiting chastely a fortnight for his return, since he 'went to a Butchers feast at Cuckolds-haven the next day after Saint Lukes day' (4.1.106-07): cue the appearance of Slitgut the butcher's apprentice at Cuckold's Haven in *Eastward Ho*, praying for safety to 'heaven and St Luke' (4.1.7). In *Westward Ho* Tenterhook tells Clare to 'meet me at the counter in Woodstreete' (3.1.30); in *Eastward Ho* the final scenes take place in the counter at Wood Street. When Winifred enters the Blue Anchor in a mask and disguise in Act 3.3 of *Eastward Ho* she becomes only the fifth female character to frequent a staged contemporary London drinking establishment,

following the three masked wives at the Steelyard in *Westward Ho* (where they are joined by Birdlime). This cluster of examples demonstrates how the three authors would have expected many in the Blackfriars audience to have noted the correspondences, ironic or otherwise, and to be alert to the ways the new play is both using and critiquing *Westward Ho*.

Through the more general dramatic meshwork from 1598 runs a theatrogram comprising the verbal tics of merchants. In *Eastward Ho* this is revisited and reworked in Touchstone's insistent 'Work upon that now', the latest in a series that includes Simon Eyre in *The Shoemakers' Holiday* ('prince am I none, yet am I princely borne'), Hobson's 'bones a me' in *If You Know Not Me Part 2*, and Mr Flowers's 'a very good conceit' in *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*. Touchstone's catchphrase, with its brisk irrefutable finality, can only be echoed back at him by Quicksilver, whether exasperated or drunk: 'Work upon that now. Eastward ho!' (2.1.95-96; cf. 1.1.18). Another merchant, the usurer Security, has his own verbal mannerisms: 'I do hunger and thirst to do thee service'. David Kay notes the contrast between the two catchphrases, through the importance Touchstone places on industry with Security's 'voracious greed' (399). Another contrast is that, unlike Touchstone's catchphrase, characters can play games with Security's. It is mocked by Quicksilver, 'A pox of your "hunger and thirst"' (2.2.124), parodied by Petronel, who tells Security 'I thirst and hunger' to 'taste the dear feast' of fresh female charms (and the lady just happens to be Security's wife) (3.2.189-90), and is mimicked by Gertrude:

Security I do hunger and thirst to do you good, sir.

Gertrude Come sweet knight, come: I do hunger and thirst to
 be abed with thee. (2.3.140-41).

The inflexibility of Touchstone's use of his own catchphrase contrasts with characters' ability to play with Security's catchphrase. Touchstone's motto repeatedly brings his observations, both as soliloquies and as addresses to others, to an end-stopped finality. The catchphrase works as the termination of his sententious discursive practice. Touchstone's longer speeches thus have a centripetal force, moving inexorably through critique or pietistic certainties to the unanswerable 'Work upon that now!'.

In *Westward Ho*, by contrast, characters' discursive powers are analogous to the drama's compelling centrifugal force. Justiniano, Birdlime, Clare, and the three wives collectively, pounce on opportunities for verbal flights of fancy, through reminiscences, lists of material effects, and storytelling. Examples include Birdlime's riffs on cosmetics and the need for women to seize opportunities for sexual pleasures (1.1.111-17; 2.2.178-194), Justiniano's improvisations on sex in the shambles and brewing erotic adventures (2.1.166-190) and outbreaks of syphilis (3.3.9-30), Clare's account of debauchery at the Banqueting House (5.1.62-104), and the three wives' reflections on their husbands' shortcomings and the secret joys of mastering penmanship (1.2.100-38). Significantly, the delinquent characters in *Eastward Ho* share this ability to launch off into extempore whirls of prose: just as they want to leave London, so their speeches can spin off centrifugally. Examples of these discursive trips include Gertrude's disquisitions upon contemporary London fashion and the demise of chivalry (1.2 and 5.1), Quicksilver's alchemical schemes (4.1.167-89), Captain Seagull's paean to Virginia (3.3.13-39), and even Petronel's outbreak of cod-French on the shore of the Isle of Dogs (4.1.127-31). Their unrehearsed loquaciousness contrasts with Touchstone's clipped catchphrase and aphorisms, which function as brief encapsulations of order and control. Importantly, too, the function of Touchstone's discourse is to, eventually, contain and grind the freewheeling discourses into silence. Quicksilver's lunatic penitent ballad is permitted to succeed in securing the prisoners' release precisely because it is presented - as a parody or otherwise - in a genre that is familiar and understood by the prison setting and the judicial process and its associated discourses. In the final scene the errant characters' speech is now tempered and controlled by Touchstone and his righteous son-in-law: 'Forgive me, father' says Petronel, and Quicksilver obeys Golding, 'With all my heart' (5.5.122, 160). Only Gertrude strays off-script, when in her own repentance speech she discloses too freely how she has insulted her parents (5.5.147-54). Touchstone quietens her with his 'No more repetitions' (5.5.156) and she does not open her mouth again. What we can hear happening in *Eastward Ho*, therefore, is a closing down of characters' opportunities for disruptive and imaginative speeches. The

play encloses and controls subversive discourse, just as it will circumscribe and regulate spatial movement. The verbal effusiveness and spatial freedoms of *Westward Ho* are regulated out of the reclaimed version of the city represented by Touchstone and Golding and the forces of civic authority.

Undressing and Monkeys

That *Eastward Ho* works as a direct and satiric corrective to the flamboyant unlicensed excesses of the London of *Westward Ho* is established early in the play, when in Act 1 Scene 2 the three dramatists bring together theatregrams from the 1598-1603 meshwork in a spectacular combination: gentlewomen and courtesans who dress and sing, tailors, fashionable attire, and monkeys. As discussed in Chapter Three, Gertrude's first appearance on stage, singing bawdy songs and dressing, associates her with a series of courtesans who prepare their attire and sing in their brothels or boudoirs: Imperia in Dekker's *Blurt, Master Constable*, Bellafronte in Dekker's *The Honest Whore Part 1*, Franceschina in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*. In *Westward Ho* the Londoner Moll changes costume off-stage and appears in her new finery, prepared for adultery, before the Earl: 'see I cloth'd / My limbes (thus Player-like) in Rich Attyres, / Not fitting mine estate' (2.2.107-09). For Moll, to dress up like an actor playing a lady is to dress as a courtesan. The associations made between Moll and Gertrude are clear, and are exaggerated by the *Eastward Ho* authors. Gertrude admires and desires rich citizen wives' smocks, at 'three pound a smock', exactly the cost of those in Moll's expensive collection (1.2.16-17; cf. *WWho* 1.1.77-78).

More significantly, and for the first time in a play with a contemporary setting on a London stage, Gertrude actually undresses and changes costume on stage. And, as noted in the previous chapter, she puts on almost exactly the same costume that the potentially adulterous Moll wears for the Earl. For audience members at Blackfriars who had attended the successful run of *Westward Ho* at Paul's, they watch Gertrude transform herself into Moll at the Earl's. Aided by Poldavy the tailor, Gertrude enters the stage in a simple 'citizen's gown' with an incongruous 'French head attire' - a 'large-brimmed,

high crowned' felt hat (Linthicum 231) - already on her head. She then takes off her 'city tire' (1.2.9) and squeezes into a farthingale, or padded hoop, followed by a fair gown, with a French ruff.

Moll is dressed by the Earl and Birdlime in

- a French three pile velvet gown, with 'fantasticall' trimming and a forepart
- a Scotch fall: a separate linen collar or ruff, decorated with lace (cf. Anna Reynolds 59-61)
- a Scotch bum; part of the farthingale, a padded hoop
- an Italian head tire

Gertrude is dressed with a tailor's assistance in a lady's attire, comprising

- a fair gown
- a French fall
- a Scotch farthingale
- a French head attire she is wearing already (1.2.0 SD)

Whilst dressing up as a fine lady / actor / courtesan she spars verbally with her sister, she exchanges sexual innuendoes with the tailor and, in the same vein, and in keeping with the meshwork's thetregram of sexually loose women who sing, she launches into snatches from songs and airs, including the libidinous tune 'And ever she cried, "Shoot home!" fa, la, ly, re, lo, la' (1.2.22-23). (I suspect that her song - a risqué rendition of Dowland's 'Sleep, wayward thoughts' - will end at the line 'anguish of my flesh desires'.) As well as undressing, dressing and singing she also, as Edel Lamb emphasises (79), moves around the stage: 'Tread light, light. Ay and fall so: that's the court amble' (1.2.49), imitating courtly fashions. As Jean Howard writes, Gertrude's 'extravagant' and 'inappropriate commitment to fashionability' ("Bettrice" 333) reflects her unrealistic aspirations, and it does so, in part, by dressing her up as Moll from *Westward Ho*. In this respect, therefore, the satiric intent, rather than giving 'the finger to traditional morality', in Howard's phrase, is doing precisely the opposite ("Bettrice" 332). Gertrude's close-fitting fashionable new clothes are symptomatic of her loose morality. In this scene, and as argued below, whilst *Eastward Ho* might be, as Howard says, 'a hip play for a hip theatre audience' ("Bettrice" 332), it is also a morally orthodox critique and satire of the sexual licence and sartorial extravagance of *Westward Ho*.

The mockery of the loose morals and sexual plotting of the Paul's play is intensified in this scene through the use of the monkey, the first actual incarnation on stage of the thetregram of monkeys and apes discussed in

Chapter Three. With Jean Howard and her arguments in “Bettrice’s Monkey”, I maintain that on stage there is a real monkey, that it is clothed, plays tricks, and that its presence works as a ‘satiric commentary’ (334) on Gertrude’s desires. (It was not unusual for pet monkeys to be dressed in clothes: in Middleton’s ‘Ant’s Tale’, in *Father Hubbard’s Tales*, 1603, monkeys are reported to be ‘variable as Newfangle for fashions’ and one is dressed in a ‘Cloake of three pounds a yard, linde cleane through with purple Velvet’ [235, 315-16]. In *Northward Ho* Doll refers to her beloved monkey, which can perform ‘shrewd turnes’ [3.1.27-28].) Furthermore, the monkey links back directly to a particular scene in *Westward Ho* and, more generally, to the antics of Clare Tenterhook; the hip Blackfriars audience would have made the associations. ‘You are a Monkey,’ said Monopoly to Clare (1.2.57): and here she is again, impersonated on stage by a real monkey at Blackfriars. I suspect the monkey is wearing an article of clothing that, just as Gertrude wears Moll’s attire, reminds the audience of Clare’s stage costume. I also suggest, with Howard and James Knowles, that as Gertrude undresses and dresses, the trained monkey is performing, as Knowles writes, ‘lewd and profane gestures’ (xxxiii), aping Gertrude’s sexual and social appetites. As Gertrude trips around stage perhaps the monkey follows her, ridiculously aping her movements. One additional gesture is so explicitly lewd that even Gertrude wonders at it: ‘Now, Lady’s my comfort, what a profane ape’s here!’ (1.2.39). It does not need much imagination to suppose that the monkey’s obscene gesture reproduces exactly that which accompanied Clare’s rapturous ‘Love shoots heare!’ (*WHo* 1.2.84), discussed in the previous chapter. The monkey is taken off-stage when Petronel arrives, but the simian references continue in the following bawdy exchange:

Petronel	We had a match at balloon, too, with my Lord Whachum, for four crowns.
Gertrude	At baboon? Jesu! you and I will play at baboon in the country, knight?
Petronel	O sweet lady, ’tis a strong play with the arm.
Gertrude	With arm or leg or any other member, if it be a court sport. (1.2.90-97)

Again, Gertrude is satirically associated through simian word play with unregulated lust and country pleasures. The scene identifies Gertrude and her desires with the London full of opportunities available to the playful city wives from *Westward Ho*: Moll is impersonated in Gertrude, and Clare is impersonated in the performing monkey, further mimicking and emphasising Gertrude's primal lusts and unrealistic social longings.

(It is interesting, parenthetically, to consider the practicalities involved in bringing a performing monkey on stage at the Blackfriars to appear in this scene in *Eastward Ho*. The animal could have performed up to three times a week whilst the play was in repertory. The playing company would not have owned a resident monkey, but it had to be available on a scheduled basis. On stage it had a cameo role and had to be able to perform exactly on cue, to elicit, for example, Gertrude's response to its lewd gesture. It might be the case that the monkey was on stage with its youthful keeper, who is in costume as the serving woman Bettrice. The four words spoken by Bettrice, 'The knight's come, forsooth', thus functioned as a command for the monkey to exit with its keeper, perhaps leaving with a backflip or similar flamboyant parting antic. When it was not on stage at the Blackfriars the animal might have been performing in the horse shows on the south bank.²)

Stasis and Impossible Journeys

As argued above, in *Eastward Ho* the discursive effusions of the more effervescent characters are gradually controlled and closed down by the language of Touchstone and his stalwart apprentice, Golding. We can observe a parallel form of restrictive practice in relation to characters' movements in London: the regulation of discourse mirrors the way in which space itself is

² In 1562 a Venetian tourist described a visit to the animal baiting shows in the Bear Gardens: 'First they take into the ring a cheap horse... and a monkey in the saddle... It is wonderful to see the horses galloping along... with the monkey holding on tightly to the saddle' (quoted in Liza Picard 246). Amongst the Alleyn Papers at Dulwich College is a handbill from c.1603-1625, advertising a bull-baiting spectacle on Bankside, including 'pleasant sport with the horse and ape and whipping of the blind bear' (Article 401). In the summer of 1670 John Evelyn went with friends to the Bear Garden, where the sports ended 'with the ape on horseback' *Diary*, 2.307.

managed and performed. This can be observed operating across two contrasting forms of movement: virtual stasis and hopeful journeying.

In the topographical imaginary of the play Touchstone's goldsmith's shop, with his home at the back and above, is on Goldsmiths' Row on the south side of Cheapside between Friday Street to the west and Bread Street to the east (cf. Appendix 3). Just along Cheapside heading east is the Church of St Mary le Bow, with the tolling bells that so bore and bother Gertrude. The Guildhall, from where Golding returns a surprised civic dignitary, is just to the north, at the end of Ironmongers Lane. The Counter where Quicksilver and others are incarcerated is one of the first buildings on the right heading up Wood Street, right opposite Goldsmith's Row. There is a good in-joke for a knowing London audience when Wolf, an officer at the Wood Street Counter, runs in to Touchstone's shop from just over the road and declares, 'I have lost my breath for haste' (5.4.17-18). The conduit Touchstone refers to (2.1.36) is in the middle of Cheapside, just past Ironmongers Lane. What is noteworthy is that Touchstone himself manages operations from his position in London without ever moving from inside or outside his shop except to cross the road to the Counter. The furthest his apprentice Golding moves from the Row is the trip behind the scenes to the Guildhall and back, under five minutes away. Henry Turner notes that 'Surprisingly little action in the play takes place beyond the city walls' (212): the imagined topography in which Touchstone operates is far more enclosed still, set in the immediate area around Goldsmiths' Row. Touchstone's lack of movement contrasts with the rushing around of the three merchants in *Westward Ho*, leaving for work, turning up at Birdlime's and the Earl's, travelling west up river. Justiniano's attempts to stage manage operations in *Westward Ho* are similarly all dependent on his moving around: to the Honeysuckles', to the Steelyard, to the Wafers', to Birdlime's, to the Earl's, to Brentford. Touchstone can oversee and manage the developing plot without moving.

Touchstone has singlehandedly risen up through London's social and commercial order - his father made malt, his mother sold gingerbread at Newgate Market (1.1.92) - and now aspires to nothing more: just as he is settled and grounded in his domestic and business affairs, so he has no need

to move or undertake any wayfaring. This fixity of place and order is reflected in Touchstone's own version of London. Unsurprisingly, his London is characterised by a simple dualism. There are places he holds in contempt: Ruffians' Hall in West Smithfield for its violence, Billingsgate for its sexual immorality (1.1.16, 4.2.198). "Eastward, ho!" will make you go "Westward, ho!", exclaims Touchstone to Quicksilver, indicating the proverbial course of those heading to the gallows at Tyburn (and with another disparaging metatheatrical nod to the earlier play) (2.1.97). By contrast, London's Guildhall and the Wood Street Counter are loci of civic jurisdiction, where errancy is judged and punished and order maintained. Touchstone's ideal version of London is the epitome of a closed city.

In *Westward Ho* wayfaring across and out of London is an activity that produces new spaces and opportunities, and for the female characters in particular. In *Eastward Ho*, by contrast, metropolitan, pastoral and international wayfaring is staged as the doomed pursuit of mercenary immoralists and fools. Quicksilver, for example, is imagined as moving rapidly across a set of London locations that are familiar to him: these include (in addition to the theatres he frequents) Security's house, the Cock tavern in Wood Street, the court, and the Blue Anchor in Billingsgate (2.2, 3.2). Winifred's journey, accompanied by Quicksilver, from her husband's house to the north of Cheapside across London to the Blue Anchor, is an extended replica of the accompanied journey the three wives made to the Steelyard in *Westward Ho*. More adventurous still are, first, Gertrude and Sinfyf's coach journey east into the countryside to find Petronel's non-existent castle and, second, the voyage to Virginia planned by Petronel and his seafaring colleagues.

When Gertrude returns to London she is met by her father's caustic sarcasm, 'I do desire your ladyship, my good Lady Flash, to depart my obscure cottage, and return in quest of your bright and most transparent castle' (4.2.99-100). Gertrude is only brought round to accept she needs to end her wanderings after a sorrowful heart-to-heart with her mother and Sinfyf (5.1). Touchstone will not hear his prodigal daughter's repentance at first; even when she plays the repentant sinner role to the full, 'Dear father, give me your blessing, and forgive me too; I ha' been proud and lascivious, father; and a fool'

(5.5.147-48), he dismisses her. His business is with Golding, to establish an order, or 'harmony' (5.5.157): the drama is rounded off with a scene akin to one of London's most formal and ordered exhibitions of movement, with the audience watching on like spectators at the annual new Lord Mayor's procession, 'the solemn day of the Pageant!' (Epilogue 4).

The means by which the wanderings of Quicksilver, Petronel and their merry crew are brought to an abrupt close are far more dramatic. Whilst Gertrude and Sindyfy lament the sad demise of chivalry in modern times, 'The knighthood nowadays are nothing like the knighthood of old time' (5.1.26-27), the seafarers reckon upon being a model 'for all future adventurers', with a 'new ceremony' launched on the boat of the most famous and relatively successful modern adventurer, Sir Francis Drake (3.3.143-44). Petronel's fateful wayfaring begins with breakfast at Security's (3.1.1) before calling in for a morning visit at Touchstone's to watch his new wife sign away her inheritance to him and to bid her farewell as she sets forth (3.2). Behind the scenes he then takes all day to reach the Blue Anchor in Billingsgate, arriving in high spirits to drink more wine and, as evening draws in, the company departs by water for supper at Blackwall on board the boat that will carry them to Virginia (3.3). The seafarers plan to have supper on board ship; Bramble and Security will 'sup somewhere else' (3.3.143); the drawer wonders at Petronel and his crew rowing down the Thames against 'tide and tempest' and 'especially at this time of night' (3.3.151-52). Petronel's day ends when he capsizes in the Thames, a victim of the tide, the tempest, too much wine, and the drama's inexorable centripetal moral force.

When Slitgut arrives at Cuckold's Haven the next day, 'this morning, thus early', the storm is still raging (4.1.4-5). Petronel and Captain Seagull are no longer drunk: the latter can recall they 'have been a horrible while upon the water, and in the water' (4.1.111-12).³ The audience can reconstruct the events of the night behind the scenes: Quicksilver and Winifred left in one boat, pursued by Security in another, and followed on land by the concerned drawer from the Blue Anchor; Petronel and Seagull headed down river in a third boat.

³ A 'Sea-gull, some Sea Captain' was first referred to at Blackfriars around the same time, in John Day's *Law Tricks* (1311).

