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**NATHAN FIELD'S THEATRE OF EXCESS: YOUTH CULTURE AND BODILY
EXCESS ON THE EARLY MODERN STAGE (1600-1613)**

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**Thesis submitted
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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List of Abbreviations

ODNB = Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

OED = Oxford English Dictionary.

REED = Records of Early English Drama.

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Abstract

This dissertation argues for the reappraisal of Jacobean boy actors by acknowledging their status as youths. Focussing on the repertory of The Children of the Queen's Revels and using the acting and playwriting career of Nathan Field as an extensive case-study, it argues, via an investigation into cultural and theatrical bodily excess, that the theatre was a profoundly significant space in which youth culture was shaped and problematised. In defining youth culture as a space for the assertion of an identity that is inherently performative, the theatre stages young men's social lives to reflect the performativity of masculinity in early modern culture. Chapters One to Three focus on the body of Nathan Field by investigating the roles that he performed in the theatre to claim that the staging of bodily excess amounted to an effort to inculcate correct paths of masculinity. Chapters Four and Five offer detailed analysis of the plays written by Nathan Field, finding that Field was keen to champion positive aspects of youth culture and identity by reforming bodily excess on stage.

Chapter One asserts that George Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* (1603) identifies the protagonist's excessive violence as a failure to adhere to humanist teachings; a sign that youth culture is dependent upon the lessons learnt in school, whereas Chapter Two finds that *Eastward Ho* (1605) condemns the monstrous youthful drunken body before encouraging the audience to value apprenticeship as a positive site of youth identity. Chapter Three argues that John Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* (1607) reveals a range of polluted young bodies to demonstrate the importance of moderating the humoral fluctuations of youth before Chapter Four finds Field to be a conservative dramatist who ridicules excess with explicit didactic intentions in his *Woman is a Weathercock* (1610) and *Amends for Ladies* (1611). Finally Chapter Five locates aspects of excessive service in Field and Fletcher's *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613) to problematise aspects of youth culture, friendship and eroticism. The dissertation concludes with a retrospective appraisal of Field's multifarious identities that championed youth culture, morality and celebrity.

Introduction: Nathan Field, Youth Culture, Bodily Excess.

One morning in late 1600, the thirteen year old schoolboy Nathan Field (1587-1620) was abducted on his way to St Paul's grammar school by Henry Evans and James Robinson. The young man was forced to follow them to the Blackfriars theatre, where he became a member of The Children of the Chapel, an acting company consisting entirely of boys. Evans and Robinson were acting under the authority of Nathaniel Giles, the master of the Chapel Royal, who was commissioned to impress children to sing in the choir.¹ Giles exploited his authority, however, to recruit children for this new entrepreneurial venture, creating an acting company to perform in the Blackfriars theatre. Field, therefore, was the victim of a vicious set of ruffians looking to exploit talented children by forcing them to perform in plays for a private theatre audience; the children were frequently whipped and treated little better than slaves with no individual agency of their own.

"What, are they children?" - Or Youths?

Or were they? Such is the romantic picture painted by many a critic keen to assert the puppet-like qualities of the early modern boy acting companies. The question that heads this section, spoken by Hamlet (II.ii.343; 1623 text), and referring to the Children of the Chapel of which Field was a member, can be extended to the critical discussion surrounding the child acting companies at the turn of the seventeenth century. Whereas previous scholarship has often replied that the answer to Hamlet's question is negative, that the children are in fact puppets, or, that they are indeed exploited children, this thesis argues that the young actors in the child acting companies were 'youths'. As will become apparent in this introduction, the period itself identified a clear distinction between a 'child' and a 'youth'. I assert that studying the boy actors as youths enables a discussion of youth culture as a core component in the repertory of the boy companies, and that the interaction that occurs between the actors and the audience in the private theatres is crucial for formulating and regulating youthful masculinity. It argues that by staging bodily excess, the theatre provided social commentary on youth culture, and channelled correct paths to adult masculinity. I use the phrase 'youth culture', therefore, to talk about young peoples' social and working lives in early modern England, interpreting it as a performative shared space for peers to explore and assert culturally formulated identities. A discussion of youth culture explores young men's attitudes to alcohol, sex, lust, love, their changing bodies, education, violence, service, work and theatre – all important factors in developing a cultural identity of youthful masculinity. By staging bodily excess, which can be defined as a transgressive performance that disrupts a healthy youthful body, the theatre comments on the pastimes, identities, education practices, status, and culture of youth, discussing all aspects of being a young man in early modern England. The thesis seeks to answer a

¹ For fuller details, see Roberta Florence Brinkley's monograph *Nathan Field, the Actor-Playwright* (1928), pages 18-26, and Antonia Southern's *Player, Playwright and Preacher's Kid* (2009), pages 11-14.

series of questions that can aid our understanding of early modern theatre. How can acknowledging the actors in the boy companies as youths rather than children aid our interpretation of their plays? Can we talk about a youth culture that existed in the early modern theatre? What can Nathan Field, a boy actor and playwright, tell us about youth on the stage and in society? Why do the child company plays depict characters performing a variety of bodily excesses?

This dissertation argues for the reappraisal of Jacobean boy actors by acknowledging their status as youths. Focussing on the repertory of The Children of the Queen's Revels and using the acting and playwriting career of Field as an extensive case-study, it argues, via an investigation into cultural and theatrical bodily excess, that the theatre was a profoundly significant space in which youth culture was shaped and problematised. It achieves this via a close-reading of three plays in which Field performed leading roles, George Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* (1604), Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston's *Eastward Ho* (1605) and John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1607), before turning to Field's plays to address his own dramatisation of youth culture and bodily excess, *A Woman is a Weathercock* (1609), *Amends for Ladies* (1611), and a play written with Fletcher, *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613). The thesis develops John Astington's assertion that "groups of actors functioned as larger families, taking seriously the word 'brotherhood'" (*Actors* 84) to discuss how aspects of youth culture and identity were centralised and problematised by a group of young male actors and their playwrights, all keen to contribute to and comment on the experience of the social and cultural world of London. London is important as a cultural site largely populated with young men from the Inns of Court, apprentices, the court, as well as other theatres, so it is imperative to focus on how plays staged in London addressed their social and cultural practices and identities. The thesis, therefore, is important to scholarship as it asks for a reconsideration of the social, cultural, and political conditions experienced by boy actors, no longer as oppressed inadequate puppets forced into a regime of theatrical and sexual exploitation, but as youths with their own agency, celebrity and culture, thereby complicating the traditional understanding of boy acting companies and extending our knowledge of early modern theatre practices.²

It is only in recent years that scholars have returned to evaluate the children's playing companies and their actors. Of uttermost significance is the work of Lucy Munro and Edel Lamb, which is discussed in more detail below.³ The thesis is indebted to Kate Chedgzoy's understanding

² Undoubtedly our understanding of how youth actors operated in the early modern theatre will be aided by the news that John Marston's play *The Malcontent* (1603) will be performed at the Sam Wanamaker theatre in April 2014 by the Globe Young Players, a youth company composed of twelve-to-sixteen year olds. The production will run for twelve performances.

³ Lucy Munro's *Children of the Queen's Revels: a Jacobean Theatre Repertory* was published in 2005 and Edel Lamb's *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre: The Children's Playing Companies (1599-*

of adolescence in the period as a “developmental stage...a socially produced time of temporary destabilization of the normal structures of dependence and autonomy that regulate the lives of children and adults” (“What, are they Children?” 25), which, I suggest, can aid our understanding of the existence of a theatrical youth culture in the period that sought to dramatise the fluid, and dangerous because of its excesses, life stage between childhood and adulthood.⁴ The thesis therefore extends Chedgzoy’s argument that children’s own values could be expressed most adequately in their play-time (“What,” 26) by investigating youthful ‘play-time’ on the stage as a means of asserting a cultural identity. Rather than a study of children, the thesis investigates how the stage presented young men contributing to and re-evaluating ideas of masculinity and youth culture via a performance of bodily excess.

The thesis is also important in its concern to analyse male youth culture and ideas of masculinity because of the status of the monarchy and the social and political environment of England at the time when boy companies regained prominence. James I was on the throne for the majority of the life of the Children of the Queen’s Revels, and his young sons Henry and Charles were popular with the public and this is in part why ‘youth’ as a concept was so exciting and spoken about in the period, because the young nobles and princes were growing up to inherit the crown and rule England.⁵ The plays that were performed by the child acting companies therefore naturally speak about youth growing up and the problems faced with attaining respectable masculinity. These plays speak about youth in society and the correct ways of becoming a valued member of a community that works for the bettering of England. In this respect the plays performed in the Blackfriars and Whitefriars theatres are possibly also speaking implicitly *about* Henry and Charles growing up.

In defining youth culture, the playwrights are engaging with how society inculcates young men to ‘grow up’, and the plays and the theatre therefore become a positive site to practise youth culture. The theatre becomes a space where the young members of the audience can learn about youth culture and be warned against negative displays of bodily excess. Young men were advised by parents, masters, university dons, and moralists to regulate their changing bodies as they entered adolescence, and to ensure that they did not succumb to excess, as many of the anti-heroes do in the plays of the Children of the Queen’s Revels. Youth culture and bodily excess are therefore

1613) appeared in 2009. Joy Leslie Gibson’s *Squeaking Cleopatras* (2000) explores how boys performed the parts of women on the stage. A recent collection of essays, *The Child in British Literature* (2012), edited by Adrienne Gavin, contains three useful essays on childhood by Katie Knowles, Lamb, and Munro.

⁴ Chedgzoy’s essay, “What, are they Children?” appears in *Shakespeare and Childhood* (2007). See also her work on childhood; an essay, “Make me a Poet” (2013) and a monograph which discusses contemporary culture, *Shakespeare’s Queer Children* (1995).

⁵ See Roy Strong’s *Henry, Prince of Wales* (1986), and Richard Hillman’s “Tragic Channel-Crossings.”

invariably intertwined, speaking *to* youth, and speaking *about* youth. The body of the boy actor is defined by its ambiguity in the social space of the Blackfriars theatre, just as the space of the theatre itself is ambiguous. The Blackfriars theatre became a domestic, institutional and performative space for the boy actors, all of them living in the theatre, receiving scholastic training as well as performing before a paying audience. As Edel Lamb stresses, it is “through performance that the youth is developed from the bashful schoolboy to the audacious man” (*Performing* 100), so the young actor can obtain masculinity via theatrical performance, developing his youthful body and asserting his own cultural values and identity.

By taking a methodological framework that is cultural materialist in its approach, this author-based study aims to show how the child acting companies dramatised the social concerns faced by young men. In this respect, my work approaches early modern texts in the same fashion as two cultural materialists, Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield. In the foreword to *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism* (1985), both authors suggest an approach to discussing ‘culture’ that this thesis adopts. They write that talking about culture is an attempt to “describe the whole system of significations by which a society or a section of it understands itself and its relations with the world” (*Political* viii).⁶ The chapters below constantly seek to address how the theatre dramatises aspects of youth culture and identity in a quest to evaluate and determine those cultural possibilities afforded and enjoyed by young men growing up in the social world of early modern England. The stage and society are always interlinked because identity is performative; a study of the stage can aid our interpretation of early modern London, just as a study of the city can importantly influence a study of the stage. By working from the stage outwards, this thesis demonstrates that the private theatre companies are refreshingly contemporary with their age’s anxiety about young men and masculinity. Often cultural materialists will work on “the cultures of subordinate and marginalised groups” (viii), which in the field of early modern studies, naturally extends to the life stage of youth because society recognised them as a subversive subgroup outside of adult authority, despite the fact that communities were full of young men.

An interdisciplinary close-reading of a selection of under-studied plays is useful in this respect rather than a repertory study, not only because Munro’s recent monograph *Children of the Queen’s Revels: a Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (2005) has significantly increased our understanding of the company in this area, but also because it allows for an exploration of the performance of youth by a youth actor via a sustained analysis. The first three chapters of the thesis analyse the young men that Field performed as on the stage. The plays are neglected, and were chosen because they contain young characters that we can positively ascribe as being played by

⁶ For a more recent book length discussion of cultural materialism as a critical framework, see Andrew Milner’s *Re-Imagining Cultural Studies* (2002), pages 1-23.

Field. All of the playwrights that are explored in the early chapters have strong links with Field, which in many of the cases involved intense friendships. Chapman tutored him, as did Jonson. Fletcher and Beaumont were close personal and professional friends with Field, as was Philip Massinger, who falls just outside the scope of the thesis because his involvement with Field began in 1613, just as Field's career in a boy acting company was coming to a close. By exploring the pedagogical and the professional relationship of these playwrights to Field, by considering the characters they created for him to perform on the stage, we can begin to understand the multifarious aspects of producing a play for the stage in the period, as well as the many bonds that existed, such as friendship, tutorage, celebrity, and socialisation. The playwrights who wrote characters for Field are intertwined with creating youth culture; in writing *for* Field they are *writing* Field, and Field's performances shape youth culture in the audience just as the playscripts reflect the social concerns and problems of London. In a sense, youth culture permeates the page and the stage. Author, script, actor, and audience all contribute towards an understanding of youth culture. The thesis discusses plays from Field's acting and playwriting career in chronological order to offer a critical commentary on the young men that Field portrays on the stage and how Field's performances of excess analyse and problematise aspects of youth culture that were of social importance in the period. An exploration of how playwrights depict young men from a range of social backgrounds is vital for stressing the complexity and ambiguity of discussing youth culture in the period. Gallant, shepherd, servant, apprentice, gentleman, soldier, lover; all the thesis chapters contribute towards an understanding of a range of different social conceptions of youth. The thesis then turns to Field's own playwriting career to problematise attitudes to youth culture and excess, which are developed from his acting career. The stage aspires, therefore, to shape, as well as promote, healthy bodies in early modern England, with the private theatres' plays functioning as a space to socialise youth identity into normative modes via the rejection of excess that instructs young men how to behave. The stage promotes youth culture, just as it regulates it, and both ideas are central to many of the playwrights writing for the Children of the Queen's Revels, and for Field's later career as a writer.

It is apt to pause here to consider the roles that Field played at the Blackfriars and Whitefriars theatres. Appendix Three records all of the plays that Field performed in for the three companies that he performed with between the years of 1600-1613 and ascribes to Field a role that he possibly performed as in each play. Where there is no evidence available from the early modern period itself (and unfortunately, this is the case for a significant number of plays that Field performed in), I have tentatively speculated a role for Field based on the type of roles that he had previously performed for the company. In this instance, despite the fact that evidence is limited and will likely never come to light, it seems worthwhile to speculate to stimulate and provoke further discussion, rather than to leave huge gaps in Field's acting résumé.

After a detailed analysis of the plays that constitute the repertory of the Children of the Chapel, the Children of the Queen's Revels, and the Children of the Whitefriars, it appears that Field was somewhat typecast either as the young, blustering individual with a particularly dark or violent streak (such as Bussy D'Ambois, Malevole, or Scudmore), or the young, romantic, witty youth who attracts the laughter of the audience (such as Freevill, Quicksilver, Humphrey, or Ricardo). The hypothesis that Field was typecast aids the goals of Appendix Three in attempting to chart Field's acting career seeing as actors were vital to an author before a pen had even been picked up to begin playwriting with. As Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern remind us, a playwright "wrote a play with actors already in mind, shaping each written part to a specific player, creating lines that explicitly matched an actor's size, vocal range, and mannerisms" (*Shakespeare* 41). This, therefore, adds strength to the premise of Appendix Three in that Field's roles throughout his career adhered to a certain pattern. In this respect, I also adhere to Palfrey and Stern's understanding of early modern typecasting as something distinctly different from our very modern ideas surrounding the definition of the word: "actors were cast along the lines of personality 'type'" (44). Field therefore, was not only typecast as a 'blustering braggart' or a 'romantic lead'; he was typecast as a 'youth'.

In particular, in this section, I am concerned with discussing what makes a role Fieldian. As there is supporting evidence that Field played the role of Bussy D'Ambois from, amongst others, Astington (*Actors* 197) and Brooke (*Revels* liv), and Clermont D'Ambois (Munro, *Children* 152), it seems profitable to suggest that Field performed similar tragic, heroic roles such as Philotas and Byron. If Nora Johnson is correct in that Field played Scudmore (*Actor* 70), then it is also possible that Field performed the roles of Ingen, Ricardo, Perigot – likewise young men who take centre stage in transgressive roles whereby their errors are eventually reformed or forgiveness is achieved at the close of the play. Even if Robert Meriwether Wren, writing in 1965 found it "less clear" (*Blackfriars* 476) whether Field played Perigot, this present study finds similar characters performed by Field in the repertory, which therefore makes it possible that Field did play the central, young protagonist in Fletcher's play. As a friend of Field's, it is likely that Fletcher would write a central part that played to the strengths of the company's star actor. This certainly reflects Palfrey and Stern's suggestion that in the early modern theatre "it was common for parts to be made for actors" (40).

If Wren's credible suggestion that Field played Quicksilver is accepted (233), then this also ensures that there are potentially roles for Field in other plays that feature young, witty, gallant character such as Humphrey, Truewit, and Nymphodoro. These attributions must, of course, remain speculations, but by piecing together the puzzle of searching for similar roles in the repertory that would have showcased the strengths of one of the company's star actors, a picture does emerge of

likely roles that Field could have played. This can be useful when thinking about what makes a role Fieldian because it is apparent that the above characters are all largely youthful, and, as we will see in Chapter Four, Field constantly markets his youthfulness. The characters listed above, and in Appendix Three, are largely central roles that require the particular skill of a leading actor in the company to create bonds with and stimulate laughter in the audience. Again, it is evident in Chapters Four and Five that Field in his own playwriting seeks to create bonds with other young men that seemingly extend beyond the obvious rewards of being a celebrity. Even though Appendix Three can never be absolute in providing a list of roles that Field definitely played, it can be useful in reminding us that Field's acting career and the performance of youth certainly influenced his own later career as an actor-playwright.

It appears that the plays performed by children's companies are prioritising masculinity. It is male youth that is prioritised by these early modern playwrights because patriarchy is performative and the theatre is interested in reinforcing masculine authority, educating young men how to perform in public roles. The thesis does not, therefore, focus on young women; instead it focusses on why dramatists are centralising particular concerns aimed at young men.⁷ Even though Field, for example, does engage with aspects of female youth culture in his plays, the thesis primarily presents an analysis of male youth culture because I wish to explore Field's body as an actor and his own writing concerning masculinity and youth culture. As the thesis considers Field's performances of youth culture in three important roles in the first three chapters, before turning to look at how Field as author engaged with youth culture, the thesis does not consider Field's collaborative plays written for the King's Men between 1615-1620. The reason for not doing so is because the adult companies appear to be operating in different ways compared to the private theatres which are specifically marketing youth culture and the age of their actors as imperative factors to be engaged with by their regular audiences, which is why the thesis's study of youth culture halts at the moment when Field leaves the Whitefriars theatre in 1613. Whilst a study of Field, Fletcher, and Massinger's developed ideas on youth culture would be useful to undertake to compare to those set out by the boy companies, it is outside the scope of this thesis.

The decision, in Chapters One to Three, to focus on three roles that Field probably played – Bussy D'Ambois, Quicksilver in *Eastward Ho*, and Perigot in *The Faithful Shepherdess* – necessarily ensures that Field disappears somewhat behind the clothes donned for each part. However, this deliberate choice is useful for an investigation into how young men in the audience interacted with the characters that Field performed on-stage and allows for a discussion as to how youthful values could be transmitted on-stage via characters rather than actors' bodies. However,

⁷ Current Shakespearean scholarship addresses young women. See Jennifer Higginbotham's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Sisters* (2013) and Deanne Williams, *Shakespeare and the Performance of Girlhood* (2014).

recent work on the relationship between the actor and audience is particularly useful in this instance for developing ideas concerning youth culture and audience engagement with characters in the private theatres. As William Ingram has suggested, “the performers themselves might have been the main attraction and might have made the principle impression” (“Transgressive” 38), opening up an intriguing aspect for discussion with regards to Field and youth culture. If Field was well-known off-stage by some portions of the private theatre audience, possibly consisting of young men, then the pleasure attached to visiting the Blackfriars playhouse may have been occasioned by watching one of the company’s best youth actors, and an off-stage celebrity, perform in new plays. The fact that some young men in the audience had the potential, therefore, to idolise and befriend young Field off-stage and then watch him perform as a boisterous youth like Bussy, offered the chance for an imitative youth culture to flourish involving actor and audience. This could be a rich vein of thought for future work, but, in Chapters One to Three, this thesis deliberately explores Field’s roles to distinguish how characters like Bussy, Quicksilver, and Perigot, contribute to an understanding of youth culture and how such characters offered the potential for audiences to learn about what it meant to be a young man in the period. The analysis in Chapters One to Three is very much focussed on the characters’ performance of excess (rather than assuming that all of the audience ‘knew’ Field underneath the costume) and how the transgressive performance of youth culture on-stage could function as a deterrent for spectators, even as dramatists grappled with their own complex attitudes towards the staging of youth. The thesis analyses characters in plays rather than Field as actor, therefore, as I believe that spectators identified predominantly with character rather than actor (Field, in this instance).

However, the relationship between actor and audience is extremely complex and must, of course, remain largely speculative, seeing as every performance of a play would have been unique and would have offered multifarious responses from a socially diverse and vast array of spectators, despite my claims that the Blackfriars theatre could have consisted of a primarily youthful audience. Just as complicated is the means of assessing the impact of the actor in performing roles on the early modern stage. It could well be argued, as Palfrey and Stern suggest, that “early modern actors invariably identified closely with parts that had been written for them” (*Shakespeare* 45). This would make sense for an individual like Field, playing young male roles and being a young man himself. It would be only natural, therefore, that part of Field’s own values and ideas attached to the life-stage of youth were transmitted into his characters when performing on-stage. Palfrey and Stern also identify that players needed “mental familiarity, indeed identification” with the part that they were to play in order to be a successful actor (47), but it is dangerous, this thesis argues, to suggest that Field *is* Bussy, despite the fact that Field must *become* Bussy for a performance to be successful. To add to this complexity, undoubtedly, some spectators *did* see Field as Bussy, but

what Chapters One to Three attempt to discuss is how the audience responded to the character foremost, with the possible knowledge that Field was underneath the costume, enhancing the transmutable qualities of staged youth culture into the realm of the spectators' consciousness ready for performance outside of the theatre. At the end of Chapter One, Two, and Three, I grapple with these ideas further in more specific ways to analyse the impact of Field performing these roles and the relationship formulated between actor and audience. Finally, studying three roles that Field performed on-stage is also relevant for enhancing the discussion in Chapters Four and Five, where Field's own playwriting reflects and adapts the core values associated with youth that he had previously performed as characters like Bussy, Quicksilver, and Perigot, suggesting that roles performed by an actor remained in memory as influences for adoption and adaptation if they became a playwright.

What is 'Culture'?

My interpretation of what constitutes 'culture' influences my discussion of young men's lives in early modern England. If, as Clifford Geertz asserts, cultural analysis is "guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses, not discovering the Continent of Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape" (20), then the thesis's findings that youth culture is ultimately an ambiguous and contradictory performance of a set of values that constitute an identity, goes some way in increasing our understanding of young men's socialisation. Therefore, rather than guessing young men's cultural values, I would suggest that this thesis offers an interpretative analysis of young men's theatrical and social performances of ideas pertaining to their sense of place in their communities. My discussion of youth culture therefore mirrors Geertz's understanding of culture as "the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action" (145). I also adopt Peter Burke's definition of culture as a "system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms (performances, artifacts) in which they are expressed or embodied" (*Popular Culture* 1) in my discussion of youth, as well as Natalie Zemon Davis's assertion that culture is "the means by which ideas, beliefs, images, and gestures were communicated" ("Toward" 1409) to speak about young men's values, identities, and cultural practices. Even though literary critics such as Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield have suggested that popular culture is "hard to define and difficult to analyse" ("Introduction" 7), with Sue Wiseman stating that a discussion of popular culture naturally foregrounds "the self-conscious position of the critic or historian" ("Popular" 21), this thesis does not "treat 'culture' as something analogous to a physical substance with consistent and enduring properties" (Michael Hattaway, "Introduction" 6).⁸ Essentially this is because the thesis

⁸ For further discussion of literary critics' grappling with 'culture', see Mary Ellen Lamb's *Popular Culture* (1-12) and Douglas Bruster's *Shakespeare and the Question of Culture* (3-28, 211-216).

understands youth culture as performative, ambiguous, and contradictory, meaning that a finite definition of 'culture' is impossible to assert, but the value of discussing youth culture is that it allows for a discussion of the "physical, emotional, and social processes" that are all related to the life stage of youth (Michael Mitterauer, *History* 1).

What is 'Youth Culture'?

As long ago as 1965, Robert Wren in his PhD thesis, *The Blackfriars Theatre and Its Repertory, 1600-1608*, identified some crucial areas of early modern theatre studies that scholars should investigate to consolidate our understanding of performance and playwriting. Wren suggested that a study of Jacobean acting focussed on Field was important, because it would "define so far as possible the interrelationship between playwriting and acting" (481). This thesis engages with Wren's suggestion, but extends the discussion by investigating what appears to be crucial to Field and early modern boy companies in the period: youth culture and bodily excess, dramatised in an almost obsessive fashion compared to plays performed in the public theatres, largely because of the age of the actors. An exploration of 'youth' as opposed to 'masculinity' is essential, as young men had not yet arrived at adult manhood, with excess expected but in urgent need of regulation to enable honourable adult masculinity. Undertaking a close-reading of plays from the repertory of the boy company is significant for centralising and realising their interest in youth, highlighting an aspect of scholarship that has previously been neglected. This thesis does not deny that satire is a crucial component of the company, but it aims to show that there is more to these plays than just "revels and satires / that gird and fart at the time" (Jonson, *Poetaster* III.iv.194-195) and that one way to increase our understanding of the company and of their plays is by investigating them as sites of youth culture.

Literary critics have been remarkably quiet on the subject of youth culture in the period and the theatre. Barry Reay suggests that it was "unlikely" that there was a youth culture "in a way that we would understand the term", but there is much evidence of "youth interaction and socialisation" (*Popular* 206). Historians, however, have discussed and debated the concept. In *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (1994), Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos suggested it had become commonplace for historians to discuss "youth subculture" or "adolescent culture" in early modern English society (183). Ben-Amos's conclusions from her study apparently deny the existence of a separate culture for the young, stating that "most youths had few values that truly distinguished them from adults, and they had few, if any, institutions which were wholly theirs, separating them from society at large" (205). Paul Griffiths, meanwhile, in *Youth and Authority* (1996) suggests that the very phrase 'youth culture' is impossible to define accurately. "Youth culture has rough edges. It is 'scarred' by the regular appearance of adults" (116) and is an "untidy interpretative term" (122), disguising "as much as it reveals" (122). However, Griffiths does accept that if youth

culture's "principal features include formative experiences of youth, the freedom to organise free time, and common cultural and social movements, then...it is not an entirely unhelpful term" (116).

But Keith Thomas suggests that there was a "children's subculture" which has yet to be realised ("Children" 51) and I naturally assert that youths had their own culture too. This thesis suggests that there is plentiful evidence in the early modern theatrical environment perpetrated by the boy acting companies, which did discuss formative experiences of youth in an inquisitive and didactic performance of social and cultural ideologies of masculinity. The theatre becomes an exciting and important space to develop Griffiths and Ben-Amos's social analyses of youth culture to investigate how the private London theatres contribute to our understanding of youth and identity. Even though, therefore, historians such as Ben-Amos and Griffiths may differ in their assertions of whether there was a youth culture in the period and how, if at all, it can be defined, this thesis affirms that there was such an idea of youth culture and youth identity in the period, circulated in the early modern theatre, and approaches ideas of youth culture in a different fashion to previous historians.

Whereas Griffiths, Ben-Amos and Alexandra Shepard have focussed on apprentices as the chief subgroup possessing a youth culture, this thesis suggests that the theatre was a flourishing space for ideas about a whole host of young men from a variety of social backgrounds to be circulated and dramatised.⁹ The thesis does not suggest that youth culture necessarily engenders social/political/cultural tension and instead argues that there is more to youth culture than mere expressions of anti-authority, whereby the adult world is shunned in favour of a separate, and thereby alien, culture. Michael Witmore suggests that children were "invested with the apparent capacity to act in the world without themselves being governed by some self-regulating force of interest" (*Pretty* 12), and this individual agency should naturally be extended to a discussion of youths. The thesis argues that ideas, culture and identities circulated by youth, both in the theatre and in society, are spaces to develop cultural and social ideas of adult masculinity. Crucially, the thesis finds that youth culture is performative, and the correct performance of youthful masculinity acts as a stimulus to achieving adult masculinity.

⁹ See Griffiths, *Youth* (147-169); Ben-Amos, *Adolescence* (183-207); Shepard, *Meanings* (98-99), which discusses the Shrove Tuesday riots where young apprentices attacked the city brothels; as well as Steven R. Smith "The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents" (149-161). See François Laroque's *Shakespeare's Festive World* (1993) for a discussion of festive days celebrated by young men and women including May Day (35). Laroque also mentions Shrove Tuesday and the practice of eating to excess a range of flatulent foods (47), as well as the fraternities of young men who gathered to wage war on the brothels and theatres (97), where the young men could demand portions of their favourite plays to be performed by the actors, turning violent if they failed to comply with their demands (99), and Plough Monday, a specifically youthful festival with dancing and singing (94-95). Bernard Capp, in his article "English Youth Groups" (1977), and Anne Yarbrough in her article "Apprentices as Adolescents" (1979) also discuss apprentice and adolescent misrule, with Yarbrough calling the young men "rude and lewd" (67).

Essentially then, the term ‘youth culture’ in this thesis, at its most fundamental level, refers to a set of cultural values and a social identity shared and practised by a group of young men. Typically, the use of the phrase ‘youth culture’ in the subsequent chapters does refer to a very specific type of young men in the early modern period. The phrase is useful in facilitating a way to speak about unmarried men without making them out to be pre-pubescent, and to write about youth culture ultimately captures young men responding to the complex demands of their society as they attempt to obtain masculinity. Youth culture, by extension, does not necessarily ensure that young men were actively rebelling against authority or patriarchy. Instead, what the chapters in this thesis showcase is the fact that groups of young men possessed a very particular relationship with violence, alcohol, sex, and friendship, precisely because of their interactions with their peers, the similar age of the group, and circumstances that tie them together (such as working for the same master, attending university together, or living in the same street). More often than not, youth culture is a grouped performance of identity; youth culture can be experienced or performed by individuals, but it ultimately exists and is most effective in a shared space, where peers can be impressed and bravura indulged with the comfort and approval of peers drinking and fighting towards an understanding of patriarchy-inspired masculinity. This doesn’t stop other groups (such as male adults, the elderly, or professional men working for the court or country) from engaging with sex, alcohol, and violence, but those groups, in equal measures, perform and are wary of a masculinity that has already been achieved and must be carefully policed as opposed to the pre-adult existence of young men. Youth culture in the thesis, therefore, is particularly concerned with the actions of students and apprentices, finding parallels in their expressions of youth-hood with the unmarried youth actors performing on stage in the early modern boy companies.

Likewise, when I refer to a ‘youth actor’ throughout the thesis, I am deliberately attempting to draw parallels between those young men off-stage in society and local communities who participated in youth culture, and those young actors on the stage who facilitated and explored pre-adult identities and values on-stage that were particularly resonant to a peer group who had not yet arrived at adult masculinity. A youth actor on-stage, like those attached to the three acting companies discussed in this thesis, could be aged between thirteen-to-twenty-five, but sometimes, as in the case of Field, who carried on acting youthful roles until his death in 1620 at the age of thirty-two, that age-range boundary could be slippery and contested to market an actor’s ideal character type for newly penned plays or revivals for the companies.

To date, in the field of early modern literary studies, just one monograph exists with the words ‘youth culture’ in its title, *Shakespeare and Youth Culture* (2010), a selection of essays written by Jennifer Hulbert, Kevin Wetmore, and Robert York. Rather than being a study of early modern attitudes to youth culture however, their work looks at the intertextual space that

Shakespeare occupies in contemporary America (1). The monograph looks at how Shakespeare's works are "read in schools, used as raw material for film, television, and stage adaptations, re-created as graphic novels, referenced in commercials and advertisements, and used as a framework to understand adolescent girls, contemporary cultural and social conflicts, and business practices" (1) and thereby discusses a rather different form of youth culture to the one proposed by this dissertation. This thesis understands youth culture by exploring how young men performed in youthful spaces; the private indoor theatres, the alehouse, city, countryside, schoolroom, court, and places of labour and work environments. These spaces provided an opportunity for young men to practise and assert their identity and a range of bodily performances to formulate their own ideas of masculinity. The social performance of youth culture is always a shared space, a group space, where other young men can influence and contribute to performances of identity, whether it be in the workplace or the court, under the watchful eye of a master or the King. But, crucially, the stage often presented isolated youths who failed to assert positive aspects of youth culture and instead performed bodily excess. Bussy D'Ambois, for example, is excessively violent in his failed engagement with humanist ideals and receives the ultimate punishment for his negative youth culture: death. Francis Quicksilver, in *Eastward Ho*, is also punished for his misappropriation of youth culture as a gentle apprentice and repents, thereby instructing the youthful audience how to contribute positively to society. In finding out how to perform correct aspects of masculinity, Quicksilver learns how to perform as a 'youth', shaping audience expectations of youth culture and identity. The plays, therefore, invited the youthful audience to question their own identities and cultural performances of manhood.

Defining Bodily Excess

Bodily excess is ultimately intertwined with youth culture in the early modern boy companies. This thesis suggests that bodily excess is always a temporary state where a young body becomes unstable and unable to 'perform' correctly or appropriately in a social situation. The youthful body may be affected by external stimuli, such as alcohol, which, as we will see in Chapter Two, becomes utterly disruptive and damaging for Francis Quicksilver. Quicksilver as a result becomes an unstable body and a body that is excessive. An excess of passion, such as lust, is explored in Chapter Three as damaging and emasculating to the male body, whereas Chapter One focuses on excessive violence as a performance of bodily excess that ultimately destroys youth culture, and the individual. Just as the thesis interprets gender, identity, and the body in a Butlerian fashion, that all are performative, a body that is rife with excess also becomes concerned and consumed with the performance of that excess, and therefore provides us with an astute way to

approach negative aspects of youth culture.¹⁰ The excessive aspects of the youthful body can be better understood via Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas on the grotesque and excessive body (*Rabelais* 303), a body that is always mutating and fusing with worldly pleasures (310). The fluidity of the young male body, with regards to identity, invariably results in the spilling of bodily fluids; both Bussy D'Ambois and Perigot from *The Faithful Shepherdess* spill copious amounts of blood from their victims whereas Quicksilver consumes alcohol to excess with the typical end result; the stomach rejects the liquid and forces it out through the body's mouth. This seems to be a crucial concern of moralists writing about youth, that the life stage is fluid and that young bodies can easily mutate into something excessive and unnatural. It is, therefore, with Bakhtin's ideas concerning the grotesque body as a body "in the act of becoming", "never finished, never completed" (*Rabelais* 317), that this thesis approaches the life stage of youth in the early modern period. The plays analysed have much to say about the youthful body that is always travelling towards manhood, but at the same time they construct ideals of youth culture to be employed and appraised.

