

Between Performances, Texts, and Editions: *The Changeling*

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Abstract

This thesis is about the ways in which Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's play *The Changeling* has been edited, performed, and archived in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It proposes a more integrated way of looking at the histories of performances and texts than is usually employed by the institutions of Shakespeare and early modern studies. Crucially, it suggests that documented archival remains of performance should be admitted as textual witnesses of a play's history, and given equal status with academic, scholarly editions. I argue that—despite at least a century of arguments to the contrary—performance is still considered secondary to text, and that this relationship needs to become more balanced, particularly since the canon has begun to expand and early modern plays beyond Shakespeare have begun to see more stage time in recent years. In addition, I begin to theorise social media as archives of performance, and begin to suggest ways forward for archiving the performance of early modern drama in the digital turn. In order to support these arguments, I offer a series of twentieth- and twenty-first-century productions of *The Changeling* as case studies. Through these case studies, I seek to make connections between *The Changeling* as text, *The Changeling* as performance, and the various other texts and performances that it has interacted with throughout its life since 1961. In presenting analyses of these texts and performances side-by-side, within the same history, I aim to show the interdependency of these two usually separated strands of early modern studies and make a case for greater integration of the two in both editorial, historiographical, and performance practices.

For Nora Sowma, Emily Williams, and May Jowdy.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Illustrations	6
Textual Notes	8
A Prologue	9
Introduction: performance, text, and <i>The Changeling</i>	10
Literature Review	61
Chapter One, Readings and re-readings: the Royal Court, 1961.....	109
Chapter Two, Political <i>Changelings</i> : 1978-79 and 1988	132
Interlude: Bridging 1988 and 2012	180
Chapter Three, Re-making Middleton for the 21st Century: the Young Vic, 2012.....	186
Chapter Four, Documenting Past and Present at the New Globe: SWP, 2015....	222
Moving Forward: Conclusions	298
Appendix A: Editing Samples	298
Appendix B: List of UK Professional Productions and Scholarly Editions	309
Bibliography	314

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Illustrations

1. Frances, Countess of Somerset.....	105
2. 1961 Royal Court promptbook, p. 61.....	126
3. The Globe's response to José A. Pérez Díez's criticism of its 2015-16 winter season announcement on Facebook	236
4. The Globe's response to my criticism of its 2015-16 winter season announcement on Twitter.....	237
5. Comments from TripAdvisor users Jeffroyals and leisure_traveller44 about their visits to the SWP in 2015.....	239
6. Examples of Twitter users employing the #SWPChangeling hashtag.....	240
7. @The_Globe interacts with its audience through Twitter.....	240
8. @PascaleExeter, @harrymccarthy, and I discuss the SWP <i>Changeling</i> without using the hashtag.....	242
9. TripAdvisor user Jiinx expresses dislike of the SWP as a venue.....	252
10. Twitter users @DrJanaFunke and @shaksper express their approval of the madhouse scene in the SWP <i>Changeling</i>	256
11. Pascale Aebischer tweets about sight lines in the SWP.....	262
12. Twitter user @RichardJColeman comments on the SWP <i>Changeling</i>	265

Textual Notes

1) Throughout the thesis, references to text from *The Changeling* cite the 1653 quarto, unless otherwise specified. This means that spelling and punctuation are often early modern rather than modern; I have not flagged this within the body text except where the meaning may otherwise be obscured.

2) Deflores' name has attracted a multitude of spellings since the seventeenth century. I use "Deflores" because it is what is printed in the quarto text. Most writers that I cite use a different configuration—most commonly "de Flores" or "De Flores". When quoting from a secondary source, I retain the author's spelling.

3) A large number of my sources are newspaper reviews of various productions of *The Changeling*. As the titles often repeat themselves (e.g. 'The Changeling') or become rather wordy (e.g., 'A creepy, sexy Jacobean extravaganza every bit as nasty as today's plays'), these have been cited using only the reviewer's name and the date of publication after the first reference to any given review. Similarly, for press cuttings found in institutional archives, I have omitted the full bibliographic details in the main body of the thesis; full details are included in the Bibliography. Reviews found online include URLs in both the main body and the Bibliography.

A Prologue

On a cold February day in 2012, just days after submitting my PhD proposal to the University of Exeter, I queued anxiously outside the Young Vic, hoping for a rush ticket to see Joe Hill-Gibbins' sold-out smash-hit production of *The Changeling*. The production had all the hallmarks of an "updated" early modern play: it starred Jessica Raine, who had recently risen to fame on BBC's *Call the Midwife*, it transposed the plot from the seventeenth century to the twentieth, it cut the script to shreds, it ran at just under two hours with no interval, and it was *messy*—literally and figuratively. That production, the first live version of *The Changeling* I had ever seen, has been a driving force in the construction of this thesis, but not for the reasons that I anticipated. The surprising box-office success of Hill-Gibbins' production attests to how well this play can speak to twenty-first-century audiences, and the history and reputation of the Young Vic as a venue fits neatly into the narrative promoted by Gary Taylor in particular of Middleton as the gritty, city alternative to Shakespeare's pastoral, traditional "Old Vic" default. So far, so ordinary: it comes as no surprise to early modernists that a theatre company trading in updates on the classics should encourage us to see a four-hundred-year-old playwright as "our contemporary". As I learned when interviewing Hill-Gibbins after the production's revival almost a year later, however, underneath the layer of marketing designed to attract London's theatregoers was a commitment to tackling the play from a textual scholarship perspective and resolving some of its notorious structural difficulties through performance. The collision of scholarly attention and contemporary staging practices evident in Hill-Gibbins' approach to *The Changeling*—the first early modern play he directed professionally—was a catalysing force in the development of this thesis.

Introduction: performance, text, and *The Changeling*

Although early modern plays were written for performance in the first instance, authority of interpretation now sits largely with the institutional apparatus of the university, and, more specifically, with scholars of English literature. This continues to be true despite a number of experiments, collaborations, and calls to arms—from William Poel to J.L. Styan, Russell Brown, Barbara Hodgdon and forward—advocating a more open dialogue between the theatre and the academy, as well as a greater acknowledgement of the contributions that theatre practitioners make to interpretive trends.¹ I argue that literary authority still occludes the detailed and rigorous work done by dramaturgs and directors in the professional theatre. Indeed, through original analyses of dramaturgical editing and its relationship to scholarly editorial practices, I will show that scholarly editors often make dramaturgical and interpretive choices despite their appeals to neutrality, whilst dramaturgs and directors sometimes make editorial choices that are at least as literary as performative in nature. In addition, others kinds of text-based work done outside of formal textual studies are often excluded from a play's historical narrative; under this umbrella I include reviews of performances, interviews with creative practitioners such as directors, dramaturgs, and actors, and the vernacular archive of social media.

Therefore, I aim to demonstrate that the textual and performance histories of *The Changeling* specifically (and early modern drama more broadly) are intimately and inextricably linked, and to suggest that theatrical prompt books and other text-based ephemera of performance should be admitted as textual witnesses of a play, on an equal footing with the various scholarly editions and early printings. Without referring to them as such, Worthen provides a useful definition of textual witnesses

¹ see, e.g., B. Hodgdon, *The End Crowns All: Closure and Contradiction in Shakespeare's History*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 14.

for the context of this thesis: they are ‘documents that we can understand as manifestations—manuscripts, various printed forms, performances—which can be assigned various kinds and degrees of authority, and stand in various relations to any authorial act of writing’.² We can speak of texts as “witnesses” to a moment in the life of a given work. Hodgdon’s sense that Shakespeare’s plays were ‘originally “published” as staged performances’ is instructive here, and I join her in calling for continued reconsideration of the ‘voiced as well as unvoiced assumptions that performances lack textual authority’.³

To that end, I will argue for a broadened definition of “texts” in early modern textual studies, particularly since the digital turn.⁴ In addition, I make a case for social media *as* archives of performance, effectively arguing for a re-thinking or expansion of the limits of the archive. Throughout, I have attempted to heed Worthen’s warning about ‘essentializing’ and situating ultimate authority with either texts or performances.⁵ However, like Hodgdon (and, indeed, Worthen), ‘I am unwilling, on theoretical as well as historical grounds, to accept a hierarchy that locates performance as an inferior form of textual production’.⁶ Too often, the textual and performance histories of early modern plays are defined by precisely the hierarchy that Hodgdon resists. I propose instead a model that considers text and performance as separate paths that frequently intersect, such that it is irresponsible to tell the history of one without incorporating the other.

² W.B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance*, Cambridge, CUP, 1997, p. 9.

³ B. Hodgdon, *The End Crowns All*, pp. 5, 14.

⁴ see, for example, the *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* special issue on the digital turn, vol. 14, no. 3, 2013.

⁵ W.B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance*, p. 4.

⁶ B. Hodgdon, *The End Crowns All*, p. 16.

Of course, I am not by any means the first to suggest that the theatrical and scholarly sides of early modern drama need to become more integrated. In 1996, James C. Bulman critiqued J.L. Styan's then twenty-year-old work by contending that

[w]hat *The Shakespeare Revolution* failed to take into account was the radical contingency of performance—the unpredictable, often playful intersection of history, material conditions, social contexts and reception that destabilizes Shakespeare and makes theatrical meaning a participatory act.⁷

Bulman's suggestion that we, as a scholarly community, have not gone far enough in considering the impact of performance on text—and vice-versa—is as relevant today as it was twenty years ago, particularly for plays outside of Shakespeare's canon. Often, this is a function of their very limited performance histories: there simply are not enough documented instances of certain plays in performance to comment upon the 'radical contingencies' contained therein. Just as often, however, and certainly in the case of *The Changeling*, it is as much a result of scholarly complacency, a sense that we are doing enough and have sufficiently adjusted our research practice to accommodate performance alongside text. This thesis will challenge that belief by suggesting new ways for text and performance to interact and by demonstrating a kind of historical narrative that incorporates text with performance.

Whilst debates between the scholarly and professional theatrical communities have often been framed in terms of Shakespeare—either exclusively, or as a stand-in for the full range of plays and playwrights from the period—I wish to contribute by shifting the focus to a play that is not by Shakespeare, but which is sometimes considered canonical.⁸ *The Changeling* is an ideal case study for this project because its status within

⁷ J.C. Bulman, 'Introduction: Shakespeare and Performance Theory'. Bulman, J.C. (ed.), *Shakespeare, Theory, and Performance*, London, Routledge, 1996, pp. 1-11, p. 1

⁸ For Shakespeare-centric studies concerned with the debates between academia and professional theatre practice, or between the primacy of text versus performance, see, for example: J.L. Styan, *The Shakespeare Revolution*, Cambridge, CUP, 1977; L.E. Osborne, *The Trick of Singularity: Twelfth Night and the Performance Editions*, Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1996; C. Carson and F. Karim-Cooper

the early modern canon is currently shifting. Whilst it has enjoyed a relatively secure place on A-level and university curricula since the 1980s, its recurrence on the professional stage has been less consistent: available as a printed text since 1653, it nonetheless suffered a gap in its performance history from 1668 until the mid-twentieth century. Since 1961 it has seen over thirty professional productions in the UK, along with a slew of university society and amateur versions. Its popularity on the stage, however, does not begin to approach that of plays by Shakespeare. Consider that in recent years, *The Changeling* has been unusually popular on major British stages: it was produced in 2004 by Shakespeare at the Tobacco Factory, in 2011 at Southwark Playhouse, (twice) in 2012 at the Young Vic, and in 2015 at the Globe's Sam Wanamaker Playhouse. To offer a point of comparison from Shakespeare's canon, *Hamlet* has been produced twice by the RSC alone in the past five years, in addition to the "Globe to Globe" world tour production by Shakespeare's Globe, and the highly publicised Barbican production starring Benedict Cumberbatch—the fastest-selling ticket in British theatre history.⁹ Even his less popular or "problem" plays see regular productions at the many British theatres trading on Shakespeare's cultural capital: for example, *Measure for Measure* has seen a recent surge in popularity with virtually simultaneous productions by Cheek by Jowl, the Globe, and the Young Vic in 2015.¹⁰ Such confluence is not unusual for plays by Shakespeare and indeed, it is *de rigueur* for popular texts like *Hamlet*; it is all but unheard of for plays by most of his

(eds.), *Shakespeare's Globe: A Theatrical Experiment*, Cambridge, CUP, 2008; M.J. Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, London, Routledge, 2009; A. Rokison, *Shakespearean Verse Speaking*, Cambridge, CUP, 2009; and L. Erne, *Shakespeare's Modern Collaborators*, London, Continuum, 2007.

⁹ *Hamlet*, RSC, dir. David Farr, perf. Jonathan Slinger, 26 March 2013; *Hamlet*, RSC, dir. Simon Godwin, perf. Paapa Essiedu, 12 March 2016; *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's Globe (tour), dir. Dominic Dromgoole, perf. Laoi Emeruwa and Naem Hayat, 23 April 2014; *Hamlet*, Barbican, dir. Lindsey Turner, perf. Benedict Cumberbatch, 5 August 2015.

¹⁰ *Measure for Measure*, Cheek by Jowl, dir. Declan Donnellan, perf. Alexander Arsenyev and Anna Khalilulina, 15 April 2015 (Barbican); *Measure for Measure*, Shakespeare's Globe, dir. Dominic Dromgoole, perf. Mariah Gale and Dominic Rowan, 20 June 2015; *Measure for Measure*, Young Vic, dir. Joe Hill-Gibbins, perf. Romola Garai, 1 October 2015.

contemporaries. In my interview with him, Hill-Gibbins argued that there are certain plays (or rather, playwrights) the London theatre scene can stand to see year on year—namely, Shakespeare, Ibsen, and Chekhov. Middleton, Rowley, and *The Changeling* have not yet ascended to those exalted ranks, and Hill-Gibbins uses this logic to explain away the gaps in *The Changeling*'s twentieth-century performance history.¹¹ Thus, although *The Changeling* has become part of the canon of early modern *literature*, I would argue that it has not necessarily achieved the same status in terms of early modern *performance*. This tension is partly what makes it such a fascinating case study.

In putting *The Changeling* and its history at the centre of this argument, I also offer a challenge to the institutional apparatuses that edit, print, interpret, rehearse, and produce early modern plays beyond Shakespeare. In particular, I take issue with the branding of Middleton as “our other Shakespeare” represented by the Oxford *Middleton* and affiliated press. In constructing Middleton ‘in the image of Shakespeare’, Gary Taylor and others have overlooked or chosen to ignore both Middleton’s numerous collaborators and the textual and dramaturgical habits that make him unique.¹²

The tendency to read all of early modern drama as an offshoot of Shakespeare is one that needs continual challenging, even in a time and place where Shakespeare’s contemporaries are being produced and studied in unprecedented numbers. As Jeremy Lopez noted in 2012, ‘more early modern English drama has been performed in the last one hundred years than was *ever* performed’.¹³ Within that larger revival, it is safe to say that ‘we are currently in a period of renewed interest in Renaissance plays beyond

¹¹ J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview, January 2013.

¹² P. Aebischer and K. Prince, ‘Introduction’, Aebischer and Prince (eds.), *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, Cambridge, CUP, 2012, pp. 1-16, p. 11.

¹³ J. Lopez, ‘The seeds of time: student theatre and the drama of Shakespeare’s contemporaries’, Aebischer and Prince (eds.), *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, Cambridge, CUP, 2012, pp. 35-53, p. 35, emphasis original.

Shakespeare's canon'.¹⁴ This 'renewed interest' has been identified in both academic and popular publications: also in 2012, a *Guardian* op-ed by Andrew Dickson cited recent, major productions of *The Duchess of Malfi*, *The Revenger's Tragedy*, *Women Beware Women*, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, and, of course, *The Changeling* at venues as prestigious as the National Theatre, the Barbican, and the Young Vic, by hot-ticket directors such as Katie Mitchell and Declan Donnellan, and starring of-the-moment actors like Jessica Raine in order to assert that, in twenty-first-century Britain, 'we can't get enough' of Jacobean tragedy.¹⁵

The London theatre scene, in particular, is still in the midst of the Jacobean revival noted by Dickson and Lopez. The Globe's indoor Jacobean theatre, the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, opened its doors in January 2014; although its 2016 season was Shakespeare-focused, its first two seasons featured productions of John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Philip Massinger's *The Malcontent*, John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and *The Broken Heart*, Christopher Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and *The Changeling*. In addition, The Royal Shakespeare Company's Swan Theatre has also been re-invigorated in recent years as a space for performing a broader range of early modern plays, including Webster's *The White Devil*, Middleton's *A Mad World My Masters*, Middleton and Thomas Dekker's *The Roaring Girl*, Dekker, Rowley, and Ford's *The Witch of Edmonton*, and the anonymous *Arden of Feversham* across its 2013 and 2014 seasons. As these plays continue to prove popular on professional stages—and, in turn, continue to be produced in new scholarly editions—it is crucial that we continue to question their place in the early modern canon.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁵ A. Dickson, 'Jacobean tragedy: of love and death', *Guardian*, 20 Jan. 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/jan/20/jacobean-tragedies-changeling-duchess-malfi>, (accessed 20 April 2013).

The recent increase in the popularity of early modern drama coincides with the explosion of digital technologies and the expansion of terms such as “text” and “performance” in the digital age. As I explore in my final chapters, these innovations inevitably give way to new ways of producing, performing, editing, watching, and reading. As such, the time is ripe for a re-examination of the historiography of early modern plays both as literary texts and as performances. The narratives that have been constructed around early modern plays and their transmission on stage and page over the past four hundred years often see textual history as separate from performance history. A number of attempts have been made to reconcile the two, including The Bedford Shakespeare’s *Texts and Contexts* series, which reprints the Bevington editions of plays alongside essays on early modern (theatrical) culture and primary source reproductions.¹⁶ Commentary from actors on their performances of Shakespeare, in particular, often reference textual features, as in the RSC’s *Players of Shakespeare* series; but whilst these accounts sometimes reference a play’s performance history, they rarely, if ever, engage with its textual history—nor are they designed to.¹⁷ Another obvious example is John Barton’s *Playing Shakespeare* series, also sponsored by the RSC, which started life as an ITV television series before being published as a book.¹⁸ *Playing Shakespeare* is a particularly potent example for my purposes because it so clearly plays in the boundaries between text and performance: the book consists largely of transcripts of the television episodes, which focus on using Shakespeare’s text as a tool for creating effective performances. Although works like these acknowledge the need to integrate performance (past and present) with text, none consider the textual and performance histories of a given play in tandem.

¹⁶ see, e.g., M. DiGangi (ed.), *The Winter’s Tale: Texts and Contexts*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2008, and I. Kamps and K. Raber (eds.), *Measure for Measure: Texts and Contexts*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2004.

¹⁷ see, e.g., P. Brockbank (ed.), *Players of Shakespeare 1*, Cambridge, CUP, 1988.

¹⁸ *Playing Shakespeare*, dir. John Carlaw, UK, ITV, 1982 [television broadcast]; J. Barton, *Playing Shakespeare: An Actor’s Guide*, London, Methuen, 1984.

Laurie E. Osborne's work on performance editions of *Twelfth Night* is instructive here. In *The Trick of Singularity: Twelfth Night and the Performance Editions*, Osborne articulates the 'performance edition's distinctive position at the intersection of textual and theatrical production' and challenges the notion that '[p]erformance editions belong to theatre history, not textual studies'.¹⁹ Her conviction that a play's identity 'is itself being constantly revised' by both performance and text is very much in sympathy with the arguments I make in this thesis, although her work focuses on rehabilitating published performance editions as opposed to archival promptbooks.²⁰ In particular, I embrace Osborne's proposition that '[t]he first published texts of Shakespeare's works are poised at the juncture of performance and text' and echo her advocacy of 'a necessary convergence of textual studies and performance theory'.²¹

Osborne's choice of *Twelfth Night* as her case study text is particularly useful in the context of this thesis. As she notes, the play comes down to us only through Shakespeare's First Folio; there are no other early printings extant. As a result, the text of *Twelfth Night*—like the text of *The Changeling*—is 'apparently stable'.²² As Osborne demonstrates with regard to *Twelfth Night*, and as I hope to show in this thesis with regard to *The Changeling*, studying these texts in performance 'proves an expansive history of textual multiplicity'.²³ Performance editions and promptbooks are textual forms that represent performance as much as they represent a genuine instance of a play's text, a witness to a particular moment in its history. As such, as Osborne also argues, they should be treated as important and legitimate parts of a play's textual history.

¹⁹ L.E. Osborne, *The Trick of Singularity: Twelfth Night and the Performance Editions*, Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1996, pp. xiii, xii.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. xvi

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *ibid.*, p. xiii.

²³ *ibid.*, xv.

The heyday of the performance editions examined by Osborne was paralleled by another significant precedent for incorporating performance history in a scholarly edition of Shakespeare's works: Horace Howard Furness's *New Variorum Shakespeare*.²⁴ Published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Furness's *New Variorum* 'referenced acting editions and writings by and about actors in his paratextual material', with the goal of 'giv[ing] scholars, students, and practitioners the ability to make informed interpretive choices' when reading and performing the works of Shakespeare.²⁵ I share Furness's conviction that 'stage history [is] a central component of the cultural history of the plays', and I join him in acknowledging 'great performers of Shakespeare as scholars of the plays' in their own right.²⁶ Indeed, I would add directors and dramaturgs to those ranks, as well.

It is important to note, however, that both Furness's edition and the performance editions studied by Osborne were made possible by the rich and varied performance history of Shakespeare's plays specifically at the turn of the last century. Precious few plays from the Renaissance by anyone other than Shakespeare had seen even one production since the seventeenth century at that point, let alone enough performances to set up the kinds of conversations between interpretations that are the hallmark of Furness's *New Variorum*.²⁷ Such engagement across performances and texts has only recently become possible for plays that Lucy Munro identifies as part of a canonical 'first group' of works beyond Shakespeare, such as *The Changeling*, and still would not prove fruitful with a much larger number of case-study plays, including

²⁴ L.C. Cross, 'Acting in the Paratext: Theatrical Material in Horace Howard Furness's *New Variorum Shakespeare*', *Shakespeare Bulletin*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2015, pp. 191-213.

²⁵ *ibid.* p. 192.

²⁶ *ibid.* pp. 201, 194.

²⁷ The notable exceptions are Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*.

Rowley's *The Birth of Merlin*, *All's Lost By Lust*, and *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman* and Middleton's *A Mad World My Masters*, *A Game at Chess*, and *Hengist, King of Kent*.²⁸

More recently, attempts have been made to adapt Furness's project for the present, most notably in Jacky Bratton and Julie Hankey's *Shakespeare in Production* series, which combines extensive, performance-focused introductions with editions of the plays annotated with content from promptbooks, reviews, and the editors' own viewing experiences. Underwritten by the New Cambridge editions of Shakespeare's plays, these volumes provide an invaluable resource for those concerned with performance history. Whilst they fill a much-needed gap by admitting performance ephemera as influential textual witnesses, they obscure the existing work of textual scholars—including those who created the New Cambridge editions that the series relies upon. As a result, cross-referencing with other volumes is necessary to access information such as glosses, textual variations, and details from early printings, and textual scholarship is displaced by, not integrated with, performance history. In addition, the restrictions of print as a medium mean that these volumes are often unwieldy and difficult to navigate; these same restrictions mean that such volumes quickly fall out of date. I suggest, therefore, that the project of creating an edition that includes performance records must now be a digital project, taking full advantage of the shortened timescales, flexible formatting, and edit-ability that such technology provides. Rather than producing an entirely new volume to accommodate more recent productions, a digital model might allow for adjustment within the existing framework, creating the opportunity for an organic, growing document that facilitates cross-referencing and functions more like a digital archive than a traditional "edition" of a given play .

²⁸ L. Munro, 'The early modern repertory and the performance of Shakespeare's contemporaries today', P. Aebischer and K. Prince (eds.), *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, Cambridge, CUP, 2012, pp. 17-34. I engage with Murno's categorisations at greater length in my literature review and in Chapter One.

Indeed, there are a number of initiatives underway to increase the accessibility and functionality of digital editions of early modern plays and, in particular, Shakespeare. The third edition of the Norton Shakespeare, for example, features a digital counterpart, included with purchase of the hard copy, which markets itself as ‘the first edited specifically for undergraduates’.²⁹ The digital edition includes all the features of the printed book—including ‘texts, introductions, glosses, and notes’—as well as an ‘innovative side-by-side scrolling view option’ that allows readers to compare, for example, the folio and quarto texts of *King Lear*.³⁰ There are also projects dedicated to creating new editions of texts within an exclusively digital and open access model, including *Internet Shakespeare Editions* and *Digital Renaissance Editions*. *Digital Renaissance Editions* is of particular interest for this thesis, as it defines itself by its extra-Shakespearean focus. So far, it has produced digital, peer-reviewed, and open access editions of George Chapman’s *A Humorous Day’s Mirth*, Middleton and Dekker’s *The Honest Whore, Part 1*, and Dekker’s *The Honest Whore, Part 2*.³¹

My arguments here are also influenced by Sarah Werner, Brett Hirsch, and Janelle Jenstad’s most recent work.³² Hirsch and Jenstad (quite rightly) argue that because digital editions are ‘not subject to the material constraints of print’, they are equipped to take on the ambitious task of performing ‘numerous editorial functions’ simultaneously—including the function of incorporating performance histories and priorities.³³ However, as Werner argues, many performance-conscious editions of Shakespeare’s plays are guilty of shutting down rather than opening up possibilities

²⁹ ‘The Norton Shakespeare’, *W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.*, [website], 2015, <http://books.wwnorton.com/books/webad.aspx?id=4294987060>, (accessed 2 January 2016).

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ *Digital Renaissance Editions*, [website], 2015, <http://digitalrenaissance.uvic.ca/>, (accessed 10 December 2015).

³² S. Werner, ‘Performance in Digital Editions of Shakespeare’, *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Performance*, Bulman, J.C. (ed.), Oxford, OUP, forthcoming, http://sarahwerner.net/blog/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Werner_digital-editions_preprint.pdf, B.D. Hirsch and J. Jenstad, ‘Beyond the Text: Digital Editions and Performance’, *Shakespeare Bulletin*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2016, pp. 107-27.

³³ B.D. Hirsch and J. Jenstad, ‘Beyond the Text’, pp. 113, 109,

for performance and interpretation by offering, for example, ‘specially commissioned full-length video performance[s]’ or prescriptive audio recordings.³⁴ In these cases, the performance is merely a servant of the text, intended to clarify or explicate an “ideal” interpretation. As Elizabeth Schafer has pointed out, ‘prescriptiveness is particularly difficult to avoid in editings which offer staging commentary in terms of potential performance readings’.³⁵ Werner and Schafer both suggest that these kinds of editions are ‘hampered’ by their limited sense of the roles performance might play in a scholarly edition.³⁶

There is evidence, however, that print editors are paying more attention to performance—or at least attempting to do so. Arden 3 and Arden Early Modern have self-identified as concerned with performance history and performative possibilities in the playtexts. General Editors Ann Thompson and Gordon McMullan suggest that attention to the stage is integral to the third Arden Shakespeare series:

While editors of volumes in the second Arden series could and often did choose to ignore the stage history of their plays, editors in the third series are urged, indeed, required by the *Editorial Guidelines*, to present their plays as texts for performance, making appropriate reference to stage, film and television versions in their commentaries as well as in their introductions.³⁷

Indeed, Thompson and McMullan go so far as to say that attention to ‘performance has become a key, if not the key, factor in differentiating the current series of Shakespeare editions from those of the mid-twentieth century’.³⁸ George Walton Williams, in the same volume, encourages editors to behave more like directors: ‘I argue that every

³⁴ S. Werner, ‘Performance in Digital Editions of Shakespeare’, p. 4

³⁵ E. Schafer, ‘Performance Editions, Editing, and Editors’, *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 59, 2006, pp. 198-212, p. 200.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 1.

³⁷ A. Thompson and G. McMullan, ‘Introduction’, A. Thompson and G. McMullan (eds.), *In Arden: Editing Shakespeare*, London, Thomson, 2003, pp. xi-xxiv, p. xiv.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. xv.

editor should be a director, whose page is his stage'.³⁹ On the surface, then, the most recent Arden editions seem to be encouraging editors to think and write more about performances of the plays with which they work.

What becomes clear in Williams' chapter, however, is that he does not mean for theatrical editing (done in rehearsal and performance) to enter the realm of scholarly editing. That is, he does not suggest that theatrical promptbooks should be admitted as textual witnesses. Rather, he uses the example of directors' edits to advocate a more flexible approach to scholarly editing:

Directors are constantly infringing on the domain of the editor. Directors always edit. They substitute modern words for old-fashioned words; they omit obscure classical or topical allusions; they reassign speeches—in short they do not hesitate to edit the play before an actor has first set foot on the stage. [...] Editors should adopt the equivalent directorial attitude in their work: where a stage direction printed in Quarto or Folio is wrong, misleading or ambiguous, the editor must present it in the edition—as the director would on stage—correctly, clearly and unambiguously.⁴⁰

Williams therefore suggests a generalised “directorly” approach rather than attention to specific director's choices. In addition, Barbara Hodgdon deconstructs Thompson and McMullan's confident claims for the role of performance in the new Arden series.

Arguing that the Arden 3 *Editorial Guidelines* ‘bracket off performance as performance, separating it physically and spatially from the text as part of the Introductory matter’, she suggests that the language of the *Guidelines* prioritises “Shakespeare's theatre” over and above any more recent stagings: ‘Arden 3's protocols [...] warn editors to refrain from introducing their own interpretations into textual commentary and from including too much present-day theatrical evidence, which might date an edition’.⁴¹

³⁹ G. W. Williams, ‘To Edit? To Direct? Ay, There's the Rub’, A. Thompson and G. McMullan (eds.), *In Arden: Editing Shakespeare*, London, Thomson, 2003, pp. 111-24, p. 112

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ B. Hodgdon, ‘Who is performing “in” these text(s)? or, *Shren*-ing around’, A. Thompson and G. McMullan (eds.), *In Arden: Editing Shakespeare*, London, Thomson, 2003, pp. 95-108, p. 97, 105.

Hodgdon highlights a key gap in the role of performance in scholarly editing: when performance is considered within an otherwise textual piece of work, scholarly engagement typically restricts itself to performances in the distant past. Most collections of plays, including the Oxford *Collected Works of Thomas Middleton* and *Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, are guilty of groping for the (sometimes imaginary) first performances in their introductions without acknowledging the plays' onstage lives since the early modern period.

On the other side of the coin, existing work on early modern plays as texts *for* performance generally projects forward to consider future performers of the plays, rather than existing, documented performances. Abigail Rokison's monograph *Shakespearean Verse Speaking*, for example, deals directly with issues around the performance of early modern text and skillfully combines academic, text-based and practical, performance-based approaches to deconstruct the traditional "Shakespearean" acting techniques. She looks at a cross-section of handbooks on and guidelines for performing Shakespeare's text from well-known practitioners such as Cicely Berry, Patsy Rodenburg, John Barton, and Peter Hall and compares them against editorial practice in order to expose how the two sides can materially affect each other. Her stated aim is to 'explore the potential impact of varying editorial principles of lineation and punctuation on theatrical delivery, with the aim of alerting editors to the way in which actors may interpret editorial emendation, and theatre practitioners to diverse editorial and compositorial methods'.⁴² Again, although her study focuses on Shakespeare's canon, the problems she identifies and addresses in traditional (read: Shakespeare-based) actor training are also relevant to a study of Middleton, especially as his plays begin to see more and more major productions. Rokison's work—in conversation with similar texts

⁴² A. Rokison, *Shakespearean Verse Speaking*, p. 2

published around the same time—serves a much-needed challenge to the editorial paradigm, but does not adequately account for existing, documented performances that took place in the more recent past.⁴³

Studies that do engage with existing, documented performances of early modern plays tend not to consider the play's life as text or the potential impact of the play's textual history on performance; this kind of work includes monographs such as Kim Solga's *Violence Against Women in Early Modern Performance* as well as shorter, article-length work such as Roberta Barker's engagement with Marianne Elliot's 2010 production of *Women Beware Women* or Rosemary Malague's look at Katie Mitchell's 2011 version of *A Woman Killed With Kindness*.⁴⁴ One of my goals in this thesis is to bridge the gap between lost first performances and projected future ones—and therefore between scholarship and professional performance—by proposing ways of engaging simultaneously with *The Changeling* as text and as performance from 1661 to the present.

Early Stage and Print History

The Changeling is an exciting case study for this work partly because its performance history, like many early modern plays', features a long gap: with the exception of a few adaptations—including one by William Archer that may never have been performed—the play was absent from professional stages in the UK between 1668 and 1961.⁴⁵ Although my thesis focuses largely on *The Changeling* as it exists in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, some background on the circumstances under

⁴³ See, for example, L. Erne and M.J. Kidnie (eds.), *Textual Performances*, Cambridge, CUP, 2009.

⁴⁴ K. Solga, *Violence Against Women in Early Modern Performance: Invisible Acts*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2009; R. Barker, 'A freshly creepy reality: Jacobean tragedy and realist acting on the contemporary stage', P. Aebischer and K. Prince (eds.), *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, Cambridge, CUP, 2012, pp. 121-41; R. Malague, 'Theatrical Realism as Feminist Intervention: Katie Mitchell's 2011 Staging of *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, *Shakespeare Bulletin*, vol. 31, no. 4, 2013, p. 623-45.

⁴⁵ There is no evidence that Archer's adaptation, retitled *Beatriz Juana*, was actually performed; neither is there any evidence that it was *not* performed, however. It was first published in a 1927 collection of his plays with a foreword by G. B. Shaw.

which it was composed, as well as on its early stage and print history, will be useful to foreground my analysis. This thesis is neither a straight textual study nor a traditional performance history and, indeed, part of its work is to interrogate this binary; I am indebted, however, to the groundwork laid by scholars working in each of these fields, upon which my analysis relies.

The Changeling was licensed for performance by Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, on 7 May 1622. This date comes only from a marginal note added to Malone's copy of the 1653 quarto; Herbert's own record of the play is lost.⁴⁶ Still, there seems little reason to doubt the date, as the play was performed at Whitehall the following January.⁴⁷ *The Changeling* premiered at the Phoenix, a former cock fighting venue that had been rebuilt as a theatre following a fire. Christopher Beeston, who erected the new theatre in 1617, appears to have been the leader of the newly re-arranged Lady Elizabeth's Men, which incorporated the former Children of the Queen's Revels and Prince Charles's Men. Upon his death in 1638, Beeston's son William 'was careful to have his own rights to the play confirmed by the Chamberlain's office', and it remained with the Beeston family until the theatres were closed in 1642.⁴⁸ William Beeston's inclusion of the play amongst those he sought to retain possession over, as well as its inclusion in the first sanctioned season of plays following the Restoration, attests to its popularity among early seventeenth-century audiences.⁴⁹ Samuel Pepys recorded seeing the play in February 1660-1, noting that 'it takes exceedingly'.⁵⁰

The Changeling was printed for the first time during the Interregnum, in 1653.

G.B. Evans notes that the almost instant popularity of the play in print is evidenced by its inclusion as three drolls, or short scenes, in *The Marrow of Complements*, published two

⁴⁶ see N.W. Bawcutt, 'Introduction', p. xxiv.

⁴⁷ see T. Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, Oxford, Clarendon, 2000, pp. 49-52.

⁴⁸ M. Neill, 'Introduction', p. xxxiii; see also N.W. Bawcutt, 'Introduction'.

⁴⁹ N.W. Bawcutt, 'Introduction', p. xxviii.

⁵⁰ H. McAfee (ed.), *Pepys on the Restoration Stage*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1916, p. 120.

years later in 1655.⁵¹ It remained in the Duke's company's repertoire until 1668, when it was re-printed with a new title page. As far as anyone can tell, the rest of the pages for the second quarto match the first, indicating that there were pages left over from the first print-run to make use of in the second. The fact that the first quarto (1653) and the second (1668) are essentially identical suggests that, unlike the plays of Jonson, Shakespeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Changeling's* text was not substantially adapted for the Restoration stage; there is not enough surviving theatrical or textual evidence to provide any certainty, however.⁵²

The Changeling survives solely from that 1653 quarto edition, printed by Thomas Newcombe for Humphrey Moseley.⁵³ Curiously, Moseley is named on most, but not all of the surviving copies from this print run: an alternate title-page, which omits any reference to Moseley or the location of his shop, is seen on four out of the seventeen surviving copies⁵⁴. It is impossible to know for certain why this is the case, but Bruster has posited, quite plausibly, that Moseley's information on the title-page was deleted so that the book could be sold more easily by others.⁵⁵ Neill supports Bruster's conjecture by connecting the 1653 printing with the 1668 edition of the play: based on the fact that Moseley's widow used leftover sheets from the original print-run to republish the same edition with a new title-page in 1668, Neill suggests that Moseley may have 'seriously overestimated his likely sales' and thus 'had good reason to widen his market by wholesaling some copies to other retailers'.⁵⁶ Other suggestions include fear of Puritan

²⁹ G.B. Evans, Review of *The Changeling* (ed. N.W. Bawcutt), *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 58, no. 4, 1959, p. 694.

⁵² e.g., William Davenant's *The Law Against Lovers* (*Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1662) and *Macbeth* (1664), and Davenant and John Dryden's *The Enchanted Isle* (*The Tempest*, 1667).

⁵³ Neill, 'Appendix: The Text', p. 127. Newcombe is identified by the ornament on B1r.

⁵⁴ N.W. Bawcutt, 'Introduction', p. xv. See also Bawcutt's 'Introductory Note' for his facsimile of the 1653 quarto, 1973.

⁵⁵ D. Bruster, 'The Changeling', G. Taylor and J. Lavagnino (eds.), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, Oxford, Clarendon, 2007, pp.1094-1104, p. 1094.

⁵⁶ Neill, 'Appendix: The Text', p. 127

persecution for play-printing and separate printing for private circulation.⁵⁷ Regardless, the title-page is the only change made between different early printings of *The Changeling*, as Bawcutt, Bruster, Neill and others have noted.⁵⁸ As was typical for the time, the quarto text provides act, but not scene, divisions, does not indicate asides, and provides minimal stage directions. The stage directions the quarto does include are significant, however, including details of Alonzo's murder and a pattern for the dumb show.

Most significantly, the stage directions also include a reference to action that takes place 'in the act-time' between Acts 2 and 3, when Deflores 'hides a naked Rapier' for use in the following scenes.⁵⁹ Mark Hutchings argues that, like dumbshows, act breaks 'offered playwrights a shorthand narrative device', and they were recognised as opportunities 'to "fill in" sequences or material germane to the plot'.⁶⁰ Deflores' particular use of this in-between space has been interpreted as symbolic of his unfettered access to Vermandero's castle (and its thematic counterpart, Beatrice-Joanna's body): 'De Flores alone moves undaunted, freely through the castle, his clarity of purpose matched by his knowledge of its passages'.⁶¹ Similarly, Kim Solga reads *The Changeling* as 'a play about space in flux', noting that it features not just 'narrow prospects, tight corners, and hidden stairwells' but also 'site [...] as a character' in the drama.⁶² According to Solga, *The Changeling* is 'a model topographic play', 'in which the structure and function of space is utterly up for grabs, available to spectators for assessment, critique, and a working-through of broader cultural anxieties'.⁶³ The results are inescapably gendered: the physical spaces of the play—which Beatrice-Joanna

⁵⁷ Daalder, 'Introduction' p. xliii and Greg, *A Bibliography of English Printed Drama*, p. 828-29

⁵⁸ See esp. Bawcutt, 'Introduction', pp. xv-xviii

⁵⁹ sig. D3v

⁶⁰ M. Hutchings, 'De Flores Between the Acts', *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2011, pp. 95-111, p. 97.

⁶¹ *ibid.* p. 99; see also M. Neill (ed.), *The Changeling*, n. 165, p. 48.

⁶² K. Solga, 'Playing *The Changeling* Architecturally', S. Bennett and M. Polito (eds.), *Performing Environments: Site-Specificity in Medieval and Early Modern English Drama*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2014, pp. 56-78, p. 57.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 65.

accesses covertly and at her peril—are more open and navigable for Deflores, who literally holds the keys to the castle *and* moves freely in the metaphorical space of the act break, as demonstrated by the extraordinary stage direction at the top of Act 3.

The print layout of this stage direction in the 1653 quarto creates an unusual relationship between the reader and the action of the play, positions Deflores in a place he should not be, and uses the space of the printed page in a unique way:

ACTUS TERTIUS

Enter Alonzo and Deflores

*(In the Act time Deflores hides a naked Rapier.)*⁶⁴

Here, perhaps, is the clearest possible evidence supporting an integrated history of texts and performances: the stage direction both indicates performed action and references a staging convention (breaking between the acts) in order to subvert it. Printed eleven years after the theatres were closed in 1642—and therefore eleven years after the most recent performances of *The Changeling*—this stage direction relies more than usual on memories and/or second-hand knowledge of historical performances and staging conventions. Its presence and positioning in the quarto text asks the reader to imagine or recall the conventions of the (then-inaccessible) stage whilst also engaging with a text in a specific and directed way. It self-consciously places action in the liminal space between the acts whilst assuming that the theatrical audience would have been aware of Deflores' interval action *and* asking the reader to cast his or her imagination backward, above the entrance of Deflores with Alonzo and the announcement of 'ACTUS TERTIUS'. In a more immediate and active way than a standard stage direction, the

⁶⁴ sig. D3v

description of Deflores' action in the 'Act time' demonstrates the way that early modern plays as text and as performance are inevitably intertwined.

The Performance Text and Textual Performances

Part of the justification for this thesis, as I outline above, comes from an overwhelming feeling of performance as the poor relation of literary scholarship in the study of early modern plays. Although Styan was far from the first to suggest the integration of textual and performance studies, *The Shakespeare Revolution* spurred on several experiments in blending scholarship with professional performance. More recently, W.B. Worthen's *Shakespeare Performance Studies* has demonstrated how persistent the divide between performance and scholarship can be: he refers to Shakespeare studies and performance studies as 'sometimes antagonistic disciplines'.⁶⁵ As Worthen rightly points out, one of the difficulties in attempting to merge performance and scholarship with respect to Shakespeare is 'the massive cultural and literary authority of Shakespeare's writing, which tends to inflect "Shakespeare performance" as finally *about* the Shakespearean text, as merely another interlocutor with Shakespeare's literary designs'.⁶⁶ As a result, he advocates a shift in scholarly thinking about performance in relation to Shakespeare, asking his readers to understand that

the significance of dramatic performance cannot be reduced to an "interpretation" of the text communicated to an "interpreting" audience: there are too many agents, too many of them are neither interpreting the text nor offering an "interpretation", nor can the text alone govern the work that performers—all of them, including the spectators, who have no text—undertake during a performance.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ W.B. Worthen, *Shakespeare Performance Studies*, Cambridge, CUP, 2014, p. 2.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 11.

Although Middleton and Rowley do not control anything like the cultural capital of Shakespeare, Worthen's reversed directionality here—with authority originating from performance, as opposed to text—can still be applied to a study of *The Changeling*.

The sense that performance generates its own form of “text”—the vectorised systems of meaning created by onstage “signs” that are “read” by an audience—is hardly new, and has its roots in semiotic analysis.⁶⁸ More recently, it has also become commonplace to speak of the text itself as a performing object, as Kidnie, Erne, and their contributors do in the 2004 volume *Textual Performances*. Premised on the notion that ‘all those who remain unconcerned about editorial practices and policy run the risk [...] of having their interpretations marred by unexamined textual assumptions’, the collection attempts to survey the field, collating then-current debates and placing them in deliberate juxtaposition.⁶⁹ This work is not only part of a move towards the destabilisation of the editorial tradition in recent years, but also a call for a more active, informed, and resistant readership, and a number of contributors express a ‘desire to build indeterminacy into the reading experience, to transform readers from passive witnesses to the (editor’s) textual performance into players on whose imaginative input the script draws’.⁷⁰ The messy, complex liminal space articulated by the concepts of performance texts and textual performances is precisely the territory that I wish to examine in this thesis, using *The Changeling* and its textual and performance histories to bridge the gaps between texts and performances, scholars and theatre practitioners, past and present. It is my aim to consider textual performances and performance texts side-

⁶⁸ see, e.g., P. Pavis, ‘Theatre Analysis: Some Questions and a Questionnaire’, *New Theatre Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1985, pp. 208-12; E. Rozik, ‘The Corporeality of the Actor’s Body: The Boundaries and the Limitations of the Semiotic Methodology’, *Theatre Research International*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1999, pp. 198-211.

⁶⁹ L. Erne and M.J. Kidnie, ‘Introduction’, Erne and Kidnie (eds.), *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare’s Drama*, Cambridge, CUP, 2004, pp. 1-17, p. 1.

⁷⁰ *ibid.* p. 14.

by-side throughout, privileging neither but asking what can be gained by analysing them in tandem.

I do not wish to dispute the literariness of early modern plays, however. After all, the quarto and folio printings via which most of these plays come down to us—whatever their manuscript provenance—were intended (if not explicitly designed) as texts *for readers*. Jonson’s 1616 folio is often held up as a particularly obvious example of this, but consider, too, that a number of plays—including *The Changeling*—were first printed during the Interregnum, when the theatres were closed. Regardless of whether such plays were used for private or illegal performances, their intended use cannot have been theatrical. Neither do I wish to argue that performance is more important than literary considerations. Similarly I do not entirely concur with Raymond Williams’ proposal that we consider ‘the play and performance, literary text and theatrical representation, not as separate entities, but as the unity which they are intended to become’.⁷¹ These things are separate entities that are nonetheless intimately connected and, in relation to early modern drama, interdependent. I argue, therefore, for a way of thinking about texts and performances that treats them as equal partners in a symbiotic relationship.

When it opened in 1996, Shakespeare’s Globe was envisioned as the ultimate example of scholarship and theatre practice, texts and performances, working together. Conceived as a laboratory for practical, historical research as much as a working playhouse, the present-day Globe boasts crossover MA programmes with King’s College and Birkbeck and educational relationships with several other universities, including Rutgers University in New Jersey and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland; its productions feature pre-show guest lectures from leading academics in the field and

⁷¹ R. Williams, *Drama in Performance*, 2nd edition, Buckingham, Open University Press, 1968, p. 17.

well-researched, scholarly programme notes; and it routinely hires in-house PhD and postdoctoral researchers to work on specific projects within its two theatre spaces, including Penelope Woods, Sarah Dustagheer, and Will Tosh. Still, ten years after the Globe's inaugural performance, Farah Karim-Cooper and Christie Carson noted that the ideal balance of performance and scholarship in the theatre had not yet been achieved:

Once the theatre was in operation the intimate relationship imagined between the scholars and the stage disappeared and debate between the practical imperatives of the space—"what works"—and the theoretical imperatives—of "what ought to work" or at least "what ought to be tried"—emerged.⁷²

The academic community, Karim-Cooper and Carson suggest, has sometimes been guilty of prioritising "what ought to work" over "what works"—in other words, of offering theoretical or historical justifications for staging practices that simply do not "read" in the new Globe. The issue of performance and scholarship working together is doubly complex in this case because outgoing artistic director Dominic Dromgoole has pushed back against what he sees as the encroachment of academia on the theatre. Dromgoole has done much during his tenure to expand the theatre's repertoire and to bring new audiences to the conversation, including the Globe to Globe initiative, the introduction of newly commissioned plays for the Globe stage, and, of course, the opening of the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse. However, his undisguised disdain for academia—manifest explicitly in an April 2015 appearance on BBC Radio's *Free Thinking* programme, in which he accused 'the academics' of opposing greater public access to Shakespeare's works—prevents the kind of genuine collaboration that was an early goal

⁷² C. Carson and F. Karim-Cooper, 'Introduction', C. Carson and F. Karim-Cooper (eds.), *Shakespeare's Globe: A Theatrical Experiment*, Cambridge, CUP, 2008, pp. 1-12, p. 4.

of the Globe project.⁷³ I will return to this issue in my final case study, which looks at Dromgoole's production of *The Changeling* for the Globe's new indoor playhouse.

This struggle between scholarship and the professional theatre is by no means unique to the Globe, however, and Hodgdon's evocative depiction of performance studies as 'ghettoized' within textual scholarship is apt.⁷⁴ If this is true in Shakespeare studies, where virtually every play in the canon has a rich and diverse performance history to draw upon, then we can say that the balance is even more skewed when we look outside of Shakespeare's canon. As Pascale Aebischer and Kathryn Prince note, even where modern editions of these plays provide 'performance listings and an acknowledgement that performance is a vital element of drama', they do not normally engage with performance beyond this rather superficial level, and fail to 'provide [...] the kind of detailed performance history and alertness to performance in the annotation that is now an accepted component of scholarly Shakespeare editions'.⁷⁵

As I note above, even in editions of Shakespeare, that 'alertness to performance in the annotation' can be more of a box-ticking gesture than a genuine engagement. In some cases, performance does not receive attention in editions of early modern plays because the existing performance history is minimal or difficult to access. For plays such as Rowley's *The Birth of Merlin* and Middleton's *The Witch* and *A Game at Chess*, the professional performance history is virtually non-existent. Elizabeth Schafer admirably circumvents this problem in her 1994 New Mermaids edition of *The Witch* by tracking down a number of 'enterprising student productions' and engaging with the play's

⁷³ 'What Does Global Shakespeare Mean?', *Free Thinking*, BBC Radio 3, 2015, [radio broadcast] <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b05qfqcg> (accessed 19 Oct 2015).

⁷⁴ B. Hodgdon, 'New collaborations with old plays: the (textual) politics of performance, L. Erne and M.J. Kidnie (eds.), *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare's Drama*, Cambridge, CUP, 2004, pp. 210-223.

⁷⁵ P. Aebischer and K. Prince, 'Introduction', *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, p. 6.

history as part of *Macbeth*.⁷⁶ Schafer also spends time in her Introduction analysing the ‘stageworthy’ aspects of the play, drawing comparisons with contemporary genres of performance, and highlighting potentially resonant moments for twentieth-century audiences.⁷⁷ Similarly, Lucy Munro’s New Mermaids edition of Fletcher’s *The Tamer Tamed* draws on amateur and university productions in order to provide additional context for the play’s patchy professional stage history.⁷⁸ Such determination to flesh out performance histories, however, is still the exception rather than the rule.

Where there is a significant professional performance history to consider, however, editors often have to explain away long gaps. *The Changeling* is a case in point: there are no known professional performances between 1668 and 1961. Sometimes, the performance history that exists is buried in obscure, un-catalogued and/or stubbornly analog archives that may be difficult to visit, and so the version that appears in a scholarly edition is either entirely London- and RSC-focused or superficial, containing little information beyond production dates and names of directors or actors. The Victoria Theatre Collection in Stoke-on-Trent, for example, is an enormous collection of sound recordings, photographs, promptbooks, notes, and personal documents gathered by the late Peter Cheeseman. It offers an extraordinary tool for researchers, but, due to budgetary restrictions, it is only open in the afternoons a few days per week. A couple of hours in the archive does not often justify a long and expensive trip to a smallish midlands town without other libraries or resources in the immediate vicinity, especially when fleshing out the performance history is considered a secondary goal of a scholarly edition.

The role of edited plays and their influence on performance—and vice-versa—has been a hot topic within Shakespeare studies for several years. The work of

⁷⁶ E. Schafer, ‘Introduction’, pp. xxiv-xxvii

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp. xxvii-xxviii

⁷⁸ L. Munro, ‘Introduction’, pp. xx-xxi.

Hodgdon, Orgel, Worthen, Kidnie, Erne, and Rokison, amongst others, has given new life to the idea of a fundamentally unstable and therefore infinitely variable early modern playtext. The gap in their work, with respect to my arguments, comes from their focus on either future performers or long-past performances. Understanding Middleton, Shakespeare, and others in the theatrical context within which they wrote was a crucial first step in opening up the field to studies of performance. Rokison and Kidnie, in particular, have shifted the focus onto future performers, proposing ways of reinventing the standard scholarly edition so that it better serves actors and directors.⁷⁹ My work, in part, looks to fill the gap in the middle by paying attention to the effectively *editorial* dramaturgical choices made by productions in the recent past. These are evidenced by an engagement with production promptbooks, where they exist, and other ephemera of performance.

In editing early modern plays, we continue to pay lip service to the idea of a performance text without actually engaging with the implications of that idea in practice. Textual and performance scholars alike now generally recognise the instability and unreliability of early printed texts; we can also take as read that the various extant folios and quartos are, for all intents and purposes, examples of *edited* plays, and that performance is a force that has always directly and indirectly influenced the print lives of these plays. We must ask ourselves, then, why published material edited by academics is consistently given priority over the unpublished texts edited by actors, directors and dramaturgs—especially when early modern plays passed through dozens of hands before reaching the earliest printings available to us today.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ see A. Rokison, *Shakespearean Verse Speaking*, pp. 185-93 and M.J. Kidnie, 'The Staging of Shakespeare's Drama in Print Editions', L. Erne and M.J. Kidnie (eds.), *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare's Drama*, Cambridge, CUP, 2004, pp. 158-77.

⁸⁰ See, e.g., M. Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1992; G. Holderness, *Cultural Shakespeare: Essays in the Shakespeare Myth*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001; M.J. Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*,

Performance is simultaneously an integral part of a play's afterlife and, often, an unacknowledged influence on the critical reception of and academic writing about a particular text. In the case of *The Changeling*, we see this manifest in the long-standing tradition of reading Beatrice-Joanna's relationship with Deflores as a proto-Freudian love-hate relationship. This reading has a very weak basis in the text of the play: it hinges on Alsemero's line in the first scene, '[t]here's scarce a thing but is both lov'd and loath'd'.⁸¹ Read without the context of the scene, the line appears to endorse a love-hate reading; understood in context, however, such a reading does not apply at all. Alsemero speaks this line as part of a speech responding to Beatrice's inability to explain her dislike of Deflores. The whole exchange reads as follows:

Als. This is a frequent frailty in our nature,
 There's scarce a man amongst a thousand found,
 But hath his imperfection: one distastes
 The sent of Roses, which to infinites
 Most pleasing is, and odoriferous.
 One oyle, the enemy of poyson,
 Another Wine, the cheerer of the heart,
 And lively refresher of the countenance.
 Indeed this fault (if so it be) is general,
 There's scarce a thing but is both lov'd and loath'd,
 My self (I must confesse) have the same frailty.

Bea. And what may be your poyson, sir? I am bold with you.

Als. And what might be your desire perhaps, a cherry.⁸²

Much of the long speech quoted above, as well as the exchange about how Alsemero hates cherries, tends to be cut in performance, presumably because it is slightly convoluted and difficult to understand. Seen (or heard) in context, however, '[t]here's scarce a thing but is both lov'd and loath'd' does not mean "a person can feel both loving and loathing towards the same thing", but rather, "different people have different

London, Routledge, 2009; S. Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage*, London, Routledge, 2002; J.L. Styan, *The Shakespeare Revolution*, Cambridge, CUP, 1977.

⁸¹ sig. B2v

⁸² *ibid.*

tastes, and what I hate you might enjoy”. Read in this way, the line provides no justification for the Freudian reading of Beatrice’s relationship with Deflores.

Nonetheless, that reading was perpetuated for decades by a cycle of performance, review, and scholarship, such that a Freudian interpretation of the play was inescapable by the mid-1980s and only dissipated very recently.⁸³ As Kate Lechler points out, this cycle joins up with education and popular culture as well, resulting in a trickle-through effect from performance to ‘professors, students, and interested readers, and from there to Wikipedia, SparkNotes, film versions, and other popular cultural representations of and engagement with literature’.⁸⁴ Typically, however, editions of the play do not acknowledge their symbiotic relationship with theatrical performance and wider culture. Joost Daalder, editor of *The Changeling* for the New Mermaids in 1990, states unequivocally that Beatrice’s unconscious attraction to Deflores is ‘one of the main facts of the play’.⁸⁵ He does not acknowledge the role that productions and reviews of productions played in propping up and cementing this interpretation as fact. As recently as 2012, Jay O’Berski’s Palgrave handbook on *The Changeling* declares that Beatrice and Deflores are ‘in tune with pop psychology after Freud’.⁸⁶ Such interpretations, reinforced by decades of support from *both* performance and scholarship, are not easily overturned.

Roberta Barker and David Nicol, in their study of this ingrained Freudian reading, argue that the subconscious love-hate understanding of Beatrice and Deflores’ relationship is ‘a striking example of the process by which critical reception of one

⁸³ See R. Barker and D. Nicol, ‘Does Beatrice-Joanna Have a Subtext?’. Note, too, the prominence of Ernest Jones’ psychoanalytic reading of *Hamlet* during the same period.

⁸⁴ Lechler, K., ‘Thomas Middleton in Performance 1960-2013: A History of Reception’, PhD Thesis, Florida State University, 2014., p. 42

⁸⁵ J. Daalder, ‘Introduction’, p. xxv

⁸⁶ J. O’Berski, *Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, The Changeling*, P. Edmondson and K. Ewert (eds.), *The Shakespeare Handbooks: Shakespeare’s Contemporaries*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2012, p. 3

production can lead to the establishment of interpretations for the next'.⁸⁷ Once a performance tradition becomes established, that interpretation often finds its way into scholarly criticism and editorial work. That flow of information usually goes unacknowledged, however, perhaps because it is not recognised as legitimate, or because directors and editors are ignorant of their own influences, or because such movements are extremely difficult to trace, particularly when promptbooks are not easily accessible or have not been archived at all. The problem is exacerbated for non-Shakespearean plays because the number of scholars and practitioners working on any given text is typically significantly fewer, making competing interpretations more difficult to access.

Of course, literary critics and theatre practitioners read texts differently and for different purposes. To paraphrase Holger Syme, an editor strives to provide readers with as many choices for interpretation as possible (without actually doing the work of interpretation themselves), whilst a performer must make and adhere to a single choice, and therefore provide an interpretation.⁸⁸ Or, as Hodgdon puts it,

editors widely are perceived, and tend to perceive themselves, not just as textual arbiters but as providing certainty in a slippery intertextual world in which, despite its materiality—or perhaps because of it—performance cannot offer something like desirable authentication.⁸⁹

Hodgdon, of course, is skeptical of the 'certainty' provided by editorial interventions. Indeed, as Daalder's use of the psychoanalytic reading in his edition shows, literary critics can also be susceptible to trends and can intentionally or inadvertently obscure rather than reveal interpretive possibilities. Equally, actors, directors, dramaturgs, and playwrights can be out-of-the-loop or behind the times in terms of available criticism, as my case studies will occasionally demonstrate—but, as Erne points out with regard to

⁸⁷ R. Barker and D. Nicol, 'Does Beatrice-Joanna Have a Subtext?', para. 2

⁸⁸ H.S. Syme, personal conversation via Facebook Messenger, 20-22 November 2014.