The audience hears Slitgut's commentary and is afforded glimpses of the individual landings: Security is washed up at Slitgut's feet; Winifred comes ashore at St Katherine's; Quicksilver is helped onto dry land at Wapping; Petronel and Seagull come out of the water on the Isle of Dogs. At one narrative level, therefore, the scene that unfolds across Act 4.1 is empirically plausible, with both a temporal and spatial precision that is also affirmed through the presence of the observer Slitgut. Slitgut will describe what he can survey and 'discover from this lofty prospect', atop a pole (4.1.14-15). Joel Altman notes how the Blackfriars audience views the unfolding events through Slitgut's eyes and at how Slitgut's means of addressing the various characters also intensifies the audience's sense of being active witnesses (281): the scene produces for the audience what Altman describes as a 'bird's eye view of the city' (279).

Another way to describe Slitgut's commentary is by reference to Tim Ingold's distinction, discussed in Chapter Two, between lateral and vertical modes of integration. There is a reason Slitgut is positioned at the top of a pole: he is, in Ingold's words, producing 'a representation of the world as though one were looking down upon it from 'up above'' (*Perception* 227). This vertical perspective or mode is analogous to de Certeau's description of a 'map', corresponding to, for example, the view from the top of the World Trade Center. As Kelly Stage writes, 'The play situates the butcher as a panoptic device and calls attention to the culture of surveillance' (128). The vertical perspective in *Eastward Ho* is aligned with the play's satirical drive and corresponds with Touchstone's controlling ethical certainties and his forms of oversight and monitoring.

The Thames, observed from above, plays a major role in administering satirical and retributive justice. As Ralph Alan Cohen noted in 1974, the river operates as a 'discerning' moral force: it 'disposes of... miscreants... with a droll sense of humour': the characters are landed at locations well suited to their moral and social failings (89-91). More recently, Kelly Stage also refers to the river as 'the instrument of moral justice' (129). Thus the cuckolded Security comes out at Cuckold's Haven, the adulterous Winifred at a liberty renowned for sexual licence, Quicksilver next to the gallows at Wapping, the knight

Petronel and Seagull with the dogs kept for the court. Cohen writes that the Thames, therefore, 'acts in accordance with the play's moral that it is wrong to aspire to higher social status' (91). Whilst this might be qualified by noting that Touchstone himself has risen socially from humble origins, as noted above, and that Golding achieves higher social status by completing his apprenticeship, marrying into Touchstone's family and becoming an alderman, these two characters' successes are depicted as the rightful reward of their honest labours. Touchstone regards Golding's elevation as the latest in a series of illustrious and deserved success stories that comprise Touchstone's own version of London's history: 'to be remembered the same day with the Lady Ramsey an grave Gresham' and 'the famous 'Whittington and his puss' (4.2.54-55).⁴ In respect of Cohen's observation, the Thames, in depositing wayward characters at 'apt landing places' (Altman 281), is acting as an agent for the social and moral principles of Touchstone.

Importantly, the scene, despite its apparent geographical exactitude, is topographically implausible, and those in the audience who knew London's topography would have recognised this. At the close of the scene Slitgut comments, 'Now will I descend my honourable prospect, the farthest seeing sea-mark of the world. No marvel then if I could see two miles about me' (4.1.221-23). Cohen makes a humorous reference to Slitgut's 'marvelous display of his ocular powers' (89) when he espies Winifred, but the real joke, which a knowledgeable London audience would register, is that Slitgut could not possibly see any of the landings he describes, with the exception of Security's, with whom he converses. For Cuckold's Haven is over two and a half miles east of the old London Bridge and on the south bank, beyond where the river turns south to wrap around the Isle of Dogs, and from where it would have been completely impossible to see west and back towards Jacobean London. When Slitgut exclaims, 'Though it be almost at Saint Katherine's, I discern it to be a woman' or 'See, see, see!... there's some other a-taking up at Wapping now!' (4.1.44-45, 84-85) there is a self-referential irony at work. It is not that Slitgut has powerful vision: he appears to possess supernatural

⁴ Golding's rise echoes in a lower key what Adam Zucker describes as 'Simon Eyre's astonishingly rapid rise through the hierarchy of city government' in *The Shoemakers' Holiday* ("London" 58).

powers. To any proto-psychogeographers watching the two plays in 1604 and 1605, *Westward Ho* would engender a recognition of possible wayfaring, whilst *Eastward Ho* describes movements and sightings across London that are literally, and deliberately, absurd and laughable.

If the spatial and temporal synchronicity of the many movements in *Westward Ho* produce a spatialising of actions, of opportunities in new spaces, so the vertical mode of observation in *Eastward Ho* works to circumscribe movements and to articulate a closed set of certainties. Just as discourse is restricted and regulated, so are the possibilities for spatial movement. In the London of *Eastward Ho* even the river enforces the moral and social imperatives of Touchstone's domestic and business lives: from above, Slitgut's front-of-house humour affirms the same authority. The point is not that Slitgut's observations and the river's dispensations are impossible and therefore insignificant: for the audience watching the capsized characters staggering ashore the observations from the vertical perspective emphasise that the moral and social authority being enacted cannot be resisted. The scene shows that aspirations founded on a flagrant disregard for civic institutions and social order are futile: the wayfarers' desires are inadmissible and impossible, castles in the air.

In *Westward Ho* the audience can follow movements behind the scenes that are dramatised as spatially and temporally possible: these possibilities open up new trajectories and spaces for characters to experience or create new opportunities. In *Eastward Ho* the three playwrights close down opportunities for both extemporised discourse and spatial navigations; one means of achieving the latter is to stage actions and forms of perceptual knowledge that are literally impossible. Staging and emphasising the impossible emphasises the anti-social and disordered sets of desires and drives that characterise the errant wayfarers. This technique, of performing or describing journeys in time that are not replicable off-stage, is used repeatedly with regard to the wayfarers, and never with regard to Touchstone and Golding. As noted above, the furthest Golding is imagined to move from the goldsmith's shop is when he returns from the Guildhall and then when he crosses the street from the shop to the Counter in Wood Street. The walk across Cheapside to

Wood Street is also the only move Touchstone makes. Every audience member with the most basic grasp of the capital's geography knows that these movements of the virtuous are entirely credible and replicable.⁵

The treatment of Security's journeying, for example, provides a stark contrast. At the close of Act 3.3 he leaves the Blue Anchor on the Thames with Bramble: a minute later he has somehow returned home, north of Cheapside, to find Winifred is missing. He is then seen, simultaneously, back in Billingsgate, calling out for a boat to hire (3.4). In Act 4.1 he fishes up at Cuckold's Haven on the south bank and declares 'I will creep on the earth while I live' (4.1.39-40). Yet later in the same scene he has managed to cover around three miles, crossing London Bridge to run into Winifred back at the Blue Anchor. In the same scene the Drawer helps Winifred ashore at St Katherine's, heads back to Billingsgate for her new set of clothes, zooms back to St Katherine's where Winifred waits with a friend of his, before appearing yet again at the Blue Anchor with Winifred in her new attire. Again in the same scene Quicksilver lives up to his name, coming out of the water at Wapping and next suddenly appearing with Petronel and Seagull on the Isle of Dogs, two and a half miles away. In contrast to the wayfaring in *Westward Ho*, those in the audience at Blackfriars who are London insiders are invited to imagine movements behind the scenes are either humorously unfeasible or outrageously impossible. Errant possibilities are signalled as disordered and undesirable by means of spatial and topographical exaggeration and mockery, a form of spatialised satire.

The sense of an institutional authority being visited upon transgressors is seen not only in terms of the way movements are limited and controlled, but in terms of selected characters' omniscience. One example is Slitgut and his knowledge of that which is beyond human perception, as he sits at the top of the pole. The other character with a surprising stock of knowledge is, of course, Touchstone. In *Westward Ho*, as referred to above, it was necessary for Justiniano to dash across London and in and out of various houses and

⁵ Fran Chalfant comments that the settings of the geographically close Wood Street Counter and Goldsmiths' Row would 'much enhance the unity of Act 5' (60). The realisable spatial and temporal proximity also contrasts with the impossible journeying of Petronel and company.

establishments in order to try to gain the knowledge he required to stage-manage affairs as they unravelled. Touchstone, by contrast, does not move: knowledge arrives at his threshold, as if he had an uncanny vertical perspective. In Act 4.2, for example, he knows that Gertrude and Sinfy have returned after an unsuccessful journey to the east; he next finds out from Golding, who has received ‘intelligence, by a false brother’, an informer, of the shipwrecks (4.2.12-17, 67-68). More remarkably, he knows that Petronel ‘took in fresh flesh at Billingsgate’ and that the woman was Winifred, the wife of Security, who Touchstone also knows ‘hath been the broker for ‘em in all this business’ (4.2.198-200). As Henry Turner writes, after the shipwrecks the drama takes a ‘reverse trajectory back towards the city and its institutions of authority’ (213): the power of this centripetal force is emphasised and amplified by the vertical knowledge available to the static controlling characters.

Eastward Ho is a critique of the morals and the aesthetics of *Westward Ho*, operating by limiting and ridiculing transgressive desires and opportunities, through closing down discursive latitude as well as lateral spatial movements and actions and, additionally, through the metatheatrical parodies and satiric references to the first play. In *Westward Ho* possibilities are legion; in *Eastward Ho* they turn grim. Sinfy weeps to Gertrude that her hoped-for future with Quicksilver is ‘now likely to be forsaken, for he is possibility to be hanged’; Gertrude cries in kind: ‘Nay, weep not, good Sin. My Petronel is in as good possibility as he’ (5.1.10-12). It is the virtuous, industrious Golding who is permitted to indulge and wonder at what might be possible, when he asks Mildred, ‘But is it possible, that you seeing your sister preferred to the bed of a knight, should contain your affections in the arms of a prentice?’ (2.1.43-44). And it is Touchstone who sarcastically taunts the once-hopeful Quicksilver: ‘Is’t possible? I thought your worship had been gone for Virginia, sir’ (4.2.174-75). Immoderate wayfaring, Touchstone’s speech affirms, is beyond the limits of what is either permitted or possible. In terms of Robert Weimann’s formulation, discussed in Chapter Four, the *locus* of the play is fixed around Touchstone’s shop and his part of Cheapside. The *platea*, the site of, in Weimann’s words, ‘scandalous licentiousness’ (*Author’s Pen* 195), is demonstrated as ludicrous and non-realizable: it is thus, at the play’s close, silenced.

Satire and Surveillance

All of this raises the question as to why *Eastward Ho*, the antithesis to and a satiric critique of the unlicensed opportunities of *Westward Ho*, and with its reestablishment of an ordered, closed version of London, should have occasioned the imprisonment of two of its authors? There are two main intertwined strands in the answer; one relates to surveillance, the second to satire.

Running through *Eastward Ho* is a recurring motif in which characters become an audience, observing or surveying other characters, who might or might not be conscious that they are being watched. Touchstone will 'eavesdrop' on Golding and Mildred (2.1.41); Mistresses Fond and Gaze turn out to see Gertrude depart (3.2); Slitgut commentates by the side of the Thames (4.1); prisoners, gaol officers and visitors form the audience for Quicksilver's 'Repentance' (5.5); in the Epilogue the Blackfriars audience is drawn into the play like on-lookers at the annual Lord Mayor's pageant. (Gossett and Kay refer to three of these scenes of 'spectatorship' in their Introduction; Gertrude's departure from the shop, Slitgut's observations on the Thames, and Quicksilver's performance in gaol). This form of relatively innocuous spectating or surveying is, in a minor mode, tied in to another recurring theatregram, touching on spies or 'intelligencers'. In *Westward Ho* there are two humorous references to intelligence derived through covert observation. At the Steelyard Justiniano adds a little frisson to proceedings by pretending they are being spied upon: 'Who's there? Peepers: Intelligencers: Eavesdroppers' (2.3.43). Sergeant Ambush boasts that he knows most of the thieves in London, 'I thanke God, and good intelligence (3.2.6). In *Eastward Ho* there is a more sinister and pervasive sense of spying, and across all social strata. In her warning to Quicksilver about the precarious and corrupt ways of advancement at court, Sindyfy points to how 'every trencher-bearer, every groom' seeks to find a lord's favour through 'indulgence and intelligence' (2.2.65). In Virginia, extols Seagull, 'you shall live freely there, without sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers' (3.3.29-30). Wolf informs

Touchstone that Sergeant Fang, now he is a Christian convert, will 'sell his place shortly and become an intelligencer' (5.2.48-49). For those in authority, spies like Fang are of use: Golding knows about the events on the Thames because, as noted above, 'I have intelligence by a false brother' (4.2.67-68). Three levels of surveillance can be defined. The first is epitomised most clearly by Slitgut and his running commentary on the action in and along the Thames. The second comprises the undercover work of informants and spies in the play, carrying out surveillance behind the scenes on behalf of others in positions of moral or civic authority. The third level is the surveillance being carried out on behalf of figures of political authority in 1605 London, by a member or members of the Blackfriars audience.

Eastward Ho is a work of satire: it represents and exposes to ridicule and, often, punishment, many features of London under the new King James. For example, the play parodies and critiques the amoral, opportunistic kaleidoscopic manoeuvres of *Westward Ho*. It satirises the folly of social climbers and sexual adventurers, and the idiocies of Mrs Touchstone and others who gaze fondly on (supposedly) new-found wealth and the latest fashions and opportunities. There is an early satiric reference to James I's practice of selling knighthoods, 'Yes, that he is a knight! I know where he had money to pay the gentlemen ushers and heralds their fees' (1.2.81-82), with a second scandalous reference to follow later. It presents forms of hyperbolic repentance in a satirical manner. But Chapman, Jonson and Marston's satirical impulses also engage with more contentious contemporary affairs. In their collaborative drive to affirm a closed, virtuously ordered version of London, they take fire at very visible and identifiable features of the new court. Gertrude's erotic passion for 'court sport', 'With arm or leg or any other member' is a bawdy joke, with no deep cutting glance at the real court (1.2.70). Her reference as she is dressed by her tailor to her farthingale, 'a right Scot' that will 'clip close, and bear up round' is a humorous aside on proverbial Scottish miserliness (1.2.40). Quicksilver's remark that Gertrude could 'have been made a lady by a Scotch knight' (2.2.68-69) is another run-of-the-mill quip in the anti-Scottish trope running through the dramatic meshwork from 1604.

But Sinfy's warning to Quicksilver, who plans to find maintenance at the court, is more direct and critical: to 'humour an imperious lord' demands servile hypocrisy, fawning to those other hangers-on, who 'crept into his favour, and by panderism into his chamber' (2.2.60, 65-66). One of Virginia's great delights, according to Seagull, is the lack of, amongst others, 'courtiers' (3.3.29). In *Westward Ho* the courtiers, as discussed in Chapter Four, are unspecified raffish boors. In *Eastward Ho* courtiers are defined in the drama with increasing precision as the Scottish members of the new court, in the capital since 1604 and growing in numbers. Seagull's paeon to Virginia continues with the caveat that it might be home to 'a few industrious Scots, perhaps'; for Scots are, as he argues, 'dispersed over the face of the whole earth' (3.3.30-31). Indeed, he adds, as an ironic contribution to the very latest political debate in London, 'we are all one countrymen now', and, as Englishmen, it would be far preferable if all the Scots in town, 'a hundred thousand of 'em', were in Virginia rather than London (3.3.33-34). On two occasions the satire is more explicit still, identifying not only social and scandalous features of the new court, but living persons. The 'imperious lord' mentioned by Sinfy might believe he is in control, but the one who actually controls who is admitted or not, who 'rules the roost', is 'my worshipful rascal, the groom of his close stool' (2.2.66-68). As Ian Donaldson remarks, the Groom of the Stool 'had special responsibility for the King's most intimate functions' (211-12): in the court of James I the office holder was Sir John Murray.

A second identification is more explicit still, in that there appears to be an impersonation on stage of living persons. One of these is the drawer at the Blue Anchor. The other is altogether more significant. Petronel and Seagull, bedraggled and lost on the Isle of Dogs, are met by two Gentlemen crossing the stage. The first Gentleman speaks in a pronounced Scottish dialect and accent as he identifies Petronel: 'I ken the man weel; he's one of my thirty-pound knights (4.1.140). As noted above, *Westward Ho* repeatedly mocks the courtly newcomers in London as drunken womanisers who have borrowed money to purchase their knighthoods, but there is no sense that Monopoly and his cronies are actual impersonations of living people. Whilst Monopoly, with

his distinctive northern dialect, might be representative of the new Scots in London, he is not meant to be identifiable as an impersonation of a specific individual. Similarly, in *Eastward Ho* the authors seem to take care to ensure that the goldsmith Touchstone, like Heywood's Flower and his drapers shop in the Exchange, is not identified with any living shop owner on Goldsmiths Row. Yet in the shipwreck scene in *Eastward Ho*, by contrast, the new practice of purchasing knighthoods is satirised, and the satire emphasised by the second Gentleman's response that the hatless washed-up character speaking 'broken French' is one of those who effectively 'stole his knighthood' for a mere four pounds on the occasion of James's coronation day (4.1.132, 141).⁶ More outrageously satirical yet is the likelihood that, as Gossett and Kay note, the actor is performing 'a daring impersonation of King James' (*Jonson*). The parodic impersonation of *Westward Ho*'s Moll and Clare in the form of Gertrude and a monkey is a form of metatheatrical satire, whereas to impersonate the King and to ridicule the prevalence of indigent Scottish knights is political satire. And it was a politician who took offence. Sir James Murray, brother to the Groom of the Stool, informed the King of the defamatory personal references, the apparent impersonation of the King, and of the anti-Scottish sentiments and satire. In a spectacular ironic reversal, the play that was produced as a corrective to the amoral unlicensed opportunism of *Westward Ho*, an affirmation of civic authority and business-like probity and order, was so insistent and all-encompassing in its moral and satirical reach that it provoked condemnation and censure from the highest authority. As Touchstone, unmoving in or outside his shop, receives information upon which he instructs others to act, so the King, upon receiving information, instructed others to act. A charge was brought against the three authors, and, like the transgressive characters in *Eastward Ho*, Chapman and Jonson were imprisoned.

As Jonson recalled in *Informations to William Drummond of Hawthornden*, over a decade later, 'He was delated by Sir James Murray to the King for writing something against the Scots in a play... The report was that

⁶ I follow Gossett and Kay in taking the second Gentleman's mention of 'the grand day' (4.1.141-42) as a reference to the memorable occasion of the coronation, when 432 new knights were created (*Jonson*, Commentary on 4.1.141-42), rather than Van Fossen's less specific reference to one of the four Inns of Court holidays (157).

they should then had their ears cut and noses' (*Jonson* 207-10). For the three collaborators their play, planned as a moral and satirical response and the antithesis to *Westward Ho*, produced startlingly unexpected and problematic outcomes. Dekker and Webster's own response, staged later that same year, was to head north.

Chapter Six: *Northward Ho*

'Cry *North-ward hoe*, as the boy at Powles saies' (4.1.254)

Northward Ho, the second *Ho* play by Dekker and Webster, was performed at Paul's in 1605, in the autumn following the summer run of *Eastward Ho* at Blackfriars. Set in contemporary London, it is a conspicuous model of, as William West writes, 'theatre as made out of other performances' (154). The two performances that most closely inform the third *Ho* play are the first two; there are also strong links and threads tied to the works of other dramatists, and to plays by William Shakespeare and George Chapman in particular. Through its borrowing and reworking of key elements comprising the 1598-1605 metatheatrical meshwork, the play produces a distinctive version of the capital. The chapter first examines the techniques used by the dramatists to produce a version of everyday London that is replete with desire and activity yet is curiously marked by indeterminacy and absences. The next section examines the drama's sense of excess and energy, and how this is produced through its close metatheatrical engagement with many contemporary dramas in the meshwork. *Northward Ho* operates, at a metatheatrical level, as a synthesis of key elements in the first *Ho* plays: where *Eastward Ho* functions as a parody, *Northward Ho* is a pastiche, a play made up from other plays and which is itself all about playing. In contrast to the firm ethical centripetal force that characterises *Eastward Ho*, the movements on stage and imagined behind the scenes towards and from London in *Northward Ho* parallel those in *Westward Ho*: it begins with a centripetal pull, as characters return to the capital and then exerts a wild centrifugal force when the entire cast show up at Ware. The concluding section analyses the two dramatists' tactical responses to the surveillance in the theatres that led, as discussed in the previous chapter, to the imprisonment of playwrights.