Young men were also depicted in printed moralist tracts as being wholly governed by an excessive appetite that was largely sexual. An English translation of Plutarch's *President for Parentes* (1571) suggested that the "trespasses and offences of yongmen, are oftentimes great, horrible, and miserable, as intemperate gluttonie" and pursuing virgins and breaking marriages by persuading wives to commit adultery (H4v). The child company theatres were also housed in various precincts in London which were of dubious moral standing. The Children of Paul's, for example, were located in an area of London that was rife with debauchery, as Brandon Centerwall has revealed (88).¹¹ Furthermore, the Cathedral and the playing space utilised by the Children of Paul's was excessively foul as Centerwall suggests, quoting the report of Bishop Richard Bancroft in his *Visitation Report*, that the inside of Paul's Cathedral was filthy. The stench was dreadful; the Cathedral was peppered with drunkards, idle people and masterless men, all of them frequently urinating and defecating on the floor (89). There were "'boies...pissinge upon stones in the Church...to slide upon as upon ysse'" (89), children leapt and played in the church and numerous windows were broken and the paving stones were in a bad state (89). Such a locale testifies to the opportunities available for young men to engage in excessive and aggressive aspects of youth culture in an attempt to perform an assertive manhood, and Field engaged in several social performances of youth as we will see in later chapters. As the thesis will explore in detail however, the stage – even through engagement in a performance of bodily excess – has very different goals for staging negative aspects of youth culture.

¹⁰ See Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble*, especially pages 185-193 for her discussion that gender is performative.

¹¹ Centerwall writes that "the premises were rife with prostitutes, cutpurses, and other criminals as well as debtors" (88).

The merging together of youth culture and bodily excess expands upon the work of historians such as Griffiths, Ben-Amos, and Shepard, to explore a crucial area of understudied material: the importance of the stage in defining and theatricalising youth culture. In defining youth culture as a space for the assertion of an identity that is inherently performative, the theatre stages young men's social lives to reflect the performativity of masculinity in early modern culture. The thesis is indebted to the work of five historians who have all produced seminal studies of young men and gender, expanding their findings concerning social masculinity to investigate theatrical depictions of youth.¹² Shepard's work on social depictions of youthful excess has proved vital in encouraging an exploration of staging excess (*Meanings* 93-126), as has Ben-Amos's analyses of aspects of apprentice youth culture (*Adolescence* 183-207). Griffiths's study of youthful pastimes has enabled the thesis to consider whether and how the stage actively engages with the concerns and culture of young men (*Youth* 176-234). The thesis is likewise indebted to Elizabeth Foyster's suggestions that manhood was always a societal construct and easily lost (*Manhood* 55-56). Anthony Fletcher's suggestions that adolescence was always regarded as a liminal time (*Gender* 211) and that manhood could only be learnt by engaging in a youth culture full of drinking, fighting, and sex (*Gender* 92) have been instrumental in considering how the stage can instruct young men about positive aspects of youth culture and the impetus to contribute to society in a meaningful fashion.

Youth Culture in the Early Modern Theatre

In her monograph, *Performing Childhood*, Edel Lamb adopts the phrase 'youth culture'. Even though she links being a youth with being a child, Lamb suggests that "the children's performances also permit an examination of what it means to be a youth", with the youths gaining temporary authority and agency (109-110). I differ from Lamb in my appropriation of youth culture by suggesting that instead of the phrase relating to the actors acquiring a sense of selfhood through mocking and ridiculing figures of authority (112), youth culture dramatised on the stage reflected and regulated social practices of young men in early modern England. Lamb has also recently developed her ideas about youth culture in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*.¹³ Lamb finds that Rafe is depicted as a typical early modern youth who engages in experiences of youth culture to develop his social identity ("Youth"), and my own thesis extends this discussion, firstly, by considering the significant part that bodily excess plays in the formation of youth culture, and secondly, by suggesting that the stage constitutes a youthful space where ideas of youthful

¹² For fuller details, see Shepard's *Meanings*; Ben-Amos's *Adolescence*; Griffiths's *Youth*; Foyster's *Manhood in Early Modern England* (1999); Fletcher's *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (1995).

¹³ Edel Lamb, unpublished chapter on "Youth Culture", forthcoming in *A Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*. Ed. Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield, Abigail Shinn. (2014).

masculinity can be performed and absorbed by the audience. Whereas Lamb still considers Rafe to be a “subordinate figure...[a] boy actor” (“Youth”), the characters explored across the chapters in the thesis are approached as young men with their own agency and developing ideas concerning masculinity, not repressed child figures. Even though Lamb admits that youth culture is “difficult to define and theorise” (“Youth”), her chapter is useful for suggesting that young people in early modern England engaged with and expressed their own culture through the reading of “popular cheap texts” that were produced for them (“Youth”). I would suggest that printed playbooks were engaged with in a similar fashion by young male readers in the period, as will become apparent in Chapter Four, because, as Lamb asserts, youths “were significant consumers and purveyors of multiple aspects of popular culture” (“Youth”).

In 2003, Ira Clark suggested in his monograph *Comedy, Youth, Manhood in Early Modern England* that the stage paid particular attention to the “concerns of adolescent males” (50) and his study of comedies in the public and private theatres, analysed “young men proving manhood” (51). Whereas Clark interprets drama as vital for young men in the sense that achieving manhood is the ultimate concern of many of the plays that he studies, discussing duelling, marriage, widow hunts and the plight of younger brothers, he overlooks the time spent between youth and arriving at adult manhood. This thesis therefore explores the gaps in Clark’s study by analysing how the private theatres dramatised youth culture and the identities associated with it *before* adult masculinity was achieved.

Youth culture and masculinity is the subject of Benjamin Roberts’s study of Holland during the 1620s and 1630s, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock ‘n’ Roll* (2012), which considers male clothing culture, alcohol, sex, violence, and tobacco, as core components of Dutch youth culture.¹⁴ Even though Roberts’s study considers a slightly later period than the one investigated here, and looks at youth culture in a different country, his assertion that youth should be recognized as a crucial life stage between childhood and adulthood (18) has been adopted in the present study to investigate the private theatres in England.¹⁵ The fact that Roberts asserts that youth culture and masculinity are inseparable (19), reveals how my own thesis engages with current scholarly areas of interest, and my study adds bodily excess into the equation in finding that youth culture and masculinity are performative. The theatre, and particularly the plays performed in the repertory of the Children of the Queen’s Revels, therefore, formulate and exhibit aspects of youth culture and identity that many young men experienced in early modern England. The plays in the repertory seem particularly interested in notions of bodily excess, frequently dramatising youthful bodily pleasure as grotesque

¹⁴ See also Steven Ozment’s article “The Private Life of an Early Modern Teenager”, for an analysis of the “ever-threatening three horsemen of adolescence [in early modern Germany]: sex, alcohol, and the theater” (31).

¹⁵ Roberts’s study only considers the theatre fleetingly (18,70,143,181).

and extreme in order to inculcate and regulate correct ideas of how masculinity should be performed.

The Didactic Potential of the Boy Acting Companies

The discussion of youth culture is therefore linked to the young men who experienced the performance of social and cultural ideas pertaining to youth in the private theatres, and the thesis asserts that the indoor theatre aimed to encourage spectators to reform and regulate their own social performances of youth culture by presenting plays that are at the core, didactic. Witmore's assertion that the child company plays functioned on a phatic level with the audience, with the child actors interacting with them socially whilst performing the play, has been adopted in this study (*Pretty* 17). This thesis considers youth culture expressed by the young male actors as imperative in fashioning social performances of youth identity in early modern England. Support for this assertion can be found in Julia Briggs's work, which suggests that plays could change audience beliefs (*Stage-Play* 254) and Peter Lake's observation that plays "seek to process and expel the corrupt impulses, the dreadful sins that they display and glamorise, seeking, as they do so, to resolve the very social, personal and ideological conflicts that they stage" (*Antichrist's* 392). I extend Lake's analysis to develop the curbing of bodily excess into encouraging the young men to perform positive aspects of youth culture that aid society and their own development towards adult masculinity. The thesis therefore builds upon Anthony Dawson and Paul Yachnin's *The Culture of Playgoing in Shakespeare's England* (2001), where they suggest that characters on the stage were constructed as real people for the audience to engage with (8), and that these characters affected "the bodies of the spectators" (3) by investigating how youth culture is dramatised on the stage with the intention of educating and regulating the audience's own conceptions of how 'youth' should be performed outside of the theatre. Matthew Steggle has also analysed the link between stage laughter and weeping as a means of eliciting laughter and tears from the audience (*Laughing* 1), suggesting that the stage had the power to stimulate emotional responses. Dawson and Yachnin realise that there is a mix in the theatrical experience between "the pleasure of the physical body and a sense of individual meaningfulness" and a "shared feeling of well-being and a sense of cultural significance" (5). This encapsulates two crucial aspects concerning the dissemination of youth culture via the stage; audiences could either interpret it individualistically, or as a peer-group, internalising or performing the dramatisation of cultural values. In this respect therefore I agree with Erika Lin's recent assertion that a play's content had the potential to become integrated into the audience's social lives (*Shakespeare* 20), and my analysis of youth culture and audience inculcation also develops Allison Hobgood's suggestion that "playgoers are imagined as both respondents to and catalysts of intense, emotionally charged encounters between the world and the stage" (*Passionate* 6). It is evident that plays shaped cultural values and audiences' everyday social interactions.

Evidently, men involved in the theatre during the period were keen to promote the stage's power to reform individuals, writing against anti-theatrical pamphlets. Thomas Heywood asserted in *An Apology for Actors* (1612) that tragedy was performed "to terrify men from the like abhorred practices" (C4v) and Thomas Lodge suggested that poetry and the stage presented "pleasure to draw men to wisdom", which encouraged individuals to reform (*Reply* A3r). Even though these writers were men of the theatre, keen to promote a profession that was their livelihood, Huston Diehl has shown that dramatists did develop a "Protestant aesthetics" (*Staging* 8) to reform the stage, and I suggest that the private theatres were speaking to young men, encouraging them to curb their transgressions in the performance of youth culture.

However, we should exercise caution when thinking about whether plays can be considered didactic in performance. It is, of course, notoriously difficult to measure an audience's response to a play performed at the Blackfriars theatre in 1604, simply because there is so little surviving information to enhance our understanding of early modern theatre's power to educate, transform, and enhance, individuals' cognitive powers. By nature, therefore, writing about the early modern theatre's didactic potential must recognise exactly that; that the Blackfriars theatre and its plays had the potential during the performance of drama to enable some members of the audience to respond to the play in a manner where their intellectual thought processes and social values were enhanced and developed by the content of the play. It may be difficult to say with certainty that *Bussy D'Ambois*, for example, in performance at the Blackfriars theatre could be considered a didactic play, but, nonetheless, and with particular regards to this thesis, to speculate about how such plays may have influenced and educated young men in the audience can prove fruitful in thinking about the multifaceted ways with which young men engaged with plays in the period.

One further element can be noted here which adds to the complexity surrounding whether early modern plays can be considered to be didactic. There is a significant amount of blurring between content in a play that could be considered on the one hand didactic, or educational, and on the other hand culturally relevant or topical. All five of the chapters in this thesis are testament to the blurred lines between the didactic and the culturally relevant – in fact, youth culture itself as a living process experienced by a significant proportion of young men in the period was a mixture of acquiring education about masculinity through cultural experimentation with peers about the process of living as a man in society – but I do think that there is value in considering plays to potentially function as didactic pieces for at least some people in the audience. This is evident in Field's own preface "To the Reader" which appeared in the printed quarto of *A Woman is a Weathercock* (1612), when Field writes that a play is a "Mirrour of mens liues and actions" (69), suggesting that a play not only reflects reality, but if a reader (or spectator) is "ignoraunt" (69), they fail to benefit from the play's instructional elements that could enhance an individual's intellect. As

Chapter Four reveals, Field is evidently concerned with creating drama that offers spectators the chance to be educated, and this may well stem from Field's own grammar school education where the process of learning was twinned with acting and drama; learning gave "boys a proto-dramatic part to play in dialogues with peers, parents, or masters", as Lynn Enterline has suggested (*Shakespeare's Schoolroom* 8). If schoolboys were perfectly attuned to the bonds between learning and drama, then it is possible that an inquisitive approach to stage-plays which enabled an active search for didactic messages in the content of the plays could have been practised by numerous members of the audience at the Blackfriars theatre. The fact that the links between learning and drama continued beyond the schoolroom into the university environment, as Christopher Marlow has shown, does indeed suggest that there is "a direct connection between drama and youth itself" (5), and that the possibilities for young audience members to interact with and learn from plays was available in the early seventeenth-century.

In terms of 'how' young men might interact with plays in a didactic fashion, once again, speculation must dominate. If, like the young wanton courtier Ferentes in John Ford's *Love's Sacrifice* (1633), table-books could be used by gallants to record material from plays, this may be one such way in which young men took note of the content of plays for instruction. The irony here, of course, is that Ferentes keeps table-books to record phrases which he can recite to woo women (I.i.152-3), but, nonetheless, he is still learning. Such youthful mis-learning on-stage dominates this thesis, and perhaps the errors of the young men presented on-stage encouraged the young men in the audience to shun transgression in their own lives. This thesis therefore suggests that to consider the didactic potential of plays could be a useful lens with which to approach appropriations of youth culture on stage and in society in the period.

The audience who frequented the Blackfriars theatre were primarily youthful, and large sections would have consisted of students from the Inns of Court, not only because the Blackfriars and Whitefriars theatre were situated in close proximity to all four Inns of Court, but also because the theatre 'season' mirrored that of the law schools' term times and the residence of the court in London, lasting from September through to March (Astington, *Actors* 70, 56).¹⁶ There is much evidence to support the assumption that both private and public theatres were well-visited by young men from a range of backgrounds (Griffiths, *Youth* 113-175; Sturges, *Jacobean* 18-19), with Ira Clark suggesting that theatre audiences consisted of a "dominant portion" of young men (*Comedy* 51). Whether they were scholars, apprentices, courtiers, or members of the gentry, young men were a visible and vital part of early modern theatre.¹⁷ Keith Sturges suggests that the Blackfriars theatre

¹⁶ See Wilfrid Prest's *The Inns of Court* (1972) for a discussion of young men's lives at the Inns of Court.

¹⁷ Gurr's discussion of the "wealthy and especially the young", including apprentices and Inns of Court students, frequenting the amphitheatres throughout the 1580s to the 1590s, can also be extended to the private theatres operating after 1600 (*Shakespearean Stage* 216). In *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, Gurr

housed an audience who were regular visitors and knew each other, as well as knowing and being on friendly terms with the authors and actors (*Jacobean* 26).

The theatre was also a space where performances of youth culture were not just confined to the stage. During the performances of plays, some young men in the audience took it upon themselves to perform violent aspects of masculinity in aggressive assertions of youth culture, and such incidents have been documented by Andrew Gurr (*Playgoing* 192-204). During the performance of a play in 1642, Valentine Brown, an Inns of Court student, took offence with MP Peter Legh, who was just eighteen years old, and killed him in a duel (*Playgoing* 192). Sir Richard Cholmley in 1603, aged twenty-three, fought outside the Blackfriars theatre with a young gallant who took his stool on stage (*Playgoing* 192-193). We should also remember that twenty-six year old Ben Jonson killed the twenty-two year old actor Gabriel Spencer in a duel in 1598 (Astington, *Actors* 217). It is significant that violence could occur at public and private theatres, and that young men were keen to perform violently to defend their reputation and social standing if required. Gurr's records reveal the violent undercurrent that surged through any social performance of youth culture in the period, and this is apparent in abundance with the plays staged at the Blackfriars theatre by the Children of the Queen's Revels, as the thesis will demonstrate.

Gurr cites numerous records of Inns of Court students frequenting plays at the Blackfriars and John Milton saw a play at the Fortune when he was just twelve years of age in 1621 (*Playgoing* 199).¹⁸ The fact that young Edward Pudsey saw plays at the Blackfriars and then jotted down quotations from them, also suggests that young men felt that the theatre could be useful in impressing, inspiring, educating, or accusing peers depending upon the occasion (Gurr, *Playgoing* 200-201). There is also evidence from university plays that young men in the audience enjoyed watching plays with their friends and peers and were willing to produce a range of performative responses to express pleasure or disdain with the play that they were watching. In March 1632, the authorities at Cambridge University instructed the students that during the play they were not to smoke, make any rude or insolent gestures, hum, whistle, hiss or laugh, stamp, knock, do anything that was unscholarlike or boyish, or even to clap (Gurr, *Playgoing* 240). Even though this record orders students what not to do during the performance of a play during a royal visit, the authorities thereby inform us of the type of behaviour, gestures, and bodily expressions that young men in the audience typically performed when watching a play.

These ideas can be extended to the environment of the Inns of Court and the audiences of the private theatres. Group responses to the performance of a play allowed the audience the space to

comments on gallants and Inns of Court students regularly visiting both public and private theatres (64, 67-68). See also Ann Jennalie Cook's *Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London* (1981).

¹⁸ See Appendix 1 of Gurr's *Playgoing*.

identify and share aspects of youth identity with their friends, formulating ways of appropriately responding to what they were watching and thereby developing their own social, cultural and political ideas that steered them towards correct forms of masculinity. Detractors of the theatre would always suggest that the theatre itself provided a space for young men to practice negative aspects of youth culture with regards to the fact that as a performative space, the theatre allowed a range of bodily excesses to be displayed and indulged. Stephen Gosson wrote in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (1582) that in the London playhouses it “is the fashion of youths to go first into the yarde, and to carry theire eye through every gallery, then like ravens where they spy the carion thither they flye, and presse as nere to ye fairest as they can” (F1r), altogether implying that young men visited the theatre specifically in order to gain access to women. This reminds us that the period considered that youths “floated physiologically and socially in an unsteady limbo” (Bloom, *Voice* 40). But positive appraisals of the power of theatre to reform were circulating at the time that Field was performing as the leading man for the Children of the Queen’s Revels. Francis Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning* (1605) contains some particularly pressing information concerning group mentalities when watching the performance of a play in the theatre. Bacon states that, for “the Ancients”, theatre “should instruct the minds of men unto virtue” (68), and that “the minds of men are more patent to affections, and impressions, Congregate, than solitary” (68). This is significant for suggesting that the stage could reform young men, not only with its representation of vice to encourage virtue, but also in the shared learning experience, where group culture evidently affected youth culture. This thesis is also indebted to the central ideas circulated by Louis Montrose in his *The Purpose of Playing* (1996), where he writes that “drama-in-performance...had the capacity to work as a cognitive and therapeutic instrument – that is, to function *ideologically*, in the most general and most enabling sense of that term. In other words, the symbolic actions performed in the theatre had the immediate, if frequently transitory capacity to stimulate the intellect and to promote the emotional well-being of their actual and vicarious participants” (40). Building upon Montrose’s suggestion that the stage could educate and engage audience members, the thesis suggests that aspects of youth culture in the period were frequently dramatised in excessively grotesque and negative fashions in attempts to regulate and critique ways of attaining masculinity.

The thesis explores how bodily excess is dramatised by playwrights with the deliberate intention of warning the youthful audience to adhere to positive aspects of youth culture and thereby masculinity, and this is something that schoolboys were taught during their schooldays with a curriculum that advocated moderation (Reeser, *Moderating* 22). In many respects, the recent work of Bridget Escolme, *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage* (2014) compliments this discussion of youth. Escolme does not engage with youths and the boy companies in explicit detail, her work is largely confined to the Shakespeare canon, but her investigation into how audiences

judged emotion in the theatre (xix) is extended here to discuss how the young actors' performances of excess contribute to audience understandings of youth culture. Just as, Escolme writes, audiences would have taken pleasure in seeing excess performed on the stage (xxviii), I counter-argue that by performing negative aspects of youth culture, the stage formulates as well as regulates the bodies of the audience and contributes to societal understandings of youth identity.¹⁹ The thesis asserts that the theatre re-evaluates cultural attitudes to youth by staging bodily excess with the intention of ridiculing such transgressions to encourage young men in the audience into correct performances of youth culture. The thesis does not assert that *every* young man in the audience responded correctly to the playwrights' didactic agenda, and this ensures that the theatre remains an ambiguous space. There would undoubtedly be some young men who would have revelled in the staging of excess, as Escolme and Strier report, but this thesis asserts that the stage offered the *potential* for the audience to formulate positive performances of youth culture, and thereby contribute appropriately as good individuals in society.

If theatre had the potential to be didactic, encouraging the audience to learn, then this thesis asserts that a crucial aspect of such didacticism is the premise that identity, with regards to youth culture, is performative. Young men learnt how to behave by performing masculinity in the schoolroom, in the theatre, in the street, and at work. As Stephen Greenblatt reminds us, "one cannot achieve an identity without rejecting an identity" (*Renaissance* 159), and I suggest that it is via performance that identity is achieved. In this respect, the thesis parallels the work of other literary scholars such as Catherine Bates, Paul Streufert, Jonathan Walker, Thomas King, and Michael Mangan, who have all suggested that masculine identity is performative.²⁰ In its approach to youth, the thesis builds upon the work of literary scholars who have written about gender and masculinity to increase our understanding of the time spent between what has often been described as controlled childhood and honourable adult masculinity. The thesis interprets the life stage of youth as performative, in much the same way that Stephen Orgel discusses gender in *Impersonations* as "behavioural" (19). Just as the theatre provided performances of identity, so did society, and in this respect, Orgel's comments on the performativity of gender naturally extend to a discussion of youth culture. The thesis's discussion of youth extends Bruce Smith's suggestion that masculine identity is formed in groups (*Shakespeare* 60) to discuss how youths could be educated via the stage. It also extends Mark Breitenberg's analysis of anxious masculinity, and Will Fisher's suggestion that gender can be conditioned by a range of prosthetics, such as hair and beards (4),

¹⁹ Escolme's book discusses a range of excesses, such as anger, laughter, cruelty, virtue, love and melancholy.

²⁰ See Bates's *Masculinity, Gender and Identity in the English Renaissance Lyric* (2007); Streufert and Walker's *Early Modern Academic Drama* (2008); King's *The Gendering of Men* (2004); Mangan's *Staging Masculinities* (2002).

where youth is found to be a fluid and excessive life stage, dramatised by the private theatres as performative, and, in Chapter Two, where clothes really do make the young man.²¹ The thesis as a whole finds that Amanda Bailey's suggestion that the theatre created a "subculture of style" (*Flaunting* 5) with its awareness that clothes made men, informative for discussing the impact that sartorial or verbal performativity has on youth culture and identity.²² This is something that is particularly pressing for Field and his intended audiences, and is explored in Chapter Four.

Who was Nathan Field?

The fact that Nathan Field is so understudied and unrepresented in scholarship means that a brief biography will be useful in providing evidence as to why Field is an individual perfectly suited to a study of youth culture and bodily excess.²³ Nathan Field was baptised on October 17th 1587. He was the final child of Joan and John, with four brothers and two sisters (Brinkley 7). Of Nathan Field's brothers, John, Jonathan, Nathaniel and Theophilus, he appeared to have been close to Theophilus, as Hilton Kelliher has shown. Roberta Brinkley has painstakingly produced evidence to show that Nathaniel Field was a stationer and should not be confused with Nathan.²⁴ Nathan's father John, who died when Nathan was only five months old, was a puritan preacher and minister, and had links with John Foxe.²⁵ John Field would not have approved of the profession that his son had entered into. John Field regarded the "players as 'evill men,' and plays as 'the schooles of as greate wickednesses as can be'" (Brinkley 6), calling playhouses "'sincks of synne'" (Brinkley 6).²⁶ But, I argue that Nathan Field's life, both in the theatre and in society, reflects his keen interest in youth culture and identity that is both regulatory with regards to bodily excess, and didactic in efforts to inculcate reform in audiences and readers, complicating previous scholarship's opinion of Field as a playboy. Field's multifarious voices, both on the stage and in print, ensure that locating

²¹ See Smith's *Shakespeare and Masculinity* (2000), Breitenberg's *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (1996) and Fisher's *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (2006).

²² See Bailey's *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* (2007) for an analysis of clothing culture.

²³ For a full and recent biography of Nathan Field, see Southern's *Player, Playwright and Preacher's Kid*. This supersedes Elaine Verhasselt's article "A Biography of Nathan Field" (1946) and M. E. Williams's entry for Field in the *ODNB*. Although both are somewhat dated, Brinkley's *Nathan Field*, and William Peery's Introduction to *The Plays of Nathan Field* (1950) cite events in Field's life. To date there is just one thesis length study of Field, M. E. Williams's "A Play is not so ydle a thing": *The Dramatic Output and Theatre-Craft of Nathan Field* (1992).

²⁴ For further information on Theophilus and Nathan's relationship, see Kelliher's article "Francis Beaumont" (2000). For a fuller biography of Theophilus Field, see Ian Atherton's entry in the *ODNB*. See Brinkley's *Nathan Field* for a full biography of the Field family (1-17).

²⁵ See Patrick Collinson's entry in the *ODNB* on John Field.

²⁶ Brinkley's source is "Letter to Lord Leicester," *MS. Cotton*, Titus B. VII. fol. 22, British Museum.

the ‘real’ Field is a difficult task, but this does in fact reflect the varying practices of youth culture and identity in the period, shaping and evaluating social and cultural formulations that stressed how masculinity should be performed. Field quickly earned celebrity status as a star actor for The Children of the Chapel Royal, and this status was confirmed when he played the lead part in George Chapman’s *Bussy D’Ambois* (1604), aged sixteen. Field did not play female roles at any point in his acting career as far as we know, instead, he always played the youthful romantic lead (Astington, *Actors* 116). As a young man performing on the stage before an audience largely consisting of young students from the Inns of Court, and of a similar age to Field, it is important to realise that the repertory of the Children of the Queen’s Revels is particularly concerned with young men: growing up, attaining respectable masculinity, displaying bodily excess and the dangers and perils of youthful passion.

This will become evident as chapters in the thesis attest, but plays not considered in the thesis, such as Beaumont’s *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607) and Jonson’s *Epicene* (1609), also have much to say about youth culture.²⁷ A friendship with Beaumont is evident as early as 1604,²⁸ a friendship with Fletcher may have commenced before 1606,²⁹ and Field was tutored by Jonson and Chapman during his early years as an actor.³⁰ All of this ensures that Field’s entry into the literary world of early modern England, writing prefatory verses for plays by Jonson and Fletcher, opens up the complexity of Field’s marketable body in the period and the importance of writing about ideas of youth and authority in the theatre.³¹ In this respect, the thesis builds upon Wren’s assertion after his investigation into the types of roles that Field played in the child acting companies. Wren states that each “role is a portrayal of a supremely confident, dynamic *young man*. Most [of the roles] demand, to an unusual extent, agility, and most demand an exceptional ability to *vary manner*” (476; emphasis added). Wren suggests some central aspects here that have been overlooked by subsequent scholarship on Field and the child acting companies. The fact that Field’s roles, and the playwrights writing for the boy acting company, appear almost obsessively concerned with the dramatisation of young men is of crucial importance to our understanding of how the private theatre was operating in the first decade of the seventeenth-century.³² That the plays have an

²⁷ As Lamb has revealed in her unpublished chapter on “Youth Culture”. See Munro’s analysis of *Epicene* (*Children* 88-94), where Munro’s assertion that language and outward appearance are crucial (84) can be extended to a discussion of youth culture in forming allegiances and identities.

²⁸ See Kelliher’s article, “Francis Beaumont” (4-8).

²⁹ The year generally given for Beaumont and Fletcher’s first collaborative play, *The Woman Hater*.

³⁰ See Peery’s Introduction (*Plays* 1-34), which identifies Field’s bond with Chapman.

³¹ For a detailed list of Field’s prefatory verses, see Williams’s entry for Nathan Field in the *ODNB*.

³² Please consult Appendix Three for a list of roles that Field performed for the company.

abundance of ideas to dramatise concerning young men invites an investigation into theatrical depictions of youth culture and identity compared to social and cultural depictions of youth. The fact that Field's leading roles invite the young man to vary his manner in such extremes only furthers the link between youth culture, bodily excess, and the performative nature of identity.

After the Children of the Revels lost their title and theatre in 1608, the company relocated to the Whitefriars theatre and started performing under the name of the Children of Whitefriars. It was here, in this seedy locale, that Field's first two plays were performed, *A Woman is a Weathercock* (1609), and *Amends for Ladies* (1611). I argue that both plays have much to say about regulating and formulating positive aspects of youth culture, as does Field and Fletcher's second collaboration, *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613), a play produced when Philip Rosseter merged the company with Philip Henslowe's Lady Elizabeth's Men.³³ Field and Fletcher's first collaboration had been performed earlier in that same year, *Four Plays in One*, and there are a number of significant letters written by Field to Henslowe that reveal the 'multivocal' aspects of writing that Field often employed, analysed in Chapter Five. In 1615, Field joined the King's Men, and a portrait of Field from about this time can be found in Dulwich Picture Gallery, depicting the handsome young man in a melancholic pose and furthering his appeal to audiences as an attractive celebrity figure (see Figure 1).³⁴ Such aspects of celebrity rumour and gossip seem to have afflicted Field in at least one unverifiable anecdote from the period. In June 1619, the earl of Argyll was said to be "'privy to the payment...for the noursing of a childe which the world sayes is daughter to my lady [Argyll] and N Feild the Player'" (Brinkley 42). From this later period in Field's career (1615-1620) come at least three more collaborations with Fletcher and Phillip Massinger, *The Bloody Brother*, *The Knight of Malta*, *The Queen of Corinth*, a lost play, *The Jeweller of Amsterdam*, and a play written with Massinger, *The Fatal Dowry*.³⁵ Field died, a bachelor, before August 2nd 1620.³⁶

Field is, therefore, a fascinating character to study, with 'character' being a key word in this sentence. In discussing Field, youth culture and bodily excess, it becomes apparent throughout the thesis that Field adopted multiple voices that problematise his engagement with the stage. Whilst scholars have been keen to assert Field's juvenility (Lamb, *Performing* 73) and puppet-like status (Johnson, *Actor* 63) as an example of his perpetual childhood, this thesis argues that Field

³³ See Williams, "Nathan Field" *ODNB*.

³⁴ I am grateful to Dr Martin Wiggins for suggesting this to me in a conversation in July 2013. For a detailed analysis of the portrait of Field, see Shelia Huftel's article "The Portrait of Nathan Field" (1981).

³⁵ For further analysis concerning the act of collaboration in these plays, see Bertha Hensman's *The Shares of Fletcher, Field and Massinger in Twelve Plays of the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon* (1974).

³⁶ See Williams, "Nathan Field" *ODNB*.

constantly changed his authorial printed voice to utilise the rich possibilities associated with being a young man in the period. Field may well write to his “lov’d friend” John Fletcher about his own muse in “swathing clowtes” (2) in his commendatory verse to *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1607) (Figure 2) but he was bold enough to call Ben Jonson his “friend” (1) in his commendatory verse to Jonson’s *Volpone* (1607) and blusteringly label the reader as a “stranger” (2) in his “To the Reader” in *A Woman is a Weathercock* (1612), revealing that it is problematic to interpret Field as continuously writing about his childishness. Field also comments on how a play is a “Mirrour of mens lives and / actions” (8-9) in “To the Reader”, which whilst revealing Field’s multiple voices, also indicates that he championed the stage as important for reflecting the social world of early modern England. This reveals that Field was keen to utilise available discourses of youthful masculinity and assert his identity in a playful fashion similar to his performances on the stage. Commenting on the prefatory poem to *The Faithful Shepherdess* written by Field, Greteman writes that this “is not mere rhetoric, but an acknowledgment that childhood as a cultural and conceptual category could last beyond even the legal threshold that Field had by this point crossed” (41). But when we consider Field’s multiple voices, evident in his preface to *A Woman is a Weathercock*, written shortly after the publication of Fletcher’s play, and Field’s letters to Henslowe and Sutton, Greteman’s assertion loses some of its authority. Field merely performed on the page how he believed he was expected to perform – to glorify his close friend’s play that was a massive flop on the stage – and we should be cautious of interpreting Field’s poem biographically here, or as an example of his perpetual childish status. Field was keen to reassert his own youthful identity, as well as stipulating positive performances of social youth culture. This thesis does not attempt to locate the ‘real’ voice of Field, instead preferring to propose that Field’s multiple voices are evidence that the stage and society are invariably linked in the period, and that Field was constantly aware that his identity as a young man on the path to adult manhood was performative.

To date, and overlooking the biographical research carried out by Brinkley, Peery and Southern, there has only been one thesis length discussion of Field, M. E. Williams’s “*A Play is not so ydle a thing*”: *The Dramatic Output and Theatre-Craft of Nathan Field* (1992), which determined Field’s contribution to a range of plays written for companies that he worked for, and explored what aspects constitute a typically ‘Fieldian’ play. Bertha Hensman also demonstrated that Field was working and writing with Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger in *The Shares of Fletcher, Field and Massinger* (1974). Whilst early scholarship on Field therefore has tried to determine exactly who he was and what he did and did not write, there has been little discussion of Field’s solo-authored plays, and little if anything about Field’s contribution to our understanding of early

modern theatre practices.³⁷ There are two useful book chapters on Field, by Nora Johnson and Edel Lamb,³⁸ but it appears that the time is now right to evaluate Field's contribution to gender and cultural studies. Field is a fascinating character with regards to theatre studies, and a close analysis of his own time spent in a boy acting company, and his later career as a playwright can provide us with new knowledge on the cultural and social impact that boy acting companies instigated in London, with Field's acting and playwriting career having much to tell us about youth culture and masculinity in the theatrical institution.

There are several key recent works of literary criticism that are invaluable for a study of Field, youth culture, and bodily excess. Nora Johnson's *The Actor as Playwright in Early Modern Drama* (2003) seeks to "explore Field's options as a celebrity writer" (14). This thesis contends that Johnson's decision to label Field as a "theatrical labourer" (9), a "puppet" (63), and with a career that plays off Ben Jonson's (56), overlooks the fact that Field is an important figure in his own right for critiquing and commenting on the social world of early modern England. Field was an individual with his own agency, and whereas Johnson asserts that Field's prose is at the "boundary between homosocial collaboration and oedipal contest" (67), with an "official authorial voice" that is "self-mocking" (76), this thesis finds that Field engaged with cultural formations of youth and manhood in light of society's understanding of them. Field's voice was multifarious and performative depending upon the situation, and that to locate his voice with one of his roaring characters (Johnson 76) is dangerous.

Munro's *Children of the Queen's Revels* (2005) is significant for its research on the company that Field was a member of during his youth via a study of how genre contributed to the production and reception of their plays (5). Munro's assertion that age and class transvestism (42, 51) could have been "disturbing" (51) in performance is central to my own discussion concerning the representation of youth culture, masculinity, and identity dramatised by the company. With this thesis arguing that the primarily youthful audience in the private theatres could relate to the social issues and stereotypes of excessively bad youthful behaviour, the plays may not have been as disturbing as they may appear to us today and the transvestism not as grotesque. Youthful dramatisations of age, gender, and class may have been something familiar to the audience, much more than they were uncanny, as the thesis suggests that all forms of masculinity were performative. The thesis is indebted to Munro's work, which draws attention to the fact that the differences between the adult and the children's companies have been exaggerated (2), to begin to consider how the discussion of 'youth' rather than 'childishness' is staged in the private theatre.

³⁷ Partly the reasons for this are that Field's plays are unavailable in a modern critical edition and have not been edited since Peery's edition of the plays in 1950.

³⁸ See Johnson's *The Actor as Playwright in Early Modern Drama* (2003) and Lamb's *Performing Childhood*.