⁸⁹ B. Hodgdon, 'New collaborations with old plays', pp. 210-211.

certain sections of the Oxford *Middleton*, so, too, can prominent literary scholars.⁹⁰ Additionally, it is important to remember that many plays that are now consistently regarded as part of Shakespeare's canon were once rejected because they were perceived as not good enough to be Shakespeare's by both scholars and practitioners; similarly, textual critics and historians are still sometimes guilty of ignoring potential sources for the plays because they are not considered "literary".⁹¹ Modern theatrical promptbooks are left out of the textual history of a play on the same grounds: they are not understood as literary or authoritative and therefore are not considered genuine instances of a play's text.

As I note above, however, many editions and series of early modern plays now claim to be edited and published with performance in mind. Recently, the Oxford *Middleton* and the Arden Early Modern series have both included some kind of statement that gestures at an awareness of practitioners as potential readers, as I examine in more detail above. This comes, partially, in the wake of Rokison's and others' challenges to the editorial institution, arguing that more conversations between practitioners and academics—and more crossover practitioner-academics such as Rokison herself—are needed in the editorial process. To Arden's credit, they have answered the call and are currently developing a series of acting editions specifically for the rehearsal room, with editorial input from actors and directors.⁹² At present, however, most editors appear to have incorporated performance superficially, adding performance histories to introductions, occasionally noting a performance tradition in the footnotes, and claiming a goal of encouraging performance in the General Editors' prefaces. As the examples of Furness's *New Variorum* and Bratton and Hanky's

⁹⁰ L. Erne, "'Our Other Shakespeare': Thomas Middleton and the Canon", p. 494.

⁹¹ see S. Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare*; K. Gilchrist, ' "Imbecilic" influences on Shakespeare the professional player', conference paper, The British Graduate Shakespeare Conference, 2014.

⁹² A. Rokison, personal conversation via Facebook Messenger, 23 November 2014.

Shakespeare in Production series show, however, there is much more that can and should be done to incorporate performance histories into the new editions of these plays.

In older series and collected works, attempts to incorporate performance tend to manifest in a nod toward the early modern performances of the plays. Editors routinely demonstrate a willingness to engage with the semi-hypothetical, historically distanced conditions of original performances, but not with modern productions beyond a potted performance history. Plenty of space is granted to early modern acting companies, London theatres in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and so on—but this attention to the plays' performative provenance very rarely manifests in the actual editing of the texts. The RSC Complete Works, published in 2008, takes great pains to remind us that 'Shakespeare was an actor before he was a playwright', and that 'you are reading scripts, blueprints for performance to a live audience and parts for actors to learn and embody'.⁹³ Despite this, the RSC versions of the plays look more-or-less like any other, although they have cleaned up the page for streamlined reading and included running scene numbers, both indicators of attention to potential performers of the text. The RSC has also recently begun publishing its texts of 'new' plays or significantly altered and adapted texts of early modern plays; this is an encouraging development, but it is still too soon to tell whether these will be acknowledged and incorporated within the editorial tradition.⁹⁴

The RSC's *Complete Works* demonstrates an interesting tension between early modern performers of the plays, future performers, and everything that comes in between. Whilst there is still a perverse desire in a number of editions to recover the text as it might have been performed at the first Globe, and scholars such as Kidnie, Rokison, and Erne have called for an editorial practice that accounts for the fact that

⁹³ J. Bate, 'General Introduction', *The RSC Shakespeare*, p. 14; M. Boyd, 'Foreword', *The RSC Shakespeare*, p. 64.

⁹⁴ E.g. *A Mad World My Masters*, based on the acting script of their 2013 production

actors will approach the texts differently from general readers or scholars, there seems to be a gap in the middle. Is there scope for an editorial paradigm that actively and meaningfully incorporates the existing, documented performances of these texts, in all of their variety? A series of plays that embraces existing, documented performances as part of its scope could do more than simply provide a laundry list of alternate readings or emphases of particular lines or speeches, or focus superficially on the “concept” of an individual production. Such a project would be distinct from traditional performance history as much as from traditional editing. It would encourage an active engagement in the reader with the history of performed and published texts simultaneously. This would be achieved by incorporating available promptbooks and their editorial choices into the text, not only because they often reflect, disrupt, or comment upon trends in more traditional criticism and editing, but also because they should be read as genuine instances of textual witnesses in a given play’s history. Throughout my case studies, I provide examples of this idea in practice, highlighting moments of theatrical editing that have influenced broader conceptions of the play.

Theory in Practice

In order to argue for the authority of theatrical textual witnesses, I will analyse a selection of textual variants from both recent scholarly editions and theatrical promptbooks. David Scott Kastan identifies the tendency for editors to see themselves as tasked with restoring the authoritative, “original” text that existed prior to the intervention of compositors and printers.⁹⁵ He highlights the ‘circular’ logic employed in the pursuit of textual restoration for Shakespeare in particular, whose manuscripts are not extant (Hand D probably excepted):

⁹⁵ D.S. Kastan, ‘The Mechanics of Culture: Editing Shakespeare Today’, *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 24, 1996, pp. 30-7, p. 32.

In the case of Shakespeare, however, the untainted original does not exist. No manuscripts survive to compare with and correct the printed editions, and an appeal to their existence can be no more than hypothetical and in fact seems disturbingly circular: that is, the manuscript is reconstructed or, more accurately, imagined by reference to an imperfect printed text whose imperfections (others than these that are obviously “typographic” errors) exist in relation to the hypothesized manuscript. Editors, however, continually invoke the authority of the no-longer extant manuscript, variously conceived, as witness to the intentions of the playwright.⁹⁶

In the case of Middleton—though not Rowley—there are a number of extant manuscripts from which we can learn about his personal style. The extraordinary number of manuscripts for *A Game at Chess*, in particular, tempt the textual scholar toward drawing conclusions about Middleton’s ‘intentions’ as playwright. Certainly these manuscripts allow us to compare Middleton’s quirks with his compositor Ralph Crane’s; Crane’s idiosyncrasies, in particular, are easily confirmed by reference to other manuscripts in his hand. Even at manuscript level, however, the author’s intentions are obscured: Middleton’s hand is evident in three of the six surviving manuscript copies of *Game*, each of which represents a substantially different version of the work. The author’s intentions, in this case, are as unstable and changeable as the texts themselves.

On the other side of the coin, theatre practitioners often fail to recognise the fundamental contingency of early modern playtexts. Worthen notes that ‘the material properties of a given dramatic text—typography, layout, page and cover design—matter to the ways specific groups of readers (actors, directors, audiences, reviewers) understand its potentialities for performance’.⁹⁷ If this is so, then it follows that differences between various copies and editions of a given text will have a measurable effect on the performance of those texts. Worthen goes on to suggest as much, posing a question about the importance of the material text to any given production:

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 33.

⁹⁷ W.B. Worthen, ‘The Imprint of Performance’, W.B. Worthen and P. Holland (eds.), *Theorizing Practice: Redefining Theatre History*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 213-34, p. 214.

It makes some difference whether a production of *Hamlet* takes Richard Burbage or Ethan Hawke as its physical prince; does it also matter whether it uses a hand-copied playhouse side or an edited modern text, the embodiment of four centuries of the developing ideology of print culture?⁹⁸

For early modern plays in particular, it has been widely argued that editorial adjustments of punctuation, capitalisation, lineation, and so on can have a profound effect upon an actor's understanding of and approach to a role. Taylor draws attention to the 'foreclosure of possibilities' wrought by 'every act of punctuation' in his introduction to *The Collected Works of Thomas Middleton*, which he maintains was intended to provide reliable texts for acting as well as reading, and Rokison notes a tendency on the part of practitioners to base 'interpretive decisions on lineation and punctuation that have arisen out of compositorial or scribal interpolation or error, or from modern editorial emendation.'⁹⁹ Assigning textual authority, then, is a slippery business.

The selections below set up examples of editorial interventions that do the work of interpretation for the reader, much in the way that directors, dramaturgs, and actors do. Consider, for example, the difference that one mark of punctuation can make to one of Deflores' lines in Act 3:

My thoughts are at a banquet for the deed,
I feel no weight in't.¹⁰⁰

My thoughts are at a banquet for the deed;
I feel no weight in't.¹⁰¹

My thoughts are at a banquet; for the deed,
I feel no weight in't.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ *ibid.*

⁹⁹ G. Taylor, 'How to Use This Book', G. Taylor and J. Lavagnino (eds.), *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, Oxford, OUP, 2007, pp. 18-22, pp. 19-20; A. Rokison, *Shakespearean Verse Speaking*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ sig. E3v, retained in Loughrey and Taylor, 3.4.18-19.

¹⁰¹ Ellis, p. 127; Bullen, 3.4.18-19; Bawcutt, 3.4.18-19; Frost, 3.4.18-19; Thomson, 3.4.18-19; M. Neill 3.3.18-19.

¹⁰² Kermode, p. 607; Muir, 3.4.18-19

In all three examples, ‘the deed’ is the murder of Alonzo. In the first two versions, however, ‘deed’ also carries a sexual meaning. The punctuation of the line simultaneously suggests that Deflores enjoyed killing Alonzo *and* is looking forward to the sexual encounter he expects to have with Beatrice. In the third version, with the semicolon added after ‘banquet’, that ambiguity is erased, and ‘the deed’ is reduced to mean only the murder; the punctuation separates the ‘banquet’ from the ‘deed’. This is an interpretive decision of the kind that scholarly editors often claim they do not make; it imprints one reading of the line and erases other possibilities. To illustrate this point another way, consider instances in the text where editors have added unnecessary extra words. Here are two oft-contested lines as they appear in quarto:

I could ha’ hired a journeyman in murder at this rate,
And mine own conscience might have,
And have had the work brought home.

and:

I live in pain now: that shooting eye
Will burn my heart to cinders.¹⁰³

These two extracts, both from Act 3 of the play, make sense as read, although, if we assume that they are in verse, their scansion is a little off. Given Middleton’s tendency to ‘move in and out of verse even within a single speech’, as Taylor puts it, some variation in scansion should not be considered unusual in his plays.¹⁰⁴ Editors have a tendency, however, to add words to these lines, claiming to improve both sense and poetry:

I could ha’ hired a journeyman in murder at this rate,
And mine own conscience might have **slept at ease**,
And have had the work brought home.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ sig. E4v; F1v (the latter is retained in Bullen, Bawcutt, Frost, Thomson, Muir, Loughrey and Taylor, Kermode, and Bruster).

¹⁰⁴ G. Taylor, ‘How to Use This Book’, p. 22.

¹⁰⁵ Ellis, p. 129; Bullen, 3.4.68-71; Bawcutt, 3.4.69-71; Frost, 3.4.68-71; Thomson, 3.4.69-71; Muir, 3.4.69-71; Kermode, p. 609; Neill, 3.3.68-71.

I could ha' hired a journeyman in murder at this rate,
 And mine own conscience might have **lain at ease**,
 And have had the work brought home.¹⁰⁶

and:

I live in pain now: that **love-shooting** eye
 Will burn my heart to cinders.¹⁰⁷

I live in pain now: that **flame-shooting** eye
 Will burn my heart to cinders.¹⁰⁸

True: the poetic lines, if read as iambic pentameter, are improved by the additional words. The sense of the lines, however, is not materially improved. With no additional early printings with which to compare the play beyond the identical quartos, the example here comes from the nineteenth-century editions of the play, and therefore from a context within which the comparative inferiority of Middleton and especially Rowley to Shakespeare would have made editors more likely to make “improvements” to plays like *The Changeling* to bring it in line with expectations of what an early modern play should look like.

These examples have so far demonstrated that scholarly edited texts are not necessarily free from the type of interpretive or intrusive editing usually attributed to theatrical performance. This is not to say that scholarly editors should not make interpretive choices but rather to demonstrate that interpretation is as much the domain of editing as it is of criticism and performance. In a final example, I offer the same scene from Act 2 of *The Changeling* three different ways: the N.W. Bawcutt 1958 edition, Douglas Bruster’s 2007 Oxford edition, and the 2015 Sam Wanamaker Playhouse production. In particular, these textual variations demonstrate the power of the editor (whether theatrical or scholarly) in assigning the placement of asides. I use Bawcutt’s

¹⁰⁶ Bruster, 3.4.70-3.

¹⁰⁷ Dyce, 3.4.151-2; Ellis, p. 132.

¹⁰⁸ M. Neill, 3.3.151-2.

edition as the first example because his placement of asides has become the standard for most editions of *The Changeling* since 1958:

BJ: [*Aside*] Why, put case I loathed him
As much as youth and beauty hates a sepulchre,
Must I needs show it? Cannot I keep that secret
And serve my turn upon him? See he's here—
[*Aloud*] Deflores.

DF: [*Aside*] Ha! I shall run mad with joy:
She called me fairly by my name, Deflores,
And neither rogue nor rascal.

BJ: What ha' you done to your face alate?
You've met with some good physician;
You've pruned yourself, methinks: you were not wont
To look so amorously.

DF: [*Aside*] Not I.
'Tis the same physnomy to a hair and pimple
Which she called scurvy scarce an hour ago.
How is this?

BJ: Come hither, nearer, man.

DF: [*Aside*] I'm up to the chin in heaven.

BJ: Turn, let me see.
Faugh! 'Tis but the heat of the liver, I perceiv't.
I thought it had been worse.

DF: [*Aside*] Her fingers touched me,
She smells all amber.

BJ: I'll make a water for you shall cleanse this within a fortnight.

DF: With your own hands, lady?

BJ: Yes, mine own, sir: in a work of cure
I'll trust no other.

DF: [*Aside*] 'Tis half an act of pleasure
To hear her talk thus to me.

BJ: When we're used to a hard face, 'tis not so unpleasing.
It mends still in opinion, hourly mends,
I see it by experience.

DF: [*Aside*] I was blest to light upon this minute;
I'll make use on't.

BJ: Hardness becomes the visage of a man well,
It argues service, resolution, manhood,
If cause were of employment.

DF: 'Twould soon be seen,
If e'er your ladyship had cause to use it.
I would but wish the honour of a service
So happy as that mounts to.¹⁰⁹

In this scene, as in much of early modern drama, the asides replace the function of subtext in the modern theatre: early modern characters speak aloud internal thoughts and feelings that are not overheard by other characters in the scene, bringing the audience into confederacy with them. The crucial thing about asides, from a performance and interpretation perspective, is that they are always honest: characters speak truth, as they understand it, through asides. In his 2007 edition of this same scene, Bruster shifts the truth of these characters and makes an interpretive choice with his placement of the asides in one section of this scene:

BJ: Turn, let me see.
Faugh! 'Tis but the heat of the liver, I perceiv't.
I thought it had been worse.

DF: [*Aside*] Her fingers touched me,
She smells all amber.

BJ: I'll make a water for you shall cleanse this within a fortnight.

DF: With your own hands, lady?

BJ: Yes, mine own, sir: in a work of cure
I'll trust no other.

DF: [*Aside*] 'Tis half an act of pleasure
To hear her talk thus to me.

BJ: [***Aside***] When we're used to a hard face, 'tis not so
unpleasing.

¹⁰⁹ N.W. Bawcutt (ed.), 2.2.66-97. I have retained Bawcutt's spelling, punctuation, and lineation across all three of these examples in order to highlight the placement of asides over other editorial interventions.

It mends still in opinion, hourly mends,
I see it by experience.

DF: [*Aside*] I was blest to light upon this minute;
I'll make use on't.¹¹⁰

Here, Beatrice tells the audience—but not Deflores himself—that his face is ‘not so unpleasing’. Bruster’s placement of the aside turns a lie into a truth: his version of Beatrice finds herself actually attracted to Deflores, whereas the Bawcutt Beatrice merely feigns attraction, telling Deflores that she finds his face ‘not so unpleasing’ in order to manipulate him. This kind of interpretive use of asides—which Bruster employs throughout his edition—is an intervention usually associated with actors or directors rather than authoritative scholarly editions. Here, the psychoanalytic reading espoused by Daalder and others once again rears its head, resurrected via asides in a 2007 edition (perhaps because the Oxford Middleton was not substantially updated during its years in publishing limbo). Consider, finally, the rather clever but interpretively insignificant choice of asides as performed by Trystan Gravelle in Dominic Dromgoole’s 2015 production of *The Changeling* for the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse:

BJ: [*Aside*] Why, put case I loathed him
As much as youth and beauty hates a sepulchre,
Must I needs show it? Cannot I keep that secret
And serve my turn upon him? See he’s here—
[*Aloud*] Deflores.

DF: [*Aside*] Ha! I shall run mad with joy:
She called me fairly by my name, Deflores,
And neither rogue nor rascal.

BJ: What ha’ you done to your face alate?
You’ve met with some good physician;
You’ve pruned yourself, methinks: you were not wont
To look so amorously.

DF: Not I.
‘Tis the same physnomy to a hair and pimple

¹¹⁰ D. Bruster (ed.), 2.2.83-92

[Aside] Which she called scurvy scarce an hour ago.
How is this?

BJ: Come hither, nearer, man.

DF: [*Aside*] I'm up to the chin in heaven.¹¹¹

As we can see from these examples, not only are scholarly editions not necessarily authoritative, but they are not necessarily *more* authoritative than theatrical promptbooks—and, indeed, theatre practitioners sometimes make choices that are more editorial than interpretive. Gravelle's unusual aside represents a much milder intervention than Bruster's. Whereas Bruster's asides actually interpret the characters and their motivations on behalf of the reader, Gravelle and Dromgoole's choice is more ambiguous and leaves more room for the audience to do the work of interpretation.

I do not mean to set up an either-or situation with regard to scholarly and theatrical editions of early modern plays; nor do I wish to establish a hierarchy of appropriate and inappropriate textual interventions within the contexts of textual studies and performance. Rather, I argue that writing promptbooks can be as authoritative as scholarly editions, and that leaving theatrical witnesses out of the textual history of a play leaves a huge proportion of the historical picture obscured. As I have demonstrated, the two sides influence each other constantly, but that flow of information is often unacknowledged or impossible to map. Nonetheless, we must begin to consider promptbooks as textual witnesses if we are to have any hope of understanding the cultural work of these plays.

Methodology and Related Problems

¹¹¹ *The Changeling*, [performance], dir. D. Dromgoole, perf. T. Gravelle and H. Morahan, Shakespeare's Globe, 2015.

Admittedly, venturing into the territory of documented performance has its methodological pitfalls. The traditional understanding of the theatre as an ephemeral artistic medium that eludes normal documentary methods has been difficult to circumvent. In addition, given the chronological and geographical span on the productions considered, I have had to continuously frame and re-frame my own understanding of the archive and its limits. As Rebecca Schneider notes, performance is continuously re-constituted through its own archive; in calling up and reconstructing these productions from their archives, I engage with ‘the ongoing event itself’ and, to a certain extent, access ‘the past *as* present’.¹¹² Never has this been more true than in the digital age, where functionally archival files are readily available online. As a result, Aebischer argues, ‘the distinction between archive and canon, past as past and past as present, collapses into the *now* of the interactive interface’.¹¹³ Derrida’s arguments continues to hold true: ‘archivization produces as much as it records the event’.¹¹⁴

Where I have not seen a particular production, I have relied upon whatever primary materials have been archived, along with supplementary, secondary materials relating to the theatre company, the director and performers, and the broader cultural circumstances within which the production was created. Reviews published in newspapers, journals, magazines, and blogs have been invaluable resources as well, both for their descriptions of individual performances and for the broader picture of cultural trends that they provide collectively. I have also, where possible, contacted those who were involved in or witnessed the production for any recollections they may have. This mix of source materials results in a somewhat uneven set of primary resources; certain productions, such as the 1978 production by Contact Theatre in Manchester, have left

¹¹² R. Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment*, London, Routledge, 2011, p. 32.

¹¹³ P. Aebischer, *Screening Early Modern Drama: Beyond Shakespeare*, Cambridge, CUP, 2013, p. 144.

¹¹⁴ J. Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. E. Prenowitz, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 17.

only fragmentary traces of documentation behind them, whereas others, such as the RSC production from the same season, have an abundance of materials recording their every detail housed in a well-organised institutional archive.

For my final two case studies, I was able to see the productions in question, and so I position myself as a participant observer in Chapters Three and Four. In both cases, the completion of my thesis was too close to the production dates to make use of the official, institutionalised archives. As a result, these chapters, more than the others, identify the theatrical archive not as a specific, fixed location or repository but rather as a collective noun encompassing various traces of performance, wherever they may be. In many ways, this conception of the archive seems a logical extension of the work undertaken in Chapter Two. To analyse the 2012 Young Vic production, I made extensive use of rehearsal scripts provided to me by the director, Joe Hill-Gibbins, as well as interviews with the creative team and professional reviews found online. In my final chapter, which looks at the 2015 Sam Wanamaker Playhouse production, I begin to theorise Twitter and other social media as vernacular archives of performance and grapple with the problem of *over*-archiving that these platforms present. Thus, each case study features a slightly different methodology, based on the materials available or accessible for each production. I reiterate and further contextualise these differences within the chapters themselves.

The chronological span of this dissertation—from 1961 to 2015—places my history in the relatively recent past, which results in additional methodological problems that must be acknowledged. 1961 is still very much within living memory and so, as Jane Milling reminds us,

[t]he apparently cool objectivity of an idealised scientific, fact-filled history will always run alongside the warm recollection of an emotion-laden experience of personal relationships to social, economic and

political structures and events. The narratives of history and memory co-exist.¹¹⁵

Whilst I have no personal memories of the 1960s, '70s, or '80s, I have relied in many cases upon others' personal recollections of events and motivations; I have, for example, interviewed director Terry Hands by email. In later chapters, I have also included transcripts of tweets, Facebook conversations, and email exchanges—all media that are, in many senses, defined by 'personal relationships'.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have largely excluded actors' texts, including marked-up rehearsal scripts. This choice partly reflects the bias of the archives: directors' notes and promptbooks—which are mediated through the authority of the director—are much more available in institutional archives, unless a repository holds a particularly well-known actor's personal collection (e.g., the Herbert Beerbohm Tree Archive held at the Bristol Theatre Collection). In addition, the lack of actorly insights in this dissertation reflects the modern English stage tradition of directors and writers as the primary generators of meaning in any given play. Indeed, *The Changeling* made its twentieth-century professional debut at the Royal Court, a place consistently identified as a "writer's theatre". Still, the expansion of digital technologies as marketing and archiving tools has helped me to access actors' perspectives in more recent productions: Hattie Morahan's and Trystan Gravelle's contributions to the Globe's "Adopt an Actor" podcast interviews are included, for example. As Hodgdon notes, the promptbook itself is also a processual document, recording the rehearsal process as it happens, as it manifests in performance, and as it is remembered and documented:

Straddling time, existing in interim time, mean-time, exploratory time between rehearsal and live event, the promptscript sutures rehearsal time to performance time, tracks the afterlife of the written words that haunt all Shakespearean performances at the interface of theatrical process'.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ J. Milling, *Modern British Playwriting: the 1980s*, London, Methuen, 2012, p. 31.

¹¹⁶ B. Hodgdon, *Shakespeare, Performance, and the Archive*, London, Routledge, 2016, p. 11.

Promptbooks, in most cases, record the changes made to the text as it was performed, regardless of whether an actor, director, or dramaturg was responsible for the decision. Promptbooks continued to be used during performance, as opposed to actors' scripts, which are usually set aside at some point in the rehearsal process. Therefore, they offer a more reliable picture of the play as performed for any given production—although, as I discuss in Chapter One, choices made and then *discarded* as part of the rehearsal process can be telling, too.

My experience working through the archives (or lack thereof) for *The Changeling's* twentieth-century performance history has convinced me that performances are no more nor less ephemeral than texts themselves—and, indeed, the most common form of documentation for a performance is text itself. Crucially, I argue that theatrical promptbooks should be admitted as textual witnesses in the histories of early modern plays. In this assertion, I am influenced by M.J. Kidnie's critical framework in *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, which argues for an ephemerality of texts as well as of performance; Kidnie asserts that '[...] the work, far from functioning as an objective yardstick against which to measure the supposed accuracy of editions and stagings, whether current or historical, continually takes place as a *consequence* of production'.¹¹⁷ Thus, *Macbeth*, for example, is constituted and continuously re-invented by its performance tradition, which is either reinforced or challenged by scholarly editions and published criticism. At any given moment, the version of *Macbeth* accepted as genuine or authentic is determined by our frame of reference, our place within the constantly-shifting nexus of text and performance that constitutes 'the work'. The performance history of *Macbeth* offers a potent example of this theory in practice: confronted with the news that David Garrick would produce the play as Shakespeare wrote it (rather than in

¹¹⁷ M.J. Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, p. 33, original emphasis

Davenant's long-running and immensely popular adaptation), actor James Quin asked, earnestly, 'Don't I play *Macbeth* as Shakespeare wrote it?'¹¹⁸ Put another way, Shakespeare's texts (and, to a certain extent, Middleton's and Rowley's) 'are both tools and technologies, already inscribed in a dense and constantly changing social understanding of their proper meaning and use'.¹¹⁹ If this can be said of *Macbeth*, it is all the more true for less well-known early modern plays, some of which have not seen a new scholarly edition or full-scale staging in decades or even centuries. Where do plays such as *The Changeling*, which are neither lost nor fully canonical, sit within this framework?

Adaptation theory and, in particular, notions of remediation have contributed to recent shifts in scholarly thinking about the nature of texts and performances, particularly in the context of new digital media.¹²⁰ Kidnie's work, as quoted above, and Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin's work in *Remediation* are particularly relevant. Some of the productions included in this dissertation can be considered adaptations—especially the 2012 Young Vic production, and especially if we use performances of Shakespeare as a benchmark in identifying adaptations.¹²¹ Although Linda Hutcheon defines adaptations as 'deliberate, announced, and extended revisitations of prior works', the Young Vic production, for example, clearly embodied an adaptive spirit in its treatment of the text without announcing itself 'as adaptation'.¹²² The Young Vic *Changeling* has therefore become a representative adaptation in this thesis, and as a result other fascinating and exciting productions, such as Emma Rice's 1999 adaptation for Kneehigh—retitled *The Itch*—and Andrew Hilton's 2004 adaptation for Shakespeare at

¹¹⁸ D. Bartholomeusz, *Macbeth and the Players*, Cambridge, CUP, 1969, p. 39.

¹¹⁹ W.B. Worthen, *Shakespeare Performance Studies*, p. 20.

¹²⁰ M. J. Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*; J. D. Bolter and R. Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media*, Boston, The MIT Press, 1998.

¹²¹ See P. Aebischer and K. Prince, 'Introduction', p. 3.

¹²² L. Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd edition, London, Routledge, 2013, p. xvi.

the Tobacco Factory—which added new scenes by Dominic Power to the hospital plot—have been excluded. I consider adaptations in media beyond live theatre as beyond the scope of this thesis. As a result, the numerous film, television, and radio versions of *The Changeling*, including the 2009 ITV adaptation *Compulsion* and the 1974 BBC *Play of the Month* version starring Helen Mirren, have been excluded from my analysis.¹²³

Chapter Breakdown

My work here clearly is not a scholarly edition of *The Changeling* that incorporates performance history in the ways that I suggest, although I do offer a small sample of what such an edition might do in Appendix A. I hope, however, to use this dissertation to make a strong case for the greater integration of performance history and performance texts in the editorial paradigm and in theatre historiography and to demonstrate a methodology that could be applied to the production of a new kind of edition. To this end, I have deliberately structured this dissertation around performances, rather than around the publication of important scholarly editions, in order to destabilise the primacy of the text in early modern studies and, indeed, in the study of drama (as opposed to performance) more broadly. The productions under consideration include: the 1961 production at the Royal Court, directed by Tony Richardson; the 1978 productions at the Riverside Studios, directed by Peter Gill, at the RSC's Aldwych Theatre, directed by Terry Hands, at the Bristol Old Vic, directed by Adrian Noble, and at the Manchester University Theatre, directed by Richard Williams; the 1979 production at the Victoria Theatre, Stoke-on-Trent, directed by Kate

¹²³For detailed analyses of film and television adaptations of *The Changeling* (especially *Compulsion*) and other early modern plays, see P. Aebischer, *Screening Early Modern Drama: Beyond Shakespeare*, Cambridge, CUP, 2013; C. Lehmann, ‘“Taking back the night”: Hospitality in *The Changeling* on Film’, *Shakespeare Bulletin*, vol. 29, no. 4, 2011, pp. 591-604.

Crutchley; the 1988 production at the National's Lyttleton Theatre, directed by Richard Eyre; the 2012 production and its revival at the Young Vic, directed by Joe Hill-Gibbins; and, finally, the 2015 production at the Globe's Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, directed by Dominic Dromgoole.

These case studies have been selected from the thirty-odd productions of *The Changeling* staged in the UK since 1961 both for their importance to the play's overall performance history and for the particular benefits or challenges they offer in terms of considering textual and performance histories simultaneously. In some cases, they offered exciting and challenging opportunities to delve into the influence of textual details on performance; in others, they were under-researched and ripe for more in-depth consideration. As this thesis is not intended as a complete performance history, I have had to be ruthless in excluding a number of productions from my analysis; choosing to cover the 2015 Sam Wanamaker Playhouse production, for example, necessitated cutting my analysis of the 2006 Cheek by Jowl production.¹²⁴

My work here is also about archiving, and the ways in which we can access histories of texts and performances. Each chapter, therefore, offers a different perspective on the archive, with a general trajectory from the more "traditional" archival work undertaken for Chapter One towards the abstract and slippery "vernacular" archive of the Internet and, especially, social media in Chapter Four.

Chapter One, 'Readings and Re-readings', looks at the 1961 Royal Court *Changeling* as a turning point in the play's history, both as a text and as a performance. Likely the first professional production of the play since the seventeenth century, Tony Richardson's production represents a transitional moment for *The Changeling*. This is perhaps the most traditionally archival chapter in the thesis, as it makes use of

¹²⁴ For an existing analysis of the Cheek by Jowl production, see K. Solga, 'The Architecture of the Act: Renovating Beatrice Joanna's Closet', *Violence Against Women in Early Modern Performance: Invisible Acts*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2009, pp. 141-158.

institutional archives and published scholarship but not interviews, non-institutional repositories, or (obviously) social media archives. In this chapter, I project Lucy Munro’s framework for categorising the present-day early modern repertory backwards to 1961, questioning whether *The Changeling* might have fit the criteria for a “lost classic” at the time of its twentieth-century debut, and, if so, how it has managed to move itself upwards to the top tier of Munro’s pyramid since then. Chapter One also considers the textual interventions made by Richardson and his cast in N.W. Bawcutt’s 1958 edition, which was used as the basis of the promptbook. The conversation between Bawcutt’s edition—effectively the first edition of *The Changeling* to apply up-to-date scholarly rigor to the text—and 1961 promptbook, which shows evidence of Richardson and his team attempting to “update” the playtext, exemplifies the symbiotic relationship between text and performance that I argue for throughout this thesis.

In Chapter Two, ‘Political *Changelings*’, I consider *The Changeling*’s life during the turbulent Thatcher years, bookended by productions in 1978-79 and 1988. The 1970s and ‘80s witnessed an upsurge in productions and publications of early modern plays beyond Shakespeare, not unlike the rise in popularity that we are currently experiencing. This coincided with the addition of plays such as *The Changeling* to the A-level curriculum and the opening of The Other Place (1974) and the Swan (1986) as spaces for repertory beyond Shakespeare at the RSC.¹²⁵ These decades also saw tectonic shifts in academia, as French philosophers such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Roland Barthes were translated into English for the first time, the “canon wars” and “culture wars” raged in English Literature departments, and identity politics movements such as feminism and postcolonialism began to be incorporated as serious fields of

¹²⁵ M. Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama Under the Early Stuarts*, Cambridge, CUP, 1980; C. Heijes, ‘Shakespeare’s contemporaries at the Royal Shakespeare Company’, P. Aebischer and K. Prince (eds.), *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, Cambridge, CUP, 2012, pp. 70-84, p. 72, 73.

study. As I note above, however, the archival record is differently complete for each of the six productions I consider in this chapter. In one case, the only records come from a handful of reviews published in the same newspaper and mostly by the same author. In addition, directors in the late '70s had far more choice in terms of which edition(s) of the play to use for performance than Richardson did in 1961. The relationship between performance and text here is therefore constructed as less direct and literal than in Chapter One and does not rely on the interactions between theatre practitioners and a (single) edited text.

Chapter Three, 'Re-making *The Changeling* for the Twenty-First Century', leaps forward in time to look in detail at the 2012 Young Vic production and its revival the same year. The only case study that engages with an adaptation of the play, this chapter looks specifically at the ways in which the Young Vic *Changeling* resisted or worked within the institutional structures of the Shakespeare industry, post-Stanislvskian performer training, and the Young Vic itself. As I note above, both Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen were concerned about engaging with the play's text by pushing its themes and structure to their logical extremes; even in its most avant-garde moments—including the use of wedding-day desserts as sex toys—Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen claim that their production represented the text in an "authentic", if updated, way. Their take on the consequences of Beatrice-Joanna's sexual transgressions, however, forces the play into an anachronism: a narrative of female empowerment that paints Middleton and Rowley in a more positive, feminist light than their historical circumstances—not to mention the content of their plays—would suggest. This tension between historical and present-day contexts and contingencies meshes with Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen's adaptive treatment of the play's text, resulting in a complex web of influences and interpretations at play in the performances themselves.

The final case study, Chapter Four, ‘Documenting Past and Present at the New Globe’, looks at the 2015 Sam Wanamaker Playhouse production of *The Changeling*, directed by Dominic Dromgoole. Picking up on the Globe’s expanding digital and social media presence, and its juxtaposition with the theatre’s perceived status as a hub of “authentic” and “historical” productions of Shakespeare and other early modern playwrights, this chapter investigates the ever-expanding definitions of “text” and “performance” in the digital turn. In doing so, I make a connection between the Globe’s and the Internet’s associations with democracy and openness, questioning the narratives of access and inclusivity upon which they both thrive, and begin to theorise social media *as* archives of performance.

Throughout, I seek to make connections between *The Changeling* as text, *The Changeling* as performance, and the various other texts and performances that it has interacted with throughout its life since 1961. In presenting analyses of these texts and performances side-by-side, within the same history, I aim to show the interdependency of these two usually separated strands of early modern studies and make a case for greater integration of the two in both editorial and performance practices.

Literature Review

This literature review presents key criticism and interpretation of *The Changeling*, its authors, and its cultural significance. I have structured it around four related themes, each of which covers several sub-sections: 1) Literary and Dramaturgical Structure, 2) Institutions and the Canon, 3) Past-Present Tensions, and 4) Identity Politics. The definitions of texts and performances used throughout the thesis are handled in the Introduction above, as is the play's seventeenth-century stage and print history.

1) Literary & Dramaturgical Structure

The Changeling offers an exciting case study for a re-examination of the historiography of early modern texts and performance because it demonstrates a number of inversions, variations, and permutations of classic literary and dramatic devices and tropes, including the structuring of the plots, the revenger character and the bed trick. The subject of inversions and antitheses in *The Changeling* is covered extensively by Ann Pasternak Slater, who argues that the play can be understood through a rarely-acknowledged *OED* definition of “changeling”: hypallage, a rhetorical device in which words change their usual places.¹ Slater identifies what she calls ‘the play’s exploitation of moral hypallage, whereby vice and virtue exchange places, so that vices are committed in the name of virtue, and virtues themselves become vicious’.² Suggesting a more nuanced view of the characters than advocated by some critics, Slater argues that ‘*The Changeling*’s unforgettable intensity lies precisely in its fusion of the vicious and the virtuous’, and that therefore ‘[t]he tone of the play [...] is one in which antithetical values continually change places, to create a kind of alternating current from

¹ A.P. Slater, ‘Hypallage, Barley-Break, and *The Changeling*’, *The Review of English Studies*, new series, vol. 34, no. 136, 1983, pp. 429-40, p. 429.

² *ibid.*, p. 431.

negative to positive and back again'.³ She goes on to connect these inversions to Christopher Ricks's analysis of puns in *The Changeling*, which I consider in further detail below.

The permutations that Slater and Ricks identify are evident throughout both plots of *The Changeling*. Richard Levin, notes, for example, that '[a]lthough most double-plot plays utilizing the relationship of direct moral contrast place the virtuous line of action in the main plot', *The Changeling* is the 'most famous' example of a play in which 'that arrangement is reversed'.⁴ He goes on to suggest that Rowley 'titillates' the audience with a standard comic set up in the hospital plot, only to 'startling (if not disappointing) us by Isabella's chastity'.⁵ As Patricia Thomson puts it, the hospital plot 'provides a through-the-looking-glass, madhouse reflection' of the castle plot.⁶ In addition, the revenging character, Tomazo, is neither the protagonist—as in *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Hamlet*, and *The Revenger's Tragedy*—nor a particularly effective avenger. He fails to correctly identify and kill his brother's actual murderers, being content instead with the untimely end they bring upon themselves. Similarly, the convention of the "bed trick"—in which one proposed sexual partner (usually the woman in a heterosexual coupling) is substituted out for a more willing person without the knowledge of the other party—is usually used to re-establish a legitimate or desirable relationship, particularly in Shakespeare. In *Measure for Measure*, for example, Isabella's chastity is saved by the convenient presence of Mariana, Angelo's ex-betrothed; the coupling restores Angelo and Mariana's vows as a side effect. In *All's Well That Ends Well*, Bertram's wife, Helena, takes the place of virginal Diana, thus re-asserting the existing

³ *ibid.*, pp. 432, 433.

⁴ R. Levin, *The Multiple Plot in English Renaissance Drama*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1971, p. 34; see also A.P. Slater, 'Hypallage, Barley-Break, and *The Changeling*', p. 440.

⁵ A.P. Slater, 'Hypallage, Barley-Break, and *The Changeling*', p. 440; see also R. Levin, *The Multiple Plot*, p. 37.

⁶ P. Thomson, 'Introduction', p. xxvii.

marriage and preserving Diana's chastity. In *The Changeling*, however, the bed trick in Act 4 undermines Beatrice's marriage to Alsemero, obscures her complicity in the murder of Alonzo, and protects Deflores. *The Changeling* is clearly an intensely intertextual play that demonstrates Middleton's and Rowley's awareness of and integration within the broader context of early modern drama and literature. At the same time, the playwrights' manipulation of well-known structures demonstrates their creativity and the strength of their collaborative relationship.

Two playwrights, two plots

Gary Taylor has dubbed Thomas Middleton 'our other Shakespeare', a comment upon Middleton's growing popularity and permanence in the canon, as well as a justification for the vast amounts of scholarly time and effort expended upon the Oxford Middleton series, which I discuss in more detail below.⁷ Taylor's epithet, however, encourages a mis-reading of *The Changeling's* dramaturgical structure and of the relationship between Middleton and Rowley as playwrights. Firstly, it sets up Middleton as a solitary genius in the nineteenth-century mode, distancing him from the many playwrights with whom he collaborated on a regular basis, including Rowley, Dekker, and Shakespeare himself: Taylor implores his readers 'to think of our language as home to two world champion playwrights, not just one'.⁸ In this, Taylor follows the tradition established by a number of nineteenth-century anthologies, including Havelock Ellis's *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: Thomas Middleton* and A. H. Bullen's *The Works of Thomas Middleton*. Thus, Taylor's attempt to balance the field of early modern

⁷ *Thomas Middleton*, [website], 2016, <http://english.fsu.edu/middleton/>, (accessed 1 January 2016). The phrase 'our other Shakespeare' also appears on the book jacket of the Oxford *Collected Works*

⁸ G. Taylor, 'Thomas Middleton: Lives and Afterlives', G. Taylor and J. Lavagnino (eds.), *The Collected Works of Thomas Middleton*, Oxford, Clarendon, 2007, pp. 25-58, p. 58.

playwrights not only perpetuates a myth about Shakespeare's genius but also applies that myth to Middleton, discounting, for example, Rowley's contribution to his success.

Until very recently, scholarship on *The Changeling* and Middleton's professional relationship with Rowley concurred with Taylor's implied reading of Middleton as the superior, leading playwright, the artist who creates the play's pathos, and Rowley as the inferior hanger-on who contributed little, if anything, to their collective success. The erroneous tendency to read *The Changeling* as the work of a great auteur (Middleton) marred by the contributions of a second-rate clown (Rowley) stems primarily (and unsurprisingly) from the Romantics and their successors. '[I]ndividualistic notions of genius' developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have since become clichés, but they continue to wield power over current interpretations of literature and understandings of authorship.⁹ The emphasis on Shakespeare's genius, of course, is the most obvious example of this theory in practice, although his reputation as uniquely intelligent and creative had begun to be constructed in the Restoration period.¹⁰ That this bias for singular talent continued after what is usually considered the end of Romanticism is evidenced in T. S. Eliot's essay on Middleton:

And Middleton in the end—after criticism has subtracted all that Rowley, all that Dekker, all that others contributed—is a great example of great English drama. He has no message; he is merely a great recorder. Incidentally, in flashes and when the dramatic need comes, he is a great poet, a great master of versification:

*I that am of your blood was taken from you
For your better health; look no more upon't,
But cast it to the ground regardlessly,
Let the common sewer take it from distinction.
Beneath the stars, upon yon meteor
Ever hung my fate 'mongst things corruptible;
I ne'er could pluck it from him; my loathing
Was prophet the rest, but ne'er believed.*

⁹ R. Pope, *Creativity: Theory, History, Practice*, Routledge, 2005, p. 102.

¹⁰ For a thorough and detailed account of Shakespeare's reception from 1660-1769, see Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*.

The man who wrote these lines remains inscrutable, solitary,
unadmired[.]¹¹

Eliot speaks truer than he knows: the lines quoted here come from the final scene of *The Changeling*, which is attributed to Rowley, not Middleton.¹² Eliot's 'master of versification' is, in fact, Middleton's collaborator, the so-called hack considered barely capable of producing an entertaining subplot.

Rowley, indeed, remains 'unadmired', despite evidence suggesting that he may have occupied a higher hierarchical position than Middleton in the early modern playhouses where they worked. A 'famous clown' and shareholder in the Prince Charles's men, Rowley's role in playwriting for that company may have included casting and repertory-building, as well as 'an organizational or directorial role during rehearsal'.¹³ In his monograph *Middleton and Rowley: Forms of Collaboration in the Jacobean Playhouse*, David Nicol argues that a collaborative arrangement with Middleton as the superior and Rowley as the inferior or even apprentice playwright is unlikely, if not impossible. Nicol's innovation is to consider playhouse politics and performance conditions alongside theatrical texts when thinking about collaboration in the early modern theatre. Drawing on and moving beyond studies of collaboration by Cyrus Hoy, Brian Vickers, Jeffrey Masten, Michael Mooney, and others, Nicol suggests that *The Changeling's* very disjointedness—the moments of disunity between the playwrights—might be one of the reasons it continues to appeal to audiences.¹⁴ Although the currently accepted division of authorship has been the standard since at least 1975, Nicol points out that of the existing studies of the Middleton-Rowley canon, very few have 'grappled seriously with the fact that in each of these plays, a sizeable proportion of the text, often more than

¹¹ T.S. Eliot, 'Thomas Middleton', p. 169.

¹² David Lake's 1975 study is the first (as far as I know) to explicitly provide a line-by-line breakdown, but Nicol cites, for example, a 1910 study by Arthur Symons that attributes the first and last scenes (at least partially) to Rowley.

¹³ D. Nicol, *Middleton and Rowley*, pp. 66, 21.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 11-12, 32

half of it, was written by an obscure playwright whose solo works [...] are rarely studied'.¹⁵ Indeed, as demonstrated by Eliot's misattribution above, many critics either forget or ignore the division of labour between Middleton and Rowley across the two plots of *The Changeling*. David Lake and others have shown that Rowley was primarily responsible for the first and last scenes of the play, all of the hospital plot, and a handful of lines in Act 4.¹⁶ That leaves the middle section of the castle plot, including the bulk of the Beatrice-Deflores relationship, to Middleton, but it gives Rowley authority over the first and last moments of the play.

The relationship between the two plots has been a perennial problem for both scholars and theatre practitioners from the nineteenth century to the present day. In the twentieth century, scholars such as Muriel Bradbrook, William Empson, and N.W. Bawcutt argued for the merits of the hospital plot, whilst critics such as Una Ellis-Fermor, R.H. Barker, and Samuel Schoenbaum insisted on its irrelevance and inferiority.¹⁷ Certain scholars have even suggested that the madhouse plot as we now have it is incomplete: Holdsworth, for example, argues that at least 3 scenes must be missing, and the 2004 Tobacco Factory production used this kind of scholarship as a rationale for commissioning Dominic Power to write a series of new scenes for the hospital plot.¹⁸ As Bruster notes, however, Holdsworth himself has also provided a great deal of evidence *against* the missing scenes theory, and it seems unlikely that such scenes

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 5; see note on Lake above.

¹⁶ D.J. Lake, *The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays*, pp. 87-8

¹⁷ M.C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy*, Cambridge, CUP, 1935; W. Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral*, New York, New Directions Publishing, 1935; N.W. Bawcutt, 'Introduction', N.W. Bawcutt (ed.), *The Changeling*, Manchester, Manchester UP, 1958; U. Ellis-Fermor, *The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation*, 2nd edition, London, Methuen, 1947; R.H. Barker, *Thomas Middleton*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1975; S. Schoenbaum, *Middleton's Tragedies: A Critical Study*, New York, Columbia UP, 1955.

¹⁸ R.V. Holdsworth, *Three Jacobean Revenge Tragedies: A Casebook*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1990; A. Hilton, 'Director's Note: *The Changeling*', *Shakespeare at the Tobacco Factory*, [website], 2004, <http://www.sattf.org.uk/pastproductions/55.html>, (accessed 16 April 2016).

ever existed.¹⁹ Robert Ornstein's tepid praise perhaps encapsulates the relationship between the two plots and the academic community: "To understand the necessity of the subplot [...] we need only try to imagine *The Changeling* without it. Then we realize how narrow is Middleton's tragic focus and how thin is the texture of the main plot."²⁰ To see that this sentiment has been carried over into the twenty-first century and that it has had an impact on theatrical treatments of *The Changeling*, consider director Joe Hill-Gibbins' initial refusal to direct the play because its dual-plot structure made it 'too fucking hard' to do.²¹

The textual and performance histories of *The Changeling* offer different ways of handling the two plots, however. As I will argue throughout this thesis, many of the perceived structural problems in the play resolve themselves through performance, where subtle thematic connections or dramaturgical echoes can be made more explicit through, for example, careful cutting and staging choices. It is particularly telling that in *The Changeling's* first professional staging in the twentieth century, the critical response generally praised the production but panned the play. Referring to the disconnect between the plots, Richard Findlater called *The Changeling* a 'weird compost of farce and melodrama, poetry and fustian', and J.C. Trewin dubbed it a 'half-masterpiece'.²² Commenting on the merits of Tony Richardson's production, however, Findlater conceded that he found it 'rich and strange and altogether absorbing', and Felix Barker called it 'first-rate theatre'.²³ Perhaps T.C. Worsley of the *Financial Times* summed up the general critical response: "The play has a pretty irrelevant but entertaining sub-plot".²⁴ Director Tony Richardson claimed to have attempted a 'unity of style' between the two

¹⁹ D. Bruster, 'The Changeling', *Companion*, p. 1095.

²⁰ R. Ornstein, *The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy*, Madison and Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin Press, 1965, p. 180.

²¹ qtd. N. Tripney, 'Changing *The Changeling*', *Exeunt*, 13 November 2012.

²² R. Findlater, *Time & Tide*, 9 March 1961; J.C. Trewin, *Birmingham Post*, 22 February 1961.

²³ R. Findlater, 9 March 1961; F. Barker, *Evening News*, 22 February 1961.

²⁴ T.C. Worsley, *Financial Times*, 22 February 1961.

plots, which he achieved through aesthetics and staging: he said at the time that he tried to demonstrate the thematic connectedness of the plots by ‘introducing certain of the minor characters into the main plot at points where they were not originally written’.²⁵ Richardson’s staging, as I will explore in my case study on his production, established a theatrical tradition for *The Changeling* that emphasises the creation of visual links between the two plots.

The narrative disjuncture between these two plots and the perceived structural disunity of the play has generated a good deal of vitriol over the years from prominent scholars and critics, including Eliot. More specifically, the hospital plot has long been seen as inferior—an extension, partly, of a scholarly tradition that sees Rowley as the inferior playwright. We can also attribute this long-standing objection to the subplot to changing attitudes towards mental health, of course: although the two inmates of the madhouse with which the audience primarily interacts are both feigning, their behaviour whilst in disguise tells us something rather unflattering about the public perception of “fools” and “madmen” (respectively) in the period. Whilst Carol Neely has demonstrated that Londoners likely did *not* entertain themselves by gawking at the inmates of Bethlehem Hospital (Bedlam) until much later in the seventeenth century, Samuel Schoenbaum is not alone in feeling that, to the modern eye, ‘the treatment of insanity is offensive’.²⁶

Despite this, the explicit rejection of the subplot on aesthetic grounds by prominent critics throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also reveals an unwillingness to engage with the difficulties and intricacies of form that the subplot brings to the play. Although the two plots have now been acknowledged both by theatre practitioners and by academics and critics as having a deeply integrated thematic and

²⁵ T. Richardson, ‘Why We Decided to Revive *The Changeling*’, *Plays and Players*, April 1961.

²⁶ see C. Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture*, Ithaca, Cornell UP, 2004; S. Schoenbaum, *Middleton’s Tragedies*, p. 147.

linguistic connection, for much of the play's life the madhouse plot in particular was criticised for its perceived lack of structural unity with the castle plot. In the quarto text, the plots physically intersect at only three points: Alibius announces that the madmen and fools will prepare a dance to celebrate Beatrice-Joanna's wedding in Act 3; Vermandero (Beatrice-Joanna's father) blames the missing Antonio and Franciscus for Alonzo's murder in Act 4; and the main hospital characters arrive to contribute to the revelations in the final scene of Act 5. Despite this, the two plots mirror each other in many ways, and most theatrical productions, following the lead of Tony Richardson's version for the Royal Court in 1961, have attempted to find ways of making them explicitly speak to each other.

'Thy language is so bold and vicious...'²⁷

Neill identifies Middleton with a straightforwardness and poetic simplicity in line with the popular image of Middleton as a city playwright—a gritty, rebellious, stripped-down alternative to the more pastoral Shakespeare—and, as Swapan Chakravorty puts it, 'more our contemporary today than any other Jacobean playwright'.²⁸ As Neill points out in his introduction to *The Changeling*, '[f]or those who come to it with expectations shaped by the writings of Shakespeare, Middleton and Rowley's tragedy may at first seem anomalous'.²⁹ Middleton's strength as a playwright, he argues, is his 'wonderful ear for the psychological and social nuances of colloquial speech', which he executes 'without the poetic grandeur and metaphysical resonance' of plays to which *The Changeling* is often compared, such as *Othello* and *Macbeth*.³⁰ Middleton's style is therefore cast by Neill as less embroidered and more grounded than Shakespeare's. Whilst *The*

²⁷ sig. F1r.

²⁸ S. Chakravorty, *Society and Politics in the Plays of Thomas Middleton*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1996, p. 1.

²⁹ M. Neill, p. vii

³⁰ *ibid.*

Changeling lacks ‘metaphysical resonance’ in this reading, it nonetheless demonstrates ‘technical mastery’ and ‘deceptive simplicity’.³¹ Bruster’s essay on ‘Middleton’s Imagination’ picks up on similar tensions between Shakespeare and Middleton, noting that the latter is ‘largely metropolitan in contrast to Shakespeare’s emphasis on the flora and fauna of external nature’ and that his ‘works tend to reject the magical in favour of human actions and explanations’.³² This anthropological side to Middleton is often articulated as an awareness of psychology and has contributed to Freudian readings of his plays. Commenting on Beatrice-Joanna’s treatment of Deflores in the early scenes of *The Changeling*, for example, Neill notes the playwright’s apparently unique—or at least uniquely developed—ability to reveal his characters’ psychology with cutting efficiency: ‘in little more than a dozen words, [Middleton] allows his heroine to reveal as much about herself as another dramatist might convey in an entire soliloquy’.³³ On the other hand, Middleton is also credited with some of the most beautiful and memorable poetic lines in English drama of this period. Eliot, for example, praises Middleton for the ‘really great lines of Deflores, lines of which Shakespeare or Sophocles might have been proud’, referring to the lines at the end of the central scene for Beatrice and Deflores: ‘Can you weep Fate from its determined purpose? / So soon may weep me’.³⁴ The image of Middleton as gritty, sexy, bold Londoner is therefore incomplete; nonetheless, it is the most common label applied to him and his canon.

Engagement with *The Changeling* at the level of language is necessary for this thesis because my analysis of the performance case studies depends upon an understanding of the play’s literary and dramaturgical structures. Additionally, my

³¹ *ibid.*, pp. vii, vii.

³² D. Bruster, ‘Middleton’s Imagination’, G. Taylor and T.T. Henley (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, Oxford, OUP, 2012, p. 518.

³³ M. Neill, p. vii

³⁴ T.S. Eliot, ‘Thomas Middleton’, *Selected Essays*, London, Faber, 1976 [1932], pp. 161-70, p.164; sig. F1v

arguments for a different kind of editorial paradigm rely upon an understanding of how *The Changeling* and Middleton and Rowley more generally have been presented to us as texts. If it matters how textual and performance histories are situated in relation to each other, as I argue it does, then the existing narratives governing both are important to establish and consider.

Although *The Changeling* has frequently been criticised for having a sloppy or incomplete structure—and some productions have gone so far as to completely cut the subplot or write new, additional scenes from scratch—a close analysis of the play reveals a meticulously constructed and highly organised piece of text, with multiple layers of meaning, metaphor, and wordplay running across its length and breadth.³⁵ In his 1960 study of ‘The Moral and Poetic Structure of *The Changeling*’, Christopher Ricks suggests that ‘the verbal basis of the play is a group of words, each of which has two meanings, one of them sexual; at the beginning of the play, the two meanings are distinct; by the end, they have become inextricable’.³⁶ Ricks is among the first to engage with Middleton and Rowley’s playful but detailed approach to collaborative playwriting in *The Changeling*, pulling apart some of the complex layers of word-play within the text. Particularly fascinated by the use of *double entendre*—or what Slater identifies as hypallage—in the play on words such as “service”, Ricks even attributes Beatrice-Joanna’s downfall to a symptom of her ‘tragic failure to see puns’.³⁷ The essay scratches the surface of Middleton’s and Rowley’s highly complex verbal micro-structure in the play, which is an integral part of their equally detailed macro-structure. Scenes are juxtaposed and layered in such a way as to suggest both close collaboration and careful planning from the playwrights. Critics have frequently commented upon the echoing of Deflores’ first

³⁵ These productions include the 1950 BBC Radio version, the 1974 BBC Play of the Month (starring Helen Mirren), and Andrew Hilton’s 2009 production for Shakespeare at the Tobacco Factory.

³⁶ C. Ricks, ‘The Moral and Poetic Structure of *The Changeling*’, *Essays in Criticism*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1960, p 291.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 302.

soliloquy in the conversation between Alibius and Lollo that immediately follows.

Picking up Beatrice-Joanna's fallen glove, Deflores indulges in a brief but disturbing soliloquy:

Here's a favour come; with a mischief: Now
I know she had rather wear my pelt tan'd
In a pair of dancing pumps, then I should thrust my fingers
Into her sockets [...].³⁸

His speech ends the first scene of the play and is followed immediately by the entrance of Alibius and Lollo, discussing a plan for keeping the former's wife away from prying eyes:

Alibius: I would wear my ring on my own finger;
Whilst it is borrowed it is none of mine,
But his that useth it.

Lollo: You must keep it on still then; it if but lie by, one or other will be thrusting into it.³⁹

The obvious connection between fingers as penises and "sockets" (the empty finger of a glove) or rings as vaginas is picked up again by Deflores several scenes later, when he kills Alonzo and decides to take a ring as a token:

Deflores: So here's an undertaking well accomplished.
This vault serves to good use now—Ha! what's that
Threw sparkles in my eye?—Oh, tis a diamond
He wears upon his finger. It was well found:
This will approve the work. What, so fast on?
Not part in death? I'll take a speedy course then:
Finger and all shall off. So, now I'll clear
The passage from all suspect or fear.⁴⁰

Here, Deflores literally cuts off Alonzo's finger in order to obtain the ring he wears (a love-token from Beatrice-Joanna, not coincidentally). The fact that Alonzo will 'not part in death' with the ring signifies his impending marriage vows to Beatrice, which Deflores has literally cut off. Metaphorically, Deflores also emasculates the dead lover

³⁸ sig. B4r.

³⁹ sig. B4v.

⁴⁰ sig. D4r.

by cutting off his finger and claiming Beatrice's "ring" for himself. Later, when he presents the severed finger to Beatrice, the same connotations are implied:

Deflores: I've a token for you.

Beatrice: For me?

Deflores: But it was sent somewhat unwillingly.
I could not get the ring without the finger.

Beatrice: Bless me! What hast thou done?

Deflores: Why is that more than killing the whole man?
I cut his heart-strings, a greedy hand thrust in a dish at Court
In a mistake hath had as much as this.

Beatrice: 'Tis the first token my father made me send him.

Deflores: And I have made him send it back again,
For his last token. I was loath to leave it,
And I'm sure dead men have no use of jewels;
He was as loath to part with it, for it stuck
As if the flesh and it were both one substance.

Beatrice: At the stag's fall the keeper has his fees,
'Tis soon applied, all dead men's fees are yours, sir.⁴¹

Littered with *double entendre*, this exchange picks up and extends the previous metaphorical play on "fingers", "rings", and so on. When Deflores says that he 'could not get the ring without the finger', he means literally that the ring would not come off of Alonzo's finger easily and figuratively that killing Alonzo and cutting off his "finger" has given him sexual access to Beatrice. The return of the verb "thrust" a few lines later echoes Deflores' earlier encounter with Beatrice's glove and Lollio's dirty joke about Alibius's wedding ring/wife. Deflores also invokes the image of man and wife as one flesh in his assertion that the ring 'stuck / As if the flesh and it were both one substance'. Such wordplay continues throughout the text of *The Changeling*, across both plots.

⁴¹ sig. E4r.

More subtle verbal parallels are also apparent across the two halves of the castle plot. Early in Act 2, Alonzo and Tomazo appear on stage for the first time. In the course of the scene, Beatrice requests that the wedding be delayed by three days and Tomazo warns his brother that this is ‘small welcome’ from his bride-to-be, hinting that she is in love with someone else. Alonzo reacts violently:

Preserve your friendship and your counsel brother,
For times of more distress, I should depart
An enemy, a dangerous, deadly one
To any but thy self, that should but think
She knew the meaning of inconstancy,
Much less the use and practice[...].⁴²

Tomazo’s next appearance in the play comes much later, in Act 4, when he returns to the play on Alsemero and Beatrice’s wedding day. Following a brief but tense exchange with Alsemero, Tomazo exits, leaving the bridegroom alone onstage with his friend, Jasperino. Tomazo’s presence here seems intended to signal a parallel to the audience between Alsemero and Alonzo. To emphasise this point, Jasperino suggests to Alsemero that Beatrice has been unfaithful to him immediately after Tomazo’s exit. Alsemero threatens his friend, as Alonzo threatened his brother:

Alsemero: Peace, quench thy zeal, tis dangerous to thy bosom.