Absences and Inversions

In *Westward Ho* Dekker and Webster produced a dense version of contemporary London, pulsing with movement and opportunity. One technique used in *Northward Ho*, based simply on the incidence of the words 'London' and 'Londoners', would appear to create an even greater focus on the capital and its streets, sites and activities. In *Westward Ho* 'London' is used in spoken dialogue seventeen times, and 'Londoner' once. There are two main forms of usage in the first play. Firstly, London is a place to visit or to leave. The references to London as a place to travel to or from are clustered in the final act, when the characters are in Brentford. Thus, for example, the wives 'hope to bee rowd to London to morrowe morning' (5.1.156), whilst the men plan to return with their chastened wives: 'to call for oares, then to cry hay for London' (5.4.94). Birdlime's defiant last speech affirms, 'No you cannot hem me out of London' (5.4.275), and Justiniano assembles the remaining cast with the promise of telling the tale of his adventures whilst they travel back, on 'our way to London' (5.4.294).

Secondly, in *Westward Ho* London is a site of repletion and sensory experience. Examples of how 'London' is used to affirm and emphasise the sense of excess include Luce's complaint about the 'thousand bragging Jackes in London, that will protest they can wrest comfort from me' (4.1.86-87), and Ambush's boast that 'I know most of the knaves about London, and most of the Theeves to' (3.2.4-5). The scrivener notes in an aside that for Monopoly 'twill be hot staying for you in London' (1.2.16); Birdlime assures Monopoly that she can supply a 'dilicate face' for his evening entertainment: 'All the painters in London shal not fit for colour as I can; but we shall have some swaggering' (2.2.233-35). 'London' in *Westward Ho*, therefore, is associated with both movement and phenomenological thickness.

In the context of the 1598-1605 metatheatrical meshwork, the incidences of 'London' and its variants uttered on stage in seven contemporary plays set in the modern capital are as follows: *Englishmen for My Money*, nine references; *Eastward Ho*, seven; *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*, six; *Everyman Out Of His Humour*, five; *Michaelmas Term*, five; *The London*

Prodigal, five; *The Dutch Courtesan*, two. Clearly, the eighteen references in *Westward Ho* are unusual, and help to locate and emphasise the action in the immediate present of the bustling city.

In comparison with their first play, in *Northward Ho* Dekker and Webster's use the terms 'London' and 'Londoner' in a far more insistent manner and for a different purpose. Altogether the word London is heard a remarkable thirty-three times, twenty-seven as "London' and six as 'Londoner' or 'Londoners'. The two words are made to function in three complementary modes. The first mode, as in *Westward Ho*, and as expected in a drama where so many characters are staged as moving into or from the capital, is prepositional, associated with movement. Examples include, 'To London Sir', 'Ile to London presently', 'next morning to London', 'get up to London', 'come you from London' (1.1.38; 1.1.161; 3.2.120; 4.3.88; 5.1.471). A second mode is associated with London as a site of plenitude, but now specifically in terms of the presence of women and of female sexual activity. Bellamont tells Featherstone that there are 'maides inough in London' to satisfy the desires of sexual adventurers, and that because the women are from wealthy families they can later be married off satisfactorily (2.2.79). The city is full of 'queanes and knaves' (3.1.109). Doll storms out of Bellamont's study, swearing 'by all the maiden-heads that are lost in London in a yeare (and thats a great oth)' that he will be scorned by women (4.1.200-01). The Chamberlain tells the two gallants that prostitution in Dunstable revolved around 'London polecats (... wenches I meane Sir)' (1.1.21-22). Bellamont points out Kate Greenshield to her cuckolded husband and tells him she is Featherstone's 'ordinary', good for fruitful gambling and sex: 'in this she is like a London ordinary: her best getting comes by the box' (5.1.274-75).¹ In the play's version of the capital, London is a place of casual sexual affairs and, as in Doll's business plans, a place where sex is marketed.

The third mode is distinctive to *Northward Ho*, and functions by assuming the audience is comprised of insiders who are familiar with the business and ceremonial customs of the city. A particular feature of this mode is the emphasis on characters as Londoners. The opening scene establishes

¹ For the sexual euphemism of 'box' see James T. Henke 25.

this in a determined fashion, with London referred to seven times and Londoners three times: in addition the audience hears of 'many merchants wives in the Citty', with two other references to a 'Cittizen' (1.1.63-64, 71, 83). In his first speech Greenshield introduces himself as 'a Londoner' (1.1.4) and before they appear on stage Mayberry and Bellamont are called 'the Londoners' (1.1.32). Philip explains his enjoyment of Doll's sexual favours by arguing with Bellamont that 'your Londoners' love 'rawe Mutton, so Father god-boy, I was borne in London', to which Bellamont replies by calling him 'thou foolish Londoner' (1.3.175-76, 180). Doll refers to 'bankrout retainers' in their blue coats 'at Saint Georges feast in London' (2.1.20-21). This is a play about Londoners, who have the insiders' knowledge and appreciation of the city's various commercial and civic practices.

It seems to be expected by the dramatists that many in the audience would also be insiders, with an alert recognition of the capital's important sites and their normative characteristics. The Exchange is a place of domestic and sexual gossip (1.1.83-84); Fleet Street is 'melancholy' in the long vacation when lawyers are away (1.2.51). St Martin's Lane is where tacky jewellery can be snapped up (1.2.92); Long Lane is the place for cheap clothing (2.1.14); running from Charing Cross to St Clement Danes is the Strand, a place for cast-off women to set up as dress and wig makers (5.1.333-36). Philip is arrested in Billingsgate Ward, near Pudding Lane (1.2.20-21). On Kate's arrival in town she stays at Blossoms Inn, on St. Lawrence Lane in Cheapside (2.2.102-03); when Bellamont's group head north they stop off just outside the city walls near the Dolphin Inn at Bishopsgate (4.3.25). The Guildhall reeks of drink even two days after the annual feast for the new Lord Mayor (5.1.128-29); the same festivity is referred to by Hornet and then Mayberry (2.1.8; 2.2.4). London itself lacks 'fresh aire', so Mayberry will lodge Kate and the two gallants 'at a garden house of mine in More feilds', outside the city walls (2.2.107-09). Doll, by contrast, has set up base in 'a faire house in the Citty' (1.2.83). The staged characters' easy familiarity with London sites and spaces is shared with many in the audience, and works as an induction to the city for newcomers.

Kelly Stage comments that 'Ware, the City of London, and Bedlam are key staged locations' (113). And yet, despite the topographical citations and the sense of London as a place full of unregulated activity, the actual staged locations are indeterminate. As the chart in Appendix 4 indicates, only one scene is given a precise location, when, as Stage writes, Bellamont creates 'a guide to visualizing the virtual movement out of the city' (116) by declaring, 'Stay, yonders the Dolphin without Bishops-gate' (4.3.25). The scene begins outdoors by the Dolphin Inn before moving to an imagined indoor staging of Bedlam (presumably characters move from back stage to the main and front of stage). Furthermore, as Jeremy Lopez comments, Bedlam itself is 'neither strictly public nor strictly private': this is reflected in its shifting equivocal siting on stage (*Constructing* 194). The Mayberrys' main residence is on Milk Street, but this information is only given in the final act, when the setting is now an inn in Ware (5.1.116-17). Milk Street is a significant location in one respect, because it is directly opposite Goldsmith's Row and runs immediately parallel to Wood Street, both key staged locations in *Eastward Ho*. Yet an audience at Paul's would have to be exceptionally alert to pick up the geographic correspondence and to then spot how the travellers in *Northward Ho* stage-manage their revenge, compared to the static citizens of *Eastward Ho* exercising outcomes through a civic legal session. There is also a randomness in the distribution of sites that are either named as the imagined location of action on stage (Dolphin Inn, Bedlam) or which are cited (retrospectively in Mayberry's case) as the places where characters live or stay.²

In *Westward Ho* the characters are imagined to have travelled fifteen miles up the Thames to Brentford, with, as discussed in Chapter Four, dramatic techniques deployed to convey a sense of time passing as journeys take place behind the scenes. In *Northward Ho*, by contrast, characters travel considerable distances and turn up, for example, twenty-five miles away from London in Ware, with no sense of time passing. Within the version of London itself, and again in stark contrast to the dramatic devices used in their first *Ho* play, Dekker and Webster do not stage any specific journeys, nor are any new

² From west to east these habitations are Milk Street, Blossoms Inn on Lawrence Lane, Moorfields, the Dolphin Inn, and, in the south east, Pudding Lane.

spaces created or occupied. (The lack of spatial and temporal specificity also contrasts with Dekker's version of London in *The Shoemakers' Holiday*.) For *Northward Ho*'s audience, there is no summoning of an imaginative psychogeographical conception of movement in the capital. There is certainly no sense of synchronous spatial and temporal movement, nor, as in *Eastward Ho*, an amused recognition of the empirical impossibility of the moves described or enacted. Whilst *Northward Ho* concludes with an invitation to move, when Mayberry invites all the couples to a feast and then 'combate ith' greate bed in Ware' (5.1.523), there is a distinct lack of what Giuliana Bruno calls a 'spatial curiosity' (112).

In *Westward Ho* movement, and especially the movement by women, makes London legible, and therefore a site of possibility, of opportunity. Additionally, and furthering this sense of legibility, *Westward Ho* is packed with itineraries and trajectories, taking the majority of characters around and beyond London. Many of these journeys are discussed in Chapter Four: examples include Moll's travel across town to the Earl's; the wives' journey to the Steelyard via Paul's; Honeysuckle's round of business calls; Monopoly's jaunt to Shoreditch; the merchants' trip to the riverside. These declarations of topographical intent create for the audience a 'spatial curiosity', a form of psychogeographical shared knowledge. In *Northward Ho*, by contrast, there is essentially no movement in London, staged or behind the scenes. The information is all available and, on occasions, cited, but it is neither mediated nor enacted through either imagined or staged movements. Thus, for example, in comparison with the women's closely signposted journeys in *Westward Ho*, we do not know how Kate moves from Blossoms Inn to the Mayberry's and then to Moorfields, nor from whence and how Doll makes her way to Bellamont's house. In terms of the drama's topography and the characters' movements or tours there are, for the audience, few points or places for a psychogeographical purchase on this version of London. Attention is focussed on players and playing, with limited opportunities to exercise a spatial curiosity: the drama, as discussed below, is, in Ingold's term, 'sealed' (*Being Alive* 68).

The indefiniteness of the play's topographical sense of London, despite the wealth of verbal references, is replicated in the muted treatment of popular

recurrent theatregrams from the 1598-1605 meshwork. In *Northward Ho* the audience hears frequently about theatregrams in vogue, without actually seeing them realised or enacted on stage. Thus, for example, throughout the meshwork, and including the first two *Ho* plays, tailors appear as highly sexualised artisans, often on stage in the service of bawds, prostitutes and women of easy virtue: the scene in *Eastward Ho* featuring Gertrude and her tailor embraces these features. In *Northward Ho* tailors are referred to often, most usually in association with the prostitute Doll. Captain Jenkins catches sight of Doll being kissed by Allom: her quick excuse is that 'Hee's my Taylor', 'and hee as Tailors wilbe saucie and lickerish, laid mee ore the lippes' (2.1.170, 172). Mayberry's plot to set Greenshield heading north to Ware involves pretending Mrs Mayberry has just made the same journey to meet a courtier, and taken her tailor with her (4.1.264-65). The Bawd in Bedlam tells Bellamont 'my best customers are taylors' (4.3.84). Featherstone accuses the promiscuous Greenshield, 'thou art a Taylor', which leads to the expected joke on how Greenshield will overcome his rival's 'naked weapon' with his own 'Taylors yard' (5.1.282, 362-64). Yet, for all the references to and jokes about tailors, there is only one fleeting appearance of a tailor on stage, when Doll keeps Bellamont waiting for her undivided attention. When the tailor enters, a flustered Bellamont makes to leave, but is told to stay in the room and 'sweate' whilst Doll discusses fashionable clothing (3.1.41). The tailor speaks his two lines, in answer to Doll's question about the optimal attire to show off a woman's 'best bodie'; 'A short dutch wast with a round cathern-wheelee fardingale: a close sleeve, with a cartoose collour and a pickadell' (3.1.46-47). Unlike Gertrude in *Eastward Ho*, Doll does not change clothes on stage nor, like Moll in *Westward Ho*, offstage. The tailor's sartorial recommendations were 'considered the best style for citizens' wives who sought to imitate court fashions' (Linthicum 181), but they are neither conspicuously risqué nor expensive. The tailor's muted, brief appearance, in a diluted rerun of the eroticised action and language seen in *Eastward Ho* 1.2, in a play that is awash with spoken references to tailors and their licentiousness, is symptomatic of the drama's aesthetic design: there is a verbal repletion that is not then realised in the materiality of what is staged. Another example in the same scene is the

unprecedented use of the obscenity in Hans van Belch's pronunciation 'de groetst fooker in all Ausbough'; even Doll is taken aback - 'The greatest what?': 'fooker' is then repeated twice in three lines (2.1.98-102). The verbal repletion is not matched by any activity on stage perceptible through implicit or explicit stage directions at Paul's in 1605. The popular theatrogram of tobacco smoking is referred to on three occasions (1.2.22, 1.2.76, 5.1.230), but tobacco itself neither seen nor smoked on stage. Again, there is a variance between that which is spoken and that which is materially realised on stage.

Another example of this oddly disproportionate design is evident in a popular theatrogram carried forward from *Westward Ho* and then *Eastward Ho*. 'Thou art a Baboune' Mayberry tells his apprentice, 'and holdst me with trickes' (1.3.14). Doll is keen to see Philip's father, 'the witty Monky' (2.1.263); she later remarks that 'I ha curst my Monkey for shrewd turnes a hundred times' (3.1.27-28). In the final scene at Ware Bellamont lists the expenses 'your welthy Cittizen' must lay out for 'his wench', including 'her apparell, her painting, her monkey' (5.1.145-46). Whilst the appearance of another monkey might not have been expected on stage, after *Eastward Ho*, the absence repeats an identifiable pattern in *Northward Ho*: there is a disjunction between the verbal - the excess that marks characters' speech - and the actual staging of popular theatregams.

In relation to the metatheatrical meshwork and Tim Ingold's work on lines there are, therefore, vanishing, unstaged or missing theatregams - or lines - haunting *Northward Ho* as echoes and traces rather than as material or realised entities. This process matches closely Ingold's analysis of the 'logic of inversion', whereby 'beings originally open to the world are closed in upon themselves' (*Being Alive* 68). The outcome of this inversion is that, rather than flowing with and within 'a meshwork of interwoven lines', the 'being' or entity is instead enclosed, 'sealed by an outer boundary or shell that protects their inner constitution from the traffic of interactions with their surroundings' (*Being Alive* 68). What appears in *Northward Ho* as a verbal repletion is actually functioning as an aesthetic device, as a replacement for what is not staged, or is enacted in a suppressed or indistinct form.

The nature and effect of this enclosing or inversion can also be analysed by reference to Bridget Escolme's *Talking to the Audience* and her discussion of the production of an anti-illusionist drama through the ways actors address their audience directly (6-11). This form of 'direct address', in Andrew Gurr's term (*Shakespeare's Stage* 103), engenders a 'direct encounter between actors and the people who have paid to see them act' (Escolme 9). In *Westward Ho* there are six long soliloquies when characters talk directly to the audience. Three are by Justiniano at the close of scenes (1.1, 2.1, 3.3) and another as he waits for characters to appear ('O the villany of this age...' 3.3.39-51); one is spoken by Clare as she delights in her successful scheming ('O the wit of a woman...' 3.1.34-45); the sixth is voiced by the Earl as he contemplates voluptuous bliss ('This night shal my desires be amply Crownd' 4.2.14-52). The effects are various: some reveal the plots in hand and thus reveal aspects of character and motive; others are used to reflect upon promiscuity and cuckoldry; the Earl overcomes moral scruples and is confirmed in his lechery. In all cases the three characters are talking from the stage at Paul's to the audience, sharing with them their plans, achievements, complaints and reservations. This form of 'direct address' emphasises, however briefly, the theatricality of what is being staged (and thus operates in parallel with the host of metatheatrical theatregrams imported from other plays and other stages). The soliloquies are thus, in Ingold's terms, a way of being 'open to the world'.

In *Northward Ho*, by contrast, there are two short soliloquies spoken by characters alone on stage, and another two by characters who are being overheard by others on stage. The latter two occasions when characters talk to themselves are in 3.1 when first Kate and then Featherstone reflect on ways to outwit Greenshield; in both instances they are being observed by other characters. In the first of the two short soliloquies Doll expresses her exasperation and bewilderment that she should 'Love a scoffing Poet!' (3.1.126-135). In the second Bellamont, in his study preparing to compose, considers his chameleon-like virtuosity: 'Why should not I bee an excellent statesman?... ' (4.1.5). There is a fine metatheatrical joke being played out in his private musings here, which will be considered below, but the immediate

point is that, as soliloquies, Doll and Bellamont's speeches are far from being overt instances of a 'direct address' to the audience. Doll addresses no-one but herself and Bellamont is even more immersed in his own work: the audience overhears his reflections but is not spoken to nor taken into his confidence. Neither character is presenting a form of being 'open to the world'. To return to Robert Weimann's analysis of the distinction between the *locus* and the *platea*, it is as if the characters are locked into the *locus* with no access to the *platea*. The effect in *Northward Ho* of conspicuously not talking to the audience is to produce - apparently - a self-enclosed drama, hermetically sealed on the stage at Paul's.

Excess and the Meshwork

An analysis of *Northward Ho* in terms of Ingold's conceptual framework raises at least two questions. The first is, what existed in the contemporary surrounding 'traffic of interactions' that led to the inversion, the tactical protective infolding and indefinite movements in the drama? The second, taking up another of Ingold's lines of enquiry, is why does the inversion not result in a dramatic stagnation: how does the drama avoid becoming 'a sink into which movements settle like sediment in a ditch' (*Making* 94)? Or, to rephrase the question, based on the words of Kathleen McLuskie, 'The play seems a celebration of the excess of London as a source of energy and comic pleasure' (*Dekker* 114): how is this 'seems' produced, and what exactly is the excess that is being celebrated?

The answer to the first question, concerning the external 'traffic of interactions', can be uncovered by reflecting on yet more absences in the play, and will in turn contribute to an answer to the second question. The play has a comparatively barren psychogeographical landscape. In the drama's version of London there are, additionally, very few traces of any civic authority or State control. The only evidence of these forces of order are the two sergeants, 'pasty-footed Rascalls' who haul Philip off to the Counter in the second scene (1.2.17). The play's characters contrive to manage all the drama's plots and narrative threads themselves, with no input or assertive control from staged

regulatory civic authorities or *Eastward Ho's* 'false brothers'. In fact, the only other form in which the power of the State is observed is when Doll refers to the newly minted coins for the new reign: 'Silver is the Kings stampe, man Gods stampe, and a woman is mans stampe, we are not currant till wee passe from one man to another' (1.2.79-81). In the same scene she refers to prostitutes now returning to the city after being evicted, but 'all the Quest-houses' are now 'broken up' and have been so 'long since' (1.2.67-69): the powers of the aldermen are only transitory. The lack of authority is reminiscent of *Westward Ho*, where Sergeant Ambush and Yeoman Clutch are the representatives of law and order. The extreme and immediate contrast is, of course, with *Eastward Ho* and its closing judicial scene and the rise of Deputy Alderman Golding. Dekker and Webster appear to refer explicitly to how the apprentice Golding is providentially gifted a civic role as an alderman: when Squirrel encourages young Leapfrog to play his cards right in order to gain rich rewards, he first quotes the proverbial 'an old Serving-man turnes to a young beggar' and then adds a novel and highly topical reference to *Eastward Ho*; 'a young Prentise may turne to an old Alderman' (3.2.130-31).³

Furthermore, and in contrast to the first two *Ho* plays, there is no mention of the King's new court, apart from Mayberry's pretense that his wife has gone to Ware to 'meete a Gentleman of the Court' (4.1.265). There are no knights. There are no anti-Scottish jests or barbs. There is no political satire. It is as if the two dramatists have made every effort to ensure their new play could not possibly run foul of any in authority. If the external 'traffic of interactions' included political intelligencers and government agents who had the power to incarcerate errant playwrights, then Dekker and Webster's inverted dramatic response to the fate of the authors of *Eastward Ho* makes tactical sense. This could, of course, represent the success of dramatic censorship and the policing of the theatres. More significantly, however, the play's infolding, or self-containment, actually makes it resistant to charges of political or personal satire or critique.