Munro's important insistence on discussing the theatre as a collaborative institution (5), is something that I have attempted to recreate in this present study by suggesting that playwright, young actor, and the theatre venue are responsible for fashioning youth culture. Even though Munro writes that there is "little evidence that audiences viewed dramatists and their plays as representing their interests" (65), this thesis asserts that by analysing the private theatres' engagement with youth culture, it becomes apparent that plays offered the potential for audiences to actively engage with core issues that constituted their own daily performances of identity and masculinity.

Lamb's *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre* (2009) is crucial for a discussion of youth culture, as she identifies the multifarious fashioning of child actors, whether as eroticised commodities, skilled performers, or by highlighting their youthful or inferior status (44). Whereas Lamb approaches her study from the perspective of juvenility and how such "junior status" and the child actors' "aptitude for mimicry" allows them to comment on court and nation (91), this thesis instead argues that by approaching the actors as youths, their commentary on the social and political world becomes increasingly ambiguous, and this ambiguity is reflected in the wide-arching dramatisation of youth culture as positive but volatile, consumed by an equally volatile youthful audience. Bodily excess is staged as inseparable from youth culture, and typically is condemned as constituting a destructive youthful identity, however, some playwrights, such as Fletcher, were more uncertain about regulating bodily excess, as we will see in Chapter Three. Lamb suggests that fame is a recurrent theme in "Field's self-representation" (133) and from early in his career as a young actor he was "introduced to the audience" (133), which suggests that the theatrical audience are expected to be familiar with the body of Field, on and off the stage.³⁹ Whereas Lamb suggests that Field's childishness is perpetrated throughout his career (119), this thesis discusses the potential for Field's multiple voices to complicate that reading. The fact that Field performed young leading roles throughout his career as an actor would suggest that on stage he had the power to fashion youthful identities, rather than marketing his own childhood (119). Field's celebrity was marketed during his time spent in a child acting company and it is through his membership of the Children of the Queen's Revels that he gained fame (135), and, as this thesis demonstrates, this fame allows Field to contribute to cultural formations of youth culture and masculinity by performing as a range of excessive young male characters and regulating youth identity in his own plays for the stage.

The thesis' understanding, and indeed complication, of bodily excess is aided by Richard Strier's *The Unrepentant Renaissance* (2011). Strier asserts that there is sufficient evidence in the period to quantify the assertion that some people in a range of countries in Renaissance Europe

³⁹ See also Reaverly Gair's monograph *The Children of Paul's* (1982) where the audience at St Paul's "was presumed to be regular in its attendance and knowledgeable about contemporary theatre" (170).

valued pleasurable excess (1). Where this thesis departs from Strier is in its focus on young men. Despite the fact that a brief glimpse at the content of the private theatres repertoires might initially support Strier's assertion, because bodily excess is frequently theatricalised, it appears that bodily excess is staged for the purpose of ridicule, rather than pleasure. My exploration of youth culture in the boy companies parallels Christopher Marlow's work on "scholarly masculinity" (7), gender, and young men advanced in *Performing Masculinity in English University Drama, 1598-1636* (2013). Marlow's study of the young students from Oxbridge colleges finds that involvement in university drama was perceived to be "a manly act" (3) and that university plays "celebrated student violence and excess" (6). My own thesis is in agreement with Marlow's assertion that university plays "made men, onstage and off, in their image" (6), confirming that identity is performative. This is something that is apparent, and of uttermost importance, in the plays performed by the child acting companies, which aimed to 'make' young men via a detailed didactic dramatisation of youth culture and the excesses of the young male body. Marlow's formation of "scholarly masculinity", as an "anxious conceptual space wherein tensions between moderation and excess" emerge (7) are revised here to consider the theatre as a space where young male actors can contribute to formations of youth culture in their society by staging youthful masculinity and youthful identities. Youth culture is always a site of contestation between moderation and excess, and is always performative.

Were 'Child' Actors Exploited?

This section re-evaluates previous scholarship's preoccupation with stressing that child actors were exploited and presented weak dramatic verisimilitude to offer a new reading of young actors. Claire Busse has discussed child actors as commodities ("Profitable" 243) and the material values inscribed upon children to ensure that they are controlled (213), whereas Jeanne McCarthy has commented on the "disturbing exploitation" of the boy actor in the children's company (213).⁴⁰ Such exploitation is crucial to Mary Bly's interpretation of boy actors. Bly asserts that the private theatres deliberately marketed the young actors as sexually available (*Queer* 6). Typically such interpretations of the boy actors has been influenced by a particular piece of evidence which concerned the kidnapping of a child that Giles and his men impressed into their company, Thomas Clifton. His father, Henry, strongly objected and filed a suit at the Chancery courts.⁴¹ Modern scholars are incorrect to interpret this politically charged account as testament to the practices of recruiting children into the acting company (McCarthy 213). To interpret the Clifton case as firm evidence that a variety of children were kidnapped and forced into a theatrical profession overlooks

⁴⁰ For more information, see Busse's thesis *Child's Play: Children and Childhood on the Early Modern English Stage* (2000) and McCarthy's thesis *The Children's Companies: Elizabethan Aesthetics and Jacobean Reactions* (2000).

⁴¹ See Wickham et al (264-266) for the depositions.

the fact that the young men had the chance to become celebrities and were often handpicked and headhunted for their star qualities in what must have been an attractive venture. It appears that gaining a place in the acting company in Blackfriars was actively sought after by some members of the public. Abel Cooke was apprenticed to Thomas Kendall in November 1606 for three years so that he could be trained as a player but left after only six months (Lamb, *Performing*, 35). Crucially, the terms of the apprenticeship had been instigated by Abel's mother, suggesting not only the popularity of young actors in the period, but also that the theatrical apprenticeship that the company offered was viable and attractive.⁴² Children were evidently targeted because of their ability, whether theatrical or scholastic, to ensure that the company possessed the 'best' possible children that it could (Witmore, *Pretty* 99). In a sense, Giles and his men effectively head-hunted young boys who showed talent, evidently working closely with St. Paul's Grammar school to ensure that the best students were readily available to enter into this unique form of apprenticeship.⁴³

An extensive corpus of scholarship on early modern childhood has considered William Shakespeare's depiction of children in his plays, with Shakespeare's child actors of a considerably lower age (eight to fifteen) than the ages of those youths in the boy acting companies (thirteen to twenty-four). Initially, critics were hostile towards the dramatic representation of children in Shakespeare's plays. Marjorie Garber, in her monograph, *Coming of Age in Shakespeare* (1997), suggested that, for "reasons which are probably both historical and dramatic, there are very few children in Shakespeare's plays. Those who do appear are both pert and malapert, disconcertingly solemn and prematurely adult" (30). Crucially, for Garber, the children "are not...successful dramatic characters" (30). This is important, because such analysis of Shakespeare's boy actors were, at least initially, transferred onto the child acting companies by scholars. Garber's criticisms have been evaluated in recent years, with scholars such as Hattie Fletcher and Marianne Novy suggesting that "for parents in Shakespeare[']s plays], the relationship to their children is dramatised as crucial to their own identity" (49). Building on this work, Katie Knowles has re-evaluated the notion of childhood and childishness in Shakespeare's plays to refute Garber's claims, as has Chedgzoy, exploring the diversity of Shakespeare's children to suggest that "masculinity and youth could intersect in diverse ways in early modern culture" ("Company" 184).⁴⁴ If, as Chedgzoy

⁴² Despite the somewhat romanticised description, Harold Hillebrand is essentially correct in depicting some of the positivity arising from impressment into the Chapel Royal acting company: "No doubt the youngster whom the Chapel master, armed with his writ of impressment, bore away to London with him, was regarded by his companions with the deepest envy" (43). Lamb suggests that the "apprentice structure aligns the Queen's Revels with the adult playing companies" (*Performing* 35).

⁴³ For Astington, apprenticeship "was a convenient system for attaching suitably talented boys to a company" (*Actors* 4). See also Shapiro, *Gender in Play*, for a discussion of the apprentice system in the boy companies (33-34).

⁴⁴ See Knowles's essay "Shakespeare's 'terrible infants'?" (44).

asserts, “Shakespeare’s boys are variously associated with incipient sexuality, play, work, schooling and violence” (“Company” 184), the time is apt to evaluate how boy companies can contribute to our understanding of youth culture and masculinity.

Such diverse and multifaceted capabilities of children and youths in the period appears to refute the contention of many scholars who dismiss the child acting companies and child actors in general as parodies of adult acting companies and able to offer a theatrical experience grounded in pastiche only. Michael Shapiro’s assertion that dramatists “found it particularly easy to create dual consciousness in audiences watching boy companies perform, because of the obvious disparity between child actors and adult actors” (*Children* 104) certainly overlooks the ages of the young men performing in the company, as does Gurr’s suggestion that the “juniority” of the boy companies “made them only approximate physical imitations of adult reality” (*Playgoing* 153). Meanwhile, Southern suggests that boy acting companies were anti-theatrical in the sense that the boys were not adequate in their dramatic characterisation. Children “were, as they were called ‘apes’, excellent at mimicry and burlesque, academically trained in speech and gesture, but not able to demonstrate depth of character” (Southern 47). Some scholars, such as David Kathman almost a decade ago, have argued that boy actors were highly talented individuals.⁴⁵ Perhaps one of the most important works of scholarship on boy actors, Evelyn Tribble’s *Cognition in the Globe: Attention and Memory in Shakespeare’s Theatre* (2011), will finally put a stop to the suggestions that actors belonging to children’s companies were substandard compared to the adult companies and inadequate at portraying a range of men and women. Tribble herself suggests that the assumption that “boys were very young” is a “common misconception” and that the training they received is impossible to replicate in a modern setting (128), so we should dismiss the inaccuracy circulated in earlier scholarship that boys could not perform complex female roles (113).⁴⁶ I wish to extend Tribble’s discussion, which centres on how boy actors were able to successfully perform as women (112) by considering the idea that the skills learnt by young men in the theatre constitute a developing sense of youth culture and identity that was reflected and apparent in society.

The work of Ann Blake has done much to advocate the capabilities of boy actors. Blake was one of the first scholars to promote the thesis that “the burlesque-parody interpretation depends on a misapprehension of the quality of the children’s companies” (“Humour” 472). Blake correctly suggests that the youthfulness of a male in the period should not be mistaken for immaturity, and when performing on the stage, it is not comically grotesque for the young actor to attempt to play

⁴⁵ See Kathman’s essay “How Old Were Shakespeare’s Boy Actors?” (2005), pages 220-246.

⁴⁶ See Tribble’s stimulating discussion that the boy actors did not merely memorise lines to repeat on the stage (133-136).

the part of a lover or a fighter (475). Blake's suggestion informs the entire scope of this thesis: that to deny the capability of the boy acting companies is a gross error, and that by understanding the children as youths, scholarship can benefit from a unique reappraisal of 'child' acting companies and their plays. The child acting companies present a form of youth theatre that reflects early modern youth culture and it is this idea of youthfulness and the stage's engagement with excess that informs this thesis. Lamb has also toiled hard to ensure that such negative opinions of child acting companies and child and youth players can be refuted (*Performing* 21). Lamb suggests that child acting companies were an integral part of early modern theatre and culture. They were not "unusual establishments who merely offered parodic imitations of the adult playing companies" (*Performing* 123), in fact, the performance of adult and elderly men by the young actors impressed their contemporaries (Munro, *Children* 42; White, *Renaissance* 80-81).

The Age of Youth

The Children of the Queen's Revels were a company "more of youths than of boys" (Witmore, *Pretty* 98), and Munro has also acknowledged this (*Children* 40). Even though it is notoriously difficult to categorise a concrete age range for the period of 'youth' based on early modern sources, partly because individual conduct writers and pamphleteers break down the life stages of man into large or small chunks, the period would have identified young men between the ages of thirteen to thirty as youths (Shepard, *Meanings* 21-26; 55; Griffiths, *Youth* 19-34; Ben-Amos, *Adolescence* 9; Eisenbichler "Introduction" 2).⁴⁷ Despite the fact that there "was no clear corpus of texts discussing age" in the period (Shepard, *Meanings* 21), the anonymous pamphlet, *The Office of Christian Parents* (1616), suggested that the most dangerous time of life, youth, was the period between fourteen and twenty-eight (135). Even though an early modern writer such as Levinus Lemnius in his *Touchstone of Complexions*, originally published in 1576 but popular and reprinted throughout the period, could suggest that puberty took place between the ages of fifteen to eighteen, adolescence between the ages of eighteen to twenty-five, and youth between the ages of twenty-five to thirty-five (46-47), this thesis agrees with Roberts when he writes that such subcategorisations should be interpreted as an "elastic 'indication' of youth as opposed to a rigid definition of the age group" (*Sex* 20), and therefore treats the ages of thirteen to thirty as the time of 'youth'.⁴⁸ Perhaps Gina Bloom says it best, when she writes that 'youth' was the period between "boyhood and manhood" (*Voice* 39).

⁴⁷ Bruce Smith suggests the ages between ten and twenty-three can also be considered core 'youth' years (*Shakespeare* 78) where the young men experienced a precarious social position. Roberts finds that in Holland, youth was the period between twenty to thirty years of age (19). Ben-Amos takes the ages of "early teens and mid-twenties" as 'youth' for her study (*Adolescence* 9).

⁴⁸ See also Shepard's discussion of the ages of man, which includes analysis of William Bullein, who in *The Government of Health* (1595) suggested that youth took place between the ages of fifteen to twenty-five, and

However, youth as a stage in the life-cycle is blurry and fragmented. As the discussion above has revealed, essentially youth occupies an ambivalent position between childhood and adulthood. The fact that a large number of early modern writers failed to agree on a set age range to easily capture the time of youth in a man's life, necessarily ensures that this thesis's claim that the age range of thirteen-to-thirty fully encapsulates youth is a cautious estimate to attempt to locate new methods of discussing young men in early modern England. This thesis does not suggest that every single man who was fortunate enough to live to thirty automatically became a man on his thirtieth birthday, nor did the time of youth have to last seventeen years. Depending upon an individual's circumstances and responsibilities, youth could end prematurely. If, for example, in domestic life, the father of the household died, the eldest son would quite literally have to become a man overnight, even though he could be aged just nineteen at the time of his father's death. The fact that some young men might have married between the ages of twenty-one-to-twenty-five, for example, would also ensure that their time of youth was over as they assumed the full adult responsibilities attached to marriage and running a household, as Alexandra Shepard has observed (*Meanings* 86). However, remaining a bachelor, of course, did not mean that a young man was stuck in perpetual youth-hood, but his subordination to householders would ensure that he was "subjected to the same kind of social evaluation applied to young men" (Shepard, *Meanings* 210).

Social status could also ensure that the time spent during the period of youth could end prematurely. Even though an investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis, the royal court's young princes Henry and Charles entered a period of youth that would necessarily have been short as it was vital that traits of adult masculinity were acquired and performed as soon as possible. Above all then, this thesis considers the time of youth to be a stage in the lifecycle where the individual was unmarried and with none of the responsibilities attached to running a household. This idea, therefore, reflects Jennifer Higginbotham's recent suggestion that "it makes sense for service, youth, and singlehood to have been linked together both conceptually and linguistically" (29).

When the Children of the Queen's Revels were formed in 1604, Field was seventeen years old.⁴⁹ Field and his fellow actors were much more 'youths' than they were 'children' when the company was formed, a point that Gibson briefly observes (*Squeaking* 165), as does Centerwall

James Hart, who in *Κλινική, or The Diet of the Diseased* (1633) suggested that youth took place between the ages fourteen to twenty-one, and then "staied youth" between the ages of twenty-one to thirty-five (*Meanings* 55). Even those who place 'youth' slightly later in life, such as Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Castel of Helth* (1561), suggesting twenty-five to forty, or Jehan Goeurot in *The Regiment of Life* (1546), suggesting twenty-five to thirty-five (Shepard, *Meanings* 55), are important, not only because they speak about the word 'youth', but also because their ideas of the life stage are redefined over the period that this thesis consults to speak about the earlier time in a man's life as 'youth', rather than twenty-five plus.

⁴⁹ Gair suggests that the Children of Paul's were also a company consisting largely of young adults with boy sopranos (155).

(102). In fact, many members of the largely student and apprentice based audience were of a similar age to the ‘children’ in 1604 and beyond. When the Blackfriars youths become the Children of the Queen’s Revels at the Whitefriars theatre on 4th January 1610 (Wickham et al 561), the patent intriguingly stated that the men involved in the company should “bring up a convenient number of children and them to practice and exercise in the quality of playing” (561), however, many of the actors were far from the age of children. Field was twenty-three years old in 1610, suggesting that it was the word ‘children’ that was needed in the title of the acting company to secure the patent, regardless of the actual age of the actors.⁵⁰ Lucy Munro has recently commented on this, stating that the actors “were probably the oldest and most proficient ‘children’” that the audience had ever seen (“Whitefriars” 121-122). All of this suggests that we should consider the ‘child’ actors in child acting companies as youths rather than children, thereby broadening the scope of scholarship on the indoor theatres.

The age of the actors is important in indicating their status as youths. Robert Benfield was twenty-five years old when he joined the company in 1608 (Astington, *Actors* 190-191). Field was twenty-two when Ben Jonson’s *Epicene* was first performed by the company in 1609, Giles Cary was twenty, Hugh Attawell was probably eighteen and William Barksted was twenty-two, and was arrested in the same year for being found in a bawdy house (Greteman 26). John Blaney and William Penn were probably between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two when they joined the company sometime before 1609 and William Ostler and Salomon Pavy were twelve years old when they joined the company in 1601 (Astington, *Actors* 192, 207, 208). John Underwood was the same age as Field, thirteen, when he joined the company in 1600 (Astington, *Actors* 222). Even when the company merged with the Lady Elizabeth’s Men in 1613, they still recruited young actors, with John Rice and Joseph Taylor being twenty-three and twenty-seven in 1613, whereas Thomas Basse was twenty-eight at the time (Astington, *Actors* 212, 219, 189). Not only their ages, but also Barksted’s exploits suggest that the young men were engaging in assertions of their youthful identity and masculinity. As Greteman aptly suggests, the company at the Blackfriars were a children’s company in name only (27), and this should be considered when thinking about the repertory and the actors, much in the same way as the Children of the King’s Revels (1608-9), which possibly consisted of actors aged twenty years plus.⁵¹ There is much evidence, therefore, to vindicate the claim that the young actors in this particular children’s company were youths and that

⁵⁰ See Greteman’s *Poetics and Politics of Youth in Milton’s England* (2013) for an incident in Bristol in 1618 where a company of ‘children’, predominantly consisting of men aged between thirty to fifty tried to secure the consent of the authorities to allow them to play in the town (1-2).

⁵¹ See Bly’s *Queer Virgins*. Bly comments on the age of William Barksted and mentions that the company consisted of actors referred to as “ladds” (127).

a study of their plays in light of this fact is both timely and vital for expanding our knowledge of the company.

Young Actors, Young Playwrights, Young Men

Many of the playwrights writing for the children's companies were men who had graduated from either the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford, or the Inns of Court, and thereby had received an education that allowed them to engage with youth culture and explore aspects of identity formation.⁵² Crucially, many of the playwrights were of a similar age to Field and the other youth actors when they started writing plays for the company. Beaumont was aged eighteen in 1603 with a friendship with sixteen year old Field already blossoming, and the pair were together in Cambridge in 1604. Fletcher was twenty-eight years old when *The Faithful Shepherdess* was performed in 1607 compared to twenty-year old Field. Edward Sharpham was thirty-one in 1607. Marston was only twenty-four years old when Field, aged thirteen, was impressed into The Children of the Chapel. Thomas Middleton was aged twenty-seven in 1607, the year that *Your Five Gallants* was performed by the Children of the Revels, with Field aged twenty. Jonson would have been twenty-eight years old when he met thirteen year old Field in 1600, but admittedly Chapman would have been forty years old. Finally, Field's later collaborator, Massinger, would have been thirty years of age in 1613 compared to the twenty-six year old Field. This suggests that both playwright and actor collaborated together to produce a text that has much to say concerning social representations and formulations of a shared youth culture in the period. Field facilitates this discussion because he was a young man asserting his values in the theatre, in print, and in society. Field encourages us to think about young people, ensuring that the theatre is an important space for discussing a culture of youth.

This significantly complicates the idea that 'child' actors were controlled and manipulated by older authors (Johnson, *Actor* 56, 63; McCarthy 213). The plays that the playwrights mentioned above wrote for the company arguably reflect their own experiences of youth culture and excess and all comment critically on socialised performances of youthful masculinity. Such ideas are evident in Chapman's plays, for example, the romantic plight of young men and women in *All Fools* (1601) and *May Day* (1601) or the melancholic lover Clarence in *Sir Giles Goosecap* (1602).

⁵² It is worth recalling that Beaumont entered Broadgates Hall, Oxford at the age of 12 and was 15 years of age when he entered the Inner Temple in November 1600 (Finkelpearl, *ODNB*). Meanwhile, Marston originally entered the Middle Temple at the age of 16 in 1592 (James Knowles, *ODNB*) and John Ford was also 16 years of age when he entered the Middle Temple in 1602 (Michael Neill, *ODNB*). Thomas Middleton, meanwhile, was 18 years old when he matriculated at Queen's College Oxford in 1598 (Gary Taylor, *ODNB*), as was Massinger when he entered St. Alban Hall in Oxford in 1601 (Martin Garrett, *ODNB*). Edward Sharpham was 18 years old when he was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1594 (Kathman, *ODNB*). Fletcher was 11 years of age when he matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1591 (Gordon McMullan, *ODNB*), suggesting that the actors of the children's companies, some of their playwrights, and some members of the audience, were all of a similar age.

Meanwhile, *The Gentleman Usher* (1602) stages generational conflict between father (Alphonso) and son (Vincentio) and *The Widow's Tears* (1604) dramatises aggressive aspects of masculine courtship (V.i.23-53). Jonson also discusses ideas of youth culture in his *Poetaster* (1601) with its ideas of poetic aspiration and excessive vocabulary in the character of Crispinus, a satiric portrait of the young Marston, who vomits up his excessive discourse (V.iii.455-518).⁵³ Marston also penned several plays for the company that discussed aspects of youth culture; *The Malcontent* (1603), with its criticism of young courtiers voiced by Malevole, *The Dutch Courtesan* (1604), with the young men Freevill and Malheureux, who dally with the high class hooker Franceschina (I.i.62-91), and *The Fawn* (1605), which ridicules negative aspects of youth culture such as “lying, flattery, and fraud” (Gerald Smith xiv) when the Duke Hercules adopts the disguise of Faunus. The fact that the play features a young courtier named Nymphadoro, who loves “threescore and nine ladies... / extremely well” (I.ii.55-56), showcases Marston’s engagement with a youth culture of excess. Marston identified his actors as youths in his ‘author’s note’ at the end of *The Tragedy of Sophonisba*, performed by the company in 1606. Marston’s acknowledgment that the printed quarto represents the play, “as it was presented by youths, and after the fashion of the stage” (84), is crucial in that it provides us with evidence that the boy actors were considered youths. The author’s note contributes to our understanding of youth culture, suggesting that the play was written to give the audience what they wanted to see – “the fashion of the stage” (84) – and part of this is the cultural and social fashioning of identity and masculinity.

Even the company’s own censor Samuel Daniel tapped into the rich vein afforded by youth culture and excess with his own excessively scandalous *Philotas* (1605). Daniel’s portrayal of the downfall of Philotas, the young favourite of Alexander the Great, shared too many parallels with the downfall of Robert, Earl of Essex in 1601, and landed him in trouble.⁵⁴ Field’s close friends Beaumont and Fletcher wrote plays that are obsessed with aspects of youth culture and bodily excess, such as *The Coxcomb* (1609) where Ricardo is incredibly drunk (I.vi). *The Scornful Lady* (1610) comments on how fleeting the life stage of youth is (IV.i), and youth culture is evident in Beaumont’s *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607), as well as former Inns of Court student Edward Sharpham’s *The Fleer* (1606) with its two young prostitutes, Florida and Felecia, and foolish gallants Petoune, Spark, and Ruffle. Beaumont’s play wonderfully epitomises the language of youth by the fact that its title is a pun on a word adopted by youth in the period. ‘Pestle’ was a synonym for ‘Penis’ (Reay, *Popular* 19), so Beaumont’s play about a ‘knight with the burning penis’ taps into the rich nature of sexuality and youth culture flaunted in many a play for the company, with the burning penis either a sign of potency and lust, or venereal disease. Crucially,

⁵³ For Jonson’s attacks on the young Marston, see Tom Cain’s “Introduction” to *Poetaster* (1-60).

⁵⁴ See John Pitcher’s entry for ‘Samuel Daniel’ in the *ODNB* for more information on the scandal.

the word ‘youth’ appears seventeen times in Beaumont’s play, with ‘young man’ appearing three times, and ‘young’ appearing five times, suggesting that ideas concerning young men and their culture were a central issue to dramatise. A survey documenting the frequency of the word ‘youth’ in the repertory of plays for the company also yields crucial support for this claim, and the results can be found in Appendix Four. Shakespeare also employs the word ‘youth’ to talk about young people’s ideas and culture in *Julius Caesar* (II.i.147-148), *Hamlet* (I.iii.5-10), and *Henry V* (II.0.1-2). No wonder that the Porter mentions with some sense of fear the “youths that thunder at a playhouse” (V.iii.57) in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Henry VIII* (1612), where he speaks of two disruptive youth groups, the “‘Tribulation’” and the “‘Limbs’” (V.iii.58-60);⁵⁵ youths were not only visible and physically commanding in the audience, the young actors in the private theatres were thundering out their own assertive interpretations of youth culture.

The first three chapters of the thesis constitute a close-reading of three characters that Field played, to explore how youth is portrayed on the stage by a young male actor. Each character performed by Field experiences a state of bodily excess that is damaging to their sense of ‘self’; their identity. The playwrights were keen to explore bodily excess in unison with positive and negative traits of youth culture to comment on early modern social and cultural formulations of youthful masculinity. Looking at the roles that Field played can give us information about how youth was performed on the stage; by investigating Field’s own penned plays in the final two chapters of the thesis, we can see how Field’s literary, social, and theatrical culture combine in formulating and circulating ideas of youth culture and identity in the period. Essentially, Field’s theatrical performances engender a permeation of youth culture in his own writing that develops the ideas circulated by Chapman, Marston, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher. Investigating Field’s body as an actor and the performance of youth culture in the first half of the thesis, stimulates the discussion and analysis of writing youth culture in the second half. In Chapters One to Three, Field’s performances of young men are analysed to formulate ideas of youth culture on the stage. Even though an investigation of a character’s body somewhat marginalises Field’s body in these chapters, the vital aspects of young male identity and excess performed on stage by Field are crucial for Chapter Four, which analyses how Field’s own plays evaluate and reform the aspects of youth that he performed as an actor. Chapter One asserts that Chapman’s *Bussy D’Ambois* (1604) identifies the protagonist’s excessive violence as a failure to adhere to humanist teachings; a sign that youth culture is dependent upon the lessons learnt in school. With a close-reading of the character of Bussy, the role that transformed the young Field into a celebrity figure, the play can inform our understanding of youth culture and bodily excess when a young man fails to adhere to the teachings of humanism, becoming anti-social in the process.

⁵⁵ See McMullan’s explanatory notes in his edition of *Henry VIII* for information about the gangs (424).

Chapter Two extends the discussion of theatrical representations of youth culture and bodily excess by finding that *Eastward Ho* (1605) condemns the monstrous youthful drunken body before encouraging the audience to value apprenticeship as a positive site of youth identity. The gentle-apprentice, Francis Quicksilver, feels the need to perform an aggressive assertion of his status as a gentleman, rather than a lowly apprentice, in a grotesque display of excessive youth culture that encourages the audience to ridicule the negative traits associated with youth culture. Such traits, including an obsession with sartorial perfection, the consumption of copious amounts of wine, spending money profusely, and cohabiting with a prostitute, speak *to* the youthful audience, who can accept the social realism in the dramatisation, but, at the same time, such depictions speak *against* youths, inviting the audience to shun such activities that appear hideously grotesque and both destructive to the young male body and the social world of early modern London. This chapter therefore emphasises the performative aspects of youth culture, tying the stage and society together in their shared goals of fashioning young men.

Building on the failure of humanism and the ensuing violence, and the excessive performance of youth culture in the previous chapters, Chapter Three marries the two by arguing that Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1607) presents a range of polluted young bodies to demonstrate the importance of moderating the humoral fluctuations of youth. Fletcher's interest in youth culture and bodily excess is depicted via his engagement with a pastoral world that becomes a youthful space where identity and culture can be explored and exploited. Fletcher's interest in humoral theory is apparent in this play, where irrational shepherds are consumed by excessive lust, chastity, and fear of sexual activity that ultimately leads to violence. Like those playwrights before him, Fletcher is keen to portray the excessively unstable body of Perigot as a young body that engages with a negative and utterly grotesque form of youth culture to inculcate correct paths of masculinity. Fletcher's discussion of youth culture and bodily excess is problematic however, because, as we will see, there is no finite answer provided as to how to regulate and maintain healthy aspects of masculinity.

Turning to the plays of Field, the second part of the thesis investigates Field's shaping and remoulding of youth culture in his own writing about bodily excess. Chapter Four finds Field to be a conservative dramatist who ridiculed youthful excess with explicit didactic intentions aimed at the audience in his plays *A Woman is a Weathercock* (1609) and *Amends for Ladies* (1611), revealing that Field responded to theatrical and social discourses about youth. Young men fare badly in Field's plays and are often reformed by women. The chapter approaches Field's plays by an analysis of Field's relationship with his reading public, playfully expressed in the prefatory material to *A Woman is a Weathercock* and a prime example of Field's 'multiple voices' as sites of youth culture. Field's criticisms of youthful bodily excess are stated as being crucial to the social space of

the Whitefriars theatre, which was located in a notorious part of London. Field's advancement of correct codes of youth culture are evident in *Amends for Ladies* with its obsessive concerns to fashion acceptable masculinity. Finally, Chapter Five locates aspects of excessive service in Field and Fletcher's *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613) to problematise aspects of youth culture, friendship and eroticism. Friendship is a crucial component of youth culture, and some youths trod a fine line between loving expressions of friendship and erotic desire for a close acquaintance. The performance of friendship by two young men, one a master, the other a servant, is analysed extensively in this chapter, to complicate the boundaries between gender, performativity, friendship and youth culture. It investigates Field's epistles, and relationship with his brother Theophilus and Beaumont, to link the social performance of service and friendship with theatrical conceptions of service and youth culture, to analyse the bonds between young men. The dissertation concludes with a retrospective appraisal of Field's multifarious identities that championed youth culture, morality and celebrity.

**Figure 1: The Portrait of Nathan Field, circa 1615, from Dulwich Picture Gallery, London.
Unknown Artist.**



Reproduced with kind permission from Dulwich Picture Gallery.

Figure 2: Nathan Field's Commendatory Verse to John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1610).

To my lo'd friend M. Iohn Fletcher, on his Pastorall

CAN my approouement (Sir) be worth your thanks?
 Whose vnknown name and muse (in swathing clowtes)
 Is not yet growne to strength, among these rankes
 To haue a roome and beare off the sharpe flowtes
 Of this our pregnant age, that does despise
 All innocent verse, that lets alone her vice.
 But I must iustifie what privately,
 I censurd to you: my ambition is
 (Euen by my hopes and loue to Poesie)
 To liue to perfect such a worke, as this,
 Clad in such elegant proprietie
 Of words, including a mortallitie.
 So sweete and profitable, though each man that heares,
 (And learning has enough to clap and hisse)
 Arises not too t, so misty it appeares;
 And to their filmed reasons, so amisse:
 But let Art looke in truth, she like a mirror,
 Reflects her comfort, ignorance & terror
 Sits in her owne brow, being made afraid,
 Of her vnnaturall complexion,
 As ougly women (when they are araid
 By glasses) loath their truer reflection,
 Then how can such opinions iniure thee,
 That tremble, at their owne deformitie?
 Opinion, that great foole, makes fooles of all,
 And (once) I feard her till I met a minde
 Whose graue instructions philosophicall,
 Toss'd it like dust vpon a march strong winde,
 He shall for euer my example be,
 And his embraced doctrine grow in me.
 His soule (& such commend this) that commaund
 Such art, it should me better satisfie,
 Then if the monster clapt his thousand hands,
 And drown'd the sceane with his confused crys,
 And if doubts rise, let their owne names to cleare'em
 Whilst I am happy but to stand so neere'em.

N. F.

Chapter One: “Reward goes backwards”: Youth Culture, Sexual Violence, and the Failure of Humanism in *Bussy D’Ambois*.

This chapter reveals how complicated and multidimensional dramatisations of youth culture and bodily excess were in the child acting companies by devoting significant space to investigating the failure of humanism and sexual violence in George Chapman’s play *Bussy D’Ambois* (1604). The *OED* provides a definition of “Humanism” as “the creative imitation of ancient texts, in education and public life by the promotion of some or all of the wide range of cultural ideals which these texts were supposed to transmit” (*OED* 3.b), and these ideas are appropriated into a discussion of youth culture and bodily excess in this chapter.¹ Chapman appears keen to stress to his spectators the premise that humanism needs to be performed to ensure that its principles are adhered to in public life outside of the schoolroom. A failure to actively engage with, and perform humanist teachings, equates to a negative performance of youth culture and a failed engagement with the societal goals of early modern England. At forty years of age, Chapman would have been one of the oldest playwrights writing for the Children of the Queen’s Revels in 1604, but his approach to youth culture still compliments and complicates the other plays in the repertory and undoubtedly portrays an obsession with the life stage of youth as an excessive and multifaceted mass of social and cultural contradiction. As this chapter will demonstrate, Chapman appears keen to analyse how sex is a crucial component of youth culture, which is in turned linked to humanism and violence. Chapman’s numerous plays for the company feature a whole range of young men constantly manipulated by a hostile society and Machiavellian men, often to their total destruction.

The chapter therefore seeks to develop Deborah Montuori’s claim that the tragedy is “Bussy’s mistaken perception of himself” (287) whilst problematising her suggestion that the youth of the actors would enhance Bussy’s purity (288). Montuori appears to suggest a form of childish innocence in the actors that arouses sympathy in the audience for Bussy’s character, but as I have already stated in the Introduction, such a limited view of the ‘childishness’ of youth actors greatly discredits their engagement with their socialisation and dramatisation of youth culture. Chapman’s play is interested in regulating the concerns and ideas of his youthful audience via a critical dramatisation of the links between young men’s schooldays, youth culture, and excessive violence. This is particularly important considering that Chapman targets a post-university audience, especially those attending the Inns of Court, who have experienced how humanism functions in the schoolroom, and in the metropolis. The chapter therefore answers Ian McAdam’s plea for future work on Chapman’s artistic search for a “viable masculinity” (291). This chapter is original in its approach to Chapman, and even though Bussy as a character has received significant attention,

¹ For detailed discussions of humanism, see Grafton & Jardine’s *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986) and Bushnell’s *A Culture of Teaching* (1996).

critics have remained quiet on two vital aspects of the play; the fact that Bussy is a young man who attempts to assert an aggressive engagement with youth culture, and that his ignorance of humanist values – values instilled in a large number of the theatre audience during their education at grammar school – focalises Chapman's interest in dramatising the importance of remembering those lessons learnt in the classroom as crucial to the development of healthy youth culture, and thereby the correct path to adult masculinity. The chapter finds that Chapman's contradictory dramatisation of young Bussy as both impressionable and manipulated in fact encapsulates the fragmentary and ambiguous understanding of the life stage of youth. To read Bussy as a youth enables a stabilised and consistent reading of a play that is otherwise bizarre and ambiguous. Whilst Chapman's play depicts anti-humanism in its stage-world, Chapman actively encourages the young men watching the play in the theatre to incorporate an active engagement with humanism into their performances of youth culture.