Jasperino: Then the truth is full of peril.

Alsemero: Such truths are [...].⁴³

Still, Alsemero appears to take a savvier course than Alonzo by asking Jasperino to obtain the virginity test from his closet. Upon seeing Beatrice, however, he echoes Alonzo’s fatal words: ‘The Dove’s not meeker. / She’s abus’d questionless’.⁴⁴ He proceeds to fall for her feigning of the virginity test’s effects, lured in by the same surety of her love for him as Alonzo.

⁴² sig. D1r

⁴³ sig. G1r

⁴⁴ sig. G1v

These structural echoes feature throughout the play and across the plots, demonstrating the highly productive professional relationship between the two playwrights. In Act 3, for example, the madhouse scene ends with Lollo threatening to rape Isabella, who returns his threats and keeps him at bay until the entrance of her husband interrupts the scene; the following castle scene ends with Beatrice's rape at the hands of Deflores. These two scenes are also at the dead centre of the play, structurally: with as many scenes from each plot behind them as in front of them, they are the turning points of the drama. As I explore in more detail throughout the case study chapters, directors have consistently made attempts to highlight the structural complexity of the play and the thematic relationship between the two plots by creating moments of crossover between characters from the castle and the madhouse.

2) Institutions and the Canon

Despite the long gap in its professional performance history from 1668 to 1961, *The Changeling* remained institutionally available throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, as evidenced by the adaptations of William Hayley and William Archer, as well as its amateur theatrical revival via Oxford and Cambridge dramatic societies in the 1940s and '50s. As E.H.C. Oliphant reminds us, the play might not ever have reached the present day had it not been printed in 1653, and again in 1668.⁴⁵ Sonia Massai, however, suggests that Middleton's relative obscurity compared to Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has more to do with what he did not publish than with what he did:

The main difference between Middleton and other major playwrights clearly has more to do with the fact that his works were never collected in a substantial folio edition during his lifetime or shortly after his death

⁴⁵ E.H.C. Oliphant, 'Introduction', *Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*, London, Prentice-Hall, 1929, pp. 903-905, p. 903.

than with the intrinsic quality of his achievements. Some of Middleton's most popular plays were not published until after his death in 1627.⁴⁶

Institutional availability, then, is a spectrum: much of Middleton's work, including *The Changeling*, exists in print but was not collected into one volume until the 2007 Oxford *Middleton*. It survives, but it was not always easily accessible. This is even more true of playwrights, like Rowley, whose singly-authored works did not appeal to nineteenth-century anthologists. Shakespeare's and Jonson's and Beaumont and Fletcher's canons can return to their seventeenth-century first folios as a default starting point; assembling the canons of Middleton and, to even greater extent, Rowley requires more legwork.

Part of the goal of this thesis is to look at the ways in which the literary and theatrical canons of early modern drama overlap. The institutional availability of *The Changeling* in print, for example, helped it to achieve notoriety, such that it was routinely included in anthologies of early modern plays by the end of the nineteenth century, as I will discuss below. Its availability in print was perhaps a driving force in its selection for production by university dramatic societies. Tony Richardson, who directed the first professional production of the play after 1668, encountered it for the first time at Oxford. *The Changeling* has since become a mainstay of the early modern literary canon; but has it achieved the same status in the professional theatre?

In her chapter for *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, Lucy Munro separates the current theatrical repertory of early modern plays into 'three contrasting groups'.⁴⁷ The first group represents those plays that are part of the canon, see regular professional production, are on school and /or university curricula, and are generally better known than many of their contemporaries: in addition to *The Changeling*, her list includes Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, Middleton's *Women Beware Women*, and Marlowe's *Doctor*

⁴⁶ S. Massai, 'Invisible Middleton and the Bibliographical Context', S. Gossett (ed.), *Thomas Middleton in Context*, CUP, 2011, pp. 317-324, p. 320.

⁴⁷ L. Munro, 'The early modern repertory and performance today', *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, P. Aebischer and K. Prince (eds.), Cambridge, CUP, 2012, pp. 17-34; p. 33.

Faustus. It is a relatively small, elite group of plays. The second group consists of plays tangential to those in the first group, such as Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* or Webster's *The White Devil*, which are slightly less well-known or often-performed and do not generally appear on course reading lists, at least outside of specialist modules in higher education. These plays are usually considered 'rarely performed'. The third group, which Munro labels the "lost classics" is perhaps the most interesting in terms of this dissertation. The "lost classics", in most cases, are plays that have not been professionally produced—or have been produced very infrequently—since the late seventeenth century. They comprise the largest of the three groups, which retains its size despite the efforts of programmes such as Globe Education's Read Not Dead initiative and the White Bear theatre's "Lost Classics" series. Munro suggests that this is due to the nature of the "lost classic" label: these plays are enticing to us precisely because they are new--or, at least, they can be 'made to seem new'.⁴⁸ Their appeal seems to lie with their novelty, and, as such, they become obsolete almost as soon as they are performed: Munro notes that very few plays are able to break out of the "lost classics" category because if they were to be revived on a regular basis, they would 'cease to be "lost classics"', and therefore their marketability would be diminished.⁴⁹ As such, Munro argues, implicitly or explicitly labelling certain plays as "lost classics" can actually 'serve to reinforce the prominence of the central group of regularly performed plays' rather than to dethrone them.⁵⁰

Although a "lost classic" is by definition under-represented in the theatre, its popularity when it is performed (however short-lived) might be said to lie in the latter part of its label: to suggest that something is a "lost classic" is to suggest that it is, to some degree, a "classic", and to refer to something as a "classic" suggests a certain set of

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 19.

expectations for that work. *OED* defines a classic as: ‘A work of art of recognised and established value [...] A thing which is memorable and a very good example of its kind’; a note on the definition, which distinguishes between ‘classic’ and ‘classical’, suggests the meaning ‘typical, excellent as an example, timeless’.⁵¹ These definitions reflect the colloquial association of ‘a classic’ with something which is not only exceptionally well-written or constructed but *accepted as such* by a community of people. A classic usually conforms to a dominant idea of what a given art form ought to look like. When a “lost classic”, in Munro’s sense, is “discovered” and pitched as such to its audience, then that audience arrives with a certain set of expectations for the play, whether or not they are familiar with its text, because it is expected to meet the same standard which is applied to, say, a work by Shakespeare, Ibsen, or Shaw. This uneasy relationship between the “lost” and the “classic” parts of the play is only exacerbated when it is produced by a company that specialises in early modern theatre: the semiotic frame of a company such as Shakespeare’s Globe in London or the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) in Stratford creates a set of expectations which audience bring with them to the theatre; whether the performance in question confirms or disrupts these expectations, they are still part of the cultural fabric of the theatrical event.

Classics, paradoxically, are valued both for their assumed ability to speak to their contemporaries and for their ability to speak to the present day. “Lost classics”, in some cases, are those plays which spoke to their contemporary cultural moment but are seen to speak less well to the present (cf. *A Game at Chess*). Even when this is not explicitly the case, there can be a sense that certain plays and playwrights are regularly revived because of the intrinsic, universal value of their texts rather than because of the various

⁵¹ ‘classic, adj. and n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, 2015, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/33880?redirectedFrom=classic#eid>, (accessed 1 January 2016).

social, political, and cultural factors at play.⁵² As I will explore below, *The Changeling* has been praised for its “modernity”, which is often cited as one of the reasons to revive it.

Munro’s categories are differently relevant to *The Changeling* in different phases of its life. I will argue in my case study of the Royal Court production that *The Changeling* functioned, to some extent, as a “lost classic” in the context of the 1961 London theatre scene. Since that time, however, it has ascended Munro’s pyramid to the very top and become a staple of the early modern canon and repertory. Margot Heinemann notes that, by 1980, Middleton’s works could be seen ‘freely staged in the theatre, viewed as Plays of the Month, or read aloud in the Sixth Form’; a footnote informs us that *The Changeling* had recently been set as an A-level text.⁵³ Inclusion in the educational system as a set text for national exams tends to solidify a play’s canonical status and ensure that it is edited, printed, staged, and experienced for generations to come. Jeremy Lopez sees a symbiotic relationship between professional theatre and educational institutions. Examining 106 individual plays, Lopez shows that twenty-one have been performed ‘more than ten times between 1887 and the present’ at educational institutions; with one exception, these same plays had all been printed in the *Norton Anthology of Early Modern Drama*.⁵⁴ The conclusion, Lopez argues, is that ‘the most frequently anthologized plays of the twentieth century’—‘the plays that students read and write essays about in university classrooms’—are the same plays that see more frequent stagings in educational contexts over time.⁵⁵

This recycling of the same handful of plays results in the development of an early modern canon adjacent or tangential to Shakespeare’s. Pascale Aebischer and Kathryn

⁵² For an extended examination of this point with regard to Shakespeare, see Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*.

⁵³ M. Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre*, p. 1.

⁵⁴ J. Lopez, ‘The seeds of time: student theatre and the drama of Shakespeare’s contemporaries’, *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, p. 40.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 40.

Prince, whilst celebrating the development of this alternative canon, wonder whether increased popular knowledge of these plays might be something of a double-edged sword: ‘if some early modern plays have now become canonical’, they ask, ‘what does this mean in terms of their ability to serve as counterpoints to Shakespeare that stand in a binary, dialectical relation to the “mainstream”, implicitly conservative, institutionalised Shakespearean canon?’⁵⁶ Although these plays are often positioned in opposition to Shakespeare, we must continuously question and assess the cultural work that they are made to do. I will engage with this issue more directly in my final two case studies, which look at the 2012 *Changeling* at the Young Vic and the 2015 production at the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse (SWP).

Here, Shakespeare studies—and particularly the study of Shakespeare *in performance*—becomes very helpful. Given the long temporal range of Shakespeare as a canonical playwright, scholars and performers have been grappling with how to manage his enormous star power with fresh, innovative takes on the plays for decades. Neill implies that innovation in a performance history occurs when a given play is well-known enough to feel tired: ‘by the 1990s *The Changeling*’s reputation was sufficiently established to generate a series of experimental re-visionings evidently intended to breathe new life into an all-too-familiar classic’.⁵⁷ M.J. Kidnie inverts the same principle in her study of Shakespeare and adaptation, arguing that ‘[t]he more canonical the author and dramatic work are, the more anxiety there is that one might inadvertently or carelessly accept false goods in place of the real thing’.⁵⁸ This tension between the desire for authenticity and authority in the production of canonical texts—in print as well as in performance—and the creative impulse to innovate within a tradition characterises the theatrical life of *The Changeling* in the twenty-first century especially, and will be examined in further detail in

⁵⁶ P. Aebischer and K. Prince, ‘Introduction’, *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, pp. 2-3

⁵⁷ M. Neill, ‘Introduction’, *The Changeling*, pp.vii-xlvi, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁵⁸ M.J. Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, London, Routledge, 2009, p. 23.

the final two case studies.

Here, too, we encounter one of the historiographical and, indeed, practical problems in dealing with early modern plays that did not receive equal scholarly attention with Shakespeare during the eighteenth century, when editorial standards were being developed: the texts, when they are edited, encounter something of a generational gap, whereby contemporary editorial practice is applied but the texts have not benefitted from sustained scholarly attention over a long period of time. This, I argue, is one of the key reasons that early modern plays are sometimes seen as “less than” Shakespeare’s works: there is often an entire century or more of sustained attention to which they were not granted access.⁵⁹ In the case of *The Changeling*, this especially manifests in a lack of appreciation for the intricate relationship between the two plots. Early readings of the play, with a few exceptions, see the madhouse plot as irrelevant and ‘stupid’; Gordon McMullan notes that ‘[n]othing in the actual violence enacted on and off stage seem to offend as these tonal tensions’ between the two plots ‘in their refusal of aesthetic comfort’.⁶⁰ Sustained scholarly attention over the course of two centuries, however, has resulted in a change of opinion, such that the “subplot” is now considered a crucial component of the play.

The nineteenth century saw a flurry of publications, starting with Dilke’s 1814-15 collection of *Old English Plays*, in which *The Changeling* featured in volume IV. It is worth recalling that, despite continuous interest in his collaborative drama since the nineteenth century, Rowley’s plays still have not been collected in a single volume, nor has his canon been firmly established. Most of his singly-authored plays have not seen a

⁵⁹ cf. S. Massai, ‘Invisible Middleton and the Bibliographical Context’. This was not true for all plays and all playwrights, of course; Griswold has shown that Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* was frequently performed and edited in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example.

⁶⁰ S. Schoenbaum, *Middleton’s Tragedies*, p. 147; G. McMullan, ‘*The Changeling* and the dynamics of ugliness’, E. Smith and G.A. Sullivan (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Tragedy*, Cambridge, CUP, 2010, pp. 222-35, p. 224.

new scholarly edition in decades. In contrast, the publications examined in the following section mark a liminal space in between Middleton's obscurity and his renaissance: the nineteenth century represents the first time that an attempt was made to collect and define Middleton's canon, and these publications are significant partly for their lasting influence on future editions of his plays. For example, in his 2006 edition of *The Changeling*, Neill acknowledges a significant debt to and deviation from Dyce's 1840 edition: 'The scene divisions [...] follow those proposed by Dyce and adopted by nearly all subsequent editors—except that I have amalgamated Dyce's III.i and III.ii'.⁶¹ For many of Middleton's plays, including *The Changeling*, these nineteenth-century editions represent the first printing since the seventeenth century.

Lopez argues that Dilke's 1814-15 collection of Middleton's plays is especially significant for its subversion of the traditional organisation of anthologies: 'Dilke's innovation was to subordinate chronology to the figure of the author. [...] Structurally, his collection represented the drama as a succession of authorial styles, where the essential character of a given style was not necessarily connected to the date of any particular work'.⁶² Dyce's collection also included *Women Beware Women, More Dissemblers Besides Women* and *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, all by Middleton, *The Spanish Gypsy*, another Middleton and Rowley collaboration, *A New Wonder, A Woman Never Vext* by Rowley, and *The Thracian Wonder*, a comedy attributed to Rowley and Webster. Dilke is deferential in his preface, conceding to his audience that 'There is no doubt a great inequality in the different writers' represented in his collection and that he is aware that they are 'certainly inferior' to not only Shakespeare, but Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, and Massinger as well; in return, he 'believes that it will be conceded to him, that they

⁶¹ Neill, 'Introduction', p. xlv

⁶² J. Lopez, *Constructing the Canon of Early Modern Drama*, Cambridge, CUP, 2014, p. 5.

have many excellencies in common with those great men'.⁶³ Another twenty-five years would pass before *The Changeling* was printed again: Alexander Dyce's collection of Middleton's plays—the first of its kind—was published in 1840. Until the Oxford Middleton, published in 2007, Dyce's was the only collected works of Middleton. It includes some twenty-one plays as well as various masques, entertainments, and triumphs.⁶⁴

When Havelock Ellis included *The Changeling*, along with about ten other plays, in the "Thomas Middleton" volumes of his 1887 collection *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists*, his publisher, John C. Nimmo, seemed pessimistic about the popularity of the collection, and included a note stating that each volume would be restricted to a limited print run of four hundred copies, plus 120 'fine paper' copies.⁶⁵ This was perhaps an attempt to generate interest in the publication by making it seem exclusive, as well as a tactic to keep costs down in case of poor sales. Nimmo's 'Prospectus' at the end of the eighth volume provides extensive notes on the rationale behind the larger *Elizabethan Dramatists* series, of which Ellis's Middleton collection is part. Importantly for this study, Nimmo notes that '[t]he contributions made to the English drama by Middleton and Shirley are known only to a few; the books have long been out of print'.⁶⁶ Predictably, the publisher also defers to Shakespeare's perceived 'supremacy' in justifying the existence of the series:

To realise the supremacy of Shakespeare we must be acquainted with the writing of his contemporaries. Such masterpieces of *Dr. Faustus*, the *Duchess of Malfi*, and the *Maid's Tragedy* are of the highest value in

⁶³ Dilke, p. vi

⁶⁴ Dyce includes the following plays, in addition to *The Changeling*, in his 1840 collection: *The Phoenix*, *The Family of Love*, *Michelmas Term*, *Your Five Gallants*, *The Mayor of Queenborough* (also known as *Hengist, King of Kent*), *A Mad World My Masters*, *The Old Law*, *The Roaring Girl*, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, *A Fair Quarrel*, *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's*, *The Widow*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, *The Witch*, *The Changeling*, *The Spanish Gypsy*, *Women Beware Women*, *More Dissemblers Besides Women*, *A Game at Chess*, *The World Tossed at Tennis*, and *The Honest Whore*.

⁶⁵ J.C.Nimmo, 'Prospectus', H. Ellis (ed.), *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists*, vol. 8, London, 1887, p. 4

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

preparing the student to appreciate the unique power of *Lear* and *Macbeth* and *Othello*.⁶⁷

The feeling that the series needed to be justified by its value to students of Shakespeare shows how poorly regarded Middleton and his contemporaries were at that time, and how dominant Shakespeare had already become. Despite this, the note on the Middleton volumes asserts confidently that ‘No student of English Drama can afford to neglect the works of Thomas Middleton’.⁶⁸ Middleton’s return to print in the nineteenth century paved the way for his entrance into the literary canon and his return to the professional stage in the twentieth.

Massai notes some of the problems with the publication history of Middleton’s plays in the nineteenth century, however: editions were rife with errors and fell short ‘of the standards associated with the editing of Shakespeare and other non-dramatic early English authors in the period’.⁶⁹ This is perhaps partly because Middleton’s early editors were not always literary or textual scholars: although Dyce and Bullen were literary historians, Ellis, for example, is better known as a ‘sex reformer’ or sexologist. Nicholas Radel suggests that Ellis’s literary interests—including Christopher Marlowe, John Ford, Restif de la Bretonne, and Walt Whitman as well as Middleton—were connected to his medical pursuits through ‘sexual behaviour, sexuality, or ideas about sex [that] were unconventional in relation to the standards of Victorian England’.⁷⁰ Chronology also plays a role, however: Shakespeare’s plays were first collected in what we would consider a scholarly edition by Poet Laureate Nicholas Rowe in 1709, almost 150 years before the first (incomplete) collected Middleton appeared in 1840.⁷¹ Although the Cambridge-

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁸ H. Ellis (ed.), *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: Thomas Middleton*, vol. 1, London, 1887, p. 5.

⁶⁹ S. Massai, ‘Invisible Middleton and the Bibliographical Context’, p. 317.

⁷⁰ N.F. Radel, ‘Havelock Ellis’s Literary Criticism, Canon Formation, and the Heterosexual Shakespeare’, *Journal of Homosexuality*, vol. 56, no. 8, 2009, pp. 1046-70, p. 1047.

⁷¹ G. Egan, *The Struggle for Shakespeare’s Text*, Cambridge, Cambridge, CUP, 2010, p. 6.

Macmillan Shakespeare edition of 1863-66 was ‘the first produced by university-employed scholars using an openly expressed bibliographical methodology’, such standards of editing—the basis of today’s editorial practice—were constantly being re-evaluated and improved upon throughout that period, as Gabriel Egan points out: ‘[t]he intellectual development of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions can be characterized as an increasing regard for historical context and a willingness to undertake systematic comparison of the early editions to ascertain their relative authority’.⁷² Middleton was not being edited in the eighteenth century, and therefore Dilke’s 1814-15 edition puts Middleton (and many of his contemporaries) roughly 100 years behind Shakespeare in terms of any kind of editorial attention.

The result is that the editorial paradigm for early modern plays was developed with and for Shakespeare. Principles that evolved through sustained attention to Shakespeare are often applied wholesale to other playwrights, including Middleton and—when his works are edited at all—Rowley. Gary Taylor acknowledges this problem in his introduction to the Oxford *Middleton*: he justifies the ‘federal’ approach to editing in the collection by arguing that

[...] editorial paradigms based on the unusual conditions of the Shakespeare canon are of limited relevance to Middleton (and many other writers). Rather than simply applying to Middleton modes of editorial practice developed to represent another author, we have sought to present Middleton’s works in the manner most appropriate to their nature.⁷³

Whether Taylor and his editorial team achieved the goal of editing Middleton’s works ‘in the manner most appropriate to their nature’ is a matter of debate, of course, and scholars such as Lukas Erne, Lars Engle and Eric Rasmussen have criticised the

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷³ G. Taylor, ‘How To Use This Book’, *The Collected Works of Thomas Middleton*, OUP, 2007, p. 18.

superficiality of some of the editorial risks taken in the Oxford *Middleton*.⁷⁴ As Engle and Rasmussen also note, the singularity of Taylor and Lavagnino's achievement in the collection makes its lack of a unified editorial framework especially troubling. Since the Oxford is the first and possibly the last complete collection of Middleton's works—as opposed to the variety of ever-updated one-volume Complete Works of Shakespeare—Engle and Rasmussen caution that 'bold variations in editorial presentation within this edition are quite different from bold ventures in the presentation of Shakespeare, because there is no shelf full of editorial sobriety to compare them with'.⁷⁵

Nonetheless, Taylor's point about Middleton's difference from Shakespeare and other writers is an important one for scholars and theatre practitioners alike to consider. For example, Middleton, according to Taylor, is unique in that he 'sometimes moves in and out of verse even within a single speech'.⁷⁶ Taylor's assumption is the general one: that an individual speech and, ideally, each scene or dramatic unit, should be composed in a style that is demonstrably either verse or prose. Indeed, Rokison finds contemporary evidence suggesting that the early moderns themselves adhered to this idea: she cites George Gascoigne's advice, for example, that the poet should 'compose throughout in the same metre' and his criticism of those who 'begin in one metre and fall into another'.⁷⁷ Middleton's habit of mixing poetry and prose or composing ambiguous lines that might or might not be verse does not seem to fit into this framework. Shakespeare's plays, however, almost always do, even as his career progresses and his overall style relaxes. The assumption of blank verse, and the general editorial attempt to apply it, is perhaps part of the reason that *The Changeling* has

⁷⁴ L. Erne, "'Our Other Shakespeare": Thomas Middleton and the Canon', *Modern Philology*, vol.107, no. 3, 2010, pp. 493-505; L. Engle and E. Rasmussen, 'Review Essay: The Oxford Middleton', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2010, pp. 246-261.

⁷⁵ L. Engle and E. Rasmussen, 'Review Essay', p. 251.

⁷⁶ G. Taylor, 'How To Use...', p. 22.

⁷⁷ A. Rokison, *Shakespearean Verse Speaking*, p. 95.

repeatedly been criticised as, in the words of newspaper critic Robert Muller, ‘short on genuine poetry’.⁷⁸

3) Past-Present Tensions

Sources

The context of *The Changeling*’s sources is crucial for my work not only because it creates a foundation for my reading of the play, but also because it serves as a springboard for one of my over-arching arguments. *The Changeling* arose within and directly responds to a complex set of cultural circumstances, and I will argue that many of the play’s perceived stylistic “problems” can be explained by reading it through its milieu. In addition, I suggest that the turbulent circumstances of the play’s writing are inflected within the construction and themes of the play itself, and that its recurrent popularity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is partly attributable to a sense that the play speaks to a chaotic or unstable worldview that is also all-too-familiar in the present, in spirit if not in form.

Although *The Changeling* ‘clearly asks for politicized local readings’ in its responses to contemporary cultural, political, and religious events, the debates underpinning these events have more long-ranging relevance: questions of patriarchal power structures, class conflict, social mobility, and moral ambiguity have not been resolved in the centuries since the play was written.⁷⁹ *The Changeling* has consistently been cited as an extraordinarily ‘modern’ play—and the same assessment holds true whether it is supported by T.S. Eliot in the 1920s, who compared Middleton to Ibsen, or by Joe

⁷⁸ R. Muller, ‘Mary Ure Takes the Plunge’, *Daily Mail*, 22 February 1961. See also, e.g., S. Schoenbaum, *Middleton’s Tragedies*; G. McMullan, ‘*The Changeling* and the dynamics of ugliness’, U. Ellis-Fermor, *The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation*; R.H. Barker, *Thomas Middleton*; R.V. Holdsworth, *Three Jacobean Revenge Tragedies*.

⁷⁹ J. Haber, ‘“I(t) could not choose but follow”: Erotic Login in *The Changeling*’, *Representations*, vol. 81, no. 1, 2003, pp. 79-98, p. 80.

Hill-Gibbins almost a century later, who summed up *The Changeling* as ‘same shit, different day’.⁸⁰ I do not wish to suggest that Middleton and Rowley were necessarily ahead of their time, or should be identified as feminists, or Marxists, or Freudian psychoanalysts; nor do I argue that *The Changeling* inherently supports any of those philosophies. Rather, I argue that their play lends itself to those kinds of readings in a modern context because of its specific but subtle engagement with the cultural circumstances of 1620s London. An understanding of these circumstances is therefore important to my arguments in the ensuing chapters.

Middleton and Rowley completed *The Changeling* extraordinarily quickly in the winter and spring of 1622. Evidence of their speed in writing is provided by the late emergence of some of their key sources. Whilst John Reynolds’ *The Triumph of God’s Revenge*, a main source for the castle plot, was printed in 1621, other sources materialised just months before the play was licensed: Frances Howard, who directly inspired the virginity test episode, was released from the Tower in January 1622, and a secondary source for the castle plot—Leonard Digges’s translation of G. de Cespedes y Meneses’s prose fiction *Gerardo, The Unfortunate Spaniard*—was licensed in March. *The Changeling* was licensed for performance just two months later, in May of 1622, and the celerity of its construction is often cited as evidence of the strong and successful professional relationship between the two playwrights.

John Reynolds’ *The triumphs of God’s revenge against the crying and execrable sinne of (willfull and premeditated) murther* was published in six volumes between 1621 and 1635.⁸¹ The episode in Book 1, History IV describes the downfall of an heiress, her lover, and her husband following the murder of her first-betrothed. Many of the castle plot characters from *The Changeling*—including Alsemero, Beatrice, Deflores, Alonzo,

⁸⁰ J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview, January 2013.

⁸¹ Incidentally, Reynolds was born in Exeter. See J.H. Bryant, ‘John Reynolds of Exeter and His Canon: A Footnote’.

Tomazo, and Diaphanta—appear with their familiar names, but not necessarily in their familiar forms. Although *The Changeling* follows the plot of Reynolds' history relatively closely up to the murder of Alonzo, several significant differences appear after that point. Importantly, Beatrice is still a virgin at her marriage to Alsemero, and Reynolds therefore has no equivalent to *The Changeling's* virginity test/bed trick episode. Instead, as Joost Daalder notes, when Alsemero becomes unreasonably jealous after their wedding, Beatrice *willingly* turns to Deflores as a lover.⁸² Reynolds' Alsemero later discovers Beatrice and Deflores in bed together and kills them. Alsemero here is a much less noble and sympathetic character, and he is punished for his murders equally with Beatrice and Deflores. It is perhaps worth noting that a character called Alibius appears in Book 1, History V—the very next history in Reynolds' sequence—although he bears no other resemblance to Middleton and Rowley's character of the same name.

The Changeling, as Neill and others have noted, also departs from Reynolds in matters of style. Whilst themes of seeing and blindness are common to both, the playwrights made changes that Neill reads as 'mainly prompted by considerations of dramatic economy, by a wish to clarify the moral patterns of the narrative, or by a concern for psychological plausibility'.⁸³ So, for example, where Reynolds' narrative features multiple shifts of geographical location, *The Changeling* constrains itself within the walls of Vermandero's castle, resulting in a 'claustrophobic' feeling that I discuss in more detail below.⁸⁴ Deflores' character represents perhaps the most significant change Middleton and Rowley made to Reynolds' story: in Reynolds, he is of a higher status and more appealing physique than in *The Changeling*, making him a relatively unimportant adulterous accomplice to Beatrice-Joanna rather than a villainous major player.

⁸² J. Daalder, 'Introduction', p. xiii-xiv.

⁸³ M. Neill, 'Introduction', p. xi. I differ from Neill on the final point, that 'psychological plausibility' was a driving factor in Middleton and Rowley's changes Reynolds. I engage with this issue further below.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*; see also B. Boehrer, 'Alsemero's Closet: Privacy and Interiority in *The Changeling*'.

Middleton and Rowley's changes to the characterisation of Deflores allow them to comment upon the dangers of relying on stereotyping and outward appearances: we expect their Deflores to behave immorally because he is ugly and lower-class, but when beautiful, high-born Beatrice-Joanna joins him in mischief, our expectations are subverted and we are asked to re-consider our assumptions about the characters.

Another key source for Middleton and Rowley was the salacious story of Frances Howard, whose husband's divorce trial, and involvement in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury caused a huge scandal in the Jacobean period. Her release from the Tower in January 1622 would have meant that the circumstances of her imprisonment were fresh in the minds of Londoners when *The Changeling* premiered. Howard's life and trials are normally understood as minor, primarily topical sources for *The Changeling* and tied exclusively to the virginity test sequence in Act 4. However, I will suggest, after Judith Haber and David Lindley, that their connections run much deeper.

In 1606, at the age of fourteen, Howard was married to Robert Devereux, the thirteen-year-old future Earl of Essex. They were kept apart and not allowed to consummate the marriage until they reached the age of majority. In 1613, Howard and her family requested an annulment of her marriage with Essex; it is usually assumed that the suit was a direct result of her supposed affair with Robert Carr, the first Earl of Somerset and the King's favourite. Arguing that she had made every attempt to have sexual relations with her husband, but to no avail, divorce was requested on the grounds that her husband was impotent, the marriage had never been consummated, and therefore she had never been truly married to Essex. Unfortunately, the laws of the time required that he publicly declare his impotence in order to support her case, which would have precluded any future marriages on his part. Hoping to preserve his prospects and his reputation, Essex declared that he was very capable of performing sexual acts with any woman except his wife. Rather than verify this claim upon his body,

the court determined that Frances herself should be examined, and the status of her virginity determined. She was declared a virgin by a jury of matrons and midwives. Significantly in relation to *The Changeling*, her request that she be veiled to protect her modesty during the examination fueled rumours that she had hired a substitute—a true virgin—to stand for her. The annulment was eventually granted, largely due to the intervention of James I, who added ‘two judges bound to vote in favour’ to the commission.⁸⁵ Howard and Carr married immediately following the verdict.

A few years later, in 1616, Howard found herself on trial once again, this time for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, her new husband’s trusted advisor and a strong opponent of their marriage (or, rather, of Howard’s divorce). She pleaded guilty to the charges and was imprisoned, with Carr, in the Tower. As noted above, King James pardoned them both and they were subsequently released from prison in January 1622. *The Changeling* was licensed for performance less than five months later.⁸⁶

The virginity test sequence in Act 4 is the most obvious element of *The Changeling* that alludes to Frances Howard’s life and trials. In the course of the scene, Diaphanta agrees to undergo the virginity test before exclaiming, ‘She will not search me? will she? / Like the fore-woman of a female Jury’—a direct reference to Howard’s trial.⁸⁷ Most accounts of Howard’s influence on the playwrights report this scene and leave it at that. There is an argument to be made, however, for a much more abstract relationship between the real-life object of scandal and the fictional ‘fair murderess’.⁸⁸ Haber, for example, suggests that *The Changeling*’s ‘connection with Howard also serves—as the figure of Howard herself did—to localize contemporary fears about

⁸⁵ D. Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, p. 120.

⁸⁶ See M. Neill, ‘Introduction’, p. xxxiii

⁸⁷ sig. F3v

⁸⁸ sig. F1v

women, sexuality, and marriage'.⁸⁹ In his book-length engagement with the trials of Frances Howard, David Lindley also argues that one of the most significant factors in Howard's annulment trial and its subsequent representation 'is the fear of female sexual expression'.⁹⁰ This fear, which Lindley argues 'underlies, unacknowledged, much of the commentary on the divorce', can also be read as one of the underlying, but often unacknowledged, assumptions in Middleton and Rowley's play. I will engage with this issue further in the section on 'Gender, Sex, and Power' below, but an examination of *The Changeling* alongside Howard's divorce and murder trials calls into question Middleton's frequent labeling as a feminist or proto-feminist playwright.

Digges' translation of Cespedes y Meneses's romance *Gerardo, The Unfortunate Spaniard* was identified as 'A Minor Source for *The Changeling*' in 1924 by Bertram Lloyd. Lloyd cites 'three important points, and some minor ones' that were borrowed from de Cespedes y Meneses, including the bed trick, the subsequent fire, and the murder of Diaphanta.⁹¹ In *Gerardo*, Isdaura, 'a ravished lady', persuades her servant to take her place on the wedding night, despite being 'all the while in love with her husband', as in *The Changeling*.⁹² In the source, however, Isdaura has no accomplice in the murder of her servant; she conceives of and sets the fire herself before pushing her servant down a well in the confusion that follows. Neill notes, too, that Middleton and Rowley potentially found inspiration for their version of Deflores in *Gerardo*: Isdaura is raped by a 'Biscayner'—described as an 'old trusty servant'—on the eve of her wedding.⁹³ His language during the scene is eerily similar to Deflores' in *The Changeling*. The Biscayner says:

⁸⁹ J. Haber, '“(t) could not choose but follow’, p. 80.

⁹⁰ D. Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, p. 121.

⁹¹ B. Lloyd, 'A Minor Source of “The Changeling”', *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 19, no. 1, January 1924, pp. 101-102.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ M. Neill, 'Introduction', p. xiii.

This is my torment, the mischiefe and sicknesse that afflicts me; [...] I come therefore, prepared, not to leave this roome, till I have health, by having thee for mine, though it cost me my life [...]. I fear no refusall, since in mine owne will lies the satisfaction of my desire.⁹⁴

Compare this against Deflores' lines in the equivalent scene from *The Changeling*:

I have eas'd you of your trouble, think on't, I'me in pain,
And must be eas'd of you; 'tis a charity. [...] I shall rest from all lovers plagues then,
I live in pain now.⁹⁵

For I place wealth after the heels of pleasure [...] The wealth of all Valencia shall not buy my pleasure from me,
Can you weep Fate from its determined purpose?
So soon may weep me.⁹⁶

Thus, *Gerardo* is clearly more than just a minor source for *The Changeling*; it is intricately interwoven with the play's other sources. It is also significant that the playwrights drew on a Spanish source for their play, since *The Changeling* takes place in Spain and engages with the complicated Anglo-Spanish and Protestant-Catholic politics of the time, including the controversial "Spanish Match".

The Spanish Match emerged among a complex set of political circumstances in Europe in the 1620s, including the Thirty Years War. The years 1618 to 1624 have been identified as climax of a 'crisis' for the English monarchy, and work by Margot Heinemann, A.A. Bromham and Zara Bruzzi, Swapan Chakravorty, Adrian Streete, and many others assesses Middleton's—but not Rowley's—perspective on that crisis.⁹⁷ I take Streete's caution that the term 'crisis' exposes the scholar to 'an accusation of retrospective anachronism'; I also agree, however, with his assessment that 'many living at the time viewed contemporary events in a similar manner'—that is, as a crisis.⁹⁸ *The*

⁹⁴ L. Digges (trans.), *Gerardo, The Unfortunate Spaniard*, pp. 103-104.

⁹⁵ sig. F1r, F1v.

⁹⁶ sig. F1r, F1v.

⁹⁷ M. Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama Under the Early Stuarts*; S. Chakravorty, *Society and Politics in the Plays of Thomas Middleton*; A.A. Bromham and Z. Bruzzi, *The Changeling and the Years of Crisis, 1619-1624: A Hieroglyph of England*. See also D. H. Willson, *King James VI & I* for a more complete history of English politics during this period.

⁹⁸ A. Streete, 'Women Beware Women and Late Jacobean Religious Politics', p. 231.

Changeling's place within that crisis is worth exploring here, as the socio-political climate in which the play emerged is as much a source for its content and themes as any of the literary sources cited above.

It should be no surprise that these were years of turmoil in England: the Thirty Years War kicked off on the Continent in 1618, and James's refusal to send troops to help his Protestant son-in-law the Elector Palatine's cause contributed to an atmosphere of instability and fuelled anti-Catholic sentiment. When the king advocated an alliance between England and Spain in the form of a marriage between his son Charles and the Spanish Infanta as a means of peaceful resolution, Parliament and the people opposed the match. This infamous "Spanish Match" was first proposed in 1616 by the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar. A hefty dowry was promised, which appealed to James because of his difficulties in getting Parliament to grant him funds. At that time, however, the match was impossible because Pope Paul V would not have granted the dispensation necessary for a Catholic princess to marry a Protestant. When Paul V died in 1621, however, James sent emissaries to the new pope, Gregory XV, and procured the promise of a dispensation.⁹⁹

The timing of Paul V's death brought the proposed alliance with Spain back into the public consciousness about a year before *The Changeling* premiered. The ongoing relevance of this issue during the period when Middleton and Rowley were writing and beyond is evidenced by Prince Charles' incognito trip to Spain to woo the Infanta in 1623—a humiliating failure—and by Middleton's last and most successful play, *A Game at Chess*, which premiered in 1624. The play explicitly satirises the relationship between England and Spain during the crisis years; its extraordinary nine-day run and the subsequent reactions of the Spanish Ambassador and the Privy Council shows the

⁹⁹ see D.H. Willson, *James I & VI*, pp. 429-36.

extent to which the issue of Anglo-Spanish relations was still very much ongoing. Decrees against writing or speaking of state affairs issued by James in 1620 and 1621, however, meant that *The Changeling* and other Spanish plays in the early 1620s had to be more cautious.¹⁰⁰

On the subject of religion, most critics have focused on Middleton's Calvinism without considering Rowley's role in creating the moral world of their collaborative drama. This is partly a reflection of the enduring perception of Rowley as the inferior playwright. As I mention above, however, David Nicol's work has shown that Rowley was, in fact, the more senior playwright in the partnership. Nicol argues that Rowley's moral and religious feelings at least as important to an understanding of *The Changeling* as Middleton's, : 'phrases such as "Middleton and Rowley's Beatrice" or "Middleton and Rowley's degraded world" assume that Beatrice and the world view of the play are stable concepts, and that there is no difference in the way the two authors represent them', when in fact the playwrights' different world views are very much reflected in their writings.¹⁰¹ Structuring his analysis around each playwright's handling of "decision points" in *All's Lost by Lust*, *The Spanish Gypsy*, and *The Changeling*, Nicol suggests that Rowley's Pelagian worldview can be seen in his characters' 'struggle to control their passions' before 'knowingly making the wrong choice', whereas Middleton's Calvinism—and particularly the doctrine of predestination—is evident in his characters' apparently inherent goodness or evil.¹⁰² In other words, whilst Middleton's reprobate characters, predestined for hell, cannot help but sin, Rowley's characters choose to sin. The ramifications of that distinction in *The Changeling* are manifest in, appropriately enough, the changefulness of the characters and the slipperiness of its genre: '[t]he

¹⁰⁰ A.A. Bromham and Z. Bruzzi, *The Changeling and the Years of Crisis*, p. 38.

¹⁰¹ D. Nicol, *Middleton and Rowley*, p. 10.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 39, 41.

collision of these different interpretations of truth is one reason why the conclusion of *The Changeling* remains both upbeat and disturbing'.¹⁰³

Nicol's work is unique in its consideration of Rowley's biography and singly-authored works alongside Middleton's. Studies that focus on Middleton individually are far more common. Margot Heinemann was perhaps the first to engage at length with Middleton as a specifically Protestant playwright in her monograph *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama Under the Early Stuarts*. Published in 1980, the book reads Middleton's canon through his connections to 'the growing trends of Parliamentary Puritan criticism and opposition both inside and outside the court'.¹⁰⁴ Taking what would now be identified as a cultural materialist approach, Heinemann argues that Middleton's career took place during a period of enormous cultural change, and that he engaged more directly with these changes than other playwrights of the time. Her work stands as one of the first major studies of Middleton as a political man; most previous book-length work focuses on his poetry and literary value as opposed to his place within the wider context of Jacobean England. In addition, Heinemann makes the important distinction between the radicalised Puritans and the more general reformist Protestant population in the early modern period. She is also one of the first to identify Middleton's attention to class conflict in his plays: comparing him to Balzac, she argues that he 'shows feelingly what the growth of new society meant for those who belonged neither to the old nor the new privileged class'.¹⁰⁵ As a result, the book marks the beginning of a shift in studies of Middleton and early modern drama generally which runs alongside the general scholarly shift away from the New Bibliography/New Criticism model—which focused primarily on evidence contained within a given text—and towards a New Historicist/Cultural Materialist methodology, which prioritised

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁴ M. Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre*, p. viii.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 61.

outward-looking, historically informed analyses. There are significant gaps and flaws in Heinemann's work, largely as the result of speculation and extrapolation from incomplete data. In some cases, as with her assertions about audience demographics and patronage, evidence discovered more recently disproves claims which were more-or-less valid at her time of writing (although her references to an 'evening at the theatre' are a noticeable slip).¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, Heinemann's book offers the first cultural history of Middleton's canon and represents an important contribution to the field.

The Changeling's specific role in the years of crisis is the subject of A.A. Bromham and Zara Bruzzi's study, which arises out of the authors' fascination with the play's 'performability' and powerful effect upon late twentieth-century audiences.¹⁰⁷ Published in 1990—ten years after Heinemann's book and just two years after Richard Eyre's production for the National Theatre—*The Changeling and the Years of Crisis* offers a thorough and detailed examination of the play as a piece of the complex religio-political puzzle of the 1620s. Offering an historical reading of the play 'not as a substitute for, but as a complement to, modern readings', Bromham and Bruzzi consider *The Changeling* specifically as a response to the particular politics of the 1620s that I outline above.¹⁰⁸ Whilst some—including Annabel Patterson—have suggested that Bromham and Bruzzi 'strain credibility' in their characterisation of the play as 'a hostile political allegory of Jacobean foreign and domestic policy', their work is significant for its detailed attention to the politics of the Spanish Match and Anglo-Spanish relations in the 1620s more generally.¹⁰⁹

Swapan Chakravorty, on the other hand, cuts through much of the labelling applied to Middleton and his politics in *Society and Politics in the Plays of Thomas Middleton*

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 10, e.g. (my emphasis).

¹⁰⁷ A.A. Bromham and Z. Bruzzi, *The Changeling and the Years of Crisis*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ A. Patterson, 'Introduction', D. Bruster (ed.), *The Changeling*, G. Taylor and J. Lavagnino (eds.), *The Collected Works of Thomas Middleton*, Oxford, OUP, 2007, pp. 1632-6, p. 1635.

in order to provide a more nuanced understanding of the competing religious identities and political affiliations active in London in the 1620s. Middleton, according to Chakravorty, defies categorisation because his writing is less concerned with '[r]eligio-political causes in themselves' and more interested in 'the vital links and institutions which enshrine or betray these causes with the cultural practices on which they are founded'.¹¹⁰ Rather than seek for 'the controlling presence of an author who has his mind made up', *Society and Politics* presents a playwright whose 'insights were not always explicit or uniform. They were often incipient and discontinuous, and the contradictions they encountered remain visible in the generic puzzles of Middleton's plays, in the startling paradoxes of his dramaturgy'.¹¹¹ Arguing that Middleton's own religio-political sympathies shifted and evolved over the course of his career—often in subtle and surprising ways—Chakravorty advocates a reading of Middleton's canon that acknowledges that instability.

Adrian Streete zooms out from *The Changeling* and even from Middleton himself, using his plays as a kind of archetypal Protestant crisis response. He argues that Middleton's 'late drama demonstrates a broadly Calvinist political response to the religious turmoil of the Jacobean "crisis" years' without speculating upon the playwright's personal beliefs or assigning a moralistic worldview to the plays.¹¹² As Streete points out, the crisis years created a space in which 'the issue of human volition and salvation was now open to debate in a way that it had not been for a significant number of years'; applying this debate to *Women Beware Women*, he argues that the 'fraught religio-political context' of the 1620s also raises issues of 'human will, especially women's will'.¹¹³ We can certainly see the truth of Streete's claim manifest in the scandal

¹¹⁰ S. Chakravorty, *Society and Politics*, p. 14.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² A. Streete, 'Middleton's *Women Beware Women*...', p. 230.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 232.

surrounding Frances Howard and in *The Changeling*, which can be read as an extended meditation on a woman's right to sexual self-determination. I will return to the issues of sex and gender in the play below.

I have spent a significant amount of time engaging with the sources and cultural context for *The Changeling* because its many and varied connections to the circumstances in which it arose serves as a springboard for my entire project. The sense of crisis that infused 1620s London also pervades *The Changeling*, and this, I argue, is one of the reasons that this particular play has enjoyed recurrent popularity in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. I will return to this argument throughout the case studies that follow.

Modernity

The Changeling, despite its topical grounding in 1620s London, offers an intriguing meditation on modernity, since, as I note above, critics seem to read it as “modern” whenever and wherever it is produced or read. The play manages to evoke the *Zeitgeist* of whatever culture it finds itself in, despite the fact that it was written in response to a very specific set of cultural circumstances. It may be useful to note at this point, as well, that *The Changeling* is typically identified as more “early modern” than “Renaissance”—the distinction belonging purely to the current scholarly imagination, which views the people of that time as looking forward to the modern age rather than casting back to Classical antiquity. In this section, I will explore the various definitions of modernity that *The Changeling* has spoken to (or has been made to speak to).

At this point, I return to Neill's assessment of Middleton and Rowley's changes to the history of Beatrice-Joanna and Deflores found in *The Triumph of God's Revenge*. Neill lists ‘a concern for psychological plausibility’ as one of the reasons behind their

decisions in altering aspects of Reynold's prose history.¹¹⁴ The idea that *The Changeling* is a play of unusual psychological depth is one that has been repeated in criticism since at least T.S. Eliot's assertion that it contains 'a stratum of truth permanent in human nature'.¹¹⁵ Critics routinely speak of this play's 'penetrating psychology'.¹¹⁶ Stephen Unwin, in his director's note for the 2007 English Touring Theatre/Nottingham Playhouse production, described *The Changeling* as a play that 'combines tremendous theatricality with great psychological insight', for example.¹¹⁷ I would like to problematise this claim, however, on the grounds that psychological 'plausibility'—which, in drama, often conflates with Stanislavskian psychological realism—would not have been a concern for early modern playwrights; these are not terms that Middleton and Rowley would have had access to, nor are these concepts that would have been priorities for early modern playwrights; indeed, as I explore in the next chapter, the lack of concern with "plausibility" in early modern plays such as *The Changeling* is signalled, partly, by the liberal use of asides. In terms of scholarly criticism and theatrical interpretations alike, the reliance on psychological realism as a benchmark of drama, even in a pre-Freudian and pre-Stanislavskian context, obscures many of the more interesting explanations for the perceived 'modernity' of the play. The section on Identity Politics below outlines some of those alternative readings.

4) Identity Politics

The term "identity politics" typically refers to a form of criticism that emerged in the mid-twentieth century and focused on issues relevant to various marginalised

¹¹⁴ M. Neill, p. xi.

¹¹⁵ T.S. Eliot, 'Thomas Middleton', p. 163.

¹¹⁶ A. Kinney, 'Introduction', p. 621

¹¹⁷ qtd. J. Sanders, 'Review of Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's *The Changeling* (directed by Stephen Unwin) at the Nottingham Playhouse, September-October 2007', *Shakespeare*. vol. 4, no. 1, 2008, pp. 78-81, p. 78.

groups, including women and visible minorities. I will be using it in that sense here, but I would also like to extend it backwards to the seventeenth century. Religious, racial, and cultural identities were enormously important in Jacobean London, as demonstrated by my exploration of *The Changeling's* sources above. In addition, as Ania Loomba points out, '[t]he debates about religious, cultural, and bodily difference during [the early modern] period were profoundly to shape the development of racial thinking over the next 400 years'.¹¹⁸ To this equation I would add gendered and religious thinking. It is therefore important to consider the ways in which *The Changeling* addresses or can be made to address various incarnations of identity politics, both during the early modern period and in the present. I return to this topic particularly in Chapter Two, which deals specifically with issues of gender and race. Here, however, I wish to highlight some of the issues that underscore this entire project.

Gender, Sex, Status, and Power

The Changeling hinges on the sociopolitical structures of the culture in which it emerged, including laws and customs regarding women's bodies and (sexual) autonomy, hierarchical relationships and emergent social mobility. The extent to which various productions and interpretations engage with the cultural assumptions built into the text can provide insight into the culture producing the interpretation. The problematic tendency to read Middleton, especially, as a feminist or a Marxist collapses and elides some of the stickiest parts of his canon. This results in readings of the plays that create more problems than they solve.

Here I would like to take Frances Howard and her divorce and murder trials as an example. As Haber and Lindley rightly point out, there are more parallels between

¹¹⁸ A. Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, OUP, 2002, p. 4.

the real-life scandal and the play than the virginity test and the bed trick (although understanding these episodes in the context of the Howard divorce is crucial to an understanding of *The Changeling*). Broader concerns about the legibility of the female body and a woman's sexual autonomy infuse both *The Changeling*, Howard's real-life drama, and Middleton's and Rowley's canons more broadly.¹¹⁹ It is significant that only one known contemporary source questions the logic of testing Howard's virginity to prove her husband's impotence.¹²⁰ Lindley spends a long section of his introduction applying an historicised understanding of these concerns to the well-known painting of Howard that has often been cited as evidence of her sexual promiscuity and maliciousness, by modern scholars as much as by her contemporaries.¹²¹



Frances, Countess of Somerset
studio of William Larkin
oil on panel, circa 1615

As Lindley points out, however, '[m]any court ladies of unimpeachable moral life were depicted in exactly the same kind' of low-cut dress, and Queen Elizabeth herself was famously described as wearing an open-breasted dress—which revealed her 'somewhat

¹¹⁹ see J. Haber, '“(t) Could Not Choose But Follow”', as well as E. Schafer, 'Introduction', *The Witch*, London, A&C Black, 1994, pp. ix-xxix.

¹²⁰ This lone dissenter is William Terracae, whose notes on the subject are cited in Lindley, p. 115. The original documents can be found in the Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton MS 319, fol. 21v.

¹²¹ see D. Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, pp. 6-11.

wrinkly' bosom—by a French ambassador.¹²² The point is less the revealing dress and more what the gaze of the viewer reads into it.

The treatment of Howard extends to a larger question about Middleton and Rowley's play, and indeed about Middleton and Rowley themselves and the people who read, perform, and interpret their works, in the present day. Several prominent readers of Middleton's canon in particular see it as participating in a kind of proto-feminism, creating exciting, challenging roles for women and publicly questioning the oppressive patriarchal structures of their world.¹²³ This reading of Middleton ignores two crucial points: firstly, that these exciting, challenging roles for women would originally have been played by young men, and, secondly, that these exciting, challenging women are always punished, often to the death, for their opposition to oppressive patriarchal structures. This is not to say that resistance cannot be staged through defeat; rather, it is an attempt to historicise and contextualise *The Changeling* within the frame of a Jacobean world view. Additionally, I want to be clear here that there is a difference between staging a feminist *Changeling* and arguing that *The Changeling* inherently espouses a feminist agenda: the former is a legitimate and often necessary theatrical manipulation of a play that is, in many ways, outdated in its gender politics; the latter is a distortion of history to co-opt Middleton and Rowley to an anachronistic interpretation of societal structures.

The resulting accordion effect can be problematic: it asks us to erase the often unsavoury and always specific cultural circumstances in which the early modern work arose. By commandeering Middleton and Rowley (or Shakespeare, or Dekker, or Ford) for a cause and a world view that is entirely anachronistic to them, we permit ignorance of or a pretense of neutrality toward the problematic social politics their plays represent.

¹²² *ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

¹²³ These include, e.g., director Joe Hill-Gibbins, Gary Taylor, and Joost Daalder.

In the case of *The Changeling* specifically, we have to disregard the masculine closing of ranks at the end of the play, in which Alsemero promises Vermandero ‘a sons [*sic*] duty’, for example.¹²⁴ We also have to forget that Beatrice-Joanna’s virginity is a ‘precious’ commodity that is being bought and sold for her as a matter of course, without her consent, and we have to justify that she is killed—following a scene in which she is repeatedly called a ‘whore’—for her desperate attempts to determine her own sexual partner(s).¹²⁵ Indeed, to read the play as inherently espousing a feminist world-view, we would have to ignore the repeated structural and formal elements—including the entire character of Isabella and the relentless Edenic imagery—that tell us Beatrice is inherently wicked.

At the same time, theatrical performance is not bound by the contents of a text, and making connections between the past and present fosters interest in and drives market value for early modern plays. The most commercially successful productions of Middleton in the past five years have both been modern updates that highlight the plays’ connections to us, update the jokes, and emphasise the presence of familiar issues; these include the RSC’s 2013 *A Mad World My Masters*, which is the first early modern play by someone other than Shakespeare to land an RSC national tour, and the Young Vic’s 2012 *Changeling*, which sold out *both* its runs and was the first modern production of the play to merit a revival. Declan Donnellan, artistic director of Cheek by Jowl, identifies something of the modern spirit in early modern plays’ ‘insouciant disregard for genre’: “‘A really good horror reminds you that you’re not just the victim, you’re also the monster’”.¹²⁶ We can certainly track a tendency in recent years to portray characters as more than simply good or evil in popular culture: consider television programming such as Shonda Rhimes’ *Scandal* and *How to Get Away with Murder*, or Netflix’s *Orange is the*

¹²⁴ sig. I3r

¹²⁵ sig. D3r, H4v

¹²⁶ qtd. in A. Dickson, ‘Of Love and Death’, p. 3

New Black and *House of Cards* (a remake of the BBC original), all of which delight in setting up and then subverting the audience's expectations for how characters will behave and interact. Certainly these old plays and new entertainments like them appeal to audiences in the second decade of the twenty-first century—but how do we navigate the problematic and often outdated cultural assumptions that they make, particularly with regard to women?

Pascale Aebischer addresses this question in her first monograph, *Shakespeare's Violated Bodies*. Aebischer makes use of Lynda Nead's work on obscenity to consider violated bodies in *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*. For example, she contrasts the ways in which the mutilations of Lavinia and Titus himself in *Titus Andronicus* are represented by the play's text:

In a striking contrast with Titus' on-stage hand-amputation, which stresses the act of cruelty and immediate physical suffering of the victim, the tragedy's strategy of withholding the process of Lavinia's dismemberment from view focuses the audience's attention on the *result* of the amputation, the "lopped" figure of Lavinia as a *fait accompli*. As a consequence, mutilated Lavinia is available for interpretation not so much as a suffering subject of violence, but as an object.¹²⁷

Aebischer refers to the disappearance of violence against women from the stage as the 'obscene' or 'ob-scene': drawing from Nead's *The Female Nude*, she articulates the 'raped Lavinia' as 'literally "off, or to one side of the stage"' and 'her mangled, leaking, open body forces into our view "that which is just beyond representation"'.¹²⁸

Kim Solga articulates this problem another way when she asks 'how do we square this work's enormous cultural capital with its profound distance from contemporary attitudes towards social justice and human rights?'¹²⁹ In terms of *The Changeling* specifically, how do we stage Beatrice-Joanna's rape without implicitly ratifying the hugely problematic assumptions that surround it? Solga identifies a

¹²⁷ P. Aebischer, *Shakespeare's Violated Bodies: Stage and Screen Performance*, CUP, 2004, pp. 27-28.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

¹²⁹ K. Solga, *Violence Against Women in Early Modern Performance*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2009, p. 2.

troubling trend in early modern plays and their reproductions on modern stages that turns violence against women into ‘invisible acts’:

The moment in theatre history dominated by Shakespeare's cohort is often described as brutally spectacular. I ask: among its vivid, grotesque representations of bodies, blood, and revenge, how and why does violence against women go so spectacularly missing? What role does early modern England's heady performance culture play in the shaping of this central absence, and what legacies does it leave for theatre makers, theatre scholars, and theatregoers working on its remains now? Can we rehearse the (often indeed spectacular) disappearance of violence against women in early modern performance without reproducing it?¹³⁰

An important example of this disappearance of violence against women comes from the central scene of *The Changeling*, in which Deflores returns from murdering Alonzo and demands Beatrice-Joanna's virginity as his reward. As the scene ends, the audience and characters alike know what is about to happen, but the violent act itself is removed into the discovery space, unlike other forms of violence in the play; Alonzo's murder, for example, takes place right before our eyes. Significantly, Beatrice and Deflores return to the discovery space in the final scene, and their murder-suicide is also enacted in obscurity (although they die in full view of the audience). The ambiguous pain/orgasm sounds that emit from the discovery space as they are killing each other are a powerful echo of the obscured violence against Beatrice earlier in the play, but also problematically suggest that she is complicit in her own violation. Solga skillfully extends these arguments in her more recent article, ‘Staging *The Changeling* Architecturally’, which I discuss in greater detail in the Introduction.

Certainly, staging rape and violence against women as “spectacle” is not the solution; indeed, it may be a fear of portraying these horrific acts as spectacular that keeps these moments ‘ob-scene’ or ‘invisible’ in the modern theatre. Aebischer and Solga remind us, however, that ignoring acts of violence against women—particularly

¹³⁰ *ibid*, p. 1.

whilst centering a drama around male suffering, as in *Titus*—is as problematic as exploiting them for spectacle. Erasing, dehumanising, and/or objectifying violated female bodies in these plays does not solve the problems of representation as articulated by Solga and Aebischer above.

The ideal balance is delicate and difficult to achieve, as evidenced by Kate Lechler's work. Lechler argues that many twentieth- and twenty-first-century productions have attempted to redress the balance of staged and obscured, 'ob-scene' violence by staging Beatrice's rape, either abstractly or—in the case of Terry Hand's 1978 production, especially—explicitly. Although such a move would seem to address the concerns expressed Aebischer and Solga in that they make visible what is hidden by the text—and therefore potentially re-configure Beatrice as a 'subject of violence' rather than an object—Lechler identifies moralising and voyeuristic impulses in this kind of staging. Noting the directorial urge to shift Beatrice's sexual encounters from the obscured discovery space to centre stage, and to stage an increasingly sexually autonomous reading of Beatrice, Lechler suggests that 'in their first two decades on the modern stage, [Middleton's] plays were produced as sexual morality tales—frightening visions of what might happen in a society in which women have sexual agency'.¹³¹ More recent productions have attempted to read Beatrice as sexually autonomous but eschew the 'morality tale' interpretation: according to Joe Hill-Gibbins, who directed the play at the Young Vic in 2012, the play is about the bad things that happen when men try to control women, rather than the bad things that happen when women attempt to control their own destinies.¹³² But can we read and stage these plays without endorsing, on some level, their objectification and subjugation of women—particularly women who stand up to or attempt to subvert their oppressors? Daalder, for example, endorses Hands'

¹³¹ K. Lechler, 'Thomas Middleton in Performance', pp. 41-42.