This is emphasised by yet other absences. For example, if the first *Ho* play was the terrain of the haptic, emphasised by a profusion of 22.38 props in

³ cf. Tilley S255 594 re. the serving man to beggar proverb.

every 1000 lines, then *Northward Ho* draws far less attention to material phenomenological excess, with 9.55 props per 1000 lines.⁴ In comparison with *Westward Ho*, there is a diminished sense of a stage bustling with objects and effects. A more significant absence, emphasised by the lack of 'direct address', is a sense of the audience in the playhouse at Paul's. Again, in comparison with the flood of jokes about lawyers and the Inns of Court noted in *Westward Ho*, the new play has just three. Bellamont entices Featherstone to more false disclosures when he proposes that Mabel had made sexual advances, 'as if she had fallen in love with you at some Innes a court revels; and invited you by letter to her lodging' (2.2.84-86). There is one amusing joke about the law's delay when Doll comments on Hornet's new suit of clothes: 'yet tis no law-suite, for twas dispatcht sooner than a posset on a wedding night' (2.1.11-12). Mayberry uses the Latin legal term 'forma Juris' correctly, in contrast to Judith Honeysuckle's mangling of the related term in *Westward Ho* (1.1.168; cf. *WHO* 2.1.108-09). These three brief instances aside, the relative lack of self-referential jokes about lawyers contributes, together with the lack of 'direct address', to an apparent absence of any sense of an audience in the playhouse: this parallels the play's lack of psychogeographical traction.

In one crucial respect, however, *Northward Ho* is absolutely steeped in London's contemporary theatrical world, with an intense metatheatrical focus. The excess celebrated and enacted in the play is metatheatrical: *Northward Ho* is a play about playing, comprised itself of a series of intermeshed playlets, with characters on stage as the various audiences. The audiences at Paul's are not required to tap into their understanding of London's places and spaces, or to be alert for legal jokes at their expense: it is assumed instead that many members of the audience would share and appreciate the plethora of metatheatrical allusions, jokes and associated theatregrams. The inversions and absences that appear to produce a self-enclosed drama in fact clear the stage for an almost continuous unfolding of metatheatrical activity. Appropriately, as Allardyce Nicoll commented about Bellamont, 'it is the first attempt in English drama to present a playwright as a focal character' (216).

⁴ see Chapter Four for other comparative figures.

but necessary caveat is the possibility that a lost play acted at Paul's included the phrase.) The metatheatrical instant is part of a broader contextual difference between the two plays. The pivotal Act 4.1 of *Westward Ho* brings characters together in a brothel. The parallel developmental scene in *Northward Ho* is set in a playwright's study. The explicit references to contemporary London's theatrical life, and the self-referential play on specific lines said on stage at Paul's, all emphasise that the distinctive feature of the London of *Northward Ho* is its metatheatricality, not opportunities for sexual dalliances, streams of political satirical, or topographical exactitude.

There are two playwrights in particular whose works are alluded to, quoted from and recalled in the metatheatrical mesh of *Northward Ho*: these are Shakespeare and Chapman. The allusions to non-proverbial Shakespearean lines include the poet and playwright Bellamont borrowing from *Hamlet*'s Ophelia when he tells Featherstone, 'You shall close it up like a treasure of your owne, and your selfe shall keepe the key of it' (1.1.68-69). Doll, like Greenshield, reruns a joke from *Romeo and Juliet*, 'doe you stand with your naked weapons in your hand' (1.2.6). A second metatheatrical in-joke from *Romeo and Juliet* is when Greenshield bashes his shin and Featherstone advises him to seek treatment; Greenshield refuses, quoting 'A scratch, a scratch' (3.2.113). Greenshield's ardent pursuit of Mabel Mayberry is emphasised by his borrowings from the hyperbolic Pistol in *Henry V*: 'weele ferrit them and firke them' (5.1.25). Mayberry himself attempts to quote the jealous husband in the brand new play *Othello*: 'for to know a mans wife is a whore, is to be resolv'd of it, and to be resolved of it, is to make no question of it, and when a case is out of the question; what was I saying?' (1.1.164-66). Amusingly, in his inexpert recitation Mayberry loses his thread and ends up echoing Polonius.⁵ The borrowings and allusions to Shakespeare's plays indicate that Dekker and Webster can have expected the audience at Paul's to have crossed the river and seen plays at the Globe.

⁵ *Hamlet*: "Tis in my memory locked / And you yourself shall keep the key of it', 1.3.85-86. 'Treasure' in Bellamont's speech echoes 'chaste treasure' from Laertes's speech to Ophelia in the same scene from *Hamlet*.

Romeo and Juliet: 'My naked weapon is out' 1.1.33; 'Ay, ay, a scratch, a scratch, 3.1.94

Henry V: 'I'll fer him, and firk him, and ferret him' 4.4.27-28

Othello: 'to be once in doubt / Is once to be resolv'd' 3.3.182-83.

Romeo and Juliet's 'a scratch, a scratch' was also quoted by George Chapman in *All Fools*, as noted in Chapter Three. George Chapman's *The Old Joiner of Aldgate* (and possibly his *Bussy D'Ambois*) was performed at Paul's in 1603-04, before he transferred his allegiance to the Blackfriars, where a number of his plays were premiered and in repertory as revivals. As a collaborator with Marston and Jonson on *Eastward Ho* he found himself, together with the latter, imprisoned. *All Fools*, probably in repertory at Blackfriars since the theatres reopened in 1604, is cited by Bellamont as he directs Mabel Mayberry in her role as an alluring temptress. In *All Fools* the insanely jealous Cornelio complains about his wife's behaviour with the courtier Doriotto, including the 'commerce of glances, that passed betwixt this cockerel-drone and her... their winks, their becks... their treads o' the toe' (4.1.270-72). Bellamont advises Mabel to enact 'treads of the toe, salutations by winckes, discourse by bitings of the lip, amorous glances, sweete stolne kisses when your husbands backs turn'd' (2.2.11-13). A second reference to *All Fools* might perhaps, as referred to in Chapter One, provide us with a figure for the size of the audience at Blackfriars. Doll looks forward gleefully to entertaining her expected visitor, Bellamont: 'Thou shalt see mee make a foole of a Poet, that hath made five hundred fooles' (3.1.11-12). There are two joking allusions to another of Chapman's plays at the Blackfriars: Doll directs that two of her companions will manage her clients, 'like my Gentleman usher'; Bellamont will escort Kate to dinner, 'Ile be the Gentleman usher' (2.1.264; 2.2.116).

One of Marston's dramas is alluded to in *Northward Ho* when the Bawd in Bedlam mocks young gallants new to London as 'squibs that run upon lynes', an expression first used in 1604 at Blackfriars in *The Fawn*, where their typically flashy progress is described as 'squibs running upon lines like some of our gaudy gallants' (*NHo* 4.3.89; *Fawn* 1.2.20).⁶ The metatheatrical links and echoes indicate the dramatists producing plays for performance at Paul's would have expected many in their audience to have attended performances at the

⁶ Some allusions and borrowings are not recorded by the compilers of the Verbal Sources listed for the play in Martin Wiggins's *Catalogue* Vol.5 243, which notes just *Hamlet* and *The Fawn* from the list above. Cyrus Hoy's notes the same references with regard to *Hamlet* (citing Dyce's edition of *The Works of John Webster*, 1923), and the naked weapons, *Othello* and *The Fawn*. The 2019 *Works* Vol.4 refers to the borrowing from *Henry V*.

public theatres as well as the private indoor theatre at Blackfriars. This supports Lucy Munro's argument, in *The Children of the Revels*, that visitors to the private theatres also frequented the larger public theatres (61-62). The audience at Paul's for *Westward Ho* was expected to comprise psychogeographers as well as experienced theatregoers. The audience for *Northward Ho* was assumed to include London's finest metatheatrical cognoscenti, an 'interpretative community', in Janet Clare's phrase (*Stage Traffic* 26), recognising and enjoying allusions and borrowings from, for example, new plays and revivals at The Globe and Blackfriars: the dramatists could rely on, as Joel Altman writes, the 'audience's theatrical self-awareness' (278).

Parody and Pastiche

The two plays that the Paul's audience would find resonating and echoing throughout *Northward Ho* are, unsurprisingly, its two forerunners, *Westward Ho* and *Eastward Ho*. The dialectical relationship between the three plays can be formulated as follows: *Eastward Ho* is the antithesis to *Westward Ho*, as discussed in the previous chapter; *Northward Ho* is the metatheatrical synthesis of the first two plays. To appropriate the critique applied by Fredric Jameson in his analysis of Postmodernism, and to apply it, albeit anachronistically and on a minute cultural canvas: *Eastward Ho* is a parody, and *Northward Ho* a pastiche (cf. *Postmodernism* 16-19). *Northward Ho* is certainly a far more cheerful production than the blank and inert forms of modernist pastiche delineated by Jameson. It operates as a pastiche in its swerving away from contemporary London and its politics, its satire and its topography, and, in place of these, it constructs a drama that is almost purely about the construction and enactment of dramas. *Northward Ho* is, to return to Marvin Carlson's argument in *The Haunted Stage*, haunted by significant elements of the preexisting texts in the meshwork, 'weaving together elements' from new dramas and revivals, and with a 'recycling of material' (8, 27) from, in particular, *Westward Ho* and *Eastward Ho*.

There are extensive correspondences between *Westward* and *Northward Ho*. The theme of women heading west is repeated in *Northward Ho* when Mayberry laments how women 'sailing to Westminster, makes a number of Cuckolds' (1.1.131). Doll describes how women once sent from London are now returning: 'those poore wenches that before Christmasse fled West-ward with bag and baggage, come now sailing alongst the lee shore with a Northerly winde' (1.2.70-73), whilst Mayberry's impudent apprentice suggests he'll search for Mabel 'by water, for it may be shees gone to Brainford' (1.3.17-18). Twice Ware is referred to as 'Brainford Northward' (5.1.42, 250). As Henry Turner notes in his comments on Dekker and Webster's references to the Brentford of *Westward Ho* in *Northward Ho*, the 'web of exchanges indicates a remarkable level of generic awareness and self-referentiality' (209).

Other parallels and inversions abound. Captain Jenkins will buy Doll a new coach, 'to jolt you in', reminding us of the wives in *Westward Ho* who 'love jolting' in a coach (2.1.224; *WWho* 2.3.70). When Kate pretends she is ill to avoid her husband she cries out 'lay me in my bed', an exact repetition of Clare's cry to thwart Monopoly at Brentford (*NHo* 3.2.99; *WWho* 5.1.225). Greenshield proposes that Mayberry and his retinue ride to Ware to catch Mrs Mayberry - with a neat metatheatrical joke - 'in the Act' (4.1.269), echoing the husbands looking to catch wives in flagrante in *Westward Ho*. In the final scene Kate appears masked, ready for a sexual liaison (5.1.127 SD); in *Westward Ho* the wives are masked in the Steelyard as they plan the assignation up the river. Kate Greenshield is from Yorkshire, an 'Innkeepers Daughter of Doncaster' (4.1.238; cf. 2.2.97, 148); Birdlime supplied Monopoly with a 'diligate face', 'a Yorkshire gentlewoman' for an evening's 'swaggering' (*WWho* 2.2.232-240). *Westward Ho*'s Moll Justiniano is young, married to older merchant who initially doubts her fidelity. Mabel Mayberry is young, married to an older merchant who initially doubts her fidelity. (The trope of the young attractive wife and her suspicious older husband is as old as antiquity: the contemporary correspondence between the two *Ho* plays at Paul's would be highlighted if the same two actors played, respectively, Moll and Mabel, and Justiniano and Mayberry.) In a reworking of a joke, the Chamberlain at Ware is

inappositely called Innocence, as Birdlime's maid was called Christian (*NHo* 1.1.15-16, *WHo* 4.1.28-29).

One of the two rings which were central to the plot of *Westward Ho* appears in the second play as the ring belonging to Mabel Mayberry, and is also central to the plot. One of the masks worn by the three wives at the Steelyard and again by Justiniano and his wife at the Earl's features again in *Northward Ho*, worn by Kate in the final scene. With reference to the visual spectacle on stage, Charles Forker notes how in both dramas there is an 'athletic energy conveyed by a pervasive sense of motion', with characters rushing on stage and preparing to rush off again (87). There are, as noted, far fewer props in *Northward Ho*, but the dramatists repeat the method seen in *Westward Ho* of using younger members of the cast to bring objects on stage (in 1.1 the Chamberlain brings a towel, in 2.1. Liverpool brings money and sugar, at the start of 4.1 Bellamont's servant carries on writing equipment).

In the first of a humorous series of reversals, the old Earl in *Westward Ho* is decadently lascivious, whilst Bellamont seems terrified of catching moral and physical diseases from Doll (3.1.101-03, 4.1.164-67, 5.1.381-82). Moll Justiniano is amazed that any woman could find the old Earl sexually attractive; Doll in *Northward Ho* is astonished to discover she finds old Bellamont sexually enticing (4.1.147-150). Justiniano pretends to be a writing master; Bellamont professes to be a master of writing.

These parallels, repetitions and reversals show the two dramatists were confident about recycling materials and stage effects from the first play. Significantly, these allusions and borrowings, linguistic, thematic and performative, show the extent to which *Northward Ho* is steeped in the immediate metatheatrical meshwork, drawing on specific elements of a very recent drama. These elements would have been recognised by many in the audience at Paul's, in the 'collective memory' described by Carlson, as they observe the unfolding production of a radically different play and a new version of London. The theatregrams and the links in the meshwork back to *Westward Ho* emphasise the insistent metatheatricity of Dekker and Webster's second play: a play about playing built upon and out of other plays.

The second play used by Dekker and Webster to construct *Northward Ho* is *Eastward Ho*, weaving a dense web of dramatic and verbal borrowings and allusions. Marvin Carson has written about the way audiences familiar with a theatrical vogue would be 'recycled', bringing a 'collective memory' with them to new productions (*Haunted Stage* 48). The memories of those watching *Northward Ho* would have experienced a haunting from a very recent performance at Blackfriars (or from a reading of the first Quartos of *Eastward Ho* published that year).

Early in *Northward Ho* we hear that Cheapside is the place for high quality upmarket gold (2.1.46-47) and Philip boasts that his father has enough plate in his house to set up a goldsmith's shop (2.1.253), recalling Touchstone's occupation. In another verbal recollection, Bellamont compares Mabel Mayberry's poetical skills with those of 'Gold-smiths wives' (5.1.30). Doll has observed Philip Bellamont riding on horseback, being followed by a brace of punks in a coach (1.2.34-35): in *Eastward Ho* Flash leaves on horseback, followed by Gertrude and Sindefy in a coach. The Captain regrets that he has purchased a coach and a horse for Doll (4.1.104-05, 185-86), again recalling the coach and horse provided for Gertrude. When Squirrel discloses Kate's sleepwalking ruse to Leapfrog he refers to a cuckold's face looking 'witherd and pale like the tree in Cuckolds Haven in a great snow' (3.2.13-14), referring back to the site of Slitgut's panoptic virtuosity. There is a wholesale borrowing from *Eastward Ho* when Greenshield sings a rallying cry in premature triumph, 'O hone, hone, hone O nonero' (5.1.43). The tune is then heard again when it is repeated back to him in mockery by Bellamont (5.1.253). The original recitation on stage was by Gertrude, sung as a wistful lament, 'O hone, hone, o no nera' (*EHo* 5.1.6). The two gallants are expected at the Mayberrys', where Mr Mayberry plans to provide 'the best of entertainment', to match that enjoyed by folk from out of London 'that came to see the Pageant' (2.2.1-5). *Eastward Ho* closes with the audience cast as spectators watching 'on the solemn day of the Pageant!' (Epilogue, 4).

The action in *Northward Ho* is imagined as taking place away from the Thames, yet there are a surprising number of nautical references to the earlier play. Doll refers to catching 'Salmon' in a 'peeter-boate', a fishing vessel on the

Thames, echoing Quicksilver's comment that Security's hard flesh "twould make good Bootes for a Peeter man to catch Salmon in' (*NHo* 2.1.41; *EHo* 2.2.164). More interesting is the reference back to the doomed sailing expedition in *Eastward Ho*, when the roving Featherstone states that he and Greenshield 'purposed a dangerous voyage, but upon better consideration we altered our course (1.1.55-56). The Dutchman van Belch has a 'skip' that can take his companions to his 'groet skip' at Wapping (2.1.82-85); Quicksilver took a boat down river heading for a great ship, and ended up at Wapping. The last explicit reference in *Northward Ho* to the dangerous voyage on the Thames in the earlier play is when, in the same scene, Doll proposes to her crew that they celebrate, 'So will we foure be drunke ith' ship-wracke Taverne': this recalls the drunken carousing at the Blue Anchor before the shipwrecks (2.1.274).

The particular pleasures the knowing audience in Paul's would have derived from the metatheatrical playfulness of *Northward Ho* are discussed below: they are, as ways of understanding and enjoying the play, in direct contrast to the inquisitorial interpretative work undertaken in private and public theatres by repressive agents of the State. The interpretative work of the metatheatrically alert audience contrasts with the jaundiced scrutiny of, in Jonson's words, 'any state-decipherer or politic picklock of the scene' (*Bartholemew Fair*, Induction, 103).

Plots and Impersonation

An analysis of the dramatic structure of *Northward Ho* indicates how a series of narratives intermingle and entwine to produce a metatheatrical pastiche. The most striking repetition or haunting in *Northward Ho* is of the recurring motif in *Eastward Ho* of 'spectatorship', as termed by Susan Gossett and David Kay (*Jonson*). As discussed in Chapter Five, this occurs when characters are situated or become an audience on stage, watching other characters, who might or might not know they are being watched. That *Northward Ho* is a play about playing, composed of a series of internal plays and contrived plots, is evident from the way the dramatists repeatedly use this specific aesthetic framework. The framework comprises a deviser or devisers

of a ruse that will be enacted in such a way that it involves an unwitting performer or performers; there is also often an audience onstage, observing and occasionally commenting on the action. Five examples follow: in 3.1 Doll and her entourage stage a scene involving Bellamont as the unwitting dupe, observed by his son Philip. In 3.2 Kate and Featherstone stage a scene that brings her to Featherstone's bed, with Greenshield the deceived bit-player: the three players are observed by an audience of Leapfrog and Squirrel. In 4.1 Bellamont ensnares Doll as an unknowing participant in the scene he has contrived, with Captain Jenkins as the hidden audience. In 4.3 Greenshield devises a plot to have Bellamont playing a part as a madman in Bedlam, observed by Mayberry and his companions. In 5.1 Kate and Greenshield are gulled into playing roles in a scene managed by Bellamont, with the Mayberrys as audience. As the table in Appendix 5 indicates, the framework is integral to the whole drama: the play is comprised of a whole series of plays, developed around the two or three-part framework of a deviser, an unknowing participant and, often, an audience. If *Westward Ho* is crammed with artefacts, occupational and topographical plenitude, then *Northward Ho*, by contrast, is teeming with plots and plays. The drama draws extensively on contemporary plays, using verbal allusions and borrowings and a limited selection of theatregrams and tropes from the metatheatrical meshwork, and particularly from the first two *Ho* plays and from plays by Shakespeare and Chapman. Furthermore, *Northward Ho* is constructed from a series of increasingly interlocking plots and narrative lines, weaving them towards the finale in the inn at Ware. In *Westward Ho* the characters' movements, the spatialising of their actions, is produced as a form of lateral integration, connecting places, as Ingold writes, 'within a wider network of coming and going' (*Perception* 217). In *Eastward Ho*, in contrast and as discussed in Chapter Five, authority and control is exercised through a vertical mode of surveillance. In *Northward Ho*, the imagined moves characters make across and beyond London are neither connected nor surveyed: the movements are indistinct and generally unrecorded. In the absence of a lateral mode of integration there is, instead, a vertical mode at work. In place of the controlling viewpoint used to critique and

satirise in *Eastward Ho*, in *Northward Ho* a vertical form of control is exercised through characters' facility at devising plots and plays for others to enact.