As Richard Hillman importantly reminds us, audiences in 1604 would have been well-aware of the real life figure of Louis de Bussy D'Amboise (1549-1579), reimaged by Chapman for the stage, as Bussy D'Amboise was an agent acting on behalf of Monsieur (the Duke of Anjou) in marriage negotiations with Queen Elizabeth in 1578, but was dead a year later at the age of twenty-nine (26). Bussy D'Amboise was well known for his quarrels, duels, and assignations (Lever 38), and his young death is important, I feel, because Bussy's youthful transgressions stemmed from his negative performance of a youth culture of excess, that enables a reassessment, in turn, of Chapman's later complex character. It is the contention of this chapter that Chapman adopts the safety of the French court of Henry III to criticise the youthful society of prospective courtiers in London.

Nathan Field played the leading role of Bussy, and it was a performance that earned him a celebrity-like status amongst the London theatre-goers. As Field was only seventeen years old when he performed the part of Bussy (Munro, *Children* 49), the fact that Chapman offers a critique of contemporary courtly politics, means that the play is vital to the thesis's understanding of youth culture, both in terms of the youthful actor playing the youthful protagonist, and how the failure to engage with the humanist lessons learnt in the schoolroom can be utterly destructive in the social world of London. For Chapman, a failure to engage with humanism results in a young man who is excessively violent. Often in the play, Bussy and others engage in a form of violence that is undeniably sexual, and doubly destructive to their youthful bodies, evidenced by the bloodied bodies that litter the floor. The title quotation reflects just this (I.i.2), with Bussy asserting that sexual favours at court earn rewards rather than honourable actions, and in another sense, that those who deserve rewards do not get them. Bussy's violent outburst against anti-humanist principles in his opening monologue (I.i.1-33), only makes his downfall more tragic when he is corrupted by the

court, rejecting humanism to flourish in adultery and violence. Chapman's complex and ambivalent engagement with youth culture therefore can aid our understanding of male youth culture by dramatising how the humanist principles learnt in the schoolroom contribute to formations and regulations of youth identity and masculinity. The audience are inculcated against adopting anti-humanist standpoints by the brutal downfall and bodily excesses evident in Bussy's character as he is corrupted by those debauched young courtiers around him. This, I suggest, poses a useful answer to Roger Burbridge's question: "What do [Bussy's] struggle with society, and his failure mean?" (60).

It might initially appear strange to marry the early modern schoolroom to Chapman's play, but further analysis reveals that *Bussy D'Ambois* is obsessed with learning, and features a titular character who fails to reflect on his education in his anti-humanist flamboyance at the court of Henry III. Considering the importance placed on humanism in the early modern schoolroom and the anxiety that schoolboys were moulded correctly for the greater benefit of society, it is useful to explore the youth culture and transgressions of the schoolroom before turning to the failure of humanism and the sexual violence evident in *Bussy D'Ambois*. This link is further strengthened by the fact that many members of the audience who were students at the Inns of Court would have expected to enter into court life or government positions after they finished their education.² These men were interested in the centres of power (Lever 47). The character of Bussy, therefore, reveals the dangers a court posed to young men who ignored the lessons learnt in the schoolroom and the play speaks *to* the young men in the audience who have experienced the humanist education system in the grammar school environment. The fact that Bussy is a young man, and that the role was performed by the young Field, further encourages this exploration of youth culture and bodily excess in a play that theatricalises the educationalist and social concerns of England for a young male audience, realising Konrad Eisenbichler's important statement that education was connected with the "culture and ideals of the time" ("Introduction" 14). This chapter asserts that Chapman's play contains an explicit reimagining of those ideas attached to courtiership and young men in Baldesar Castiglione's hugely influential and popular work *The Book of the Courtier* (1528). *Bussy D'Ambois* sees Chapman keen to provide a youthful anti-courtier, the antithesis of the perfect courtier that Castiglione advocated and intended his readers to adopt as a model, to reveal the problems attached to individualistic assertions of youth culture, but, at the same time, to educate his audience into correct social performances. Importantly, Chapman's play is anti-Castiglione for the purpose of encouraging audience reformation.

² See O'Callaghan's *English Wits* (2007), especially Chapter One. See also Grantley's *Wit's Pilgrimage* (2000), page 3.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. A considerable amount of space is devoted to a re-evaluation of the early modern schoolroom. This chapter offers new analysis to enhance existing scholarship of the grammar school by evaluating how youth culture and bodily excess are twinned with humanism to develop boys' identity. The first section therefore naturally discusses these important links, before further sections investigate how humanism created a schoolboy culture, how schoolboys are steeped in violence in the schoolroom, and finally, how the schoolroom maintains the potential to function as a performative space, whether it be for actual schoolboy productions of drama or the performance of identity as a means of exploring individual masculinities.³ Such an original reinterpretation of the schoolroom, as a place full of young boys expressing their own cultural values, individuality, and violent bodily excesses, provides us with a refined understanding of Chapman's play, which is indebted to exploring these youthful cultural assertions and excesses in its protagonist. It is therefore essential to approach Chapman's play from the previously unexplored areas of youth culture, bodily excess, failed humanism, and sexual violence, to provide a stimulating portrait of the sheer complexity attached to youth culture in the period.

To discuss these aspects I assert, in the early parts of this chapter, that there was a form of 'schoolboy culture' evident in the classroom, and that this contributes to and acts as a precursor of youth culture. In many respects, my adoption of the phrase 'schoolboy culture' is an extension of Christopher Marlow's work on 'scholarly masculinity' in the universities. Marlow finds that Oxbridge students would have felt "social and institutional pressure to behave in certain ways" (*Performing* 15), and I transfer these ideas to the schoolroom to assess whether schoolboys are concerned with performing their own cultural ideas concerning masculinity. Schoolboy culture encapsulates the acts of learning to write, understanding Latin, competing with peers, engaging with violence, creating an identity, and learning to perform masculinity, and all of these values are later developed once the boy completes his grammar school education and youth culture proper begins, typically when the boy was fourteen years old as Mann attests (*Shakespeare's Women* 34). In many respects this contributes to and enhances Marlow's work on scholarly masculinity whereby "university plays produce a form of male identity" (*Performing* 7), but I differ in speaking about the lessons learnt in the schoolroom impacting upon theatrical youth culture and how the stage comments on young men's learning through Chapman's portrayal of Bussy. In this respect, schoolboy groups are a precursor to the bonds formed by young men later in life that constitute youth culture. In the interest of clarity therefore, I refer to males as 'boys' in the schoolroom in the first part of this chapter before continuing to discuss 'young men' or 'youths' in the latter part of the chapter, once the grammar school has been left behind.

³ It does not look at schoolboy performances at court, which is outside the scope of this thesis. However, Richard Mulcaster's pupils from the Merchant Taylors' school performed before Queen Elizabeth at least six times (Bloom, "'Voice'" 48).

The first section of this chapter also engages with the role that humanism played in contributing to male identity in the period. Humanist ideals mould aspects of youth culture that flourish once the boy completes his education; an education that is distinctively gendered masculine (Reeser 96). The theatrical nature of humanist principles and the grammar school curriculum are analysed because of the important links between how schoolboys are moulded in the period and how the young actor learns his part for the stage, revealing not only the opportunity for praise in one institution and celebrity in the other, but also how both institutions possess the power to inculcate, whether it is students or audiences. The violent undertones of the classroom are explored to complete the complex picture of how humanism functions in the classroom, and the core ideas of duty and violence that formulate key components of youth culture are important for a young man's cultural identity in the period. This is why both humanism and violence are central to Chapman's play. Bussy's contribution to the thesis's understanding of youth culture is crucial, as he initially appears keen to put into practice the humanist principles that he possesses from his education, but at the same time, his impressionable nature and willingness to engage in bravado provides for a compelling discussion of how youth culture can make and break the individual. In this respect the chapter refutes Irving Ribner's claim that Bussy is a symbol of "prelapsarian perfection" (488), and aims to account for Bussy's characterisation as an "impenetrable mass of inconsistencies" (Oldaker 86), by instead focussing on Chapman's engagement with contradictory youth culture.⁴ The chapter asserts that Bussy's actions would both gain commendation and condemnation from the audience in the Blackfriars, praising his initial virtues but shocked at his courtly vices as youth culture turns from an impressive individualistic pursuit of worldly purposefulness into a negative performance of bodily excess that reveals the young male body to be governed by sex and violence. Chapman's insistence on educating his theatre audience through the dramatisation of failed humanism portrays a cautious attitude to youth culture, and one that is further problematised by Field's own attempts to reform young men and their cultural and social values in his playwriting career, as will be revealed in Chapter Four. It is to the schoolroom that this chapter now turns.

There has been a significant corpus of scholarship on the early modern schoolroom, but to date, no one has investigated it as a site that enables the performance of youth culture and bodily excess. It is the purpose of this section of the chapter to analyse the regulation and formulation of boys' bodies in the schoolroom, as society moulds them into useful subjects who are fit to contribute to the world outside the classroom. This section therefore seeks to advance Chedgzoy's recent assertion that writing poetry reveals how humanist education "formed children as readers and writers" ("Make" 593), agreeing with her claim that "grammar schools undoubtedly constituted an

⁴ Critics themselves appear somewhat inconsistent in their reading of Bussy, with Elias Schwartz labelling Bussy as the "sum of all virtue" (164) and Anja Müller-Wood maintaining that Bussy is a "chivalric hero *par excellence*" (*Theatre* 124). Curtis Perry describes the play as "bizarre" (*Literature* 71).

important site of cultural formation in early modern England” (“Make” 594) but extending it to discuss the importance that grammar schools played in formulating youth culture. The first part of this chapter also analyses Peter Mack’s assertion that the grammar school created theatre audiences (*Elizabethan* 47), to strengthen ideas linking schoolboy culture, youth culture, and the stage. It also engages with Mary Crane’s work on rhetoric (*Framing* 39-40) to understand further links between the schoolroom and the stage. The fact that the schoolroom provides a performative space for many important assertions of individuality and identity that flourish when the boy becomes a youth, which I understand as the moment that his grammar school education is completed, means that exploring the grammar school is vital for understanding ideals and ideas of pre-youth culture and the regulation of young bodies.

The Schoolboy’s Mouldable Body: Humanism, the Grammar School, and Schoolboy Culture?

It is useful to pause here and consider how vital the act of going to school was in the period. It was a crucial moment in the development of a young boy’s body, as it effectively signalled the end of childhood. The very act of going to school was the first step in the life-long journey of acquiring honourable masculinity, with learning to write an essential component of leaving childhood behind. As Eve Rachele Sanders observes the “notion that writing was essentially masculine, like the Renaissance pun on pen and penis, was invoked to make cultural difference (writing / lack of writing) appear as congenital as genital difference” (142). A boy who could not write could be considered impotent and lacking in masculinity compared to his peers, which makes the pen a powerful tool in the early ideals associated with youth culture and gendered identity. It was important therefore to encourage boys to begin their schooling at a young age so that youthful masculinity could be inculcated. Francis Clement, in his pamphlet *The Petty School with an English Orthography* (1576), wrote an introductory epistle entitled, “To the little children” which stated that going to school signalled the end of childish games. Clement’s epistle concluded with the plea for children to “let toies alone, / and trifles: Learne A, B, [C]” (9). Clement’s pamphlet effectively marks the abandonment of toys and the commencement of learning as a decisive first step marking the end of childhood in the young boy.

The schoolboy experienced an education that was conscientiously humanist in scope (Heller 17). It was rigorous, but essentially theatrical in practice. Such principles can be found in the work of writers such as William Gouge, who in his pamphlet *Of Domesticall Duties* (1622) advised that “children [should] be catechized constantly from day to day” (548). Catechism was important to the education of the young child in religious principles, as well as improving his memory and oratory skills, skills that are vital for a young actor (O’Day 44). Field’s tutor, Richard Mulcaster, “stressed the importance of clear speaking, singing and breath control for children. In terms of outdoor or physical exercise, he advocated dancing and fencing, walking, running and

leaping as well as the gentlemanly pursuit of riding” (Southern 39), and all of these activities are not only of use in contemplating the schoolroom as a theatre of its own, but also provide us with useful documentation that boys did experience their own individualistic culture and identity that precedes those practices that encompass this thesis’s concerns with youth culture. Such a predating of youth culture, for the purpose of this section, is referred to as ‘schoolboy culture’, which can be defined as a shared space for ideas, identities, and practices of masculinity to be advanced and performed within and outside of the classroom during the boy’s time at school.

It becomes apparent that learning to read is a crucial stage of the young boy’s life, and the active process of developing his reading ability as his body develops, ensures that reading becomes an important component of schoolboy culture, and something that extends into youth culture. As Edel Lamb attests, the education of the boy had an impact on his adult conduct (*Performing* 96), and I suggest that it was through youth culture that the ideas learnt in the classroom contributed towards healthy adult masculinity. Mulcaster advocated reading as the principle activity which every young child should devote a significant amount of time to mastering.⁵ Mulcaster writes, “doth not Reading then which is the first principle seme to season verie sure? enriching the minde with so precious matter, and furnishing the tung with so perfit an utterance? (*First Part of the Elementarie*, 22), recommending that children should read material that is interesting and suitable for them (O’Day 53). As Lamb observes, delight “is a prominent theme in the instructional books written for grammar schoolboys” (“Children” 70) and Mulcaster evidently subscribed to providing an education that produced “men by appealing to the schoolboys’ tastes” (“Children” 76). Whilst I agree that reading fashioned identity (Grantley, *Wit’s* 4), this chapter argues that the educational texts actively read at grammar school constitute the development of youth culture; simply reading and storing the information learnt at school was not enough to turn a boy into a man, there were too many perils and pitfalls along the way after schooling ended. Educational texts therefore contributed towards the boy’s sense of identity and his relationship within his cultural world as he becomes a ‘youth’, but as will become evident in the discussion of *Bussy D’Ambois*, the lessons learnt in school must be actively performed during the time of youth in order to aid the passage to full adult manhood. In moulding boys and fashioning youth culture, these texts assert preferred social performances of youthful masculinity. They are marketed as positive texts that regulate the bodies of the pupils, preparing them for later life.

The curriculum did provide a space for young boys to develop and assert their own cultural values. John Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612) advocated weekly recreation “as a reward of [students] diligence, obedience and profiting” (300). Furthermore, the students must engage in

⁵ See Lamb’s article, “Children read for their Pleasantness” which discusses the diversity in children’s reading experiences (69). Warren Wooden also suggests that Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* targeted, and found child readers in the early modern period (73, 83).

gentlemanly “recreations and sports” (301) rather than “Clownish sports” or “perilous” games (301). Therefore, whilst providing the children with recreational activities, the pastimes needed to be sufficiently ‘manly’ in order to mould and educate the child honestly when at play (Lamb, “Children” 72).⁶ This all contributes to the importance of the schoolroom in fashioning an identity that can be developed via youth culture. There was also an element of play incorporated into the educational practices within the classroom, with children given educational games to learn and play with. Rosemary O’Day records that “packs of cards bearing pictures and letters of the alphabet[,] dice games[,] reading wheels [and] an archery alphabet” (55) could be utilised by the schoolmaster in the classroom, which undoubtedly created peer groups and shared values. The schoolroom also provided the space for excess in the sheer number of pupils who would have to jostle with one another for a place to sit and work. Typically, grammar schools would consist of 100-150 boys (Jewell 100) and the duration of the day was lengthy and demanded intense concentration.⁷ The classroom was certainly a cramped environment (O’Day 59) which fostered intimacy and friendship as well as copious space for misbehaviour and bullying as R. Houston’s study has documented, what with young men of all ages crammed together in one room (70).

An important part of schoolboy culture was the competition between boys that saw them strive to become the most gifted scholar in their classroom. Such competitive aspects of the education system tried to ensure that boys fought with pens rather than fists, arguably the later would become the more important aspect of youth culture, as we will see in the discussion of *Bussy D’Ambois*. *The Christian Mans Closet* (1581), penned by Barthélemy Batt, recommended that schoolboys strive for excellence in their education by explicitly stating through the character of Theodidactus how children should behave at school. Schoolboys should “shewe them selves to their masters and teachers, not only to be diligent, but also chearefull to learne” and to “covet the fellowship of those schollers, that be better lerned than them selves” and to “contend with none, except in learning” (90). This inculcation into positive rivalry individualises the educational experience, with students keen to outwit their peers, and also extends to the universities and Inns of Court, with students keen to assert their masculinity via performance in plays (Whitney 123; O’Callaghan, *English* 23-24; Marlow, *Performing* 6). Furthermore, going to hear a play constituted an important part of a young man’s education (Cook 105).

Back in the schoolroom, the boys were expected to engage with an essentially humanistic set of principles concerning their education, which as well as promoting friendly rivalry, also

⁶ Brinsley, in a printed translation of a work by Evaldus Gallus entitled *Children’s Dialogues* (1617), suggested that play and recreational time could increase the harmonious relationship between schoolmaster and pupils (26-27).

⁷ See Jewell’s *Education in Early Modern England* for a description of the academic rigour attached to a typical school-day (102).

theatricalised schoolboy culture. As Mack suggests, across England, “grammar schools shared the aim of making their pupils wise, pious and eloquent” (11). The early years of a child’s education at school were centred on learning to read, write and speak Latin. Much of the boy’s education was centred around the practice of imitation, and by teaching the child to successfully adapt and mimic the classical authors, schoolmasters essentially enabled their students to express themselves creatively in their writing and in their verbal discourse, essentially mirroring how the actor would learn his role for the stage. As Mack suggests, the “school aimed to combine rhetorical and ethical training” (47), thereby shaping the verbal discourse and physical body of the child, and this is vital for considering the importance that schoolboy culture played in allowing boys to formulate identities and practices that became realised when youth culture could be performed after leaving school. The boy’s body and discourse were moulded by schoolboy culture, now it was down to the individual to ensure that his engagement with youth culture allowed for the continuation of correct verbalisation and involvement in his society. However, schoolboy culture was largely imitative, with the boy reproducing the knowledge instilled in his brain by his master. There was potential for schoolboy culture to become performative rather than imitative however, and this could be occasioned by the performance of violence; an area that was steeped in humanist practices, but, perplexingly, also carried the latent threat of anti-humanism as will be explored in *Bussy D’Ambois* later in this chapter.

Schoolboy Excess: Schoolboy Culture, Humanism, and Violence

The preceding analysis concerning schoolboy culture and its relationship with humanism is developed in this section to add complexity to our understanding of the multifarious functioning of the schoolroom. In particular, this section links schoolboy culture and humanism to violence, and discusses the classroom as a potential site for the performance of bodily excess by young boys. This is a performance that foreshadows the violent undercurrents dominant in youth culture once the grammar school education had finished, and that woefully performed by Bussy in Chapman’s play. It is undeniable that violence was a crucial component of the classroom (Wrightson, *English* 124), and thereby an integral part of humanist educational practices. Corporal punishment certainly contributed towards the notions of bodily schoolboy excess in the classroom.⁸ There were rewards for diligent pupils, but the threat of violence always loomed. Advocators of education such as William Kempe explicitly encouraged schoolmasters to reward those pupils who showed diligence and wittiness in their studies with “trifles” and “gay things” (H2v) and to reward “painefull studie” with “libertie” (H2v) whilst also recommending the use of the rod to “driveth away foolishnes” and taking away recreation time as a means of discipline (H2r). The purpose of using violence to

⁸ See Chapter Two of Enterline’s *Shakespeare’s Schoolroom* (2011) for an analysis of imitative violence.

regulate the body of the unruly schoolboy is useful to analyse when thinking about schoolboy culture and humanism, especially as the practice of beating for the dual purpose of chastising and emasculating the individual was a practice that continued even at the universities, as Ariés and Shepard have documented.⁹ Schoolboys were physically punished as a form of regulation, with the intention of correcting the corrupted young body, and this section advocates the idea that whilst this appears to limit, or even erase, ideas of schoolboy culture, the violence inflicted on the young boy is absorbed, literally inculcating him with an aggression that epitomises the rigorous assertions of youth culture that are then found to dominate Chapman's play, and the entire thesis.

Inflicting violence on the body of the boy or young man, in front of his peers and friends was a humiliating experience that was expected to chastise and purge the young body of misrule and excess. As Alan Stewart importantly suggests, the "boy's nakedness during beating, remarked upon by virtually all contemporary commentators, stresses the importance of breeches in a boy's life" (*Close* 102) because of the emasculating effect that occurs when the schoolmaster takes down the boy's breeches to beat him. It returns his exposed body to childhood, a time before the boy acquired his masculinity (*Close* 102). Schoolchildren, regardless of beatings, were immersed in a culture that allowed for an engagement with violence (Heller 80) which complicates the understanding of schoolboy culture as being a fairly limited and pedestrian performative space. As Claire Cross suggests in her survey of a grammar school in Leicester in the late sixteenth-century, it was customary for the schoolboys "on holiday occasions, to bar the door against their master and hold revelry within" (25). Such occasions were typically rowdy affairs and written records suggest that in 1583-4, 1617-18, and 1618-19, the schoolhouse windows were smashed by the pupils, whilst in the classroom, schoolboys would carve their names into the walls and onto their desks (Cross 25; Thomas, *Rule* 16). This would seem to suggest that schoolboy culture did have the potential to be performed in aggressive displays of individuality and an attempt to realise an identity in the stifled schoolroom. But even then, this idea is fraught with contradictions. Anthony Fletcher observes a similar ritual that occurred in schools in the north and midlands which functioned as an opportunity for schoolboy tensions and hostility to be released officially. During the special periods, the children shut the schoolmaster out of the schoolroom and requested that punishment be suspended for the duration of the misrule. Such misrule was a "reminder to the master of the limits of his authority: the ritual kept alive the possibility of the boys retaliating, yet it never directly challenged the social order" (*Gender* 301).

Fletcher's idea is crucial for the shifting impact of schoolboy culture. It would appear that controlled violence is a form of schoolboy culture where identity can be formulated via ritualised peer aggression, but the fact that it is contained and regulated would seem to demark that identity

⁹ See Ariés's *Centuries of Childhood* (260), and Shepard's *Meanings of Manhood* (135).

and deny that culture. If anything, the fact that masters allowed their pupils a period of licensed misrule only seems to strengthen the idea that schoolboy culture, like youth culture, is performative. Knowing that violence will occur gives the event a somewhat scripted feel, like a play performed on the stage, and schoolboy culture, is thereby ambiguous and deliberately self-fashioning. This is why the ritual could be tolerated, as Keith Thomas asserts, because normality would resume after the event (*Rule* 33-4). It was a form of organised rebellion that mirrors Lamb's suggestion that boyhood was frequently "associated with aggression and uncontrolled emotions" ("Children" 75) that in this particular sense are actually controlled and encouraged for a particular period of time.

Encouraging the students to learn, and encouraging them to rebel, both create important moments when thinking about schoolboy culture as a precursor to youth culture, where the boy is moulded into an educated young man, but also a fighter. The martial aspect of learning and the conflicts associated therein are dramatised by Chapman, as we will see below. It is therefore tempting to disagree with Lamb's observation that some texts read in the classroom, such as Brinsley's *Children's Dialogues*, offer "moments of youthful camaraderie" and imagine "a culture of youth that temporarily threatens the hierarchies of authority" ("Children" 78). This chapter argues that it is always controlled aggression however, and is not a real threat to authority in the schoolroom. Schoolboys did fight each other in aggressive assertions of dominance as Ariès observes, usually with an assortment of weapons (315), and he crucially suggests that such a culture essentially defined the young boy as masculine. It is through violence that Bussy D'Ambois attempts to assert his own aggressive affirmation of youth culture. It appears that the schoolroom was a space for a controlled schoolboy culture of excess: a performative space where identity could be realised and explored and violence was crucial in asserting this identity, and in curbing it, if the master felt he needed to do so. The schoolboy's body is perceived to be a body that is reclaimable via violence, perhaps allowing for the licensed period of misrule which is only ever temporary, but the youth in the adult world, the subject of the latter part of this chapter and the rest of the thesis, cannot be saved if the visceral becomes a part of his performative identity.

The schoolroom presents an ideology of freedom, of transformation, and enrichment: that its pupils are nurtured as individuals. However, such principles only ever mask a violent fantasy that aims to control and regulate the bodies of the young boys (Lamb, *Performing* 97; Griffiths, *Youth* 82). Bushnell confirms such an idea. She writes that in "thinking about the curriculum, and in particular in the reading practices that grounded humanist education, we find a similar oscillation between extremes of flexibility and rigid control, between a passion for variety and abundance and a fear of excess" (117). This may explain why youth culture is contradictory in its performance. It is violent, but largely restricted and channelled into respectable masculinity, performative, but at times raising deep psychosomatic questions about what it means to be a young man growing up in the

period. Youth culture features performances of excess but, at the same time, bodily excess is feared by young men. Bussy, however, doesn't fear excess as he has totally misunderstood the humanist principles concerning violence.

For Crane, such violent practices mentioned above are evident in the framing of students, with the word 'framing' encapsulating ideas of 'containment' and 'control' (72). Just as students are taught to frame the texts that they read, their own bodies are similarly framed by the schoolmaster, and this all suggests that elements of control, violence, regulation, and formulation, are vital to the educational system. This is complicated, however, and despite the threat of looming violence, humanist educational principles, in theory, encouraged that master and pupil should share a bond of mutual love rather than fear of beating (Bushnell 41), with Chedgzoy asserting the "profound cultural influence" ("Make" 610) between master and pupil. However, despite the pedagogical literatures' desire of mutual affection, the relationship in the classroom was centred on the child's bondage and the masters' total rule in an attempt to mould the child into the perfect citizen by emulating the tutor (Bushnell 73).

Violence was also tinged with the erotic in the classroom. The very act of beating the child was dangerously erotic, especially for tyrannical masters who took excessive pleasure in administering punishment onto the bodies of their pupils. Beatings tinged with eroticism had a long history in education as Bushnell and Stewart observe (Bushnell 30; Stewart, *Close* 84). Coupled to this, because "humanists idealized the schoolroom...they saw the flogging master's infliction of pain as demonstrating his own lack of erotic self-control" (Bushnell 30). Despite the lack of erotic self-control implied in the beating of a boy's buttocks, "beating is figured as a transfer of information and a sustaining material reward, implicating education itself and the material benefits of education within the erotic economy of beating" (Stewart, *Close* 98). Stewart suggests that beating becomes a form of learning, a rite of passage, signalling the growth of individual agency in disrupting authority. This is evident in the fact that schoolboys themselves, whilst inherently fearing the rod, could also turn a beating into a jest that reversed the perverse eroticism at the hands of the master. Such a jest is evident in the fact that schoolboys referred to a beating as 'marrying the master's daughter'.¹⁰

Such sexually-tinged violence in the schoolroom perhaps explains *Bussy D'Ambois's* fascination with sexualised pedagogic violence as the court replaces the schoolroom as an erotically charged learning environment. Indeed, as Bruce Smith suggests, Latin was the language of "sexual

¹⁰ As Stewart expands, "'marrying the master's daughter' is simply a common euphemism for the practice of flogging in schools but the implications of this euphemism are intriguing. Firstly, by figuring the master's beating of the boy as the marrying of his daughter, the text places punishment within an erotic economy, indicating a potential and indeed probable sexual consummation to the act" (*Close* 98). Stewart is commenting on Robert Whittinton's text *Vulgaria*.

knowledge” (*Homosexual* 83) and boys were taught that women were usually healthier after “a good dose of sex” (Ursula Potter 281), providing further links between the grammar school and sexuality. Some humanist theorists worried that the cruelty of beating “would bring forth a generation of slaves rather than Mulcaster’s obedient subjects” (Bushnell 31). But even Mulcaster’s pretensions in his pamphlets to create obedient subjects willing to learn are tinged with scepticism because of a contemporary report that suggests that Mulcaster was a savage beater of his pupils.¹¹ Overall, it appears that violence, eroticism, and contradiction were crucial components of the schoolroom, and both were factors in the young boys’ early explorations of schoolboy culture and identity. There is one further factor that requires attention to complete the picture of schoolboy culture as an interesting precursor to youth culture, and that is by considering the links between the schoolroom and the stage.

The Schoolroom as a Performative Space: Schoolboys and Drama

It is not inaccurate to suggest that schoolboys experienced an education that was essentially theatrical (Lamb, *Performing* 93). As well as the fact that dramatic performances were used as a successful teaching medium in grammar schools, continuing to prove popular even after the Restoration (Astington, *Actors* 44), schoolboys were taught skills that focussed on imitation, adaptation, transformation, reading aloud, memorization and perfection in rhetoric. Mulcaster introduced amateur dramatics into the curriculum at both Merchant Taylors’ and St. Paul’s schools (O’Day 74), evidently valuing such a practice. As Robert Miola has suggested, students “acquired extraordinary sensitivity to language, especially to its sound” (2). Such oratory skills empowered the boys with the art of persuasion and provided a mastery of language (Grafton & Jardine 123), revealing how schoolboy culture, and later, youth culture, are inherently linked to the theatre and public life. Miola stresses the importance of memorization in schools, which he describes as useful in conditioning “readers and writers” (3), but essentially this is also a highly relevant theatrical practice with students memorising “hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Latin lines and constructions” (Miola 3). Claire Cross records the statutes of the grammar school in Leicester in 1574. One statute demands that “UPPON frydaye in thatafternoone the schollers...shall repete, That is to saye, shall say without booke and construe the lessons before mentioned, geuen unto them by their master” (16). Such practices are highly theatrical ensuring that the young boy was skilled in the process of memorization and repetition from an early age. The boys essentially ‘perform’ before the schoolmaster to indicate that they are perfect in their knowledge, creating authoritative individual voices that enable them to formulate cultural assumptions and identities, whilst, as in the theatre, ‘performing’ a speech that they have rehearsed. R. Houston’s findings also support the statement

¹¹ See Stewart’s *Close Readers* for information concerning an incident that happened at St. Paul’s school, highlighting Mulcaster’s willingness to beat boys, as well as his good humour (98-99).

that theatricality dominated the schoolroom. Houston writes that a “stress on order and conformity ensured that memorising or learning by rote played an enormous role in the educational process” (61), as it would for the young actor. Educators argued that “constant repetition instilled a habit of learning in pupils” (Houston 61), and it is crucial to Chapman’s *Bussy D’Ambois* and the dramatisation of a failed learner, as will become evident below.¹²

A schoolboy’s education, therefore, was theatrical in a number of ways. By teaching Latin rhetoric, a schoolmaster instructed boys how to speak skilfully and effectively in a manner that echoed the ancient authors. This Latin literature effectively doubled as a prompt text which the young boy had to learn as he would a part in a play. His Latin learning, however, had the added importance of instilling a set of moral principles in him.¹³ Furthermore, the schoolboy learned to understand narrative through “reading and through composition” (Mack 36), enabling the boy to develop texts creatively and independently. Humanism therefore encouraged the creation of a set of behavioural norms by asking the students to respond creatively in displaying the knowledge that they had acquired from their tutor. These cultural values aided the young boy in making sense of his place and purpose in his society. Finally, the keeping of a commonplace book by the young student again reinforced ideas of theatricality in humanist learning practices. By recording useful phrases to reuse in their own work and to aid their own reading practices, students compiled notebooks that were arranged under headings; effectively collecting parts of speech that, jotted down, formed a series of dramatic characters in a notebook (Mack 44, Bushnell 132-133, Miola 4). Lamb also suggests that the theatre companies that housed the young boy actors functioned as educational institutions (*Performing* 102-103), thereby giving the young men a chance to engage with aspects of youth culture that had commenced in the schoolroom. As Lamb suggests, training in oration was key for developing masculinity and acquiring the “ability to deliver a speech with audacity is thus a rite of passage for the early modern boy” (*Performing* 99). In this respect, performing drama results in a compelling performance of youthful masculinity. To cement the notion that early modern educational principles were essentially theatrical, it is useful to borrow a statement from Mack that epitomises this chapter’s focus on Bussy as a failed learner, as he is held up as a warning to the audience of what will happen when youthful anti-humanist values are allowed to continue unchecked. Mack writes that the “grammar school created the Elizabethan audience” (*Elizabethan* 47) and this can naturally be extended to include a Jacobean audience, as many of the audience

¹² See Mack’s *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (12) and Crane’s *Framing Authority* (92) for a discussion of students’ engagement with the curriculum.

¹³ Mack has documented such evidence, commenting on the didacticism of core texts in the classroom (32-33).

attending a performance of *Bussy D'Ambois* were the product of grammar school educations and are thereby encouraged to remember and adhere to their own lessons learnt in the schoolroom.

Mary Crane's important work on educational practices also supports such a notion of theatricality attached to humanism in the schoolroom. Crane's study, *Framing Authority* (1993) discusses the duplicitous nature of rhetoric in its essence: as a device that encourages verbal manipulation and disguise, much like an actor adopting a disguise in the theatre. Crane writes that "Rhetoric, of course, concerns itself with verbal ornamentation as a means of persuasion and has often been seen as logic's harlot sister, the mother of lies. Where logic is natural, plain, and grounded in things, rhetoric is artificial, bedizened, and concerned largely with the manipulation of words" (39). Rhetoric becomes an effective tool to manipulate the listener whilst also demonstrating that the individual grounded in rhetoric may essentially lose control of their own identity in their verbal utterance. Crane confirms this, suggesting that rhetoric "promised to teach a way to control others without necessarily being able to control itself" (40). This is crucial for a discussion of Bussy, because as an individual, Bussy aims to manipulate with rhetoric at the same time as he is unknowingly indoctrinated by the rhetorical artifices of those courtiers that surround him. Such an evaluation of rhetoric aptly mirrors the speech by the young actor. The youth actor is empowered by his ability to flourish rhetorically on the stage, possessing the moral power to captivate and educate the theatre audience whilst at the same time aware of the precarious position of his own body that he is unable to maintain full control of in his artificial deception. Staging excess, therefore, does allow for the audience to pass moral judgement (Müller-Wood 17). Rhetorical excess can be damaging to the body of the young man and accounts for the anxiety of schoolmasters, who in turn, do allow pupils some rhetorical freedom in the classroom, but it is a closely policed and regulated freedom.

Crane suggests that the child's careful gathering of useful sayings in the classroom effectively ensures that their body is carefully framed to the whims of humanist education (53).¹⁴ Controlled and constructed by humanist principles, the child is moulded into the perfect subject, but it is ironic that Bussy is not controlled and this significantly impacts on the thesis's ideas concerning youth culture. It is therefore unsurprising that many educational texts frequently stress the importance of a good education as crucial in "suitably controlling youth" (Lamb, *Performing* 97). For Crane, humanist teachers "depict their students as fragmented subjects, both alienated from and controlled by language" (76), and this may account for why, that once the grammar school education had finished, an important aspect of youth culture is to assert an identity by creating and

¹⁴ Crane suggests that the "gathering and framing of sayings, and the use of those sayings to frame students as well as texts, are central aspects of both humanist pedagogical theory and classroom practice" (53).

vocalising a language particular to youth.¹⁵ Bussy certainly partially adheres to this statement, but whereas students searched for ‘goodness’ in their school texts, and the audiences of the Blackfriars theatre searched for ‘goodness’ on the stage, “instinctively identify[ing]” with Bussy (Ribner 494), Bussy seems inclined to ignore the humanist’s valuation of ‘goodness’ during his time spent at court. It is to that play and the titular youthful character’s anti-humanist actions that this chapter turns next.