¹³² J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview.

explicit staging on the grounds that ‘it is offered as a visual sign of what we know she actually does and wishes to do in her unconscious’—a position that I repeatedly refute in this thesis.¹³³ I return to this question again in my chapter on the 1978-79 theatre season and my case study of the Young Vic production.

In the chapters that follow, I draw on the contexts articulated here in order to argue for a different way of thinking about the histories of early modern plays as texts and as performances. The case studies offer a variety of approaches to talking about the history of early modern plays that simultaneously consider their lives as text and as performance at particular moments in time. Although I move away from the seventeenth-century history of *The Changeling* in the rest of this thesis, the background established in the Literature Review provides a grounding for the work that follows.

¹³³ J. Daalder, ‘Introduction’, p. xlii.

Chapter One, Readings and re-readings: the Royal Court, 1961¹

This chapter uses Lucy Munro’s framework for categorising the present-day early modern theatrical repertory as a springboard from which to examine the status of *The Changeling* in 1961.² I argue that the combined work of N.W. Bawcutt’s 1958 edition of the play and Tony Richardson’s 1961 production created a transitional moment for *The Changeling*, kick-starting its journey from relative obscurity to canonical fixture. I suggest that, in 1961, *The Changeling* was beginning to emerge from Munro’s “lost classics” category; these are plays that appeal to theatre producers and audiences precisely ‘because they are obscure’ and therefore ‘can be made to seem “new”’.³ That quality of newness forges the connection between Munro’s framework for the twenty-first century, *The Changeling*, and the early years of the English Stage Company at the Royal Court. Evidence from the production’s prompt book and comments from reviewers suggest that Richardson’s directorial approach to the play was to make it “new”: to take Bawcutt’s 1958 scholarly edition and attempt to make it fit contemporary theatrical expectations.

When they produced *The Changeling* in 1961, the English Stage Company was in a period of transition itself, taking stock of its first five years and attempting to determine a way forward: artistic director George Devine felt at the time that ‘the first statement of the Court has been made, and all sorts of people are looking to me and saying, “What are we going to do next?”’.⁴ Richardson’s production of *The Changeling* at the Court therefore emerged in the context of several (mostly abortive) plans for collaborations

¹ References to primary source materials in this chapter come from holdings at the Bristol Theatre Collection (press cuttings) as well as the English Stage Company/Royal Court Theatre Archive (1934-2007), held in the V&A Department of Theatre and Performance (promptbook, programme, production photos, press cuttings, correspondence, and miscellaneous production files). See bibliography for full catalogue details.

² See literature review for details on Munro’s categorisations.

³ L. Munro, ‘The early modern repertory ...’ p. 34.

⁴ R. Little and E. McLaughlin, *The Royal Court Theatre Inside Out*, London, Oberon, 2007, p. 68. At the time of publication, Little was the literary manager and McLaughlin was an artistic associate for the Court.

and expansions—including a merger with the Old Vic and a regional production-sharing programme—as well as competition with the newly established Royal Shakespeare Company and the nascent National Theatre. In the midst of these changes, The English Stage Company was still trying to establish its identity at the Royal Court. As Court insiders Ruth Little and Emily McLaughlin note, its history and legacy is often as much mythological as factual:

The Royal Court pulses with its own sometimes misremembered history; its stages have been animated by the passions of artists and directors loyal to its competing narratives, as well as by the new impulses which propel those narratives in unexpected directions. It is a theatre of context and is singular in aiming to be of its time and therefore in being constantly in motion.⁵

Little and McLaughlin's assessment is not inconsistent with the characterisation of the Court—since the English Stage Company moved in, at least—as a “writers’ theatre”: a place where new work is prioritised and developed by playwrights, and a place where those same playwrights are constructed as the primary meaning-makers in performance. Writers as diverse as John Osborne, Howard Barker, Caryl Churchill, Sarah Kane, and Martin McDonagh have found success within its walls since the 1950s. Richardson understood *The Changeling* as ‘astonishingly contemporary’, and the 1961 production made adjustments to the play’s text seemingly intended to make it fit the Court’s developing identity—to make it seem more like a new play.⁶

Richardson’s 1956 production of Osborne’s *Look Back in Anger* is often cited as a turning point for the Court, the moment when it stepped into itself and found success. Dan Rebellato has challenged this narrative in *1956 and All That*, arguing for a re-reading of the effects of *Look Back in Anger* and the New Wave drama. More specifically, he suggests that the drama of the pre-*Anger* post-war period should not be ignored, and that there were, in fact, important and interesting things happening on British stages

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ T. Richardson, *The Long Distance Runner: A Memoir*, New York, William Morrow, 1993, p. 133.

before 1956. With Rebellato, I argue that the dominance of *Look Back in Anger* in the Court's history has obscured other, arguably equally important productions happening at the Court in its first ten years, and across Britain during the 1950s and 60s. From the perspective of early modern performance studies, one of these significant productions was the 1961 *Changeling*. Just as Shakespeare's dominance has coloured our understanding of early modern theatrical culture in London, so the emphasis on Osborne's first play and the Court's and Richardson's first big success has shaped our understanding of everything that came before and after it.

“Lost classic”?

Although she writes specifically about productions since 2000, aspects of Munro's framework still apply to this chapter's mid-century, post-war context; or, rather, perhaps the categories she identifies have their roots in the revival of interest in Jacobean plays that began with the post-war educational and social reforms and investments of the 1950s. Indeed, Richardson's interest in plays like *The Changeling* can be traced to his Oxford degree, during which he directed *The Duchess of Malfi*, *King John*, and *Romeo and Juliet* for the Oxford University Dramatic Society and the Experimental Theatre Society.⁷ In an interview with Harriet Devine in 2009, Peter Gill specifically identifies Middleton's plays, including *The Changeling*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, and *Women Beware Women* as 'university boys' plays' that 'belonged', in some way, to Richardson and others working for the English Stage Company who had encountered them whilst pursuing academic degrees. The institutional, educational availability of non-Shakespearean early modern plays such as *The Changeling* accounts, to some extent,

⁷ *ibid.*

for both their preservation since the seventeenth century and for their return to the public consciousness with the expansion of higher education in the post-war period.

Jeremy Lopez, in his study of almost 700 student and amateur productions of early modern plays, argues that academic institutions have played an enormous role in preserving and re-popularising many of the plays that are now considered canonical. He cites the fact that ‘Three-quarters of all the student and amateur productions I have recorded have been produced in the years following World War II’, suggesting a correlation with ‘the massive post-war expansion of higher education’ in Britain.⁸ Indeed, *The Changeling* was revived by university drama societies—most prominently at Oxford and Cambridge—in the 1950s before its return to professional stages. This, too, is a trend in early modern performance history, according to Lopez:

Very often student productions seem to act as the vanguard for what is presented as a triumphant first-ever revival, as when Reading University's *Women Beware Women* scooped the RSC's production of that play by four months in 1962; or when the RSC's now-famous *Roaring Girl* (1983) was closely preceded by two university productions revivals (at Cambridge in 1980 and Royal Holloway in 1982).⁹]

Richardson himself directed an ‘almost-amateur’ production of *The Changeling* in 1954, after his university days but well before its ‘triumphant first-ever revival’ at the Court in 1961.¹⁰ The presentation of these plays as “lost classics” in the professional theatre, then, relies on directors’ knowledge of them in the first place—which, according to Lopez, is most likely the result of their university educations.

In light of this, it is important to consider the ways in which the 1961 *Changeling* was presented to its contemporary audiences. The narrative created around the production certainly attempts to connect *The Changeling* to the Court’s developing identity as a writer’s theatre, the home of new works and up-and-comers, distinct from

⁸ J. Lopez, ‘The seeds of time...’, pp. 38, 39.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁰ T. Richardson, *The Long Distance Runner*, p. 131.

companies doing ‘plays with wigs or plays set in drawing rooms’.¹¹ A key component of the marketing for *The Changeling* was its novelty: the programme, publicity photos, and even reviews all identify Richardson’s production as its first professional staging since the seventeenth century. The programme, for example, emphasises the long gap in the play’s performance history but, curiously, does not mention any of its incarnations in the 1950s—including a BBC Radio adaptation, numerous amateur productions at universities, and the elusive, ‘almost-amateur’ production directed by Richardson in 1954.¹² Instead, it notes in a list of ‘Historical Facts’ that there is ‘No record of professional performances in the eighteenth, nineteenth, or twentieth centuries until the present performance at the Royal Court Theatre’.¹³ The publicity photos, too, each come with a pasted-on notice that states: ‘This is the first Jacobean play to be presented by the English Stage Company and the first professional performance of the play since the 17th [*sic*] century’.¹⁴ This erasure of *The Changeling*’s earlier twentieth-century performance history is a key feature of a “lost classic” text, according to Munro: even where a contemporary performance history (however limited) exists for a play in this category, new productions have a tendency to ‘effectively start from zero, often eliding or simply ignoring any previous productions’.¹⁵ Obscuring an existing performance history can have powerful effects:

The strength of the “lost classic” narrative, and its power to create what Lopez terms “archival elision”, can be seen in the fact that reviews of the National Theatre production of *Dido* [*Queen of Carthage*] in 2009 continued to refer to the play as “rarely performed”, despite the fact that

¹¹ T. Richardson, qtd. P. Roberts, *The Royal Court Theatre and the Modern Stage*, Cambridge, CUP, 1999, p. xiv.

¹² T. Richardson, *The Long-Distance Runner*, p. 131.

¹³ T. Richardson, programme, *The Changeling*, 1961, Ref. No. GB 71 THM/273/7, English Stage Company/Royal Court Theatre Archive, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre Collection, Blythe House, London.

¹⁴ T. Richardson, publicity photos, *The Changeling*, 1961, Ref. No. GB 71 THM/273/7, English Stage Company/Royal Court Theatre Archive, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre Collection, Blythe House, London.

¹⁵ L. Munro, ‘The early modern repertory’, p. 34.

a London theatregoer could have seen it in three of the preceding six years.¹⁶

Of course, more early modern drama was being performed in general in London in 2009 than in 1961, but the comparison is still worth making: like the 2009 *Dido*, the 1961 *Changeling* marketed itself on its newness and leveraged its perceived novelty against star performers and directors, tangential connections to better-known plays, and institutional clout. *The Changeling* starred Mary Ure, for example, who had also played Alison in Richardson's original production of *Look Back in Anger*.

The marketing for the production reveals a conscious effort on the part of the Court to mark Richardson's *Changeling* as something worth attending for its contribution to theatre history, if nothing else. It is constructed as "new" through the publicity's erasure of its amateur and institutional history. Even when the play is acknowledged as 'Jacobean'—and therefore old—in the note attached to the production photos, it is simultaneously announced as a novelty: it may be Jacobean, but it is also the first Jacobean play to be produced by the English Stage Company. This hyper-attention to the significance of Richardson's revival at the moment of production is balanced, however, by a distinct lack of attention to this achievement in subsequent writings on the Court, Richardson, and post-war British drama. Richardson is remembered for *Look Back in Anger* and for his film career more than for bringing a now-canonical Renaissance play back to the professional English stage. The parallel is enhanced by Ure's connection to both productions. As a result, the 1961 *Changeling* becomes a subsidiary of *Look Back in Anger*, inevitably attached and yet always secondary. This is, perhaps, the irony of the "lost classic": it is always-already ancillary, a function of the canon that gives it its appeal and yet still keeps it firmly in the "lost" category. As Munro

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 22.

emphasises, it is enormously difficult for a play to shift itself out of the bottom of her pyramid.

The emphasis on the play’s “newness”—or, rather, the attempts to make it seem new—in the Court’s publicity can also be read as less a genuine excitement at their historic production and more an attempt to make the play “fit” the Court’s developing identity, however. The marketing strategy of focusing on and even overstating the Court’s role in resurrecting *The Changeling* appears to have been successful: almost every review buys into the narrative of a play that was as good as dead for nearly three hundred years before it was saved from obscurity by Richardson and his team. Whether the restoration was for better or for worse—and critical opinions at the time varied widely—the significance of its reappearance was never open to debate. The image of a calculating and canny Richardson choosing *The Changeling* for its history-making potential is disrupted, however, by Philip Roberts’s account of events. Roberts, in his book on the Court’s early history, reveals that *The Changeling* was a space-filler in the 1961 season. Richardson had hoped to direct Osborne’s new play *Luther* that winter, with Albert Finney in the leading role; Finney, however, was not available until the summer, and so Richardson suddenly had to fill a gap in the programming.¹⁷ Richardson knew *The Changeling* already—he had directed it seven years earlier, after all—and obviously had an interest in early modern drama, despite the growing reputation of the Court as a writers’ theatre and a home for new works. By identifying *The Changeling* with newness—as the ‘first Jacobean play to be staged by the English Stage Company’ as well as ‘the first professional performance of the play’ in centuries—the Court was able to mould the play to fit the narrative of the company and the director that had introduced the world to Jimmy Porter and the “angry young man” five years earlier.

¹⁷ P. Roberts, p. 86.

Reading Witnesses

In an effort to understand how the 1961 *Changeling* was conceived, produced, and received, I will examine several types of witnesses: reviews of the production, the theatrical programme and production photographs, and the promptbook.¹⁸ Taken together, these ephemera of performance suggest that Richardson attempted to make the play seem as “realistic” and psychologically consistent as possible. This primarily manifested in choices that established and maintained a fourth wall: for example, as I shall examine in greater detail below, there is evidence that Richardson and his team attempted to cut or re-write the play’s notoriously tricky asides by changing pronouns or cutting lines altogether. Production photos also confirm that Richardson kept the play’s Spanish setting, although he moved the action into the eighteenth century and took the paintings of Francisco de Goya as design inspiration—a choice that would haunt *The Changeling* in performance through the 1990s. Shifting the setting of the play forward by 150 years allowed Richardson and designer Jocelyn Herbert to retain an historical context that maintained the plausibility of certain plot points, including the virginity test and, indeed, the overbearing importance of Beatrice-Joanna’s virginity, which may have seemed unlikely if transposed into a modern time period. The photos also suggest a strong emphasis on the play’s Spanish, and therefore Roman Catholic, context: incense and a very large crucifix are visible in an image of the wedding masque sequence, for example. This choice, too, underlines Richardson’s desire for the production to present *The Changeling* as psychologically consistent, in the Stanislavskian vein, and for the events of its plot to seem convincing and logical for the audience.

¹⁸ These materials are all held at the Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre Collection, Blythe House, London. See bibliography for full details.

Reading the promptbook

The 1961 promptbook for *The Changeling* follows the long-held tradition of tearing pages directly out of a scholarly edition of the play and pasting them onto A4 sheets, allowing plenty of space for note-taking. In this case, the scholarly edition was N.W. Bawcutt's landmark 1958 edition for the Revels Plays. At the time, Bawcutt's was the only serious scholarly edition of the play that made use of the most up-to-date editorial praxis.¹⁹ At first glance, there appear to be very few cuts or changes made to Bawcutt's text for Richardson's production: there are not cuts of entire scenes or characters, for example. I argue, however, that the cumulative effect of the small changes throughout the prompt book add up to a way of approaching *The Changeling* that forces the text to face the long gap in its professional performance history; more specifically, Richardson and his team attempted to make *The Changeling* "fit" both the developing narrative of the Court and their sense of what a modern play should look like by creating subtext in the play. This effort to update the play's text sits uncomfortably with the tension outlined above between the expectations for the play in performance and the play as text.

An important intervention in the 1961 prompt book is its treatment of asides. Richardson cut or changed almost all of the asides, especially in the earlier scenes of the play. In Act 1, Scene 1, for example, most of Beatrice's asides are cut. As a convention, these kinds of lines provide access for the audience to a character's "inner world", usually by verbalising thoughts and feelings that the character speaking wishes to keep hidden from other characters on stage. Traditionally, they place the speaker in a position of confederacy with the audience: Iago and Richard III are commonly cited examples from Shakespeare's canon. The aside is a convention that highlights the theatricality of

¹⁹ cf. S. Massai, 'Invisible Middleton and the Bibliographical Context'.

the performance event and plays deliberately in the metatheatrical space between the character, the actor, and the audience. This is, perhaps, why twentieth- and twenty-first-century actors, directors, and dramaturgs often find them difficult to negotiate; as Bridget Escolme reminds us, in ‘Naturalistic theatre’, the still-dominant mode of Anglophone acting in the West, ‘the relationship between the audience and the fictional character each actor portrays is rarely seen as productive of that figure’s meaning’.²⁰ Rather, such a mode of performance ‘attempts to erase its own theatricality’.²¹ In this context, cutting or altering lines that reveal otherwise unexpressed thoughts and feeling to the audience creates the illusion of subtext in a play written long before such a concept existed in the theatre. As I shall explore in this section, the manufacturing of subtext was a key interpretive element of the 1961 *Changeling*.

For the 1961 production, almost all of the asides were either cut completely or changed such that they could be spoken to the other characters onstage, rather than to the audience. Sometimes, this meant that the lines setting up the aside were also cut or changed, as in this exchange from the first scene of the play:

Ver. A Valencian?
 That’s native, sir; of what name, I beseech you?

Als. Alsemero, sir.

Ver. Alsemero; not the son
 Of John de Alsemero?

Als. The same, sir.

Ver. My best love bids you welcome.

Bea. [*Aside.*]
 He was wont
 To call me so, and then he speaks a most
 Unfeigned truth.

Ver. Oh, sir, I knew your father;

²⁰ B. Escolme, *Talking to the Audience*, p. 5.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 13.

We two were in acquaintance long ago [...]²²

Beatrice's contribution to this exchange, in which she both sets herself up as her father's 'best love' and re-affirms her attraction to Alsemero, was cut in the Royal Court production, such that the scene read as:

Ver. A Valencian?
That's native, sir; of what name, I beseech you?

Als. Alsemero, sir.

Ver. Alsemero; not the son
Of John de Alsemero?

Als. The same, sir.

~~Ver. — My best love bids you welcome.~~

Bea. [*Aside.*]
 ~~He was wont
To call me so, and then he speaks a most
Unfeigned truth.~~

Ver. Oh, sir, I knew your father;
We two were in acquaintance long ago [...]²³

Throughout the promptbook, a number of Beatrice's emotive asides, lines that demonstrate her emotional state to the audience through verbal (in addition to non-verbal) means, are cut as well. Beatrice's lines 'I would fain be rid of him', 'He speaks home', and 'He's bold and I am blamed for't!' in her climactic scene with Deflores are all cut.²⁴ Cut, too, are a number of short soliloquies, including Deflores's speech beginning 'My thoughts are at a banquet for the deed' in Act 3, Scene 4.²⁵ Beatrice's long soliloquy at the top of Act 4 remains, but a number of the more emotive lines are cut,

²² Bawcutt 1.1.168-174

²³ T. Richardson, promptbook, pp. 11-12

²⁴ Bawcutt 3.4.72, 87, 97; T. Richardson, promptbook, pp. 61, 62

²⁵ Bawcutt 3.4.18-20

including ‘Never was bride so fearfully distressed’.²⁶ The scripted ‘Ha!’ assigned to several characters throughout the play (e.g. Isabella at 3.3.118) and Beatrice’s ‘Oh, oh, oh’ from the closet in the final scene are also cut, perhaps because they prescribe a verbal way of expressing emotions or states of being.²⁷ Also changed as a rule are instances of archaic or highly poetic semantics: for example, Beatrice’s line “here’s his closet, / the key left in’t” becomes the more contemporary and pedestrian “Here’s the key left in his closet”.²⁸

Such changes, individually, are not at all uncommon in twentieth-century productions of early modern plays. Taken cumulatively, however, the small changes noted throughout the promptbook add up to a way of approaching *The Changeling* that forces the text to account for the three-hundred-year gap in its performance history; more specifically, the promptbook text creates subtext in the play—and particularly in the castle plot—by cutting or changing asides and emotionally descriptive lines or sounds. Richardson himself described *The Changeling* at the time as “tremendously in tune with the contemporary theatre audience,” and claimed that he was striving to produce a version of it that would “enable the actors to relate the play to their own lives, not to regard it as a remote and holy classic”.²⁹ Richardson’s approach, then, not only contrasts with his critics’ expectations of *The Changeling* discussed above but also illuminates an important part of his vision for the production. The 1961 production was not an attempt to project the present backwards onto the Jacobean—as experiments such as William Poel’s had been several decades earlier—but an example of tugging the Jacobean into the present and asking them to be “our contemporaries”. It is not a coincidence, perhaps, that Jan Kott’s enormously influential—and polarising—work

²⁶ *ibid.*, 4.1.2.

²⁷ *ibid.*, 5.3.138, 140.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 4.1.17-18; T. Richardson, promptbook, p. 7.

²⁹ T. Richardson, ‘Why We Decided to Revive *The Changeling*’, p. 5.

Shakespeare Our Contemporary was published in Poland in 1961 and translated into English just a few years later.³⁰

Curiously, the promptbook shows very few changes to Act 2, Scene 2, one of the most aside-heavy scenes in the play. If Richardson's goal was to update the dialogue and remove most of the asides in order to create subtext, then this scene should show evidence of multiple cuts or changes. As I demonstrate in the Introduction, this scene offers multiple opportunities to interpret through the asides. A feature of this promptbook most evident in Act 3, Scene 4, however, provides a possible clue: because the annotations are mostly made in pencil, it is sometimes possible to see the ghosts of changes made and then retracted during the rehearsal process. In a number of places, the pencil is obviously erased but not entirely gone, and so the promptbook bears witness to earlier stages of its own construction.

³⁰ J. Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, New York, Doubleday, 1964.

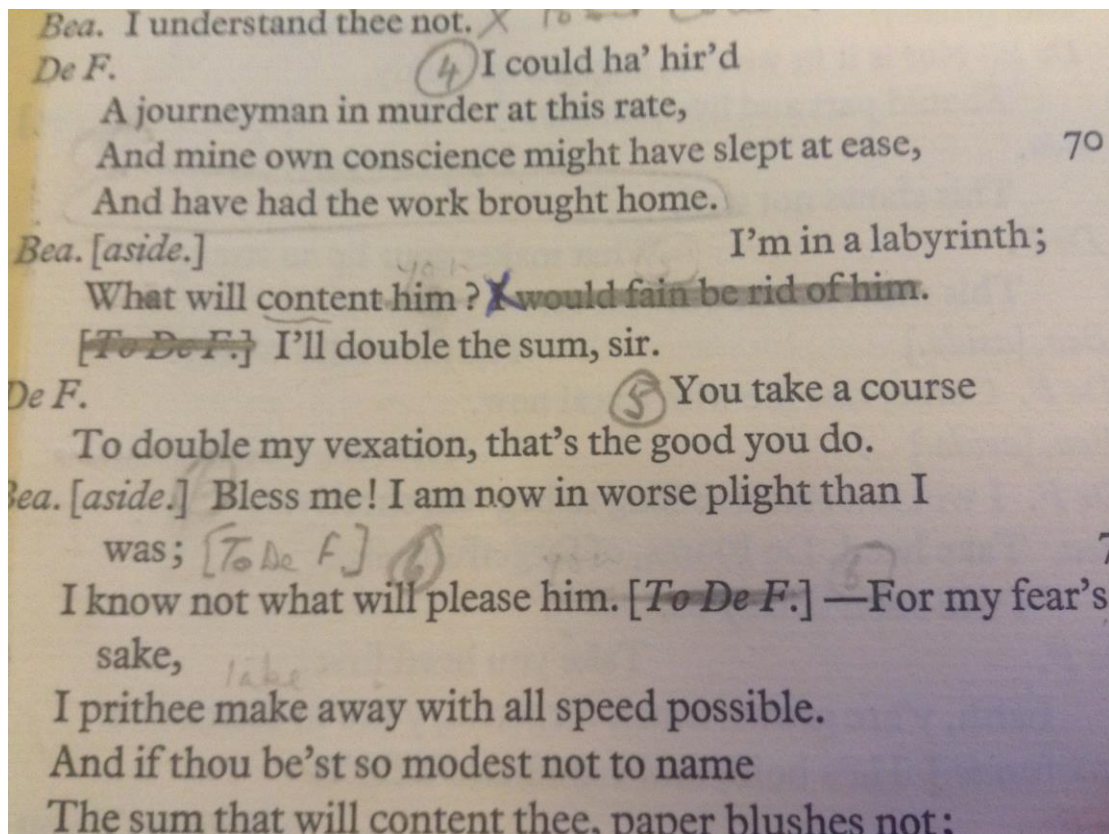


Figure 2: 1961 Royal Court promptbook, p. 61
Barcode 38041810015404, Victoria & Albert Museum
Theatre Collection, Blythe House, London.

As you can (just barely) see in Figure 2, which shows a portion of 3.4, Beatrice's line "I'm in a labyrinth; / What will content him?" was apparently rehearsed, at some point in the process, as "I'm in a labyrinth; / What will content you?".³¹ Further down the same page, "[To De F.]" is added before the line "I know not what will please him"; there is an erased "you" just visible above "him".³² Here, the pronoun change would not remove the aside but merely shorten it, reducing the time spent out of direct dialogue with Deflores to a single line. It is possible, therefore, that additional changes were made and rehearsed in 2.2 as well, before they were erased at a later stage in the process.

³¹ T. Richardson, promptbook p. 61.

³² *ibid.*

Cumulatively, the changes made (and unmade) in the 1961 promptbook suggest an attempt to bring the formal structure of *The Changeling* in line with the perceived modernity of its psychology. In defiance of critics explored below who came to the Royal Court that year to see a rendering of “classical” text, Richardson and his team worked to enable the kind of naturalist performance described by Escolme in a play written before concerns about subtext, character motivations, or super-objectives—the hallmarks of Stanislavski’s system—were part of the theatrical vocabulary. Richardson, here, manipulates the outdated convention of the aside in order to conform to the conventions of his own historical moment.

Reviewing the “lost classic”

Reviews of the 1961 *Changeling* were generally split between an appreciation of the production and a disdain for the play itself. The tendency was to view Richardson’s production as an admirable attempt to salvage a ‘half-masterpiece’.³³ Indeed, *The Changeling* was frequently evaluated by the standards of a ‘masterpiece’ or a ‘classic’ play in the language of the 1961 reviews; it was also, almost uniformly, felt to miss the mark. For example, many critics enthusiastically and pointedly dismantled Lord David Cecil’s specially-commissioned programme note, in which he claimed that *The Changeling* is the greatest English tragedy outside of Shakespeare’s canon. Newspaper critics delighted in tearing the play down, referring to Cecil’s assertion as ‘patently absurd’, ‘a judgment of stupendous silliness’, and ‘like comparing Rattigan to Chekhov or Wesker to Shaw’.³⁴ Richard Findlater, in perhaps the most scathing and creative of these attacks, went so far

³³ J.C. Trewin, review, *Birmingham Post*, 22 Feb. 1961.

³⁴ R. Muller, ‘Mary Ure takes the plunge’, review, *Daily Mail*, 22 Feb. 1961; B. Levin, ‘A Villain to Make You Forget Absurdity’, review, *Spectator*, 22 Feb. 1961; M. Shulman, ‘Horror Takes Over from the Kitchen Sink’, review, *Evening Standard*, 26 Feb. 1961.

as to say that those then developing a plan for a National Theatre should despair if Middleton and Rowley could become a regular part of the repertoire:

Lord David Cecil's Brand X overselling [...] would, if taken too seriously, plunge some of the National Theatre's most devoted adherents into despair: if this is the best we've got to put in it—this weird compost of farce and melodrama, poetry and fustian—then what is the point of trying any longer?³⁵

Refutation of Cecil was typically present even when the critic in question liked the production. Reviews largely praise Herbert's Goya-inspired design and virtually all agreed that actor Robert Shaw gave one of the best performances of his career as Deflores. Comments on Middleton and Rowley's play as distinct from Richardson's production, however, run along a spectrum from complete and often colourful abhorrence (cf. 'weird compost') to grudging appreciation, at least of Middleton's contribution to the drama. Consider, for example, Felix Barker's dubious praise: 'Less [sic] bodies litter the stage than in *Titus*. The revenge is not as sweet as in *Hamlet*. But *The Changeling* is first-rate theatre'.³⁶ That 'first-rate' is obviously and troublingly qualified: *The Changeling*, according to Barker, was first-rate among the second-rates, a contender among those English Renaissance plays written by people other than (and therefore lesser than) Shakespeare. Barker went on to say that '[n]o one would pretend that this dark tragedy of murder and revenge [...] is a masterpiece'.³⁷ This construction reflects Munro's categorisation of the twenty-first century early modern repertoire as well: she classifies *The Changeling*—along with plays such as *Doctor Faustus* and *The Duchess of Malfi*—as part of a group of regularly-performed plays.³⁸ This group is the top of a pyramid subsumed, however, under the larger pyramid of Shakespeare's canon; *The*

³⁵ R. Findlater, review, *Time & Tide*, 9 March 1961.

³⁶ F. Barker, review, *Evening News*, 22 Feb. 1961.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ L. Munro, p. 33

Changeling and plays like it are nudging towards full canonicity, but have not yet broken through the glass ceiling of the First Folio.

The language of ‘masterpieces’ and ‘classics’ was also applied specifically to the performances of Ure and Shaw. In particular, their performances were compared against a vaguely-defined ‘Shakespearean’ standard: A.M. of *The Stage* tells us that the play ‘demands a cast of Shakespearean quality’, for example.³⁹ In general, Ure’s performance as Beatrice did not rise to this standard in the eyes of the press; Shaw, however, was almost unanimously praised for his work. Part of the difference, as I explore in more detail in the next chapter, has to do with the male gaze of the reviewers: *The Daily Mail* review is actually titled ‘Mary Ure takes the plunge’, in reference to the V-neck dress she wore in the role.⁴⁰ As tempting as it may be to blame the notorious bias of *The Daily Mail* for this kind of misogyny, a number of other reviews also made Ure’s dress the centre of their critiques; the *Plays and Players* review complains that Ure’s breasts ‘seem to have attracted more attention from some observers than the flights of Middleton’s poetry’, and the John O’London’s review suggests that Ure ‘has become an actress in spite of those good looks’.⁴¹

The depth of her plunging neckline was not the only notable feature of Ure’s performance, however. A number of reviews comment on the quality of her voice: Robert Muller finds ‘her physiognomy and the timbre of her voice too modern for classical roles’, and Bernard Levin suggests that she ‘only needs to rid her speaking of its artificially doubled consonants (she has almost got the vowels right) to be a proper foil for Mr. Shaw’.⁴² Others complain that Ure ‘has not quite the power for Beatrice’, is

³⁹ A.M., review, *Stage*, 23 Feb. 1961.

⁴⁰ see L. Mulvey, ‘Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema’, *Screen*, vol. 16, no. 3, 1975, pp. 6-18; R. Muller, 22 February 1961.

⁴¹ ‘The Changeling’, review, *Plays and Players*, April 1961; *John O’London’s*, review, 9 March 1961.

⁴² R. Muller, 22 February 1961; B. Levin, 22 February 1961.

‘oddly pallid’, and ‘has not the vowels nor yet the inflections to declaim a classic’.⁴³ To Kenneth Tynan, she resembles ‘a meringue miscast as a hamburger’.⁴⁴ By contrast, Shaw’s Deflores was considered a triumph. Critics almost unanimously praise his performance in the role, with some going as far as to suggest that he ‘has done nothing better’.⁴⁵ Levin characterises his speech as ‘of an almost Gielgudesque clarity and thoughtfulness’; for Muller, he ‘invests de Flores with the required passion and dark strength’.⁴⁶ He was considered ‘magnificent’ in the role for whom ‘the play’s intrigue exists’; his Deflores was hailed as ‘one of the most interesting and persistent villains in the whole history of the theatre’.⁴⁷ When compared with the commentary on Ure’s performance, Shaw’s appearance—despite Deflores’ facial disfigurement—and vocal quality garner much less attention.

The tension between dramatic text and performance rears its head here, too: Tynan tells us that ‘[t]he sub-plot in the mad-house comes off surprisingly well’, for example, indicating that he expected it to ‘come off’ not-so-well.⁴⁸ Levin dismisses the text as ‘little better than a tissue of absurdities’ but acknowledges that, ‘[p]layed, it is a great deal better’.⁴⁹ Several others praise Zoë Caldwell’s performance as Isabella for its ‘exceptional attack and sting’; some even wish that Caldwell and Ure had ‘switched parts’, suggesting that Caldwell’s performance may have been more in line with what critics expected of a “classical” performance than Ure’s.⁵⁰

Given that the 1961 production was advertised as the first professional production of *The Changeling* since the seventeenth century, it is incredible that reviewers

⁴³ Review, *Vanity Fair*, May 1961; Review, *Illustrated London News*, 4 March 1961; *John O’London’s*, 9 March 1961.

⁴⁴ K. Tynan, review, *Observer*, 26 February 1961.

⁴⁵ B. Levin, 22 February 1961.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*; R. Muller, 22 February 1961.

⁴⁷ R. Muller, 22 February 1961; Review, *Drama*, Summer 1961; E. Gillett, review, *Yorkshire Post*, 22 February 1961.

⁴⁸ K. Tynan, 26 February 1961

⁴⁹ B. Levin, 22 February 1961.

⁵⁰ Review, *The Queen*, 15 March 1961; Review, *Illustrated London News*, 4 March 1961.

should have had such a keenly-developed sense of how Beatrice and Deflores ought to be performed. Muller praises Shaw's performance for having the 'required passion', and *Vanity Fair* complains that Ure 'has not the power for Beatrice', for example.⁵¹ Levin's favourable comparison of Shaw and Gielgud is telling in this respect: the specific references to performances of particular characters in *The Changeling* are tied to a broader sense of what a "classic" or "Shakespearean" play should do on stage. This is a key reason that "lost classics" can 'actually serve to reinforce the prominence of the central group of regularly performed plays', according to Munro: they may fail to live up to the imagined, constructed standards of the "classic" portion of their category in performance, and this failure buttresses their status as inferior to the established canon.⁵²

The critiques of Ure and Shaw's performances appear to stem from this nebulous but nonetheless powerful sense of what a "classical" performance ought to look like. The reviews reveal a tension between the expectation that directors and actors will treat early modern plays like *The Changeling* as classics and the sense that those same plays do not merit inclusion in the canon because they are aesthetically inferior to Shakespeare. This tension is expressed succinctly by the very name of Munro's "lost classics" category: although their appeal lies in the fact that they can be presented as "new", they are still, to some extent, perceived as "classics", and therefore they are liable to be held to the same standards of performance and interpretation as other classics. The question of what constitutes a "classic" text—especially as distinct from a canonical text—is under-theorised; this gap perhaps explains why the expectations placed on *The Changeling* by critics in 1961 were simultaneously truly held and undefined. Indeed, often the necessary components of a classical performance are defined by their absence: Ure's

⁵¹ R. Muller, 22 February 1961; *Vanity Fair*, May 1961. Emphases mine.

⁵² L. Munro, p. 19.

vowels and inflections, according to *John O'London's* are 'not yet' developed enough 'to declaim a classic', but precisely what would have to change about her vowels and inflections in order to make her work worthy a classic is left unsaid—perhaps received pronunciation is implied, given Ure's Scottish origins.⁵³

In addition, even as Ure and Shaw's performances were held up to the slippery standards of classical performance, *The Changeling* itself was not valued as a classic text. Barker's review, for example, grapples implicitly with this very problem. After lambasting theatre managers as 'cowards [...] clinging to Mother Shakespeare's apron strings' and lamenting that *The Changeling* 'had to wait until [1961] for its first professional revival in London for 250 years', he goes on to undermine his own campaign for non-Shakespearean playwrights by revealing his rather lukewarm opinion of the play itself, as I note above: '[n]o one would pretend that this dark tragedy of murder and revenge by Thomas Middleton and William Rowley is a masterpiece'.⁵⁴ As I have examined here, however, a great number of critics actually do 'pretend' that *The Changeling* is a 'masterpiece', and hold it to the standards of Shakespeare in performance. This perplexing tension between assertions that the play is not worthy of being included in the canon and treated as a classic on the one hand, and expectations that the play will be staged and performed like a canonical, classical work (in this case, like Shakespeare) on the other hand is not easily reconciled.

Perhaps part of the problem arises from the hybrid construction of *The Changeling* as a dramatic text. The few responses to the 1961 production that attempt to praise the play's construction and characterisation have mixed feelings about the madhouse plot. In general, Middleton is understood to be the superior playwright, the

⁵³*John O'London's*, 9 March 1961.

⁵⁴F. Barker, 22 Feb. 1961.

‘genius’, in Cecil’s words, who instructed the inferior Rowley.⁵⁵ Despite the fact that both playwrights are named in the publicity material for the production, all of the programme notes and newspaper reviews seem to consider Middleton as the auteur of the play. The scholarly quotations included in the theatrical programme all shift the focus away from Rowley and onto Middleton. The page titled ‘Historical Facts’, for example, offers a brief biography of Middleton and a potted performance history of the play, but does not mention Rowley at all. Cecil’s commissioned programme note only barely acknowledges that the play has a co-author: he writes of ‘the fierce light of Middleton’s imagination’ and frames the madhouse plot in terms of ‘Middleton’s genius’.⁵⁶ He tells us that the play’s theme of ‘the sublime and terrible workings of Divine justice’ is ‘echoed fantastically in the sub-plot’, but he never mentions Rowley by name.⁵⁷ Newspaper reviewers are similarly dismissive of Rowley and his contributions to the play. Muller even implies single authorship in the punctuation of his review, noting that Richardson ‘has advanced the action 150 years after the playwright’s death’ (singular) as opposed to 150 years after the playwrights’ deaths (plural).⁵⁸ Many others are sympathetic to the view expressed in the *Illustrated London News* that the ‘unluck[y]’ madhouse plot ‘droops wearily from the past’.⁵⁹ Almost without exception, the reviews focus on Rowley’s construction of the madhouse plot without acknowledging his work on the castle plot, and his contributions are seen as vastly inferior to Middleton. As I cover in my Literature Review (and as I note in later chapters) this stratification of Middleton and Rowley continues to the present day, despite the work of David Nicol

⁵⁵ T. Richardson, programme.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *ibid.* Cecil’s use of ‘fantastically’ in this case should be understood as “fancifully” or “removed from reality” rather than “excellently”.

⁵⁸ R. Muller, 22 February 1961.

⁵⁹ Review, 4 March 1961.

and others to rehabilitate Rowley's reputation and show that he, not Middleton, was the more senior member of the partnership.

Conclusions

The 1961 *Changeling* represents a crucial turning point in the play's history: its official return to the professional stage. More than that, however, Richardson's production and its reception established many of the interpretations and stylistic choices that would become an integral part of the play's performance tradition in the years to come. Richardson's emphasis on *The Changeling's* modernity—possibly motivated by a desire to make it “fit” the emerging narrative of the Royal Court—manifested itself most obviously in his treatment of the text and, more specifically, the asides. Newspaper critics, however, came to the Court in 1961 expecting to see a “classic” play. This tension between the expectations placed on a “classic” and the desire to make old plays ‘seem new’ is a key component of Lucy Munro's “lost classics” model, which, I argue, very much applies to *The Changeling* in 1961.

The play would have to wait seventeen years for its next major production, although a number of smaller professional and amateur productions dotted the interim. It is perhaps worth noting that the first New Mermaids edition of *The Changeling*, edited by Patricia Thomson, emerged in 1964, very shortly after Richardson's production—indeed, a number of new editions were published between 1961 and 1970.⁶⁰ This new interest in the play was influenced, certainly, by both Bawcutt's landmark 1958 edition and the 1961 production. When the play returned to the U.K.'s most prominent stages in 1978, it appeared in no less than five professional productions and was added to the A-level curriculum.

⁶⁰ See Appendix.

Chapter Two, Political *Changelings*: 1978-79 and 1988

This chapter will explore the relationship of *The Changeling*—and the early modern canon more broadly—to the rise of identity politics and the “crisis” in English studies during the socially and politically fraught Thatcher years, framed by productions in 1978-79 and 1988. We can see these two theatrical seasons as bookending a period of extraordinary growth and innovation in Shakespeare studies particularly, and the humanities more broadly, which has contributed to the labelling of these decades as part of the “culture wars” and “canon wars” of the late twentieth century.¹ English translations of Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, and others began to arrive in the late 1970s, transforming critical approaches to literature, and the 1980s saw the rise of two new critical approaches championed by Shakespeare studies: Cultural Materialism in Britain and New Historicism in the United States. Out of these movements came landmark texts such as Jonathan Dollimore’s *Radical Tragedy* (1984), Dollimore and Alan Sinfield’s *Political Shakespeare* (1985), John Drakakis’s *Alternative Shakespeares* (1985), and Graham Holderness’s *The Shakespeare Myth* (1988).² At the same time, the influence of J.L. Styan’s *The Shakespeare Revolution* (1977), which called for greater attention to performance in the study of Shakespeare, was beginning to be felt.

These were also decades of increased awareness of oppression against women and visible ethnic minorities. The “sexual revolution” of the 1960s had crystallised into a more formal political movement now known as the second wave of feminism. This shift was reflected in education as well: students attending the University of Kent could pursue an MA in Women’s Studies from 1980; the first undergraduate programmes in

¹ see, e.g., E.A. Chambers (ed.), *Contemporary Themes in Humanities Higher Education*, London, Springer Science + Business Media, 2001.

² J. Dollimore and A. Sinfield (eds.), *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1985; J. Drakakis (ed.), *Alternative Shakespeares*, London, Routledge, 1985; J. Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1984; G. Holderness, *The Shakespeare Myth*, Manchester, MUP, 1988.

the field had emerged in the US about ten years earlier. Whilst Paul Gilroy argued in 1987 that ‘the marginalization of “race” and racism has persisted even where cultural studies have identified themselves with socialist and feminist political aspirations’, Colin Chambers more recently observed that, ‘[b]eginning in the last decades of the twentieth century, black studies became a recognizable academic discipline that overlapped with developments in other related fields, such as identity studies (notably concerning the meaning of race and ethnicity) and post-colonial studies’.³ Still, the very need for specialist areas of study demonstrates that sex- and race-based discrimination was still prevalent. The 1980s in particular were also marked by unusually high numbers of riots in the U.K., which often erupted following a clash between young blacks and the mostly white police force. These included riots in St. Paul’s, Bristol (1980), Handsworth, Birmingham (1980, 1981, 1985), Brixton, Lambeth (1981, 1985), Toxteth, Liverpool (1981, 1985), Moss Side, Manchester (1981), and Chapeltown, Leeds (1981, 1987). By the latter half of the decade, South African Apartheid was ‘in its dying days’, the Cold War was coming to an end, and identity politics were emerging as serious areas of study, but prejudices and discrimination persisted: director Richard Eyre was filming for the BBC in Wales in 1986, where an ex-Labour peer told him, ‘I saw your *Guys and Dolls* three times. Wonderful. But last time you had a black man in the cast. Quite unacceptable’.⁴

It is not a coincidence that, at the same time, Thatcherism and Reaganomics—the beginnings of what we would now term neoliberalism—were gaining power, ushering in an age of unprecedented wealth and prosperity for some, but also increasing financial disparity. The top and bottom tiers of society edged farther and farther apart as

³ P. Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: the cultural politics of race and nation*, London, Routledge, 1987, p.12; C. Chambers, *Black and Asian Theatre in Britain: A History*, London, Routledge, 2006, p. 2.

⁴ Barker, Roberta and David Nicol. ‘Does Beatrice-Joanna have a subtext?’; Eyre, Richard. *Utopia and Other Places*. London: Vintage, 1994. p. 187.

social and cultural programmes were denied state funding and privatisation was touted as a catch-all solution to economic instability. Jane Milling notes that in 1979, when Margaret Thatcher was elected, unemployment was at 1.4 million; ‘by 1982’, however, ‘it was more than three million and stayed at that level until 1987’.⁵ Milling attributes the lack of progress in this area throughout the ‘80s to ‘economic recession, high inflation, and industrial restructuring’.⁶ More and more frequently, financial distinctions were drawn along lines of race. Richard Vinen observes that ‘over half of people drawing supplementary benefits in Handsworth [in the early 1980s] were from ethnic minorities’.⁷ By 1989, E. Ellis Cashmore had articulated a trend over the preceding decade that ‘validated’ inequality ‘as something necessary to a society’s health and growth’.⁸ And, as Diana E. Henderson points out, ‘Interest in the working class was no longer confined to angry young men, as the rise of socialist female playwrights and feminist collective theatre in the 1970s had made clear’; I would add the establishment of theatre companies by and for artists from ethnic minority backgrounds such as Tara Arts (1977) and Talawa (1986) to the dethroning of the angry young (white) man that Henderson articulates.⁹ As I shall examine in more detail below, *The Changeling’s* built-in critique of class structures made it particularly resonant in Thatcher’s Britain.

I argue in this chapter that *The Changeling’s* status as an emerging classic, moving rapidly up Munro’s pyramid during the Thatcher years, makes it an especially interesting lens through which to view this socially and politically turbulent period. As the academic institution of Shakespeare studies encountered its biggest shake-up in decades and professional theatres and other arts organisations faced severe funding cuts, plays like

⁵ J. Milling, *Modern British Playwriting: the 1980s*, London, Methuen, 2012, p. 4.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ R. Vinen, *Thatcher’s Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the Thatcher Era*, London, Simon & Schuster, 2009, p. 131.

⁸ E. Ellis Cashmore, *United Kingdom? Class, Race and Gender Since the War*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989, p. 2.

⁹ D.E. Henderson, ‘Afterlives: Stages and Beyond’, S. Gossett (ed.), *Thomas Middleton in Context*, Cambridge, CUP, 2011, pp. 225-35, p. 231.

The Changeling received renewed attention. Were practitioners and academics using early modern plays beyond Shakespeare in order to speak back to the ‘implicitly conservative’ canon, or were they, paradoxically, subsuming these plays within that canon?¹⁰ The attraction to these plays may have been entirely pragmatic: they do not require royalty payments to their long-dead playwrights, and they often offer dynamic leading roles for women. On the other hand, the “Jacobean” aesthetic, as described by Susan Bennett, may have appealed to practitioners looking for ways to comment upon the ’70s and ’80s *Zeitgeist*:

its aesthetic use most commonly [...] is a denotation of (moral) decay, excess and violence—deficiencies we also find in our contemporary moment and for which this past can apparently give expression and meaning.¹¹

In the 1978-79 season particularly, several critics did comment upon the appropriateness of *The Changeling*’s depictions of high-level corruption, class conflict, and lust to a year rocked by wage caps, inflation, and strikes: the winter of 1978-79 was later termed The Winter of Discontent as a result of its ‘bitter and intense industrial disputes’.¹² Stephen Dixon of the *Guardian* felt that ‘the analogies’ between *The Changeling* and 1978 Manchester were ‘obvious—particularly when we look at recent headlines’.¹³ Then again, Sheridan Morley, writing for *Punch* in the same week, said that the reasons for *The Changeling*’s sudden popularity were ‘not entirely clear to [him]’, and he could think of no other reason for its revival ‘than that it reached the top of a number of directors’ lists of neglected classics simultaneously’.¹⁴ Of course, both Dixon and Morely wrote from particular political and ideological points of view, and within the contexts of their particular publications. Still, their differing views on the ‘year of *The Changeling*’ reflect a

¹⁰ P. Aebischer and K. Prince, ‘Introduction’, p. 3.

¹¹ S. Bennett, *Performing Nostalgia*, p. 82

¹² ‘Winter of Discontent: 30 Years On’, *BBC News*, [website] 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/7598647.stm>, (accessed 12 August 2015).

¹³ S. Dixon, ‘*Changeling*’, *Guardian*, 27 October 1978.

¹⁴ S. Morley, ‘Second Sight’, *Punch*, 25 October 1978.

divide in the reviews of that year between London and the rest of the country: as I discuss in more detail below, critics operating outside of London were more likely to see political resonances between the content of *The Changeling* and Britain in 1978-79. In many ways, the reasons for the sudden flurry of productions of this particular play are still unclear. Contemporary movements in politics, academia, and the professional theatre, however, may provide some insight.

This chapter will also emphasise the status of newspaper reviews as critical components of the theatrical archive, and therefore collaborators in the creation of performance history. As my work with the 1978-79 season will show, reviews often offer the only insight into a production that is not otherwise archived. This is true in the absences of a promptbook and detailed programme, as well as when a promptbook is present but only lightly annotated. As Paul Prescott puts it in *Reviewing Shakespeare*,

Many of Shakespeare's plays end with the promise of continued conversation. For the last two and half centuries, newspaper reviews have been a vital part of that conversation and have played a key role in the collective experience of theatregoing and theatre-talking. Of all the textual inscriptions of performance, journalistic reviews are both the most widely circulated and the most influentially constitutive of memory and value.¹⁵

In addition to their roles in the contemporary moment of any given production, then, reviews also provide future theatregoers and scholars with access to that production, through the mediating lens of the critic's own biases and literary/theatrical knowledge, as well as the political spin of their host newspaper, journal, or (more recently) website. Reviews reveal as much as create popular perceptions of particular plays and productions of those plays—and of the creatives involved in producing them—making them key texts in the history of performance.

¹⁵ P. Prescott, *Reviewing Shakespeare: Journalism and Performance from the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Cambridge, CUP, 2013, p. 4.

It is worth noting that *The Changeling* was not the only early modern play to garner renewed interest in the late '70s and early '80s, although no other play saw so many productions in a single theatrical season.¹⁶ Between 1975 and 1990, plays such as Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Middleton's *Women Beware Women*, and John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The White Devil* saw an upsurge in popularity on major professional stages; these decades also saw the first professional revivals of plays such as Middleton and Thomas Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* and Dekker, Rowley, and John Ford's *The Witch of Edmonton* since the seventeenth century. *Doctor Faustus*, by far the most popular early modern play beyond Shakespeare's canon, was performed at least annually between 1974 and 1984, including productions by the Manchester Royal Exchange (1981), Nottingham Playhouse (1983), and the Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh (1984). *The Changeling* alone saw an additional six productions by minor companies between 1984 and 1986. Clearly, then, early modern plays beyond Shakespeare held a special appeal for the professional theatre in the 1970s and 80s.

In one sense, renewed interest in Middleton, Rowley, Webster, Dekker, and others in the late twentieth century does seem a logical extension of the "crisis" in the Humanities, in that it created space for a wider variety of voices that had previously been marginalised by the existing infrastructure of the academic and theatrical institutions—albeit still largely white, male voices. Plays like *The Changeling*, *Women Beware Women* (Royal Court 1980) and *The Roaring Girl* (RSC 1983) offer dynamic leading roles for women, for example. Productions such as Trevor Nunn's 1966 RSC *Revenger's Tragedy*—an early example of this mindset—present an aesthetic that feeds into the popular image of these "alternative" playwrights as edgy, rebellious, and modern. Where

¹⁶ For the details of this paragraph, I have relied upon Karin Brown's excellent list of 'Professional productions of early modern drama in the UK and USA, 1960-2010' in *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, pp. 178-217.

Shakespeare was used to ‘provide a stable and reliably commercial foundation’ for theatres during the Thatcher years, plays such as *The Changeling*, which cannot boast the same commercial reliability, offered a way of safely, conservatively broadening the canon, providing a critique of the Shakespearean paradigm and indulging the desire for a “Jacobean” aesthetic whilst still remaining very much within the realm of classic, white-male-dominated literature. They, with Shakespeare, functioned as a vehicle for nostalgia in Bennett’s sense, a hearkening back to an idealised version of the early modern theatre, with its popular appeal, political impetus, and generous (if essentially private) funding. This image of the distant past also provided a reminder of the not-so-distant past: a nostalgia-tinted ‘idea of the lost radical, left-wing alternative theatre of the 1970s’.¹⁷

‘The year of *The Changeling*’: the 1978-79 theatre season¹⁸

The 1978/79 theatre season saw no less than five professional productions of *The Changeling*, an unprecedented and unmatched number. These included: Peter Gill’s production for Riverside Studios, which opened on 5 September 1978; Terry Hands’ production for the RSC at the Aldwych, which opened in October 1978; Adrian Noble’s production for the Bristol Old Vic, which opened on 25 October 1978; Richard Williams’ production for Contact Theatre at the University Theatre, Manchester, which also opened on 25 October; and Kate Crutchley’s production for the Victoria Theatre, Stoke-on-Trent, which opened on 7 March 1979. Since Michael Scott’s critical history of *The Changeling*, published in 1989, a sixth production has been included in this list of professional productions in the 1978-79 season: Susan Hamlyn’s production for Match Theatre at the Midland Arts Centre (mac), Birmingham, which opened on 19 June 1979. Hamlyn’s production has been included in virtually every performance history of *The*

¹⁷ J. Milling, *Modern British Playwriting: the 1980s*, p. 33.

¹⁸ S. Morley, ‘Second Sight’, *Punch*, 25 October 1978.

Changeling since, though without her name attached to it, including Neill's introduction to his 2006 New Mermaids edition of the play and Karin Brown's list of professional productions since 1960 in *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*.¹⁹

I was curious, however, about the complete lack of archival materials on this Birmingham *Changeling*. A search with staff at the Library of Birmingham turned up no records of the performance ever having taken place; the mac itself does not have records from that period to hand. By appealing to the Standing Consortium of University Drama Departments (SCUDD) listserv for help, I was connected with Professor David Ian Rabey, who had seen the production in 1979 because his friend, Arthur Butterworth, was playing Deflores. He was able to provide some recollections of the production along with a copy of the programme, from which I learned the names of the director and her cast and crew. A Google search brought me to Hamlyn herself, who is now the Director of *The Good Schools Guide* Advice Service. She expressed surprise that her production had been remembered at all, and informed me that the various citations are erroneous: hers was an amateur production, and, indeed, Match Theatre was an amateur company run out of mac's Matchbox studio.²⁰ Hamlyn describes the company as "amateur" based on the self-definition of the company and on the fact that none of the cast or creative team was paid for their work. Therefore, the (still) extraordinary 1978-79 season encompasses five, rather than six, professional productions of *The Changeling* in the UK. Such searches are made possible—or at least made much easier—by the technologies of the digital age, and more work could certainly be done on *The Changeling* in amateur performance. Here, however, my focus is on professional productions, and so Hamlyn's has, unfortunately, been excluded from my analysis.

¹⁹ see M. Scott, p. 58; M. Neill, p. xxxv; K. Brown, p. 206.

²⁰ S. Hamlyn, personal email, 27 August 2015.

Even one production down, the sheer number and variety of *Changelings* in this season are of interest, given that there is no precedent or repetition of this extraordinary confluence of professional theatrical interest in *The Changeling* in Britain. The fact that four of these five productions opened within two months of each other—and three in the same month, and two on exactly the same day—suggests both a kind of economic/artistic echoing and a cultural fondness for the play itself. There is a cycle of theatrical programming whereby plays that have recently seen a major revival—at the RSC, the National, the Old Vic, and so on—will see increased popularity in smaller or regional theatres in the years that follow; these smaller-scale productions, in turn, propel the next major revival.²¹ There is also a possible educational motive for producing *The Changeling* in the late 1970s: although I have not been able to pin down the exact dates that the play and its contemporaries entered the A-level curriculum, Martin White mentions in a 2004 programme note that it was established as a set text by 1978; Jeremy Lopez's identification of the symbiotic relationship between the professional theatre and the educational publishing industry suggests that plays being studied are also plays being produced.²² Given that *The Changeling* had very recently been set as an A-level text, its sudden burst of popularity in 1978-79 could be tied to its new educational currency.

Although White identifies the link between *The Changeling* as A-level set text and the explosion of new productions in 2004, this possible motive is not mentioned in any contemporary discourse on this extraordinary season. Despite this, many contemporary critics echo Sheridan Morley of *Punch* in proclaiming 1978 'the year of *The Changeling*', and each provides an explanation for and opinion on the phenomenon, but none cites an educational influence.²³ It is possible, therefore, that the reverse causality is more

²¹ See K. Brown, pp. 178-217.

²² in; J. Lopez, 'The seeds of time', p. 40. See Literature Review for additional discussion of this relationship. See also M. Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre*, p. 1.

²³ S. Morley, 25 October 1978.

accurate: that the extraordinary 1978-79 season resulted in the inclusion of *The Changeling* in the A-level curriculum. Morley confesses, as I note above, that the reasons for the play's sudden spike in popularity are 'not entirely clear to [him]', and conjures up an image of beleaguered newspaper critics 'desperately trying to grind out some sort of response to a play which they've had to sit through not just once but thrice'. Critics working outside of London, however, seem to think more broadly about the play and its relevance to a decade rocked by strikes, high inflation, wage caps, and perceived corruption at every level. As I note above, Stephen Dixon, reviewing Richard Williams' production for Contact Theatre in Manchester, felt that 'the analogies are obvious'; he goes on to say that *The Changeling* is 'an intelligent and timely choice by the Contact Company'.²⁴ Similarly, Robin Thornber, reviewing Kate Crutchley's production in Stoke-on-Trent, suggests that the play's 'shifty world, where no one is quite as good or bad, as sane or as mad as they seem to be, strikes chords in our uncertain age'.²⁵ Whilst acknowledging that correlation is not the same as causation, I would like to pick up on Thornber and Dixon's feeling that *The Changeling* spoke to the cultural climate of the late 1970s and suggest some connections between the five productions in question here and the wider concerns of Britain in 1978/79.

The cultural and political climate of 1978 certainly could have made a Jacobean sex and revenge tragedy teeming with dark corners and deep corruption seem like an appropriate choice. Archival records show, however, that Peter Gill had not initially planned *The Changeling* as part of Riverside's programme: Gill makes no mention of it in his formal season announcement, but it is mentioned in a retrospective of Riverside productions compiled in 1983. Perhaps, like Tony Richardson's version in 1961, it was chosen to fill an unexpected gap in programming, but, equally, it might have been

²⁴ S. Dixon, 27 October 1978

²⁵ R. Thornber, 8 March 1979.

chosen as a timely commentary on the events leading up to the six months of union unrest and large-scale strikes—later dubbed The Winter of Discontent—that were looming in autumn 1978. Dissatisfied public sector workers, high inflation, and government-capped pay rises could have contributed to the popularity of a play that portrays the people at the top as more corrupt, unstable, and devious than the people lower down the social ladder and that calls authority of all kinds into question, as I examine in more detail in my case study of the 1988 National Theatre production. In the world of Middleton and Rowley’s play, it would seem that deeds, rather than rank or wealth, are the ultimate determinants of prosperity and failure, whilst corruption runs through every stratum of the society.