The authority to manage the affairs of others is a consequence in *Northward Ho* of characters' superior plotting, and their ability to perform a range of roles. Women are notably adept at performing different parts. Doll plays at being 'a Gentlewoman of such a birth, such a wealth, have had such a breeding' (1.2.87-88) and performs different roles according to her clients' background and interests. Kate performs her sleep-walking part to deceive her husband: over the course of the play she is variously a wife, a sister, an adulteress - 'O lusty Kate' (5.1.359) - and, potentially, a whore ('I have playd this knavish part only to be witty', 5.1.234-35). Mrs Mayberry plays two parts, the first when she welcomes the gallants to her home (2.2) and later when, pretending to be mad with jealousy, she will 'come out upon her qu', 'her haire loose' (5.1.118, 196 SD): 'Prettily wel dissembled', notes Bellamont approvingly (5.1.212), echoing Featherstone's aside on Kate's performance, 'Well dissembled Kate' (3.2.82). By the close, however, even the most resourceful and independent women, Doll and Kate, are performing roles in a plot that is devised and scripted by men, and by Bellamont in particular.

The drama emphasises insistently that Bellamont is a poet. He is referred to and addressed as a 'poet' on nearly forty occasions. Mayberry is the only character to actually address Bellamont by his name, with the exception of one instance when Mrs Mayberry appeals to him, 'O Maister Bellamont: as ever you tooke pittie upon the simplicity of a poore abused gentlewoman...' (2.2.159-60). Bellamont, 'haunted with a Fury' (4.1.24), names himself in his poetical reverie, when he imagines the 'Duke of Biron' or a 'chief minion' of the French court telling the French King about the author of *The Tragedy of Astianax* in performance at court: 'Sire, voyla, il et votre treshumble serviteur, le plu sage, è divine esprit, monsieur Bellamont, all in French thus poynting at me, or yon is the learned old English Gentleman Maister Bellamont, a very worthie man, to bee one of your privy Chamber, or Poet Lawreat' (4.1.55-59). To his son Philip, Bellamont is 'my old poeticall dad' (3.1.2); to Doll he is a 'maister poet', a 'Citty poet' and a 'scoffing poet' (3.1.35, 37, 135).

Greenshield and Featherstone refer to him not by name but as, variously, 'maister poet' and 'old poet' (4.3.183, 5.1.51; 5.1.136, 268). His friend Mayberry confirms Bellamont's vocation early in the play, 'you are a Poet Maister Bellamont' (1.3.28-29), and proceeds to address him in a series of whimsical and affectionate terms: 'my white poet', 'my little hoary Poet', and 'my poetically bay-leave-eater' (4.1.218, 260; 5.1.385). A stage direction explicitly requires the actor to 'show signs of poetical fury' (5.1.384 SD).

In his first appearance on stage Bellamont measures time in a theatrical context, reflecting on how he could turn the characters and businesses at Stourbridge market, material fit for the 'length of five latten Comedies', into a play: 'I could make an excellent description of it in a Comedy' (1.1.40-41, 54-55).⁷ As a practising playwright Bellamont can turn everyday affairs into plays for the stage. Mayberry suggests despondently that Bellamont should 'bring my wife upon the Stage, wud not her humor please Gentlemen' (1.3.29-30). He can write tragedies, such as *Caesar and Pompey* and his current project, *The Tragedy of Astianax* (4.1.6-7, 35-36). Like Cripple in *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* (as noted in Chapter Two), Bellamont also takes on poetic commissions: these include sonnets, epitaphs, devices for masques, madrigals and acrostics (2.1.265-66, 4.1.27, 92). A particular by-line, as requested by Doll, is for verses to be inscribed on cheese trenchers (3.1.57). In the context of London's post-plague metatheatrical meshwork, Bellamont's protean poetic abilities recall, in a more good humoured manner, the paternalistic buffoon Gostanzo from Chapman's *All Fools*, who boasts of the multi-generic literary prowess he exhibited in his youth (2.1.170-76).

As an experienced author, Bellamont immediately doubts the plot the two gallants set in motion: it is incredible, he tells Mayberry, 'for two men, both to love your wife, both to enjoy her bed, and to meet you as if by miracle, and not knowing you, upon no occasion in the world, to thrust upon you a discourse' (1.1.176-78). His promiscuous son Philip has been thoroughly versed in poetical lore by his father: 'you have often told mee the nine Muses are all

⁷ Stourbridge Common is just north of Cambridge, and was where a 'great fair was held... annually on Sept. 19th' lasting a fortnight (Sugden 490). Ware is in Hertfordshire and lies almost half way between Stourbridge and Mayberry's shop off Cheapside.

women, and you deal with them, may I not the better be allowed one than you so many?' (1.3.169-71). Mayberry bursts into Bellamont's study with the news of his plotting and exclaims, 'A Commedy! A Canterbury tale smells not halfe so sweete as the Commedy I have for thee old Poet: thou shalt write upon't Poet' (4.1.213-14). Bellamont is relieved to have a comedy to compose, having suffered 'a most villanous female Tragedie' in the form of Doll: all agog, he asks Mayberry for 'the plot, the plot' (4.1.215-16). The link to *The Canterbury Tales* is lightly picked up on the way to Ware, in Bellamont's plan to 'practise jests one against another' (4.3.16). At the start of Act 5 Bellamont takes over Mayberry's plot and gives the latter 'your part of the Comedy' (5.1.19) whilst improvising the script that uncovers Greenshield's deception. By a happy coincidence he is able to use a falconer's costume obtained from 'a company of country plaiers' (5.1.83) and, as his comedy reaches its denouement, he advises his fellow players to 'stick to the devise, and looke to your plot': 'Most Poetically' they cry (5.1.422-23). Bellamont's last line in the play, referring to his bravura plotting, is a triumphant 'Who payes for the Northern voyage now lads?' (5.1.502). Bellamont, the old poet and playwright, sees his latest production brought to a successful dramatic conclusion, without recourse to figures of civic authority or the dispensation of legal justice.

In contrast to *Westward Ho*, the phenomenological excesses have been displaced, and in their stead there is a plenitude of plots and spectators. In contrast to *Eastward Ho*, all official regulatory order has vanished, replaced by improvisation and poetical scheming. The result, a highly metatheatrical synthesis of the first two plays, is a sealed drama about playing and sexual pairings.

Westward Ho, with its flow of jokes about lawyers and young students, and its attention to topographical and temporal geographical detail, can assume a complicity with an audience knowledgeable - or becoming knowledgeable - about London and the Inns of Court. *Eastward Ho*, performed to a larger and more heterogenous audience, affords more room for ambivalences about how the audience might be involved or respond. A respectable merchant might have found Touchstone a character of sound

sense and respectability; more raffish and debonair audience members might have found Touchstone a prig and Quicksilver a fellow of infinite jest and variety.⁸ Back at Paul's in the autumn of 1605, the audience for *Northward Ho* are treated as knowledgeable insiders; not of London's geography, but of its metatheatricality, caught up in and appreciating the dense mesh of theatregrams and allusions. Dekker and Webster's ideal audience are colluding with the dramatists exactly through the way they spectate: they have the metatheatrical knowledge to observe that the play is, defensively and defiantly, a celebration of playing. The notion of an ideal audience at Paul's recalls Marco De Marinis's theorisation of the 'Model Spectator'.⁹ The 'Model Spectator' in the auditorium has the required 'idealized competence' to identify the 'codes' at work in the performance, and to thus undertake the appropriate 'interpretive activity' (De Marinis 168). 'Problematic' performances can elicit a wide range of unspecific responses; 'ideal' performances, by contrast, work to 'predict' a 'specific addressee, requiring definite kinds of competence for their "correct" interpretation' (168).¹⁰ This correlates closely, as discussed above, with the key feature of *Northward Ho*, namely, the pronounced extent to which it operates, through the process of inversion, as an 'ideal' text, wrapped in a knowing metatheatricality and sealed from suspicious surveillance. The insider knowledge of the ideal audience contrasts with a very different way of spectating, searching for incriminating political or personal satire or criticisms. In *Westward Ho* courtiers and knights were derided. *Northward Ho* colludes with its ideal audience in deriding those at Paul's who have attended in the role of government undercover agents.

Westward Ho took care to ensure that no courtier, civic dignitary or London merchant could be directly identified as being impersonated on stage. The authors of *Eastward Ho* appeared to have adopted a similar tactic: Petronel is a parody of a new knight, but not of a specific knight; Touchstone

⁸ Henry Turner suggests that *Eastward Ho* addresses two audiences: for the city tradesmen, to whom the play is dedicated, there is a 'simple commercial moralism', whilst the 'sophisticated urban playgoer' who spots the dramatic conventions 'savours the parody of Quicksilver's mimicking phrases' (214).

⁹ As also discussed by Marvin Carlson in "Theatre Audiences and the Reading of Performance" 84.

¹⁰ See note 20, page 34 re. 'closed/ideal' and 'open/problematic'.

and his shop are never identified exactly enough for a living goldsmith to take umbrage. Unfortunately for the three authors exception was taken, not only to the stridently anti-Scottish satire, but to what was understood to be an impersonation of the new King who comes across Flash and Seagull on the Isle of Dogs. In her study of the hermeneutics and censorship Annabel Patterson notes that, following the scandal over *Eastward Ho*, London's theatres were 'unusually vulnerable at that moment to state interference' (79).¹¹ In *Northward Ho* the two authors steer absolutely clear of any impersonation of London's civic leaders or courtiers. One line of critical inquiry, however, has claimed to have identified a specific instance of impersonation. Allardyce Nicoll presented the fullest argument for Bellamont as a specific impersonation of George Chapman in 1962, and his account has been widely accepted. Nicoll's proposal is based on the scene in Bellamont's study, where he is reflecting on his literary prowess:

Why should I not be an excellent statesman? I can in the wryting of a tragedy, make Caesar speake better than ever his ambition could: when I write of Pompey I have Pompeies soule within me, and when I personate a worthy Poet, I am then truly my selfe, a poore unpreferd scholler. (4.1.5-9).

Nicoll describes Chapman as 'lovingly tinkering' (222) with scenes from his *Caesar and Pompey* over many years. Yet, as Robert Ornstein notes, it is unlikely that the audience at Paul's 'would have immediately associated Chapman with Caesar and Pompey' (61). For the audience to connect Bellamont directly with Chapman they would somehow need to know, for example, that Chapman was already working on *Caesar and Pompey*. In the same scene Bellamont imagines himself as standing near the Duke of Biron whilst his 'Tragedy of Astianax' is performed: how could the audience have been assumed to know Chapman had begun work on his *Tragedy of Byron*, performed in 1608? It appears unlikely that any in the audience (except, of

¹¹ Other contemporary plays with, for example, satirical anti-Scottish elements include Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* at Paul's in 1604 and John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* at Blackfriars, c.1604. Marston's *The Fawn*, 1604, also played at Blackfriars, satirises the court of the new King James I.

course, for George Chapman himself) would have made - or have been expected to make - a link between Bellamont and George Chapman.

What the audience - or some of those present - might have known is that following the performances of *Eastward Ho* earlier that summer two dramatists had been imprisoned. Bellamont's consideration of himself as a potential 'excellent statesman', a candidate 'to bee one of your privy Chamber, or Poet Lawreat' (4.1.58-59) is thus highly fanciful, not only because dramatists had been recently jailed for insulting statesmen, but because any legislative or literary advancement for a London-based writer was deeply unlikely in James I's new court full of Scots. The jests about the Privy Council and the post of Laureate might also explain why Bellamont is daydreaming about a performance of his play at the French court instead of at an English courtly venue. A foreign court, the scene implies, can appreciate a playwright's virtues and talents: in London he is locked up and silenced.

Bellamont is not staged as an impersonation of any living playwright in 1605 London, but as a generic composite of a dramatist and poet who has failed to receive positive acknowledgement or advancement in first two years of the new King's reign. The audience at Paul's is not expected to identify personal correspondences: they only need to know that the late summer and autumn of 1605 is a potentially troubling time to be a writer of dramas set in contemporary London. We can also, following Evelyn Tribble and her discussion of Cristina Grasseni's paper on 'skilled vision' (*Early* 17-18), a record of anthropological fieldwork based on Tim Ingold's analysis of enskilment, elucidate further what Dekker and Webster expected of the majority in the audience at Paul's. Some of the key elements comprising the 'discernment' (Grasseni 47) assumed of experienced spectators have been noted above. These include a metatheatrical memory and the ability to recognise the connections and theatregrams shared across the dramatic meshwork; a basic grasp of the London places in relation to each other (as in Moorgate being out of town, what happens in the Exchange, who you might meet on the Strand); a knowledge of the highly contemporary political scene; a probable knowledge of the arrests following *Eastward Ho*. To return to the arguments of Marvin Carlson and Jacky Bratton discussed in Chapter Three,

Northward Ho draws upon the collective metatheatrical memories of its audience, constructed from attendance at theatres across the capital. Just as *Northward Ho* is embedded in and adds accretive layers to the dramatic meshwork, so it also recycles the audience's knowledge of the key components and theatregrams in the haunted meshwork and, in so doing, adds a further level of metatheatrical cognition and awareness. The audience's expected form of 'skilled vision' is a distinct aesthetic and cultural configuration: a play that is crammed with audiences on stage interpreting and judging the actions before them asks and expects similar interpretative skills of its off-stage spectators. This form of 'skilled vision' is set against and in defiance of a completely different form of spectating, seeking out political and personal correspondences and applications. At the close of *Northward Ho* its antithesis is not an earlier dramatic production (as *Eastward Ho* was to *Westward Ho*), but an aesthetics, a mode of spectating. The 'skilled' or metatheatrically literate will share a knowing, culturally sophisticated audience response. Their antithesis - evincing the aesthetics of spies and intelligencers - will seek out specific politicised impersonations and anti-authoritarian satire and will do so, in contrast to what they saw in *Eastward Ho*, to no avail.

The version of London in *Northward Ho* is a site of commerce in merchandise (the Mayberrys), of sex (Doll and her retinue) and of literature (Bellamont): it is also a site of intelligencers. In *Eastward Ho* Golding made use of intelligencers to apprehend Flash and Quicksilver (cf. 4.2.65-75) but, as discussed in Chapter Five, the three dramatists' overly satirical depiction of those in political authority resulted in imprisonment, a consequence of State surveillance amongst the audience at Blackfriars. *Eastward Ho* shows an awareness of what Annabel Patterson calls 'state interference' (70), and yet still falls victim to this interference. In his analysis of the classic Marxist 'descriptive theory' of the State and its forms of repressive apparatus, Althusser specifically includes, as relatively 'mere' and 'anodyne' examples, the 'interventions of a 'censorship'', referring to the banning of a novel by Diderot and of a drama on Franco by Armand Gatti (13). With the imprisonment of two of the authors of *Eastward Ho* we see a less anodyne intervention by the State in 1605 London.

Northward Ho functions as a dialectical dramatic response to the operations of the repressive apparatus brought to bear on *Eastward Ho* and on dramatists who are deemed, through surveillance of the theatres, to have offended State authority. As noted, there is a marked absence in *Northward Ho* of explicit political satire or controversial reflections on contemporary affairs of State. The only 'intelligencers' are tapsters and chamberlains with knowledge of their customers' sexual liaisons (5.1.14). The barbed and subversive response of *Northward Ho* is to present a play that is ostensibly about nothing more than playing, but is thus, paradoxically, an indictment of repressive forces and their agents operating in the theatre houses. In this version of London the capital is crammed, not with the haptic and material excess of *Westward Ho*, but with audiences who are appreciative and knowledgeable about contemporary plays and playing and yet which contain, disturbingly, a smattering of agents of the repressive State. By enfolding into the drama many of the tropes and theatregrams from the metatheatrical meshwork the play operates as a defiant and distinctive synthesis of the first two *Ho* plays, and in opposition to agencies of repression following the scandal of *Eastward Ho* and the subsequent detention of playwrights. To return to Tim Ingold's formulation, the enfolding or inversion ensures the drama is 'sealed', protected from the 'traffic of interactions with their surroundings' (*Being Alive* 68). It is 'inoculated', in Bruster's phrase (*Shakespeare* 68), from a 'traffic' that includes an active critical surveillance of theatrical performances.

The dramatic paradox, of course, is that *Northward Ho* is indissolubly and deliberately at the heart of a metatheatrical 'traffic', spun from and haunted by the meshwork of contemporary dramas and theatregrams. If, in terms of Escolme's argument, 'Naturalistic theatre is that which attempts to erase its own theatricality' (13), then *Northward Ho* is almost the opposite, a play that flaunts its playfulness and metatheatricality. The reason is not to enthrall the audience at Paul's with naive 'fantastic stories' or an 'easy moralism' (Escolme 13) but, on the contrary, to generate a complicit understanding in the audience. For the heightened illusory effect is a tactical ploy, a defence and affirmation of playing in defiance of a repressive surveillance searching for contemporary satirical barbs and comment. The aesthetic framework of *Northward Ho*

produces a range of on-stage audiences: it also helps to define and position the spectators at Paul's within London's contemporary dramatic meshwork; an audience comprised, in the main, of acute, competent and complicit metatheatrical insiders.

Chapter Seven: *The Isle of Gulls*, or 'Southward Ho'

'...while you live, have a care to fitte your Audience' (4.1.201-02)

This chapter argues that John Day's 1606 drama *The Isle of Gulls* produces a startlingly condemnatory version of 1606 London, by analysing its immediate historical context and the metatheatrical relationship it seeks to establish with the three topical *Ho* plays, and with other dramas staged in London in the 1590s. It examines Day's use of distancing techniques and disclaimers and, in particular, focusses on the play's highly self-conscious awareness of its disparate audience members and their different sets of theatrical and interpretative expectations.

I begin by contextualising the play in relation to the successive *Ho* dramas, and a consideration of the associations 'southward' might have held for the Blackfriars audience. An overview of John Day's professional career helps locate his most recent work in relation to the unfolding events following the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. I then consider the reasons for the furore that the first performance(s) occasioned, examining the staging of satirical impersonations including, as first acted at the Blackfriars, the character of a king. The scathing caricatures and, additionally, a damning report on the state of current affairs in the king's realm produce a critical version, not of a distant Arcadia, but of 1606 London.

The chapter next analyses, concentrating on the Induction, the tactics Day used to divert or disarm opposition to the play, including disclaimers of any topical intention, an emphasis on its worthy credentials as a retelling of part of Sidney's *Arcadia*, and a depiction of the author as a guileless hopeful writer. The play's Induction also stages examples of dissonance and conflicting expectations amongst its audience, in contrast to the ideal audience assumed in *Northward Ho*. The Induction closes with a discussion of the Prologue's optimistic assertion that the play is beyond the reach of any false or hostile interpretations.