“He is young and haughty, apt to take / Fire at advancement”: *Bussy D’Ambois* and the Failure of Humanism

It should now be apparent that *Bussy D’Ambois* is a play steeped in excess. Despite this, critics have largely remained quiet on the place and function of excess, humanism, and violence, in the play. This section reinforces Grantley’s claim that drama in education has a direct relevance to the development of “social behaviour” (*Wit’s* 4) by focussing on Bussy’s failed learning. A large corpus of scholarship has focussed on the ambiguous figure of Bussy with Peter Bement suggesting that the play is a “philosophic drama of which the unifying principle consists in ethical reflection” (104), typical in many of Chapman’s plays and poems.¹⁶ This chapter finds that Chapman invites his audience to reflect on the ethical dilemmas posed by the court of Henry III, and that this complicates Chapman’s engagement with youth culture. Gunilla Florby, meanwhile, suggests that the complexity of the play is heightened by the fact that there appears to be “at least two or three Bussys and a couple of Tamyras” (127). This chapter aims to refine Florby’s suggestion by arguing that instead of there being two or three Bussys, the apparent contradictions in his character provide perfect evidence of the changeability of youthful bodies and the multifarious strands of youth culture that do provide startling and incoherent masculinities. Bement’s suggestion that Bussy functions as a malcontent who loves “meditation, solitariness, and darkness” (111) is immediately complicated by the fact that Bussy is an ambiguous figure who is essentially corrupted by the influence of Monsieur who brings him into court circles (Ide 75).

The play, described as “often obscure and difficult” (Bement 140) and as “one of the most perplexing, disjunctive, and disturbing plays of the early Jacobean period” (Montuori 287), begins with a seemingly virtuous Bussy being seduced by Monsieur, the brother of Henry III, who convinces him to enter the court.¹⁷ Monsieur lures Bussy into a world, “not of virtuous public service, but of vicious self-seeking and moral confusion” (Bement 117) and I extend this statement

¹⁵ As will be discussed in Chapter Four.

¹⁶ See also Jane Melbourne’s “The Inverted World of *Bussy D’Ambois*”, which suggests that Chapman was interested in newly discovered understandings of the retinal image to question the function of sight in the play.

¹⁷ Please consult Appendix One for a synopsis of the play.

to develop ideas about Chapman's concerns with staging failed humanism and its relationship to youth culture. In recognising Bussy as a young man who encapsulates the ambiguity and contradiction evident in the life-stage of youth, this chapter asserts that via a study of youth culture, we can start to provide an answer to previous scholarship's bafflement in trying to identify why Bussy is such a fragmented character. To understand Bussy as a youth is to erase some of the critical disjuncture levelled at Chapman's character. The body of Bussy becomes excessively corrupted by the external influence of those individuals around him at court, and whereas Bement observes that Bussy is corrupted, becoming an adulterer and a murderer, critics have failed to realise Bussy's youthfulness and to understand his body as an example of a young man who has failed in his humanist education. The play, therefore, has much to say about youth culture and education, highlighted by the fact that Chapman borrows heavily from several core schoolboy texts in composing *Bussy D'Ambois* and even though Florby does investigate Chapman's use of Plutarch and Seneca (70-96), she does not comment on the failure of humanism or youth culture.¹⁸

Bussy becomes little more than a youthful body that cannot be regulated, a dangerous paragon of unbridled youthful excess rather than what Montuori calls an example of "purity and naiveté" (288). In fact, William Dean is correct to identify that Bussy "has rejected learning and reason" (163), but I extend his discussion to chart exactly *how* and *why* such learning is rejected, finding that the humanist texts of the schoolroom are disregarded by Bussy in his pursuit of hedonistic and assertive masculinity. As Ide has suggested, Bussy's "public role soon becomes an extension of self, a means to self-fulfilment, a vehicle for the expression of individual excellence" (81-2). Bussy therefore functions as exactly the type of individual that grammar schools did not want to cultivate; an individual obsessed with the self and interested in singular attainment that ignores the collective goals of society and nation in the period, to which the individual should lend his expertise and service. Bussy is a "titanic and astonishing protagonist" (Michael Andrews 45), the type of individual that humanist tutors would have sought to suppress at an early stage of life. As Ide concludes, "Bussy's actions transcend normative human behavior" (100), with the protagonist resembling an individual governed by youthful excess. If Bussy is a body governed by excess, however, the unregulated body is self-destructive for Chapman. Even Bussy's surname, D'Ambois – phonetically pronounced as "damn-boys" in the period (Brooke, *Revels* 3) – invokes connotations with damnation and destruction of the youthful body, thereby suggesting that Chapman is interested in exploring the multifarious and problematic engagements with youth culture that can be utterly destructive to a young man's identity and society.

¹⁸ See Appendix B of Brooke's edition of the play for the Revels series which explores Chapman's own borrowings in *Bussy D'Ambois* from staple school-texts that the young actors, and the audience, would have been familiar with (149-158). Chapman borrowed passages from Seneca, Virgil, Erasmus, and Plutarch.

If the first part of this chapter finds that the schoolroom functioned as a site where ideas concerning youthfulness were regulated and formulated, and then links schoolboy culture to the excesses evident in the classroom, then the focus on *Bussy D'Ambois* enables an investigation into the previously unrecorded links between the stage, the schoolroom, humanism and youth culture. This section, and the remainder of the chapter, focuses on youth culture on the stage, but the schoolboys' education, discussed above, is very important to consider when analysing the play, especially as it is probably Field who is referred to as one of "Master Monkester's scholars" (I.96) in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607), indicating that Field's grammar school education has influenced his career as an actor. The importance of Field's education, a fact not lost on Chapman, therefore ensures that analysing Field's role as young Bussy necessarily involves an analysis of a young courtier who has failed to apply his learning to his everyday life at court and therefore warns the audience about the dangers of disregarding humanism. As Braunmuller has stated, civic humanists suggested that educated, virtuous men "should enter society rather than withdraw from it" (*Natural* 41-42), but Bussy is an example of a 'bad learner' who adopts a form of anti-humanism in his time spent at the court of Henry III. The quotation that heads this section encapsulates this idea, as at least one character, Monsieur, feels certain that Bussy could be easily corrupted (I.i.49-50). Importantly, Monsieur flags-up two crucial components of Bussy's projected identity that he feels make him an easy target for corruption; the fact that he is "young" (I.i.49), and "haughty" (I.i.49) seemingly imply that here is a headstrong youth keen to assert his individualistic identity and cultural and social values. The fact that Bussy does accept Monsieur's offer of one thousand crowns to follow him at court (I.i.205), is indeed indicative of the ease with which youth could be corrupted and misled, despite Monsieur mistakenly earmarking Bussy as an assassin in the opening scene because he is poor (Wiggins, *Journeymen* 154). What perhaps is equally important for Chapman, and for this section's engagement with failed humanism and youth culture, is the fact that Bussy asserts himself as a martial humanist. He says, "I am a scholar, as I am a soldier, / And I can poetise" (I.i.183-184), but despite his rhetorical protestations, it is evident that Bussy forgets all of the humanist principles taught in the schoolroom, and is, in this respect, a bad learner. Bussy has failed to understand the 'core texts' of life that many men in the audience would be expected to have taken on board to contribute positively to society.

To pause and return to the start of the play, however, is enough to demonstrate that the role of humanism and youth culture in this play is not only intertwined, it is complicated and ambiguous. When Bussy walks onto the stage, commenting that "Fortune, not Reason, rules the state of things, / Reward goes backwards, Honour on his head; / Who is not poor, is monstrous" (I.i.1-3), he reveals his very real doubts about the practicalities of humanism in a world that is inherently corrupt. If fortune, that is, luck or commercial opportunities, reigns above morally correct values, then what

use is humanism to the young man starting out in the world? Despite his questioning of the values of humanism, and by that questioning seemingly projecting a stance of defiance to uphold humanist values, Bussy's assertion that people with money are monstrous eerily foreshadows the own sale of his individuality and body to Monsieur. The fact that Bussy initially reveals his knowledge, that people can be 'purchased' and led into a path of corruption with money, only to accept one thousand crowns just a few lines later, shows that his learning is utterly flawed and that he does not project his humanist learning to good effect. Indeed, Maffé the servant has already identified Bussy with the Vice character; a figure of duplicity (Winston 214). Bussy's protestation that "We must to Virtue for her guide resort" (32) again appears incredibly hollow when Monsieur enters and describes Bussy as "A man of spirit beyond the reach of fear" (I.i.46). Monsieur's characterisation of the young man certainly doesn't paint Bussy as an individual guided by virtue, especially when Monsieur adds that Bussy is "young and haughty" (I.i.49), thereby complicating Gair's suggestion that Bussy is an idealised youth of England "aroused by glory and Christian virtue" (159). The play's complex association with humanist values that become corrupted in the body of a young man therefore complicates Chapman's dramatisation of youth culture. For Chapman, it appears, youth culture is an aggressive experimentation with interchangeable identities as a means of making sense of the social world and the individual's purpose within it.

The play's complex dramatisation of learning and failed learning and its impact upon youth culture are further discussed in Monsieur and Bussy's conversation in the first scene. When Bussy sarcastically jibes that at court he would have to learn to play "a great man's part" (I.i.103), Monsieur importantly asserts that Bussy would not have to learn. Monsieur says, "Thou hast the theory, now go there and practise" (I.i.105), crucially stating the potentialities stemming from the humanist body of Bussy, and Monsieur's assertion is a further reminder to the audience that humanism learnt in the schoolroom needs to be performed as part of a learning process of socialisation. This young man, according to the Monsieur, has the potential to become a great man, a courtier, with the seeds of knowledge already planted in him. Monsieur's focus on the fact that a humanist education could be utilised to achieve greatness is woefully perverted here of course, because Monsieur aims to 'use' Bussy to aid the deposition of his brother, the King. The fact that Monsieur singles out the young man for his debauched plans only serves to complicate Chapman's ambiguous representation of youth culture. For if Bussy can assert that "no man riseth by his real merit" (I.i.134), only to adopt a false personality at court where others can observe that "his great heart will not down" (I.ii.138), Chapman seemingly portrays a young man incapable of putting into practice the lessons learnt in the schoolroom. Bussy's deliberate rebuking of his humanist learning transforms him into a dangerous youth, aggressively asserting his values in a negative performance of youth culture. Chapman is deliberately ambiguous with his treatment of Bussy, and just as it

appears that Bussy *will not* practice the principles of humanism, it is just as possible that the corrupt courtly environment prevents him from doing so. Bussy is unable to “play the Vulture” (III.ii.37) and root out vice, because any attempt at practising humanism will find “set snares” (III.ii.141) to pull him down. If this were true, Chapman is critical of the court, suggesting that it should function as a social space where humanism flourishes. Even though Chapman is deliberately ambiguous, he is critical of Bussy. That other courtiers can remark, “‘Sfoot, see how he stares on’s” (I.ii.171), noting his excessive aggression, only seems to complete the picture of Bussy as a hyper-deviant young man who has rejected his humanist principles and instead seeks to perform boisterous assertions of his ideal masculinity via an excessive engagement with youth culture.

To further complicate Chapman’s re-evaluation of failed humanism via aggressive youth culture, it is useful to turn to Castiglione’s *Book of the Courtier*, which has, importantly, been overlooked by critics working on Chapman’s play despite its evident influence as a conduct book that Chapman reworks to explore negative youth culture concerning courtiership. There are further links with Castiglione in the Children of the Queen’s Revels repertory. John Marston’s *The Fawn* (1604), performed by the same company in the same year, is heavily indebted to Castiglione’s work with the play set in Urbino, the site of Castiglione’s book (Linda Peck 124), and it is the contention of this chapter to reveal Chapman’s debts to Castiglione and *Bussy D’Ambois* as “Anti-Castiglione”, to borrow Peck’s phrase discussing Marston’s play (124). Bussy is a dramatisation of an excessively bad learner, a courtier who refutes all of the good advice that Castiglione advocates concerning appropriate conduct at court. Whereas Castiglione suggests that a perfect courtier should never use obscene words in front of ladies (175), Bussy aggressively woos married women (I.ii.79-87); Castiglione advises that courtiers should be aware that “excessive riches are the cause of great calamities” (308) and that those who are rich become “proud and reckless” (308), Bussy accepts one thousand crowns from Monsieur (I.i.204-215); Castiglione warned that elegant dress corrupts the young courtier (285), whereas Bussy’s detractors jibe at “what a metamorphosis a brave suit can work” (I.ii.118); finally Castiglione recommends that courtiers should avoid “foolish arrogance” and be not a “boaster” (126), but Bussy claims to his enemies that “one man may beat three boys” (I.ii.199).

Chapman may well be revising and re-evaluating Castiglione’s work to critically reveal to the audience the dangers of aggressive assertions of youth culture and how an apparently good learner can easily be warped and eventually destroyed by the evils of society, despite an apparent good grounding in humanism. Chapman’s role as a poet may well mirror that of Jonson, who wrote in *Volpone* (1606), that it was the poet’s responsibility to “inform young men to all good disciplines” (Parker 64), and Chapman did indeed claim in his translation of the *Iliads* in 1611 that

poetry revealed social ills (Krasner 115).¹⁹ Chapman evidently shares Jonson's humanist values concerning the important role that poetry should play in the education of young men and this is revealed in Chapman's continued analysis of what happens when a young man repeatedly functions as the antithesis to Castiglione's perfect courtier. Castiglione mentions that it is important that the courtier should not "say things that offend those he would rather not offend, which simply displays ignorance" (186). Chapman complicates this matter by dramatising Bussy's clash with the villainous Duke of Guise. Shona McIntosh reminds us that the Guise would have been absolutely despised at the time of the play's first staging because of his role in the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre ("Massacre" 325-326). The ignorance that Bussy displays in aggressively courting the Duke of Guise's wife certainly reveals his witlessness, but it also constitutes an aggressive performance of youth culture; in proving himself a debauched courtier, Bussy attempts to claim adult masculinity. Guise's reprimand to Bussy, "Go to companion; your courtship's too saucy" (I.ii.92) is utterly rebuked, with Bussy unfazed by the Guise's threat to cut his throat (I.ii.98), instead boldly replying, "That hand dares not do't; y' have cut too many throats / already Guise; and robbed the Realm of many thousand / Souls, more precious than thine own" (I.ii.103-105). Despite the fact that many members of the audience may be siding with Bussy in this exchange (McIntosh, "Massacre" 335), Chapman's deliberate rebuttal of Castiglione's model courtier indicates that he asks his audience to acknowledge that Bussy is in the wrong here. Bussy's aggressive courtship of a married woman does indeed display ignorance, as it is utterly naïve and injudicious to make an enemy such as the Duke of Guise. Castiglione strongly advised that courtiers should not attack "those who are extremely powerful"; doing so would be "imprudent" (186). In this aspect, Chapman centralises excessive aspects of youth culture, with young men's preoccupation with sex and courtship as another example of Bussy's failed humanism.

Bussy's transgressions from the path of humanism, and Chapman's dramatisation of the departures from Castiglione's model, continue to contribute to ideas of youth culture and excess. Monsieur and Bussy engage in verbal sparring where each speaks 'truthfully' of the other and this develops the idea of an aggressive, individualistic language adopted by youths to flaunt and taunt opponents.²⁰ Monsieur attempts to expose Bussy as a hypocrite, speaking, "Th' art more ridiculous and vainglorious / Than any mountebank; and impudent / Than any painted bawd" (III.ii.359-361), suggesting that Bussy is a deeply flawed individual, anti-humanist in his cultural and social practices. He is an individual who does "rot as [he] liv'st" (III.ii.368), further suggesting that the bodily excesses asserted by Bussy will ensure physical decay. Importantly, of course, Monsieur's

¹⁹ See Jonson's "The Epistle" in Brian Parker's edition of the play. See also Michelle O'Callaghan's *The English Wits*, for a discussion of Jonson's humanistic comedies (35-38).

²⁰ The real life Monsieur (Francis, Duke of Anjou) would have been twenty-four years old at the time of Bussy's death.

words have added significance, as the audience are well aware of Bussy's affair with Tamyra, and the picture of virtue that Chapman painted in the first scene has crumbled. Bussy's retort is even more aggressive, lambasting Monsieur's "political head" as "the curs'd fount / Of all the violence, rapine, cruelty, / Tyranny and atheism flowing throughout the realm" (III.ii.392-394), and suggesting that Monsieur's "foul body is a Lernean fen / Of all the maladies breeding in all men. That you are utterly without a soul" (III.ii.400-402). The assertive voice of youth is criticised by Chapman here, as there can only be one outcome of such audacious rhetoric; a swift downfall for the young courtier. Arguably, Monsieur's initial tirade does goad and invite Bussy to launch his own verbal assault in reply, but even so, Chapman again reveals this to be a fault in Bussy. Castiglione would have young courtiers, especially with regards to superiors, ensure that they are "quick-witted and charming, prudent and scholarly" (285) and Bussy's verbal aggression towards a man who is socially superior, and indeed, his master, would suggest that Bussy has failed to adapt to the courtly way of life and is ignorant of social policies.

Bussy's failure to put into practice his own humanist doctrine is further revealed in his bold assertion to King Henry that he should not be punished for murdering two men in a duel. Whereas Castiglione advocated that a courtier "must be cautious, and he must always act and speak with prudence" (114), Bussy ignores Henry's wise words. Henry advises Bussy to ensure that his life be "purg'd from more such foul pollution" (II.i.183), and that he should never again "be so violent" (II.i.185), but Bussy's immediate response reveals what a poor learner he is, as he fails to take on board the advice of his sovereign. Despite Henry's order that Bussy curb the violent performances of youth culture enacted here, Bussy merely responds that he has committed no crime. In audaciously informing the King, "since I am free / (Offending no just law), let no law make / By any wrong it does, my life her slave" (II.i.194-196), Bussy reveals the need to perform an excessive and aggressive assertion of his individuality and youthful values, signalling his complete devaluation of humanism. The audience would have been well-aware that youthful heat should be channelled for the use of the State (Griffiths, *Youth* 97), not *against* the State. The fact that Chapman dramatises Bussy to deviate in so extraordinary a fashion from Castiglione's perfect model only serves to warn the audience about the perils of anti-humanism and excessive youth culture that appears more corrupt than the immoral court values that Bussy vocalised in the first scene of the play.

Perhaps Chapman's central preoccupation with exploring a youth culture of excess in relation to failed humanism is in his dramatisation of Bussy's affair with the married Tamyra, which again blatantly refutes Castiglione's model of how a young courtier should behave. Castiglione's crucial doctrine in *The Book of the Courtier* is that "reason is always overcome by desire because of ignorance" (293), and this seems to fit Chapman's characterisation of Bussy as a failed learner who

commits adultery because, like other wayward youths, Bussy's reason is crushed by fleshy desires. Chapman links the schoolroom environment with that of the court; being moulded by the schoolmaster mirrors the moulding that should take place after reading Castiglione's text, where the young man is inculcated into a correct performance of courtiership. Chapman therefore makes the explicit connection between Bussy's ignorance of humanist values and excessive youth culture that focalises the pleasures of the body over the needs to enhance the 'goodness' of society, encapsulating the importance that young men attached to verbal seduction in the period (Collington 262). This is apparent in Bussy's conversation with Tamyra after the sexual act, when he says "Sin is a coward Madam, and insults / But on our weakness, in his truest valour" (III.i.18-19) and that "ignorance tames us, that we let / His shadows fright us" (III.i.20-21). In explicitly staging Bussy's rejection of humanism in favour of carnal pleasures, Chapman dramatises the young man's ignorance into an aggressive component of youth culture, whereby ignorance should be condemned as a principle that hinders the pursuit of pleasure and therefore should be discounted. As if Bussy's failure to practice the principles of humanism was not enough, Chapman also presents Bussy as a youth who listens and learns 'bad' lessons from debauched individuals like Friar Comolet. The fact that Bussy is utterly oblivious of the moral corruption of such lessons only further enhances his characterisation as a mouldable and negative example of someone who engages in performances of excessive youth culture like a bad courtier, and probably warrants Rowland Wymer's assertion that the play records the destruction of a proud aspirer (141) and Perry's acknowledgment that Bussy acts like a "consummate courtier" (*Literature* 73). Wymer's reading of Bussy as a proud aspirer appears much tamer when considering how complex, ambiguous, and bellicose young men were in the period, and such ambiguity attached to the life stage of youth is also evident in Perry's assertion that Bussy is a perfect courtier – perfect in the sense that he is duplicitous and corrupt – again showcasing the excessive and performative aspects of negative youth culture. However, as should be apparent, Chapman invites the audience to infer that Bussy is to blame in his misappropriation of youth culture, confirming Montuori's idea that Bussy repeatedly misreads the world that he lives in (296).²¹ Furthermore, the fact that Bussy is mouldable appears to be Chapman's way of reminding his youthful audience that they also experienced educative principles in the grammar school that shaped and framed them into individuals. Bussy's moulding at court therefore reflects the young boy's moulding at grammar school.

Bussy's indoctrination at the hands of the corrupt Friar, who acts as a pander for his adultery, reveals, for Chapman, the dangers that young men faced concerning the ease with which humanist lessons could be ignored despite virtuous intentions. When the older Friar Comolet informs Bussy that "You know besides, that our affections' storm, / Raised in our blood, no Reason

²¹ See Dean's essay, "Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*", for further examples of Bussy's blindness at court (171).

can reform” (II.ii.186-187), he effectively indoctrinates Bussy in anti-humanist principles that assert that young men are incapable of regulating their bodies. This doctrine is explicitly engaged with in Chapters Two and Three, as a crucial concern of dramatists, attempting to warn their audiences of the dangers of bodily excess when attached to young men’s expressions of their cultural values. Friar Comolet is obviously well-versed in instructing young men how to please dissembling women (II.ii.198-221), and his role as a debauched tutor is emphasised by Chapman when he explicitly lectures Bussy: “learn this of me” (II.ii.224), instructing the young man how to commit adultery. As Linwood Orange states with irony, Bussy is an “apt pupil” of the Friar (48). The fact that Bussy repeats almost parrot-fashion to Tamyra what the friar has instructed him to say (II.ii.270-277), only serves to strengthen the young man’s total lack of appropriate learning, that Bussy cannot use his humanist knowledge to distinguish between good and bad advice. Chapman therefore appears keen to stress to his audiences the potential for humanism to indoctrinate rather than teach, and that an active engagement in public life with the lessons learnt during time spent at grammar school is vital if young men are to achieve honourable adult masculinity.

So far, this thesis has discussed the potential for youth culture to be performative, but Chapman develops this to suggest that humanism also needs to be performed as a fundamental part of the learning process, which reinforces the idea that the children’s companies are providing a form of theatre that is didactic. A successful performance of correct humanist principles help define youth culture, identity, and the individual’s role in society, all areas where Bussy fails to perform correctly. If education did refine behaviour (Grantley, *Wit’s* 3), it is evident that Bussy’s lack of knowledge results in his excessive uncontrollability as he has failed to perform humanism in the manner expected of boys who had experienced a grammar school education. Chapman therefore remains deliberately ambiguous on whether Bussy’s performance of anti-humanism stems from his impressionable nature whereby he is manipulated, or whether his conscious choice of bad role models is to blame for his downfall. The following section analyses how this failed humanism is interrelated with sexual violence during Bussy’s time at court.

“Come mine own sweet heart I will enter thee”: Sexual Violence in *Bussy D’Ambois*

Chapman further complicates his exploration of youth culture and failed humanism by dramatising sexual violence in *Bussy D’Ambois*. In this respect, this section develops Müller-Wood’s suggestion that the stage functioned as a cultural institution where excess could be explored (*Theatre* 58) to link the didactic elements of Chapman’s play with sex and youth culture. Sex is an important aspect of youth culture, and the link between both is developed across the thesis. Here, however, sex and youth culture intertwine in the performance of violence. Bussy himself becomes both a victim and perpetrator of sexualised violence in the play, and Chapman states this is because of his failure to engage with humanist principles. For Chapman then, sexual violence becomes

blurred with discussions of youth culture, as Bussy is keen to assert an aggressive masculinity that is undeniably phallic, particularly in the six-man duel that Bussy is a part of, but at the same time, the young man is sexually exploited by court culture. The quotation that heads this section reveals just this, with Monsieur, as master, continually invoking an erotic discourse with his young servant that accentuates Bussy's submissiveness and his need to obey Monsieur's orders. Monsieur's insistence that he will "enter" Bussy (I.ii.56) is undeniably sexual, as well as highlighting the fact that Monsieur enters Bussy at court, thereby acting as his initial tutor in the ways of courtly manners. Once again, this reveals Chapman's indebtedness to the sexualised humanism that the young actors, and the audience, would be familiar with from their schooldays, with the learning process's savage beatings tinged with eroticism as Leonard Barkan has revealed (*Transuming* 71).

Many of the audience members would have performed in student plays, themselves sites of violence and excess where masculinity was performed and sexual impropriety conducted off-stage (Marlow 6, 15, 17). In this section, I am indebted to Marlow's suggestion that students who performed masculinity onstage often felt the need to perform it offstage in their social interactions (45) and Bussy's attempts to 'perform' a sexualised masculinity steeped in violence showcase his misconstrued learning. However, Chapman complicates the agenda, as many young men in the audience would be aware of the sexual transgressions that took place at the court of Henry III, and therefore can situate Bussy's sexualised masculinity within courtly culture. The audience would also be aware that Henry III's court was corrupt and distinctively anti-Castiglione, and perhaps this is why Chapman's play is obsessed with dramatising how a young man fares in such a debauched space. Bussy's entrance into court is effectively the beginning of a sexual education, with Chapman commenting on the importance of sex and youth culture as something that can aid the acquisition of masculinity, or in terms of exploitation and service.²² We should also recall that the physical space of the theatre auditorium itself offered a space for the audience to assert masculinity through violence. Dympna Callaghan suggests that many such acts of violence were instances of class antagonism (154) and that young men and boys frequently committed acts of physical violence in the crowds at plays, often fighting, stealing, and stabbing one another (155). The audience in the Blackfriars therefore, were well aware of the importance of violence to youth culture, and would be fully engaged with Chapman's visceral portrayal of excessive violence as a means of showing Bussy's failed learning.

The inconsistencies in Bussy's character have led critics to suggest that such a fragmented body must ensure that Bussy is effeminate because of his "failure of masculine self-construction" (McAdam 275). I would suggest that such a miscarriage of identity is invariably linked to the

²² Field and Fletcher engage with this core aspect of youth culture in *The Honest Man's Fortune*, analysed in Chapter Five.

failure to adopt humanism as a guide to live by and the fact that youth culture is such a contradictory performative space. Bussy and many of the other young characters in the court fail to practice their acquired knowledge and oftentimes sexual violence is utilised to showcase such failings. What Dollimore refers to as Bussy's "unpredictable and erratic" (*Radical* 185) nature, therefore reflects Bussy's violent assertions of youth culture. The sexually deviant Monsieur vocalises the sexual violence predominant in court culture when he says to Charlotte, a maid, about "the way to make ye right open-arses" (III.ii.239).²³ The violence of the court in demanding that women, and also Bussy, be sexually available reveals that Chapman is interested in staging the bodily excess of a corrupt society that gradually indoctrinates an individual like Bussy into its practices. The fact that Monsieur effectively purchases Bussy (Oldaker 88), further strengthens these links between sexual service and prostitution.

In seeking to have sex with Montsurry's wife, Tamyra, Bussy functions like a bad early modern youth and a bad learner, as explored above. But Tamyra is also excessive in her unnatural desire for Bussy and her willingness to commit adultery (II.ii.34-49). As Tamyra admits, "not my name and house / Nor my religion to this hour observ'd / Can stand above it" (II.ii.43-5); she is totally dominated by her lustful thoughts for Bussy and the fact that she has previously committed adultery with Barrisor (II.ii.198-201), only serves to strengthen the case that she too is a bad learner. The answer to Florby's question: "Is Tamyra a passionate, tormented heroine or a shabby liar, making a laughing-stock of her husband?" (127), is evidently the latter, as her previous liaisons would confirm. Sexual violence is evident in the fact that the cuckold Montsurry renders his own 'horning' as an extremely violent moment where his wife holds the power over his emasculated self. Monsieur labels Montsurry a cuckold with Monsieur making a horned gesture towards the Count. The action is excessively aggressive and violent in Montsurry's mind as he recalls, it "stabb'd me to the heart thus, with his hand" (IV.i.172), revealing the violent aspects associated with sex and adultery.²⁴ The heart, the hand, and blood are explicitly linked in the scene where Tamyra writes a letter to Bussy in her own blood with the action described as a moment "equivalent to rape" (Sanders 175). The moment is viciously erotic, and parodies the humanist school room. The terrified schoolboy is personified as Tamyra, subjected to the forced lesson from the schoolmaster, her husband Montsurry, who effectively regulates her own lustful body by using her polluted blood as ink to summon Bussy to his doom (V.i.121-142).²⁵ Montsurry's demand that Tamyra "Write, write a word or two" (V.i.167) after her cruel torture at his hands, mirrors the schoolroom, with the beaten boy returning to his desk to continue his lesson. As Sanders suggests,

²³ See Gordon Williams's *Glossary*: 'Open' means "sexually available" (222).

²⁴ See Williams's *Glossary*: 'Stab' means "penetrate sexually" (287).

²⁵ See Goldberg's *Writing Matter* for the links between writing and violence (59).

the scene “may be meant to suggest a logical punishment for the adulterous woman who conducted her affair by writing letters to her lover” (175). Meanwhile Munro describes the violence inflicted onto the body of Tamyra by her husband as “highly disturbing”, creating a very deliberate “erotic resonance” (*Children* 49) which I feel continues Chapman’s reassessment of the violence evident in the schoolroom and how this is linked to humanism and sexual violence in early modern culture.

The incident occurs in Act V scene i (lines 60-76), in a moment that Brooke describes as being dominated by Montsurry’s “sex-driven rhetoric” (*Revels* 115), which again asserts Chapman’s linking of sex and violence. In the same passage, Montsurry stabs Tamyra twice, itself a symbol of phallic violence (V.i.123-135), before placing her on a torture rack: “Use the most madding pains in her that ever / Thy venoms soak’d through, making most of death; / That she may weigh her wrongs with them, and then / Stand Vengeance on thy steepest rock, a victor” (V.i.139-142). Montsurry evidently wants to inflict the strongest and most extreme form of punishment available onto the corrupted body of his wife, but importantly suggests that she will “weigh her wrongs”, that is, learn, by violent chastisement. In this moment, Chapman recalls the young boy’s bloody backside in the schoolroom after receiving chastisement from the tutor; after punishment, the schoolboy is forced to return to his desk and continue writing. Chapman evidently sexualises humanism in a fashion familiar to the audience. Such duplicity and duplication in the play appears to suggest that excessive bleeding and violence do haunt *Bussy D’Ambois*, evident in the moment where Tamyra soliloquises over her adultery (II.ii.157-178), which would traditionally be a space to ask for repentance. The fact that she doesn’t and instead argues that her adultery should be excused as her own weakness (Florby 116) reveals she too is a bad learner with an excessive uncontrollable body.

Chapman evidently ensures that his analysis of a youth culture of excess remains linked to violence. Such excessive violence has dominated the early part of the play. The rash duel that Bussy is involved in after his short time at court results in a bloodbath with Bussy the chief butcher. The fighting, which takes place offstage, is described by Nuncius with erotic overtones and is appallingly violent, and the audience would be familiar with the culturally agreed consensus that violence should never be offered at court (Shepard, *Meanings* 141). The fight is described with Bussy gaining the upper hand against his opponent Barrisor: “On fell his yet undaunted foe so fiercely, / That (only made more horrid with his wound) / Great D’Ambois shrunk, and gave a little ground; / But soon return’d, redoubled in his danger, / And at the heart of Barrisor seal’d his anger” (II.i.89-93). The violence is so extreme and Barrisor’s body is completely mangled by Bussy’s assault as he jumps upon Barrisor’s prostrate body, that the sight of the bloody body frightens Bussy for a moment. D’Ambois’s shrinking also has sexual overtones as he gets up off the body of

Barrisor, evidently emasculated for a moment, with the thrusting and the penetration seemingly resulting in the phallic shrinkage as this sexually violent act concludes.

The sexualised assault continues once Bussy's anger flares up and he penetrates the very heart of Barrisor. Bussy is the sole survivor from the six-man duel, and once again, Chapman's description of Bussy's behaviour is tinged with eroticism.²⁶ Bussy is described as "kneeling in the warm life of his friends / (All freckled with the blood his rapier rain'd), / He kiss'd their pale cheeks, and bade both farewell" (II.i.134-6). Mixing blood with eroticism, Chapman describes Bussy kissing his friends goodbye whilst his own phallic symbol of manhood, his bloody rapier, stands erect. The hyper-masculinity that duelling could award forms a crucial component of youth culture, but it is important that Chapman merges this with sexual violence. In doing so, it is not clear whether the audience should praise Bussy's masculine prowess or condemn his violent and bloody assertion of his youthful identity. Sexual violence is also evident in Act IV scene iii when Montsurry stabs Tamyra's waiting woman Pero, prompting Monsieur to ask for Pero to be carried out because she "has caught a clap" (IV.ii.124).²⁷ The link between violence, penetration, and sexual disease, is again apparent and supports the opinion that Chapman's dark dramatisation of a corrupt court society ultimately influences and encourages the negative performance of youth culture.

Bussy's failed learning and engagement in a culture of sexual violence is shaped by his relationships with Monsieur and King Henry, with both perpetrating a dependency on Bussy that borders on the "homosexual" (McAdam 279). Henry repeatedly calls Bussy his "eagle" (IV.i.108) throughout the play, leading Montsurry to comment that "The King and D'Ambois now are grown all one" (IV.i.113), suggesting that their bodies are inherently linked together, suggesting courtly deviance with regards to sexual practices. The audience would be well aware, as Michael Sibalis has stated, of the effeminate Henry and his passion for his minions; his young courtiers (214).²⁸ The fact that Bussy seems entirely oblivious to this fact also renders him as a problematic learner who continually misreads and misapplies himself in court situations. As Henry becomes his tutor, and Bussy the King's favourite, Bussy becomes inculcated in a seedy culture that expects sexual favours for advancement. That Bussy fails to understand this further implies his lack of intuition concerning his own neglect of his humanist principles, especially considering, as Mario DiGangi has noted, that courtiers collected fragments of court culture to fashion their own identities for self-serving ends

²⁶ For the ritualistic aspects of the duel and the range of male identities associated with violence, see Foyster's *Manhood in Early Modern England* (179) and Shepard's *Meanings of Manhood* (149-150).

²⁷ See Williams's *Glossary*: 'Clap' means "sexual mishap" (70).

²⁸ See also Joseph Cady's essay "The 'Masculine Love'" for a detailed examination of Henry III's sexual relationships with his minions.

(*Sexual* 8), much like the good humanist schoolboy. In French-English, Henry's naming of Bussy as his "eagle" is phonetically rendered into "ingle" – "ee-gell" sounds like "ingle". As an inglet to the King, Bussy would be expected to offer sexual service, and Chapman realises the potential for corruption and destruction of the young man. Sexual exploitation is also hinted at by Monsieur, who repeatedly calls Bussy "Sweetheart" (IV.i.52; IV.i.66), offering a complex blurring of friendship and service. Hillman suggests that Monsieur's change in attitude towards Bussy stems from sexual frustration (26) and Waddington labels the pair as "brothers" in their political and sexual rivalries (36). It is clear that Chapman is keen to stress the sexual aspects of learning court culture.