If the correlations between the unstable socio-political climate of 1978 and the ‘shifty world’ of *The Changeling* were clear to newspaper critics like Dixon and Thornber, it does not necessarily follow that directors chose the play with these resonances in mind. Morley may be correct in assuming that more practical concerns governed theatrical programming choices, especially if money was tight. Perhaps, in a time of austerity and cuts to Arts Council subsidies, especially outside of London, *The Changeling* reflected the economic logic of choosing a play that did not demand copyright or royalty payments and that required a small ensemble. Perhaps a new script that had been programmed was not complete in time. Or perhaps, as Terry Hands maintains with regard to his production, the play was chosen simply because it provided the right number and kind of roles for an established ensemble of actors comfortable with speaking and performing non-modern text.²⁶

As I will explore in more detail below, the 1970s also saw an increase in attention to gender imbalances and women’s agency and autonomy in entertainment. It

²⁶ T. Hands, personal email exchange, June 2014.

is also possible, therefore, that *The Changeling* was attractive for its two complex and exciting leading roles for women, both of which may be played as independent and “modern”: Beatrice and Isabella both refuse to submit to the wishes of the men around them, after all, though with varying degrees of success. Diaphanta, too, can be represented as sexually liberated, given her flirtations with Jasperino and her willingness to substitute for Beatrice on her wedding night. Many plays from the early modern period, however, and Jacobean tragedies in particular, have very similar casting requirements, and there are other plays that provide at least as many leading roles for women: Middleton’s own *Women Beware Women* and Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The White Devil* are obvious examples. Why, then, was *The Changeling*, in particular, such a popular choice in 1978-79?

It may be that the success of Gill’s production acted as a catalyst for other, slightly later productions. Indeed, a May 1979 interview with Michael Billington pegs Gill for ‘pre-emptive theatrical strikes’, noting that his productions of *The Cherry Orchard*, *The Changeling*, and *Measure for Measure* all preceded ‘rather more lavish versions from the National and the RSC’.²⁷ Gill maintains, of course, that the overlap is purely coincidental, and suggests—quite rightly—that ‘It would also be totally wrong if the classic repertoire became the exclusive property of either the National or the RSC’.²⁸ He underestimates, however, his own cultural capital at the time: particularly in Bristol, Manchester, and Stoke-on-Trent, where audiences were less likely to have seen the Riverside or RSC versions of the play, producing *The Changeling* in 1978 offered the chance to capitalise on the prestigious reputations of both Gill and Terry Hands, as well as the enduring cultural prominence of London.

²⁷ M. Billington, ‘How to make a little go a very long way’, *Guardian*, 18 May 1979.

²⁸ *ibid.*

Given the chronological and geographical proximity of the Riverside and RSC Aldwych productions, it was inevitable that they would be directly compared by critics. Additionally, their London locality and their high-profile directors make these two productions easily the most commented upon and most substantially archived. The tensions between London and provincial theatres are worth mentioning here: battles for Arts Council funding, prominent actors and directors, and prestige are perennial problems for theatres outside London; in the 1970s the RSC itself was fighting to hold on to its London home at the Aldwych, despite its royal endorsement and the cultural superiority it claimed by virtue of its Shakespearean charter. The opening of the National Theatre's Southbank home in 1976 had inflamed these tensions, resulting in, effectively, *two* national theatres competing for the lion's share of public arts funding. This inevitably had an impact on funding packages both at major theatres such as the National and the RSC and at smaller companies across the country.

Theorising the Absent Archive

The sheer number of *Changeling* productions in the UK during the 1978-79 theatre season is remarkable in and of itself, but a lack of archival materials for many of these means that extra-chronological connections between the various productions can only be argued tenuously. As Thomas Postlewait reminds us, in the field of (theatre) history, '[c]ertainty is often attained in matters of *who*, *what*, *where*, and *when*. But the answers for *how* and *why* usually remain open to debate among historians'.²⁹ In looking at these five *Changelings*, even the primary knowledge of '*who*, *what*, *where*, and *when*' has sometimes been in question. An obvious example is the long-standing citation of the Match Theatre production in Birmingham as a professional production; the lack of

²⁹ T. Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography*, p. 1.

archival materials for this production undoubtedly contributed to the failure of multiple academics to correct Scott's 1989 mistake. Answers to the deeper questions of *how* and *why* are thus even more speculative than usual in dealing with the five 1978-79

Changelings.

As Postlewait and others also point out, however, even the most complete archive imaginable leaves the theatre historian with problems of interpretation, and a 'double set of limitations are thus at play: the partial nature of the documentation, [and] the partial nature of the historian's understanding'.³⁰ Put another way, 'even "primary" documents can be "secondary" in their representational codes'.³¹ Like the literary texts and scholarly editions of plays that this thesis seeks to destabilise, the 'comforting [...] perception of objective fixity' that a photograph or a recording offers must constantly be challenged.³² These artefacts must always be understood and 'treated as *mediating* [and *mediated*] sources', like promptbook annotations and, indeed, early printings and scholarly editions of plays: their seductive pseudo-objectivity must constantly be called into question.³³

The archive, then, does not provide unmediated access to the event it purports to preserve, but rather, as Bennett puts it, provides an 'interplay between preservation and loss':

"loss" does not occur only outside the archive but can happen equally (and equally effectively) through the custodial system of conservation and especially in the selection processes used by archivists and researchers.³⁴

Here, Bennett articulates one of the key challenges of working not only with performance, which is always ephemeral, but with archives of performance. With

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 20.

³¹ C. Canning and T. Postlewait (eds.), *Representing the Past*, p. 14.

³² M.J. Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, p. 7.

³³ T. Postlewait, *Theatre Historiography*, p. 102.

³⁴ S. Bennett, 'The Making of Theatre History', C. Canning and T. Postlewait (eds.), *Representing the Past*, pp. 63, 68.

archives that exist but are difficult to access or are accessed only rarely, the problem of the ‘selection process’ is exacerbated. A primary historiographical problem for ‘the year of *The Changeling*’, then, is the task of discussing interactions between differently incomplete and/or differently inaccessible archives. In the case of Contact Theatre, Manchester, the archive consists wholly of newspaper articles and reviews, most of which come from the same paper, the *Manchester Evening News*, and from the same handful of writers; these are held by Manchester’s Central Library. Uwe Gröschel, a PhD candidate at Manchester University studying Contact and their history, informs me that a more extensive archive for the period in question exists but ‘we do not know where it is’.³⁵ Similarly, the internal archive at the Victoria Theatre Collection, Stoke-on-Trent, is relatively complete, but there are hardly any external sources such as newspaper reviews, whereas a plethora of reviews from multiple sources and perspectives are available for the RSC, Bristol, and Riverside productions. The RSC promptbook overflows with descriptive blocking notes, hand-drawn diagrams, and hints towards the key themes of the production; the Victoria and Bristol Old Vic promptbooks are less thoroughly and helpfully annotated; the productions in Birmingham, Manchester, and Riverside Studios do not have extant promptbooks at all.

The vast discrepancies between archival policies at the five theatre companies—which mirror the perceived cultural importance of each company—represented here reinforce a key point of this thesis: namely, that performance is still considered secondary to text. Even when performance might be preserved *as* text, as in most archival documents, its iteration as performance may not be considered important enough to be articulated textually, especially in the face of constraints on time, money, and space. The textual outputs of performance, such as promptbooks and stage

³⁵ U. Gröschel, personal email, 9 Sept. 2015.

management notes, are continuously treated as lesser than literary textual outputs such as scholarly editions of plays and published academic commentary, despite the performance outputs contributing equally to the popular understanding of the play in question: as M.J. Kidnie reminds us: ‘the work, far from functioning as an objective yardstick against which to measure the supposed accuracy of editions and stagings, whether current or historical, continually takes place as a *consequence* of production’.³⁶ Newspaper reviews occupy an important liminal space in this equation, as they are often preserved by virtue of being printed or published *in newspapers*, rather than for any perceived merit of their own. Digital archives such as the Gale NewsVault collections, as well as the digital and microfiche holdings at the British Library and the National Archives, therefore represent a vital component of the theatrical archive.

Most of the existing theatre-specific archives are housed in institutional repositories: the RSC’s is managed by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, for example; Staffordshire University hosts the Victoria Theatre Collection. The National Theatre and Shakespeare’s Globe manage their own archives, but they are not prioritised in budgeting: both are open during limited hours and by appointment only; both can welcome only a very small number of researchers on any given day due to the size of the rooms they have been allocated. The same can also be said of the Victoria and Albert Museum’s Theatre and Performance collections. The librarians and archivists staffing these archives do remarkable work with very limited resources, but the limitations placed on them force questions about the perceived value of performance as a field of academic study, even at the highest levels of subsidised and commercial London theatres. It is worth pointing out, perhaps, that the U.K. has no national theatre collection or museum (as distinct from the archives of the Royal National Theatre).

³⁶ M.J. Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, p. 33.

The state of the archive forces my analysis of the five 1978-79 productions into a trend that sees the erasure of the work of smaller and/or regional theatres in the UK during the twentieth century due to the inaccessibility of archival materials. The archive on Contact Theatre in Manchester, for example, is very much incomplete, consisting largely of a few dozen newspaper clippings which are held in Manchester Central Library's archives. Contact Theatre still exists, but was re-branded and re-launched in 1999; as I note above, their archive was lost in that transition. Newspaper reviews therefore represent a key historical text in the study of these productions; ephemera such as promptbooks, programmes, production photographs provide context and change what kinds of analysis are possible. Availability breeds familiarity and, as a result, not only do the Gill and Hands productions have the most extensive archives of the productions examined here, but they also have received the most attention in previous criticism I have attempted, in this chapter, to redress that balance to certain degree by giving significant space to Crutchley's production, for example. Given the gap in available documentation, however, I inevitably have more specific and detailed information available about the RSC and Riverside productions, and therefore I am able to do a kind of performance analysis with those productions that is not possible for the others.

Double Plotting

Reviews of Gill's and Hands's productions paid special attention to their respective approaches to the two plots of *The Changeling*. Gill's production at the Riverside Studios in particular is notable for its sustained attention to the relationship between the two plots of *The Changeling*. Gill was widely praised for his skillful manipulation of the plots, which, critics agreed, resulted in a subtle and but powerful conversation between the castle and the madhouse. A particularly memorable moment

appears to have been an interaction between Beatrice and Isabella, in which the two women walked by each other ‘shoulder to shoulder’ as one exited and the other entered the stage, with ‘a chilled glance passing between them’—‘as like ships in the night as you could ever hope to see on dry land’, according to Robert Cushman.³⁷ For Michael Billington, this pass ‘within a hair’s-breadth of each other’ effectively and subtly ‘remind[s] us they inhabit the same dramatic world’; he judges that ‘Gill’s first achievement is to see the play as all of a piece with themes and images echoing and re-echoing in plot and subplot’.³⁸ Critics also cite more mundane moments in which Gill ‘makes a virtue of necessity’ by having the madmen double as stagehands, moving furniture between scenes, ‘as if to evoke the way insanity invades the main plot’.³⁹

Terry Hands’ production for the RSC was deemed less successful in its handling of the two plots, however, despite a number of attempts to bridge the two worlds. Lollo, for example, had ‘a facial disfigurement similar to the one De Flores bore’.⁴⁰ Hands also kept the ensemble of madmen onstage throughout the production in an effort to highlight thematic crossovers between the plots; whilst this was deemed a successful technique for most of the performance, in the final scenes of the play, Hands ‘r[an] out of things for them to do’, making their presence confusing rather than instructive.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Benedict Nightingale was not alone in feeling that Hands ‘d[id]n’t quite succeed in reconciling Rowley’s bedlam sub-plot with Middleton’s existential tragedy’: Morley called it a ‘brisk, joky [*sic*], mindless canter through a play which Gill asked us to stop and think about’.⁴²

³⁷ M. Scott, *Middleton and Rowley: The Changeling*, p. 58; R. Cushman, ‘Passion and the Playwrights’, *The Observer*, 10 September 1978.

³⁸ M. Billington, 6 September 1978.

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ K. Lechler, ‘Thomas Middleton in Performance’, p. 39. See also M. White, review, *Plays and Players*, January 1979.

⁴¹ R. Cushman, ‘Body, Mind, and Soul’, *The Observer*, 22 October 1978.

⁴² B. Nightingale, ‘The Alexandrian Duet’, *New Statesman*, 20 October 1978; S. Morley, 25 October 1978.

Gill himself says that he was keen to highlight the importance of the hospital plot, as he articulated to Harriet Devine many years later: ‘If you do it skillfully’, he says, the hospital plot ‘has a very, very powerful life, and it almost mirrors the main plot’.⁴³ This is very much in tune with Tony Richardson’s approach to the play seventeen years earlier. Billington’s sense that Isabella and Beatrice ‘inhabit the same dramatic world’ and his recognition of the ‘echoing and re-echoing in plot and subplot’ marks a significant shift from critical responses in 1961, however, which—as I examine in the previous chapter—betrayed a general dislike of the play’s dual-plot structure. This change in the critical tone towards the play is manifest in most reviews. Cushman says that *The Changeling*’s return to London stages is ‘a joy and a relief. There is no verse play outside of Shakespeare possessed of such natural resonance’.⁴⁴ He goes on to praise Gill for keeping the madhouse scenes ‘not only lively [...] but relevant’.⁴⁵

Identity Politics and *The Changeling* in the ’70s: Sex, Gender, and Power

In discussing the ‘loss’ that occurs both within and beyond the archive, Bennett goes on to highlight one particularly prominent example of erasure:

If we interrogate what constitutes an archive as well as how it creates and disseminates the possibilities for history, however, we are faced with a number of important considerations in thinking through the (in)visibility of women in revisionist theatre history.⁴⁶

The 1978-79 *Changeling* productions are, I argue, in conversation with the erasure of women in theatre history, stretching all the way back to the seventeenth century, in their treatment of the characters Beatrice-Joanna, Isabella, and Diaphanta. Portrayals of Beatrice and their interpretations by female directors in the 1970s will inevitably be read through the lens of the Women’s Liberation movement, second-wave feminism and the

⁴³ P. Gill, interviewed by Harriet Devine, 2009, British Library Sound Archive, London, C1316/08.

⁴⁴ R. Cushman, 10 September 1978.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ S. Bennett, ‘The Making of Theatre History’, p. 68.

aftershocks of the sexual revolution. Whilst this period is often characterised as one of sexual “permissiveness” and therefore liberation, Susan Kingsley Kent suggests that the availability of the contraceptive pill (from 1961 for married women and 1974 for single women in the UK) and legal abortion (from 1967 in the UK) ‘made it possible for men to put a great deal of pressure on women to engage with them sexually’.⁴⁷

In the context of *The Changeling* specifically, Lechler argues that Beatrice in particular became increasingly sexualised over the course of the twentieth century—especially in productions by male directors—to the extent that ‘for *The Changeling* to work for modern audiences, Beatrice-Joanna’s sexual desires which, in the text, are acted out offstage, have to take center stage’.⁴⁸ Indeed, since 1978 it has become customary to stage at least one sexual encounter between Beatrice and Deflores, either at the end of Act 3 or within the dumbshow. This is sometimes staged as a rape, sometimes as a consensual sex act, and sometimes ambiguously. Importantly, the quarto text does not require any sexual contact between the pair *onstage*. Indeed, more onstage sexual contact is suggested between Isabella and Antonio and Lollio than between Beatrice and Deflores. Consider, for example:

Ant. How can he freeze, lives neer so sweet a warmth? shall I alone
Walk through the orchard of the *Hesperides*.
And cowardly not dare to pull an apple?
This with the red cheeks I must venter for. *Enter Lol. above.*

Isa. Take heed, there’s Gyants keep ‘em.

Lol. How now fool, are you good at that? have you read *Lipsius*?⁴⁹

and:

Lol: [...] Come sweet rogue, kiss me my little *Lacedemonian*.
Let me feel how thy pulses beat; Thou hast a thing
About thee, would doe a man pleasure, I’le lay my hand on’t.

⁴⁷ S. K. Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990*, London, Routledge, 1999, p. 337.

⁴⁸ K. Lechler, ‘Thomas Middleton in Performance’, p. 41

⁴⁹ sig. E2r

*Isa. Sirrah, no more [...].*⁵⁰

In the first quotation above, Lollio's allusion to the scholar Justus Lipsius, according to Dyce, Bawcutt, Neill and others, is included only for its pun on "lips", which suggests that Isabella and Antonio do kiss at this point.⁵¹ In the second quotation, Isabella's plea 'no *more*' could refer either to Lollio's crude and mocking speech or to his success in 'lay[ing] my hand on't'. By contrast, a kiss between Beatrice and Deflores is narrowly avoided in Act 3 ('What makes your lip so strange?'); the gap between Acts 3 and 4 covers Deflores' first rape of Beatrice; the encounter that Alsemero and Jasperino spy from the 'prospect in the garden' in Act 5 is described rather than staged; and, finally, the ambiguous pain/pleasure 'Oh, oh, oh' at the end of the play is disguised by the 'closet'.⁵² The additional moments of sexual contact between Beatrice and Deflores that are created in performance, then, reflect directorial interpretation, and different representations of the nature of their sexual relationship reflect changing attitudes towards Beatrice, her agency, and her desires.

This growing focus on Beatrice as a sexually awakened character is something of a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it reflects an increased awareness of female sexual desire as both legitimate and important; on the other hand, it encourages a reading of the play that deemphasises Deflores' manipulation—not to mention sexual violation—of Beatrice and asks the audience to see her as the true villain of the piece. Picking up on the language used to describe Emma Piper's Beatrice for Gill's Riverside Studios production, Roberta Barker and David Nicol observe that 'the sexual connotations of the imagery of heat, blood, and thrusting force used to construct the

⁵⁰ sig. E3r

⁵¹ Bawcutt, p. 53; Neill, p. 60

⁴⁹ sigs. E4v, F2r, H4r, and I2r.

critics' ideal Beatrice Joanna are clear'.⁵³ Hands' production in particular has been criticised for its focus on Beatrice's sexuality. In her first extended encounter with Deflores in Act 2, for example, Diana Quick's Beatrice seemed to consciously use her body as a means of manipulating Deflores. She put a gold chain around his neck on the line 'There's to encourage thee', which appear to have been intended both as a form of remuneration for the murder and as a kind of love token.⁵⁴ In addition, as Cushman notes in his review, she is 'exaggeratedly affectionate, removing her shawl to reveal a good proportion of her bosom'.⁵⁵ Like Bruster's shifted aside in 2007, these staging choices seem to suggest that Beatrice actually desires Deflores, regardless of her protestations elsewhere in the play.

By Act 3 of the RSC production, when Deflores has the upper hand, the blocking became more sexually explicit. On his line, 'Thou'lt love anon, / what thou so fear'st, and fain'st to venture on', the promptbook records that Deflores 'pushes B[eatrice]'s cloak aside, takes her hand, puts it on his crotch'; on the last word of the line ('on'), he 'makes a sudden thrust at B, clasping her to him. As the dumb show starts, they begin slow copulation mime'.⁵⁶ The ensuing sexual encounter between Beatrice and Deflores—significantly, not a rape in this production—is made explicit, visceral, and present. A cardboard cut out of Beatrice was paraded around the stage in the dumbshow whilst the real Beatrice mimed intercourse with Deflores over Alsemero's closet.⁵⁷ Critics had mixed feelings about the comical spin given to Beatrice's next line, 'This fellow has undone me *endlessly*'. Milton Shulman, for example, felt that the sex-based tragedy became 'farcical rather than pathetic', and Michael Scott attributes

⁵³ R. Barker and D. Nicol, 'Does Beatrice-Joanna Have a Subtext?', para. 7.

⁵⁴ sig. D3r; T. Hands, promptbook, *The Changeling*, 1978, Ref. No. RSC/SM/1/1978/CHB1, The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library & Archive, Stratford-upon-Avon.

⁵⁵ R. Cushman, 22 October 1978.

⁵⁶ sig. F2r; T. Hands, *The Changeling*.

⁵⁷ T. Hands, *The Changeling*.

Shulman's and others' objections to the fact that Quick's delivery of that line added comedy to what is usually one of the play's most harrowing episodes, effectively undermining the function of the madhouse plot.⁵⁸ Daalder, on the other hand, argues that Hands' emphasis on sex and sexual puns in the production 'seems to me proper'.⁵⁹

The hospital plot, too, was sexier in Hands' production than might be expected. Promptbook notes show, for example, that Charlotte Cornwell as Isabella physically expresses desire for Antonio in Act 3. The editorial stage direction 'he tries to kiss her' in Act 3, Scene 3 of Patricia Thompson's *New Mermaids* edition—the base text for this production—is crossed out and replaced with 'they kiss'.⁶⁰ The change of pronouns here, along with the repetition of the kiss throughout the scene, implies Isabella's consent; the fact that Act 3, Scene 3 and Act 3, Scene 4 are parallel in their representations of unwanted sexual encounters, as I note above, muddies the issue of Beatrice's consent in the latter scene. I suggest, therefore, that there are interpretive consequences to Hands' 'much steamier' production of *The Changeling*.⁶¹

As I note throughout this thesis, more attention is given to the physical appearance of actors who play Beatrice-Joanna than to their performances; almost without exception, the actors playing Deflores receive more careful and more complimentary analyses of their performances, particularly in newspaper reviews. Diana Quick, in Hands' production at the Aldwych, was especially targeted as a result of the nearly topless dress that she wore in Act 2, Scene 2.⁶² Peter Jenkins of the *Spectator*, for example, does not care much for Quick's performance, but he does inform us that 'she was splendid nonetheless as she cast aside her flaming shawl and thrust her luscious

⁵⁸ M. Shulman, 'Tempting Beatrice', *Evening Standard*, 17 October 1978; M. Scott, *Thomas Middleton and William Rowley: The Changeling*, p. 60.

⁵⁹ J. Daalder, 'Introduction', p. xlii.

⁶⁰ T. Hands, promptbook, *The Changeling*.

⁶¹ R. Cushman, 22 October 1978.

⁶² Costumes for the RSC production were designed by Judith Bland.

breasts' towards Emrys James's Deflores.⁶³ Cushman clearly finds the choice 'to reveal a good proportion of her bosom' arousing, quipping that it's 'no wonder [Deflores] thinks he is dreaming'.⁶⁴ This may seem an extreme example, but 1978 was not the first time that Beatrice's breasts were front and centre in reviews: although the Hands production overall was criticised for 'converting sexual innuendoes to explicit gropings', as I note in my previous chapter, Mary Ure also attracted attention for her physique as much as for her 1961 performance. It goes without saying, perhaps, that the vast majority of newspaper critics are (still) male.

Even when her breasts were not explicitly made the subject of reviews, an actor playing Beatrice-Joanna in 1978-79 could expect to play second fiddle to her co-star. Critical reception of these five productions largely follows the pattern established seventeen years earlier at the Royal Court: the play is seen to "belong" to Deflores, with Beatrice cast as little more than 'a shallow character who suffers' or 'a mere wanton'.⁶⁵ Henderson argues that the increase in productions of Jacobean tragedies in the latter half of the twentieth century presented a double-bind for women: whilst 'Middleton's complex roles for women' brought 'opportunities for actresses [*sic*] in classical repertory companies', 'most productions tended to reinforce dominant (male) perceptions of the sexual politics involved, even when they were deemed socially subversive or radical'.⁶⁶ Robert Cushman, commenting on Gill's Riverside production, certainly espouses this male-centred view of the play, associating Beatrice with ignorance and Deflores with knowing wisdom:

Brian Cox's Deflores emerges more likeable than even I would have expected. [...] [H]e gains the theatrical sympathy that always goes to a realist; he knows what he is doing whereas Beatrice maintains a self-

⁶³ P. Jenkins, 'A tale of two worlds', *Spectator*, 21 October 1978.

⁶⁴ R. Cushman, 22 October 1978

⁶⁵ R. Cushman, 'Passion and the Playwrights', *Observer*, 10 September 1978; J. Barber, 'Feminine Ascendance', *Daily Telegraph*, 21 October 1978.

⁶⁶ D.E. Henderson, 'Afterlives: Stages and Beyond', p. 329.

centred ignorance. Treating others as objects she keeps talking, as he contemptuously points out, of her “honour”. It is this counterpoint that keeps the play on its feet until the end.⁶⁷

In his review of the Hands RSC production just a month later, Cushman lavishes praise on Diana Quick’s Beatrice whilst acknowledging that ‘Usually the interest in this play passes to De Flores [...]; a good De Flores can justify “The Changeling” [*sic*] as a good Iago can justify Othello’.⁶⁸ Critical appreciation for Quick as Beatrice—as separate from the ‘voluptuous exposure’ cited above—comes largely from the sense that she is ‘an actress capable of understanding Middleton’s pre-Freudian aperçu’.⁶⁹ As exemplified by the RSC production, the idea that Beatrice harbours an unconscious sexual desire for Deflores from the very beginning of the play, and that therefore their first sexual encounter is not a rape but the advent of her sexual awakening, was enormously popular both on professional stages and in academic criticism of *The Changeling* for much of the late twentieth century, exemplifying Henderson’s understanding of the ‘dominant (male) perceptions’ of the play’s sexual politics reinforced by production and criticism in the late twentieth century.

This proto-Freudian, psychoanalytic interpretation of Beatrice was at its peak in the 1970s and ‘80s. As Billington put it in his review of the Riverside production, Emma Piper’s Beatrice perfectly ‘conveys the sado-masochistic fantasies of a reclusive virgin’ and ‘reminds us of the play’s psychological modernity’.⁷⁰ Sally Hedges in Crutchley’s production gives a ‘fine performance’ of ‘sexual self-deceit’, whilst Sue Jenkins and John Branwell in Manchester are ‘inextricably linked in a love-hate relationship of great psychological complexity’.⁷¹ As Barker and Nicol remind us, however, it also ‘risks affirming that Middleton and Rowley’s heroine actually desires a rape she pleads against

⁶⁷ R. Cushman, 10 September 1978.

⁶⁸ R. Cushman, ‘Body, Mind, and Soul’, *Observer*, 22 October 1978.

⁶⁹ B. Nightingale, ‘The Alexandrian Duet’, *New Statesman*, 20 October 1978.

⁷⁰ M. Billington, ‘The Changeling’, *Guardian*, 6 September 1978.

⁷¹ T.G.W., 16 March 1979; A. Hulme, ‘The Changeling’, *Manchester Evening News*, 27 October 1978.

in the lines they wrote for her'; the text undermines the dominant critical and theatrical interpretation of the play.⁷² Here again, then, we find the double-bind of Beatrice's sexuality in the 1970s: the implication that the wearer of a breast-baring dress has been sexually liberated within a heteronormative framework can be undermined by both the objectification of her body in reviews and the trivialisation of her rape on stage. So, Barker and Nicol argue,

As critics' descriptions of the laughter that greeted Beatrice's line, "This fellow hath undone me endlessly" (IV.i.1) in Hands' sexually graphic production suggest, this reading allows the audience to remain content that Beatrice really wants De Flores even if the director stages the characters' climactic confrontation as a brutal rape scene. Although the victim seems unwilling, in fact it's all a bit of saucy fun: no means yes, and one need not feel pity for a heroine whose corruption is also her awakening to her true nature.⁷³

As I argue in my introduction, this reading of Beatrice as a repressed virgin requiring Deflores to bring about her 'awakening' has very little basis in the text of the play; nonetheless, it was a major component of academic criticism throughout the twentieth century, to the extent that Joost Daalder's *New Mermaids* edition in 1990 cites Beatrice's repressed desire for Deflores as 'one of the main facts of the play'.⁷⁴ Even more recent texts, including Jay O'Berski's study of *The Changeling* for the student-targeted *Shakespeare Handbooks* series, maintain that 'In a play like *The Changeling* it often seems like "no" means "yes" means "maybe". With an opaque character like Beatrice-Johanna, intentions can no longer always be taken at face value'.⁷⁵ Beyond its lack of textual grounding, which I cover in my introduction, such an approach to the play—bizarrely, being espoused in 'student-friendly introductory guides' eight years *after* Barker and Nicol's landmark essay—cannot be tolerated 'in a world where rape victims are still subjected to humiliating cross-examination about their sexual pasts on the witness

⁷² R. Barker and D. Nicol, para. 3.

⁷³ R. Barker and D. Nicol, para. 38.

⁷⁴ J. Daalder, 'Introduction', p. xxv.

⁷⁵ J. O'Berski, *The Changeling: The Shakespeare Handbooks*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2012, p. 7.

stand'.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the professional theatre—including Shakespeare's Globe—continues to flirt with this debunked understanding of the play as an exploration of Beatrice's unconscious desire for Deflores, and the consequent trivialising of her rape. I return to this issue in my final case study chapter.

Also affected by the '(in)visibility of women in revisionist theatre history' is Kate Crutchley, the first woman to direct *The Changeling* for a professional company.⁷⁷ The directors studied in this thesis are almost exclusively male—especially the most well-known directors such as Terry Hands, Tony Richardson, Adrian Noble, Joe Hill-Gibbins, and Dominic Dromgoole. The dominance of men in theatrical directing and the “masculine” perception of that role is not exclusive to *The Changeling*. As Peter Kirwan points out, the 2014 RSC “Roaring Girls” season in the Swan Theatre was advertised based on ‘the shared assumption that attention to women is unusual; it is abnormal to the RSC's core practice to have a season explicitly focusing on women’.⁷⁸ A season focused on men is, of course, entirely ordinary for institutions such as the RSC, and would not normally be described or publicised in gendered terms. Publicity for the Roaring Girls season boasted that it featured three plays ‘with a woman at the heart of the action’ directed by ‘some of British theatre's most exciting female directors’—highlighting, according to Kirwan, the extent to which the focus on women was touted as a ‘unique and distinctive’ selling point for the season.⁷⁹ The historical lack of women both on stage and behind the scenes at the RSC in general—circumstances that made the Roaring Girls season both important and problematic—were thrown into relief by the hyper-masculine 2014 summer season in the RSC's main space, the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, just across the foyer from the Swan: *Henry IV* parts one and two,

⁷⁶ R. Barker and D. Nicol, para. 38.

⁷⁷ S. Bennett, ‘The Making of Theatre History’, p. 68

⁷⁸ P. Kirwan, ‘The Roared-at Boys? Repertory casting and gender politics in the RSC's 2014 Swan season’, *Shakespeare*, 17 August 2015, p. 2.

⁷⁹ Royal Shakespeare Company, “Summer 14”, 2014; P. Kirwan, p. 2.

both directed by Gregory Doran, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, directed by Simon Godwin. Often, even productions of plays ostensibly about women are directed and adapted by men, resulting in questionably “feminist” interpretations; Howard Barker and William Gaskill’s 1986 production of *Women Beware Women* at the Royal Court, which claimed ‘to bring sexual liberation to a woman through sexual violence’, is an obvious example.⁸⁰

I feel it is important to spend some time, therefore, appreciating the fact that the 1978-79 season saw the first professional production of *The Changeling* directed by a woman: Kate Crutchley in Stoke-on-Trent. The lack of attention to her production in histories of *The Changeling* nominally stems from the fact that the archives are incomplete. Indeed, very little is known about the ways in which she interpreted the play. In *Ms-Directing Shakespeare*, Elizabeth Schafer identifies problems of access to jobs in London and at the RSC as key barriers that women who direct early modern drama face. This obstacle to opportunity, she argues, ‘has important long-term implications’: Schafer goes on to cite a lack of production resources, a more limited pool of performers, and ‘crucially, from the point of view of theatre historians’, a ‘different’ approach to archiving.⁸¹ She uses Nancy Meckler’s Shakespeare productions at the Haymarket Theatre, Leicester as an example, arguing that they are ‘far more susceptible to being forgotten than any production, no matter how poor, at the RSC, where so much material relating to a production—promptbooks, reviews, programmes, video records—is meticulously preserved and very conveniently located’.⁸² Crutchley’s broader career means that she has not been entirely erased from twentieth-century theatre history; I argue, however, that the lack of detail about how this pioneering woman

⁸⁰ A.B. Dawson, ‘*Women Beware Women* and the Economy of Rape’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 27, no. 2, 1987, pp. 303-20, p. 303.

⁸¹ E. Schafer, *Ms-Directing Shakespeare: Women Direct Shakespeare*, London, The Women’s Press, 1998, pp. 3-4.

⁸² *ibid*, p. 4.

interpreted *The Changeling* constitutes a major lacuna in its performance history, especially given that very few women have directed the play professionally since 1978-79.⁸³

Reviews of Crutchley's production suggest that her wider career was not reflected in her work on *The Changeling*. A prominent figure in political theatre at the time, Crutchley was best known for her pioneering work on LGBTQ+, women's, black, and Asian theatre. From 1975 to 1978 she worked primarily for the Gay Sweatshop theatre company and set up its satellite Women's Company.⁸⁴ In 1978 she also worked on Michelene Wandor's *Aid Thy Neighbour*, one of the first plays in Britain to 'deal with artificial insemination and lesbian motherhood'.⁸⁵ This kind of career might lead one to expect a challenging, updated production of a play like *The Changeling*, which offers so many opportunities to address issues of gender and sexuality. Her production for the Victoria Theatre, however, was read as little more than 'a decent, honest job' by the reviewers: 'a straightforward reading of a period text with many credit worthy performances'.⁸⁶ The production, then, was received as something that served the text, rather than an expression of aesthetic vision from the director.

Crutchley's Director's Note in the programme offers little insight into her interpretation of the play. It begins with a potted biography of Middleton, before moving on to discuss *A Game at Chess* and its political implications. The overwhelming focus on *Chess* in the note suggests that Crutchley may have been drawn to Middleton as a political playwright. It does not, however, connect the politics of the Spanish Match, integral to *Chess*, to *The Changeling*. Indeed, Crutchley's note separates *The Changeling* from

⁸³ A notable exception is Emma Rice, who adapted *The Changeling* as *The Itch* for Kneehigh in 1999. My reasons for excluding Rice's production from this thesis are outlined in the introduction.

⁸⁴ S. Duffy and C. Owen, 'Kate Crutchley obituary', *Guardian*, 4 August 2013.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶ R. Thornber, 'STOKE', *Guardian*, no date.

a specific socio-political context and allies it instead with more general English stereotypes about Mediterranean countries:

THE CHANGELING owes its Spanish location to the setting of the source material used by the authors [...] which supported the English literary tradition that all stories dealing with lust and murder were best set in Italy or Spain, societies long associated with corruption and intrigue.⁸⁷

No attempt is made to connect the ‘corruption and intrigue’ that the seventeenth century associated with Spain and Italy to the politics of late twentieth-century Britain, rendering *The Changeling* politically toothless in both the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. This separation of the play from any kind of radical politics sits uncomfortably with both Crutchley’s wider career and with the reputation of the Victoria Theatre and its artistic director, Peter Cheeseman.

Unfortunately, there were few reviews of the production, and the promptbook is only lightly annotated, and so my analysis must be confined by what Robin Thornber of the *Guardian* and T.G.W. of the *Advertiser* thought worthy of note. Neither suggests any particular affinity between Crutchley’s interpretation and her politically engaged work beyond this production; both Thornber and T.G.W., however, spend a considerable number of words on Middleton himself and on the play as a separate cultural object from the production—perhaps in an effort to “educate” their regional audiences. Thornber consciously separates Crutchley’s production from the potential for topical commentary that he sees in the play, querying why ‘this grisly Jacobean tragedy [...] appeals to our times as much as *Bedroom Farce*’ before concluding that ‘I don’t think the answers can be found in Kate Crutchley’s production’.⁸⁸ T.G.W is somewhat kinder, praising the performances at length: Jim Wiggins as Vermandero, David Tysall as Tomazo, and Graeme Kirk as Lollio all receive honourable mentions. He goes on,

⁸⁷ K. Crutchley, ‘Director’s Note’, programme, *The Changeling*, Victoria Theatre Collection, Staffordshire University, Stoke-on-Trent.

⁸⁸ R. Thornber, ‘STOKE’, *Guardian*, no date.

however, to suggest that Crutchley's chief achievement as director is her service to the play as a textual, literary object:

Crutchley's direction maintained 'The Changeling's' [*sic*] action, both tragic and satirical, at a cracking pace, and the set-pieces, such as the dumb-show, the murder of Alonzo—so difficult 'in the round'—and the victim's ghostly appearances, were handled with a certainty born of confidence in the material, propelling rather than hindering the plot's ruthless logic.⁸⁹

From these reviews, it seems that Crutchley either decided or was asked to produce *The Changeling* as a straightforward classic, with 'confidence in the material', rather than as any kind of contemporary political commentary. Given Crutchley's wider career, I find it difficult to believe Thornber's assessment that her *Changeling* 'lacks [...] vicious vitality' and 'slides innocently over so much cunning word play'.⁹⁰ We could read her director's note, with its focus on *A Game at Chess* and its allusion to the xenophobia of seventeenth-century England, as a possible indication of her desire to interpret the play differently. At present, however, there simply is not enough extant archival material to build a convincing argument.

The erasure of Crutchley's specific interpretation, then, is in conversation with the male gaze on twentieth-century productions of *The Changeling* more generally. Notably, only one actor has received more comments on his body as Deflores than his female counterpart: George Harris at the National in 1988. As a black man, Harris's body suddenly became enormously important to his portrayal of Deflores, at least according to the reviews. Race, gender, and class, of course, are all interconnected categories through which it is possible to trace the relationships between theatrical productions, scholarly and journalistic outputs, and ideology. In the next section, therefore, I explore the ways in which director Richard Eyre used the text of *The Changeling* to construct race and class in his production.

⁸⁹ T.G.W., 'The Tragedy of Being Beatrice', *Advertiser*, 16 March 1979.

⁹⁰ R. Thornber, 'STOKE', *Guardian*, no date.

‘How does it feel to be a problem?’: The National Theatre, 1988⁹¹

Richard Eyre directed *The Changeling* for the National Theatre shortly after being appointed its next artistic director, following in the illustrious white, male footsteps of Peter Hall and Laurence Olivier. As the first production following the announcement of his appointment, *The Changeling* was seen as Eyre’s opportunity to show London and the world what his priorities and preferences as artistic director would be. His intentions of subverting the play’s established performance history, however, were muddled by his naïve assumption that his point of view would be received as neutral and his failure to employ intersectional identity politics; as a result, his potentially innovative reading of *The Changeling* was frustrated by his too-neat separations of inherently interconnected issues such as class, race, and gender. Reviews of Eyre’s *Changeling* obscure or dismiss the potential for political and social commentary in the play, opting instead to read the production as a continuation of the established performance tradition, which focuses on the illicit sexual relationship between Beatrice-Joanna and Deflores.

As he puts it in his autobiography, Eyre’s approach to Shakespeare—and, by extension, other early modern plays—‘is to make them live, now, in the present tense’.⁹² This particular production brought Middleton and Rowley to ‘the present tense’ of Thatcher’s Britain by aiming to highlight the implicit critique of hierarchical class structures in *The Changeling* as opposed to its more obvious sexual overtones. This decision was a rejection of the play’s performance history to date, as evidenced particularly by Hands’ highly sexualised production ten years earlier. I argue that Eyre’s intention of staging *The Changeling* as a commentary on class was overshadowed by his

⁹¹ P. Gilroy, *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack*, p. 11.

⁹² R. Eyre, *Utopia and Other Places*, London, Vintage, 1994, p. 136

problematic casting and staging choices and critics' reactions to his subversion of the perceived focus of the play.

More specifically, Eyre's casting of black actors in roles such as Deflores, Diaphanta, and Lollo—all, not coincidentally, servant characters—was an attempt to represent class hierarchies visually. He justifies these casting choices by setting the play in a nineteenth-century Spanish slave colony. Archival photographs suggest that the set for the production reflected Eyre's insistence that the play is a tragedy of a changing social order. The stage was framed on both sides by 'spiralling stairwells' that contained the ensemble of 'madpeople' for most of the production.⁹³ These stairwells were dark, dull, and ferrous, contrasting sharply with the bright, gilt grandeur of the main stage space. That central space could be adapted in a number of ways, with doors and curtains signifying a variety of castle spaces, and a tropical backdrop occasionally visible upstage. Lechler notes how the set 'underscored the connection [...] between the literal constraints of the madhouse and the social constraints of the castle'.⁹⁴ The hypocrisy and corruption of the castle world, echoed in the madhouse, were made apparent in the stripping away of 'carved cornices and golden walls' during madhouse scenes in favour of imposing gates and a 'huge iron grate set into the floor like a covered entrance to a dungeon', which could be highlighted by a spotlight.⁹⁵ The stage floor was also steeply raked, which 'restricted many of the actors' mobility' and made them seem slightly uncomfortable at all times.⁹⁶ The set, though visually arresting, therefore also evoked a sense of precariousness and encroaching, imminent danger: the ever-present threat of the madhouse pressing in from both sides coupled with the steep angles of the stage floor visualised Eyre's concept of a crumbling and unstable social hierarchy.

⁹³ K. Lechler, 'Thomas Middleton in Performance', p. 63

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

Eyre's programme note makes clear that the Spanish slave colony setting reflected his desire to connect the sexuality of the play to a changing social order, which he sees as equally relevant in the 1620s, the early 1800s, and the 1980s. Specifically, he identifies 'rank and cash' as the driving forces of a new, more mobile social structure, emergent in the Jacobean period, within which 'every man did *not* know his proper station' and notions of class began to develop.⁹⁷ According to Eyre, the illicit sexual encounters in the play result in catastrophe because 'passion has to be concealed, suppressed or diverted in the interests of [a] social order' which is 'determined to an ever greater extent by money'.⁹⁸ For Eyre, then, class rather than sex and gender roles is the key theme of the play, and this reading of *The Changeling* marks a significant departure from performance interpretations prior to this point. He fails to articulate or adequately develop, however, his understanding of class in relation to race, and the role that he says race played in his interpretation of the play's class politics. Gilroy articulates a broader version of this problem when he says that 'Though its presence makes life difficult for the theorist, the concept of class cannot be entirely banished from inquiries into racial politics'; he then goes on to dismantle 'the mythical discipline of a unified working class', asking 'What is the working class today? What gender is it? What colour is it? How, in light of its obvious segmentation, is it to be unified? Is this unification still possible or even desirable?'.⁹⁹ Eyre's mistake, then, is his attempt to use a particular form of racial oppression (colonialism, enslavement) in order to highlight issues relevant to a 'mythical [...] unified working class'. In other words, he fails to see that race and class cannot easily be divorced from or substituted for each other; there is no way to create a production "about" class with black actors in all the servant roles that is not also "about" race.

⁹⁷ R. Eyre, programme.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*

⁹⁹ P. Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, pp. 17, 18, 19.

This gap in Eyre’s interpretation is further complicated by the attempted triangulation of the 1620s, the 1800s, and the 1980s. Ania Loomba echoes Gilroy in her assertion that ‘race is a highly malleable category which historically has been deployed to reinforce existing social hierarchies and create new ones’.¹⁰⁰ In other words, ‘social hierarchies’ are inextricable from racial categories, which are differently defined across history. She goes on to say that the European global expansion begun in the early modern period—and continuing, though under the name of “globalisation” rather than “imperialism”, in the 1980s—reinforced rather than undermined the self-fashioned superiority of the explorers; she argues that as Europeans began to explore the globe,

they became increasingly aware of the power, wealth, and learning of other peoples, of the precise histories and geographies of the world beyond Europe, and yet this awareness often only intensified expression of European and Christian superiority. The debates about religious, cultural, and bodily difference in this period were profoundly to shape the development of racial thinking over the next 400 years.¹⁰¹

Eyre’s attempt to comment on the 1980s through the nineteenth and seventeenth centuries has the potential to highlight Loomba’s point that European racism has a long history that continues to influence thinking in the present. Instead, Eyre’s aim of exposing class tensions through race strains to accommodate his essentially conservative mode of mixed-race casting and the blunt instrument of his slave colony setting, where the most visible marker of class in the production is not ‘rank and cash’ but race.

As I shall explore in more detail below, critics therefore focused almost exclusively on the miscegenation story of Deflores and Beatrice-Joanna—casting them as Othello and Desdemona—at the expense of Eyre’s intended class-based commentary.¹⁰² Some, such as John Peter of the *Sunday Times*, go so far as to suggest

¹⁰⁰ A. Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, Oxford, OUP, 2002, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁰² R. Eyre, programme, *The Changeling*, Ref. No. RNT/PP1/2/113, National Theatre Archives, London.

that a production of *The Changeling* cannot effectively make a statement about class because such issues are not contained within the play's text:

It is a question of reading a play or reading things into a play. [...] Richard Eyre's programme note tells us that in the play "passion has to be concealed, suppressed or diverted in the interests of social order". This is nonsense: that simply isn't what happens in the play. But Eyre is mesmerised by this social order thing.¹⁰³

The assumed content of 'the play' in this review—as in so many cases—is defined both by scholarly criticism and by the performance tradition. As the focus on Beatrice's body and supposed sexual repression described above shows, her relationship with Deflores and its sexual (rather than social) implications were already entrenched as a key component of *The Changeling's* stage history by the late '80s. As recently as 1984, Arthur and Madge Kistner had argued that *The Changeling's* major theme is 'that man's reason should rule his passion or will (particularly sexual passion or lust)'.¹⁰⁴ For Robert Ornstein, writing in 1965, the play centres around 'the intense drama of the wedding night'; even T.S. Eliot sees it as primarily concerned with 'fundamental passions'.¹⁰⁵ Eyre himself states in his programme note that 'I know of no [other] play so single-mindedly concerned with sex'.¹⁰⁶

A close reading of *The Changeling*, however, suggests that it is as much rooted in questions of power and class as in sex and death, and more recent criticism supports this reading: Henderson, for example, suggests that Middleton's return to the professional stage in the 1960s reflected growing theatrical attention to 'working class vengeance *and* sexual challenge'.¹⁰⁷ Aebischer and Prince point out that it was 'the politically invested historical, materialist and feminist criticism of the late twentieth

¹⁰³ J. Peter, 'Is this a breath of fresh Eyre?', *Sunday Times*, 6 August 1988.

¹⁰⁴ A.L. Kistner and M.K. Kistner, *Middleton's Tragic Themes*, New York, Peter Lang, 1984, p. 115.

¹⁰⁵ R. Ornstein, *The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy*, Madison and Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin Press, 1965, p. 187; T.S. Eliot, 'Thomas Middleton', p. 162.

¹⁰⁶ R. Eyre, programme.

¹⁰⁷ D.E. Henderson, 'Afterlives: Stages and beyond', p. 331, emphasis added.

century' that was instrumental in bringing Middleton and others back to the public consciousness, before worrying that their increasing popularity and canonicity has resulted in an 'aestheticising and depoliticising tendency in the performance of these plays today'.¹⁰⁸ The following exchange between Beatrice and Deflores certainly supports a class-based reading of the play:

Bea. Think but upon the distance that Creation
Set 'twixt thy blood and mine, and keep thee there.

Def. Look but into your conscience, read me there,
'Tis a true Book, you'l find me there your equall:
Push, flye not to your birth, but settle you
In what the act has made you, y'are no more now,
You must forget your parentage to me,
Y'are the deed's creature, by that name
You lost your first condition, and I challenge you,
As peace and innocency has turn'd you out,
And made you one with me.¹⁰⁹

Beatrice explicitly invokes the language of hierarchy and position—concepts that eventually evolved into class consciousness—in an attempt to regain power in this scene, using her aristocratic status against Deflores's servitude to separate herself from his advances. He, quite cleverly, turns the same language back on her, disintegrating the power structures that separate them socially ('you'l find me there your equal: / Push, flye not to your birth') and then unite them in crime, making her 'one with [him]'. That unity does carry a sexual sense: man and wife become one in the marriage ceremony, and Deflores has symbolically claimed Beatrice's wedding vows for himself by cutting the finger bearing her ring from Alonzo's dead hand. Given Beatrice's appeal to class in the previous speech, however, it must also carry a social, hierarchical sense: by conscripting him to murder, Beatrice has aligned herself with Deflores in more ways

¹⁰⁸ P. Aebischer and K. Prince, 'Introduction, p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ F1r-F1v

than one. As so often in *The Changeling*, the text carries multiple meanings and creates ambiguity, allowing for a variety of stage interpretations.

Eyre's production sought to articulate the class commentary inherent in the text—but largely missing from the performance tradition—by using race and, particularly, race-based enslavement as highly visible markers of class. His hugely problematic mixed-race casting seems intended to shift focus away from Beatrice and Deflores' sexual transgressions and onto the implicit class politics underscoring both plotlines. Eyre states explicitly that he saw the racial component of his production as a vehicle for a message contained within the text of the play, rather than a message in its own right: 'In this production', he says in his programme note, 'I have tried to make this interdependence of rank and money visibly apparent, by transporting the play to a Spanish slave colony of the nineteenth century'.¹¹⁰ In other words, miscegenation and racially-motivated violence and oppression were not the specific targets of his production, but rather oppression, class conflict, and inequality more generally; the slave colony setting for his production was apparently intended as a microcosm within which to explore these broader issues rather than specifically to filter them through the lens of race *per se*.

This reductionist approach is also evidenced in the selection of material included in the programme, compiled by Tom Goodwin. Separated into several headings, including 'Money and Revenge', 'Women and Marriage', and 'Madness and Madhouses', the programme is composed mostly of quotations, images, and short essays on the thematic content of the play. Two sections deal with money and power, and the 'Money and Revenge' heading cites Francis Bacon bemoaning the idolatry committed in the name of money, 'as if it could do all things, public and private'. It also notes that, at the

¹¹⁰ R. Eyre, programme.

time *The Changeling* was written, ‘the monarchy itself would [soon] fall before this new, fast-growing power’—i.e., capital.¹¹¹ In the separate section entitled ‘Class and Race’, only one of the three quotations used explicitly mentions race, and power is more clearly linked to financial wealth than to racial difference: ‘Power came to be concentrated in the hands of these country squires. They were the lords of the earth and of men. The lords of women also. Their houses were the expression of an enormous feudal might’.¹¹² The 1988 programme, then, fails to adequately represent the interconnected nature of class, race, gender, and power.

It is important to note that the casting for Eyre’s *Changeling* was purposefully mixed-race, as opposed to ‘colour blind’ or ‘non-racially constrained’: his aim was not to suggest that any good actor can play Deflores, regardless of race; equally, the goal was not to demonstrate that ‘performers of differing black and Asian races could be cast in the same family’.¹¹³ Rather, Eyre consciously cast people of colour in particular roles in an effort to shift the message of the play, and chose his setting in order to make the ‘interdependence of rank and money visibly apparent’.¹¹⁴ In order to adhere to his vision of an historical, slave-colony setting, none of the non-servant castle characters were played by black actors; white bodies dominated the upper crust of Eyre’s island colony. Black bodies only appear in the roles of servants and ‘madpeople’.¹¹⁵

Consider, for example, the treatment of Lollo and Diaphanta in the production. Lollo, played by black actor Paul Barber, was costumed as a grotesque version of Deflores: he wore a very similar military uniform with more embellishments than Deflores’s. The uniform, however, was also more tattered and worn, and obviously had

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² *ibid.*

¹¹³ L. Goddard, ‘Race and gender dynamics in Talawa’s *Otello*’, C. Dymkowski and C. Carson (eds.), *Shakespeare in Stages: New Theatre Histories*, Cambridge, CUP, 2010, pp. 248-263, p. 250.

¹¹⁴ R. Eyre, programme

¹¹⁵ ‘Madpeople’ is the term used in the 1988 programme to designate inmates of Alibius’s madhouse.

not been cared for to the same degree as Deflores's; Barber also was not made up with the 'tribal scarifications' that covered Harris's face as Deflores. The parallel costuming perhaps reflects the theory that Lollo and Deflores might have been played by the same actor in the seventeenth century; certainly there are links between the two characters in the text, if not in performance, as I note in the introduction. One of these links is both characters' attempts to bed their mistresses: as Deflores lusts after Beatrice-Joanna, so Lollo desires Isabella. In Eyre's production, both of those pairings are mixed race: Deflores and Lollo are black, Beatrice and Isabella are white. Similarly, Catherine Lee Johnson as Diaphanta—dressed vaguely "tribal" clothing with lots of heavy jewellery—stands in for Beatrice on her wedding night, creating another mixed-race couple through her sexual encounter with Alsemero (played by white actor Paul Jesson). In all three examples of miscegenation in the production, the black character was of lower status than the white character.

As these examples show, Eyre participates in a trend identified by bell hooks as 'the institutionalization via mass media of specific images, representations of race, of blackness that support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of all black people'.¹¹⁶ Eyre's very specific casting choices betray the conservatism (or, at the very least, the blissful ignorance of white privilege) inherent in his approach to race in the production: it falls into the trap of portraying, for example, 'the black woman as the white woman's maid' and 'racist assumptions of dangerous black men' in its casting of black actors as Diaphanta and Deflores without including any black actors in non-servant roles.¹¹⁷ In addition, the production participates in the kind of "divide and conquer" politics that fuelled, for example, racial segregation in the United States: although Alibius and Isabella are lower status characters than

¹¹⁶ b. hooks, *Black Looks: race and representation*, Boston, MA, South End Press, 1992, p.

¹¹⁷ L. Goddard, p. 253.

Vermandero, Beatrice-Joanna, and Alsemero, they were played by white actors whereas their servant—Lollo—was played by a black actor. The implicit message is that being poor and white is still better than being poor and black. As hooks asks, ‘What can the future hold if our present entertainment is the spectacle of colonization, dehumanization, and disempowerment where the image serves as a murder weapon?’¹¹⁸ Eyre’s production therefore—apparently unwittingly—contributes to the abiding image of ‘oppression, exploitation, and overall domination’ in his casting and setting, choosing a blunt and over-simplified depiction of race and class over a more nuanced interpretation.

‘Othello-like’: George Harris and the black classical actor¹¹⁹

There is a double-bind in the critical responses to this production, in which critics reacted to a perceived transgression whilst Eyre and his team attempted (unsuccessfully) to use that transgression as a catalyst for a discussion about wider-ranging social issues. The transgression in question, of course, is Eyre’s casting of black actors in traditionally non-black roles in a play that, by 1988, was quickly becoming part of the classical repertoire. More specifically, critics focused on the mixed-race couple of Harris’s Deflores and Miranda Richardson’s Beatrice-Joanna. Eyre’s failure to convince critics of his interpretation comes largely as a result of his essentially conservative approach to mixed-race casting, but the fact remains that reviews focused largely on Harris’s presence as a black man in the play and on his sexual transgressions with lily-white Richardson rather than on any broader issues of class raised by Eyre’s casting choices. Indeed, many reviewers were rendered incapable of actually critiquing the production, its politics, and its performances, devolving instead into racial stereotypes.

¹¹⁸ b. hooks, *Black Looks*, p. 7.

¹¹⁹ C. Hirschhorn, ‘Hammer horror in the poetic vein’, *The Sunday Express*, 26 June 1988.

Michael Coveney of the *Financial Times*, for example, saw Harris's Deflores as nothing 'more luscious or lascivious than a routinely articulated Caliban with the hots for the boss's daughter'.¹²⁰ Caliban, of Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, was usually played by a black actor by the 1980s, and was seen as one of Shakespeare's signature comments on race relations and colonial power; indeed, Caliban was one of the few consistent opportunities for actors of colour to play a classical role at the time. Given Eyre's chosen tropical setting, Caliban's enslavement by the magician Prospero, and the "deformity" of both characters, Caliban is perhaps a more appropriate point of comparison with Deflores than, say, Othello, another character traditionally read as black.

Othello, however, was the most popular touchstone for critics looking to compare Middleton and Rowley's villain with one of Shakespeare's characters, which is strange given the almost complete lack of comparisons between *The Changeling* and *Othello* prior to this point. More commonly, *The Changeling* is compared to *Macbeth*; where it is compared to *Othello*, Deflores is usually equated with Iago, not the Moor himself. Just ten years earlier in Stoke-on-Trent, for example, T.G.W. was so impressed by Jim Masters' Deflores that 'it made [him] eager to see this actor playing Iago, who so resembles this character'.¹²¹ Both Deflores and Iago are similarly scheming and underhanded, and both develop a conspiratorial relationship with the audience through multiple soliloquies and asides. Othello, by contrast, has little in common with Deflores, except perhaps that both men kill the women they purport to love. Deflores is not motivated by jealousy, as Othello is, and acts as manipulator, rather than manipulated, in his relationships with others in the play—much as Iago does in *Othello*. Deflores has more in common with Richard III, Cornwall (*King Lear*), or, indeed, Iago, than with

¹²⁰ M. Coveney, 'The Changeling/Lyttleton', *Financial Times*, 26 June 1988.

¹²¹ T.G.W., 16 March 1979.

Othello; in fact, he has even more in common with the villains of Jacobean tragedy such as Bosola (*The Duchess of Malfi*), Flamineo (*The White Devil*), and Livia (*Women Beware Women*) than with any character from Shakespeare's canon. These characters are broadly associated with various interpretations of the politics of Niccolò Machiavelli, and all of them are actively scheming and underhanded rather than "tragically flawed". Othello, on the other hand, is painted as the tragic hero, so remorseful over his murder of Desdemona that he commits suicide; Deflores kills himself, too, but, as his dying lines demonstrate, he shows no shred of regret for his actions: 'I have drunk up all, left none behind / For any man to pledge me'.¹²² In addition, Harris, as far as I can tell, had never played Othello professionally when he took the stage as Deflores; the comparison, therefore, cannot even be attributed to a memory of Harris in that role. In light of all this, I argue that the similarities critics suddenly see between Deflores and Othello in 1988 can only be attributed to their immediate connection of a black actor in a leading classical role with the Moor of Venice.

Despite the lack of textual or theatrical basis for the comparison, Deflores-as-Othello dominates reviews of Eyre's production. Coveney mentions it a few lines below his Caliban comment, and Clive Hirschhorn of *The Sunday Express*, Peter Kemp of *The Independent*, and Christopher Edwards of *The Spectator* all devote significant column-space to comparing Deflores—or, more specifically, Harris as Deflores—to Othello.

Hirschhorn is particularly blatant: 'Othello-like black actor George Harris is a physically imposing De Flores'.¹²³ Perhaps recognising the absurdity of the comparison, Hirschhorn explicitly links Othello with 'black actor George Harris', rather than the character Harris plays: traditionally black character and black actor are conflated, with Deflores as a dangling afterthought in the equation, black by accident of association.

¹²² sig. I2v

¹²³ C. Hirschhorn, 26 June 1988.