The concluding section surveys how Day situates the drama in a metatheatrical vogue and meshwork from the previous decade whilst citing and

referring to specific features of early seventeenth-century London. The character of Manasses is particularly up-to-date with contemporary life in the capital; as an author and orator himself he demonstrates his facility in ensuring that his texts are suitable for his different audiences. The character of Dametas, by contrast, loathes poetry and drama, and when he is tricked and abused in verse he vows to extract his revenge. His tactics include the use of paid informers in the theatre, watching out for any element that can be used to activate reprisals against authors and theatrical companies. In a severe extra-theatrical irony in mid-February 1606 life imitated art, when information from the Blackfriars resulted in the termination of the play's run and the arrest of many involved.

John Day's *The Isle of Gulls* was performed at Blackfriars early in 1606. The play's Induction locates *The Isle of Gulls* as the latest and last in a metatheatrical quartet. Three gallants question the actor preparing to speak the prologue about the author. The Prologue states the writer is 'A meere stranger', provoking the response:

A stranger? the better welcome: comes hee East-ward,
West-ward, or North-ward hoe?

'None of the three waies I assure you' replies the Prologue (14-17), emphasising the correspondence and indicating that the author and his play are bound for the remaining fourth way. Once the drama commences the setting is given immediately as 'a desart Ile' (1.1.4), away from the Greek state of Arcadia and in a location within reach of princes from the Greek mainland and 'the youthfull bloods of Africa' (1.1.21): Southward Ho!

Yet, as the troubled stage life of *The Isle of Gulls* indicated, it was understood immediately that the actors at Blackfriars were not performing a ribald romantic comedy set in a 'new found Land' (Induction 12) in the distant south, but were staging a caustic topical satire, a derisive version of 1606 London and its court, and of the new king who had travelled south in 1603. At Blackfriars the previous year, Touchstone had mocked Quicksilver about the deleterious effects of his recent voyage: 'How a degree to the southward has changed you!' (*EHo* 4.2.178-79). Another joke on heading south was aired at

Blackfriars in Edward Sharpham's *The Fleer*, possibly performed just before the opening of *The Isle of Gulls*. In this instance 'southward' is the direction to female genitalia, as when the disguised ruler Antifront commends a courtesan to two Lords, encouraging them with, 'And will you to the southward, i'faith?', 'therefore go southwards, my gallants, southward ho!', 'southwards, my hearts of gold... under the very line where the sun's at hottest' (2.1.445-55). For the contemporary Blackfriars audience 'southwards' carried resonances of risqué humour and political scandal, the latter occasioned by the furore around *Eastward Ho*.

By 1606 John Day was an experienced dramatist in his early thirties, with an insider's knowledge of the Blackfriars theatre and the imprisonment of two of the dramatists for their part in the *Eastward Ho* affair the previous year. Philip Henslowe's *Diary* provides a picture of Day at work in London's theatrical milieu from 1598 to 1603. He is associated with at least eighteen plays, almost invariably as a collaborator with, amongst others, Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton. He was paid for work on tragedies set in provincial England (*The Tragedy of Thomas Merry*, *The Tragedy of Cox of Cullompton*, *Bristol Tragedy*), for a range of plays with foreign settings, and, as noted in Chapter Three, for the successful *The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* at the Rose in 1600. The payments listed in Henslowe's *Diary* suggest that from 1602 Day was working on dramas that were prompted by, and fed in to, the vogue for plays set in and about modern London. With Richard Hathaway he was paid for the *Boss of Billingsgate* and, with Hathaway and Wentworth Smith, for the *Black Dog of Newgate* (Henslowe 208, 220). By around 1604 he was writing for the Children of the Queen's Revels, when his parodic tragicomedy *Law's Tricks or Who Would Have Thought It* was performed at Blackfriars.

If *Westward Ho* was written as a post-plague play, then *The Isle of Gulls* of 1606 became a post-plot play. On 30 January four of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators were executed in Paul's Churchyard, followed the next day by four more executions at Westminster. Day quickly inserted highly topical lines at the very start of the Induction for the three gallants as they look for seating space on stage:

Gallant 2 ... come shals quarter our selves?

Gallant 1 If some had had the wit to doe so in time, they might have
savde the hangman a labour (4-6).

The grim jesting aside, in the febrile and suspicious few months after the discovery of the plot against the king and parliament and the subsequent first round of executions, one might have expected extreme authorial and managerial circumspection about what was staged and how it might be construed, and especially so with a play at the Blackfriars. This chapter examines how, on the contrary, *The Isle of Gulls* provoked outrage, censorship and repression, and analyses the metatheatrical means Day employed, unsuccessfully, to anticipate and deflect such responses.

Chapter One introduced Rhonda Sanford's consideration of spatial representations as 'closed' or 'open' as a framework for analysing textual versions of the city, as used in the discussions of the three *Ho* plays. If the 'closed' and 'open' framework encompasses a broad spectrum of possible versions of London with, for example, the 'closed' civic pageants and royal entertainments towards one extreme, then *The Isle of Gulls* projects a version that is at the furthest extreme at the other end of the spectrum, an 'open' denunciation of contemporary grievances experienced in 1603-06 England and, particularly, in London.

The Isle of Gulls began its short life on stage - with possibly just a single 'disastrous performance', in Lucy Munro's words ("As it was played" 270) - in the first weeks of February 1606.¹ In a letter dated Tuesday 7 March 1606 Sir Edward Hoby, a member of James I's Privy Chamber, wrote to the English ambassador in Brussels about the noteworthy events in parliament and the city of London over the past month, recorded in chronological order. He comments that, around the 15th to 17th of February, 'At this time was much speach of a playe in the Blacke Fryers, where in the Ile of Gulls, from the highest to the loweste, all mens parts were acted of two divers nations, as I understand sundry were committed to Bridewell' (Birch 60-61). There are a number of

¹ The first editions of the play, published in 1606, record that 'it hath been often playd in the blacke Fryars, by the Children of the Revels': this might have been no more than a standard advertising pitch.

striking features in *The Isle of Gulls* that would have occasioned 'much speech'.

In the Induction Day professes that, with one exception, there is not 'any great mans life charactred int' (56). Yet the audience at the first performance(s) would have observed a regal couple, King Basilius and his Queen Gynetia. In Day's primary literary source, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, the pair are a Duke and Duchess; Day has transformed them into royalty. Richard Dutton, Albert Tricomi, and Pauline Croft, amongst other scholars, note the resemblances to King James I, including, in Croft's words, the 'too-obvious pun on the king's own *Basilicon Doron*' (56). In a departure from his source, Day foregrounds Basilius's love of hunting and his relish for 'wasting blood of the spent Deare' (2.2.34), mimicking James's obsession with blood sports. In another satirical hit Day parodies James's reputation for neglecting important affairs of state, when he cursorily dismisses after 'short deliberation' the messengers and their report of corruption and strife in *Arcadia* (3.3.114). As Richard Dutton comments on Basilius, 'his identification with James is about as clear as one could look for' (180). Further evidence for the contemporary understanding of King Basilius as a caricature of James I - and frantic steps to deflect this understanding - is how John Trundle, who worked on the text for publication in 1606, replaced 'King' and 'Queen' with 'Duke' and 'Duchess', leaving some mangled rhymes ('Duke' with 'spring' and 'Dutches' with 'spleene', 5.1.41 and 73). In one quarto edition of 1606 the compositor overlooked the stage direction 'Enter the king at adonis bower'(5.1.0 SD, H1v); the second 1606 quarto reads 'Enter the duke at Adonis bower'. In both quartos Gynetia is called 'Queene' at 1.1.16, and Lisander refers to 'the kings generall challenge' (4.3.101). The compositor also removed his name from the title page of one quarto, substituting 'Printed for John Trundle' with, in a larger type face, 'Imprinted at London'. The first audience in the Blackfriars watched a king on stage who impersonated aspects of James I's behaviour that were common knowledge. The identification might have been cemented further for the audience if the king on stage spoke with a Scottish accent.

The one exception declared by the Prologue is not the King, but his chief councillor: 'only in the person of Dametas he expresses to the life the

monstrous and deformed shape of vice' (57-59), acting as a foil to highlight virtue and gentility, and 'to beget a lothing of abuse' (59). One other aspect of James's behaviour that was a source of public disquiet was his perceived over-reliance on his secretary of state, Robert Cecil, who was made Earl of Salisbury in 1605.² In *The Isle of Gulls* Julio comments on how Basilius has favoured his chief councillor Dametas, and 'hath raisd him to that height that hee lookes equall with himselfe' (1.3.141-42); as Croft writes, Basilius 'is dominated by his adviser' (56). In summary, the unpopular, arriviste, humpbacked and splay-legged Privy Councillor Salisbury is 'charactered' or impersonated in Dametas.³ In the first Act the audience is introduced to his personality and methods. Basilius's daughters complain from the outset, 'he becomes the great chamber worse then a Gentleman-usher with wry legges', 'He is the most mishapen sute of gentility that ever the Court wore' (1.1.54-58). A 'little hillock, made great with others ruines' (1.2.25-26), he can appoint officers (1.3.65-66), he controls access to the King and court (1.3.45-46); he bribes petitioners (1.4.66-71). He boasts of his privileges granted to him by royal patent:

It allowes mee 24 knaves, 6 Knights, 10 fooles, 13 fellons, and 14
traytors by the yeere, take em howe, why, when, and where I
please. (1.3.77-80)

At the close of 1.3 Aminter and Julio, two princes who are familiar with Dametas and his corrupt methods, exchange criticisms of this 'Judas', the personification of 'Court-spyders', 'like unnecessarie wormes'; intriguing to devour and poison their betters, 'they eate into the credite of true borne gentrie' (1.3.126-27, 130, 133). If, as Dutton comments, 'the actors made anything at all of the 'deformed' shape, 'the identification with Salisbury could hardly have been in doubt' (181). Indeed, if Dametas was played with a humpback and an unwieldy gait, in the manner of the 'rudely stamped' and 'deformed' Richard III

² For evidence of Cecil's unpopularity see, for example, Pauline Croft's "The Reputation of Robert Cecil".

³ The identification of Dametas with Salisbury is noted by, for example, De Luna (146-50), Tricomi (40-41), and Dutton (181).

as acted by the King's Men (*Richard III* 1.1.16, 20), the effect in the theatre must have been sensational.⁴

In addition to the scandalous impersonation of the new king and his chief councillor *The Isle of Gulls* contains a striking report on the state of the nation when Aminter and Julio, in disguise as messengers from Arcadia's neighbour state Lacedemonia, present Basilius with a list of oppressions and grievances borne by his country's subjects in his absence (3.3.94-113). As critics have noted, the complaints bear a striking similarity (wildly exaggerated, in part) to issues that were of most concern to the English in 1603-06.⁵ These include the rampant extortion by state officials with regard to the sale of public offices, and the punitive taxes on merchandise. More alarmingly (and with an interesting contemporary correspondence with the retinue of 'debauched and bold' knights in *King Lear* 1.4.233), the followers of great men commit 'Common Riots, Rapes, and wilfull Homicide' (3.3.104) yet go unpunished and even applauded. The government of the whole commonwealth is unscrupulous and corrupt, so that 'native Inhabitants' are like slaves, deprived of their 'wonted and naturall libertie' (3.3.98-99). In the context of this unprecedented vituperative critique the play's standard contemporary satirical stab at James's newly minted knights, 'of the best and last edition, of the Dukes owne making', seems almost incidental (1.3.58-59). With its pointed and precise impersonations and its list of political and civic concerns, *The Isle of Gulls* describes a version of London and its current misrule that is deliberately provocative and a challenge to the new state authorities.

With reference to Jonson's work on *Eastward Ho* Leah Marcus posed the question: 'By what schizophrenic logic could he have collaborated in such a production at a time when he was seeking court patronage?' (494). Her answer

⁴ Pauline Croft notes the popularity of *Richard III* and the associations made at the time with Robert Cecil, 55-56. *Richard III* was reprinted in 1602 and in 1605. In 1602 Ben Jonson was paid £10 by Philip Henslowe 'in earneste of A Boocke called Richard crockbacke' (203).

In 1601 Marston's *What You Will* parodies Shakespeare's villain: 'A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse! / Look thee, I speak play-scrapes' (2.1.126-27). The authors of *Eastward Ho* could expect the audience to recognise the same echo from Shakespeare's play in Security's cry 'A boat, a boat'.

Heywood's *Edward IV Part 2* features Richard III, the 'crook-backed Boar' (21.62) and was performed in 1605 at the Red Bull playhouse (*Edward IV* Introduction 6).

⁵ See, for example, the discussion by Tricomi, 37-38.

to the play's true well-spring, 'the argument being a little string or Rivolet, drawne from the full streine of the right worthy Gentleman, Sir Phillip Sydneys well knowne Archadea' (41-43). With such a respected and admired source, and with a setting in 'a Nameless desart' (45-46), how could the drama have any possible contemporary relevance? The next nimble piece of footwork is, as noted above, the Prologue's disclaimer that the 'person of Dametas' is not an impersonation of a particular 'great man's life', but an illustrative compound of the 'shape of vice' (56-59) which sets off more powerfully 'vertuous dispositions' (60-61). The Prologue's insistence that the title is innocuous and that no living person is caricatured function as Annabel Patterson's 'entry codes', despite the distancing move Day attempts by stressing the text's 'right worthy' pedigree and its valorisation of 'true-borne gentillitie' (61).

At a second level the Induction recognises a need to control not only the audience's interpretative and metatheatrical expectations and responses, but also the type of immediate reception the drama will elicit in the theatre. When asked by a gallant where the author is, the Prologue replies that he is 'in his studie writing hard' (22): he is neither on his knees praying for the play's success nor, obviously, in a wry self-reflexive metatheatrical joke, is he 'on stage amongst gallants, preparing a bespoke Plaudite' (19-22). The notion that a dramatist might arrange and enlist support from influential members of the audience is extended by the second gallant, who describes as standard practice an author's packing an indoor theatre with well-wishers:

And where sits his friends? hath he not a prepard company of gallants, to applaud his jests, and grace out his play (24-26).

The Prologue feigns astonishment that such a practice exists: 'None I protest: Doe Poets use to bespeake their Auditory', he asks (27-28). When assured by the second Gallant that this is commonplace, the Prologue responds sadly:

Then must our Author looke for a certaine disgrace, for he is altogether unfurnisht of such a friendly audience (32-34).

The author of *The Isle of Gulls* is imagined as an assiduous writer, too otherworldly to have cynically prepared his audience. Implicitly, the author's naiveté with respect to both the means and the need to cultivate approval is matched by his ignorance of topical political affairs.

The Induction also dramatises different forms of dissonance in the audience. Both *Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho* are, as discussed previously, performed for highly specific ‘ideal’ audiences. The former is designed for lawyers and, in particular, young law students occupying Paul’s after the plague; the latter, since the London theatres were opened some eighteen months before, for increasingly astute metatheatrical experts. The Prologue in *The Isle of Gulls*, by contrast, is acutely aware that potentially he is addressing what he calls ‘a confused Audience’ (142). This confusion is staged through the conflicting demands of the three gallants: the first demands bitter satire and ‘gall’ (93); the second is after something more racy, with debauchery and ‘a sceane of venery’ (68-69); the third likes ‘neither rayling nor bawdry’ and insists instead on ‘a stately pend historie’, with a ‘high written’ alliterative style (96, 77-79). These radically different expectations cannot be met, the Prologue argues: the author would not dare stage ‘rayling, and invectives’ (84), he is too modest to pen ‘scurrill jests’ (87), and ‘swelling comparisons, and bumbast Epithites’ are not generically fit for a comedy (88).⁶ At Paul’s the audience for *Northward Ho* had a shared metatheatrical cognition: at the larger Blackfriars *The Isle of Gulls* opens by staging dissonance, with an Induction that portrays the audience as fragmented and argumentative, forcefully demanding an impossible set of conflicting forms of pleasure.

One issue faced by the author is, therefore, the perceived impossibility of satisfying the different expectations of groups in the audience with regard to genre and literary style. Allied to this, the Induction registers instances of unfriendly immediate critical receptions at indoor theatres. One example is the warning issued by the second gallant: if the play does not suit his tastes then ‘I and all my friends will hisse’ (126). Another instance is the way that ‘tis growne into a custome at playes’ that if an audience member, and ‘especially of any fashionable sort’, gets up to leave for whatever reason then the rest of the audience follows them out, crying ‘mew, by Jesus vilde’, and leaving ‘the poore

⁶ It is possible that the play pleased both the first two gallants, with topical railing satire and examples of racy sexual comedy including the homoerotic flirtation of Basilius with Lisander, Violetta’s account of her arousing dream in 3.2, and the flirtatious versifying between the princess and Lisander during the bowls match in 3.3. Harry McCarthy discusses how the bowls match might have been staged to accompany the ‘erotically-charged dialogue’ (261).

hartlesse children to speake their Epilogue to the emptie seates' (114-20). Again, Day presents his harmless light comedy as potentially under threat - from hisses, jeers, mass walk-outs - and thus seeks sympathy for the play and the 'poor' children who will perform it.

At a less immediate and visceral level the Prologue elucidates an associated concern about audience response at a hermeneutical level. Another of the 'principles of interpretation' detailed by Patterson is 'the importance of an exact chronology in determining what any given text was likely to mean to its audience at the time of its appearance' (55). As we have seen, there is unusually precise information to enable us to date the first performance, from Hoby's letter and from the internal evidence with the opening lines in the Induction about the quartering of bodies. The Prologue's equivocations, offering and denying topical references and applications, indicates that Day was nervously aware of what his text might 'mean to its audience at the time of its appearance'. Again, the immediate contrast is with *Northward Ho*, first staged at Paul's a few months previously. Dekker and Webster were confident that their celebration of playing would be understood as such by their audience of 'model spectators' with, in De Marinis's words, the 'idealized competence' to discern the theatregrams and allusions at work in the performance, and to interpret the actions appropriately (168). In effect, the enfolded drama of *Northward Ho* produces just two sets of audiences. The first are those characters who are situated as spectators on stage, observing others - unwittingly or otherwise - play roles on stage. The second audience comprises the paying spectators in the auditorium. With *The Isle of Gulls*, by contrast, we can identify four sets of potentially challenging audiences. The first, staged in the Induction, comprises the disputatious group of gallants. The second, as discussed above, is the envisioned audience in the Blackfriars, which might respond critically to the play as it is being performed. The third audience is made up of the actual paying customers. The fourth is extra-theatrical and generated by the play, and includes all those who joined in the 'much speach' in parliament and elsewhere, as described by Sir Edward Hoby. As the author, Day can manage the first two of these audiences, for they exist in an imaginative sphere. When critical and condemnatory responses are

expressed outside the theatre, in the fourth audience, the dramatist has lost all control.

If *Northward Ho* is the epitome of an 'ideal' performance, with an assumed audience of metatheatrical cognoscenti, then *The Isle of Gulls* is at the furthest end of the 'ideal and problematic' continuum. In De Marinis's words, a performance is 'problematic' 'when the senders do not foresee a rigidly predetermined interpretive process as a requirement for their success, but allow the audience a variable margin of freedom deciding up to what point they can control the cooperation' (169). Day's play is an 'problematic' performance, capable of eliciting a range of responses. The work of the Prologue in the Induction is to negotiate how much interpretative latitude the paying audience can be afforded. If members of the audience fail to pick up on the metatheatrical connections and topical impersonations then the play's satirical thrust will be missed. But if members of the audience disregard the play's source in Sidney's *Arcadia* and ignore the southern European setting, then some might decide not to 'control the cooperation', but to control and bring about the premature end of the performances of the play at Blackfriars.