DiGangi's study of *Bussy D'Ambois* in *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* (1997) suggests that the entire court that Bussy enters into is "erotically disorderly" with regards to the fact that it rewards "'backwards' or sodomitical practices" (125). DiGangi is correct in his assessment of the play's "homoerotic favoritism" becoming "a dangerous but necessary means to power in a court shot through with rivalry and faction" (132). Such erotic excess in the play ensures that Bussy quickly "realises that survival at court requires the brazenness of a strumpet and the looseness of a catamite" (125). Turning his back on Monsieur, Bussy plots to destroy him and gives evidence as to his own anti-humanist practices by speaking of the violence that he will administer to Monsieur's body. Bussy will "rush into his blood: / Bind his arm in silk, and rub his flesh / To make the vein swell, that his soul may gush / Into some kennel, where it longs to lie" (IV.ii.157-160), again confirming the assumption that Chapman's play is anti-Castiglione; dramatising excess to encourage adherence to correct models of courtiership. Once again, the sexual and the erotic potential of this speech is deliberately enhanced by Chapman's choice of diction. Bussy, who has already experienced an unnatural relationship with Monsieur, will rub his flesh so that the vein will swell, which lends itself to further phallic aggression and sexual suggestion. The excessive violence of making Monsieur's soul gush forth is again linked to the sexual, with the blood gushing forth as was expected at the moment of seminal emission during intercourse.²⁹ By effectively labelling Bussy as a young prostitute, DiGangi uncovers the latent debauched excess and sexual violence that dominates the play.

Even Bussy's death is erotically violent. As Florby comments, the "blood which has been pulsating with passion and the blood which has been gushing out of wounds throughout the play seem to converge in the powerful image of the bleeding Tamyra, providing the imaginative focus for Bussy's dying speech" (126). A play steeped in excessive violence and excessive bleeding, with wounds that never close, reaches a fitting end with the bleeding adulterers dominating the final moments of the play. Bussy's death, shot from behind by murderers (V.iii.120) amplifies the excess evident in the play, where bodies are just "penetrable flesh" (V.iii.126) and minds must

²⁹ See Williams's *Glossary*: 'Blood' means "semen" (44).

“follow...blood” (V.iii.127). The audience must gaze upon the “killing spectacle” (V.iii.181) as Bussy describes his bleeding body as Tamyra watches on, her own body bleeding (V.iii.175). Chapman deviates from fact in his fictionalising of Bussy’s death, with the real life Louis de Bussy d’Amboise killed in very different circumstances, to prioritise the sexual violence in the play.³⁰ It is a death that DiGangi describes as a “sodomitical punishment for Bussy’s refusal to remain properly, submissively, open” (129), and I would suggest is the natural conclusion to an excessively negative performance of youth culture that sees Bussy’s ignorance and rejection of humanism dramatised as a warning to the audience. As Ide fittingly realises, by Act V, “we know Bussy was wrong” (96), and so would the seventeenth-century audience.

How might Field’s transgressive performance of youth culture in Chapman’s play have influenced the young men in the audience? It is possible that individuals in the audience who knew Field was performing the part of Bussy, would also be aware of Field’s own education under Richard Mulcaster, and that despite Field’s portrayal of a young man who fails to perform humanism correctly, that bellicosity on display in Field’s verbal utterances may have been attractive. That Field’s performance as Bussy earned him celebrity status is testament to the powerful performance given by the young man. It is interesting that Vernon Guy Dickson suggests “how the ideas of emulation in the period created a culture that bred individuals who read selves closely like texts and attempted to shape themselves based on a wide range of models, precedents, and persons, historical and contemporary – sometimes as agonists, sometimes as exemplars, sometimes simply as peers” (xvii). It is possible that some members of the audience might have found aspects of Bussy’s language, particularly his total disregard of status and authority, attractive to emulate in their own everyday interactions with peers and masters. Dickson also suggests that these ideas were transmitted from the stage outwards, as Renaissance drama “engaged in explorations of the uses of emulation to shape character and society” (xviii). Indeed, Chapman’s dramatisation of Bussy displays exactly this; Bussy attempts to emulate courtiers, shaping, or in this instance, misshaping his character. However, this is where the clash between actor and character emerges. It is true, that some members of the audience may have found aspects of Bussy’s character appealing, but, those people who knew Field may have been aware of Field’s Puritan heritage. Even though Nathan’s father, John, died when Nathan was just five months old, Nathan’s heritage is evident throughout his acting and writing career as will become evident in Chapter Four and Five. It

³⁰ See Martha Freer’s *Henry III: King of France and Poland: His Court and Times*, volume II, for a description of Louis de Bussy d’Amboise’s death. Bussy fared well in the fight with Montsoreau, and only received a slight wound before deciding to jump out of a window to escape. Unfortunately, his coat caught on an iron hook and he was left hanging above the courtyard. Montsoreau duly ran his sword through Bussy’s body (239). According to Freer, Bussy’s death “produced not the slightest sensation at court” (239), in fact, epigrams were written poking fun at his favourite boast that although born a simple gentlemen, he had the heart of an emperor (239).

is possible, therefore, that aware of Field's background, some members of the audience were able to distinguish that Field's performance of transgression was distinctively un-Fieldian, and that Bussy, as a character, is not a fit individual to attempt to emulate when adopting aspects of masculinity that could enhance a perform of youth culture outside of the theatre.

In conclusion, whether a young man experienced the majority of his education in the schoolroom or in the theatre as a youth actor, the social space that each youth resides in is characterised by a cult of excess and ambiguity. Excess, in the sense that the young male body is continually treated as problematic and unstable, ensuring that the young body needs careful policing from parents, schoolmasters, and theatrical master to achieve successful regulation. The youth's body is ambiguous because despite such ideas that link the young man as ungovernable and in constant need of supervision and physical chastisement, the youth's emergence into the schoolroom, or the theatre, offers the potential for a form of youth culture to be expressed. It was in the schoolroom with his own schoolboy culture, and in the theatre, where the young man was most creative. Such creative energy moulded the individuality of the youth and enabled youth actors to explore proto-adult identities in the boy companies. For Chapman, such commercialisation and commodification of the young male body was dangerously erotic to the point of excess, continuing the theme of ambiguity dominating youth culture. The fact that Chapman appears to link excessive sex and violence as crucial components of youth culture to provide an ambiguous reading of young male bodies does find reflection in the social world of early modern England. Indeed, young men from the Inns of Court were steeped in a social and cultural existence that defined itself via paradoxes, as Bruce Smith has shown (*Homosexual* 103). In paying attention to Chapman's complex reassessment of humanism, violence, and youth culture, this chapter has found that *Bussy D'Ambois* appears to centre on erotic self-destruction. As McAdam importantly suggests "viable masculinity appears absolutely to deconstruct itself" (292) and this chapter has asserted that this is because of Chapman's complex portrayal of youth culture as mutable, fragmented and, ultimately, dangerous if reason, advocated by Castiglione, cannot be centralised by young men.³¹ That Chapman dramatises corruption at the court of Henry III to encourage young men to perform humanism in their everyday lives, may well circuitously comment upon corrupt young men at the royal court of James. This chapter has suggested that youth culture is multifaceted, performative, and complex. Chapman's wariness of youth culture is symptomatic of many of the playwrights studied in this thesis, who agree that youth culture can be positive, but tend to stage its transgressions as stark warnings about its potential to implode into excess. The stage seems particularly concerned with regulating the young male body and as we shall see in the next chapter, regulating the excesses of the drunken young male body was of primary importance to moralists as

³¹ Hillman suggests that the play may function as a cautionary tale for Chapman's patron, Prince Henry (31).

well. As will become apparent in the analysis of Chapman, Jonson and Marston's *Eastward Ho*, it is through an understanding of his own excessive body and the mis-performance of youth culture that the early modern youth could correctly obtain positive masculinity.

Chapter Two: “I will piss at thy shop posts, and throw / rotten eggs at thy sign”: Youth Culture and Drunken Excess in *Eastward Ho*.

Whereas Chapter One focussed on the failures of humanism and the excessive violence that can ensue when a young man does not learn how to perform correctly in society, this chapter explores the problems of youthful excess when an external stimulant is consumed into the body: alcohol. Youth and alcohol are a dangerous cocktail and the problem of excessive drinking posed innumerable threats to the youthful body. This chapter develops the understanding of youth culture formulated in Chapter One, where the performative aspect pertaining to young men’s performance of identity and cultural values is foregrounded to understand how youth culture functions amongst groups. Whether it is in the tavern or on the stage, youth culture’s performative aspects encourage young men to assert a range of identities. The quotation above is taken from the play *Eastward Ho*, written by Chapman, Jonson, and Marston, which was performed by the Children of the Queen’s Revels in 1605, and an extended discussion of the play marks the focal point of this chapter. It is spoken by the drunken gentle-apprentice, Francis Quicksilver, who has just been relieved of his apprenticeship by his master, William Touchstone, for a series of shameful offences. This chapter seeks to explore the negative bodily excess that copious quantities of alcohol had on youthful bodies, such as Quicksilver, in early modern England, and is an aspect of the play that scholars have not considered. Quicksilver’s aggressive bodily performance of evacuating bodily fluids simultaneously marks his youthful body as transgressive and assertive in deliberately antagonising the authority figure who holds power over his youthful self, whilst at the same time, subverting his youthful identity into something monstrous and beastly excessive, using urine and missiles as destructive markers of youth culture.

Turning away from discussions of the anti-Scottish satire that has dominated much of the scholarly writing on the play, an analysis of the drunken youth Quicksilver, a part performed by Nathan Field, aids the exploration of the subversive nature of alcohol and the social politics of consumption.¹ An early modern culture of excessive drinking certainly aids the destruction of the apprentice Quicksilver. This chapter will begin with an exploration of the transgressions that young men and women committed when unable to remain sober in the early modern alehouse, tavern and inn through an analysis of how the printed moralist literature of the period depicted drunkenness as

¹ As Van Fossen comments in his edition for the Revels Plays, ‘eastward’ is “traditionally the direction of good luck” (67) and is the favourable destination for many of the rebels in the play who seek to make their fortune by travelling eastward to Virginia. This city comedy was notorious for the inclusion of some strong anti-Scot satire that angered Sir James Murray, who complained in person to King James about the play. Jonson and Chapman were imprisoned at the King’s request as Lucy Munro records (*Children* 29).

a capital sin that all respectable young people should avoid at all costs.² By exploring the ties of excessive drinking and youth culture, a social exploration of the young in the alehouses aids the discussion of the theatrical representation of Quicksilver as a young man governed by excess.³ It is also the chief contention of this chapter to highlight the similarities between the social space of the alehouse and tavern, and the theatrical space of the stage. Young people in early modern England frequently felt the need to ‘perform’ in the drinking establishment, just as the young actors in the Children of the Queen’s Revels assert and perform their own youthful identities. This chapter will therefore reveal the bonds that unite social drunks (young men in the alehouse) and theatrical drunks (such as Quicksilver) and the links between the alehouse and the theatre as performative spaces to assert budding masculinity. The chapter concludes with a discussion of youth identity in relation to Quicksilver’s excessive bodily performances. Even his repentance is excessive, but instead of depicting this moment as a sham, the playwrights provide a useful insight into the moral duty of young men in early modern England.

The Alehouse and Drink Culture in Early Modern England

This chapter will begin with an exploration of the dangers of excessive consumption of alcohol in early modern England by discussing the importance of the alehouse as a performative site of youth culture, and via an analysis of printed pamphlets that discuss the effects of drinking to excess. After the performative space and function of the alehouse for young men has been explored, the discussion of the pamphlet literature will provide a useful focal point to discuss whether *Eastward Ho* reflects the social concerns mapped out in the printed literature, particularly with regards to Quicksilver.

The alehouse and the tavern were important cultural sites in early modern England. A. Lynn Martin accurately suggests that alcohol “was the ubiquitous social lubricant; every occasion called for a drink” (2). As Michelle O’Callaghan observes, the “public drinking house was a vital social space in early modern society” (“Tavern” 37) and, to an extent, was largely a positive space for the social well-being of many different types of people.⁴ Providing a source of food and a place for relaxation, drinking establishments were vital and vibrant spaces of community and exchange. In the most general sense, social standing dictated which type of drinking establishment men and women frequented. As Cedric Brown neatly summarises, the clientele of a tavern would have

² It wasn’t just young people who indulged in excessive drinking however; James I was a heavy drinker and Queen Anne, in 1604, “predicted that James had only a few years left before his drinking would either kill him or turn him into an imbecile” (Michael Young 28).

³ As Adam Smyth suggests in his essay, “Writing about Drunkenness”, drink “is often...presented as a delicious poison” (202), tempting, but destructive to the youthful body.

⁴ As Anthony Fletcher argues, none “doubted that alehouses were necessary...The mass of the population were dependent upon ale or beer as a cheap source of nourishment” (*Gender* 229).

largely consisted of the gentry with the alehouse attracting humbler citizens (20). Such a division was even reflected in the alcohol that each establishment served. Taverns generally served wine, which was “understood as the mark of social refinement” (Brown 9), just as ale was primarily for people of lower social standing. Wine and ale were vital to the different classes of drinkers for nourishment and sustenance.⁵ In London, taverns were also the site of literary creativity with popular establishments such as The Mermaid hosting the patronage of Ben Jonson and the ‘Sons of Ben’, as well as students from the Inns of Court.⁶ With refined alcohol and literary taste, it is unsurprising that writers in “this period speak of taverns as places where the drinking of wine went hand in hand with the making of poetry” (O’Callaghan, “Tavern” 42). The tavern societies welcomed verbal sparring as a direct product of a greater than normal consumption of wine by the members of the gathering. As O’Callaghan describes, the “tavern came to prominence in the geography of the early modern town as a fashionable site for the performance of elite masculine sociability” (*English* 61), a refined space where consumption was welcomed, rather than in the alehouses where it was scorned by moralists and feared by the authorities. Indeed, the very practice of literary men meeting together for an evening of drink and creativity was steeped in classical precedent, the Roman *convivium*, “which sought to maintain a state between sobriety and drunkenness that could stimulate liberty of speech and an epicurean suspension of reason, in order to explore states of pleasure” (O’Callaghan, “Tavern” 50). The literary gentleman needed to ensure that he did not drink to excess, but that he drank enough wine to enter the middle-ground between sobriety and drunkenness which would have ensured that he experienced fully creativity and pleasure. In many respects, this is the type of environment that Quicksilver infiltrates to practice his sharpening in *Eastward Ho*, and it is important, as will be discussed below, that the gentlemanly drinking establishments are largely exempt from the condemnation of the moralist pamphlet writers.

Meanwhile, alehouses “were closer to being domestic settings than taverns or inns” (Curth and Cassidy 145) and were highly policed by the authorities in early modern England (Wrightson, *English* 175). It was a space inhabited by the young; a space that enabled the performance of youth culture and identity. Despite apparent heavy policing, the alehouse had the potential to become a socially disruptive site where the health of the body and stability of hierarchy were at stake if customers were governed by notions of excess. Wrightson lists some of the minor disorders that frequently took place inside the alehouse that would generally be tolerated by alehouse-keepers and

⁵ As Curth and Cassidy explain, “wine is for wits and scholars (improving mental health)...and ale is for the countrymen (as an early morning pick-me-up)” (144).

⁶ O’Callaghan states that the “early seventeenth-century tavern societies were at the centre of this new elite urbane social world” (“Tavern” 37). Wilfrid Prest meanwhile suggests that drunkenness was not punished by the figures of authority within the Inns of Court, unless it was combined with more serious misconduct (*Inns* 92).

other patrons, which, as we will see below, contradicts those opinions offered by the writers of the moralist pamphlets who utterly condemn such practices: “Drunkenness, brawling, swearing, gaming, dancing and revelling were tolerated, especially on Sundays and holidays” (*English* 176). However, there were strict rules that owners of alehouses were expected to enforce, as Anthony Fletcher has observed. “Alehouse-keepers...should limit drinkers to one hour’s tippling, remain closed during the Sabbath, close daily at nine o’clock and permit no playing of cards, dice or other games” (*Reform* 247). But, such rules threatened to destroy the very essence of the functionality of alehouses and “flew in the face of customers’ needs and desires” (*Reform* 247) and were often unpoliced. As a cultural site with the potential for many men and women to revel in, the more minor incidents that occurred were typically overlooked to create the impression that alehouses were a place for the workers to relax after the hardships of labouring during the day.⁷ Even though alehouses had the potential to be sites of disruption, authorities generally considered them to be largely harmless places for their clientele to let off steam. But was this the case when it came to young people visiting alehouses?

For many moralists “alehouses were conventionally dismissed as ‘nests of satan’...and rooting out these disorders was the very ‘foundation of reformation’” (Wrightson, *English* 177). Moralists warned that it was young people who were most at risk from the dangerous temptations of the alehouse, and as we shall see below, Touchstone in *Eastward Ho* blames Quicksilver’s frequenting of drinking establishments as the chief instrument in his destruction. As Foyster neatly summarises, learning “to exercise bodily self-control was vital to the acquisition of honourable manhood. Drinking tested the limits of that self-control. As an important feature of male friendship and ‘good fellowship’, the alehouse was a popular site for male sociability” (*Manhood* 40), but it was evidently a space where excessive aspects of youth culture could dominate and erode normative codes of masculinity. Peter Clark suggests that the alehouse itself was primarily a youthful space (*Alehouse* 127). The lure of the alehouse was particularly strong for young men and apprentices, and moralists were keen to depict alehouses as corrupting places that hard-working young people should avoid. Griffiths suggests that in the early modern period, “the overwhelming majority of apprentices in the sources fall within the teens-twenties age-bracket” (*Youth* 33), precisely the age range that required the most policing according to moralists. Partly this was because of the deviant and dubious characters that young people would mix with at such establishments.⁸ Alehouses were also dangerous in the eyes of moralists because they offered a space for men and women where

⁷ Lynn Martin declares that alcohol “often provided the only refuge and the only comfort from the harsh realities of daily life” (3).

⁸ As Shepard comments, “the alehouse was condemned on the grounds that it fostered ‘false-friendship’ (rather than good fellowship), founded on duplicity and self-interest instead of trust and reciprocity” (“Drink” 118).

social etiquette was largely ignored. Beat Kumin has extensively surveyed the functions of public houses in early modern Europe and suggests that “Belching, farting, pissing and other ‘relaxations’ formed part of a leisure culture superficially detached from the usual social constraints” (*Drinking* 131), all important bodily gestures that could be adopted in a performance of youth culture.⁹

As this chapter will focus on the conflict apparent between one youthful gentle-apprentice and his master, it is useful to pause to consider whether the authority figures in the cultural realm of early modern England harboured particular distrust of their apprentices and drinking establishments. They undoubtedly did so, and it is crucial to remember Quicksilver’s dissatisfaction with his apprenticeship and the strained relationship that he shares with Touchstone when analysing the records of early modern master and apprentice conflicts.¹⁰ One of the most important rules that many masters were keen to enforce was that apprentices stay away from the enticing drinking establishments, especially when the opportunity arose for contact with other young men (Lynn Martin 77). Such assertions initially suggest that figures of authority felt the need to exercise extreme caution when it came to grouped expressions of youth culture, with the possibilities that a unified collective of young men could pose a threatening identity that was revolutionary in its distrust and distaste of old relations of service and apprenticeship. One such way, as we will see below in *Eastward Ho*, was for young men to drink to excess in a social space where the bonds of apprenticeship could be forgotten and the ties of youth could be formed. Alexandra Shepard suggests that groups of men “provided a forum for the rituals of excess, through which assertions of masculinity associated with pushing appetite to its limits were validated” (“Drink” 124), and authorities were concerned that young men needed policing. As one example cited by Martin reveals, masters had good reasons for preventing their young apprentices from visiting the alehouses. An incident at The Bell in London in 1579 reveals that a “group of six apprentices persuaded the keeper to permit them to stay there until dawn and then took turns with two prostitutes” (91). Free from the constraints of their apprenticeship and away from the watchful eyes of their masters, these young men revelled in the sexual and social freedom that the alehouse afforded. Drunkenness was a troubling and deviant state to experience in early modern England and it was not “just students but young men in general [who] had reputations for alcohol-related violence” (Lynn Martin 116).

⁹ Besides the possibilities of people from a range of social backgrounds mixing together, moralists were also concerned about the lure of the alehouse superseding the lure of the church (Lynn Martin 63).

¹⁰ As Theodora Jankowski suggests, there “are many master-gentle apprentice disputes that resulted in litigation. Such cases usually derived from a number of problems: apprentice perceptions that they did not owe allegiance to their lower class masters; masters’ perceptions that gentle apprentices were profligate and lazy” (“Problem” 6).

Alehouses were not always disruptive and anarchic sites of sin. They also functioned as cultural spaces where the transferal of knowledge and physical goods took place alongside acts of courtship.¹¹ As Shepard observes, when “goodwill foundered, pledging a health was...a common means of patching up quarrels” (“Drink” 120-1). Alehouses provided the space, not only for restoring social harmony, but also for creating new bonds within the community.¹² Taverns provided a space for a particular type of community to thrive where friendship, wine, and literary talent all flourished and according to Janet Pennington, “Inns were the pivot around which communication and travel revolved” (120). The alehouse, the inn, and the tavern, were above all performative spaces. As Pamela Allen Brown has suggested, the alehouse became a prime place for the “cross-fertilization of everyday jesting and theater” (71), a public space with the potential for a mixture of comedy and performative acts. The range of activities that took place within the alehouse typically included “popular performance, such as sports, games, morris dancing, jigging, and ballad singing” (Brown 71), and as Munro observes plays were “themselves thought to be constructed through dramatists’ tavern observations” (*Children* 74). Sometimes acting companies could perform plays at inns as part of a provincial tour.¹³ The evidence supports the links between youth culture, the theatre and drinking establishments.

As well as providing a space for violent exchanges or sexual encounters, the drinking establishment was essentially theatrical in its operative function. As Kumin describes, contemporaries perceived the early modern tavern as a ‘stage’. “As soon as they came through the door, patrons put their appearances and character on display” (124), further strengthening the link between the tavern environment, the theatre, and the performance of youth culture. Martin also supports such an idea by suggesting that owners “produced dancing bears, jugglers, and minstrels to lure the young men and women to come and have a drink” (76). Quicksilver evidently casts aside his apprentice-identity in the tavern to perform; however, it is not a fictional performance of a social body that he would like to be, but a performance of a fundamental part of his genuine identity: his gentle-status. Generally, however, it was young men’s preferences to consume alcohol to excess that attracted attention in the cultural realm of early modern England, rather than a positive appraisal of the social pleasures and bonds afforded by drinking establishments. Regardless of social status, drinking to excess was dangerous for all young people. Producing obscene gestures and violent tendencies, alcohol was described in moralistic pamphlets as polluting the body.

¹¹ Keith Thomas has also documented that children went into taverns to “show their writing or sing” (“Children” 56) for money, further emphasising the creative aspects of the environment.

¹² “Alehouses and inns functioned as venues for courtship, and women – both married as well as unmarried – often accompanied men to eat and drink there” (Shepard, “Drink” 121).

¹³ Siobhan Keenan has extensively explored the inn as a viable space for the performance of drama in early modern England (94).

Drinking establishments appeared to engender the very qualities that were the antithesis of the values set down by an apprenticeship. Drinking patterns disrupted and “replaced the normative virtues of manhood – such as thrift, moderation, sobriety and self-government – with the competing attributes of prodigality, bravado, raucousness and excess” (Shepard, “Drink” 122), and it is hardly surprising that a “frequent complaint against alehouse keepers was that they led young men astray” (“Drink” 123). It is therefore accurate to suggest that alehouses, inns and taverns were sites of creativity and performativity, but only if patrons maintained a careful policing of their bodies and did not consume alcohol to excess. Whereas the drinking establishments provided a space for youth culture to riot and flourish in, the following section will analyse early modern pamphlet writers’ fears of youthful excess fuelled by the consumption of alcohol.

Pamphlets, Alcohol, and Youth Culture

Many pamphlets focused on the beastly bodily transformation that occurred when men drank to excess in the alehouse or tavern, and this particular section of the chapter analyses moralists’ concerns with youth and bodily destruction obtained by drinking to excess, in preparation for an analysis of the theatrical body of Quicksilver. For Thomas Young, author of *Englands Bane: or, The Description of Drunkenesse* (1617), the effect of excessive consumption of alcohol was entirely emasculating and self-destructive to the male body. Young comments on the “monsters of men, which through the loathsome vice of Drunkenesse commit all manner of sinne...*filthy talke...Fornication...wrath...Murther...Swearing...Cursing*” (B1r). The six sins that Young records as the product of drunkenness all place the subject’s masculinity at stake. They suggest that a man has lost his ability to reason and is instead ruled by passion; drink transforms a man into a monster. For Young, drunkenness becomes a physical and predominantly masculine gendered body and he advises that men avoid “the polluted body of this ugly *Monster*” (B1r). Ultimately, it is the stripping of masculinity and the bodily transformation into the monstrous that horrified moralists, especially considering how slippery the life stage of youth was considered to be in the period.

Young provides a description of drunkenness that immediately recognises the dangers of excessive drinking that pollutes and instigates a range of further negative excessive passions in the male body. Young writes that “Drunkenesse is a vice which stirreth up lust, grieffe, anger, and madnesse, extinguisheth the memory, opinion and understanding, maketh a man the picture of a beast, and twice a childe, because hee can neither stand nor speake” (D1r). Such is the unmanly effect of excessive consumption, that masculinity can be eroded, not only into a beastly state entirely devoid of reason, but also into a second childhood.¹⁴ The body of man is at its most vulnerable when alcohol is consumed and the possibilities for transformation are at their highest. Young does not stipulate whether it is the clientele of the alehouses or the taverns that he

¹⁴ See Erica Fudge’s *Brutal Reasoning* (2006).

particularly criticises, but such signs of beastliness are commented on at length by Young, who like many other commentators on drunkenness, depicts the various types of drunkards as animals. Young, in this instance, comments on nine types of drunkards that men can transform into: Lyon, Ape, Sheepe, Sow, Fox, Maudlin, Goate, Martin, and Bat (F3v-F3r). As Smyth observes, there is “a compelling idea...that drinkers are transformed into beasts who are their *true representations*” (“Writing” 199). The transformation instigated by excessive drinking reveals the ‘true’ male body when stripped of the ability to reason. This is certainly the case with the title quotation for this chapter, which reveals Quicksilver’s ambiguous body when drunk; he possesses youthful aggression whilst also demonstrating traits of the lion and the ape.

Thomas Heywood in his pamphlet entitled *Philocothonista, or, the Drunkard, Opened, Dissected, and Anatomized* (1635) would provide the most extensive commentary on the beastly transformation that men suffer by drinking to excess. A woodcut dominates the first page of the pamphlet and strikingly depicts several bodily transformations (Figure 3). Every ‘body’ depicted in this illustration, seated around the table quaffing cups of alcohol, wears contemporary male attire. However, the heads on the male bodies are of the animals that the type of drunkard represents. The woodcut depicts a Dog fighting with an Ass, and a Goat swaggers as he drinks from his cup as a Hog spews on the floor beside him. Heywood’s accompanying verse critiques those who drink to excess:

Calves, Goates, Swine, Asses, at a Banquet set,
To graspe Health’s in their Hooft’s, thou seest here met;
Why wonder’st thou oh Drunkard, to behold
Thy brothers? In whose ranke thou art inrowl’d,
When thou (so oft, as tox’t at any Feast)
Can’st bee no better held, then such a beast,
Since like *Cyrcean* Cups, Wine doth surprise
Thy sences, and thy reason stupefies,
Which Foe, would Warre-like *Brittaine* quite expel,
No Nation like it, could be said to excel (A1r).

Heywood links the animals to the fellow male drunkards who are similarly as devoid of reason and sense as the beasts are. The youthful excess evident in Heywood’s bestial gathering resonates in the transformative capabilities of individuals who consume alcohol in dangerous quantities. As wine surprises the senses, stripping the individual of masculinity and rendering his body monstrous, Heywood importantly identifies the risk to manhood that engaging in excessive drinking with friends can stimulate.¹⁵

Importantly, *Eastward Ho*’s Touchstone labels his own youthful apprentice Quicksilver as an “ill-yoked monster” (II.i.95) when the latter drunkenly stumbles onto the stage after a night of

¹⁵ This evidently did reflect life, as Shepard records an incident in Dorchester where two drunken men urinated into the same chamber pot before drinking the contents between them (“Drink” 111).

excessive drinking. Both moralists and masters appear concerned that young men in particular, who possessed bodies that were permanently in danger of slipping into excess, would succumb to the negative bodily transformation instigated by drink. For figures of authority, a young man's bestial transformation could well signal a finite stripping of masculinity; once transformed into a beast, the young man could find it increasingly difficult to regain reason, sense, and ultimately, his masculinity, thereby making his bodily degeneration into a beast a permanent state of existence. Heywood seems to locate this type of beastliness in the tavern, indicated when wine is mentioned rather than ale, providing a further link to the gentlemen-apprentice Quicksilver who becomes bestial when drunk and thereby disgraces his gentry status. Heywood's moralistic pamphlet begins by lambasting drunkenness as something that all good men should avoid. "The horrid vice of Drunkenesse and Intemperance, which like the Cup of *Cyrces*, turnes Men into beasts, is to be avoided, as an open enemy to all goodnesse and vertue" (2). Heywood identifies those "*Drunken Asses*, who beare themselves in their lavish and riotous cups, no otherwise then the Beasts, whose names they deserve as being rude, Ignorant, Infacious [infectious], Ill-nurtered, shamelesse, Ill-tutered, and unmanerly" (3). Such negative qualities emphasise the excessive aspects of riotous youth culture, and as we will see below, are embodied in Quicksilver.

Some men, such as the 'Dogge-drunk' are so overpowered by drink that they transform into a completely different character compared to how they act when sober. Heywood warns, "and of such ought all men to beware; these like spannells faune upon any man in their better temperature, but when their braines are heated in the blood of the *Grape*, they will fasten on thee like Mastiffes" (3). For some men, drink can turn the mild into the deeply vicious. The reverse transformation can also occur in those who are said to be 'Sheepe-drunk'. A 'Sheepe-drunk' is emasculated by drink, losing all of his manly courage and instead becomes governed by womanly passions. They "are said to be sheepishly sottish in their healthing, when wine takes away all manly courage from their hearts, melting them into such Effeminacy...they will oft times weepe in a kind of superstitious piety, and seeme to be terrified with the feare of Sprites and Hobgoblins" (4). It is important that every anthromorphic transformation is performative, with the young man performing a set of characteristics that identify his body with a particular animal, strengthening the assertion that the theatre, drinking establishments, and youth, are all interlinked. The transformative capabilities of drinking to excess are expostulated, with the bestial male body further stripped of masculinity with Heywood's decision to cite effeminacy as one of the chief traits of the Sheepe-drunk. The erosion of masculinity for this particular drunk is doubly negative, as the Sheepe-drunk, even when intoxicated, is barred from his drunken group of friends as lacking the manly bravado that epitomises excessive youth culture in the tavern or alehouse. Those that are turned into 'Calve-drunks' or 'Ape-drunks' with excessive drinking become the most bestial and ridiculous type of

drunkard: “Such are said to bee drunke like *Calves* and *Apes*, who when they begin to bee Cup-shot, and that the Wine or Ale worketh in their heads, can stand upon no ground, but leape and dance, and caper, toy, laugh, sing, and prattle, troubling the whole company with their Antick gesticulations” (4-5).

The Calves and Apes, who are perhaps the most theatrical of the drunks that Heywood mentions and the type of drunk that Quicksilver is seemingly transformed into, further reinforce the links between theatre and the drinking establishments as performative spaces for young men to entertain and assert their individuality, regardless of its ridiculousness. Heywood offers a stark warning to his readers, repeating many of the sentiments that were previously expressed by Thomas Young. Heywood writes “Let every bashfull and modest man avoid drunkennesse, for it is a monster with many heads, one of obsceane talke, others of Blasphemy, Prophanation, Lying, Cursing, wrath, Murder” (8). Drunkenness is just one transgression that acts as a catalyst for further excessive aspects of youth culture. After a man is intoxicated, further multiple and damning sins will follow that the drunken body has no ability to prevent.

One further link between the theatre and drinking establishments is in Dekker’s *The Gulls Hornbook* (1609), where he recommends that prospective gallants dine with actors: “let any hook draw you to...a player’s that acts such a part for a wager; for by this means you shall get experience, by being guilty to their abominable shaving” (61). Paying for the actors to perform privately for you and your friends whilst eating supper in a drinking establishment is depicted as typical gallant-like behaviour by Dekker and despite the negative connotations of the payee being shammed by the actors, such a private performance can be considered one of the more light-hearted and positive outcomes of social drinking events. It also shares parallels with the intimacy created between friends in the tavern, sitting closely together, as the gallants sit on stage surrounded by young actors. This strengthens the bond between youth actor and audience, furthering the suggestion that an active engagement with the play’s core issues that speak *to* young men was apparent in the private theatres. Thus far, this brief survey of early modern attitudes in print to alcohol and drunkenness has largely been two-fold; the first response is entirely negative and that drink is a corrupter and destroyer of masculinity and secondly, that bonds could be created between young men.¹⁶ The following section will focus on *Eastward Ho* and how youthful drunken excess is portrayed as a destructive force, not only to the body of the individual, but also to the city.

¹⁶ There was, however, a third strand of responses to alcohol and relates to medical purposes. See Thomas Whitaker’s pamphlet *The Tree of Humane Life* (1638), which chiefly presents wine as a positive elixir that if taken in moderation, is the primary factor in maintaining bodily health. See also Curth and Cassidy’s essay, “‘Health, Strength and Happiness’”, which discusses Whitaker.

Eastward Ho and the Nightmare Apprentice

Previous scholarship of the play has not considered the subversive and corrosive nature of Quicksilver's drunkenness on his character and on his apprenticeship, instead focussing on the prodigal son narrative within the play, the problems resulting from gentle-apprentices, the tripartite collaboration, and the scandal that the play caused in London in 1605.¹⁷ Crucially, Munro suggests that the dramatists were attempting to influence and police the behaviour of the audience at the Blackfriars. Munro comments that the "plays' jokes have a similar thrust to those of the jest-books, seeking to regulate social behaviour through ridicule" (*Children* 80). This chapter wishes to extend Munro's discussion by focussing on the excessive aspects of youth culture depicted in the body of Quicksilver, to suggest that the playwrights were concerned with highlighting the dangers of excessive drinking in an attempt to police the bodies of the young men in the audience.

A small corpus of scholarship has analysed Quicksilver's status as a gentle-apprentice and as a voyager bound for the New World. Traditionally, the cry of "Eastward Ho!" "was precisely the motto of those privateering traders who trusted their fortune to tide and tempest in the hope of securing the wondrous riches of the East" (Stock 138). Quicksilver is one such young individual who is lured by the promise of riches. In this respect, Quicksilver is useful to study to formulate ideas of early modern youth culture. Mark Thornton Burnett writes that "Quicksilver's transgressions blur the traditional boundaries between master and apprentice, and spread outward to taint every member of the household" (*Masters* 31). There is also the suggestion that the "apprentice will dissolve not only social barriers but the means whereby gender and nationality are distinguished" (*Masters* 31). Possessing a disruptive and unstable social identity, that of a gentleman-apprentice, Quicksilver represents societal fears about the potential for disruptive and anarchic master-servant relationships. For Burnett, Quicksilver is a threat to conventional societal functioning on a sexual and social level (31), even his ambiguous identity suggests that Quicksilver is not easily categorised socially. As Burnett reveals, Quicksilver "firmly believes that his social origins are impaired by his apprenticeship" (40-1) which would naturally suggest a character who is prone to rebellion and discontent, as his current working life fails to showcase his gentle origins and instead labels him with, for him, the socially crippling and negative tag of 'apprentice'. This chapter will suggest that such an idea demonstrates that Quicksilver fails to engage with normative youth culture, refusing to take part in the apprentice structure that many young men and women experienced in the period.