Equally prevalent—and problematic—in the popular assessment of Harris’s Deflores are references to his physique. He is variously ‘tall and stealthy’, ‘physically imposing’, ‘primitive’, ‘massively virile’, and ‘tall and dignified’, with review after review calling on stereotypical descriptions of black men in their depictions of Harris as Deflores.¹²⁴ More than that, almost every review mentions the ‘tribal scarifications’ that were visible on Harris’s face: parallel horizontal scars on both cheeks intended to mark him out as someone who was high-ranking before his enslavement by the Spanish, in keeping with Deflores’ assertion that he ‘tumbled into th’world a Gentleman’.¹²⁵ The ugliness or deformity attributed to Deflores in the text is a constant source of creativity for costume designers, although the specifics of his disfiguration rarely merit a mention in reviews: the play refers to Deflores as having a ‘Dog-face’, a ‘bad face’, a face that ‘loathes one’, ‘so foul / One would scarce touch it with a sword he loved’.¹²⁶ Critics read Harris’s scars as indicative of a message about miscegenation as a ‘tragic taboo’, yet again refocusing Eyre’s production away from questions of ‘rank and cash’ and onto Beatrice’s supposed, perverse desire for the eminently undesirable Deflores.¹²⁷ Although he does not tie the problem specifically to the respective races of the tragic couple, Billington laments Miranda Richardson’s ‘underplaying’ of Beatrice’s ‘ungovernable sexual obsession’ with Deflores: another circumvention of Eyre’s attempts to engage with the play’s questions about class and power. According to reviewers, Deflores’s scars are a compounding of the “real” reason he should be undesirable in Eyre’s production—his race—and serve as a reminder of her sexual misconduct rather than as a complex signifier of his pre-colonial class.

¹²⁴ M. Coveney, 26 June 1988; C. Hirschhorn, 26 June 1988; P. Kemp, ‘Lust, madness, and death’, *Independent*, 25 June 1988; I. Wardle, ‘Roles calculated in fine balance’, *Times*, 24 June 1988; C. Edwards, ‘Damned souls’, *Spectator*, 2 July 1988.

¹²⁵ sig. C3v.

¹²⁶ sigs. D3r, H1v, and H3r.

¹²⁷ M. Coveney, 26 June 1988.

The focus on Harris's body in the role of Deflores is coupled with a sense that he was incapable of delivering the role appropriately. As I note above, he is the only actor to play Deflores who received more published comments on his appearance in the role than the actor playing Beatrice alongside him. Like many Beatrices, Harris was also the target of comments suggesting that he did not understand or was not capable of properly speaking a classical text. Billington is more subtle than some in his racism and elitism when he tells us that,

Mr. Eyre has opened his account with a bold, arresting production very different in style from Peter Hall's militant classicism. What worries me is not so much the Babel of regional accents—everything from Geordie to Liverpudlian—as the sense that the play's meaning is being imparted visually rather than verbally. Classical theatre is partly about a communicated delight in language: I only hope Mr Eyre puts that high on his list of priorities as he takes over the National's hot seat.¹²⁸

Although he does not mention Harris's accent specifically, the implication that classic plays should not be spoken in 'a Babel of regional accents'—the biblical image evoking hubris, confusion, and ruin—clearly includes "foreign" accents such as Harris's Caribbean patois as well. Peter disguises his prejudices in the mantle of "experience", arguing that neither Richardson nor Harris had enough 'experience of classical work', and suggesting that 'it's cruel and irresponsible to expose such actors, in such a difficult play, to the merciless acoustics of the Lyttleton'.¹²⁹ Other critics are more explicit, however. Edwards tells us that Harris 'certainly has physical presence, but there is only a limited ability to explore the rhythms of the verse'; Hirschhorn regards him as 'physically imposing' but notes that he 'swallows too many of the lines'.¹³⁰ Later in his review, Billington calls Harris a 'striking' Deflores but notes that his 'best effects are visual'. Throughout, critics walk the tightrope between critique and blatant racism in

¹²⁸ M. Billington, 'Fateful Attractions', *The Guardian*, 25 June 1988, available from ProQuest Historical Newspapers, (accessed 20 October 2013).

¹²⁹ J. Peter, 6 July 1988.

¹³⁰ C. Edwards, 2 July 1988; C. Hirschhorn, 26 June 1988.

their reviews on Eyre's *Changeling*, doubling down on the production's clumsy attempt to separate the issues of race and class.

The emphasis on Harris's appearance and vocal quality as Deflores is problematic for a number of reasons. As Geoffrey Davis and Anne Fuchs note, use of language and the variation possible within the broad umbrella of "English" are crucial tools of reclamation within Black and South Asian British theatre. More specifically, they call upon Jatinder Verma's and others' use of "Binglish", Creole, and patois to advocate for 'a multicultural theatre practice which would not only reflect the great variety of ways in which English is spoken by communities of different origin in modern Britain today but also accommodate the input of non-European languages'.¹³¹ Critical dislike of 'regional accents' (and, implicitly, non-white "foreign" voices, too), particularly on historically white-dominated stages such as the National's and in classical leading roles highlights the enduring discrimination that infuses those spaces even to the present day. Twenty-two years after Eyre's *Changeling*, David Oyelowo was the first black man to play one of Shakespeare's English kings when he took on the role of Henry VI for the RSC *This England: The Histories* cycle in 2000-01, a choice that attracted 'hate mail that came "in the guise of fan mail": Oyelowo said in a recent *Guardian* interview that the implied message he received was "how dare you enter a realm that is not yours to enter?"¹³² Three years later, when Nicholas Hytner cast Adrian Lester as Henry V at the National, the director felt the need to tell readers of the *Telegraph* that 'It is a matter of no consequence whatsoever that the real Henry V didn't look like Adrian. [...] No

¹³¹ G.V. Davis, 'Introduction: Staging New Britain', G.V. Davis and A. Fuchs (eds.), *Staging New Britain: Aspects of Black and South Asian British Theatre Practice*, Brussels, P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2006, pp. 15-34, p. 26.

¹³² D. Alberge, 'David Oyelowo to play James Bond...after landing audiobook role', *Guardian*, 13 August 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/aug/13/david-oyelowo-first-black-actor-james-bond-trigger-mortis-audiobook>, (accessed 30 August 2015).

apologies are necessary'.¹³³ Although castings like these can be read as evidence of progress, it is worth noting, perhaps, that both Oyelowo and Lester are British-born and do not speak with discernable 'regional' accents.

In attempting to shift the performance history of *The Changeling*, Eyre failed to recognise that it is impossible and, indeed, undesirable to separate the issues of class and race—particularly in a Western (post-)colonial context—when making his setting and casting choices. The evidence of the programme notes and the details of the production as discussed above suggest that Eyre's misguided intention was to use race as a vehicle to discuss issues of class, rather than to address race and miscegenation explicitly. These intentions, as I have demonstrated, betray a fundamental misunderstanding of the intersectionality of race, class, gender, and power. They also fail to consider the fundamental visibility of race as a marker of difference, particularly at the end of a decade littered with racially-motivated riots.

Eyre's attempted critique of class structures through race was further confused by performance, where passion and taboo romance gained central importance; as Barker and Nicol argue, 'Rather than an indictment of the moral degradation occasioned by these passions, Eyre's [*Changeling*] offered a critique of the oppressive social order that forced [Beatrice and Deflores] into poisonous (but liberating) channels' which, in turn, refocused the play onto sexual misconduct as opposed to the 'oppressive social order' itself.¹³⁴ Miscegenation as taboo is an obvious consequence of power structures that suppress and oppress people of colour, but this was not Eyre's primary concern in staging *The Changeling*. Nonetheless, his clumsy attempt to separate race from class, and the consequent critical refusal to separate Harris's blackness from his portrayal of

¹³³ N. Hytner, 'Once more unto the breach', *Telegraph*, 10 May 2003, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/drama/3594229/Once-more-unto-the-breach.html>, (accessed 30 August 2015).

¹³⁴ R. Barker and D. Nicol, 'Does Beatrice-Joanna Have a Subtext?', para. 21.

Deflores resulted in a legacy for Eyre's production that places it in line with the 'sex tragedy' understanding of the play common throughout the twentieth century and exemplified at the Aldwych in 1978.

Conclusion: *The Changeling* as emerging classic

This chapter has examined the extent to which these productions of *The Changeling* participate in the political, cultural, and economic shifts of the 1970s and '80s. It considers, too, the ways in which the play was rapidly becoming a "classic" of the English repertoire, both as a text to be read in schools and as a play to be performed on major stages, directed and performed by some of the biggest names of the age. The ascent of *The Changeling* up Munro's categories to its current, in some senses, canonical status has a number of consequences, as I discuss in my literature review: it creates an expectation that further productions will conform to an existing idea of what the play "is" and privileges scholarly and early printed texts over theatrical performance. The performance tradition for *The Changeling*, established in the 1970s and solidified by 1988, emphasises the sexual rather than social aspects of the text. This emphasis is reflected in staging and design choices, critical reception, and academic scholarship, as demonstrated particularly clearly by the persistence of the Freudian interpretation of Beatrice and Deflores's relationship.

Interlude: Bridging 1988 and 2012

Many productions excluded from this thesis were produced in the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century. Neill argues that ‘by the 1990s *The Changeling*’s reputation was sufficiently established to generate a series of experimental re-visionings evidently intended to breathe new life into an all-too-familiar classic’.¹³⁵ As evidence, Neill cites Mark Rylance’s 1991 production for the British Chinese Theatre, in which the castle was re-imagined as a takeaway restaurant, John Wright’s ‘much cut and rewritten version’ in 2001, Mamamissi Productions’ ‘revamped’ version at Southwark Playhouse in 2002, and Marcus Thompson’s 1997 film version starring Ian Dury.¹³⁶ Emma Rice’s 1999 adaptation, *The Itch*, is another obvious example. We might also add Shakespeare at the Tobacco Factory’s 2004 production—which I discuss briefly in the Introduction—and the 2009 ITV version, retitled *Compulsion*, to this list.

Neill would seem to suggest that *The Changeling* had “arrived” by 1990 and that its status as a classic had been firmly established. A sense of freedom to experiment with the play—particularly at a textual level, as in Wright’s production—can also be seen as a symptom of the digital turn: accessible word processing, for example, meant that making radical cuts and changes to an early modern script became much simpler than it would have been even ten years earlier. These two forces—growing cultural capital and the digital turn—together have dramatically shifted conversations about *The Changeling* and early modern drama more broadly over the past thirty years.

The explosion of new texts online—as well as the newly increased accessibility of old texts in new formats through platforms such as Google Books and academic databases such as Early English Books Online (EEBO)—has dramatically shifted the ways in which we understand texts and textuality. Print was once imagined as a fixed

¹³⁵ M. Neill, ‘Introduction’, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p. xxxvii n.

state, a known and relatively unchanging quantity and a source of authority; '[w]ith new media practices and the World Wide Web challenging the fixity of print and creating new links between visual, oral and textual communication forms', however, 'print culture studies is shifting to acknowledge the need to view texts, past and present, in wider contexts'.¹³⁷ The sociality of texts, which Jerome McGann has long argued for, has become more evident with the advent of digital text-making technologies.¹³⁸ Whilst some have identified this shift as the end of print, Harold Love reminds us that the last major shift in textual technology—the arrival of the printing press—did not obliterate its predecessors:

Instead of a new communicative technology wholly obliterating old ones, what more commonly happens is an overall expansion of communication in which all kinds are carried forward, though there will inevitably be interactions and relocations of cultural responsibilities.¹³⁹

The bridges between the printing press and the digital revolution, a seventeenth-century play and twenty-first century immersive digital media may at first seem unstable. As I argue in my final chapters, however, all of these components grapple with questions of audience engagement and impact, with definitions of community, and with thorny issues such as democracy and access. Both are also subject to prevailing cultural and historical myths.

One key component of emergent digital media is the proliferation of virtual spaces that function both independently of and simultaneously with the analog world that creates and engages with them: Robin Teigland and Dominic Power point out that 'as our lives become ever more virtual and the virtual takes on ever more convincing and engaging forms, we must think of these not as purely virtual or abstract phenomena

¹³⁷ D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, 'Introduction', D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*, second edition, London, Routledge, 2006, pp. 1-6, p. 3.

¹³⁸ J. McGann, *The Textual Condition*, p. 21.

¹³⁹ H. Love, 'Early Modern Print Culture: Assessing the Models', D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*, 2nd edition, New York, Routledge, 2002, pp. 74-86, p. 76.

but as lived spaces'. These virtual spaces are an important element of the digital revolution, as David Beer points out: 'code, algorithms and software have come to constitute space' in ways similar to our natural and built environments (e.g., mountaintops and theatres).¹⁴⁰ Web 2.0—a term that emerged in the early 2000s—facilitates these kinds of spaces and distinguishes itself from previous incarnations of digital media through its emphasis on user-generated content and user-controlled experiences.¹⁴¹ As a result, the digital world becomes ever more immersive, and the virtual space 'itself [becomes] vital to our experience'.¹⁴² Teigland and Power emphasise the importance of 'understand[ing] the role of landscapes and passive interfaces' when engaging with digital media.¹⁴³ What they articulate as crucial to an understanding of 'the metaverse' also applies to the distinctly non-digital and non-virtual experience of seeing a performance in, for example, the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse (SWP), however.¹⁴⁴ As Merlynda Lim argues, '[d]igital media and physical urban spaces have become interdependent' in modern political and social movements; the 'socially produced' nature of space applies in both the physical and the digital realm.¹⁴⁵ According to this mode of thought, the 'landscapes and passive interfaces' frame, to some extent, the kinds of interactions that can happen within the space, whether a highly detailed, interactive digital environment in video games such as *Skyrim* or a meticulously researched physical space featuring candles, gold leaf, and period costumes at the SWP.

¹⁴⁰ R. Teigland and D. Power, 'Postcards from the Metaverse: Introduction to the Immersive Internet', R. Teigland and D. Power (eds.), *The Immersive Internet*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2013, pp. 1-12, p. 2; D. Beer, *Popular Culture and New Media: The Politics of Creation*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2013, p. 28.

¹⁴¹ see C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, London, Sage, 2014, p. 32.

¹⁴² R. Teigland and D. Power, 'Postcards from the Metaverse...', p. 9.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ "Metaverse" is defined as "The convergence of 1) virtually enhanced physical reality and 2) physically persistent virtual space. It is a fusion of both, while allowing users to experience it as either". J.M. Smart, J. Cascio, and J. Paffendorf, 'Glossary', 'Metaverse Roundup Overview', Accelerated Studies Foundation, 2007, <http://metaverseroadmap.org/inputs4.html#glossary>, (accessed 12 September 2015).

¹⁴⁵ M. Lim, 'Seeing spatially: people, networks, and movements in digital and urban spaces', *International Development Planning Review*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2014, pp. 51-72, p. 52.

Beer, building from the work of Walter Benjamin and Sherry Turkle, discusses the possibility of an intelligent environment, in which he sees ‘the potential for all objects to be connected and tracked in different ways and for the environment, through such objects, to become increasingly connected’.¹⁴⁶ Considering the impact of such an environment, Beer notes that the very invisibility of the infrastructure that makes this kind of connectivity possible is both part of its allure and part of its danger: ‘the more integrated the infrastructure, the less noticeable it is. In this way, infrastructures have the capacity to feel natural’.¹⁴⁷ That very naturalness and seeming neutrality—or absorption into the ‘dominant’, in Raymond Williams’ terms—gives those with power over the connected environment the capacity to abuse it, as we have seen with the government surveillance revelations of Chelsea Manning and Edward Snowden.¹⁴⁸

The motif of connectivity is couched in terms of community—we refer to online platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter as *social* media—and yet it has the capacity to separate, segregate, and perform anti-social functions to the same extent that it connects. The gap in the argument about intelligent, networked environments, as Beer acknowledges, lies in the presence of ‘older and more traditional objects’ and the ways in which they ‘interface with [...] new types of networked or connected objects’.¹⁴⁹ I argue in my final case study, for example, that the space of the SWP is one example of a productive but fraught relationship between ‘older and more traditional’ media such as the theatre and newer ‘networked or connected objects’.

In the chapters that follow, I leap forward into the twenty-first century, considering the particularly radical interpretation of *The Changeling* directed by Joe Hill-

¹⁴⁶ D. Beer, *Popular Culture and New Media: The Politics of Circulation*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2013, p. 21. See also W. Benjamin, ‘Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting’, H. Arendt (ed.), *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, New York, Schocken, 1978, pp.59-68 and S. Turkle (ed.), *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With*, Boston, The MIT Press, 2007.

¹⁴⁷ D. Beer, *Popular Culture and New Media*, p. 22.

¹⁴⁸ see also M. Crang and S. Graham, ‘Sentient Cities: Ambient Intelligence and the Politics of Urban Space’, *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 10, no. 6, 2007, pp. 789-817.

¹⁴⁹ D. Beer, *Popular Culture and New Media*, p. 21.

Gibbins at the Young Vic in 2012 and the surprisingly conservative interpretation at the SWP, directed by Dominic Dromgoole, in 2015. The legacy of the play's twentieth-century performance history continues to influence its life in the twenty-first, especially as its reputation as a literary text grows and its performance history continues to develop. Such is the speed of *The Changeling's* upward trajectory that Neill could introduce the play in 2006 as 'amongst the finest tragedies of an exceptionally prolific era'.¹⁵⁰ The treatments of this emergent classic at the Young Vic and the SWP both bolster and challenge some of the prevailing interpretations of Middleton, Rowley, their dramaturgy, and their characters, including the Freudian reading, the primacy of sexuality in the play, and the relationship between the two plots. These two productions are also very much products of the digital age, although this aspect of modernity manifests differently in each.

My methodology changes in the final two case studies because these were productions that I was able to see in person. I saw the Young Vic *Changeling* twice, once in the original production and once in the revival, and the SWP *Changeling* three times, at various points during its winter 2015 run. In addition, both of these productions have produced enormous digital vernacular archives, consisting of professional reviews published online by national newspapers such as the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* as well as amateur reviews in blogs, micro-blogging apps such as Facebook and Twitter, and crowd-sourced websites such as TripAdvisor. As I explore in these final chapters, these new technologies are changing the ways in which performances and texts are produced, archived, and interpreted.

¹⁵⁰ M. Neill, 'Introduction', p. viii.

Chapter Three, Re-making Middleton for the 21st Century: the Young Vic, 2012

The Changeling saw perhaps its most commercially successful production since the seventeenth century in 2012 at the Young Vic. Staged first in the Maria studio space, and then revived for the main stage several months later—and sold out in both runs—this production is an innovative and exciting contribution to the performance history of the play. The critical response to the original production, which opened on 26 January 2012, was uncharacteristically warm, rejoicing in the ‘perverse spirit of this grisly, twisty tragedy’.¹ The tone of the critical response changed slightly when the revival opened on 20 November 2012, with most feeling that the production ‘ha[d]n’t gained’ in the move from the Maria to the main stage.² The productions were directed by Young Vic associate artistic director Joe Hill-Gibbins, with dramaturgy by Zoe Svendsen and design by Ultz. Svendsen describes herself as having a background in European and experimental theatre, and Hill-Gibbins had never directed an early modern play professionally before *The Changeling*. In fact, he had no desire to work on this particular play. Dominic Cooke suggested it to him, and he initially rejected the proposal on the grounds that, because of its dual-plot structure, it was simply ‘too fucking hard’ to do.³ The production hinges on the balance between Hill-Gibbins’ and Svendsen’s earnest attempts to represent the play as it exists in quarto on the one hand, and their desire to update and reimagine it on the other.

The Young Vic production(s) in 2012 mark the first time that a version of *The Changeling* has been popular enough to merit a revival on a well-known, professional stage. This is significant because—considered in tandem with the spike in early modern

¹ B. Brantley, ‘Revenge Served Sticky and Comedy Staged Clearly’, *ArtsBeat: The New York Times Blogs*, 7 February 2012, <http://artsbeat.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/07/london-theater-journal-revenge-served-sticky-and-cleanly-staged-comedy/>, (accessed 15 October 2012).

² M. Billington, ‘The Changeling—review’, *Guardian*, 27 November 2012, available from ProQuest Historical Newspapers, (accessed 6 July 2013).

³ qtd. in N. Tripney, ‘Changing *The Changeling*’, *Exeunt*, 13 November 2012, <http://exeuntmagazine.com/features/changing-the-changeling/>, (accessed 20 April 2013).

tragedies on London stages in recent years—it could signal a new renaissance for playwrights such as Middleton and Rowley, who have long been marginal notes in the manuscript of Shakespeare’s success. Indeed, the Young Vic *Changeling* revival was closely followed by two similarly successful productions of early modern plays: *A Mad World, My Masters* at the RSC, which was originally produced in 2013 and has since been revived for a national tour and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* at the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, which was originally produced in 2014 and revived in 2015. The 2012 *Changeling* is also important because the productions’ success at the Young Vic, as opposed to one of the early modern-mandated companies such as Shakespeare’s Globe or the RSC, speaks to a conception of these plays that is alive in the popular imagination: Jacobean tragedians such as Middleton, Rowley, Webster, and Ford are perceived as more ‘our contemporaries’ than Shakespeare is, and they can therefore more easily be made to speak to our contemporary issues. Hill-Gibbins himself cites a feeling of modernity in the dialogue of *The Changeling* whilst speaking to Andrew Dickson of the *Guardian*: ‘We consider ourselves as very different to the Elizabethans and Jacobean, but some moments [in the play] you think: “God, I had that conversation in a bar the other day”’.⁴

The collision of past and present in the Young Vic production of *The Changeling* certainly reflects Hill-Gibbins’ sense that the Jacobean were not so different, but there are historical and theatrical implications bound up in the suggestions that Middleton, Rowley, and others are “just like us.” In the introduction to their edited collection *Reinventing the Renaissance*, Sara Brown, Robert I. Lublin, and Lynsey McCulloch express the issues inherent in the expanding and developing popularity of ‘400-year-old plays’:

⁴ A. Dickson, ‘Of love and death’, *Guardian*, 21 January 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/jan/20/jacobean-tragedies-changeling-duchess-malfi>, (accessed 20 April 2013).

[...]as the Western canon has expanded to include a range of voices that were previously excluded, one would expect the prevalence and importance of 400-year-old plays to diminish, making room for other works. Instead, the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries have found new articulation, and have provided a medium through which the concerns and experiences of our own age can be expressed. Contemporary artists, including writers, directors, scholars, and more have made the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries the material out of which they construct their own artistic projects, boldly and liberally reshaping the past to address the present, reinventing the Renaissance so that it speaks with purpose to the contemporary moment.⁵

Whilst we might hail these ‘new artistic projects’ that ‘boldly and liberally’ reconstruct the past as crucial moments in the dethroning of Shakespeare and the destabilising of the historical textual witness, it is important to remember that these plays were written within a set of historically contingent circumstances that influenced their writing. We reinvent the past, quite rightly, to speak ‘with purpose to the contemporary moment’, but equally we must address the historical problems at work in such ‘reshaping.’ If reinvention is to morph into literal re-writing, however—as it more easily does in the digital age—we must be conscious of the new, often historically incongruous, narratives that are created, sometimes inadvertently, by hailing ‘400-year-old plays’ as contemporary.

The creative team at the Young Vic prepared their rehearsal text with great care, and in this chapter I study the Young Vic rehearsal scripts in the same way that one might study other textual witnesses such as a quarto or manuscript. In speaking with Hill-Gibbins about this production, it became clear almost immediately that the quarto text was at the centre of his thinking about *The Changeling*, although in a way that might be considered slightly unusual by early modern scholars. For example, he dispensed with the traditional rehearsal technique of “table work”, where the cast sit down and effectively do a performative close reading of the play, discussing language, character

⁵ S. Brown, R.I. Lublin, L. McCulloch, ‘Introduction’, S. Brown, R.I. Lublin, and L. McCulloch (eds.), *Reinventing the Renaissance*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2013, pp. 1-14, p.1.

and—crucially in early modern scripts—features such as punctuation and lineation. Instead, Hill-Gibbins began his process with improvisation, and the cast never sat at a table. This would seem to contradict my claim above that Hill-Gibbins placed the text at the centre of his vision for the production. When I interviewed him, however, he was most keen to speak about the script and the work that he and Svendsen had done on it, indicating that this aspect of the production was what excited him most.

Whilst Hill-Gibbins contends that he simply pulled themes from the quarto text and pushed them to their extremes in his production—as opposed to intentionally reinterpreting the play as Eyre did 1988—he does not always consider the ways in which the contingencies of the particular cultural moment in which his production came to life reinterpreted the play on his behalf. This is not to say that Hill-Gibbins's interpretations are somehow invalid or inappropriate: quite the opposite. His understanding of the themes inherent in the text, however, is as historically contingent as the themes that the playwrights intended to communicate: to imagine that a 2012 audience can understand a text in the same way that Middleton, Rowley, and their contemporaries understood it in 1623 is to surrender to a narrative that relies upon nostalgia and fails to recognise the contemporaneity of a particular production as separate from anything inherent in a playtext.

Embracing Multivalence and Disjointedness

The Young Vic *Changeling* and its revival the same year embraced divergence in their staging choices, resulting in a production that consciously created multiple, overlapping significations and rejoiced in multivalence. Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen described the intended aesthetic of their production as one of 'jarring dissonance',

which they strove to achieve at every level of design, interpretation, and staging.⁶ Speaking to *TheatreVoice* ahead of the revival, Svendsen defined the setting and time period of the Young Vic *Changeling* as self-consciously multiple: '[w]e weren't going to create a kind of simple, empirical location that was one world and one period'.⁷ Whereas most other twentieth- and twenty-first-century productions have attempted to smooth over the play's rough edges—either through staging choices or textual adaptation—the Young Vic *Changeling* pushed the inherent ambiguities and disjunctures of the play's text to their logical extremes, creating an excess of signification in which potential but unrealised meanings existed—sometimes uncomfortably—alongside the meanings actually signified. In particular, I argue that the production's use of food and beverages and its multi-casting across the two plots accentuated rather than obscured the play's gaps and fissures.

Within the context of the play's history, it is somewhat surprising that the heavily adapted, deliberately disjointed, and distinctly non-naturalist Young Vic *Changeling* was such a commercial success—and the only modern production of the play to merit a revival. I suggest that the successes of Hill-Gibbins, Svendsen, and their team arose from their willingness to cast aside the narrative of what a “classic” play should be or do and, equally, from their embrace of the opportunities to create multiplicity and ambiguity in the production. In *How We Think*, N. Katherine Hayles engages with the idea that the practicalities of digital technologies—‘clicking a mouse, moving a cursor, etc.’—have resulted in neurological changes, such that the feeling of being ‘constantly distracted’ has become normalised.⁸ While she does not suggest that these changes lead

⁶ J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview.

⁷ qtd. Neill, H., ‘Dramaturg Zoe Svendsen discusses the Young Vic production of *The Changeling*’, *Theatre Voice*, 13 December 2012. <http://www.theatrevoice.com/audio/dramaturg-zoe-svendsen-discusses-the-young-vic-production-of-the-changeling/>, (accessed 15 May 2013).

⁸ N.K. Hayles, *How We Think: Digital Media and Contemporary Technogenesis*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2012, p. 2.

to ‘a general decline in intellectual capacity’, Hayles does acknowledge research suggesting that use digital technologies can result in ‘feelings of being constantly distracted, so that instead of focusing on a task for a relatively long time, one feels compelled to check email, search the web, break off to play a computer game, and so forth’.⁹ Whether or not these neurological shifts are harmful—and researchers disagree on that point—recent technological advances have certainly changed the ways in which we interact with texts as performances. As Worthen puts it, ‘transformation in the technology of performance necessarily transforms our understanding of its tools, its instruments and purposes’.¹⁰ By embracing the kinds of multiple focus enabled by the digital age, and rejecting the performance tradition of *The Changeling*, the expectations placed upon a canonical text in performance, and the dominant Stanislavski-derived approach to performance, the Young Vic team created a commercially successful, adaptive *Changeling*.

The original production was staged in the Young Vic’s Maria Studio, which provided an intimate space within which the events of the play unfolded. Given Boehrer’s argument that *The Changeling* is ‘perhaps the most harrowingly claustrophobic of early English tragedies’, and Kim Solga’s suggestion that the play is ‘about the sexual violence of space’, the closeness of audience and actors in the Young Vic’s Maria Studio provided an apt commentary on the proxemics suggested by the play’s text whilst simultaneously contributing to the contemporary “feel” of the production.¹¹ Although several key changes were made in the transition from the first production to the revival, including the move from the Maria to the larger main stage, the almost entirely new cast, and the re-worked script, the aesthetic of the production remained the same in both

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ W.B. Worthen, *Shakespeare Performance Studies*, p. 20.

¹¹ B. Boehrer, ‘Alsemero’s Closet: Privacy and Interiority in *The Changeling*’, *The Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. 96, 1997, pp. 349-368, p. 359; K. Solga, *Violence Against Women*, p. 141.

cases. Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen never wavered in their goal of bringing the past to the present in a way that would be accessible and entertaining for a wide range of audience members. The 2012 *Changeling* was therefore unrelentingly modern in both the original production and the revival. A black-box, breeze-block studio, the Maria was configured with audience on all four sides for this production, and Ultz worked with Hill-Gibbins to turn the studio into a ‘semi-surreal’ space.¹² The contemporaneity of the space itself, in its raw form—its concrete, its exposed lighting, and so on—was manipulated and utilised by Ultz rather than disguised under set and scenery; in this way, the audience occupied a space that existed very much in the present moment. Audience members were variously separated from the playing space by nets, stowed away within unfinished wooden boxes, or placed in wheelchairs set perilously close to the action. The space had the look and feel of a site under construction: raw wood, bare concrete, and harsh lighting from exposed bulbs all brought to mind a building in progress, or a space being renovated and reconstructed. Thus, it was simultaneously a space that was off-limits and one that was curiously perforated and porous: actors appeared from all sides, often exiting and re-entering from unexpected places. We were made aware that we were indoors, in the evening, lit by artificial theatrical lamps, sitting in the round in a space that was as unadorned as possible but was also, simultaneously, explicitly for and of this performance. Such a theatre would not have existed four hundred years ago but, at the same time, audience proximity and relatively unadorned performance spaces were key features of early modern performance, and in practice these are often the most difficult things for an actor to adjust to when working at reconstructed theatres such as Shakespeare’s Globe. Thus, the tensions between past and present that I explore throughout this chapter and the next were exemplified in Ultz’s design.

¹² M. Billington, ‘Review: Theatre: Frenzied dancing, mad excess...and jelly: *The Changeling* at the Young Vic’, *Guardian*, 4 February 2012, available from ProQuest Historical Newspapers, (accessed 26 September 2012).

The production appeared to be set roughly in the mid-twentieth century, with the cast in costumes broadly appropriate to that era. For example, Jessica Raine as Beatrice in the original production did not look so very different from her character on *Call the Midwife*, which was airing on BBC 1 at the same time; she sported pin curls and day dresses in both. This design choice allowed for certain small scripted moments, such as the exchange regarding Beatrice-Joanna's gloves in the first scene, as well as more central considerations such as the presence of servants throughout and the construction of the madhouse, to be accommodated relatively seamlessly. This periodisation also signals to the audience a time in which a woman's virginity might still have been important to her future husband. Despite the era suggested by the costumes, there was also an air of temporal non-specificity to the production, although not in the sense usually applied to Shakespeare's plays. Like the shifting space, which at any given moment might be the madhouse, a secret passage, or a banqueting hall, the action did not fit neatly into any particular historical period. Instead, past and present collided in the same way that the scenes did: without apology. For example, the dance of fools and madmen—which, in the quarto text, is rehearsed but never performed—was blended with the wedding masque at the top of the fourth act, set to distinctly twenty-first-century choreography by Maxine Doyle—known for her work with Punchdrunk on, for example, *Sleep No More* and *Duchess of Malfi*—and accompanied by a digital mash-up of Mendelssohn's wedding march and Beyonce's 'Single Ladies (Put a Ring On It)'. This resulted in the collision, quite literally, of at least three different historical periods. The entire cast participated in this dance, which I will examine in more detail below. The transition from the Madmen's Morris into the wedding masque served to summarise the feel of the whole production: time periods, styles, and plotlines crashed into and intertwined with each other throughout, often in unexpected and revealing ways.

According to Boehrer, *The Changeling* is ‘obsessed by images of the secret recess and the forbidden interior’, and this manifested for the Young Vic production in the cupboards, boxes, and cages from which characters continually emerged to take part in the drama.¹³ In addition, the open space of the stage was itself a kind of protean ‘secret recess’, where crimes such as murder, rape, and adultery were plotted and carried out; at some points, parts of the Maria stage became the equivalent of the early modern discovery space, particularly in the second half of the performance. For example, on the night of Beatrice-Joanna’s wedding to Alsemero, the stage is literally a ‘forbidden interior’: Alsemero’s bedroom. Beatrice-Joanna raids his closet and makes a bed trick pact with Diaphanta in this space whilst her wedding reception visibly and audibly rages on the other side of a door: the public space is the space in the wings, out of sight, whilst the private space is fully visible to the audience. The audience is brought into the secret space, making us complicit in the action that follows. As if to emphasise the point, Diaphanta (pretending to be Beatrice-Joanna) and Alsemero consummate the marriage in that same space, in full view of the audience—in fact, the marriage bed is present on stage throughout the production. In the hospital plot, the ‘fools and madmen’ reside primarily offstage, coding the space in which the action occurs as someplace separate, perhaps Alibius’ private rooms. Thus, Antonio and Isabella can be left entirely alone for a time, and Antonio, the counterfeit madman, can be brought in and out, whilst the cries and moans of the inmates resonate from offstage, perhaps more public, spaces. Alibius himself speaks of the ‘daily Visitants, that come to see / My brainsick Patients’ whom he would ‘not have / To see my wife’, implying that the madhouse contains public spaces to which the audience of *The Changeling* has no access.¹⁴ More metaphorically, Beatrice-Joanna violates Alsemero’s external private

¹³ Boehrer, ‘Alsemero’s Closet...’, p. 349

¹⁴ sig. C1r

spaces in order to conceal a violation of her internal private space: as a direct result of invading her husband's closet, 'the state of Beatrice's womb will remain, in a sense, inviolate; the enclosed secret of her nonvirginity contrasts both the violated perimeter of Alsemero's closet and with the vaginal penetration extorted from Beatrice by De Flores'.¹⁵ The knowledge of her non-virginity is shared only with the audience and Deflores, and therefore we understand the reasoning behind her conscription of Diaphanta on the wedding night, although the servant herself does not. In this sense, we too occupy violated, invaded space.

Of course, much of this is dictated by the text of *The Changeling*: the secret rooms and unseen, interior spaces identified by Boehrer and are features of the quarto as much as of any production. Aebischer's work on the 'ob-scene' space and Solga's analysis of *The Changeling's* oppressive architecture—as discussed in the Introduction and Literature Review—bear this out as well. A number of productions discussed in this thesis took steps to highlight the politics of space in the play, as I note throughout. I argue, however, that Hill-Gibbins' production is particularly self-conscious in its use of space due to the sheer number of collisions and overlaps between characters from each plot and the eternal presence of the marriage bed onstage. As I explore in the next section, this extra emphasis on space was facilitated by the ways in which Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen prepared their rehearsal scripts.

Text, Structure, and Plotting

Using five editions of the text, ranging temporally from a facsimile copy of the 1653 quarto to Douglas Bruster's edition for the Oxford *Middleton* (2007), Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen worked to create a hybrid script for rehearsals. Hill-Gibbins found in the

¹⁵ Boehrer, 'Alsemero's Closet...', p. 351

discrepancies between page layouts in the quarto and the edited texts a way in to the entire production: the absence of marked scenes in the first quarto, for example, inspired the hurling together of plots and characters noted by several reviewers. In addition, the absence of demarcated asides in the quarto inspired his directorial approach to an element of the play that has proven tricky to portray to modern audiences. As I discuss in Chapter One, the aside is a convention that highlights the theatricality of the performance event and plays deliberately in the metatheatrical space between the character, the actor, and the audience. Whilst director Michael Oakley used voiceover asides at Southwark Playhouse in 2011 to highlight the way that actors in *The Changeling* must ‘think one thing and play another’, Hill-Gibbins downplays the interpretive significance of asides.¹⁶ Implicitly critiquing Oakley’s take on the play, Hill-Gibbins bluntly asserts that an aside is ‘just a [normal] line of dialogue, to someone else’.¹⁷ That ‘someone else’ is usually the audience in *The Changeling*. In an effort to ‘get the cast to see the text the way that we were seeing it’, Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen adopted a set of codes for the text that would signal early modern devices such as asides without loading them with the baggage that familiar terms can carry for actors. This technique was particularly useful to Hill-Gibbins in the scenes between Beatrice-Joanna and Deflores, which are littered with asides. In the rehearsal script, these asides are signposted to the actors with italicised text rather than with the more traditional bracketed note. The 2011 version of the rehearsal script, which was used for the first production, still identifies the italicised text as ‘asides’: ‘Italicised lines indicate when the characters’ inner thoughts are spoken aloud whilst they are interacting with another

¹⁶ D.D. Martin, “Michael Oakley”, *Exeunt*, 14 November 2011. See also N. Williams, ““Cannot I keep that secret?”: Editing and performing asides in *The Changeling*”, *Shakespeare Bulletin*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2016, pp. 29-45, p. 35.

¹⁷ J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview.

character (i.e. “asides”)¹⁸ The 2012 version, which was used for the revival, dispenses with that language altogether, noting simply that ‘Italicised lines are spoken to the audience’.¹⁹

In performance, Hill-Gibbins’s casual approach to the asides was manifest primarily in ambiguity. For example, in a number of cases it was impossible to tell whether a line traditionally designated as an aside had, in fact, been heard by another character on stage. This slipperiness was supported and exaggerated by the production’s staging in-the-round: with audience on four sides, the focus of the asides was constantly in flux. Consider, for example, this exchange between Beatrice and Deflores:

BEATRICE:

Again!

*This ominous ill-faced fellow more disturbs me
Than all my other passions!*

DEFLORES

Now’t begins again:

I’ll stand this storm of hail though the stones pelt me.

BEATRICE

Thy business? What’s thy business?

DEFLORES

Soft and fair,

I cannot part so soon now.

BEATRICE

The villain’s fixed—

Thou standing toad-pool!

DEFLORES

The shower falls amain now.

BEATRICE

Who sent thee? What’s thy errand? Leave my sight!²⁰

¹⁸ 2011 rehearsal script, p. 3

¹⁹ 2012 rehearsal script, p. 3

²⁰ J. Hill-Gibbins and Z. Svendsen, 2011 rehearsal script, pp. 16-17.

Beatrice and Deflores here speak across but rarely *to* each other here, and most of the lines are directed to the audience as asides. A number of lines in this exchange were staged such that they might have been overheard by the other character: on the night that I saw the original production, for example, Deflores's "*Soft and fair / I cannot part so soon now*" was spoken whilst he was facing Beatrice, who was also looking at him. Her response, "*The villain's fixed*", was more clearly directed to the audience, suggesting that perhaps she had heard Deflores's supposed aside and chosen to ignore it. Ambiguity, here, exaggerates the metatheatricality of the aside convention, and Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen's approach stands in stark contrast to Tony Richardson's treatment of the asides fifty years earlier. As a performance strategy, in tandem with the editorial strategy of the rehearsal scripts, this treatment of the asides forces the audience to question the very nature of an aside and draws attention to its formal, conventional function. Where Richardson attempted to occlude the conventionality of the aside and co-opt it into a psychologically consistent performance mode, Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen pull in the opposite direction by abandoning psychological consistency in favor of formal experimentation.

There are enough changes between the December 2011 and October 2012 versions of the Young Vic rehearsal script to suggest that Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen spent a substantial amount of time re-thinking some of their initial textual choices. The general trend in the revival script is to reinstate lines that were cut from the first production—particularly within the castle plot— and to default to the punctuation of the first quarto, whilst leaving the edited lineation intact. Consider, for example, this exchange between Beatrice-Joanna and Deflores, as in the December 2011 script on the left and the October 2012 script on the right, changes in bold:²¹

²¹ J. Hill-Gibbins and Z. Svendsen, rehearsal script, *The Changeling*, 2011, personal copy, pp. 40-1; J. Hill-Gibbins and Z. Svendsen, rehearsal script, *The Changeling*, 2012, (revival), personal copy, pp. 45-6.

DEFLORES	DEFLORES
I have eased you	I have eased you
Of your trouble – think on't: I'm in pain	Of your trouble, think on it, I'm in pain
And must be eased of you; 'tis a charity.	And must be eased of you; it's a charity,
Justice invites your blood to understand me.	Justice invites your blood to understand me.
BEATRICE	BEATRICE
I dare not.	I dare not.
DEFLORES	DEFLORES
Quickly.	Quickly.
BEATRICE	BEATRICE
Oh, I never shall!	Oh I never shall,
I would not hear so much offence again	Speak it yet further off that I may lose
For such another deed.	What has been spoken, and no sound remain on it.
	I would not hear so much offence again
	For such another deed.

Within this short passage alone, there are several examples of lines that had initially been cut being reinstated for the revival; see, for example, Beatrice-Joanna's line 'Speak it yet further off that I may lose / What has been spoken, and no sound remain on it'.²²

Equally, there are a number of instances of quarto punctuation that had initially been updated being reinstated for the revival: the modern punctuation of 'I have eased you / Of your trouble—think on't: I'm in pain' in the original production reverts to 'I have eased you / Of your trouble, think on't, I'm in pain' in the revival, for example.²³

Overall, the October 2012 script is very lightly punctuated compared to the December

²² J. Hill-Gibbins and Z. Svendsen, 2012 rehearsal script, p. 45.

²³ *ibid.*

2011 script. Additionally, archaic contractions present in quarto that had been cut for the first production are frequently reinstated for the revival: in the December 2011 script, Deflores says ‘Faith, you’re grown much forgetful, you’re to blame in’t; in the October 2012 version, the line has reverted to its quarto form, which reads ‘Faith y’are grown much forgetful, y’are to blame in’t’.²⁴ At the same time, more words overall were changed from the quarto, presumably to facilitate audience understanding, as in Deflores’ line ‘I’m in pain / And must be eased of you; tis a charity’, which was changed to ‘I’m in pain and must be eased of you; it’s a charity’ for the revival.

Sometimes, however, these changes seem deliberately designed to confuse and complicate the play’s relationship to its original circumstances. For example, all of Deflores’ lines with instances of the archaic second-person pronoun (‘thee’, ‘thy’, or ‘thou’) saw these changed to the modern ‘you’ or ‘your’ without a change to the archaic verb form (‘fear’st’, faint’s’t). So the line ‘thou’lt love anon what thou so fear’st and faint’s’t to venture on’ became ‘you’ll love anon what you so fear’st and faint’s’t to venture on’ in the October 2012 rehearsal script. This grammatical error is presumably intentional: it marks a change from the December 2011 script, is present in the final version of the October 2012 script, and was spoken as printed by Zubin Varla in performance.

The obvious time and attention devoted to adapting the play’s text was obscured by performance, where multiplicity and incongruity reigned. The potential meanings arising from the changes outlined above are complex and difficult to pin down. They suggest both a desire to return to a script that more closely resembles the 1653 quarto—the source of much of Hill-Gibbins’ inspiration for the production—and a pressure to make the text accessible for the Young Vic’s audiences. The twinned Aristotelean and

²⁴ J. Hill-Gibbins and Z. Svendsen, 2011 rehearsal script, p. 40; 2012 rehearsal script, p. 45.

Stanislavskian expectations that scripted drama should cohere structurally and psychologically were resisted at every level of the Young Vic *Changeling*, as I shall explore in more detail below. Middleton and Rowley's text may have been the jumping-off point for Hill-Gibbins's and Svendsen's interpretation of the play, but the text was not at the forefront of their audiences' minds. Reviewers almost unanimously described the production in terms of extra-textual contradictions: it was variously 'creepy, sexy, and at times downright bonkers', 'flamboyant and frightening', 'warped and ironic, hysterical and hideous'.²⁵ These descriptions highlight the production's postmodern aesthetic: it defied tidy definitions and straightforward interpretations, and revelled instead in divergence and multiplicity.²⁶ Ironically, in responding to and building their production through attention to the details of the text, including the 'dissonance' that so many critics have observed in *The Changeling*, Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen created a version that seemed to eschew textual fidelity.

Structurally, Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen did a great deal of rearranging and conflating in order to bring down the running time and highlight the juxtaposition of plots—changes made possible (or, at least, much easier) by the word processing technologies of the digital age. As I have noted throughout this thesis, the plotting of *The Changeling* has resulted in a reputation as, to quote *Exeunt* reviewer Stewart Pringle, 'notoriously fractured' and 'full of contrasts and paradoxes'.²⁷ Hill-Gibbins speaks openly about his struggles to find a way into the play, which he sees as having 'different styles and dramaturgies' in different sections.²⁸ At times, he says, 'it really feels like,

²⁵ Spencer, C., 'A creepy, sexy Jacobean extravaganza every bit as nasty as today's plays', *Daily Telegraph*, available from ProQuest Historical Newspapers, (accessed 26 September 2012); Brown, G., 'Lacey's in a Class of Her Own as Callas', *Mail on Sunday*, 12 February 2012, available from ProQuest Historical Newspapers, (accessed 25 September 2012); M. Trueman, 'Review: The Changeling, Young Vic', *Culture Wars*, 6 February 2012, <http://matttrueman.co.uk/2012/02/review-the-changeling-young-vic.html>, (accessed 20 April 2013).

²⁶ N. Kaye, *Postmodernism and Performance*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1994, pp. 144-5.

²⁷ S. Pringle, January 2012.

²⁸ J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview

spontaneous, like they're just making it up as they go along'. In this, Hill-Gibbins articulates one of the dramatic effects of the discrepancies between Middleton's and Rowley's individual styles outlined by David Nicol.²⁹ Nicol suggests that Middleton and Rowley were fundamentally different in terms of the ways they believed people could be saved by God, and that this difference had a profound effect on their individual dramatic styles: Rowley appears to ascribe to a traditional (Pelagian) view, which emphasises good works, whilst Middleton is well-known as a Calvinist who ascribed to the doctrine of predestination. These fundamental differences, argues Nicol, manifest in the ways in which they portray characters making key decisions: Rowley appears to believe that his characters understand goodness and could choose the right path but do not (for a variety of reasons), whereas Middleton's characters tend to be either purely evil or purely good, as he imagines them to be predestined for either heaven or hell. This, in turn, results in discrepancies in characterisation between sections written by Rowley and sections written by Middleton in plays such as *The Changeling*.³⁰ Thus, what Hill-Gibbins sees as 'nightmare logic'—a progression of events that only makes sense within an altered reality—is potentially a manifestation of these fundamentally different world views and, consequently, writing styles colliding with each other. In an interview with Andrew Dickson of *The Guardian*, Hill-Gibbins uses Alonzo's death as an example of what he sees as the playwrights 'making it up as they go along': as soon as Beatrice-Joanna has the idea to have Deflores kill Alonzo, he says, 'Middleton just has De Flores walk on. She just has to act. And at the end of that scene, De Flores says he's going to kill Alonzo and who appears? Alonzo. The play doesn't allow anyone any time'.³¹ Raine, interviewed for the same article, concurs: 'Middleton's characters are always in the

²⁹ *ibid.*; D. Nicol, *Middleton and Rowley: Forms of Collaboration in the Jacobean Playhouse*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012, pp. 42-47.

³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 36-65

³¹ qtd. in A. Dickson, 'Of love and death', *The Guardian*, 21 January 2012

moment. [...] They have the seed of an idea and follow it through with 100% certainty. They don't think about the consequences'.³² This sense of time always running out is part of what critics have historically highlighted as a structural problem in the play.

Most reviews of the Young Vic production focus as much on the plot and the construction of the play itself as the performances, and Matt Trueman of *Culture Wars* is not alone in branding it a 'problem play'.³³ Despite decades of scholarly and theatrical attempts to put this kind of criticism to rest, the seeming disparity between the two plots of *The Changeling* was still seen as a problem in the early part of the twenty-first century. As I note elsewhere in this thesis, Hill-Gibbins himself initially dismissed the script on the grounds that its plots were too disparate.³⁴ Putting the construction in a more positive light, Andrew Hilton, director of the 2004 Shakespeare at the Tobacco Factory production, notes that the play is built upon 'surprising and exciting collisions of meaning and experience'; it is worth noting, perhaps, that Hilton hired a playwright to add clarifying scenes to the madhouse plot.³⁵ Recently, Nicholas Hytner, former artistic director of the National Theatre, said in a speech at the University of Notre Dame that he has 'suffered through' the play 'several times too many', and that 'staying out late and not reading' *The Changeling* during his undergraduate degree was 'practical criticism of rare perspicacity'.³⁶ Such remarks highlight the persistence of the widespread, historical disregard for *The Changeling's* structure and plotting, despite scholarship pointing to its many merits and a number of productions that successfully integrated the plots, such as Peter Gill's 1978 version for Riverside Studios, discussed in Chapter Two. To be sure, its structure is unexpected, which, as Nicol points out, is both

³² *ibid.*

³³ M. Trueman, 6 February 2012

³⁴ N. Tripney, 13 November 2012

³⁵ 'The Changeling: 2004', *Shakespeare at the Tobacco Factory*, 2004, <http://stf-theatre.org.uk/the-changeling/>, (accessed 12 December 2015); see Appendix.

³⁶ N. Hytner, 'How to Do Shakespeare', Stanley Wells Lecture, University of Notre Dame, 5 March 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6olzG2CF0U>, (accessed 20 April 2013).

the nature of the collaboration between Middleton and Rowley specifically and one of the elements from which the play gains its dramatic effectiveness.³⁷ As if to prove Nicol's point, Hill-Gibbins claims that the very disjointedness of the play was eventually the key to his directorial vision for the Young Vic productions.

When asked about the process behind the conflated, condensed, rearranged, and occasionally rewritten text that was used in rehearsals, Hill-Gibbins again tied his choices to the quarto text. He argues that the play itself 'asks' to be performed in a constantly changing and shifting way—as the title might suggest: 'Different parts of the play have very different styles and dramaturgies.[...] The language is different but more than that—the actual, underlying style is different'.³⁸ In the final rehearsal script for the January 2012 production, the five acts of the quarto morph into eleven sections, each with a title representing the action contained within it:

SCENE MAP

THE CHURCH	4
MADHOUSE 1	11
WEDDING PLANS	15
MADHOUSE 2	28
MURDER AND MORE SINS	35
MADHOUSE 3	43
THE "MADMEN'S MORRIS"	47
THE DUMB SHOW (AKA WEDDING PROCESSION)	48
THE WEDDING NIGHT	48
THE UNRAVELLING	63
EPILOGUE	73 ³⁹

The structure remained more or less the same for the revival, with no major changes to the order of scenes or even the names of the different sections. The sheer scale of the

³⁷ D. Nicol, *Middleton and Rowley*, p. 7

³⁸ J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview

³⁹ J. Hill-Gibbins and Z. Svendsen, 2011 rehearsal script, p. 3.

changes made to the structure of the play for the first production is a significant departure from other productions of *The Changeling* in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, however. Where minutiae of scenic structure are hotly debated by scholars—primarily with regard to the part of the play involving Alonzo’s murder—the Young Vic structure that Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen present effectively breaks the play into chunks of action rather than into acts or scenes as such. As I have shown, most other productions, following a tradition for staging Shakespeare’s plays, simply photocopy or literally cut and paste pages from a scholarly edition to use as a rehearsal script. In some cases, such as Adrian Noble’s 1978 production for the Bristol Old Vic, hardly any changes have been made to that copied text, even on the level of lines being cut or reassigned. Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen, however, take advantage of the ease of word processing in the twenty-first century to cut and paste throughout their hybrid text.

Whilst cutting lines is a relatively common and minor textual intervention, Hill-Gibbins, Svendsen, and their cast made radical changes for the 2012 productions, as evidenced by the structural changes that they made to the play as a whole and by the smaller changes that they made within the lines of the play. This restructuring highlights the early modern text as ‘always-already’ unstable, shifting between different print and performance forms. I look at a number of these shifted moments in detail below.

‘Hunger and pleasure’⁴⁰

Perhaps the most aesthetically memorable feature of this production was its use of food and drink as substitutes for bodily fluids and/or weapons. Although the choice might seem extreme or, as Svendsen put it to Heather Neill, ‘Tarantino-esque’, once again the creative team understood their choice as rooted in an attempt to ‘absolutely

⁴⁰ sig. D3r.

understand what the play itself was doing.⁴¹ As Hill-Gibbins explains in an interview with *Exeunt*, “The question [...] is how you present a play which is so “full of sexuality rolling out of control” without realistic blood and gore or awkwardly mimed intercourse.⁴² The food was this production’s answer: it took the thematic associations between food, sex, and violence in the play and tested how far they would stretch in performance. Certainly, these connections are central to the imagery of the playtext, particularly in Deflores’ lines. Consider this speech, for example, that comes just after he is tasked with killing Alonzo by Beatrice-Joanna and believes himself to be one murder away from her bed:

Hunger and pleasure they’l commend sometimes
Slovenly dishes, and feed heartily on ‘em,
Nay which is stranger, refuse daintier for ‘em.
Some women are odd feeders.⁴³

Here, ‘Hunger and pleasure’ are explicitly connected in Deflores’ fantasy, which equates female sexual desire with feeding. He clearly sees himself as outside the realm of normal desire, and classes Beatrice-Joanna’s apparent attraction to him as a sign of her ‘odd’ sexual preferences. In the final scene, just before his death, Deflores again associates pleasure with consumption when confessing his crimes:

[...]her honors prize
Was my reward, I thank life for nothing
But that pleasure, it was so sweet to me,
That I have drunk up all, left none behinde
For any man to pledge me.⁴⁴

Here in particular, Deflores’ sexual appetite, and the metaphorical wine that he has drunk, is tied to blood and gore: he speaks this speech in his dying moments, having stabbed himself whilst locked in Alsemero’s closet with Beatrice-Joanna. Their murder-suicide is the culmination of the connections between sex and death running throughout

⁴¹ H. Neill, ‘Dramaturg Zoë Svendsen discusses...’, 13 December 2012.

⁴² N. Tripney, 13 November 2012.

⁴³ sig. D3r

⁴⁴ sig. I2v

the play, and the use of food as weapons at the Young Vic further highlighted the exaggerated relationship between food, sex, and death in the play and in that production specifically.

As I note above, Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen wanted to portray the excesses and “madness” of the play without creating realistic fight or sex scenes.⁴⁵ Picking up on thematic connections between sex, violence, hunger, and desire in the play that I explore above, they therefore asked the audience to imagine trifle as a weapon, chocolate sauce as sexual lubricant, tequila as urine, and strawberry sundae topping as blood. Food items throughout the production, however, always retained their food-ness as well, functioning simultaneously as menu items in a wedding feast and opportunities for a playful stretching of reality. This unstable relationship between the obvious significations—trifle as dessert, tequila as booze—set up a comfortable, familiar world before thoroughly disrupting it.

During the first several scenes, the wedding banquet was set up in the background, providing a relatively straightforward image of wealth and extravagance, a doting but domineering father shelling out for his little girl’s big day. The items chosen for inclusion in the feast, however, also betrayed the meta-theatrical practicalities of a props budget and the necessities of mounting eight shows per week over the length of the professional run. Despite the presence of a three-tier wedding cake, most of the foodstuffs presented to the audience were self-contained, easy to prepare ahead but serve cold, and relatively inexpensive, though present in large quantities: a punch bowl, oranges, bunches of bananas, overflowing bowls of popcorn, champagne bottles. The exception to the rule came in the form of individual portions of strawberry trifle served in polystyrene bowls, accompanied by self-serve toppings; these called to mind a child’s

⁴⁵ N. Tripney, 13 November 2012

birthday party as much as a society wedding. From their first appearance, then, the props offered duelling significations: the extravagance communicated by the context of a wealthy heiress's wedding and the volume of food presented was belied by the connotations of the food items themselves.

These food props were present, passively, throughout the opening scenes of the production. Although they had clearly been set out in anticipation of a wedding celebration, their first active use came in the form of violence, as weapons in the murder of Alonzo. The murder was represented through a lengthy fight sequence choreographed by Alison de Burgh, which made use of a number of the available food-related props. Deflores attempted to drown Alonzo in the punch bowl; Alonzo fought back using the cutlery set out for the wedding breakfast. When Deflores again gained the upper hand, he reached for a banana, which he attempted to shove down the screaming Alonzo's throat, shouting 'I must silence you'.⁴⁶ Alonzo was not killed onstage: Deflores dragged him off to finish the job as Beatrice, her father Vermandero, and her would-be lover Alsemero entered for the next scene. Taking no notice of the over-turned popcorn bowl and disturbed place settings, Vermandero calmly poured himself a drink from the now-weaponised punch bowl. The audience laughed, uneasily; at one of the performances I attended, a soft 'oh, no' was audible from somewhere behind me. Although Vermandero was still free to treat the punch as punch, its punch-ness had been overwritten for the audience: it was now, always, both punch and potential weapon.

As the play progressed, the food on stage began to signify something else more and more frequently. Towards the end, Tomazo hurled a serving of trifle at Deflores, accusing him of Alonzo's murder. Deflores responded by readying his own trifle attack

⁴⁶ sig. D4r

before succumbing to his guilty conscience and refusing to return fire. The exchange was both funny and surprisingly menacing; it made use of the classic pie-in-face comedy gag whilst simultaneously rippling outward to embrace the trifle's multiplying significations. Tomazo's floppy, ineffective trifle-weapon emphasised his impotence as revenger whilst echoing Deflores's use of food items to kill his brother Alonzo. The trifle and accompanying chocolate and strawberry sauces had also been used by Diaphanta (standing in for Beatrice) and Alsemero in the wedding night sex scene, which cast these props as sexual lubricants and toys. Blindfolded, the pair smeared and sprayed each other liberally, covering themselves and the white bed sheets in a sticky, sickly mess of strawberry topping, whipped cream, and chocolate sauce. Tomazo's food-weapon of choice also foreshadowed the trifle-flinging rage that Tomazo and Vermandero would unleash on Beatrice and Deflores's corpses in the final scene. These overlapping significations made literal the play's thematic connections between gluttonous hunger and sexual desire, but they also highlighted the disturbing proximity of sex, violence, and shame in the Young Vic production: the same items used as sex toys were also employed as weapons and as tools of humiliation and defilement. In addition, both Defloreses—Daniel Cerqueira in the original production and Zubin Varla in the revival—licked their lips after Tomazo's trifle-attack hit them in the face: the food was always still food. The audience was therefore asked to see the same prop (trifle) as a weapon used by Deflores and Tomazo, as an erotic aid by Alsemero and Diaphanta, as a method of defiling the corpses of Beatrice and Deflores by Vermandero and Tomazo, and as a tasty treat, all within the space of half an hour of performance time. In this way, the production denied its audiences any recourse to "truth" in any broad sense: the trifle constantly shifted between its significations as dangerous and erotic, delicious and impotent, menacing and celebratory. It never carried any of these significations without being haunted by all of the others; it was always, inevitably, all of the above.

The use of props outlined above echoes Geraldine Harris's characterisation of the postmodern as a relationship 'between multiplicity and specificity'.⁴⁷ In generating meaning through a series of specific uses—uses that always multiplied but never entirely overwrote or transformed previous significations—the use of food props in the Young Vic *Changeling* also called attention to performance as both a 'process of creation' and a 'process of reception'.⁴⁸ The illusion of spontaneity and opportunism in the applications of trifle to violence and sex in the production, combined with the imaginative power required by both actors and audience in the constant re-purposing of props, foregrounded performance *as* performance, as make-believe; this, in turn, invoked the self-referentiality that is a staple of the postmodern aesthetic.