The Prologue's final speech, once the gallants are seated and quiet, is an attempt to address directly any interpretative issues that the drama might occasion. One misery that attends upon the author, declares the Prologue, is that if he should 'Strike at abuse, or ope the vaine of sinne' (138), then, and recalling the troubles with *Eastward Ho* in the same theatre, 'He is straight inform'd against for libelling' (139). In the envisioned audience, in effect, some have attended hoping for bawdry, some for history, some to enjoy cutting topical satire, and some - the informants - on the look out for exactly the latter. As well as dissonant expectations there are, potentially, a range of dissonant interpretations. Some might be expressed in a hiss or a jeer; more gravely, a highly critical interpretation might lead to incarceration. The Induction has declared that the play about to be performed is not satirical or libellous, and only presents a generalised figure of vice to contrast with honour and gentility. The Prologue speaks boldly for the author, announcing that, scornful of

detractors, 'His play shall passe' (149). Which is exactly what it signally and sensationally failed to do.⁷

In the play itself, Day continues to practise a series of metatheatrical and topographical juxtapositions, weaving between the distant southern land and its plot from the *Arcadia* and contemporary London. At a metatheatrical level Day emphasises that his comedy is rooted in a past dramatic tradition, not only by staging a version of Sidney's tale but, in addition, altering the names of Sidney's characters so they echo a comedy from the previous decade. The names of Day's characters, Hippolita, Lisander and Demetrius, are all taken from *A Midsummer's Night Dream*.⁸ Day's distancing tactic reaches back, in Carlson's term, to a different and past 'particular cultural moment' (*Haunted Stage* 50). We see that Day's balancing act involves him inserting *The Isle of Gulls* in the immediate contemporary dramatic meshwork, bound up with *The Isle of Dogs* and, more topically, as the completion of the successive *Ho* plays, whilst simultaneously accentuating the play's incorporation in an earlier 'vogue' (*Haunted Stage* 50) or dramatic archi-texture.

Brian Gibbons, in his brief but penetrating comments on Day's play, notes how the two princesses' playful dialogue derives from 'early Shakespearean comedy' and the two sets of princes are 'conventionalized figures based on the young nobles in *Love's Labour's Lost* (110, 112). Yet the play also, in the manner of Middleton's *The Phoenix*, encompasses within its distant imaginative setting a strikingly contemporary version of the early seventeenth-century capital. There are, for example, references to places and

⁷ Tiffany Stern has shown how prologues and inductions might have been 'disposable' and 'ephemeral' (*Making* 119, 120). She also makes this point, in greater depth, in *Documents of Performance* where she emphasises that prologues and epilogues were 'generally for first performances, not all performances' (82). In the case of *The Isle of Gulls* the Induction would therefore, as was customary, have been performed at the first performance. The possibility is, as Lucy Munro writes, that it was only performed once. Additionally, the Induction is where Day has to make a convincing attempt to certify that the drama carries no contemporary applications, personal or political.

⁸ Michael Andrews refers to a (now unavailable) PhD thesis from 1931 by Eugene Borish and repeats that the names 'may well have been taken' from the *Dream* (78, 81). The deliberate use of names from Shakespeare's play, first performed in 1595/96, would suggest that Day either expected the Blackfriars audience to have recalled performances by the Lord Chamberlain's men or, more likely, that the *Dream* was recently or currently in repertory at the Globe.

events: Demetrius's Page has 'seene much golde lying upon Lombards stalls' (2.1.20); Cuckold's Haven is cited twice (2.1.136 and 3.1.140); a Puritan sermon is parodied at length (4.1.181-199); there are theological disputes between Papists, Puritans and Protestants, and atheists are thick 'in the verie bosome of the Citie', with some in the Court too (4.1.151-54, 160-61); heretical literature can be bought 'at Booke-sellers stalles' (4.1.166-67). The parodic references to the new knights have been noted above; another contemporary reference is to entertainments at 'the great Chamber at the Revels' (4.1.116-17). Day's *Arcadia* is notably packed with modern-day London's sites, debates, and social and business affairs.

Many of the citations and pieces of fashionable information are clustered around the character of Manasses, who seems almost to have dropped into *Arcadia* from 1606 London. He is also associated with the few direct metatheatrical allusions and borrowings from contemporary dramas. Again, Brian Gibbons has noted how phrases derive from both *Eastward Ho* and *Westward Ho*: the latter provides the syntactical model for Manasses's 'My great Graundfather was a Hat-catcher, my Grandsier a Hangman, my Father a Promooter, and my selfe an Informer' (4.1.124-26; cf. *WHo* 3.2.8-10).⁹ Manasses is also used by Day in a metatheatrical reflection on the relationship between an author and her or his audience. He is the latest, and least sympathetic, incarnation of the literary ventriloquists from Cripple in *The Fair Maid* to Bellamont in *Northward Ho*. As Manasses boasts of his duplicitous techniques to Lisander he mentions his skill in composing letters to seduce wives. His cunning lies in his ability, he asserts, to 'fashion the bodie of my discourse fit to the eare of my audiorie' (4.1.140-41). As an example of this power he recites the Puritan sermon he has composed, called 'The Lost Sheep'. At the close he spells out his important advice: 'while you live, have a care to fitte your Audience' (4.1.201-02). Manasses in his sermon has managed to achieve the desired match between the ideal text and the ideal audience: precisely what Day and the Prologue fretted over in the Induction:

⁹ Gibbons sees an echo of *EHo* 2.2.10-12, 'Thou feed'st my lechery, and I thy covetousness; thou art pandar to me for my wench, and I to thee for thy cozenages' in *IoG* 4.1.117-121, 'he buyes Maners, I purchase Farnes: he buildes houses, I plucke downe Churches...'

will *The Isle of Gulls* 'fit' its audience? Except, of course, that Manasses's sermon is not delivered at a Puritan gathering but at the Blackfriars, where its hyperbolic and repetitive style would have been a source of amusement to the audience, as it is to Lisander on stage. (And its ideal reception could not be guaranteed in a religious setting either, according to Mistress Honeysuckle's exclamation in *Westward Ho*: 'Talke and make a noise, no matter to what purpose, I have learn'd that with going to puritan Lectures' [1.2.98-99]). The effect of Manasses's speech and advice - 'have a care to fitte your Audience' - is to raise again, following the Induction, the issue of the relationship between the performance on stage and its critical reception. Can the author and players 'control the cooperation', in De Marinis's words (169), or will dissonant and conflicting responses threaten the dramatic enterprise?

The management at the Blackfriars had experienced recent troubles, through the repressive responses to *Eastward Ho*, and knew the repercussions that might follow a hostile critical interpretation by those with the state authority and power to control. Exactly how the mechanisms and agents of this repressive control were exercised in early seventeenth-century London playhouses is described in detail in a speech in 4.5 by the stage villain Dametas. He has been advised to dig for gold beneath a tree. Up to this point Dametas has spoken in prose, with the single exception of a menacing scene-closing rhyming couplet at the end of Act 2. As he contemplates his future wealth he wishes, 'now, nowe, for the tongue of a Poet, tho I hate poetrie worse then any of the seaven deadly sinnes' (4.5.62-63). Instead of reciting poetry he gets to read some, in mocking lines attached to the fool's cap and bells which he actually brings up out of the trapdoor on stage: '... He that vaine hopes pursues for love of pelfe / Shall loose his wits and likely finde himselfe...' (4.5.94-95). His instant response is 'Villanous poetry, I am made a flat foole by poetry' (4.5.100); he then extemporises his curse on poetry and poets, in eleven iambic rhyming couplets, beginning:

Rancor, spite, mallice, hate, and all disasters,
Strengthen my faith against all portastors (4.5.106-07).

Having been gulled once when rooting for gold, another joke is played out against him, as the audience listens to him ploughing on with his laughably

execrable verse. In dreadful verse he swears revenge on poets, including dramatists.

More significantly, however, is the knowledge in the theatre that the means exist to enact his curse. The first move is hermeneutic: though a writer's intentions might be 'pure as christall glasses', his lines can be deliberately misconstrued and 'counted faults and capitall trespasses' (4.5.108-09). Texts that are 'in loyalty excelling' can be reinterpreted by an informer, and 'by some Dor presented for libelling' (4.5.112-13). Chillingly, the character of Dametas on stage elucidates another fear of writers in a time of repressive censorship, more troubling than an audience's audible disapproval of a play which is, in Dametas's words (and echoing the Induction), 'crownd with mews and hisses' (4.5.119). More disconcertingly, and in lines which might have had members of the Blackfriars audience look across at those around them, he describes the means by which intelligence is gleaned:

Behinde each post and at the gallery corners,

Sit empty guls, slight fooles and false informers (4.5.121-22).

The audience, he claims, includes low-level agents of the state, in place to seek out opportunities and reasons for proceeding against 'Villanous poetrie, unchristianlike poetry' (5.1.132). In 1605 two Blackfriars authors were arrested; Dametas hopes for more severe action:

... twold set my thoughts a twanging

Might I but see one of them go to hanging (4.5.126-27).

The level of malevolence and exegetical ingenuity and perversity that Dametas revels in is matched perhaps by the sheer audacity of Day and the players in enacting the scene. Even if the audience was composed of the most politically naive citizens in London, they must have been startled to listen to the King's chief councillor denounce poetical and theatrical productions, and additionally spell out one way information is gathered and then managed, and the hope that dramatists might be hanged. And if, as seems highly likely given the political response to the play, members of the audience recognised that the satire was topical, then they were watching a stage King's chief councillor who bears a striking official and physical resemblance to King James's chief councillor, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, being portrayed not just as an avaricious fool,

but as an almost manic and vindictive opponent of live theatre, with a state apparatus and agents at his disposal.

The audience members who are informers and 'Dors' are, obviously, far from model spectators or an 'ideal' audience. Yet, these members are contained within the dramatic confines of the play, as elements of the envisioned or imaginatively assumed audience. More importantly, there really were informers at the Blackfriars. The disapproval was expressed not just, possibly, in any mews and hisses in the theatre, but through the swift imposition of real state power. As Sir Edward Hoby wrote at the time, 'sundry were committed to Bridewell' (Birch 61).

In July 1606, five months after the scandalous performances of *The Isle of Gulls* had left the Children of the Revels without royal patronage, and just over two years since the theatres reopened in April 1604, the bubonic plague struck London again.¹⁰ Movement and journeying in and across the capital ceased. The theatres closed. The cries of the watermen on the Thames - Westward, Eastward, Northward, Southward Ho - fell silent.

Conclusion

As a contribution to scholarship around early modern drama the thesis develops a new reading and understanding of the neighbourhood comedies staged in the capital from 1598 to 1606, with a particular emphasis on the relationships played out across the series of the *Ho* dramas. With reference to theatre history, the opening chapter analyses the work of the company at Paul's, arguing for their effectiveness and popularity as an accomplished cast, performing before audiences of around 200 including many students from the nearby Inns of Court. Aspects of the company's stage practice are considered in Chapter Four, including the use of props and the roles of the younger members of the cast, and the tight and sophisticated web of interactions between the different characters observed in the analysis of cues and responses.

¹⁰ cf. Leeds Barroll 173 and James Shapiro 318-19.

In *The Perception of the Environment* Tim Ingold reflects on 'people's knowledge of their environment' and how this knowledge can be explained and accounted for 'in terms of the generative potentials of a complex process rather than the replication of a complex structure' (230). This thesis develops an original understanding of the neighbourhood comedies set in the contemporary London of 1598-1606 by investigating the 'generative potentials' of making these plays as parts of a 'complex process': this is the methodology involved in the close analysis of the dramatic meshwork.

As Ingold writes, 'The lines of the meshwork are the trails *along* which life is lived' (*Lines* 83): in the terms of this thesis, the lines of the theatrical meshwork of 1598-1606 are the trails *along* which the neighbourhood comedies lived. This dramatic meshwork is a 'process', not a static network or 'complex structure'. Ingold describes how the wayfarer 'lays a trail on the ground' in paths and tracks (*Lines* 82), and so with others creates a mesh of patterns: the 'movements weave an environment' (83). By applying the same methodology, via Lefebvre, the thesis has opened up and explored - 'step by step' (West 161) - the environment of the neighbourhood comedies, and of the three *Ho* plays in particular. This environment, composed of the lines - or theatregrams - that comprises the 'meshwork of the paths of travel', the 'meshwork of interwoven trails' (*Lines* 87, 93), can now be seen as a distinct and shifting aesthetic formation, a unique 1598-1606 dramatic archi-texture.

One key element of this meshwork foregrounded in the thesis is its dense metatheatricality. As argued in Chapter Three and as further evidenced in the analysis of the *Ho* series, many dramatists from 1598, and especially so those producing plays for performances at Paul's and Blackfriars, expected their audiences to be experienced playgoers, alert to the metatheatrical allusions, borrowings, parodies and repetitions that saturate the neighbourhood comedies in particular. There was an additional expectation that audiences in the private indoor theatres also attended performances on public stages. In addition, and focussing on the pronounced metatheatricality of plays from 1604 at Paul's and Blackfriars, the thesis argues that the repertoires in London after the 1603-04 plague included many revivals of recent dramas first performed from 1600 (including, for example, Chapman's comedies and *Hamlet*), as well

as performances of established crowd-pullers, including *The Spanish Tragedy*. The audience members were attuned to the new play's heightened metatheatricality, and were positioned by the dramatists as knowledgeable insiders within London's rich theatreland.

The thesis also reflects on existing scholarship concerned with mapping and space in dramas set in early modern London. In particular, and in line with the methodology of the meshwork, there is an investigation of the importance of movement in the dramas, at how on stage and behind the scenes, they describe imagined movements across the capital. In turn, through citation, iteration and even simulation, the plays evoke places and routes in and across the capital. One effect noted in the thesis is a sense of possibilities, of the potential for characters to create new opportunities in spaces they move into: this is most apparent in *Westward Ho*, and, as discussed, *Eastward Ho* attempts to reverse the process. The sense of material possibilities is enhanced in *Westward Ho*, as analysed in this thesis for the first time, through its conspicuous phenomenological richness. A second effect of the drama's emphasis on movement and space in the capital is the opportunity for audiences to develop a proto-psychogeographical appreciation and knowledge of the city, its topography and the normative significance of places and spaces.

The various ways different dramatists worked with and took forward in-vogue theatregrams and the possibility - or impossibility - of movement on stage and behind the scenes produced, in turn, new staged versions of London. That these versions were not neutral but open to critique is evidenced not only in the dialectical relationship established between the four plays, but also in the different forms of responses at different business and political levels to what was staged and printed. These include revisions by printers to the published text of *Eastward Ho*, the arrest of Chapman and Jonson, the late and hurried alterations to the printed text of *The Isle of Gulls*, the arrest of members of the Blackfriars company, and the withdrawal of the Queen's patronage: the title page of *The Isle of Gulls* records simply that it was performed by 'the Children of the Revels'. The thesis thus also contributes to scholarship on the censorship and surveillance of early modern drama, and examines, through

Northward Ho and *The Isle of Gulls* in particular, how this surveillance operated in theatres in early seventeenth-century London.

The thesis also explores, again for the first time, how John Day's *The Isle of Gulls* can be regarded as a 'Southern Ho', the fourth in a series of directional titles. Instead of adding new details, threads and revisions to the 1598-1606 dramatic meshwork, however, *The Isle of Gulls* can be regarded as an instance where contemporary audiences witnessed an attempt to take off on a new path, with a corresponding and predictably desperate unravelling of the myriad lines that formed the archi-texture of London's neighbourhood comedies.

Another contribution to scholarship is the original emphasis on *Westward Ho* as a post-plague play. The drama's powerful sense of citizens let free to range and roam, to move without restriction and to create new swirling sets of convivial groupings, was thrown into sharp relief and increasing clarity as this thesis was concluded in the midst of the Covid 19 pandemic of 2020.

The bubonic plague of 1603-1604 killed an estimated one-fifth of London's population. When the theatres reopened a related sequence of new dramas picked up on and developed the theatregrams and threads in the metatheatrical meshwork generated by the vogue of plays from 1598 set in contemporary London. At Paul's in 1604, *Westward Ho* is an explicitly post-plague phenomenon, repopulating the capital as a terrain of the haptic. At Blackfriars the next year *Eastward Ho* offers an antithesis, reimposing through satire and parody a more regulated and closed version of London. In turn, *Northward Ho* operates as a metatheatrical pastiche, revelling in the performance of a play about plays: London as pure theatreland. The outlier, the potentially fourth in the *Ho* series, is *The Isle of Gulls*, mocking the new King and his court and attempting, unsuccessfully, to avert critical responses through presenting itself as belonging to an older genre, distanced from contemporary London and current theatrical trends.

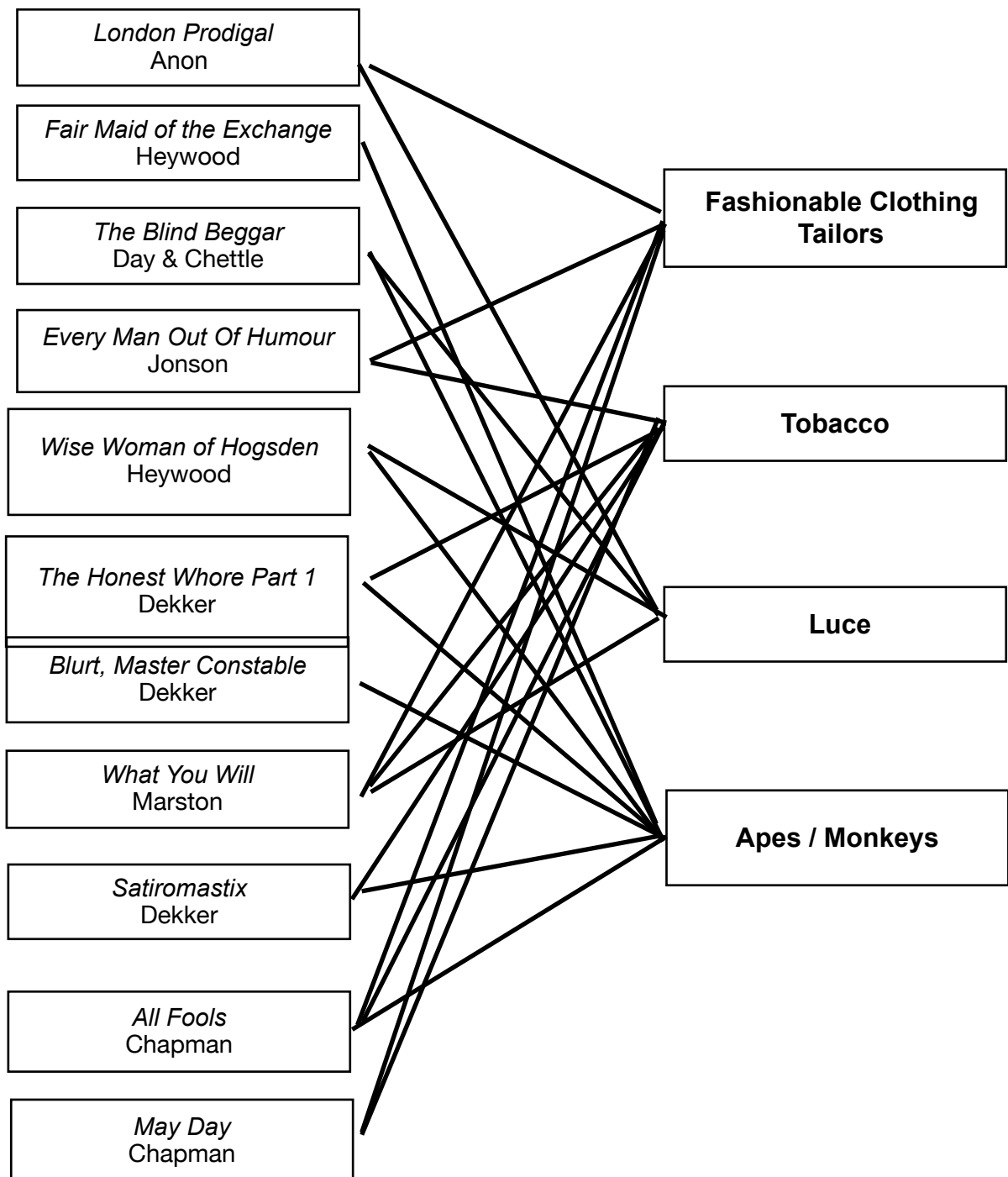
The audiences who came back to the theatres from 1604 reacclimatised themselves quickly to the metatheatrical meshwork of the neighbourhood comedies. They saw revivals from the 1600-1603 repertoire, and were

expected by the dramatists producing new plays from 1604 to recognise and appreciate the webs of allusions, parodies and metatheatrical games and jokes swirling between the two indoor theatres in particular. The audiences were potentially insiders in two senses: they could become theatrical cognoscenti; they also, through the comedies, could be inserted as knowledgeable psychogeographers, alert to the places, sights and sounds of the metropolis and which were invoked on stage in the contemporary dramatic archi-texture of the neighbourhood comedies. The audiences included, however, more suspicious members, alert to critiques or satiric impersonations of the new court and its members. The incarceration of dramatists after *Eastward Ho* generated the highly mannered and poised metatheatrical enfolding played out in *Northward Ho*. Different tactics were staged in *The Isle of Gulls*, with disastrous results.