¹⁷ Suzanne Gossett has analysed Marston's collaborative contribution to the play (190) whereas Richard Dutton has analysed the scandal that the performance created in London (*Mastering* 134). Albert Tricomi has analysed the anti-court nature of the satire (31). Angela Stock playfully wonders whether "Jonson and Chapman had the sense of humour to appreciate their own humiliating, Quicksilver-like spell in prison in the September of 1605" (142). Please consult Appendix One for a synopsis of the play.

In the early modern period, an apprenticeship was frequently portrayed as a vital life stage that shaped and defined the young man, as we will see in Chapter Five, and a completed apprenticeship could often signify the healthy ascent to full manhood (Griffiths, *Youth* 27). Quicksilver's rejection of his apprenticeship equates to a rejection of normative masculinity, the type frequently proposed in much of the conduct literature in early modern England (Griffiths, *Youth* 47). Importantly, Quicksilver's rejection of such normative modes of masculinity are made all the more deviant by Golding's swift and successful rise in *Eastward Ho*. Golding's chaste union and marriage with Touchstone's daughter Mildred, after the completion of his apprenticeship, also signals his ascent to manhood and marks the successful completion of training under his master.¹⁸ "Apprenticeship...was in theory an institution which trained single people to be employers and parents" (Griffiths, *Youth* 33); the fact that Quicksilver rejects his apprenticeship is also indicative of his rejection of hard work and marriage. Quicksilver instead consoles himself with alcohol and his prostitute, Sindefy, signalling that for this young man, extravagant displays of bodily excess achieved via excessive drinking are far more important than completing an apprenticeship, revealing a desire to revel in flaunting negative youth culture rather than adhering to the societal desirable path to adult masculinity. The following section will explore the drunken bodily excess of Quicksilver.

Quicksilver and the problem of excessive consumption of alcohol

Quicksilver's name itself is indicative of an individual who is governed by notions of excess. Van Fossen cites the *OED*'s definition of Quicksilver as the metal mercury (69), crucially, stating the connection between sexual excess and mercury. The "metal was used, among other things, as a cure for syphilis" (69), which suggests that Quicksilver is governed by youthful bodily excess. From the outset of the play, it is evident that the young apprentice has a hostile relationship with his master, Touchstone, and their clashes over Quicksilver's favouring of negative aspects of youth culture will be explored in this section to reveal the utter destruction that excessive drinking can occasion in a young man. Much of this conflict stems from Quicksilver's social background. As a gentleman-apprentice, Quicksilver occupies a blurry social sphere that dictates total subservience to Touchstone, despite the class barrier that clearly would separate the two men in different circumstances. Quicksilver, somewhat comically, maintains his gentle identity when at leisure, wearing garments that depict him as a gentleman rather than as Touchstone's apprentice. The stage directions indicate that Quicksilver enters in Act I Scene i "with his hat, pumps, short sword and dagger, and a racket trussed up under his cloak", and as Van Fossen observes, Quicksilver "carries the accoutrements of a gallant" (69). Munro crucially observes the importance of performance to

¹⁸ Although Ronda Arab has tentatively suggested that Golding's "masculinity is compromised in less flamboyant ways by commercial culture" (*Manly* 143), Golding does not celebrate the end of his apprenticeship as other young men did, with excessive feasting and drinking (Griffiths, *Youth* 140).

the character of Quicksilver, suggesting that for “the prodigal gallant, the priority is display, be it sartorial or linguistic” (*Children* 77). Quicksilver is evidently asserting his own individuality via an aggressive display of sartorial excess, which boldly champions his own assumptions about youth culture, an important aspect of growing up and developing an identity (Griffiths, *Youth* 222).¹⁹ If he must wear the garments of service during his working hours, then his leisure time allows him a space to reclaim his intended social identity that identifies him as part of a particular youth group. Such an idea finds support from Bailey who has extensively analysed theatrical depictions of clothing to suggest that clothes aided the performance of identity, and that there was a “subculture of style” (*Flaunting* 5). Quicksilver’s aggressive assertion of his own identity extends beyond his clothes, as every bodily performance that he engages with elicits a negative response to his apprenticeship.²⁰

For Touchstone, Quicksilver is sartorially deviant in his decision to abandon his apprentice garb during his leisure time, which is further indicative that he is a deviant youth, prone to excess and sin. This is apparent in Touchstone’s opening lines: a series of questions that depict Quicksilver as a mischievous youth. Touchstone says: “And whither with you now? What loose action are you bound for? Come, what comrades are you to meet withal? Where’s the supper? Where’s the rendezvous? (I.i.1-4). Touchstone suggests that Quicksilver, once attired like a gallant, is more inclined to perform like a gallant rather than a hard-working apprentice. Dressed as a gallant and armed with his tennis racket, Quicksilver enters a performance space which denotes a time of leisure and revelry rather than hard-work. He also identifies important aspects of grouped youth identity that offers the potential for explosive performances of masculine identity. Touchstone deliberately flags up the “loose action” (I.i.1) that Quicksilver and his fellow young men will indulge in, as well as the opportunity for excessive consumption of food and wine. It is important that the first line that Quicksilver says in the play in response to Touchstone’s inquisition is a performative and deceptive response. Quicksilver begins to speak, “Indeed, and in very good sober truth, sir-” (I.i.5), a performative utterance that will not fool the wily Touchstone who interrupts and parodies the mock-pious discourse offered by his young gentle-apprentice: ““Indeed, and in very good sober truth, sir?” Behind my back thou wilt swear faster than a French footboy, and talk more bawdily than a common midwife, and now, ‘Indeed, and in very good sober truth, sir!’” (I.i.6-10).

¹⁹ Fine clothes on young men were associated with waywardness and promiscuity, according to moralists (Griffiths, *Youth* 222). See also Steven Smith’s important discussion of the rules applicable to London apprentices: “City regulations prohibited them from wearing any clothing except that provided by their masters and assessed fines for engaging in dancing or masking, for being present at tennis courts or bowling alleys” (“London” 150). Apprentices were also required to wear their hair short (“London” 151).

²⁰ See Bailey’s suggestion that “Quicksilver expresses the tensions between free citizen and unfree denizen, householder and single man, adult and youth, and master and apprentice on the plane of the aesthetic” (*Flaunting* 4). Again, I would suggest that this extends beyond the aspect of clothing.

Quicksilver's mock pretence to honest and workmanlike language is quickly crushed by his master who identifies the genuine aspects of a negative youth culture of Quicksilver and his fellow gallants, prone to swearing and bawdy talk in attempts to assert their own identity independent of their working lives. This also importantly demonstrates Helgerson's assertion that any career in the early modern period, a time of "histrionic self-expression and self-affirmation", was "like a theatrical part" (*Elizabethan* 7), and Quicksilver, in borrowing the language of his master, evidently regards his apprenticeship as a role that he has to perform for a certain amount of hours a day, reinforcing this thesis' ideas linking performativity with expressions of youth identity.

The conflict between master and apprentice is heightened by the frequently repeated concern that apprentices will be mischievous in their free time away from the supervision of their masters. Quicksilver's retort, "Why, sir, I hope a man may use his recreation with his master's profit" (I.i.16-7), with the pun on the fact that Quicksilver is literally frittering away his master's profit, is met with Touchstone's scornful rebuke: "Prentices' recreations are seldom with their masters' profit" (I.i.18-9). Apprentices were too keen to revel in the freedoms afforded by leisure time by frequenting alehouses and prostitutes. The conflict between master and apprentice becomes more heated as Touchstone attempts to uncloak Quicksilver. Quicksilver retorts by stealing Touchstone's catchphrase, "Work upon that now!" (I.i.23), levelling the phrase as a mocking insult against his master. Touchstone is quick to respond, angrily attempting to reinforce the personal relationship by reminding his apprentice that despite Quicksilver's claims to gentility, Touchstone is very much a master to be obeyed: "Thou shameless varlet, dost thou jest at thy lawful master contrary to thy indentures?" (I.i.24-5).

Such evidence compliments the idea that Quicksilver is an excessively subversive apprentice, but the playwrights seem keen to assert that Quicksilver's defiance of authority is because he is an individual governed by excess, rather than youth culture itself demanding a stance that is anti-authority. Even though Quicksilver's performance of identity, and thereby the performance of youth culture, is defined by his own assertive actions, the audience are encouraged to recognise traits in his behaviour that reflect contemporary social practices adopted by young men. Theodora Jankowski calls Quicksilver a "nightmare apprentice" ("Problem" 7) and Van Fossen usefully cites three entries in the *OED* that provide telling definitions of the adjective *frank* "which seem relevant to Quicksilver's nickname". Free from restraint; Lavish, *esp.* in dealing with money; Outspoken, unreserved (Van Fossen 71). Quicksilver embodies all three definitions in his youthful station in life. He is certainly free from restraint in his ability to masquerade as a gallant in his leisure time and cavort with other young men. Quicksilver also spends freely, living the life of a prodigal gallant who is careless with his money and is outspoken in his youthful aggression towards his master. Francis Lenton would later describe a similar character in his pamphlet *The Young*

Gallants Whirligig: Or Youths Reakes (1629). Lenton's prodigal youth, a member of one of the Inns of Court, is described with irony: "His silken garments, and his sattin robe / That hath so often visited the Globe, / And all his spangled rare perfume'd attires, / Which once so glistred in the Torch Fryers" (16) are sold in an attempt to counter-balance his excessive spending as his financial supply dwindles away. Here is one such prodigal gallant described in a similar fashion to many of the young men who frequented the playhouses. The prodigal gallant is flashy and showy and becomes a part of the performance, with the eyes of the audience focussed on his body. The brash and outspoken nature of the gallant that Dekker also satirises implies a misperformance on the gallant's part, deliberately laughing during moments of tragedy to ensure that the audience focus on him rather than the actors.²¹ Such a rash aspect of performativity also peppers Quicksilver's apprenticeship, which demonstrates the rowdy aspects of a negative youth culture associated with gallants. It is one that is simulated, and thereby linked to the world of the theatre, yet, is excessive and dangerous to the body of the individual who is in danger of failing to adhere to societal expectations of conventional masculinity.

Quicksilver's outspokenness reveals his subversive nature and he is a nightmare apprentice for numerous reasons. As mentioned above, Quicksilver is irked by the fact that he is a gentleman yet must remain subservient to his master, a goldsmith: "Why, 'sblood, sir, my mother's a gentlewoman, and my father a justice of the peace and of quorum" (I.i.26-7). But, there is also a deviant side to Quicksilver that enables him to be perceived as a dishonest and corrupt apprentice: "I am entertained among gallants, true; they call me cousin Frank, right; I lend them moneys, good; they spend it, well. But when they are spent, must not they strive to get more?" (I.i.31-4). Quicksilver ignores the hard work that his 'real' apprenticeship should enable him to undertake and instead chooses to use his position as a gallant with money to lend to ensure the downfall and destruction of other young men, once he wins their confidence in drinking establishments. In this respect, alcohol is the corrosive catalyst that inspires young men to part with money to their utter ruin. Quicksilver's infiltration of his peer-group reveals the negative aspects of youth culture and friendship formed in drinking establishments, as Young and Heywood testify above, the friendship formed in drink cannot be trusted. By exploiting friendship and youth culture, Quicksilver again highlights the performative aspect of young men in the period as a means of asserting their own identities, often expressing adherence to a grouped identity for personal gain or profit. Quicksilver's professed belief that he acts for his master destroys every good maxim that Touchstone possesses.

Touchstone is appalled by Quicksilver's profession and attempts to regulate the excessively deviant youthful body of his apprentice, trying to 'work upon him' to ensure that he proves to be a good penny rather than a prodigal counterfeit. Touchstone desperately tries to instil a sense of

²¹ See Dekker's *The Gulls Hornbook*, which satirises such gallants (52-3).

morality into the body of Quicksilver, rejecting Frank's means of obtaining wealth: "as for my rising by other men's fall, God shield me. Did I gain my wealth by ordinaries? no! By exchanging of gold? no! By keeping gallants' company? no!" (I.i.51-4). Touchstone is committed to instilling the values and principles of hard work and thrift into his gentle-apprentice which serves the city in a much more profitable means than by cheating men. It is important that Touchstone and Quicksilver's discourse reveals the fact that drinking establishments are sites of commercial and bodily exchanges, where friendship and gold are proffered, allowing for an ambivalent space which in turn promotes and problematises youth culture. The social space encourages the performance of youth culture, but at the same time, it also encourages excessive drinking and the creation of artificial friendships. Touchstone's attempt to educate his wayward apprentice fails, however.²²

As Golding, the second gentle-apprentice, is introduced onto the stage, Touchstone immediately identifies him as the epitome of perfect youth and the embodiment of a good apprentice: "Ay, marry sir, there's a youth of another piece. There's thy fellow-prentice, as good a gentleman born as thou art-nay, and better meant" (I.i.79-81). Golding is the perfect apprentice to Quicksilver's nightmarish antics because Golding, despite his gentle status, is content to work hard at his trade and complete his apprenticeship, with the dramatists keen to theatricalise two conflicting representations of youths. It is also apparent that the playwrights envision youth culture to be similar across social classes, with the young gentlemen on the stage engaging with a performance of youthful identity and cultural values that many of the young apprentices in the audience, who were not of gentle status, would practise and engage with. The contrast between the two apprentices is apparent in Quicksilver's attempts to convert Golding to one of his company. The corrupting nature of Quicksilver may have infected several other young men to join his gallant company, but not Golding, who upbraids him for swearing so openly once Touchstone has departed. Quicksilver replies to Golding's expression of outrage at his vile language: "'Sfoot, man, I am a gentleman, and may swear by my pedigree, God's my life. Sirrah Golding, wilt be ruled by a fool? Turn good fellow, turn swaggering gallant, and 'let the welkin roar, and Erebus also'" (I.i.123-7). In suggesting that Golding turn 'good fellow' or 'swaggering gallant', identities that Quicksilver himself champions, Quicksilver advocates the language of youth as something crucial for fabricating his own identity away from the honest workshop language of Touchstone. In seeking to refrain from employing the discourse of apprenticeship, Quicksilver's championing of the language and identity of the swaggering gallant reveals youth culture to be tied to an incredibly theatrical and performative discourse, evident in his quotation from Shakespeare's *Henry IV* (Van Fossen 76), which in this instance, invariably locates the language of youth with that of the theatre,

²² Ceri Sullivan comments: "Quicksilver takes the opportunities that offer by speculating in the markets for sex, rank, and profit" (131-2).

or suggests the corrupting and debased influence that such theatre and plays can imprint on the 'bad' individual.

Quicksilver's attempts to corrupt a fellow young man are important for revealing his own pastimes that take him away from the honesty of his apprenticeship. Boasting of his status as providing him with the privilege to swear and position himself above his "fool" (I.i.125) master, Quicksilver recommends several trades that are the antithesis to the apprenticeship that Golding has accepted from Touchstone. As Munro observes, "Golding, unlike Quicksilver, models his speech on his master's, rejecting his fellow apprentice's idea of gentlemanly behaviour" (*Children* 76). As his substitute master, Quicksilver would recommend that his apprentice Golding turn "good fellow" (I.i.125), which implies not only a thief as Van Fossen observes (76), but also a drunken reveller and merry man who is largely idle and inclined to sloth, far from a hard-working individual. The swaggering gallant invariably wastes his time at the theatre, and instead of engaging in hard work to improve his person, is corrupted by the theatre and starts 'performing' in the city as if he were on stage. Quicksilver is evidently one such theatrically inclined individual.

Quicksilver, functioning as a quasi-vice character attempting to corrupt his fellow gentleman apprentice, continues his attempt to awaken Golding's class aspirations. Quicksilver's argument centres on the fact that as gentlemen, both of them are above Touchstone socially, "We are both gentlemen, and therefore should be no coxcombs; let's be no longer fools to this flat-cap Touchstone" (I.i.131-3). Quicksilver's concluding advice is that Golding should abandon his apprenticeship and act like a gentleman: "Why do nothing, be like a gentleman, be idle; the curse of man is labour" (I.i.138-9). Once again, this statement reveals Quicksilver's misconception that hard, honest labour is below a gentleman and that the only way to become a capitalist success is to cheat people and exploit the commercial functioning of the city. By highlighting the faults of such young gallants, the playwrights invite the youthful members of the audience to reconsider what forms of labour they can offer to the city, thereby confirming Bailey's suggestion that those young men who failed to partake in activities that were beneficial for the health of the city were "theatrically" flouting the codes of manhood (*Flaunting* 49). Such a blatant disregard of city capital is captured in Quicksilver's instructions for Golding to "Wipe thy bum with testons, and make ducks and drakes with shillings" (I.i.139-40). By literally fouling the testons (sixpences) with his own faeces, Quicksilver reveals his own scorn of commercial transactions in the city, previously evident in his meddling with counterfeit coins. By throwing away money more often than a duck defecates,²³

²³ See Van Fossen's note which discusses the proverbial evacuating abilities of ducks (76).

Quicksilver demonstrates his rejection of normal social and economic transactions, devaluing the entire profession available to him from the bonds of his apprenticeship.²⁴

Golding is not swayed by Quicksilver's protestations and insults Quicksilver with surprisingly aggressive language that reveals his own personal voice, again suggesting that young men desired to assert their own authority by creating a language of their own that could be used to flaunt or threaten: "Go, ye are a prodigal coxcomb! I a cowherd's son, because I turn not a drunken, whore-hunting rakehell like thyself?" (I.i.150-2). It is evident that Golding's own sense of youth identity is far removed from Quicksilver's.²⁵ Golding's choice language defines Quicksilver as a corrupt youth, polluted with many of the lusts and sins that moral commentators frequently associated with young men. Importantly, Quicksilver is defined first and foremost as a drunkard, which is crucial for the part that drunkenness will play in his downfall. Calling Quicksilver a whore-hunter also reinforces typical early modern understandings that young men were governed by a pursuit of sex, which could frequently be obtained in the alehouse or tavern, before concluding the insult with the term rakehell. Van Fossen defines a rakehell as rascal or a wastrel (77) and it is crucial that it is this particular insult which defines Quicksilver as a prodigal that Quicksilver finds most offensive. Indeed, he fails to find the label of 'drunkard' or 'whore-hunter' offensive, which may suggest how common and acceptable such pastimes were to a young man like Quicksilver.²⁶ Quicksilver offers to draw but is easily suppressed as the stage directions reveal: "*Golding trips up his heels and holds him*" before Golding further insults the now somewhat diminished Quicksilver. Golding says, "Pish, in soft terms ye are a cowardly, bragging boy; I'll ha' you whipped" (I.i.154-5), adding insult to Quicksilver's injuries by stripping him of his youthful status and reducing him to a 'boy', a serious insult for a 'youth' to hear.

The fight itself can also be viewed as a prime example of the competitive aspects of youth culture at work, with two young men from the same household competing as rivals. Golding's final words to Quicksilver reveal that he pities Frank, before calling him a "common shot-clog" (I.i.158-9), and the "gull of all companies" (I.i.159). Golding seemingly pities Quicksilver because Quicksilver is merely tolerated by his friends because he pays the reckoning for the company (Van Fossen 77), duped by his companions who lead him into the belief that he has a firm friendship when in fact they only accept him for his coins. Golding's warning that Quicksilver is on the path to destruction is rejected by the gulled gallant who vows to remain "drunk, grow valiant, and beat"

²⁴ See Lucy Munro's argument that "Quicksilver dramatises his own predicament as a gentleman-apprentice, rejecting the potential path back to wealth which was offered by apprenticeship" (*Children* 76).

²⁵ Golding's disgust of drunkenness mirrors Michel de Montaigne's, who wrote that the "worst estate of man, is where he loseth the knowledge and government of himselfe" ("Of Drunkenness" Volume II, 16).

²⁶ Being drunk and whoring were important aspects of a youth culture of excess. See Shepard (*Meanings* 94).

Golding (I.i.166-7). The duality of attempting to achieve manhood is epitomised by the two gentle-apprentices in *Eastward Ho*, the conservative Golding and the prodigal Quicksilver. As Griffiths suggests of the period as a whole: “Different ways of growing up were being contrasted – hard work, civility, sobriety, and piety with the rougher path of drink, violence, gambling and sex” (*Youth* 207-8), and the stage actively comments on such social stereotypes. Despite attempting to assert the positives in remaining drunk, that the excessive consumption of alcohol in fact strengthens his masculinity, such steadfastness in youth, coupled by the polluting effects of alcohol, ensure that Quicksilver’s downfall is swift.

Quicksilver’s downfall begins after a night of revelry and excessive drinking celebrating the offstage marriage of Touchstone’s daughter, Gertrude, to the new-made knight Petronel Flash. Entering slightly the worse for wear the morning after, Quicksilver is summoned by Touchstone. In a state of semi-drunkenness, Quicksilver’s dialogue is littered with an indication for a performative gesture: “(ump)” (II.i.3,7,17,20,24,30,36), surely a cue for a hiccup to reveal his semi-intoxicated state. This performative gesture reveals the toll on the body instigated by the excessive consumption of wine. The body, rejecting the consumption of excessive amounts of alcohol, reacts against the mind of the individual, forcing out an utterance that cannot be contained. Despite Quicksilver’s aggressive discourse that centres around ideologies of youth and expressions of contempt for his authority figures, the instability of his drunken body renders his own performance of youthful excess as weak and bestial. Furthermore, it is the dangers posed by the collective group of young men that are evident in the corrupt body of Quicksilver, who depicts the negative influence of a group of gallants drinking and revelling together. Quicksilver’s misplaced learning suggests that the tavern was a fashionable place for the aspiring gallant or gentle-apprentice to learn his ‘proper’ trade, flourishing with fellow young men in defiance of authority figures with the intention of deceiving them. For Quicksilver, such deception is achieved via linguistic parody, which once again invokes comparisons between the language of ‘youth’ and the language of the theatre. As Van Fossen identifies, Quicksilver peppers his speech with the word “Forsooth” six times in “mocking Touchstone” (90), continuing the slur against his master’s trade and as Sullivan observes, presenting a parody of “the Senecan rhetoric of the virtuous merchant” (129). Quicksilver is once again theatrically deceptive in his performance. Even the drinking establishment that Quicksilver will later visit to celebrate the disastrous voyage to Virginia (III.iii) reflects his social position. By visiting a tavern, a common drinking site for the gentry, Quicksilver has once again rejected his apprenticeship. As an apprentice, Quicksilver would be expected to drink in an alehouse with other apprentices.

Regardless of which drinking establishment he has visited, as Touchstone quickly identifies, his nightmare apprentice is in a bad state and sets a bad example: “How now, sir? the

drunken hiccup, so soon this morning?” (II.i.8-9). Quicksilver’s retort that it is the coldness of his stomach that caused him to hiccup (II.i.10) fails to convince his master. Touchstone replies, “Y’ are a very learned drunkard” (II.i.11-12) before lambasting Quicksilver’s “gluttonous weasand” (II.i.16). Despite the fact that Quicksilver’s drunken body is uncontrollable in the sense that he cannot stop himself from hiccupping, Touchstone’s decision to label Quicksilver’s body as excessive is crucial for defining the young man. Quicksilver’s gluttonous weasand is a small indication of a deviant body that is interested in performances of excess. His body desires alcohol and he cannot sufficiently control his own impulses to refrain from drinking to excess. Quicksilver’s excessive consumption of alcohol is further complicated by his need for excessive sartorial signifiers that confirm his identity outside of his apprenticeship, such as the accoutrements of a gallant complete with tennis racket. Quicksilver’s rejection of his apprenticeship is also excessively damaging to his master, the metropolis, and his own body. By rejecting the values of hard work and honest living, Quicksilver deprives his master of a genuine apprentice, cheats the city gallants with false coins and marks his own youthful body out for damnation. Quicksilver returns, and the stage directions indicate that he is “*unlaced, [with] a towel about his neck, in his flat cap, drunk*”. It is crucial that Quicksilver is now excessively drunk and Touchstone invokes the connection between drunkenness and bestiality that the pamphlet literature would later discuss throughout the period.²⁷ Pointing towards the reeling drunk, Touchstone strips Quicksilver of his masculinity, calling him a “monster” (II.i.95). As Foyster reveals, moralists “warned that men who were drunk lost their reason and could slip into a bestial state” (*Manhood* 40), and Touchstone vocalises the concerns that young men who succumbed to the peer pressure of drinking to excess entered into an animalistic state of existence. Instead of obtaining aggressive masculinity in their drunken revels, and despite the fact that the excessive drinking by young men functioned as an important aspect of youth culture, the bodily excess experienced by drunkenness emphasised the liminal young male body: bestial, effeminate and destructive in aggressive pursuits of adult masculinity. It appears that it is the excessive consumption of alcohol that is the root of the problem of excess. It is important, as will be explored below, that once deprived of the bodily polluting alcohol, Quicksilver metamorphoses into a repentant individual.

Importantly, the links between youth culture and theatrical culture are strengthened by Quicksilver’s drunken language. In vocalising the language of youth, a discourse that is verbally aggressive towards authority figures, assertive in its proclamations of identity, and fundamentally performative as an extension of a bodily gesture, Quicksilver evidently equates the language of youth with the type of language apparent in the theatre. Quicksilver’s drunkenness renders him excessively theatrical and in the following exchange with his master he quotes from such popular

²⁷ Apprentices and journeymen were perceived to be the heaviest drinkers in the period (Clark, *English* 127).

plays as Marlowe's 2 *Tamburlaine* (II.i.98), Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (II.i.144), Shakespeare's 2 *Henry IV* (II.i.120) and Chapman's *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (II.i.123), and, in a moment of metatheatre, from plays that Field had performed in, Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (II.i.103) and Jonson's *Poetaster* (II.i.123).²⁸ As Munro suggests, for "Quicksilver, the language of the theatre – detached from its dramatic context but retaining its talismanic value – can be used as a weapon against the sober virtues of trade" (*Children* 75). Despite the comedy evident in such an exchange, where the audience would recall Field's performances in these latter plays, this scene is crucial for providing the downfall of Quicksilver and the end of his apprenticeship, the result of some aggressive insults against his master and Golding. Entering the stage, Quicksilver shouts "Eastward Ho!" (II.i.97), an indication of where he believes his fortunes now lie, before performing a parody of Tamburlaine's line: "'Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia'" (II.i.97-8), which is met with Touchstone's aside, "Drunk now downright" (II.i.99). It is Golding who initially bears the brunt of Quicksilver's drunkenness as Touchstone observes the proceedings. Golding remarks, "Fie, fellow Quicksilver, what a pickle are you in!" (II.i.102), before Quicksilver aggressively responds: "Pickle? Pickle in thy throat! Zounds, pickle! Wa ha ho!" (II.i.103-4). It is apparent that the drunken Quicksilver is full of heat from the excessive quantity of wine that he has consumed, and youthful rage. Golding's attempt to placate the drunken Quicksilver by asking him to consider the place where they are quarrelling – outside their master's house – is met with Quicksilver's aggressive reply, "Why, 'sblood, you jolt-head" (II.i.108). Golding's advice to his fellow apprentice falls upon deaf ears, "for shame go to bed, and sleep out this immodesty; thou shamest both my master and his house" (II.i.110-2), importantly suggesting the disgrace that a young apprentice can bring upon his master for such bad behaviour.

Quicksilver's satiric barb that gentlemen "think it no shame to be drunk" (II.i.115-6) evidently suggests that the youthful apprentice is part of a social group that perceives drunken participation in that group as entirely positive and requisite to achieve gentle youthful identity, and is an important aspect of youth culture that, if shunned, can prohibit an individual's ascent to manhood. Touchstone's intervention initiates the downfall of the drunken Quicksilver, lambasting his several youthful vices that indicate that bodily corruption is the product of excessive consumption of alcohol:

Touch. Sirrah, sirrah, y'are past your hiccup now; I see
y'are drunk.
Quick. 'Tis for your credit, master.
Touch. And hear you keep a whore in town.
Quick. 'Tis for your credit, master.
Touch. And what you are out in cash, I know.
Quick. So do I. My father's a gentleman. Work upon

²⁸ Van Fossen identifies and comments on these borrowings (94-6).

that now. Eastward Ho! (II.i.125-32).

Quicksilver's drunkenness is perceived to be the first sin that once fallen into, leads to several other sins that are the direct result of drinking to excess. Fired by the heat of the wine, the young apprentice seeks out a whore to quench his lust, which also ensures that all of the young man's money is consumed. Quicksilver's upbraiding of Touchstone, reminding him that his father is a gentleman and therefore a man of higher social standing than a goldsmith, is the final act of disgrace that Touchstone bears. Touchstone casts away his young apprentice: "There, sir, there's your indenture; all your apparel – that I must know- is on your back; and from this time my door is shut to you; from me be free" (II.i.135-8). Touchstone casts off his young apprentice, foremost, because of the scandal that a drunken apprentice brings to his house and trade. Fearing that Quicksilver will one day turn thief and endanger his goods, Touchstone returns the binding contract of service, thereby releasing Quicksilver of his seven-year apprenticeship with immediate effect.

Free from his "fetters" (II.i.141), Quicksilver displays no remorse, instead choosing to recite a somewhat garbled version of Don Andrea's opening soliloquy of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* before his drunken memory fails him (Van Fossen 96), leaving the former-apprentice to sling a final insult at his former-master after Touchstone refuses to lend him any money. Quicksilver threatens, "I have friends, and I have acquaintance; I will piss at thy shop posts, and throw rotten eggs at thy sign. Work upon that now" (II.i.155-7) before he exits "*staggering*". Once again it is evident that there are important links between excessive aspects of youth culture and the theatrical profession, with Quicksilver likening his own isolation to that felt by the dead Don Andrea, and this extends Ronda Arab's contention that Quicksilver has an "excessive appetite for leisure and pleasure" that is fed by the theatres that he frequents (*Mechanicals* 143). Not only is Quicksilver's drunken body performative in its excessive aspects of youth identity, the excessive elements of unruly and bestial youth culture are apparent in his vociferous threats to Touchstone. Despite Quicksilver's aggressive threat to urinate outside Touchstone's shop, which seems typical of youthful bravado, this performative gesture of bodily excess in fact likens the drunken young man to the bestial discussed in the pamphlet literature, confirming Michel de Montaigne's opinion that drunkenness is a "grose and brutish vice" ("Of Drunkenness", Volume II, 16). The very act of promising to piss at Touchstone's shop-posts emphasises Quicksilver's firm disregard for his apprenticeship and frustration at having to stoop lower in the social scale to Touchstone, apparent in his aggressive parodic use of Touchstone's catchphrase 'Work upon that now'. By claiming Touchstone's phrase as his own, Quicksilver once again showcases an aggressive assertion of his own identity by finding violence in the catch-phrase, rather than moral instruction. The fact that Quicksilver staggers reveals the finite destruction of his ability to control his body under the influence of alcohol, and it is because of his excessive consumption that he is stripped of his

apprenticeship. As we will see below, however, Quicksilver is allowed ample space for his repentance, seemingly suggesting that for Chapman, Jonson, and Marston, the Blackfriars theatre could relay important information concerning positive aspects of youth culture.

Apprentices like Quicksilver, who consumed alcohol to excess, were in danger of bodily and moral destruction, as well as increasing the likelihood of being turned away from their apprenticeships. “This rough nocturnal culture showed off the excessive and violent aspects of manhood which poured forth in a volley of stones and insults, a flurry of fists, a chorus of songs, or the discharge of urine, vomit, and sexual electricity” (Griffiths, *Youth* 207). As Griffiths suggests, such a list of negative traits would indicate that these young men were ultimately performing a youth culture of excess that would eventually destroy the individual. It is to Quicksilver’s destruction by drink that this chapter now turns to.

“He that will not this night be drunk, may he never be sober”: Quicksilver’s Bodily Destruction

Stripped of his apprenticeship, and therefore a devious, masterless young man, Quicksilver hatches a scheme to make money quickly rather than earn it through the normative path to full masculinity by completing his seven years’ service. A voyage eastward to America is perceived to be the best chance of striking it rich, and Quicksilver and the other young rebels bound for Virginia meet in a tavern in Billingsgate for a night of excessive drinking before they set off. As this section will reveal, the final night of excessive drinking will be the moment when Quicksilver almost achieves irreversible bodily destruction. Spendall and Scapethrift, two rogues who live up to their names, are intent on drinking copious amounts of alcohol. Scapethrift confirms these ideas of excess when he instructs the Drawer to “Fill all the pots in your house with all sorts of / liquor, and let ‘em wait on us here like soldiers in / their pewter coats; and though we do not employ / them now, yet we will maintain ‘em till we do” (III.iii.9-12). Personifying the wine in cups as soldiers in armour, Scapethrift deliberately invokes the martial nature of drinking and the Roman *convivium* that O’Callaghan has extensively explored (*English* 60). In *Eastward Ho*, such ideas of drinking to excess are unpoliced and have disastrous consequences. The site of the tavern becomes an aggressive, male space, dominated by cups of wine and bawdy discourse that is distinctly warlike.²⁹ Captain Seagull, encouraging the men to drink, states that “Virginia longs till we share the rest of / her maidenhead” (III.iii.15-6), whereby the sea voyage is explicitly likened to a collective rape of the feminine virginal land.

As Sir Petronel enters and demands that the Drawer fill “some carouses” (III.iii.69) he plots his own physical assault of Security’s wife, Winifred, who will accompany the men on their journey.

²⁹ Moralists were concerned that young men would extend their bawdy outside of the tavern by visiting bawdy houses, like many an early modern apprentice did (Griffiths, *Youth* 214; Ben-Amos, *Adolescence* 201).

Pledges are shared once Winifred and Quicksilver arrive (III.iii.128-30) and the excessive drinking continues. Seagull's contention that "He that will not this night be drunk, may he never be sober" (III.iii.177-8) provides an insight into the ritualistic aspect of this collective drinking that the rebels share. Crucially, the stage directions suggest that they "*compass in Winifred, dance the drunken round, and drink carouses*", revealing the somewhat bestial and savage aspects of this drink fuelled revelry. The situation is all the more sinister when remembering that Winifred has been crying at the tavern (III.iii.134-41), presumably because she is beginning to regret the wrong she will do to her husband Security in having sex with Sir Petronel and accompanying him to Virginia. The darker side of the ritualistic aspects of excessive consumption is revealed with the dance that is performed in the tavern. Problematically, the men "compass in Winifred", encircling her, leaving her with no way to escape as they drunkenly dance around her in an animalistic fashion, drinking full draughts of wine. The possibility of sexual aggression that is the product of excessive drinking is evident in this scene. As Shepard comments, excessive "drinking was routinely represented as leading to illicit sex, in an extension of the commonplace that drink left men at the mercy of their passions" ("Drink" 118).³⁰ Once again, the ambiguity between modes of youth culture is apparent here, with men keen to impress peers with an assertion of their sexual prowess, but at the same time, such sexual excess was seen as dangerous in the quest for respectable masculinity.