Casting across the plots

This meta-theatrical self-referencing was also employed in Hill-Gibbins's use of multi-casting: it created subjects in order to break them down and re-arrange them, resulting in a playful, unstable and distinctly non-naturalist approach to character. Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen not only cast across the two plots, with most actors taking on at least one role in each world, but they made no attempt to disguise this doubling (or tripling) in the play's design. Indeed, the staging highlighted multi-roling at various points throughout the production, embodying Harris's idea of the postmodern as concerned with 'subjectivity [...] produced and reproduced through competing discourses'.⁴⁹ Paul Taylor describes the effect of this approach to the plots' notorious disjointedness:

Hill-Gibbins hurls the two plots across each other's paths in brilliantly telling ways and without any change of scenery. In the asylum, there are disconcertingly rattling boxes, cupboards, and trunks that seem to be

⁴⁷ G. Harris, *Staging Femininities*, Manchester, Manchester UP, 1999, p. 11.

⁴⁸ L. Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd edition, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 8.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 12.

crammed with desperate, protesting inmates; the people who emerge are highborn characters, waiting to take to stage and in an equivalent emotional turbulence.⁵⁰

The ‘highborn characters’ emerging from within the confines of the madhouse transitioned the scene to the castle by virtue of their presence onstage, rather than through anything approaching a set change. A character’s connection to the castle rather than the madhouse was signalled primarily through costume and manner: expensive-looking suits, day dresses, shiny shoes, and leather gloves signified the wealth and status of the castle against the clinical uniforms, latex gloves, and hospital gowns of the madhouse. Elements of the grotesque penetrated both of these overlapping worlds, accentuating the sense of spillage from one world into the other created by the ‘rattling boxes’. Alex Beckett wore a partial fat suit as Lollio in the madhouse plot, for example, giving him an outsized stomach; this was removed when he played Jasperino in the castle plot. Similarly, Eleanor Matsuura padded her breasts and bum as Isabella in the madhouse, but not as Diaphanta in the castle.⁵¹ The primness of the castle and its inhabitants was also undermined throughout, however: Raine as Beatrice in the original production emerged from a madhouse cupboard with her dress and hair rumpled before snootily telling the audience that she would get Deflores sacked. As I describe above, Howard Ward’s Vermandero obviously poured himself a drink from the punch bowl used in the murder of his future son-in-law just moments before. These elements of Bakhtinian grotesque, of bodies unable to control their own borders, frequently served to highlight the ‘jarring dissonance’ with which Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen wanted to infuse the play: ‘We tried’, Hill-Gibbins says, ‘to constantly evolve the style, to not have

⁵⁰ P. Taylor, ‘Review: *The Changeling*, Young Vic, London’, *Independent*, 3 February 2012, <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/reviews/the-changeling-young-vic-london-6348916.html>, (accessed 21 October 2013).

⁵¹ Matsuura played Diaphanta in the revival.

one convention or one idea'.⁵² In most cases, the multiple conventions and ideas sat uncomfortably, but productively beside each other in the production.

The multiplicity of meanings and overlapping signifiers were not always productively or positively evocative, however. Included in the grotesqueness of the madhouse plot, for example, was the portrayal of Antonio by Henry Lloyd-Hughes in the original production and Nick Lee in the revival. Both presented Antonio as suffering from cerebral palsy or a similar neurological condition affecting motor function as well as a learning disability. This resulted in a reductive and offensive portrayal of a disabled body. Wearing a crash helmet, confined to a wheelchair, and clearly unable to feed or clean himself, Antonio was played by able-bodied actors Lloyd-Hughes and Lee, both of whom doubled as Tomazo in the castle plot. This portrayal of Antonio was especially concerning for its equation of *bodily* disability with *intellectual* impairment, although the two are not necessarily linked scientifically. In addition, Antonio feigns his disability, using it as an excuse to enter the madhouse and seduce Isabella. This results in additional, complicating layers of meaning: Antonio presents his idea of a “madman” and, however grotesque, that representation is clearly convincing to Alibius, Lollio, and Isabella, at least initially. Are we, the audience, then, meant to read Antonio as representative of a popular image of “madness”? Are we asked to separate ourselves from the mocking and infantilising of Antonio? Are we complicit in his ridicule? Or are we allowed to laugh at him because, after all, he is only faking? Whilst the questions prompted by the portrayal of Antonio arguably participate in the multivalent, postmodern aesthetic of the production, the carelessness with which the character was constructed undermined and distracted in an unproductive way.

⁵² J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview.

The production's use of cross-casting between the plots climaxed in the wedding masque sequence, which deliberately played across a variety of possible significations in its costuming and staging. This sequence, not coincidentally, manipulated one of the few moments of connection between the castle and madhouse plots in the play: the dance of fools and madmen that is commissioned for a performance at Beatrice's wedding. Although the dance itself never materialises in the play's text, there is a dumbshow wedding that occurs several scenes later. Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen manipulated and rearranged a number of scenes in order to bring the wedding dumbshow and the "Madmen's Morris" together, resulting in a literal, extended collision of main and subplots. As I note above, the mash-up of grotesque entertainment from the madhouse and the more austere wedding dumbshow was created at the Young Vic with hip-hop-inspired choreography set to a blend of Beyoncé and Mendelssohn. The double-signification of the music—traditional white wedding and Beyoncé-brand feminism, old-world aristocracy and twenty-first-century celebrity—was echoed by the presence of the entire cast on stage, dressed in costumes that spanned the range of the two plots. Lloyd-Hughes and Lee changed from Antonio into Tomazo onstage during the course of the dance, leaving Tomazo's military uniform coat half-buttoned such that Antonio's hospital gown was partially visible underneath. Svendsen notes that the production's multi-casting was deliberately manipulated in the wedding dance sequence in order to muddy the waters, to create uncertainty: she says that because the sequence begins in the madhouse, it can be interpreted as 'the mad people dressed up in wedding gear doing a kind of mimicry of the wedding [...], but at the same time, they are also in the costumes that they would be in, in the castle plot, in the rest of the play'.⁵³ Loud, confusing, and protean, the sequence bombarded the audience with multiple, overlapping significations,

⁵³ H. Neill, 'Dramaturg Zoë Svendsen discusses...', 13 December 2012.

never allowing a comfortable sense of what, precisely, was being communicated through the dance.

The sequence began with Alex Beckett as Lollo leading Antonio through a rehearsal of the entertainment commissioned for Beatrice's wedding. Dressed in their madhouse character costumes, the two men practised a simple step-touch movement (with Antonio performing from a wheelchair) to the soundtrack of Lollo incessantly chanting 'fa, la, la, la, la'.⁵⁴ When Alibius, the master of the madhouse, arrived to announce a full rehearsal with all of his patients, Lollo performed the role of choreographer, shouting 'a-five, six, seven, eight!' On his cue, the mashed-up recorded soundtrack came blasting in, along with the production's entire cast in wedding clothes. Lloyd-Hughes's and Lee's onstage change from Antonio into Tomazo literalised the amphibious relationship between madhouse and castle. Beckett, as both Lollo (madhouse) and Jasperino (castle) simultaneously, continued in his role as dance master, which also took on the connotations of best man in the context of the wedding. Still dressed in his fat suit and lab coat—his Lollo costume—he was responsible for calling out both the next steps of the dance sequence and the movements of a wedding celebration: he cued Vermandero and Alsemero to give mimed speeches after everyone sat down to dinner, and instigated a conga line once the faked meal had finished. The dual roles of dance master and best man placed Beckett firmly in both of the play's worlds at once, the fulcrum of the motion between madhouse and castle.

The sequence also capitalised on the protean stage space created within the production which, like the food props, functioned through multiple, overlapping signifiers. What Taylor describes as Hill-Gibbins' technique of 'hurl[ing] the plots across each other's paths' reaches its climax in this sequence, with both sets of characters

⁵⁴ sig. G3r.

simultaneously, visibly, unavoidably occupying the same physical space on stage, occupying the same bodies moving through that space. The space therefore became fragmented in the course of the frenzied dance despite its continuous occupation by the production's entire cast. As the celebratory conga line danced laps around the playing space and the mashed-up music continued to blare, Beatrice and Deflores had sex on the banqueting table: the public celebration of the wedding and a covert sexual encounter occupied the same stage space, at the same moment in time. Alonzo's ghost—played by a body that only moments before had been playing the madhouse master Alibius—menaced Deflores as the party carried on around them: a private attack of conscience inserted itself into a public moment. As the party exited the stage, Beatrice was left alone to stumble upon her new husband's 'closet', an intimate and personal space, whilst still breathing heavily from the dancing and wearing her wedding dress; the party continued on the other side of a door, signalled by distant club music and flashing lights. These juxtapositionings of public and private life were in sympathy with the production's use of props, haunting the space—as the trifle and punch bowl were haunted—with its previous significations, never allowing any to become dominant or singular.

The experimental spirit that governed the treatment of the 'Madmen's Morris' in the Young Vic production was not limited to performance, however. Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen made radical changes to the script for this sequence, extending and repositioning Act 3, Scene 3 by conflating it with Act 4 Scene 3 and swapping its position with Act 3, Scene 4. As a result, the famous scene between Beatrice and Deflores came not just before the wedding masque, but rather just before the hospital scene in which Alibius announces that the madmen and fools are to provide entertainment for the wedding. When conflated with Act 4, Scene 3, in which Lollo rehearses the dance, this scene provides a transition from the madhouse rehearsal into

the castle wedding masque, which becomes an over-the-top version of the dance that the madmen were rehearsing seconds before. Svendsen describes this sequence to Heather Neill as one of the moments when she and Hill-Gibbins were deliberately ‘reorganising’ the scenic structure of the play ‘so that there would be the strongest possible thematic correlations’ between the two plots.⁵⁵

Whilst Hill-Gibbins’ and Svendsen’s reworking of the play’s structure sometimes illuminated parallels between the two plots or between particular characters—as in the Madmen’s Morris/Wedding Masque sequence—the rearranging sometimes obscured these links as well. Consider, for example, Martin White’s analysis of the relationship between the virginity test scene in the castle plot (4.2) and the following scene in which Isabella feigns madness in the hospital plot (4.3): ‘The scheme of the two scenes is clear: Beatrice-Joanna’s feigning conceals the truth, Isabella’s reveals it, and such counterpointing of scenes and smaller units of action is characteristic of the relationship of the plots throughout the play’.⁵⁶ In both Young Vic versions of the script, these scenes are separated and their order reversed. Whereas the virginity test scene is followed immediately by Isabella’s “madness” scene in the quarto text of the play, the Young Vic placed the latter scene in its ‘Madhouse 3’ section, which is followed by the Madmen’s Morris and Wedding Procession sections before we come to the Wedding Night section, which opens with Beatrice-Joanna’s soliloquy (‘This fellow has undone me endlessly’) before leading into the virginity test sequence. This separation, which, in effect, allows for the raw juxtaposition of the madhouse dance and the wedding masque, obscures one of the more subtle juxtapositions of plots built into the quarto text. This discrepancy highlights, once again, the historical contingencies at play in this production.

⁵⁵ H. Neill, ‘Dramaturg Zoë Svendsen discusses...’, 13 December 2012.

⁵⁶ M. White, ‘The Changeling’, *Middleton and Tourneur*, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 1992, pp. 93-110, p. 107.

Past and Present

The uneasy relationship between old and new is constantly under debate in early modern studies, particularly with regard to acting and staging techniques. Abigail Rokison has interrogated the status quo of actor training in Shakespeare and sought to deconstruct the notion that a particular way of approaching his texts is historically authentic, suggesting instead that performers should be more aware of the range of variants available for any given text.⁵⁷ Theatre historian R.W. Vince cautions against any approach that assumes that historical knowledge of a play or period is a ‘necessity [...] for the successful and effective mounting of plays from the classical repertory’, despite the ‘obvious’ contribution of historical study to, for example, ‘the staging of Shakespeare’s plays’.⁵⁸ He goes on to highlight the problem inherent in insisting that only the ‘accidental’ details of an original performance can be ‘varied without distorting the play’, and cites the ubiquitous example of ‘deriving as theatregoers intense and moving experiences from performances that offended us mightily as historians’ in order to illustrate the point.⁵⁹ The Young Vic versions of *The Changeling* are perhaps examples of productions that, on the surface, could ‘mightily offend us as historians’ whilst also providing an exciting and ‘intense’ theatrical experience; the tense relationship between 1623 and 2012 at the Young Vic exaggerates this feeling. I return to this point below.

Hill-Gibbins has outright rejected my proposal that *The Changeling* speaks to theatre producers in times of instability or chaos, particularly with respect to his own production, but I am not alone in seeing something culturally relevant within his approach to this play. Dickson, just weeks before the Young Vic production’s premiere, noted a sudden surge in the popularity of Jacobean (revenge) tragedies in London: he

⁵⁷ see A. Rokison, *Shakespearean Verse Speaking*, Cambridge, CUP, 2009.

⁵⁸ R.W. Vince, ‘Theatre History as an Academic Discipline’, T. Postlewait and B.A. McConachie (eds.), *Interpreting the Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance*, Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1989, pp. 1-18.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 11-12.

cites six recent, major productions from the genre, most of which premiered within eighteen months of each other. Despite the fact that ‘their belief systems seem impossibly remote. And that’s to reckon without the bizarre plotting’, Dickson suggests that perhaps these plays speak to a current ‘fear of being trapped in a never-ending crisis, that—as Beatrice worries of herself—we’re in a labyrinth of our own making’.⁶⁰ Whilst the article quotes director Declan Donnellan, joint artistic director of theatre company Cheek by Jowl, as agreeing, at least in principle, that ‘in troubled times we don’t always yearn for feelgood [*sic*] entertainment’, Hill-Gibbins shoots down this suggestion, both in the Dickson article and in my interview with him.⁶¹ He feels that *The Changeling*, specifically, falls in and out of fashion because ‘it’s a very cruel play’ rather than because it resonates with particular socio-political circumstances; although he concedes that certain productions might speak or seem to speak to particular times, he argues that this is more to do with a director’s vision than with the choice of play—although of course play choice can fall under the umbrella of “vision”.⁶² In the case of his production(s) of *The Changeling*, he argues that instead of consciously responding to the current issues of 2011 and 2012, he simply pushed the play and the themes present within its text to their extremes.

The themes that Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen find within the text, however, are historically contingent, grounded in twenty-first century sensibility, and related in interesting ways to the play’s seventeenth-century context. For example, Hill-Gibbins’ understanding of the core of the play, its ‘moral’, depends upon modern conceptions of sex and sexuality. In my interview with him, he suggests that *The Changeling* asks us a simple question: ‘How do you control sexual desire? You can’t, is the answer. And if

⁶⁰ A. Dickson, p. 16

⁶¹ *ibid.*; J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview

⁶² J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview

you attempt to, everyone will die'.⁶³ In her interview for *TheatreVoice*, Svendsen expresses the uneasy sexual politics of the play with respect to Isabella: Antonio, she argues, 'enters the madhouse in order to, in inverted commas, "seduce" Isabella, but actually it's a form of assault'; she also describes Lollio as a 'deeply threatening character in his own right' where Isabella's virtue is concerned.⁶⁴ Research into Middleton and Rowley's personal religious politics and other writing, however, reveals a different moral: those corrupted by sexuality must die so that order can be restored.

Solga grapples with the problem inherent in Beatrice-Joanna's character for a modern audience, noting that the notion of a woman as the victim of rape (or any other form of sexual assault) is relatively new and was not yet part of the early modern culture when *The Changeling* was written: 'rape was de facto equated with a wife's or daughter's potential "seduction" by her rapist, signaling her betrayal of her household and her complicity in the crime'.⁶⁵ Thus, in Svendsen's terms, Isabella is not "seduced" in *The Changeling* not because she rejects Antonio, Franciscus, and Lollio's advances, but rather because she manages to not get raped. Beatrice Joanna seems to subscribe to this view in the final scene, when she says to her father, 'O come not neer me sir, I shall defile you, / I am that of your blood was taken from you / For your better health'.⁶⁶ Indeed, the very idea of Beatrice Joanna as 'a victim of sexual violence (indeed of any violence at all)' is historically and culturally contingent, dependent upon an audience's interpretation for its very existence.⁶⁷ There is a kind of culturally conditioned cognitive dissonance, too, as Solga also points out, in understanding Beatrice as an immoral person who is also a victim of assault:

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ H. Neill, 'Dramaturg Zoë Svendsen discusses...'

⁶⁵ K. Solga, *Violence Against Women in Early Modern Performance: Invisible Acts*, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave, 2009, p. 8

⁶⁶ sig. I2r-I2v

⁶⁷ K. Solga, *Violence Against Women...*, p. 146

If she can be called neither a virgin nor a modest woman, she can only with difficulty, if at all, be recognized as a rape victim. More importantly, Beatrice Joanna's audiences are not granted privileged access to the knowledge that escapes Lavinia's befuddled relatives in Act Three of *Titus Andronicus*: we do not see malicious aggressors set upon a vulnerable victim, nor does Beatrice Joanna, as “A woman dipped in blood” (3.3.126), have access to accepted codes of chaste resistance.⁶⁸

As Cristina Malcolmson argues, *The Changeling* is ‘more patriarchal in a traditional sense’ than most characterisations of Jacobean or revenge tragedy would imply because it considers ‘hierarchical relations in terms of male control over women and the institution of marriage, and in doing so subverts its own potential for a truly radical critique of “state power and ideology”’.⁶⁹ Hill-Gibbins’ characterisation of the play as being about the bad things that happen when (female) sexual desire is regulated—namely, that ‘everyone will die’—is an anachronism; the conditions of the play’s composition and the content of the text itself, as I demonstrate in the Introduction and Literature Review, do not support a narrative of sexual liberation.⁷⁰

As I also discuss early in this thesis, however, it is a perfectly legitimate performance strategy to produce a version of *The Changeling* that attempts to update its politics. While I would not argue that the Young Vic *Changeling* was particularly or deliberately political in its dramaturgy, its embracing of incongruity and its attention to the collisions of castle and hospital plots in the quarto text allowed it to disrupt some of the patriarchal narratives around Beatrice-Joanna’s actions in the play. Just as the food and beverages used throughout the production were never allowed to settle into a singular system of meaning, so the characters themselves were constructed as multiple and changeable. The double-casting and the collisions between the two plots facilitated

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 148

⁶⁹ C. Malcolmson, “‘As Tame as the Ladies’”: Politics and Gender in *The Changeling*, S. Simkin (ed.), *New Casebooks: Revenge Tragedy*, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave, 2001, pp. 142-62, p. 142-43

⁷⁰ J. Hill-Gibbins, personal interview,

a sense of mutability in every aspect of the play's world. It therefore becomes possible, within this performative context, to imagine Beatrice as *both* aggressor and victim.

Conclusions

This chapter has argued a paradox: that Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen's detailed and well-researched approach to the preparing a rehearsal script for their *Changeling* via attention to the quarto actually resulted in a production that felt very much of its moment. The disjunctures, contradictions, and bald juxtapositionings of the Young Vic production do, to a certain extent, reflect the layout of the quarto text and the partnership between Rowley and Middleton as outlined by Nicol. The relationships between text and performance in this case study are bound up in the gap between Hill-Gibbins and Svendsen's detailed attention to text during their preparation for rehearsals and the apparently *laissez-faire* attitude towards text in the rehearsals themselves. The most commercially successful production in the play's modern history therefore operates precisely in the spaces between past and present, performance and text, that have informed this entire thesis.

In the next chapter, I push these tensions even further by looking at the 2015 production in the reconstructed Sam Wanamaker Playhouse. The gaps between the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries are both collapsed and exaggerated in this performance space, as present-day actors and directors perform four hundred year-old scripts in reconstructed costumes under candlelight. Where the Young Vic production made attempts to grapple with the problems of such fissures and, indeed, make them the defining feature of the production, director Dominic Dromgoole at the SWP effectively erased them, opting instead to appeal to "neutrality" of interpretation.

Chapter Four, Documenting Past and Present at the New Globe: SWP, 2015¹

The Changeling saw its first-ever production by Shakespeare's Globe in January 2015 at the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse (SWP). Directed by outgoing Globe artistic director Dominic Dromgoole, the production starred Hattie Morahan as Beatrice-Joanna, Trystan Gravelle as Deflores, Sarah MacRae as Isabella, and Pearce Quigley as Lollio. I was able to see the production three times at various points in the run and from various positions in the theatre: the Pit, the Upper Gallery stage left, and the Upper Gallery stage right. Therefore in this chapter (as in the previous), I position myself as a participant-observer, relying on my memories of the production as supplemented and/or replaced by interviews, reviews, and other ephemera of performance.² In particular, I focus in this chapter on performance as documented and archived online rather than in institutional repositories. More specifically, I argue in this chapter that Twitter, Facebook, and other social media can function as archives of performance, and that therefore they now need to be considered alongside professional reviews and institutional archival materials when establishing a documentary record of performance. In doing so, I suggest that the disconnect between the "authentic"/ heritage Globe and its digital/social media presence is echoed in the past/present tensions evident in the aesthetics and performance of the SWP *Changeling*.

¹ Textual Note: This chapter makes extensive use of comments, tweets, and other interactions on social media such as Facebook and Twitter. As a result, I have run into thorny ethical issues inherent in mining, quoting, and publishing comments made in, for example, tweets or Facebook posts. For the purposes of this work, Twitter and TripAdvisor have been considered public domain (except where accounts are private) because access to tweets, reviews, and comments does not rely on a user's personal networks. Tweets and reviews are therefore not anonymised. Facebook and private Twitter accounts, however, are treated differently because access to posts and comments often requires a personal or professional connection to the account holder. Therefore, where permission has been obtained from the owner of the Facebook or private Twitter account to make use of their comments or the owner of the account is an institution rather than a private individual, I have not obscured the name or profile picture of the original poster. In all other cases, however, I have anonymised the original poster. These guidelines were agreed in collaboration with the Drama Department Ethics Officer, Katie Beswick.

² see M. Reason, *Documentation, Disappearance, and the Representation of Live Performance*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2006.

As I will explore below, the SWP *Changeling* is an appropriate case study on which to end this thesis, as it draws together many of the questions and problems that have recurred throughout my research. The reconstructed Globe, the parent entity of the SWP, represents a well-established institution with a high degree of authority over Renaissance texts and their performance and interpretation. The question of authenticity, and the degree to which “the text” of a play can or should dictate performance choices becomes especially significant in the context of a reconstructed early modern playhouse: as Valerie Clayman Pie notes, the Globe itself, the reconstructed building, ‘*performs* authenticity’.³ The building and the cultural industry that it encompasses also raise questions concerning the interactions of past and present in productions of 400-year-old plays. As the most-documented production of the play to date, the SWP *Changeling* has the potential to expand what we mean when we talk about texts, audiences, and performances in relation to early modern drama, especially given the Globe’s active presence in digital and social media.

Throughout this thesis, I have identified *The Changeling* as an institutionally available and institutionally attractive play, from its earliest twentieth-century performances at Oxford and Cambridge to its relative availability in print from the nineteenth century to the present day. As I note above, Shakespeare’s Globe holds enormous institutional power when it comes to the dissemination and interpretation of early modern plays. As an institution, the Globe also strategises its outreach, development, and collaborative research outputs by partnering with other culturally powerful institutions: at the time of writing, its Education and Research departments collaborate to deliver an MA in Shakespeare Studies with King’s College and an MA in Shakespeare and Contemporary Performance with Birkbeck, University of London. The

³ V.C. Pye, ‘Shakespeare’s Globe: theatre architecture and the performance of authenticity’, *Shakespeare*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 411-427, p. 412, emphasis original.

Globe also has educational links with Rutgers University in the United States and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. It surrounds and infuses itself with cultural capital in the form of scholarly engagement: the theatrical programme for *The Changeling*, like all programmes at the Globe, contains short, scholarly essays intended to give context to the performance. In addition, prominent scholars are regularly invited to give pre-show lectures for the Setting the Scene series; for *The Changeling*, these talks were given by Gary Taylor and Lucy Munro. It should come as no surprise, then, that the outward-looking Globe is also active on social media, promoting itself through Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, and Pinterest.⁴ You can check in to the Globe on FourSquare and follow their blog for updates.⁵ Productions and other events have unique hashtags, which fans and followers use to comment upon and participate in performances and which help to identify and demarcate a community of people interested in a given event.

Performing the Past and the Present

Here, I will provide some content for the performance itself before connecting the politics of the SWP *Changeling* to the question of social media as archive. The production was staged in what Michael Billington has identified as an emerging ‘house style’, ‘in which Jacobean tragedy is played in strict period with subdued lighting, a satiric undercurrent and a strong female presence’.⁶ Seeing *The Changeling* as the next in a line of Jacobean tragedies successfully produced for the SWP makes sense, especially as its style was reminiscent of Dromgoole’s production of *The Duchess of Malfi*, which ran in

⁴ On Twitter and Instagram, @The_Globe; on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/user/ShakespearesGlobe>; on Pinterest, https://uk.pinterest.com/the_globe/

⁵ <http://blog.shakespearesglobe.com/>

⁶ M. Billington, ‘*The Changeling* review—Hattie Morahan is chillingly good in grisly masterpiece’, *The Guardian*, 21 January 2015, available from ProQuest Historical Newspapers, (accessed 1 March 2015).

the same programming slot in 2014. *The Changeling* was preceded in the 2015 season's lineup by *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, and it would be followed by John Ford's rarely-performed tragedy *The Broken Heart*. As Billington notes, *The Changeling*, like *Malfi*, features a scene of almost total darkness, providing exciting moments in which to explore the use of candlelight and shadows to highlight the horror of these tragedies. All of these plays would have premiered in a space not unlike the SWP in the seventeenth century, and their inclusion in the first two seasons of the new playhouse—with the exception of *The Broken Heart*—is hardly surprising. They participate, too, in the recent taste for the Jacobean identified by Andrew Dickson, Jeremy Lopez, and others.⁷ As I will argue in this chapter, however, the programming of the first two seasons and Billington's assessment of the emerging 'house style' also raise a number of important questions and problems, including how the space and the institution it represents frame and reinforce the canon of early modern drama and the implicitly conservative politics that it represents.

In 2013, the announcement and the impending opening of the new indoor theatre at the Globe garnered a lot of attention within the theatrical and scholarly communities. This resulted in a large online archive of texts, including press releases from the Globe, reactions in newspapers and other professional media outlets, personal blogs (including my own) and other amateur forms of journalism, and tweets. Dromgoole's official statement on the inaugural season—which included *The Duchess of Malfi*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and *The Malcontent*—highlights one of the key canon-making and canon-enforcing problems that the Wanamaker presents: '[i]n time we will perform the plays of Shakespeare in there but we could not be more delighted than to

⁷ A. Dickson, 'Of love and death', *Guardian*, 21 January 2012.

be opening this theatre with three such shining jewels from this time'.⁸ Dromgoole implies that the movement between the outdoor Globe and the indoor Wanamaker will be one-directional: he asserts that 'we will perform the plays of Shakespeare in there', but he makes no mention of performing plays by Shakespeare's many contemporaries in the outdoor theatre. The canon enforcement at work here sends a clear message both through Dromgoole's programming of the two spaces and through their disparate ticketing policies. The programming implies that Shakespeare should be accessible to everyone, but his contemporaries need not be. The Wanamaker is a much smaller, more exclusive space than its outdoor counterpart, with tickets starting at double the price of the standing tickets outdoors and ranging up to £60 for plays, and even more for musical events such as operas. By contrast, the top-priced ticket in the outdoor theatre comes in at £43. The proportions of high- and low-priced tickets available are skewed between the two spaces as well: whereas the outdoor theatre sells 700 £5 tickets per performance, there are less than one-twentieth that many standing tickets available in the Wanamaker at £10 apiece—each with a restricted view. As a result, the SWP becomes coded as exclusive and elite, while the outdoor theatre works to be open to all.

This kind of programming is especially troubling in light of Dromgoole's insistence on the universality of Shakespeare and the 'democracy' of the Globe and its affiliated productions. The SWP is often described as 'democratic' or 'inclusive': Morahan insists that the space is 'incredibly democratic; it just acknowledges that we're all in the same room, and you ignore that at your peril'.⁹ As I explore below, this kind of statement has implications for the physical space of the SWP, but it is also in dialogue with the programming of the Globe's two spaces. The SWP is constructed as "democratic", and yet the plays it stages are coded as elite and exclusive.

⁸ qtd. in 'The Duchess of Malfi to open Sam Wannamaker Playhouse', BBC, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-22248196>, (accessed 15 May 2015).

⁹ H. Williams, 19 January 2015.

This is hardly a surprising message given Dromgoole's record of producing plays outside Shakespeare's canon. Despite his emphasis on new writers and his vision of the seventeenth-century Globe as the first 'writer's theatre', Dromgoole has produced only one early modern play by someone other than Shakespeare on the main Globe stage during his entire directorship: the wildly successful *Doctor Faustus*, starring Arthur Darvill, in 2011.¹⁰ As I note elsewhere, *Faustus* is the safe choice when it comes to early modern drama beyond Shakespeare: Karin Brown lists at least 45 productions since 1960, including five at the RSC alone.¹¹ Dromgoole has expanded the Globe's repertoire in other ways, of course—he introduced a wide range of new plays, many of which were written specifically for the Globe stage, for example. His record of producing early modern plays beyond Shakespeare is telling, however: including the two entirely non-Shakespearean SWP seasons, Dromgoole has programmed a total of eight early modern plays outside of Shakespeare's canon during his directorship. As a point of comparison, Mark Rylance, the Globe's first artistic director, produced a total of seven such plays, ranging from Marlowe's *Edward II* to Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, without a dedicated second space.

In the SWP's inaugural season, Dromgoole made good on the promise of bringing Shakespeare indoors with the "Globe Outside In" initiative, which presents one-off or short-run performances of outdoor Globe productions indoors. In its first summer, the SWP hosted only a handful of Outside In performances; during its second year, no less than five plays by Shakespeare were performed indoors, with longer runs

¹⁰ qtd. in S. Hemming, 'Writer's theatre: Shakespeare's Globe is challenging a new generation of playwrights to match the flair of their predecessors', *Financial Times*, 26 July 2013, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/c82b411a-f3ab-11e2-942f-00144feabdc0.html>, (accessed 15 March 2015).

¹¹ K. Brown, 'Professional productions of early modern drama in the UK and USA, 1960-2010', P. Aebischer and K. Prince (eds.), *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*, CUP, 2012, pp. 178-217.

than they had seen the previous year.¹² This trend escalated when the 2015-16 SWP season was announced: it features four late plays by Shakespeare and no early modern plays by anyone else. Already, in only its third season, Dromgoole's SWP has become a space where Shakespeare is welcome to push out his contemporaries, if only temporarily.¹³ Predictably, there is as yet no programming of playwrights other than Shakespeare outdoors; similarly, there is no inverse of the Globe Outside In programming, whereby productions for the SWP are performed on the outdoor stage. The Globe's answer to those who complained about the 2015-16 season on social media was dismissive and non-committal: 'The next [2016-17] winter season in the Playhouse will be programmed by the Globe's new Artistic Director Emma Rice who will have her own vision'.¹⁴ At present, however, the SWP is coded as a space of exclusivity, for a coterie audience, where Shakespeare visits but does not stay, and where the less well-known plays and playwrights of the early modern period are quarantined.



Figure 3: The Globe's response to José A. Pérez Díez's criticism of its 2015-16 Winter Season announcement on Facebook

¹² The 2015 Globe Outside In plays include *As You Like It*, *King John*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Richard II*, and *Measure for Measure*. See <http://www.shakespearesglobe.com/calendar/page/1/c/globe-outside-in>.

¹³ See D. Dromgoole, 'We have a tradition in theatre of knowing when it's time to step down', *Telegraph*, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/11636055/Dominic-Dromgoole-We-have-a-tradition-in-the-British-theatre-of-knowing-when-your-time-is-up.html?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter, 2015 (accessed 28 May 2015). The announcement was also published via Twitter and Facebook.

¹⁴ Shakespeare's Globe Facebook page, comment posted on 28 May 2015.

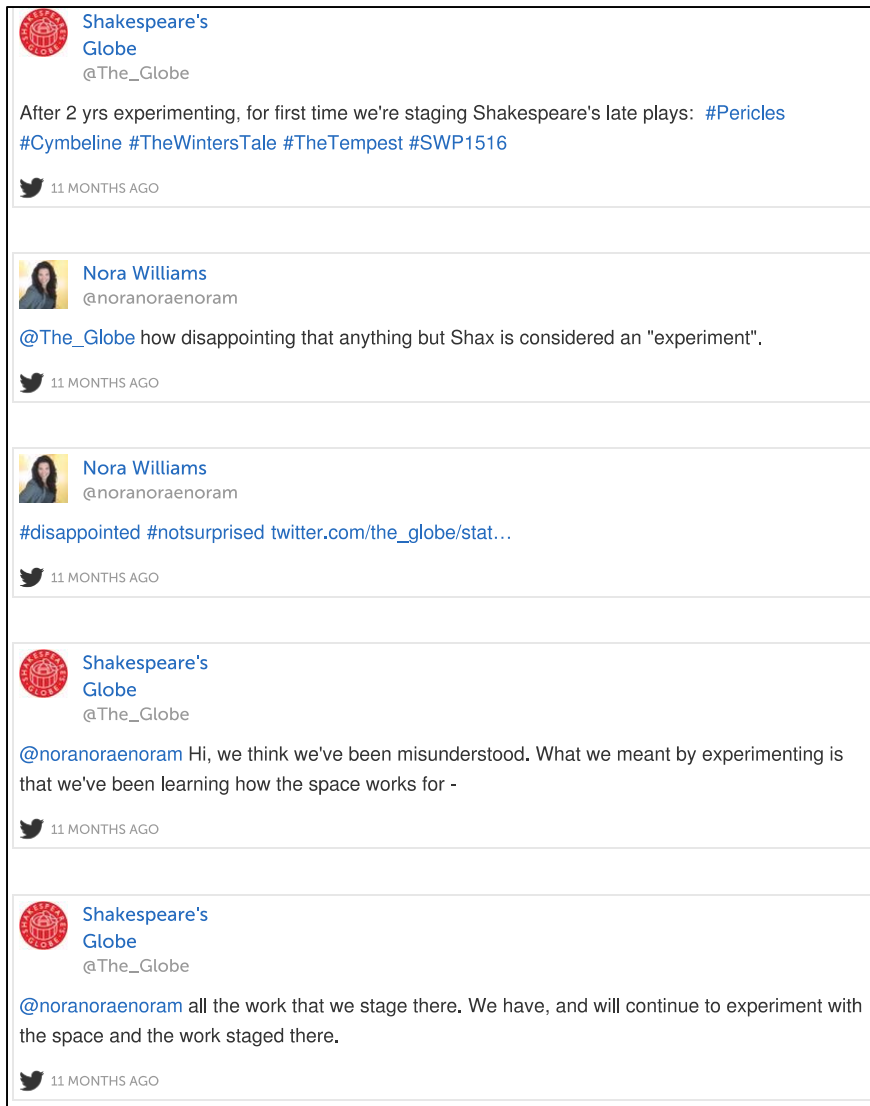


Figure 4: The Globe's response to my criticism of its 2015/16 Winter Season announcement on Twitter, streamlined using Storify.

The result is a curious double-bind: early modern plays beyond Shakespeare need spaces where they can be produced regularly, and yet it reinforces their marginal status if they are programmed entirely separately from Shakespeare. Seeing Shakespeare and Rowley and Middleton and Jonson and Marlowe and so on programmed consistently in the same physical space is an ideal of early modern performance and scholarship, but, like E.H.C. Oliphant's mixed anthology almost 90 years ago, experiments in this area are rare and rarely repeated. The myth of Shakespeare's

universal accessibility and applicability is reinforced by the spatial divisions currently in place at the Globe and, I might add, at the RSC, where the Swan currently functions similarly to the SWP. Offering Shakespeare freedom of movement whilst denying it to his contemporaries also reinforces the myths that they are either “less than” Shakespeare or more inaccessible, the purview of scholars and experts only.

The economic argument against staging early modern plays beyond Shakespeare—which would claim that these plays are not commercially viable—has been disproven by the SWP’s recent record, as the Facebook comment quoted above notes. The financial success of its first season is demonstrated especially by the revival of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, which was first performed in the inaugural season and brought back in 2014-15. Beyond the Globe, it is increasingly clear that there is cash to be had in broadening the repertoire, as evidenced by the enormous financial success of the RSC’s 2013 *A Mad World My Masters* and the Young Vic’s 2012 *Changeling*, for example. In addition, the SWP’s small scale and its obvious attraction to the academic community means that one Shakespeare (or even two) in a four-play season might be used to financially balance “risky” choices outside of the Shakespeare canon—which will inevitably be attended by the group of people who devote their professional lives to studying those “risky” plays.

Digital Media, Connectivity, and Authenticity

The broad definitions of ‘reading’ and ‘texts’ that I have employed throughout this thesis are stretched further in this last case study to accommodate the proliferation of texts, (vernacular) archives, and readers in the digital age. The expansion and increased accessibility of such texts in even the short gap between 2012 and 2015 is remarkable: the Young Vic’s 2012 *Changeling*, for example, had no dedicated social media hashtag, unlike more recent productions such as their 2014 version of Arthur Miller’s *A*

View From the Bridge.¹⁵ Ironically for a production marketed on its use of candlelight in a reconstructed seventeenth-century performance space, the SWP *Changeling* is the most digitally documented revival of the play to date. Beyond the proliferation of professional or semi-professional reviews on blogs and online newspapers, audiences now feed back to the theatre via social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, personal blogs, and even TripAdvisor.

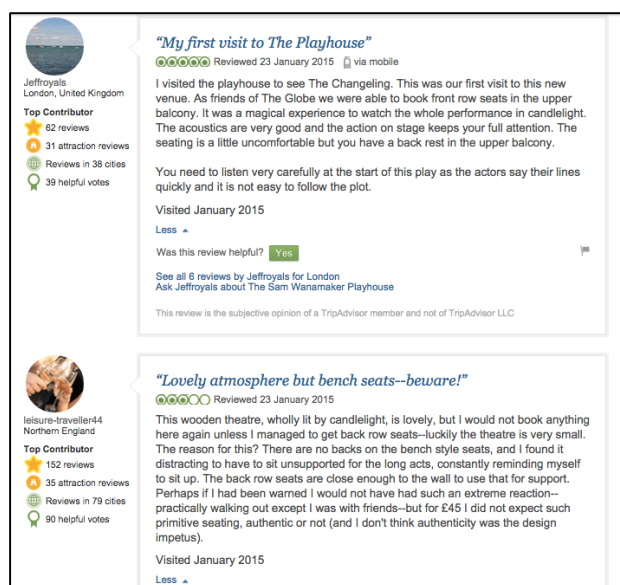


Figure 5: Comments from TripAdvisor users Jeffroyals and leisure-traveller44 about their visits to the SWP in 2015.

Depending on where reviews—of all varieties—have been posted, readers can comment and engage in discussion with the reviewer and other readers. The Globe itself disseminates and encourages digital texts surrounding its productions: for *The Changeling*, interviews with actors Hattie Morahan and Trystan Gravelle were disseminated via

¹⁵ Although the use of the # symbol to create groups of users has been common since the 1990s, it was first introduced on Twitter in 2007 and formally adopted by that platform in 2009. By the time Facebook incorporated hashtags in 2013, a plethora of social media platforms used them regularly, including Pinterest, Instagram, and Google+. See <http://www.adweek.com/socialtimes/history-hashtag-social-marketing/501237> and <http://twitter.about.com/od/Twitter-Hashtags/a/The-History-Of-Hashtags.htm>. “Hashtag” was added to the *OED* in 2014.

podcast, and followers made use of a dedicated social media hashtag (#SWPChangeling).

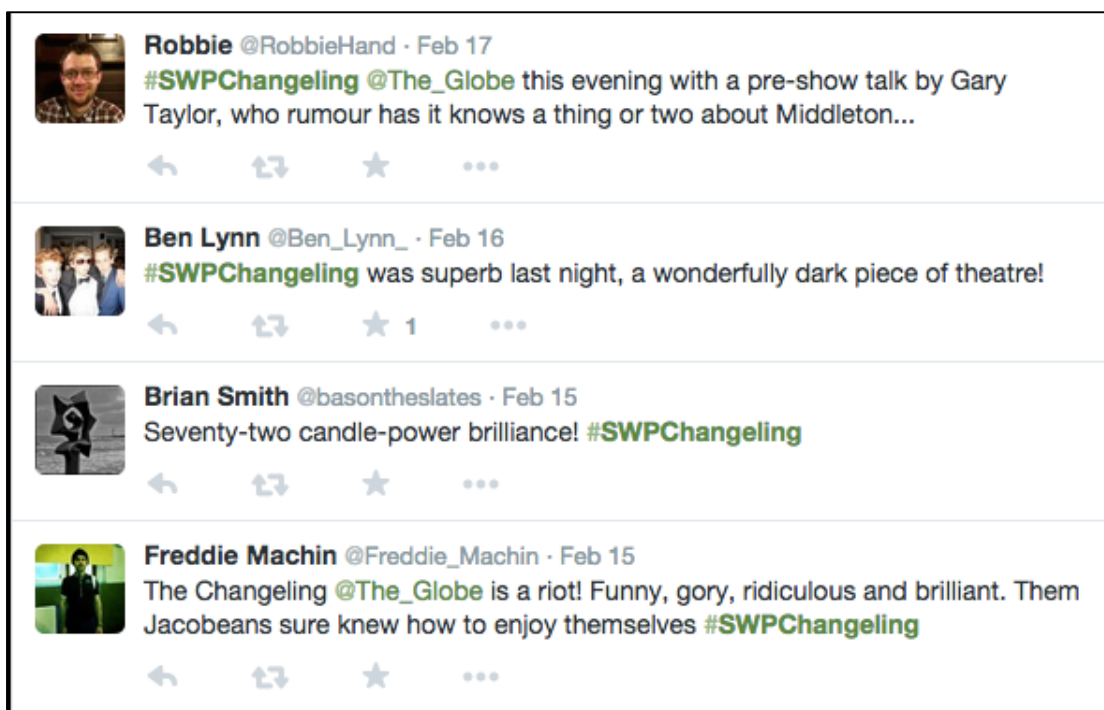


Figure 6: Examples of Twitter users employing the #SWPChangeling hashtag.

Tweets and Facebook posts were used to circulate professional reviews of the production, and audience feedback was re-tweeted, “liked”, and commented upon by the institution itself.

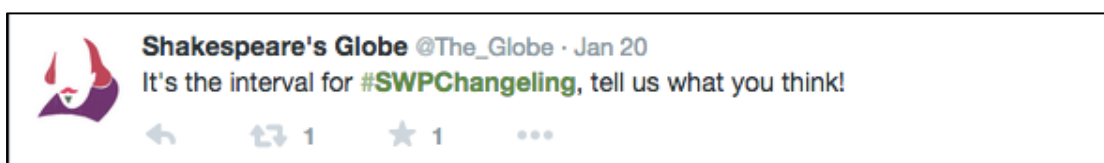


Figure 7: @The_Globe interacts with its audience through Twitter.

In addition, the Globe works tirelessly to develop and maintain its brand, both online and off. Most Globe productions—indoors and out—are recorded and archived along

with materials such as the promptbook and costume bible; more recently, many of these archival recordings have become available to the general public via the Globe Player, making the Globe's performances and interpretations of Shakespeare available to a global audience. Texts like these serve to highlight the ever-present tensions between past and present in reconstructed spaces such as the Globe and the SWP.

All of these digital texts and performances become part of the archive for the productions to which they are attached, resulting in a truly enormous number of documents for any given production. The result is that productions are now over-archived online, even as traditional institutional archives struggle to remain open and up-to-date. Like traditional archival remains of performance, the available documents multiply before, during, and after the production's theatrical run; instead of rehearsal notes, prompt scripts, and costume bibles, however, the online archive provides institutional advertising (including rehearsal photos and publicity shots), comments from fans and followers, and links to related content. Despite a number of similarities between traditional archives and what I identify as the vernacular archive of the Internet, it is worth recalling Reason's assertion that 'in the choice of *what* to record, in the matter of *how* to record, and in deed in what *can* be recorded, the act of representation defines its subject'.¹⁶ As more and more archival materials become available online—and as Internet users interact more and more with institutions online—it will be important to think about how representation may be affected by the over-archiving made possible by digital media.

There are relevant conversations happening beyond the scope of the "catalogue" created by the hashtag, too. Searching #SWPChangeling on Twitter reveals only a portion of what users said about the production. Sometimes, seeing the bigger

¹⁶ M. Reason, *Documentation, Disappearance, and the Representation of Live Performance*, p. 4.

picture only requires the researcher to click “View conversation” to display a larger thread around the hashtagged tweet. In other cases, finding the relevant information involves knowing where to look. A number of Pascale Aebischer’s tweets on the production, for example, omit the #SWPChangeling hashtag; searching for her tweets under the hashtag alone would not provide a complete picture of her social media responses to the production. Looking to Aebischer’s feed, however, yields dozens of tweets and replies regarding the production.



Figure 8: @PascaleExeter, @harrymccarthy and I discuss the SWP *Changeling* without using the hashtag

Given the ever-broadening definitions of ‘text’, ‘reader’, and ‘performance’ in the digital turn, and the constant interaction between new and traditional media exemplified by the Globe’s institutional apparatus, it is important to build a theoretical framework for this chapter that includes existing research into new media and digital communication. It is now commonplace to assert that digital technology has affected the way that humans communicate and interact with each other, and the debates on this issue fall roughly into two camps: those who believe that digital technology has done more harm than good, and those who believe the opposite—that the digital age has changed human life for the better.¹⁷ I cover some of the broader concerns of the digital turn in the Interlude, above; here, I would like to outline how these debates about connectivity relate to the specific issues of authenticity, heritage, and past/present encountered at the Globe.

The relative hierarchy of the new forms of text facilitated by digital technology needs to be addressed at this stage. Of course, personal blogs, tweets, comments, and amateur or crowd-sourced reviews are not the same as articles in scholarly journals: they generally are not peer-reviewed, and they may or may not cite their sources or be fact-checked (or even proofread). More often than not, their authors are not being paid for their work, and so they are not the same as professional reviews by paid critics, either. They are not usually subject to any kind of editorial approval, although they can often be edited or deleted by their creators after publication. For these reasons, scholars such as Prescott have expressed skepticism about the value of these kinds of online vernacular archives.¹⁸ I argue for their importance for three key reasons: first, these kinds of texts offer a selection of audience responses to a particular production, and so

¹⁷ see, e.g., D. Saco, *Cybering Democracy: Public Space and the Internet*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2002, pp. xv-xxv.

¹⁸ P. Prescott, *Reviewing Shakespeare*, pp. 133-5. Prescott also offers a detailed analysis of comments on online newspaper reviews, pp. 171-7.

represent a valuable piece of the text-performance puzzle; second, they offer a more complete and nuanced picture of a given production's reception than professional and journalistic criticism alone; and finally, ignoring these kinds of texts also ignores important shifts in the way that we conceive of and access 'texts' and, indeed, 'audiences' and 'performances' in the digital age. Of course, it is worth noting that the methodologies and ethical considerations concerning digital and vernacular archives are still developing, and will need constant re-examination in the years to come. Still, we must acknowledge and engage with these kinds of texts and performances, even as they continue to grow and develop.

The Myth of Democracy

Here, I return to the Globe. Christie Carson sees the Globe's rise to prominence in the late 1990s and early 2000s as part and parcel with the rise of digital technologies, suggesting that the Globe 'successfully defied the expectations of critics rooted in televisual traditions by appealing quickly and directly to the new digital aesthetic which demands at least a sense of democracy and fuller individual participation'.¹⁹ The motifs of connectivity, participation, and democracy are certainly crucial to the Globe's marketing strategy and public image: both their outdoor and indoor theatres are places where the ideal audience is, above all, connected to, visible by, and in dialogue with both the players and each other. The Globe to Globe initiative, launched in 2012 as part of the Cultural Olympiad, capitalises on the rhetoric of connectivity, bringing Shakespeare productions from around the world to London and taking *Hamlet* on a two-year tour around the globe. This commitment to connectivity and "democracy" in producing Shakespeare is another feature of the Globe's advertised authenticity and faithfulness to

¹⁹ C. Carson, 'Democratising the Audience?', C. Carson and F. Karim-Cooper (eds.), *Shakespeare's Globe: A Theatrical Experiment*, Cambridge, CUP, 2008, pp. 115-26, p. 121.

the original conditions of the King's Men theatres: in a time before electric lighting, proscenium arches, and mobile phones, the theory goes, audiences were more able to connect on all levels with the performance. Theatre in general is often cited as a collective, connective experience, a way for people to disconnect with technology and re-connect with other humans; its liveness is part of its appeal.²⁰ The Globe and the SWP—as well as the American Shakespeare Company's Blackfriars theatre in Staunton, Virginia—capitalise on the contemporary desire for participatory, “democratic” entertainment experiences partly through “universal lighting”, in which actors and audience are lit equally so that audience members can see each other as well as the action on stage.²¹ The abolition of the fourth wall common in proscenium theatres also results in performers speaking directly to audience members, bringing them into complicity with the action and using them as another character in the drama—making them, in some senses, equal to (or at least bringing them into participation with) the paid performers. In these types of theatres, Escolme tells us, ‘there is no sense of a character shut away in a world of private troubles’.²² Ironically, the desire for connection evident in the intelligent environment theory put forward by Beer and others—which I discuss in more detail in the Interlude, above—is precisely the same desire that the Globe and other heritage/reconstructed theatres use to market themselves, although it is articulated differently in each case.

Although it is a larger argument than I will have space to resolve here, it is also worth noting that digital and social media provide the illusion of a more democratic discussion about and around performance. As Aebischer argues in relation to video-sharing sites such as Vimeo, YouTube, and DailyMotion, Web 2.0 ‘has added a powerful

²⁰ see, for example, P. Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*, London, Routledge, 1999, and S. Purcell, *Shakespeare and Audience in Practice*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2013.

²¹ See, e.g., R. Teigland and D. Power, ‘Postcards from the Metaverse’, pp. 9-10.

²² B. Escolme, *Talking to the Audience*, p. 2.

new means of distribution to the means of production. Individuals now share their digitised archives, amateurs record and upload their performances'.²³ These sites, along with social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook, perhaps for the first time in history, offer documentation of what (some of) the “groundlings” are thinking. These media, then, have the potential to open up the history of performance to participation from a broader cross-section of audiences than has normally been the case. Instead of Samuel Pepys’s diary, future historians may have access to any number of blogs, micro-blogs (i.e., Twitter and Facebook), and photo archives (i.e., Instagram) from a range of audience members. Here, too, then, it is worth reiterating the issue of access, or shattering the myth of the democratic Internet: leaving these documentary traces behind requires, for example, that the potential contributor be literate and computer literate; s/he must also have Internet access and sufficient leisure time to engage in social media. There are any number of barriers to access that affect and will continue to affect who can participate in the online archive of performance—and that’s without considering barriers to accessing live performances in the first place.

The question that Rachel Gibson poses to the Internet, then, is one that must be asked of any space or system that claims to offer liberation and connectivity through democracy: is it ‘essentially a leveling communication tool that elevates the profile of smaller and more marginalized players in the political system? [Or is it] a medium that simply reinforces existing power and participatory biases?’²⁴ Supposedly “democratising” forces from universal lighting in the theatre to the Internet itself can be imagined as more egalitarian and more inclusive than they actually are. Dromgoole continuously espouses this mythology of universal access. In April 2015, for example, he

²³ P. Aebischer, *Screening Early Modern Drama*, p. 143.

²⁴ R. Gibson, ‘Introduction’, B. Grofman, A.H. Trechsel, and M. Franklin (eds.), *The Internet and Democracy in Global Perspective: Voters, Candidates, Parties and Social Movements*, New York, Springer International, 2014, pp. 1-6, p. 2.

appeared on a BBC Radio *Free Thinking* broadcast on the subject of Global Shakespeares. Preti Taneja, a BBC Next Generation Thinker and another participant on the programme, challenged the premise of the Globe to Globe tour of *Hamlet*, arguing: Shakespeare ‘isn’t a language anyone can access because there are still class hierarchies, there are still access issues, there are all sorts of things that also apply to who gets to see *Hamlet* as it goes round the world’.²⁵ Dromgoole interrupted, and the exchange carried on for several minutes:

Dominic Dromgoole: —who do you think is seeing *Hamlet* as it goes round the world?

Preti Taneja: Well, I—audiences of all sorts—

DD: —four thousand people came to see it in Khartoum. Who do you think those four thousand people were? Were they all the upper echelons of Khartoum?

PT: I think a majority of them may have been.

DD: How much do you think the tickets cost?

PT: Well, how much do they cost here?

DD: How much do they cost in Khartoum?

[laughter]

Philip Dodd: This is like the Marx Brothers—

DD: —no, no, no, no, no, wait, no, wait, please answer the question. How much do you think they cost?

PT: I have no idea—

DD: —they were free—

PT: —how much the tickets cost—

DD: —they were free. They were absolutely free.

[...]

²⁵ ‘What Does Global Shakespeare Mean?’, *Free Thinking*, BBC Radio 3, 2015, [radio broadcast], <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b05qfqcg>, (accessed 19 October 2015). All references to this programme are quoted from my own transcription of the broadcast.

DD: You cannot answer that question because they were free, and it was the people of Addis Ababa, the people of Khartoum that came in, and that disappoints you—

PT: —No, that does not disappoint me, that inspires me—

DD: —because that disappointed you in making your argument, which is that it's all some strange, sinister, you know, conspiracy—

PT: —no, that's not what I mean—

DD: —to put Shakespeare in front of dignitaries. It's not. It was free.²⁶

The problem, which Taneja is never allowed to articulate, is that free tickets to *Hamlet* do not erase the fact that Shakespeare's works have been used to oppress, to divide, and to create hierarchies, particularly in colonial contexts; free tickets also do not erase issues of access that have nothing to do with the ticket price, including transport options and language barriers; free tickets also do not acknowledge that the people of Khartoum and Addis Ababa may or may not have any desire to see *Hamlet* performed by a company from Britain or, indeed, performed at all. In some ways, Dromgoole's insistence on the universality of *Hamlet* recalls the intercultural experiments of Peter Brook and others in the 1970s. Although many of these were naïvely conceived and would ultimately fail to achieve their goals, they represented a radical idealism that was motivated by left-leaning politics; unfortunately, like Eyre in 1988, Dromgoole and others who ascribe to this kind of world view forget that their perspectives are neither universal nor neutral.

The Globe's expanding social and digital media presence is another incarnation of this same philosophy of a shared and accessible space and, as such, it is subject to the same problems and questions as the Internet and the networked infrastructure discussed above. The myth of the "Golden Age" of English drama as a popular and egalitarian utopia persists despite work undertaken to dismantle it. Diana Saco engages with

²⁶ 'What Does Global Shakespeare Mean?'

precisely these problems in her book, *Cybering Democracy* by critiquing Al Gore's favourable comparisons of ancient Athenian democracy and the Internet in 1994. Saco argues that

the egalitarian nature of Athenian democracy was itself a kind of fiction, given its basis in an insuperable sociopolitical division that systematically excluded women and slaves and, in fact, relied on their labor in the household so that "citizens" (Athenian males) could engage in politics in the public realm (Saxonhouse 1991) [...] This would lead to the conclusion that if cyberspace is like ancient Athens, then perhaps it, too, is based on similar systemic exclusions.²⁷

Crucially, the idea that connectivity and "free access" automatically create democracy and equality must be challenged in the theatre and in literature, as it has been in the social sciences. Morahan refers to the SWP as 'incredibly democratic', but if it is so, its democracy manifests very differently from the democracy of a space like the Olivier at the National, which was designed to have no seats with restricted view, or even of a black box studio space like the Maria at the Young Vic.²⁸ The SWP—like the Internet—might be considered democratic by those who have paid most for access: those sitting in the Lower Gallery and the Pit and even, to an extent, those who are in the central seats of the Upper Gallery have unobstructed access both to the action on stage and to most of the audience. It is also a space, like so many on the West End, that disenfranchises its poorest members: those who have paid for standing tickets or seats in the "Lords' Boxes" on either side of the Upper Gallery can expect a significantly obstructed view, little (if any) access to action in the discovery space, and very little direct interaction from the performers. As Figure 9 shows, patrons in different parts of the theatre have wildly different experiences of the performance: three of us who had seen the production from three different areas of the theatre could not agree about what, exactly, happened in the discovery space at the end of the dumbshow. The SWP is marketed on

²⁷ D. Saco, *Cybering Democracy*, p. 205.

²⁸ H. Williams, 19 January 2015.

its “intimacy”, and yet patrons paying double the cost of a standing ticket at the outdoor Globe will almost always be excluded or marginalised within its walls.²⁹ From this perspective, the very idea that a space like the SWP is democratic and connected must be re-considered.

Of course, it is also worth recalling that the early modern theatres on which the SWP is based were distinctly *undemocratic* spaces, and the modern-day Globe uses this history to justify its layout and price scale: exclusive and expensive, the Blackfriars and theatres like it were as much tools for being seen, arranging marriages and/or assignations, and showing off lavish clothing as for enjoying theatre. As Orgel notes, there existed an ‘interchangeability of spectator and spectacle’ in the Jacobean indoor theatres, from stage-sitters to Shakespeare himself, who ‘registers the same ambitions as his upwardly mobile audience by reviving his father’s application for a coat of arms’.³⁰ The early modern audience entered the theatre with a very different set of priorities, and the prestige, rather than the “democracy”, of the space would have appealed to the coterie audiences of early seventeenth-century London.

Catherine Love articulates another key problem—as well as one of the chief joys—of the myths of authenticity at the SWP in her review of *The Changeling*:

Putting on a play at the Sam Wannamker [*sic*] Playhouse is the architectural equivalent of heartthrob casting. Forget what’s happening on the stage: it’s an effort of supreme will just to stop perving on the carpentry and the detail and the candles.³¹

Love goes on to praise Dromgoole’s *Changeling* for accepting that the theatre itself ‘is the immediate star of any show it stages’, and so it is, even a full year after its inaugural

²⁹ At time of writing, standing tickets at Shakespeare’s Globe cost £5, and 700 were available for each performance; standing tickets at the Sam Wannamaker Playhouse cost £10, and 48 were available for each performance.

³⁰ S. Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage*, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 83.