I end with the answers to the questions thrown out in the opening chapter, and which summarise, in a deliberately simplified manner, the staged versions of London. The Arcadian ruler in *The Isle of Gulls* hunts deer because he is a satiric impersonation of James I. In *Northward Ho* Bellamont's new play will be appreciated abroad but not in the repressive and suspicious new court in London. *Eastward Ho's* Touchstone needs not move, for only fools travel and he can exercise control through underlings and spies. And of course Clare Tenterhook has to own two diamond rings, for *Westward Ho* is a celebration of genial and conspicuous excess, filling and re-energising London with movement, objects, sounds and opportunity after the dread and the deaths in the time of the plague.

Appendix 1 The Mesh of Theatregrams, 1598-1603

A depiction of the intertwining of these metatheatrical tropes across a range of plays. The obvious drawback is that the image depicts a static 2D network; the lines join the boxes only as, in Ingold's term, 'connectors' (*Lines* 83). To reproduce 'a mesh of interwoven trails' the image should be in 3D, with the third dimension being the flow and recursiveness of the different threads over time.



Other threads can be traced through the meshwork including, for example, pedantic schoolmasters, the verbal tics of merchants and shopkeepers, and the running joke based on the “X me no Xs” formulation.

A verbal in-joke amongst the writers for the children’s companies is a play on the rarely used word ‘gingerly’. Dekker and Marston spiced up their dramas at Paul’s with the word; as if to make up for lost opportunities at Blackfriars, *May Day* uses the term no less than nine times, shared between Lodovico and Temperance, kick started by the latter’s command: ‘Come, come, gingerly, for God’s sake, gingerly’ (3.3.179).

Dekker seems particularly fond of ‘gingerly’, which he might have noted and relished in Nashe’s *Pierce Penniless*, 1592 (D1v). Dekker uses the term first at Paul’s and The Globe in *Satiromastix* and again at The Globe in *The Honest Whore Part 1*. It appears again at Paul’s in Marston’s *What You Will* to describe a boy’s dainty stride in contrast to the steps of buxom city merchant wives (3.3.123). As with Chapman’s usage, it is often used for comic effect in secret, often sexual, contexts. Dekker and Webster use it twice in *Westward Ho*, once as a sexual titillation when Doll Justiniano looks ‘so gingerly’ (2.2.34); once as a secret action to spy on sexual misdemeanours, when Justiniano advises the merchants at Brentford to lock the inn doors ‘gingerly’ (5.4.83).

‘Quintessence’ is a favourite of Jonson’s (*The Case Is Altered*, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, *Poetaster*) and is used by Shakespeare (*As You Like It* 3.2.136, *Hamlet* 2.2.310), by Marston (*Histriomastix*, *Jack Drum’s Entertainment*, *Bussy d’Ambois*), Heywood (*The Fair Maid of the Exchange*) and Chapman (*All Fools* 1.1.44, 5.2.264). Used in a variety of tragic, humorous and parodic contexts the word flashes across public and private stages from 1597 before fading from the playwrights’ lexicon around 1602.

Appendix 2 Cues Received and Given by Clare and Birdlime

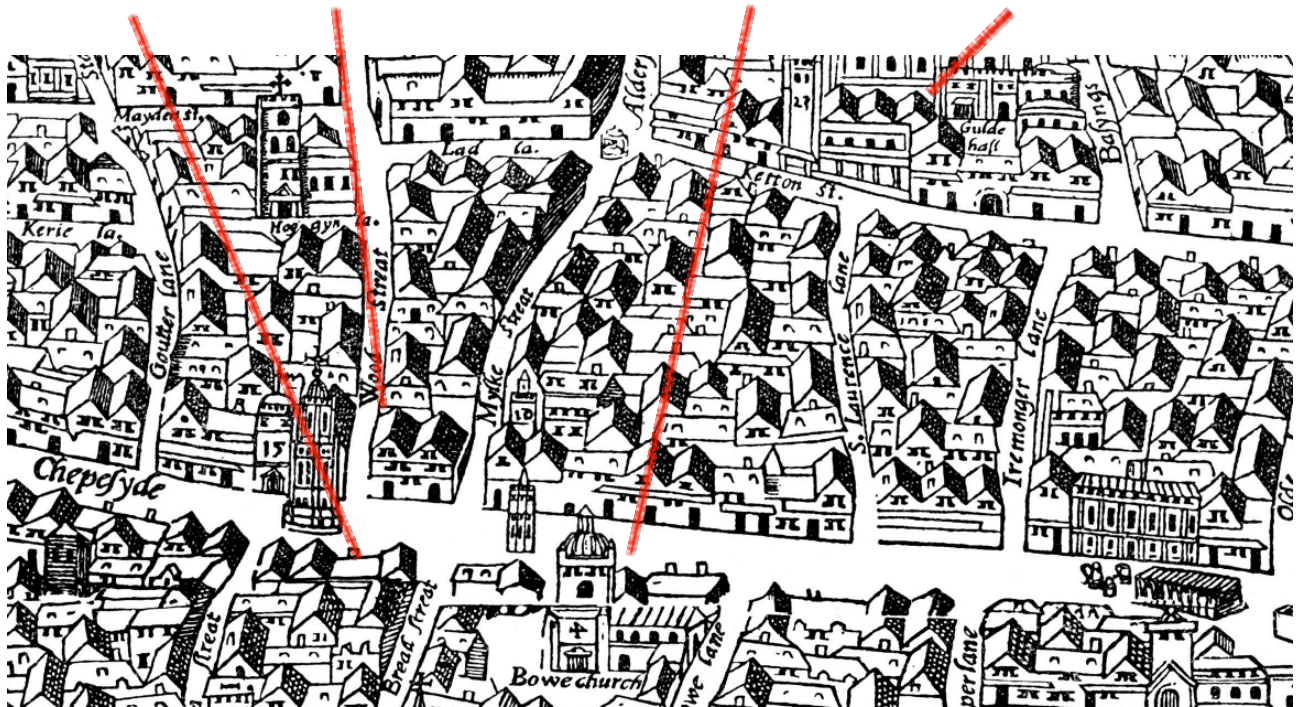
The table emphasises the range of characters with whom the two characters interact and the swirl of different conversations of which they are a part.

Clare Tenterhook	Cues received from	Cues given to	Birdlime	Cues received from	Cues given to
Monopoly	25	26	Gosling	21	18
Mr Tenterhook	17	16	Mrs Justiniano	19	18
Mrs Wafer	16	12	Monopoly	16	15
Mrs Honeysuckle	12	12	Mr Honeysuckle	12	10
Whirlpool	5	4	Mr Wafer	11	9
Lynstock	4	2	Earl	11	11
Justiniano	3	3	Tailor	8	7
Ambush	3	3	Mr Tenterhook	7	8
Birdlime	2	1	Mr Justiniano	6	9
Servant	1	1	Luce	5	4
Gosling	-	2	Prentice	3	3
			Mrs Honeysuckle	2	1
			Mrs Wafer	1	-
			Clare Tenterhook	1	2
			Christian	-	1
cues with 11 characters	88	88	cues with 15 characters	123	116

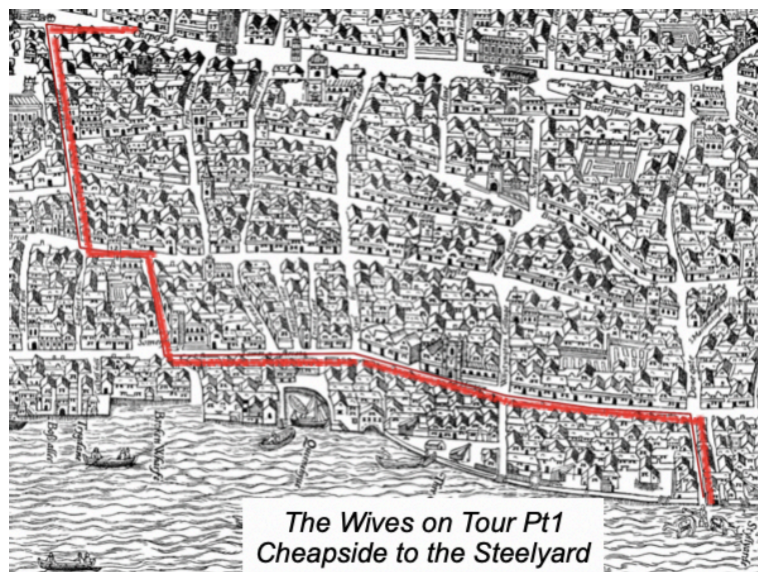
Appendix 3 Touchstone's Terrain

The screenshot from the Agas Map illustrates how Touchstone is imagined as located in a circumscribed area. His apprentice Golding moves from the shop located in a circumscribed area. His apprentice Golding moves from the shop twice; along Milk Street to the Guildhall, and across Cheapside to the Counter on Wood Street. (Mr and Mrs Mayberry in *Northward Ho* live on Milk Street.)

Goldsmith's Row Wood Street Counter St Mary-le-Bow The Guildhall



The three wives in *Westward Ho*, by comparison with Touchstone, journey across London. This is the route to their assignation at the Steelyard.



Appendix 4 *Northward Ho* Locations and settings

	setting	imagined staged location	general location
1.1	indoors	a travellers' inn	Ware (1.1.3, 2.2.60)
1.2	outdoors	unidentified street	London
1.3	indoors	Mayberry's house - location indefinite	London
2.1	indoors	Doll's new premises - location indefinite	London
2.2	indoors	Mayberry's house - location indefinite	London
3.1	indoors	Doll's new premises - location indefinite	London
3.2	indoors	Mayberry's 'garden house' - somewhere in Moorfields	London
4.1	indoors	Bellamont's house	London
4.2	outdoors	unidentified street	London
4.3	outdoors then indoors	by the Dolphin Inn; inside Bedlam	outside London's walls
5.1	indoors	a travellers' inn	Ware

Appendix 5 *Northward Ho*: The Aesthetic Web of Plots and Playing

	Deviser	Unwitting participants when action performed	Audience
1.1	Gallants on Mabel Mayberry - a 'revenge' 8	Mayberry	Bellamont (unimpressed)
1.2	Doll - 'I have had a plot a breeding in my braines' 68 / 'The world's a stage' 101		
1.3	Mayberry - 'Villaines you have abus'd me, and I vow / Sharp vengeance on your heads' 131-32 'I will be reveng'd' 144		
2.1	Doll - 'Hornet, now you play my Father, take heed you be not out of your part' 28-29	Doll's clients 'we shall have Gudgions bite presently' 1.2.94-95	
2.2	a. Mayberry will be 'reveng'd'; wife to act a part re. the 'Pageant' 5 b. Kate will play at being Greenshield's sister c. Kate and Featherstone deceiving Greenshield - a form of 'revenge' 150	a. Two gallants b. The Mayberrys c. Greenshield	
3.1	Philip and Doll - 'see mee make a foole of a Poet'	Bellamont	Philip
3.2	Kate and Featherstone	Greenshield	Lepfrog and Squirill
4.1	a. Bellamont 'Captaine, lie you in ambush behind the hangings, and perhaps you shall heare the peece of a Commedy' 116-117 b. Kate and Featherstone send Greenshield off to Enfield (226-30) c. Mayberry fools Featherstone to go to Ware 260+	Doll	Captain Jenkins
4.2	Allom and Jenkins - 'weele draw all our arrowes of revenge up to the head' 21-22		
4.3	Group heading to Ware, at Bedlam: - 'divers traines have bin laide to bring him hither' 138-39	Bellamont	Mayberry's retinue

5.1	<p>Bellamont and the Mayberrys</p> <p>a. Greenshield re. his masked wife</p> <p>b. 'by some trick' Bellamont will match Featherstone with Doll</p>	<p>a. Greenshield and Kate</p> <p>b. Featherstone and Doll</p>	<p>Bellamont - 'prettily wel dissembled'</p> <p>All others</p>
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Appendix 6 The 'two divers nations' in *The Isle of Gulls*

John Day's *The Isle of Gulls* began its short life on stage at Blackfriars in the first weeks of February 1606. In a letter written on Tuesday 7 March 1606 to the English ambassador in Brussels, Sir Edward Hoby reports in chronological order the noteworthy events in parliament and the city of London over the past month. He comments that, around the 15th to 17th of February, 'At this time was much speach of a playe in the Blacke Fryers, where in the Ile of Gulls, from the highest to the loweste, all mens parts were acted of two divers nations, as I understand sundry were committed to Bridewell' (Birch 60-61). Who were the two nations, how were the differences enacted on stage, and why did this provoke another round of imprisonments (following the incarceration of Chapman and Jonson for anti-Scottish speeches and caricatures in *Eastward Ho*, another Blackfriars play, the previous summer)?

In his 1881 edition of *The Works of John Day* A.H. Bullen asserted that Day's 'two nations, the Arcadians and the Lacedaemonians, are the English and the Scots' (xvi). Raymond Burns writes in his 1980 edition of *The Isle of Gulls* that 'It seems entirely possible, then, that the 'two divers nations,' the Arcadians and the Lacedaemonians, may have been represented as the English and the Scots': the two princes 'Aminter and Julio could most fittingly wear the plaid' (13). Although, as Burns comments, Edward Hoby was 'writing from hearsay ('At this time was much speache')' (12-13), it is noticeable that Hoby refers to the staging of the two diverse nations as the occasion for incarceration, rather than the highly satirical caricatures of a ruler who loves hunting deer, has no time for political matters and is served and managed by unscrupulous and corrupt counsellors. In 1989 Albert Tricomi calls Julio and Aminter 'the Lacedaemonian messengers' (37) and this is echoed the next year by Janet Clare, referring to 'the meeting of the two Lacedaemonians, Julio and Aminter, with the Duke' (*Art Made Tongue-Tied* 125). This is repeated in 1991 by Richard Dutton: 'The 'two divers nations' of whom Hoby speaks in the play, the Arcadians and the Lacedaemonians, plainly represent the English and the Scots' (180). There is no explanation given by any editor or critic, however, as to why the Arcadians should represent the English and the two princes the Scots.

The men's parts divided into 'nations', give us, firstly, the Arcadian court: from 'high to low', in Hoby's term, this comprises King Basilius, Dametas, Manasses, two Captains, and a Boy (cf. 3.3.74 SD and 125-26). The second 'nation' is represented by the two princes Aminter and Julio. At the close of the play it is these two princes who are successful in winning the hands of the princesses, outfoxing their gullible rivals Lisander and Demetrius. If Julio and Aminter really do represent the Scottish nation, then the effect of this identification in the theatre is described by Lucy Munro when she comments that the outcomes for the two sets of princes are not 'apportioned with their attempts to win the princesses... , nor in accordance with the audience expectations'; 'the play's successful characters are those who place their faith in cynical *realpolitik* rather than those who trust the conventions of prose romance' (*Children* 119). This would presumably mirror the exasperated experiences of the English in the audience who were becoming used to Scots, newly arrived in London, winning undeserved favours and rewards from the new court and cynically disregarding the tradition and conventions of the later Elizabethan years. However, why should the success of the Scottish suitors have sparked the political and judicial furore described by Edward Hoby? No member of the Blackfriars retinue could have been sent to Bridewell for upsetting audience expectations or for enacting the failures of two English suitors.

A more important question, therefore, is whether it is correct to assume that Aminter and Julio are the Lacedaemonians / Scots? What reading of the play and its final outcome, and what kind of political response could have been predicted if, in fact, it were Lisander, Demetrius, and the latter's Page ('from high to low') who are the outsiders, and Aminter and Julio the Arcadians?

When Aminter and Julio appear before Basilius in 4.1 with the report of unrest in Arcadia - a scene that is irrelevant to the drama's plot, but which sets forth the discontents of many English with the new court and its ways - they are, as Michael Andrews notes, 'now disguised as messengers' (80): they are in disguise as Lacedaemonians. The text indicates clearly that Aminter and Julio are from Arcadia. As the princes embark on their second attempt to gain the princesses, Aminter remarks: 'we are againe admitted our Realme'

(3.3.140-41). They know Arcadia's chief counsellor Dametas, and he recognises and knows them when they 'discover themselves'; 'My honorable friends, Julio and Aminter' (3.1.84 SD and 89). Dametas has been working on their behalf 'to possesse you of your loves, and seate you in the Dukedome' (1.3.107-08). He stands to profit from their success: 'the very white of our hopes' (2.2.90). When his plan to pair up the princes and princesses fails he considers whether he should betray the two men: 'I should discover their plot to the Duke, attach em for traytors, and begge their lands for my labour, though they be my friends' (2.2.163-65). He could not take possession of their lands through the Duke's disposing, unless the two princes were residents of Arcadia. Aminter and Julio are very familiar with Dametas's treacherous ways and do not trust him (cf. 1.3.122-154). In contrast, their 'enterprise shall weare a noble face' (1.3.154). They are offended by Dametas's first plan to capture the princesses by force: 'That were violence, & cleane opposite to the intent of the challenge' (1.3.102-03). Their drawn-out criticisms of Dametas and their report of unrest back home in Arcadia have weight and contemporary relevance and spice precisely because they are Arcadians / Englishmen who have observed at first hand and are now commenting on how the court now operates in England.

For Lisander and Demetrius, however, it is Lacedemonia that is their 'home' (5.1.317). This is why they ask Aminter and Julio, who they have mistaken for real Lacedemonians, to convey the two princesses 'to Lacedemon' (4.3.105). (In Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* the two princes Pyrocles and Musidorus, on whom Lisander and Demetrius are based, are visitors to Arcadia.)

How were the two nations presented and differentiated on stage? It is unlikely, despite Burns's metaphorical reference to 'plaid', to have been through costumes. Lisander spends the whole play until the final act disguised as an Amazonian woman; Demetrius is also disguised, as a wood-man. Aminter and Julio are also regularly in disguise. In their first appearance Aminter is disguised as a poor soldier, Julio as a poor scholar (1.3.15 SD). They reveal themselves to Dametas (3.1.84 SD). After that they are in disguise again, next 'attired as Satyrs' (2.2.1 SD), and in 3.3 as messengers from Lacedemonia.

They retain the Lacedemonian disguise until the close of the play, 5.1.276, when they appear as themselves and Lisander and Demetrius do not recognise them (5.1.320 passim).

Instead, and as Lucy Munro writes, the play's contrasts and identifications would have been achieved through 'its performance in English and Scottish accents' (*Children* 94). But it is the actors playing Aminter and Julio who spoke in their native English or London accents, whilst the actors playing the two Lacedemonian princes Lisander and Demetrius and the latter's cheeky Page spoke with marked Scottish accents. To emphasise the scandalous depiction of inept outsiders Basilius, an impersonation of James I, might have also spoken with a Scottish accent, which would also add to his sense of affinity with the cross-dressed Lisander.

At the close of the play Hippolita speaks for the two princesses when she tells Lisander and Demetrius to 'offer up your cards and yeild the set lost' (5.1.357-58). It is the brash and cocksure outsiders who are the chief gulls. The two Arcadian / English princes are victorious, to the delight of the Blackfriars audience who could see what was coming from the moment in 4.3 when the over confident outsiders handed the princesses over to the care of Aminter and Julio. As Julio said of them, 'Guls indeed' (4.3.123).

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