³¹ C. Love, ‘*The Changeling*, Sam Wannamaker Playhouse’, *Catherine Love: arts journalist, theatre critic and editor*, <http://catherinelove.co.uk/2015/01/21/the-changeling-sam-wanamaker-playhouse/>, 2015 (accessed 1 February 2015).

production.³² As in the outdoor Globe, the theatre itself becomes a player in the drama, functioning as much like a National Trust house as a playhouse and encouraging us to imagine a time—if not a space—different from the one in which we find ourselves. Of course, the SWP is absolutely ‘gorgeous’, a ‘jewel box shimmering in amber candlelight’, in the words of Andrew Dickson.³³ This appeal to heritage and nostalgia can become problematic, however, particularly when it is used to justify glossing over or ignoring the more difficult aspects of these four hundred-year-old plays: as Susan Bennett points out, nostalgia is inherently conservative and preservationist.³⁴ Avoiding the knotty questions of gender and class represented in *The Changeling* by appealing to authenticity creates more problems than it resolves.

Here I would like to return, for a moment, to Billington’s assertion that SWP plays are staged ‘in strict period’. Authenticity is a fraught concept for Shakespeare’s Globe, particularly in their newly-built indoor playhouse. As any tour guide will tell you, fire exit markings, electrical lighting, stewards, and orderly ticket-collection are all compromises made with history in the interests of health and safety; many similar compromises are also made silently in the interest of modern aesthetics, acting techniques, and twentieth- and twenty-first-century theatregoing practices. In addition, where and when these compromises occur is a highly selective matter. First-time visitors to the SWP frequently complain about the discomfort of the theatre, including Quentin Letts of the *Daily Mail*, who rather bluntly declared: ‘Comfortable, the Wanamaker ain’t’.³⁵ Letts was not alone, however, and the SWP’s TripAdvisor page is brimming with warnings to future theatregoers: ‘We all know that an authentic historic theatre

³² C. Love, 21 January 2015.

³³ A. Dickson, ‘New Globe playhouse draws us inside Shakespeare’s inner space’, *Guardian*, 7 January 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/jan/07/sam-wanamaker-playhouse-shakespeare-globe>, (accessed 17 December 2015).

³⁴ S. Bennett, *Performing Nostalgia*, p 5.

³⁵ Q. Letts, ‘A bloody, brutal tale (even my seat was murder!)’, *Daily Mail*, 22 January 2015.

experience will not include plush reclining seats, but the Wanamaker reaches new heights of discomfort'.³⁶



Figure 9: TripAdvisor user Jiinx expresses dislike of the SWP as a venue.

The design of the seating, like the scaling of the ticket prices, is a concession to history. Indeed, the theatre is decidedly *more* comfortable than the lost original on which it is based, partly thanks to changes in clothing styles and personal hygiene. The space is candle-lit and the costumes are in roughly period, although not to the extent of Rylance's costuming experiments when the Globe opened in the late 1990s. The *Changeling* production forgoes the pearlescent make-up used in last year's *Malfi* and, apparently, by early modern actors.³⁷ The presence of women on the stage, the use of set pieces such as the iron gates in *The Changeling*, and the lack of stage-sitters all belie the SWP's "authenticity"—particularly to academic early modernists, who make up a fair portion of the SWP's target audience.

Billington's definition of 'strict period', then, willingly overlooks these compromises, and the modifier "strict" becomes a marketing tool, cuing audiences to expect an "authentic" theatrical experience. For my purposes, the relative faithfulness of the SWP and its productions to the lost and, to some extent, imagined original early

³⁶ Posted to TripAdvisor by user DeeDee8057, 13 February 2015.

³⁷ see F. Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama*, Oxford, OUP, 2006, esp. pp. 89-110.

modern indoor theatre is less important than the effect that a claim to this kind of faithfulness has on the practitioners and patrons who operate within its sphere. In other words, the selective nature of the Globe's approach to history is inevitable and, on its own, not particularly problematic. Shakespeare's Globe markets itself, however, on the authenticity of both the actors' and the audience's experience of the space: even as they remind us that their theatres are a 'best guess' at their early modern equivalents, the Globe claims a goal of building theatres 'that Shakespeare would have recognised'.³⁸ The institutional insistence on "authenticity"—particularly in the face of difficult political and social conversations about the kinds of plays it stages—and the selective way in which historical research is applied at the Globe creates an interesting tension that I wish to explore in greater detail here.

When the Globe needs to justify a choice in production, the default is often an appeal to "authenticity" or "neutrality". Recall, for example, Tosh's understanding of the clear stylistic juxtaposition between the abstract 'candle ballet' at the opening of the SWP production and the much more literal dumbshow following the interval: when the text—assumed an authority—gives instructions, the general principle is to follow them.³⁹ Remember, too, Morahan's assertion that *The Changeling* does not require any 'slanted, modern interpretation'.⁴⁰ Whilst I do not advocate an understanding of Middleton, Rowley, and their contemporaries as, for example, feminists or Marxists, I would suggest that it is not possible or even desirable for a modern audience to attend performances of these plays without viewing them through their modern eyes. Theatre practitioners and scholars alike, therefore, must continue to ponder Kim Solga's

³⁸ These adages are constantly repeated by press from the Globe, including within the 'About Us' section of their website (<http://www.shakespearesglobe.com/about-us/history-of-the-globe/rebuilding-the-globe>); the claim that the SWP would also be recognisable to Shakespeare was also repeated by the architectural firm in charge of the project in an interview with the *Guardian*: M. Kennedy, 'Globe theatre to get sister building—with a roof', *Guardian*, 4 August 2011.

³⁹ W. Tosh, personal interview, 2 April 2015.

⁴⁰ qtd. H. Williams, 19 Jan. 2015.

question, '[h]ow do we square this work's enormous cultural capital with its profound distance from contemporary attitudes toward social justice and human rights?'⁴¹ Indeed, in the distinctly undemocratic space of the SWP, confronted with a production that insists on its own neutrality, how can 'attitudes toward social justice and human rights' even be introduced?

Staging *The Changeling* in the SWP

The SWP *Changeling* consistently appealed to neutrality of interpretation. I have already taken issue with Billington's insistence that the production was staged in 'strict period'; it also, of course, was not a self-consciously modern interpretation of the play. Indeed, it gives the impression of actively avoiding interpretation—which, of course, is an interpretation in and of itself. Interviewing Morahan on her portrayal of Beatrice, Holly Williams notes that 'they've not tied themselves in knots over the occasionally thorny politics of the play'.⁴² Morahan herself sees the lack of political commentary in the production as unproblematic, because she reads the play as 'strong enough to stand on its own two feet'.⁴³ Whilst she concedes that in '[s]ome of those early modern plays, you have female characters that don't have any agency or a voice', and '[t]hen I feel one's beholden to do a kind of comment', Morahan also maintains that, in *The Changeling*, 'the characters are so strong, you can just say, "This is the story"'.⁴⁴ This sense that the play can 'stand on its own two feet' and needs no 'modern interpretation' is another incarnation of "authenticity" and "neutrality" excusing the production from engaging with the play's more difficult components. Indeed, the affirmative, definite confidence that "This *is* the story" demonstrates the power of the neutrality narrative:

⁴¹ K. Solga, *Violence Against Women*, p. 2.

⁴² H. Williams, 'Hattie Morahan on *The Changeling*'

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

Morahan, Dromgoole, and the rest of the cast and creative team have apparently accepted a way of doing early modern drama that does not require them (or us, as audience) to think about the implications of a given play's politics in the present.

The production's greatest strength, perhaps, was in strategic and inventive staging. For example, at the end of the central scene for Beatrice and Deflores, in which he claims her virginity as his reward for murdering her fiancé, Gravelle's Deflores swept Beatrice off her feet and carried her bridal-style off stage through the central doors. Her posture during this action was one of stunned stillness, perhaps as an attempt to justify Deflores' line 'silence is one of pleasure's best receipts'.⁴⁵ Later, when Alsemero put Beatrice to a virginity test—and she accurately faked the desired result—he carried her offstage in precisely the same way, and her troubled stillness hearkened back to that earlier, fateful exit. The appearance of Alonzo's ghost in the first scene of Act 5 was also cleverly done: at the end of the madmen's dance rehearsal in Act 4, Scene 3, the ensemble took hold of the chandeliers and pulled them back to the corners of the stage, as if about to let them swing—candles still lit—into various sections of the audience. At the last moment, rather than letting the chandeliers swing, they spun them around and blew out all of the candles before letting go and running off stage. The chandeliers were raised to upper gallery level, still spinning and swinging, as the next scene began. Solitary candles, held by Beatrice and Deflores, allowed the swaying chandeliers to cast eerie, shifting shadows on the stage. This same lighting scheme created shadows that obscured part or all of Tom Stuart's body as the ghost, such that Beatrice's line 'Bless me! It slides by / Some ill thing haunts the house, t'has left behind it / A shivering sweat upon me' was felt, viscerally, in the audience.⁴⁶ Watching from the pit, Alonzo's hand reaching over Beatrice's shoulder came as a scary surprise because the darkness and shadows

⁴⁵ sig. F1v.

⁴⁶ sig. H1v.

made it almost impossible to see him moving across the stage. This staging choice took advantage of the SWP's unique strengths and was one of the few genuinely unsettling moments in my first viewing of the production.

Viewed from the upper gallery, however, I found Alonzo's ghost much less frightening, primarily because his entire stalk across the stage, from the door stage left to Beatrice and her candle downstage right, was visible. From the pit, his body was barely discernable until his bloodied hand crept into the light thrown by Beatrice's candle. From above, however, the candlelight appeared to illuminate more of the stage, and Stuart's body was not as able to hide in the shadows. As a result, the play of light, darkness, and shadow was much less pronounced, and the ghost's menace—which relied on his invisibility for much of the scene—was reduced. The spatial politics that I articulate above were therefore at work in this moment, as in the dumbshow rape: Alonzo's ghost, in both cases, was staged primarily for the benefit of patrons who had paid the most for their tickets.

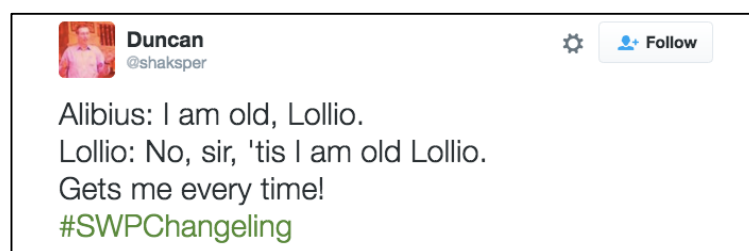
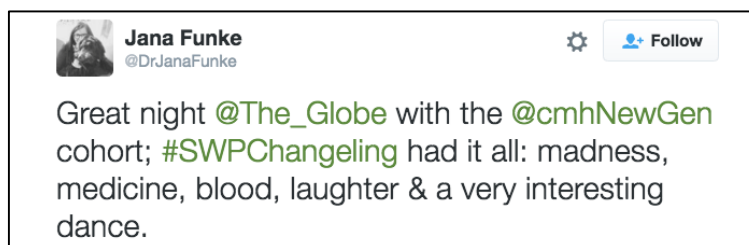


Figure 10: Twitter users @DrJanaFunke and @shaksper express their approval of the madhouse scenes in the SWP *Changeling*

An example of the energetic creativity evident in the scenes from the hospital plot came towards the end of Act 4, when Isabella disguises herself as a madwoman. A conceit was set up whereby Lollo's 'Wardrobe' was contained within the discovery space, and Isabella disappeared inside it to change herself from keeper's wife to faux inmate.⁴⁷ Just as she clambered into the closet, however, her husband Alibius entered, and Lollo was left to cover for her absence. In the SWP production, Quigley's Lollo found increasingly silly excuses to stand in front of the doors closed over the discovery space, such that Phil Whitchurch's Alibius became suspicious of what might be behind them. As he flung open the doors and very nearly discovered Isabella, Alibus initiated an exchange that usually feels out of place, both in the text of the play and in performance:

Ali. She shall along to Vermandero's with us,
That will serve her for a monthes liberty.

Lol. What's that on your face, Sir?

Ali. Where, *Lollo*, I see nothing.

Lol. Cry you mercy, Sir, tis your nose, it shew'd like the trunck of a young Elephant.

Ali. Away, Rascal: I'll prepare the musick, *Lollo*.⁴⁸

In the SWP production, Lollo turned the line 'What's that on your face, Sir?' into a moment of farce, distracting his master from the sight of Isabella putting on her disguise. When Isabella was safely locked within the closet once again, and Alibius had been sufficiently redirected, Lollo informed him that, after all, 'tis your nose', eliciting laughter both from the audience and from Alibius.

Compared to the appearances of Alonzo's ghost, this moment was staged accessibly for a greater proportion of the SWP audience. Although Isabella and Lollo's antics made use of the discovery space—and, indeed, the discovery space was crucial to

⁴⁷ sig. G2v.

⁴⁸ sig. G3f.

the comedy of the scene—the actors moved around the space more frequently and incorporated a greater proportion of the stage in their actions. There was a moment, for example, in which Isabella was almost discovered: she ran out of the discovery space downstage, as Lollo attempted to cover for her upstage, and Alibius snooped around behind the doors. Within a couple of seconds, all of the actors had switched places, such that Lollo and Alibius were downstage and Isabella was upstage, closer to the discovery space, within which she quickly re-hid herself. As a result, a larger number of audience members had the chance to see sections of the scene. By contrast, the dumbshow threesome was relatively static, remaining in one place and therefore visible only to the same sections of the audience throughout.

Paradoxically, one of the production's great strengths and chief problems was its uncanny ability to prompt laughter from the audience, even at potentially inappropriate moments. Like Diana Quick at the RSC in 1978, Morahan played Beatrice's first line of Act 4 for laughs: 'This fellow has undone me endlessly', she says, after being raped by Deflores before our very eyes in the dumb show; the audience obliged her with a swarm of giggles at each of the performances I attended. Similarly, in the play's final scene, Gravelle as Deflores played his own death for laughs. In all three performances that I witnessed, the audience rewarded him with laughter in response to his almost triumphant emergence from the discovery space with Beatrice: 'Here we are, if you have any more / To say to us, speak quickly, I shall not, / Give you the hearing else'.⁴⁹ As if to justify playing rape and death as comedy, almost every review of the production notes the programme's emphasis on the fact that *The Changeling* was added to the Stationers' Register as a comedy.⁵⁰ Gordon McMullan, Andy Kesson, and others, however, have troubled the generic boundaries implied by such classifications:

⁴⁹ sig. I2f.

⁵⁰ D. Dromgoole, *The Changeling* programme, Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, London, 2015.

McMullan describes tragedy in Jacobean England as ‘hybrid, multiple’ and notes that *The Changeling*, specifically, ‘is far trickier, generically speaking, than is apparent from its uncontested appearance in anthologies of Jacobean revenge tragedy’.⁵¹ In other words, generic boundaries were very much in flux in the early seventeenth century. Rather than representing any kind of rigorous historical accuracy, then, the production relied on the an unhistoricised understanding of comedy in order to hide behind the “authenticity” of the SWP and its staging practices as justification for its problematic choices. I return to this problem throughout this final case study.

As the example of the madmen’s dance rehearsal above shows, the SWP’s signature candelabras were in use throughout the performance.⁵² As José A. Pérez Díez notes, for *The Changeling* Dromgoole dispensed with the additional candelabra over the pit and made less use of the artificial daylight through the shutters, which were features of last season’s production of *The Duchess of Malfi*; Pérez Díez attributes this change to a newfound ‘relaxed [...] attitude towards low lighting levels’ in the artistic director and SWP audiences.⁵³ The opening moments of the production certainly promised a creative and playful approach to lighting: the entire cast entered the stage in near-complete darkness, with only their eyes lit by hand-held lanterns. They swirled around each other, illuminating different, contained portions of the stage and each other to Claire Van Kampen’s haunting and decidedly contemporary score for strings. In the last moment of

⁵¹ G. McMullan, ‘*The Changeling* and the dynamics of ugliness’, *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Tragedy*, Smith, E. and Sullivan, G.A. (eds.), Cambridge, CUP, 2010, pp. 222-35, pp. 222, 228.

⁵² For a more extensive discussion of the use of candles in the SWP and the historical contexts consulted therein, see Martin White’s work, particularly his interactive DVD *The Chamber of Demonstrations* (2009).

⁵³ J. A. Pérez Díez, review, *Reviewing Shakespeare*, 2015, <http://bloggingshakespeare.com/reviewing-shakespeare/changeling-shakespeares-globe-sam-wanamaker-playhouse-london-2015/>, (accessed 1 March 2015).

this ‘candle ballet’, all of the light focused on Beatrice’s eyes.⁵⁴ This dance of lights offered an effective thematic foregrounding for the first scene, in which language about sight and seeing figures heavily: the very first line of the play is Alsemero’s sigh, ‘Twas in the temple where I first *beheld* her’.⁵⁵

The abstract opening of the first half was offset by the rather more literal interpretation of the dumbshow following the interval. Will Tosh, post-doctoral research fellow and head of the Globe’s Indoor Performance Practice Project, was present during the rehearsal process and does not read intentional juxtapositioning in these two sequences.⁵⁶ He cites the fact that the quarto text gives a great deal of choreographic detail for the dumbshow at the top of Act 4:

*Enter Gentlemen, Vermandero meeting them with action of wonderment at the flight of Piracquo. Enter Alsemero, with Jasperino, and Gallants, Vermandero poynts to him, the Gentlemen seeming to applaud the choice, Alsemero, Jasperino, and Gentlemen; Beatrice the Bride following in great state, accompanied with Diaphanta, Isabella, and other Gentlewomen: Delfores after all, smiling at the accident; Alonzo’s Ghost appears to Deflores in the midst of his smile, startles him, shewing him the hand whose finger he had cut off. They passe over in great solemnity.*⁵⁷

Tosh says that he noticed a basic directorial principle that was employed in the rehearsal process: namely, that ‘when you get something in the text that tells you what to do, do that as much as possible’.⁵⁸ Adherence to the opposite is also implied: when the text does not give specific instructions, you are free to experiment. This principle certainly explains the stylistic differences between the opening of the production and the staging of the dumbshow: the quarto dumbshow instructions were followed almost to the letter, including slow-motion silent applause from Vermandero and the Gentlemen in approval

⁵⁴ W. Tosh, personal interview, 2 April 2015. When I spoke to him, Tosh was careful to emphasise that all statements attributed to him here are his personal observations and opinions, and they do not necessarily reflect the opinions of Dominic Dromgoole or of Shakespeare’s Globe as an institution.

⁵⁵ sig. B1r, emphasis mine.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ sig. F2r; W. Tosh, personal interview.

⁵⁸ W. Tosh, personal interview.

of Alsemero as the replacement bridegroom. Although this was not the most interesting or dynamic moment in the production, Tosh suggests that *The Changeling* dumbshow is more difficult to stage than, for example, the dumbshow in *The Duchess of Malfi*: in *Malfi*, he says, the dumbshow stage directions give a ‘clean and clear’ action, whereas in *The Changeling* it is ‘very plot-heavy’.⁵⁹ The only element that might be said to be more thematic is the appearance of Alonzo’s ghost.

The entrance of the ghost at the end of the dumbshow has been handled differently in each of the productions I have studied, but the SWP was the first I have encountered to stage a rape of Beatrice in which Alonzo’s ghost was a participant. Towards the end of the dumbshow, as the others ‘*pass[e] over in great solemnity*’, Deflores pulled Beatrice into the discovery space, lifted her skirt, and began thrusting into her from behind. Alonzo’s ghost appeared behind Deflores, joining in the thrusting motion and shoving his bloodied hand in Deflores’ face. It is unclear whether Beatrice herself was aware of the ghost’s presence; her next line (“This fellow has undone me endlessly”) was played for laughs, as I note above.⁶⁰ This grotesque moment is a clear departure from the quarto description of the dumbshow—and a curious departure from the supposed principle of sticking to textual stage directions. Tosh interprets this staging of Beatrice’s rape as a reminder for the audience of the ‘imagined horror’—the un-staged, ‘ob-scene’ rape of Beatrice—at the end of Act 3.⁶¹ He argues that including a rape within the dumbshow—a theatrical tradition since 1978—forces the audience to face what the interval allows them to step away from.⁶² By seeing the rape staged in the dumbshow, he suggests, the audience is reminded of the horror that came before the interval.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁰ sig. F2r.

⁶¹ see P. Aebischer, *Shakespeare’s Violated Bodies*.

⁶² W. Tosh, personal interview, 2 April 2015.

I take issue with this reading for a number of reasons, some of which I will explore in more detail below. Here, I will note that if the goal is to remind the *entire* audience of something, then placing the *aide memoire* in the discovery space would seem an inappropriate choice for the SWP. The sightlines to this moment were economically stratified, with the least expensive seats entirely unable to see Alonzo's ghost, and many more in the mid-range seats unable to clearly see what was happening to Beatrice; only the most expensive seats had a clear view of this problematic and disturbing moment, as Aebischer noted on her Twitter account:



Figure 11: Pascale Aebischer tweets about sightlines in the SWP

The symbolic power of staging this rape in the discovery space can certainly pay off in the final scene, when ambiguous pain/orgasm sounds emit from Alsemero's closet before Beatrice and Deflores are revealed to the rest of the cast (although those sounds were more painful and less orgasmic in this production than they might have been). It seems strange, however, to justify a choice by appealing to the audience's need to be reminded of events prior to the interval, and then stage that reminder in a space which is only fully visible to a small portion of the audience. I will pick up this issue of accessibility and visibility in the SWP below.

Professional critical reception of the SWP *Changeling* was largely positive, with established names such as Michael Billington and Domenic Cavendish particularly excited by the production. The reviewers' responses say as much, perhaps, about the

cultural capital controlled by the Globe as about the production itself: reviews focus on Morahan's 'golden' performance as Beatrice and Dromgoole's perceived success in managing the thematic relationship between the two plots.⁶³ As I note elsewhere, the playhouse itself is one of the production's key players: Matt Trueman says that it 'plays like a dream', Susannah Clapp tells us that '[i]t is hard, after this, to think of *The Changeling* being staged in another theatre', and Dominic Maxwell asks, rhetorically, '[w]here better than this murky mock-Jacobean playhouse for this murky tragedy?'⁶⁴ Clapp, interestingly, implicitly credits Dromgoole's direction—rather than the confluence of the play's composition and the period mimicked by the SWP—with highlighting the perceived appropriateness of this play in this space: 'in Dominic Dromgoole's production [*The Changeling*] might have been crafted for the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse'.⁶⁵ I return repeatedly in this chapter to a critique of Billington's identification of the SWP's emerging house style, which sees 'Jacobean tragedy [...] played in strict period with subdued lighting, a satiric undercurrent, and a strong female presence'.⁶⁶

Notably, this is perhaps the only production of *The Changeling* to date for which critics, for the most part, did not decry the madhouse plot in their reviews. Cavendish is particularly complimentary:

Those who complain that this main plot is insufficiently integrated with another strand set in a lunatic asylum need only watch this lucid account to grasp that the same far-sighted understanding about human nature—

⁶³ D. Cavendish, 'Incandescent', *Telegraph*, 22 January 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/theatre-reviews/11358526/The-Changeling-Sam-Wanamaker-Playhouse-review-incandescent.html>, (accessed 1 March 2015).

⁶⁴ M. Trueman, review, *What's On Stage*, 21 January 2015, http://www.whatsonstage.com/london-theatre/reviews/changeling-sam-wanamaker-playhouse_36954.html, (accessed 1 March 2015); S. Clapp, 'Middleton and Rowley's tragedy has never been so acutely funny', *Guardian*, 25 Jan. 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2015/jan/25/the-changeling-review-hattie-morahan-sam-wanamaker-playhouse>, (accessed 1 March 2015); D. Maxwell, review, *The Times*, 21 January 2015, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/arts/stage/theatre/article4329839.ece>, (accessed 1 March 2015).

⁶⁵ S. Clapp, 25 January 2015.

⁶⁶ M. Billington, 21 January 2015.

how we are seldom in our right wits, and often the puppets of our impulses—courses through the whole drama.⁶⁷

There is a general consensus in the reviews that Dromgoole ‘does a good job of suggesting the links’ between the play’s two worlds; indeed, some even suggest that Dromgoole has recaptured some of the play’s original appeal as a comedy and that *The Changeling* ‘has never been so acutely funny’.⁶⁸ I agree that the madhouse scenes and even much of the castle plot came off as uproariously—and, sometimes, inappropriately or problematically—funny. At all three performances I attended, MacRae and Quigley as Isabella and Lollo had the audience in stitches. I join Pérez Díez and @RichardJColeman, however, in feeling that the production’s emphasis on comedy often came at a cost: ‘It bothered me that they threw away some of the most powerful moments in the text to get a laugh here and there, even at climactic points that should not really have been funny’.⁶⁹ Indeed, as I note above, Deflores and Beatrice emerged, bloody and panting, from Alsemero’s closet in the final scene, at which point Gravelle played Deflores’ dying lines as dry comedy. We, as audience, found ourselves laughing at his demise.



Figure 12: Twitter user @RichardJColeman comments on the SWP *Changeling*.

⁶⁷ D. Cavendish, 22 Jan. 2015.

⁶⁸ H. Hitchings, ‘Hattie Morahan brings a mix of regal willfulness and wayward vulnerability to her role’, *Evening Standard*, 21 January 2015, <http://www.standard.co.uk/goingout/theatre/the-changeling-sam-wanamaker-playhouse-theatre-review-hattie-morahan-brings-a-mix-of-regal-9991929.html>, (accessed 1 March 2015); S. Clapp, 25 January 2015.

⁶⁹ J. A. Pérez Díez, *Reviewing Shakespeare*, 2015.

Although the madhouse scenes were considered enormously successful by the press and social media alike, Dromgoole's production seemed to encourage us to laugh not only at the antics of Antonio and Franciscus—who feign madness—but also at the ensemble who (we assume) are meant to be genuinely suffering from mental illness. Trueman summarises the behaviour of these inmates: 'One fucks anything that moves. Another—hilariously—keeps bidding for freedom'.⁷⁰ The same question applies as in Hill-Gibbins' production three years earlier: should suffering be played for laughs? Is it desirable or acceptable to portray an inmate's bids for freedom or a stereotypical portrayal of mental illness as "hilarious"?

The problem is exacerbated in the SWP production's staging and design, which featured none of the usual methods of highlighting thematic crossover between the two plots. Perhaps most crucially for my purposes here, there was no visual connection between the overt madness of the hospital and the concealed madness of the castle, despite the professional reviews' insistence on Dromgoole's success in integrating the two. The ensemble of madmen and fools were cross-cast from the rest of the production, but, unlike at the Young Vic three years earlier, no attempts were made to make the audience aware of this crossover. Indeed, the actors were often wearing elaborate disguises as their nameless madhouse characters, obscuring their identities to the casual observer. This created a problematic relationship between the "authentic" comedy of *The Changeling* and twenty-first-century sensibilities. Laughing at the madhouse antics means differently in the context of different theatrical relationships between the castle and the hospital: when we laugh at the rehearsal of the madmen's

⁷⁰ M. Trueman, 21 January 2015.

morris, for example, are we laughing at something intended as comic relief, thematically disconnected from the world of the castle—that is, are we literally laughing at the ‘wild distracted measure’?⁷¹ Or are we laughing with a kind of background knowledge that the castle and the hospital are not so different after all, with recognition that the madhouse functions metaphorically as much as literally? Physically, visually connecting the hospital to the castle in performance cultivates an awareness of their subtle and complex thematic connections in the audience. In such a scenario, where the audience recognises the madmen not as literal “bedlams” but as symbolic representations of other characters and situations in the play, our laughter is problematised as much as problematic. Reviews of productions that actively cultivate this kind of awareness demonstrate the effectiveness of the technique: critics are consistently surprised by how well the hospital plot “works” in performance, as I have shown throughout this thesis.

In fact, the SWP production is the first I have encountered that seemed determined to separate the hospital from the castle and vice-versa. Most twentieth- and twenty-first-century productions, as I have shown, go to great lengths to highlight the thematic connections between the castle and the hospital, usually by physically bringing the two worlds into the same space as often as possible, despite decades of scholarship that bemoaned the very existence of the hospital plot. From the relatively subtle ‘chilled glance’ between Isabella and Beatrice in Gill’s 1978 production to the more obvious cross-casting and meta-theatre of Hill-Gibbins’ version in 2012, each of the productions previously discussed in this dissertation manipulates the physical space of the stage and the actors’ bodies in order to visually link up the two plots for the audience. These are theatrical solutions to a perceived textual problem. The SWP production, however, distinctly separates the visual vocabulary of the two plots. The disguises worn by the

⁷¹ sig. E3r.

actors when playing generic madmen, for example, make it clear that the audience was not meant to associate their castle characters with their madhouse characters; indeed, I did not notice much of the cross-plot casting until my third viewing of the production. Peter Hamilton Dyer, who played Jasperino in the castle plot, sported a hat, a wig, and spectacles when he became a madman; similarly, Tom Stuart, who played Alonzo in the castle plot, actually covered his face with his arm and sleeve in the madhouse scenes—a character tick that also served to disguise the fact that he was doubling roles.

Interestingly, this kind of disguising *only* occurred for the generic madhouse characters: Joe Jameson and Adam Lawrence, who later played Tomazo and Franciscus, appeared in the first scene as Alsemero's servants with their faces fully exposed, and Dyer also played Pedro in Act 1, Scene 2 with his face fully visible. In fact, a friend who saw the show with me thought that Pedro and Jasperino were the same character. Dyer transformed into a disguised madman a few scenes later.

It is possible, of course, that the disguising of the madhouse ensemble was a choice made in rehearsal for purely practical or aesthetic reasons. This visual separation between the plots might also be read, however, as an appeal to the “authenticity” on which this particular theatre markets itself: because the two plots only rarely intersect in the quarto text of the play, it is possible to read their separation in the SWP production as adherence to the imagined intentions of the playwrights. In other words, the apparent concern for “authenticity” and “neutrality” in the SWP production is manifest here in a seeming resistance to staging choices that could have created more possibilities for cross-plot interpretive readings. When most productions make an attempt to physically connect the two worlds, they do it by adding madmen to scenes in which they are not otherwise present, or by manufacturing moments of crossover: at the Young Vic, for example, lines between hospital and castle were blurred by the entrance of castle plot characters from cupboards and boxes that had imprisoned hospital patients just

moments before; at the National, the madmen were constantly present in the “fire escape” spaces on either side of the main stage during castle scenes; Hands’ RSC production and Richardson’s Royal Court production increasingly introduced madmen into castle scenes as the play carried on. Here, there was no physical crossover between the plots except where it is indicated in the quarto text, and the blocking patterns and stylised scene changes eliminated opportunities for characters from the two worlds to “accidentally” meet. Instead, the problems of main and sub-plot highlighted by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century critics return: it is unclear how the two stories connect to each other stylistically, thematically, or narratively, and the treatment of the hospital patients is crude, and even cruel.

Conclusions

The SWP *Changeling*, as I note above, is an appropriate case study to close this thesis in that it re-ignites a number of the debates raised throughout this work. The claims to “authenticity” and “democracy” wielded by the institution of Shakespeare’s Globe are echoed in the changing textual and performative environments of the digital age, and these concerns are also reiterated and explored through theatrical performance and its ephemera—now, often, recorded for posterity on vernacular archives such as Twitter or digital institutional apparatuses such as the Globe Player. Similarly, claims to inclusivity and openness at the Globe and the SWP must be subject to the same scrutiny as such claims made on behalf of the Internet. At the same time, however, digital technologies offer more and more powerful tools for studying, editing, and performing early modern plays, and the laboratory of the Globe facilitates experiments in staging and editing that would have been unimaginable twenty years ago. The balance of all these tensions—past and present, performance and text, digital and analog, historical and forward-looking—must be continuously re-calibrated. The SWP *Changeling*, I argue,

misjudged its calibration, appealing to “neutrality” rather than engaging in the messy political and social issues raised by the play. In essence, Dromgoole’s mistake—like Richard Eyre’s nearly thirty years earlier—was a failure to question his own perspective.

The SWP *Changeling*, however, also allows a rethinking of the performance archive as constituted in the digital turn. The proliferation of online comments on productions such as this one results in over-archiving, whereby a huge variety of documents are available and accessible (to some), but the totality of archival documents cannot realistically be analysed, at least not by a single researcher. Whilst some have dismissed social media, blogging, and crowd-sourcing as un-scholarly or lacking rigour, these kinds of sources offer access, perhaps for the first time in history, to documentation that represents a relatively broad cross-section of audiences. In addition, the scholarly rigour required for historical and archival research still applies when the primary sources are tweets or Facebook posts, as I demonstrate above. Clearly, there are methodological problems to be resolved, but it is important to begin to theorising social media such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram as performance archives in their own right.

This chapter, then, also represents foundational work for a broader study of performance as documented on social media, and opens up a number of important questions and problems that are beyond the scope of this thesis to resolve. These include questions around organisation, storage, intellectual property, privacy, and methodology. It will be important, for example, to investigate the nuances that differentiate archival access and research methodologies on different platforms, as well as the ways in which representation and documentation are affected by the tendency towards over-archiving evident in the vernacular archive for the SWP *Changeling*.

Moving Forward: Conclusions

This thesis is about the ways in which Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's play *The Changeling* has been edited, performed, and archived in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It demonstrates a series of methodologies for thinking about the histories of performances and texts in the early modern canon beyond Shakespeare. Crucially, it suggests that documented archival remains of performance should be admitted as textual witnesses of a play's history, and given equal status with academic, scholarly editions and makes strides towards theorising social media as part of the performance archive. It argues that—despite at least a century of arguments to the contrary—performance is still considered secondary to text, and that this relationship needs to become more balanced, particularly since the canon has begun to expand and early modern plays beyond Shakespeare have begun to see more stage time in recent years.

This thesis is an original contribution to the field of early modern studies in that it pays particular attention to *The Changeling's* life in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and adapts methodologies for thinking about texts and performance that are normally applied to plays from Shakespeare's canon. It also offers a significant amount of original archival research by looking in detail for the first time, for example, at the 1961 Royal Court promptbook and Kate Crutchley's 1979 production in Stoke-on-Trent. It also corrects a long-standing mistake in the performance history of *The Changeling* by identifying Susan Hamlyn's 1979 production for Match Theatre, Birmingham, as amateur rather than professional. Finally, it begins to make use of newer archival forms, including social media, and suggests ways forward for both performance and textual studies in the digital turn.

The work sits broadly within the field of early modern studies in both drama and English literature contexts. More specifically, it is an important contribution to studies

of Thomas Middleton's—and, to a lesser extent, William Rowley's—canons and their cultural value as both texts and performances in recent history. Taking an historiographical approach, the thesis is structured around performances rather than texts or strictly chronological frames in order to shift primacy from text to performance. I acknowledge, of course, that the thesis itself is, necessarily, a textual document, and that performance is often documented, studied, mediated, and re-constituted *through* textual media, even (and, perhaps, even more so) in the digital turn. Still, I argue that admitting (textual) ephemera of performance to the field of textual studies—as they have been admitted in other historical fields—can provide a more complete and holistic picture of a given play's history and, sometimes, can resolve or at least open up textual cruces and problems. A case in point, highlighted throughout this thesis, is the relationship between the two plots in *The Changeling*: it is a notorious problem with the text that theatre practitioners have creatively and matter-of-factly solved in a variety of ways (some more invasive than others) since 1961.

The scope of this thesis necessitated a mixed methodology, and the different archival circumstances of each chapter required different approaches. The unifying theme, perhaps, is the archive itself, in all its incarnations and especially in its most recent, vernacular forms on social media. The archival work in the first half of the thesis, then, builds toward the engagements with less traditional sources in Chapters Three and Four. In Chapter One, the work is more traditionally archival and engages with a relatively comprehensive set of documents held at the Victoria & Albert Theatre Collection and the Bristol Theatre Collection. In Chapter Two, the archive is more scattered, and the evidence available is not as comprehensive; as a result, different historiographical problems arise, and the chapter spends time theorising the absent or incomplete archive (if, indeed, such a thing exists). Chapters Three and Four move on to productions that occurred within the past four years and that I was able to attend and

witness personally; I position myself in these cases as a participant-observer, relying on my own memories of the performances to supplement my other research. My analysis of the Young Vic production stems largely from the more informal archive of my own recollections, my interview with Hill-Gibbins, digital copies of the rehearsal scripts that he sent to me, and reviews, interviews, and other digital ephemera that I gathered myself. The implications of using this kind of vernacular archive are more thoroughly explored in Chapter Four, where I look at the 2015 SWP production: the official, institutional archive for that production was not available in time for its contents to be included in this thesis, allowing me to venture into truly original territory by making use of the vast amount of information available online.

The Changeling offers an apt case study for a re-thinking of the ways in which the performance and textual histories of early modern plays are conceived, articulated, and disseminated. This thesis makes a significant contribution to the field of early modern studies by demonstrating new methodologies in practice and offering original archival research. I state in my introduction that it is irresponsible to tell the textual history of a play like *The Changeling* without also telling its performance history, and vice versa. This thesis is a step towards better integration of text and performance for early modern plays beyond Shakespeare's canon, and participates in a growing body of work arguing for more inclusive and creative ways of editing, performing, and reading early modern drama. As digital technologies continue to expand and offer us more and more powerful tools for innovating within our textual and performance traditions, we must continue to question the ways in which we tell the histories of these plays.

The findings of this thesis are:

1) performance and textual histories of early modern drama are *not* as integrated as we would like to believe. Despite an ever-growing and longstanding body of work seeking to redress that balance, performance still plays second fiddle to text, particularly

(predictably) in English literature contexts. Functionally editorial work done by directors and dramaturgs should be taken as seriously as published work done by academics in constructing a text's history;

2) as the definitions of "text" and "performance" expand and change in the digital turn, it is appropriate to think about the histories of both texts and performances differently.

Digital technologies not only encourage a different kind of relationship between texts and performances, but they also fundamentally shift how and when a performance is archived, and by whom;

3) the ways in which early modern plays beyond Shakespeare are performed and edited reveal the priorities and ideologies of the societies and cultures that produce, preserve, and print them. These priorities and ideologies are further reflected in the ways in which a given performance is archived (or not).

The thesis is, admittedly, somewhat limited by its narrow focus on productions of *The Changeling* in the UK. Kate Lechler has undertaken a more comprehensive study of Middleton's entire canon in performance in most of the Anglophone West, and her work has allowed me to be more selective in my focus. But *The Changeling*, like all works of art, means differently in different cultural contexts, and an extension of the work undertaken in this thesis might test some of my conclusions against, for example, North American or non-English-speaking contexts. In addition, the work conducted here could be applied to other plays in Middleton's canon, particularly plays with relatively substantial performance histories such as *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *Women Beware Women*. Within Rowley's canon, such an extension is more difficult; none of his singly-authored plays or other collaborations have extensive performance histories. *The Witch of Edmonton*, on which he collaborated with Thomas Dekker and John Ford, is the only possible candidate. Indeed, I have not spent as much time with Rowley as I might have, and this thesis perhaps does not do enough to challenge the primacy of Middleton in

the popular construction of that partnership. Future scholars will certainly want to look in more detail at how Rowley is constructed in twentieth- and twenty-first-century productions of plays on which he collaborated, including *The Changeling*. In addition, I want to advocate for broadening the early modern performance repertoire and greater attention to the plays of Rowley, in particular, but also others beyond those included in Lucy Munro's "first group" of regularly performed, edited, and studied works.

Moving forward, I plan to use the foundations laid in this thesis to delve deeper into the vernacular, digital archive that I identify and begin to theorise in Chapter Four. Although I raise many questions there that are beyond the scope of this thesis to fully consider, I see that final chapter as a jumping-off point for exciting future work on the question of social media and other interactive digital platforms as archives of early modern performance. There is also a great deal of work to be done in developing and experimenting with digital formats for the kind of edition of *The Changeling* that is envisioned here; Appendix A offers a first attempt, whilst acknowledging that fully realising such a project would require more time, money, and brains than are possible at present. In conclusion, then, this thesis represents both a link in a long chain of calls for greater integration of textual and performance scholarship and a first step towards a new way of thinking about performances, texts, editions, and archives.

Appendix A: Editing Samples

This thesis, in some ways, has presented a methodology that could be used to produce an edition of *The Changeling*—or, indeed, other early modern plays with similar performance histories (Lucy Munro’s first group)—that gives equal attention to textual and performance histories. This appendix offers a series of “screenshots” demonstrating some possibilities for a performance-conscious digital edition.

In my Introduction, I give significant space to an analysis of the asides in Act 2, Scene 2 of *The Changeling* as edited by N.W. Bawcutt (1958), Douglas Bruster (2007), and Trystan Gravelle/Dominic Dromgoole (2015). Drawing on the explanatory work done in that section of this thesis, I offer here a series of “screenshots” demonstrating how a digital edition of *The Changeling* that incorporated theatrical editing might look. In doing so, I acknowledge a series of limitations: that my imagination is disappointed by my technical capabilities; that a fully realised edition would require a large team, a lot of funding, and many years of work; and that, as a result, these samples are necessarily restricted in scope. However, I include them in order to demonstrate some of the possibilities afforded by a digital, performance-conscious edition, and trust that my readers will fill in the blanks.

If fully realised, this kind of edition would allow readers to choose their mode of viewing. For example, it would be possible to select a “view all” option with regard to annotations, but it may also be possible to filter by production, year, or type of annotation (e.g., images only; textual notes only). As Schafer has pointed out, line-by-line commentary is not the only or even the ideal way of viewing performance-based annotations, particularly when the text has been ‘flagrantly rearranged’.¹ Therefore, the proposed edition would accommodate several different viewing

¹ E. Schafer, ‘Performance Editions, Editing, and Editors’, p. 208.

modes. Readers would also have the option to view different versions of the playtext side-by-side, where publishing rights for full promptbooks, e.g., are available. To facilitate streamlined reading, and in line with current practice for many digital editions of Shakespeare, the proposed edition would also incorporate pop-up annotations. Readers could click on a highlighted portion of text in order to see the relevant note(s), which could then be left open or closed as the reader chooses.

A full-length edition could more fully incorporate the social media archive that I begin to theorise in Chapter Four. For example, the Twitter conversation between Pascale Aebischer, Harry McCarthy, and myself that I cite in that chapter could easily be incorporated as an annotation on the dumbshow. In addition, archival photographs and/or facsimiles of early textual witnesses as well as production promptbooks, where available, could be made accessible alongside the edited text.

For the purposes of this sample scene, I have regularised speech prefixes and line numbering. I have used the 1653 quarto as a base text, adding annotations based on . In addition, although I am conscious of Hirsch and Jenstad's sense that digital editions have an 'obligation [...] to extend the scope of productions surveyed beyond the usual suspects', I have limited the number of productions and editions included here.² The texts and performances used to produce the sample scene include: the 2015 SWP production directed by Dominic Dromgoole, the 2012 Young Vic production and revival directed by Joe Hill-Gibbins, Douglas Bruster's 2007 edition for the Oxford *Middleton*, and Michael Neill's 2006 *New Mermaids* edition.

² B.D. Hirsch and J. Jenstad, 'Beyond the Text', p. 111.

Figure A**The relevant section of Act 2, Scene 2 as presented in the quarto (sigs. D2r-D2v).**

I use the quarto as a base text in these “screenshots” because *The Changeling* presents a relatively stable text, in that the 1653 quarto and its reprint in 1668 are the only early textual witnesses of the play. Therefore, there is no variation in the early printed texts to contend with, and the quarto represents the earliest available version of the play. Using the quarto as the base text here also ensures that I am not privileging any existing editions in establishing the playtext.

As is common in early modern printings, asides are not indicated with stage directions, although they are often obvious from the pronouns, verb tenses, and/or syntax.

Bea. Why, put case I loath'd him
As much as youth and beauty hates a Sepulcher,
Must I needs shew it? Cannot I keep that secret,
And serve my turn upon him?—see he's here—*Deflores.*

Def. Ha, I shall run mad with joy,
She called me fairly by my name *Deflores*,
And neither Rogue nor Rascal.

Bea. What ha' you done to your face a-late? y'have met with some good physician;
Y'have prun'd yourself, me thinks, you were not wont
To look so amorously.

Def. Not I, 'tis the same Phisnomy to a hair and pimple,
Which she call'd scurvy scarce an hour agoe: How is this?

Bea. Come hither, neerer man!

Def. I'm up to the chin in heaven.

Bea. Turn, let me see, vauh 'tis but the heat of the liver, I perceiv't.
I thought it had been worse.

Def. Her fingers touch'd me, she smells all Amber.

Bea. I'll make a water for you shall cleanse this within a fortnight.

Def. With your own hands, Lady?

Bea. Yes, mine own sir, in a work of cure, I'll trust no other.

Def. 'Tis half an act of pleasure to hear her talk thus to me.

Bea. When w'are us'd to a hard face, 'tis not so unpleasing;
It mends still in opinion, hourly mends, I see it by experience.

Def. I was blest to light upon this minute, I'll make use on't.

Bea. Hardness becomes the visage of a man well,
It argues service, resolution, manhood, if cause were of employment.

Def. 'Twould soon be seen, if e'er your ladyship had cause to use it.
I would but wish the honour of a service so happy as that mounts to.

Figure B

Side-by-side comparison of Bawcutt (Revels, 1958) and the 1653 quarto.

Placing these two versions of the scene side-by-side highlights the extent of Bawcutt's editorial interventions, particularly in terms of lineation. It also demonstrates the standard distribution of asides, as established by Bawcutt.

Bea. [*aside.*] Why, put case I loathed him
As much as youth and beauty hates a sepulchre,
Must I needs show it? Cannot I keep that secret
And serve my turn upon him?—See he's here.
[*To him.*] De Flores.

De F. [*aside.*] Ha! I shall run mad with joy;
She called me fairly by my name De Flores,
And neither rogue nor rascal!

Bea. What ha' you done
To your face a-late? Y'have met with some good physician;
Y'have pruned yourself, methinks, you were not wont
To look so amorously.

Def. [*aside.*] Not I;
'Tis the same phynomy, to a hair and pimple,
Which she called scurvy scarce an hour ago:
How is this?

Bea. Come hither; nearer, man!

De F. [*aside.*] I'm up to the chin in heaven.

Bea. Turn, let me see.
Faugh, 'tis but the heat of the liver, I perceiv't.
I thought it had been worse.

Bea. Why, put case I loath'd him
As much as youth and beauty hates a Sepulcher,
Must I needs shew it? Cannot I keep that secret,
And serve my turn upon him?—see he's here—*Deflores.*

Def. Ha, I shall run mad with joy,
She called me fairly by my name *Deflores,*
And neither Rogue nor Rascal.

Bea. What ha' you done to your face a-late? y'have met with some good physician;
Y'have prun'd yourself, me thinks, you were not wont
To look so amorously.

Def. Not I, 'tis the same Phisnomy to a hair and pimple,
Which she call'd scurvy scarce an hour agoe: How is this?

Bea. Come hither, neerer man!

Def. I'm up to the chin in heaven.

Bea. Turn, let me see, vauh 'tis but the heat of the liver, I perceiv't.
I thought it had been worse.

Figure C

Side-by-side view Act 2, Scene 2 in the Young Vic 2011 rehearsal script (left) and the 1653 quarto (right).

This side-by-side comparison view allows the reader to see how the scene was edited for performance in the 2012 Young Vic production, directed by Joe Hill-Gibbins. The rehearsal script indicates asides with italic text.

BJ: *Why, put case I loathed him*
As much as youth and beauty hates a sepulcher,
Must I needs show it? Cannot I keep that secret,
And serve my turn upon him?

See, he's here—

Deflores.

DF: *Ha, I shall run mad with joy!*
She called me fairly by my name, Deflores,
And neither 'rogue' nor 'rascal'.

BJ: What have you done
 To your face alate? You've met with some good physician;
 You've pruned yourself, methinks: you were not wont
 To look so amorously.

DF: Not I;
'Tis the same physnomy to a hair and pimple
Which she called scurvy scarce an hour ago:
How is this?

BJ: Come hither—nearer, man.

DF: *I'm up to the chin in heaven!*

BJ: Turn, let me see.
 Faugh! 'Tis but the heat of the liver, I perceive it;
 I thought it had been worse.

Bea. Why, put case I loath'd him
 As much as youth and beauty hates a Sepulcher,
 Must I needs shew it? Cannot I keep that secret,
 And serve my turn upon him?—see he's here—*Deflores.*

Def. Ha, I shall run mad with joy,
 She called me fairly by my name *Deflores,*
 And neither Rogue nor Rascal.

Bea. What ha' you done to your face a-late? y'have met with some good physician;
 Y'have prun'd yourself, me thinks, you were not wont
 To look so amorously.

Def. Not I, 'tis the same Phisnomy to a hair and pimple,
 Which she call'd scurvy scarce an hour agoe: How is this?

Bea. Come hither, neerer man!

Def. I'm up to the chin in heaven.

Bea. Turn, let me see, vauh 'tis but the heat of the liver, I perceiv't.
 I thought it had been worse.

Figure D

A section of Act 2, Scene 2, highlighting variant asides

This section demonstrates not only the variety in the assignment of asides through both the performance and textual histories of *The Changeling*, but also highlights some of the features that would be available in a fully-realised edition. Each of the pop-up boxes that you see here could be viewed by clicking on the highlighted portions of the play text. They could be left open or closed out at the reader's discretion, avoiding clutter on the page. I have simulated the look of hyperlinks in a few places, which are not active in this sample. In a fully-realised edition, these links would be functional, allowing a reader to jump between different scenes and comparison views at will. They would, of course, also have the option to open these links in a new tab or window, leaving the current scene open.

Whilst this sample highlights only the variations in asides, a complete edition would cover the full range of normal editorial annotations, alongside additional attention to the existing performance history. This example scene offers a “snapshot” of one particular type of annotation.

Bea. Why, put case I loath'd him
 As much as youth and beauty hates a Sepulcher,
 Must I needs shew it? Cannot I keep that secret,
 And serve my turn upon him?—~~see he's here~~—*Deflores.*

5 **Def.** Ha, I shall run mad with joy,
 She called me fairly by my name *Deflores*,
 And neither Rogue nor Rascall.

Bea. What ha' you done to your face a-late? y'have met with some good physician;
 Y'have prun'd yourself, me thinks, you were not wont
 10 To look so amorously.

Most editors (including Bawcutt, Neill, and Bruster) and productions (including Hill-Gibbins and Dromgoole) agree that these speeches are asides. This is clear from the pronouns used: “him” as opposed to “you” with reference to Deflores in line 1, e.g. The same is true of lines 14, 16, 18, and 20, below.

The promptbook for Tony Richardson's 1961 production shows that they changed some of these pronouns in rehearsal in order to remove the asides. These changes were reversed before opening night. They can be most clearly seen in Act 3, Scene 4. [Click to jump to 3.4.](#)

Def. Not I, 'tis the same Phisnomy to a hair and pimple,
Which she call'd scurvy scarce an hour agoe: How is this?

Bea. Come hither, neerer man!

Def. I'm up to the chin in heaven.

15 *Bea.* Turn, let me see, vauh 'tis but the heat of the liver, I perceiv't.
I thought it had been worse.

Def. Her fingers touch'd me, she smells all Amber.

Bea. I'le make a water for you shall cleanse this within a
fortnight.

Def. With your own hands, Lady?

20 *Bea.* Yes, mine own sir, in a work of cure, I'le trust no other.

Def. 'Tis half an act of pleasure to hear her talk thus to me.

Bea. When w'are us'd to a hard face, 'tis not so unpleasing;
It mends still in opinion, hourly mends, I see it by experience.

Def. I was blest to light upon this minute, I'le make use on't.

In line with Bawcutt (Revels 1958) and Bruster (Oxford 2007), the January 2012 Young Vic production (dir. Joe Hill-Gibbins) italicised this entire speech, indicating that it expresses the 'character's inner thoughts'—i.e., it's an aside. Neill (New Mermaids 2006) follows many twentieth century editions in shifting the aside in line 11, such that 'Not I' is spoken to Beatrice, but the rest of the line is an aside.

The 2015 Shakespeare's Globe production (dir. Dominic Dromgoole) shifts the aside in line 11, such that "'Tis the same physnomy..." is spoken to Beatrice-Joanna, but 'Which she called scurvy...' is not.

[Click for comparison view.](#)

Bruster (OUP 2007) introduces an aside here, interpreting Beatrice-Joanna's psychology. The added aside implies that she *actually* finds Deflores 'not so unpleasing'.

Figure E

Comparison view of lines 11-12 above

Readers who chose to follow the [Click for comparison view](#) link in the example above would be taken to a screen that looks something like this. It highlights the differences between the different editions being compared and identifies which edition(s) follow the variation in question.

Quarto (1653):

Def. Not I, 'tis the same Phisnomy to a hair and pimple,
Which she call'd scurvy scarce an hour agoe: How is this?

Bawcutt (1958) and Bruster (2007):

Def. **[aside]** Not I;
'Tis the same phsynomy to a hair and pimple,
Which she called scurvy scarce an hour ago:
How is this?

Dromgoole/Gravelle (2015):

Def. Not I;
'Tis the same phsynomy to a hair and pimple,
[aside] Which she called scurvy scarce an hour ago:
How is this?

Neill (2007), et al:

Def. Not I;
[aside] 'Tis the same phsynomy to a hair and pimple,
Which she called scurvy scarce an hour ago:
How is this?

Appendix B: List of UK Professional Productions and Scholarly Editions

This thesis has argued for a more integrated approach to thinking about the performance and textual histories of early modern plays. To demonstrate the interconnectedness of these aspects of early modern studies and to facilitate further work on *The Changeling* in this respect, I include a side-by-side list of professional productions in the UK and scholarly editions since 1910. In constructing this appendix, I have been assisted primarily by Karin Brown's list of 'Professional productions of early modern drama in the UK and USA', as well as Douglas Bruster's notes in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*. Stage adaptations have been included in this Appendix, as have adaptations in other media, such as films and radio broadcasts. Amateur productions have been excluded here, although information on performances by amateur and students groups, current as of 2012, can be found in Jeremy Lopez's appendices to *Performing Early Modern Drama Today*.

PERFORMANCES (UK)	YEAR	EDITIONS
	1910	
	1911	W.A. Neilson, <i>The Chief Elizabethan Dramatists</i>
	1915	M.W. Sampson, <i>Thomas Middleton (Masterpieces of the English Drama</i>
	1916	R.G. Martin and J.S.P. Tatlock, <i>Representative English Plays</i>
	1920	
	1926	F.E. Schelling, <i>Typical Elizabethan Plays</i>
	1929	E.H.C. Oliphant, <i>Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists</i>
	1930	
	1931	E.H.C. Oliphant, <i>Elizabethan Dramatists other than Shakespeare</i>
		F.E. Schelling, <i>Typical Elizabethan Plays</i> (2nd edition)
	1933	C.F. Tucker Brooke and N.B. Paradise, <i>English Drama 1580-1642</i>
	1934	C.R. Baskerville, V.B. Heltzel, and A.H. Nethercot, <i>Elizabethan and Stuart Plays</i>
		H. Spencer, <i>Elizabethan Plays</i>
	1938	J.S. Tatlock, and R.G. Martin, <i>Representative English Plays</i> (2nd edition)
	1940	
BBC Radio Broadcast	1950	

PERFORMANCES (UK)	YEAR	EDITIONS
	1956	R.G. Lawrence, <i>A Critical Edition of The Changeling</i>
	1958	N.W. Bawcutt, Revels Plays
	1960	
T. Richardson, The Royal Court	1961	N.W. Bawcutt, Revels Plays (2nd edition)
	1963	R.G. Lawrence, <i>Early Seventeenth Century Drama</i> R.C. Harrier, <i>The Anchor Anthology of Jacobean Drama</i>
	1964	P. Thomson, <i>New Mermaids</i> R. Ornstein and H. Spencer, <i>Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedy: An Anthology</i>
F. Evans, Oxford Stage Company	1965	G. Salgado, <i>Three Jacobean Tragedies</i>
	1966	M.W. Black, University of Pennsylvania Press
	1967	G.W. Williams, Edward Arnold R.W. Corrigan, Chandler Publishing
	1969	A.H. Gomme, <i>Jacobean Tragedies</i> J.D. Huston and A.B. Kernan, <i>Classics of the Renaissance Theatre</i> M.L. Wine, <i>Drama of the English Renaissance</i>
R. Eyre, Royal Lyceum Theatre Company, Edinburgh	1970	
M. Simpson, Birmingham Rep	1973	facsimile of 1653 quarto, The Scholar's Press
A. Page, BBC Play of the Month (TV broadcast)	1975	K. Muir, <i>Three Plays</i>

PERFORMANCES (UK)	YEAR	EDITIONS
P. Gill, Riverside Studios T. Hands, RSC (Aldwych) A. Noble, Bristol Old Vic R. Williams, Contact Theatre, Manchester K. Crutchley, Victoria Theatre, Stoke-on-Trent	1978 1979	D.L. Frost, <i>The Selected Plays of Thomas Middleton</i> N.W. Bawcutt, Manchester University Press (3rd edition)
N. Harrison, Albion Artists, London J. Collins, Crucible Studio Theatre, Sheffield H. Curtis, Voices Theatre Company, London V. Cottrell, Pelican Theatre Company, London B. Pryde, Arts Theatre, Cambridge M. Batz, Yorick Theatre Company, Edinburgh	1980 1983 1984 1985 1986	Swedish translation by Per Erki Wahlund (<i>De förbytta</i>) Polish translation by Krystyna Berwińska (<i>Zwodnica</i>)
R. Eyre, National Theatre	1988	B. Loughrey and N. Taylor, <i>Thomas Middleton: Five Plays</i>
M. Rylance, British Chinese Theatre	1990 1991	J. Daalder, New Mermaids
A. Manley, Harrogate Theatre Company	1992	
M. Attenborough, RSC / tour		
S. Curtis, BBC Performance (TV broadcast)	1993	
M. Thompson, <i>Middleton's Changeling</i> (film)	1998	N.W. Bawcutt, Revels Student Edition

PERFORMANCES (UK)	YEAR	EDITIONS
	2000	
J. Wright, Third Party Productions, London	2001	
J. Sealey, Graeae Theatre Company, Exeter		
D. Walton, Mamamissi Productions, London	2002	
A. Hilton, Shakespeare at the Tobacco Factory, Bristol	2004	
S. Drinkwater, KDC Theatre, London	2005	
D. Donnellan, Cheek by Jowl, European Tour	2006	M. Neill, New Mermaids
	2007	D. Bruster, Oxford <i>Middleton</i>
S. Harding, <i>Compulsion</i> , ITV (TV broadcast)	2009	
	2010	
M. Oakley, Southwark Playhouse	2011	
J. Hill-Gibbins, Young Vic (revival the same year)	2012	W.C. Carroll, <i>Thomas Middleton: Four Plays</i>
J. Hill-Gibbins, <i>Bed Trick</i> (short film)	2013	
D. Dromgoole, Sam Wanamaker Playhouse	2015	

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