In the play, the rebels leave the tavern, all of them highly intoxicated, intent on taking a boat down the Thames. The Drawer comments on the danger that the drunken party will put themselves in by risking such a venture: "Y' are in a proper taking indeed, to take a boat, especially at this time of night, and against tide and tempest. They say yet, 'Drunken men never take harm'; this night will try the truth of that proverb" (III.iv.217-21). As anticipated, the boat does capsize, sending the men and woman into the Thames and it is the Drawer who consoles Winifred once she is thrown ashore at Saint Katherine's. As Van Fossen observes, Saint Katherine's was a "reformatory for fallen women" (151), continuing the moral didacticism that the play infuses into the plights of the rebels, which the audience are expected to actively engage with as a model whereby their own self-regulation can be achieved. It is interesting that the Drawer comments on the extremity of the storm and the "ruthless tempest" (IV.i.95) of the Thames' waters, mirroring the blustering state of excess that the bodies of the drunken party experienced at their height of intoxication. It is also crucial that this is the second instance where excessive consumption of alcohol has jeopardised the body of Quicksilver. As he is washed ashore at Wapping, Quicksilver

³⁰ Lynn Martin has suggested that in "Europe the consumption of alcohol led to an increase in amorous and sexual activity and an increase in aggressive and violent behavior" (1) as well as recording that prostitutes could expect a large clientele from haunting alehouses (66). As Foyster reveals, besides sexual transactions that took place within the alehouse, the "alehouse was also often the site for male talk about sex" (*Manhood* 41).

momentarily realises the errors of his excessive consumption and the peril that he has subjected his body to:

Accursed, that ever I was saved or born.
How fatal is my sad arrival here!
As if the stars and Providence spake to me,
And said, 'The drift of all unlawful courses,
Whatever end they dare propose themselves,
In frame of their licentious policies,
In the firm order of just Destiny,
They are ready highways to our ruins.' (IV.i.135-42).

Quicksilver acknowledges that the place that he has been washed ashore is prophetic of where he may end up if he does not reform his ways, and he momentarily appears to repent for his excessive consumption and wicked life. It is almost as if the drinking of the Thames water instils a sense of repentance in Quicksilver, just as the consumption of wine had made him rebellious.

Alone, and outside of the grouped space that offered him the opportunity to perform negative and boisterous aspects of youth culture and masculine aggression in front of his peers, Quicksilver is a different person. His language no longer bespeaks the confidence of the swaggering gallant, and with no peers to perform in front of, the audience perhaps witness the biggest indication so far that Quicksilver's performance of excessive masculinity is a deliberate simulation to acquire the commendations of the group. Sober, and with no need to assert his aggressive ideas of youth culture, Quicksilver is allowed a space to repent. Quicksilver's body, submerged in the water, enters a process of quasi-baptism that almost encourages a re-birth in his character. It is as if the life-giving water of the city, the Thames, is trying to reform the bad young man just as the polluting powers of wine had utterly transformed him into a monster.³¹ However, Quicksilver rejects his initial inklings of repentance as soon as he has the misfortune to meet with Sir Petronel and Seagull, who have also been washed ashore. Quicksilver forgets all thought of reformation and enters into his inflated theatrical discourse, intent on playing the part of the jovial schemer in the group. This suggests that his aggressive insistence on elaborate and excessive forms of youth identity is performative. Quicksilver bellows: "Let our ship sink, and all the world that's without us be taken from us, I hope I have some tricks, in this brain of mine, shall not let us perish" (IV.i.223-6). Performing for the group as the resourceful theatrical entrepreneur, Quicksilver excitedly informs his companions that they will embark on a career of coining to restore their lost fortunes.

However, it is not long before Quicksilver is brought before Golding and Touchstone, Golding now having the power to send Quicksilver to the Counter, but not before they reiterate his lengthy list of youthful sins. Golding upbraids Quicksilver for the "dissolute and lewd courses"

³¹ Stock has also expressed a similar idea: "This idea of the ritual cleansing and re-birth is augmented by the alchemical process that informs the play" (141).

(IV.ii.297) that he has practiced before lambasting how Quicksilver has focused on bodily excess to his own destruction: “thou art a proper young man, of an honest and clean face, somewhat near a good one – God hath done his part in thee – but thou hast made too much, and been too proud of that face, with the rest of thy body” (IV.ii.297-302). Golding suggests that excessive pride in youthful beauty has been the chief catalyst in Quicksilver’s downfall. In placing such an importance on bodily beauty and bodily excess, by dressing in “neat and garish attire” (IV.ii.302-3) to “be looked upon by some light housewives” (IV.ii.304-5), Golding implies that Quicksilver not only ruined his own body but also “much of thy master’s estate” (IV.ii.305). Quicksilver’s behaviour is prodigal to excess, aggressively destructive towards his master’s body: “thund’ring out uncivil comparisons, requiting all his kindness with a coarse and harsh behaviour” (IV.ii.308-9), once again, identifying Quicksilver with the language of youth and the theatre. Golding describes Quicksilver’s excess fittingly as an act of “*outracundance*” (IV.ii.314), which Van Fossen explains as “overweening conceit” (177). It is this *outracundance* that Touchstone identifies as a gross fault. Touchstone recalls Quicksilver running “such a race of / riot” (IV.ii.328-9) and mocks the young gallant by suggesting that all of his companions offered him false friendship, again, a common charge levelled against drinking companions by moralists. “Moralists and advice writers also warned men not to disclose any secrets to pot companions, who would inevitably betray the trust expected of true friends, since drink loosened the tongue and forced men to lose control of their speech” (Shepard, “Drink” 119).³² Such ideas are expressed in *Eastward Ho*, with Touchstone speaking: “Which of all thy / gallants and gamesters, thy swearers and thy / swaggerers, will come now to moan thy misfor- / tune, or pity thy penury?” (IV.ii.333-6), focalising the negativity attached to group performances of youth culture. Touchstone’s reprehensions of Quicksilver’s youthful debauchery signal the beginnings of repentance for Quicksilver’s youthful folly; however, Touchstone is unresponsive to what he perceives to be purely theatrical simulation by the young gallant. Touchstone, interrupting Quicksilver’s plea for mercy, says: “Offer not to speak, crocodile; I will not hear a sound come from thee. Thou hast learnt to whine at the play yonder” (IV.ii.349-51). It is crucial for Touchstone that Quicksilver’s passion for theatre is inherently linked to his corrupt nature, advising the audience that the misappropriation and misperformance of the content of plays – performing transgression rather than rejecting such bodily excess – is dangerous for the youthful body.

Quicksilver has learnt to sham sorrow from the players in the theatre, which again shows that theatrical and youth culture are intertwined in the early modern period, and that the theatre was an important site where youth identity could be explored during the performance and acknowledged

³² Young in his pamphlet *Englands Bane* (1617) also expresses similar ideas about the falseness of friendship: “The greatest benefit thou shalt receive by these swaggering and deboyst companions, is faire words, but faint deeds” (D5).

in the streets afterwards by the young men who chose to mirror the actors. Perceiving Quicksilver as an irredeemably polluted youth, Touchstone lambasts the young man's neglect of his apprenticeship and unwillingness to perform hard work for the bettering of the self and the city as a prime reason for his corrupt body: "you see the issue of your sloth. Of sloth cometh pleasure, of pleasure cometh riot, of riot comes whoring, of whoring comes spending, of spending comes want, of want comes theft, of theft comes hanging; and there is my Quicksilver fixed" (IV.ii.366-71). Touchstone's catalogue of sins committed by Quicksilver were all common to the life stage of youth, and aptly summarise the negative traits of Quicksilver's identity. It is important that it is the excessive consumption of alcohol that is perceived to have polluted the body of the young man, with the wine functioning as a catalyst for the body to commit further transgressions. Quicksilver is governed by notions of negative excess. He is excessively idle, which the play seems to suggest is because of his gentry status – obsessed with excessive drinking, pleasure, riot, whoring and spending. Quicksilver's corrupt body is aptly epitomised by the very name of his mistress, Sindefy, whose name suggests "one not only sinful but defiantly so" (Van Fossen 100). Quicksilver's body is governed by notions of excess in all aspects of life, and it is fitting therefore that Quicksilver's repentance is also unconventional. It is to this final conundrum that the chapter will now turn in its exploration of positive youth culture that can inform and reform the watching audience.

"O he is a rare young man. Do you not know him?": Excessive Repentance

Quicksilver's repentance has caused much controversy amongst critics of the play. In opposition to many scholarly discussions that suggest that it is a parody of the prodigal son narrative and therefore satiric in its effect, this section argues that Quicksilver's repentance is genuine for the very reason that it appears excessive. Quicksilver as a character possesses a body that is dominated by aspects of excess and can inform our understandings of the didactic nature of playwrights writing for the boy companies who seek to comment on and criticise cultural ideologies associated with youth identity. Munro concludes that the prodigal son plot and Quicksilver's repentance are highly satirical (*Children* 81). It could also be suggested that the playwrights were mocking popular theatrical tastes.³³ For Munro, the play contains "extravagant repentance and equally extravagant reconciliation" and is full of "witty rhetorical excess" (81), and as this chapter has explored above, excess appears to permeate every level of *Eastward Ho*, furthering the didactic nature of the play. In this respect, this section aims to problematise Ceri Sullivan's suggestion that the play "is left as a commercial get-penny rather than a lesson in civic virtue" (139). Whilst money is undoubtedly an important concern of the theatrical city in *Eastward Ho*, this section will claim that Quicksilver's direct address to the youthful audience functions as a warning to beware the

³³ Arab observes the "blatant performativity of Quicksilver's humility" (149) and Heather Hirschfield lambasts the play as a "malicious mockery" (*Enterprises* 29) that stems from the collaborative enterprise. See also Tom Rutter's *Work and Play* (137).

dangers of bodily excess and negative aspects of youth culture that ignore the protestant work ethic of the city in order to champion the virtues of hard work for young men.³⁴ In arguing that Quicksilver's repentance is genuine, this section proposes that the reformed youthful body is a direct result of the removal of alcohol. Once Quicksilver rejects such negative bodily excess instigated by drink, he personifies the perfect young man in early modern London and engages with a positive youth identity, that of an honest apprentice.

Quicksilver's time in the Counter is defined by an excessive form of repentance. As Wolf, one of the officers at the Counter reveals, "I never knew or saw prisoners more penitent, or more devout. They sit you up all night singing of psalms, and edifying the whole prison" (V.ii.49-52). Both Quicksilver and Sir Petronel are excessively repentant, becoming reformed characters who are not content with their singular spiritual salvation but are also concerned with reforming the rest of the prisoners. It is Quicksilver's repentance, however, that is especially remarkable. As Wolf comments on which one of the rebels is the more devout, he says, "the young man especially! I never heard his like! He has cut his hair, too" (V.ii.59-60), and as Van Fossen identifies in his textual note, Quicksilver abandons the fashionable "long curls of the courtier for the style appropriate to an ordinary citizen" (190). The cutting off of his hair reveals that Quicksilver is reforming his wayward youthful identity, shedding his gentle-pretensions and instead beginning to behave more like a member of the city. Furthermore, Quicksilver can "tell you almost all the stories of the *Book of Martyrs*, and speak you all the *Sick Man's Salve* without book" (V.ii.61-4), signifying his repentance. John Foxe's book and Thomas Becon's work were hugely popular (Van Fossen 190) and may have been familiar to the audience in the theatre. There is a curious metatheatrical moment instigated by Touchstone's response to this revelation, "Ay, if he had had grace, he was bought up where it grew, iwis" (V.ii.65-6), an instance where the audience are encouraged to recall that Nathan Field, playing the part of Quicksilver, was the son of John Field, a Puritan preacher who had written letters to John Foxe in January 1567. John Field "was serving his literary apprenticeship by researching materials for the second, 1570, edition of the *Acts and Monuments*" before moving to Grub Street where he was Foxe's neighbour (Collinson, *ODNB*). Even though John Field died when Nathan was just a few months old, Touchstone's jibe perhaps reminds the audience about the body of Nathan Field performing as Quicksilver, once again supporting the idea the young audience actively engaged with the content of the plays and identified with Nathan Field as young man possessing similar cultural values to their own. Nathan Field had certainly grown up where grace had grown and undoubtedly had a good knowledge of Foxe's work.

³⁴ See Brunning, who further comments that the "presentation of repentance in *Eastward Ho* as both spiritually unconvincing and economically motivated might locate it with such duplicitous behaviour; however, there are elements of the conversion narratives that might be considered within a wider less sectarian framework, a more encompassing Protestant poetic" (150).

Crucially, such metatheatricality also reinforces the seriousness and genuine nature of Quicksilver's repentance performed by the godly Nathan Field.

The audience meet the reformed Quicksilver in act V scene iii where two prisoners and their friend comment upon Quicksilver's past sins and subsequent repentance. The friend does not know Quicksilver, but the two prisoners lavish praise on the reformed gallant, calling him a "rare young man" (V.iii.39) before critiquing his past youthful folly. The second prisoner also catalogues the list of sins that Quicksilver committed, the list serving to highlight the extremity of his expressions of youth culture and identity: "He would play you his thousand pound a night at dice; keep knights and lords company; go with them to bawdy houses; had his six men in a livery; kept a stable of hunting horses, and his wench in her velvet gown" (V.iii.48-52). The prodigal excess of Quicksilver is complimented by the repentant excess of the imprisoned young man. Giving away all of his rich clothes (V.iii.55-6), Quicksilver spends his time profitably penning penitential verses entitled "'Repentance'" and "'Last Farewell'" (V.iii.63), earning the praise of the first prisoner as a "pretty poet, and for prose – you would wonder how many prisoners he has helped out, with penning petitions for 'em, and not take a penny" (V.iii.64-7). This could be a playful piece of metatheatricality, as will become evident in Chapter Five, as Field was a skilled letter-writer. Field may have spent time in prison before 1605, and had possibly written such petitions for other prisoners. The two prisoners and their friend return to continue their praise of Quicksilver, calling him "exceeding penitent" (V.v.4) and hope to hear his 'Repentance' and 'Farewell', which reveals that once negative stimulants such as alcohol are removed from his body, Quicksilver is able to successfully perform positive youth culture. Quicksilver is happy to sing his composition, "the more openly I profess it, I hope it will appear the heartier, and the more unfeigned" (V.v.35-6). As McIntosh suggests, Quicksilver's "performed repentance is seen as gaining more credibility the more widely it is disseminated – as though the more witnesses there are to Quicksilver's change of character, the more verifiable that change becomes" (74).

Quicksilver's lyrical repentance is an imitation of George Mannington's woeful ballad, penned in November 1576 an hour before he was "hanged at Cambridge" (V.v.46) (Van Fossen 201). The repentant Quicksilver sings his ballad to those gathered at the Counter, including Touchstone who is concealed from sight, reflecting on his misspent youth, his neglect of his apprenticeship, and destructive drunken state: "I cast my coat and cap away, / I went in silks and satins gay; / False metal of good manners I / Did daily coin unlawfully. / I scorned my master, being drunk; / I kept my gelding and my punk" (V.v.65-70). Realising the errors of his youth and the bodily destruction that he has brought upon himself, the morally and spiritually reformed Quicksilver realises the value of hard work in ensuring that any temptations towards sinning can be policed by bodily self-regulation. It is also important that Quicksilver observes his drunken state as

one of the primary factors that instigated his performance of bodily excess and participation in negative youth culture. In realising the importance of an honest work ethic, not only for the self but for the city, Quicksilver regulates his dangerously excessive drunken behaviour, begging for Touchstone to “make [him] current by [his] skill” (V.v.88). Touchstone is touched by Quicksilver’s repentance (V.v.89), admitting in his concealed place to Golding and Wolf that Quicksilver’s ‘Repentance’ has “ravished” (V.v.115) him. Quicksilver’s final composition, his ‘Farewell’ reads like a verse from a morality play. Spoken to the audience, Quicksilver bids “Farewell, dear fellow prentices all, / And be you warnéd by my fall” (V.v.122-3), warning young members of the audience to “Shun usurers, bawds, and dice, and drabs” (V.v.124), and advising them to “thrive by little and little” (V.v.128), reinforcing the idea that his salvation is guaranteed in his new admiration for the spiritual, moral and commercial value of an apprenticeship.³⁵ Quicksilver’s direct address to the audience, specifically his “fellow prentices all” (V.v.128), once again supports the idea that the Blackfriars theatre provided a viable space for young men to engage with important lessons and advice concerning growing up. Quicksilver’s ultimate condemnation of the negative aspects of youth culture is evident in his appeal to the youthful audience to adhere to the positive identity that an apprenticeship can offer, and with the city’s well-being at stake, positive performances of youth culture evident in completing an apprenticeship, observing the importance of service, and acquiring a healthy ascent to adult masculinity, are more important than drinking to excess. As Touchstone summarises in the penultimate lines of the play, the “prodigal child [is] reclaimed” (V.v.223) and London is warned to “look about / And in this moral see thy glass run out” (V.v.218-9), thereby repeating the stark warning for young men to ensure that they work hard and honestly for the good of the city to avoid their own bodily excess and destruction.

Field’s performance on stage as Quicksilver makes for an interesting metatheatrical moment. Quicksilver is astutely aware that identity is performative, frequently donning the accoutrements of a gallant in an attempt to realise his gentle identity as potentially more self-fulfilling than the plain, honest attire of the shopkeeper’s apprentice. The knowing audience member, aware that Field is performing as Quicksilver, must also realise that Field performs a variety of characters, a variety of identities, and dons a rich variety of apparel in his own weekly on-stage performances. Quicksilver’s ideas that identity is interchangeable depending on what one wears, are equally apparent for Field’s own body as an actor, constantly mutating as a range of characters are performed. Quicksilver’s repentance allows for audience members to reflect and absorb positive aspects of youth culture that could be performed in their everyday interactions, as they witness the character’s transformation on-stage. It seems that by understanding that Field is

³⁵ This is something that the audience would have been familiar with from their own schooldays, where the paradigm of the prodigal son narrative was “urged on them as an image of what their own lives would be if they disregarded the narrowly conservative precepts of their fathers and teachers” (Helgerson, *Elizabethan* 3).

underneath the costume of Quicksilver, spectators can embrace the understanding that “drama offers powerful social access to emulative practices and a humanist ideal of self-improvement and constant learning” (Dickson 138). Even though Dickson is discussing Philip Massinger in this statement, it does not negate the fact that *Eastward Ho* does champion learning and improvement, as argued above. That Field could be the touchstone for such learning is important, as his growing celebrity would testify to the power that theatre possessed for young men to embrace actors as models and tutors of socially acceptable behaviour. It is equally important that Dickson mentions Massinger in this vein, as Field and Massinger would become collaborators with similar goals in encouraging audiences to understand the ‘goodness’ offered by plays. Finally, Field’s performance of drunkenness as Quicksilver offers the spectators the potential to laugh at those young men who indulge in the excessive consumption of alcohol. Field’s performance as Quicksilver, and subsequent repentance, would suggest that such laughter is didactic; a young spectator laughs because they may not want to be associated with such transgression. More than ever, Field’s performance of youth reminds young men that the ideas and values associated with youth culture need to be performed in early modern communities that seek to punish transgression, so it is vital that young men learn the correct way to perform pre-adult masculinity. Apprenticeship, *Eastward Ho* would suggest, is one such method of acquiring positive traits of manhood.

This chapter has explored the destructive effects on the youthful body instigated by the excessive consumption of alcohol. By exploring the failed apprenticeship of Quicksilver in *Eastward Ho*, this chapter has sought to analyse the dangers that alcohol posed to a young man in his quest to obtain honourable manhood. It is important, as explored above, to recognise how vital drinking establishments were in early modern England as social and convivial spaces, but it is equally important to stress the damaging bodily effects that excessive drinking could create in young men. As this chapter has extensively explored, such unmanly excess renders the body of the young man into a beast and a monster, governed by excess and devoid of reason. Quicksilver is fortunate that his negative bodily transformation into a drunken monster is prevented by a strong urge for self-repentance and the clemency of his master. By providing the Blackfriars audience with such a conservative ending to *Eastward Ho*, Chapman, Jonson and Marston offer the young men watching the play an opportunity to repent and regulate their own behaviour after watching the negative transgressions instigated by Quicksilver’s excessive consumption of alcohol. This chapter has analysed a range of pamphlet literature and the social space of the early modern drinking establishments to find evidence of intertwined aspects of youth culture and theatrical culture in the sense that both rely on performance for acceptance by peers/audiences. Performing ‘youth’ therefore shares many parallels with the career of the stage actor in early modern England who performs a range of identities. It appears that it is not only moralists that were concerned by the

dangers of drinking to excess in the period; Chapman, Jonson and Marston's play demonstrates the downward spiral that an unruly body will experience when performing as part of a negative youth culture that synthesises the pleasures of the body with anti-work ethics. Quicksilver's repentance is in fact important and genuine, despite other critics doubting its plausibility, because the curbing of youthful bodily excess enables a performance of how young men *should* behave in professional society. This again supports some of the claims made in Chapter One that the boy acting companies explicitly engaged with didactic elements in the content of their plays as a means of exploring and critiquing aspects of youth culture. The following chapter continues this supposition in its focus on John Fletcher's obsession with youth and bodily humours in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, a play that advances the current chapter's ideas concerning bodily excess and youth culture in its explicit engagement with the dangers associated with excessive lust.

Figure 3: T. Heywood. *Philocothonista, or, the Drunkard, Opened....* London, 1635.

Philocothonista, OR, THE DRUNKARD.

Opened, Dissected, and Anatomized.



L O N D O N,

Printed by *Robert Raworth*; and are to be sold at his house
neere the *White-Hart* Taverne in *Smithfield*. 1635.

Chapter Three: “Youth is drunke with pleasure, and therefore dead to all goodnesse”: Lust and Humoral Youthful Bodies in *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

In the previous chapter, we saw that Chapman, Jonson, and Marston assert the danger that drinking to excess could pose to young men in early modern England. Their dramatisation of Quicksilver as a body transformed into an entirely anti-social being, both in terms of his negative engagement with the city, and with his peers, results in a grotesque form of youth culture. But alcohol was not the only substance that youths could be drunk upon in the period. Both pleasure and lust are dramatised by John Fletcher in his play *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1607) to comment critically upon further negative aspects of youth culture. Like Chapman, Jonson and Marston, Fletcher was interested in unruly youthful bodies, and this chapter presents a detailed close-reading of his neglected play to unite Fletcher’s obsession with humoral theory, lust, bodily excess, and youth culture. Fletcher has never before been studied with regard to youth culture and humoral excess, which is surprising considering how central the excessive performance of lust is to the play. Whereas Chapman in *Bussy D’Ambois* suggested that a failure to adhere to the teachings of humanism could produce the downfall of young men, and *Eastward Ho* suggested that an external stimulant consumed by the body, alcohol, could destroy the young man’s body, Fletcher approaches bodily excess from a different perspective. For Fletcher, bodily excess and negative aspects of youth culture start within the body, in the form of unruly passions, and work their way outwards into a grotesque performance that destroys identity. This chapter, then, aims to realise Fletcher’s engagement with youthful bodily excess as important for formulating ideas concerning social youth culture in early modern England. It does so by developing Steven Marx’s assertion that young poets started their careers “by writing pastorals” (*Youth* 27), to suggest that Fletcher, in being a young man wanting to enter the world of the theatre, writes a play that reflects his youthful aspirations, and, by natural extension, explores a range of youthful characters and their cultural ideas. Fletcher’s theatricalisation of excess attempts to inculcate the audience into accepting positive performances of youth culture, but, as this chapter will demonstrate, Fletcher’s discussion of individual agency and the powerlessness of men and women to regulate successfully their bodies presents a deeply ambiguous portrayal of youth culture.

Previous literary scholarship on the play has tended to explore Fletcher’s engagement with the pastoral tradition,¹ tragicomedy,² and with attempts to account for the play’s failure on the stage

¹ See Munro (*Children* 98-103); Finkelpearl (“John Fletcher”, 285-302); Bliss (295-310). See also Paul Alpers’s *What is Pastoral?* (1996), especially page 70 and Sukanta Chaudhuri, who debates the pastoral genre and its relationship to chastity (*Renaissance* 370-372). Munro has recently analysed Fletcher’s engagement with archaism in her monograph, *Archaic Style in English Literature 1590-1674* (2013), pages 174-182.

² See Munro (*Children* 124-133); William Proctor Williams (139-154); Yoch (115-138); Matthew Treherne “Difficult” (32). See also Perry’s discussion of the genre in *The Making of Jacobean Culture*, especially page

in the Blackfriars theatre in 1607.³ Curtis Perry's monograph, *The Making of Jacobean Culture* (2006), finds that "efforts to adapt Elizabethan generic expectations of pastoral to the discursive prompting of the new king resulted in a body of work scarred by...equivocations, gaps, and uneasy resolutions" (51), which may well account for the play's failure on stage, but is also suggestive of Fletcher's reworking of the pastoral and the tragicomic. Lee Bliss blames the indoor audience's "kindred lack of sophistication" as a primary reason for the play's failure ("Defending" 296), and implicitly summarises the lack of twentieth-century critical response to the play by suggesting that scholars, likewise, have been unsure exactly how to respond.⁴ Whereas James Yoch has suggested that "Fletcher's design conforms with the conventional use of tragicomedy to illustrate the advantages of moderation in private and public life" ("Temperance" 128), this chapter seeks to extend his discussion by investigating the play's engagement with youth culture and un-moderated excess to inculcate cultural understandings of youth identity. The pastoral genre itself was "a suitable vehicle for serious subject-matter", as Helen Cooper asserts (*Pastoral* 132), whilst focussing on the "anxieties generated by sexuality and death" (Susan Snyder, *Pastoral* 2), thereby increasing the importance of the present chapter's study of Fletcher's play.

Munro interprets the influence of Guarini and Spenser on Fletcher's play as complex (*Children* 124). We can problematise Fletcher's engagement with the pastoral genre further by suggesting that the fluctuating and unstable genre of tragicomedy appealed to Fletcher precisely because the fluidity of the genre suits the bodies of his young men and women so perfectly, which are changeable and fundamentally excessive. This is essentially what William Proctor Williams suggests when he unites the generic and social concerns stemming from the play ("Tragicomedy" 142), but this chapter extends his analysis to prioritise those explicit links to humoral theory, bodily excess, and youth culture that scholars have thus far remained silent on. Such silence can be epitomised in Robert Turner's suggestion that the characters in Fletcher's play "act with passionate disregard for the dictates of reason" ("Heroic" 109); surely an observation that overlooks Fletcher's interest in humoral theory. There are two crucial elements therefore that previous scholarship on Fletcher's play has failed to comment upon adequately. Firstly, critics have ignored Fletcher's interest in early modern humoral theory. *The Faithful Shepherdess* is obsessed with how youthful bodies are uncontrollable and subject to constant fluctuations when experiencing feelings associated

60. As Finkelpearl observes, Fletcher is clearly influenced by "the latest developments on the Continent and interested in seeing how Guarini and Spenser might be combined" ("John Fletcher" 286).

³ Accounting for the play's failure on the Blackfriars stage, Munro suggests that "without a prologue to guide them, Fletcher suggests [in his address to the Reader], the confused spectators fell back on versions of pastoral and tragicomedy very different from those he aimed to promote" (*Children* 97). See Appendix One for a synopsis of the play.

⁴ See Bliss's article, "Defending" (296).

with lust. Fletcher's shepherds and shepherdesses experience significant humoral imbalances throughout the play which reveal and complicate Fletcher's interest in male and female bodies, and highlight the importance of bodily excess. Secondly, critics have largely been quiet in commenting upon the fact that Fletcher's play was written for and performed by a company of young men, and, in this respect, Fletcher was also keen to theatricalise social and cultural ideologies associated with youth culture. The genre of pastoral itself encourages an author to dramatise and discuss "ways of life and attitudes toward experience, about nature and human values" (Ettin, *Literature* 56); this chapter asserts that Fletcher does so through a focussed analysis of youth identities and ideologies. Even though scholars such as Perry have recognised that the play is concerned with the "interrogation and exposure of excessive, intemperate passions" (*Making* 62), no one has approached the subject from the standpoint of Fletcher's interest in youth. Fletcher's keen interest in youth culture is therefore explicitly dramatised in his first solo offering for the stage. Fletcher, like Chapman, Marston, Jonson, and Field, is interested in the regulation and changeability of the youthful body.

As scholarship on early modern literature has keenly argued, the play was a complete failure, and if anything, Fletcher's innovative pastoral was too radical for an audience to accept.⁵ Even though we should exercise caution as to how accurately we can measure the success or failure of a play on the early modern stage – for example, did *every* member of the audience damn the play? – especially because the functions of the commendatory verses are multifaceted, it is accurate to say that academics have not been kind to Fletcher's play.⁶ Despite negative commentary such as Eugene Waith labelling the play as "stiffly artificial" (5) and Finkelpearl's assertions that the play is "tinged with...Puritanism" and that *The Faithful Shepherdess* is marred by "overly sumptuous, closet-drama lyricism [and] heavy simplistic moralizing" ("John Fletcher" 289), Fletcher's play is a complex exploration of youthful excess and the uncontrollability of the passions that dictate the actions of the body. It is problematic to label the play as containing a simplistic moral message and the arguments presented in this chapter also complicate the claim by Sandra Clark that *The Faithful Shepherdess* exemplifies the "power of chastity" (*Plays* 28). As shall be demonstrated below with the character of Perigot, Fletcher's play is multivocal in its awareness of inculcating and stimulating a theatre audience, reinforcing Philip Finkelpearl's assertion that both Fletcher and Beaumont wrote for "knowledgeable and sophisticated friends" who made up a large section of the audience in the

⁵ See Chandler's suggestion: "Given what appear to have been seventeenth-century audience expectations, of artificial and clownish shepherds in a setting either idyllically pastoral or roughly, bawdily comedic, it is not surprising that theater-goers found the dramaturgical progressiveness of *The Faithful Shepherdess* not to their liking" (*Commendatory* 142).

⁶ On the multifunctional purposes of commendatory verses, see Chandler's *Commendatory Verse*. Finkelpearl writes that the play is "excruciatingly boring" (*Court* 111).

Blackfriars theatre with many of them from the Inns of Court (*Court* 54), as he attempted to champion “England’s moral regeneration” (*Court* 110) via an exploration of youth culture. This also reinforces Bruce Smith’s assertion that the pastoral genre invites the reader or spectator to look beyond the green fields of the play and contemplate the real world outside on the streets, the “social and political realities” (*Homosexual* 88-89), something which has recently been confirmed by Munro, who asserts that the play repositions the pastoral as “newly courtly” in its priorities (*Archaic* 169).

In his monograph, *Commendatory Verse and Authorship in the English Renaissance* (2003), Wayne Chandler commented that:

The commendatory poems before *The Faithful Shepherdess* indicate their authors were delighted with how Fletcher’s play fulfilled the function of teaching, of showing the goodness whereunto the audience should move. The poems also show, however, that the theater audience was not so delighted, reacting with blatant hostility to the moral criticism and message of chastity with which Fletcher’s play forcefully presented them (146).

Like Fletcher, Field is also keen to regulate and inculcate in his audience ideas about the process of ascending to manhood in a correct fashion, as we will see in Chapter Four. However, whilst it is true that the theatre audience rejected the content of Fletcher’s play, this chapter problematises Chandler’s suggestion that the play forcefully presented a message of chastity to the audience by exploring Fletcher’s blending of youthful bodily excess in the form of humoral theory with chastity, and the impact that this has for the thesis’s understanding of youth culture. Fletcher’s play may well be an “ironic pastoral” (Munro, *Children* 3), but it is one that can inform and extend our understanding of the links between youth culture, bodily excess, and the theatre as a cultural space for regulating and formulating youth identity.

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of humoral theory. The second section will explore the changeability of the youthful body in Fletcher’s play before moving on to a discussion of the vulnerable body of the choleric Perigot as a means of exploring humoral theory and youth culture. In the third section, the ambivalence attached to the character of Clorin is explored, suggesting that she dictates youth culture and regulates bodies. Fletcher’s ideas concerning youthful bodies and their regulation is indebted to and a development of the corpus of Italian drama that precedes his own play. As a number of critics such as Yoch have noted, Fletcher was indebted to Giovanni Battista Guarini’s *Il pastor fido* (1590) (“Temperance” 115). Fletcher’s awareness of Guarini and other Italian Renaissance literary writings helped to shape *The Faithful Shepherdess*, particularly with regard to the idea that the health of individual bodies results in a healthier body of the state (“Temperance” 116).⁷ It is these ideas about ruling the youthful body correctly that

⁷ Fletcher’s engagement with the politics of the land has been analysed by Gordon McMullan in *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (1994), which is discussed below in this chapter. As well as the

dominate Fletcher's play. But *The Faithful Shepherdess* is not as finite and coherent in its theatrical discussion of how to control the early modern body as Guarini's play is. As Yoch aptly summarises, "Guarini's single purpose of tragicomedy [is] 'freeing the hearers from melancholy'" ("Temperance" 117). Whereas Guarini aims to restore harmony to the theatrical world and instruct his audience, Fletcher's treatment of similar themes is more complex and perplexing. For Guarini, "plays teach through their excellent temperament how to be a well-behaved and wise subject: avoid extremes in order to endure gracefully" ("Temperance" 117). Fletcher's play meanwhile seems to suggest that the youthful body is excessively difficult to control and regulate, but, when regulated, loses all of its passion and pleasure, stripping away all aspects of youth culture.

For Fletcher, the policing in his play is fairly negative. When Clorin cures the shepherds and shepherdesses at the close of the play, the youthful men and women are stripped of their individual identities. They are moulded into a collective batch of 'shepherds', fit bodily to return to their pastoral work. Munro suggests that such an idea is embedded in Fletcher's consciousness and his "double-edged treatment of the genre" (*Children* 125). Observing the complexity of the play, Munro writes that

the play looks like a straightforward paean to the power of chastity and the evils of sensuality, praising the creation of a chaste commonwealth. Politically, moreover, the depiction of strict chastity in a pastoral world is obviously associated with the Spenserians' pastoralized attacks on courtly mores (*Children* 125).

But there is also a further, more complex strand to Fletcher's play, a comic subtext that contains many "Ovidian echoes" (Munro, *Children* 125). It is this humorous investigation into humoral theory that dominates Fletcher's chaste Arcadia, supported by Gordon McMullan's statement that the "sexual ventures that motivate the action of the play are circumscribed by suggestions of a real, specific world beyond arcadia" (*Unease* 65). The shepherds and shepherdesses are at the mercy of their humoral bodies and this has important implications for this thesis's discussion of youth culture and bodily excess. Building on Munro's identification of the complexity attached to the play, and McMullan's suggestion that the reality of Fletcher's world is more apparent than the pastoral cloak would suggest, this chapter analyses the ambiguity attached to humoral youthful bodies in Fletcher's play and how Fletcher's attempt to dramatise youthful bodily excess instils ambivalent and multivalent ideologies concerning youth identity and culture in early modern England. Ambiguity, in fact, is evident from the very outset of the play. Such a problematic and constantly changeable body is nowhere more evident than in the character of Pan. "Pan is simultaneously a libertine, an exemplar of chastity, and a Christ-analogue; these contradictions remain unresolved,

influence of Guarini and Spenser, Fletcher is also indebted to Longus's *Daphnis and Cloe*, Torquato Tasso's play *Aminta* (1573), and Philip Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* (1579-1580). As Finkelpearl writes, the story of *Daphnis and Cloe*, whose names appear in Fletcher's play, would have been familiar to every early modern schoolboy (*Court* 105).

and various versions of the god's legend are juxtaposed" (Munro, *Children* 128). Fletcher's changeable shepherds and shepherdesses embody aspects of this description of Pan; most are governed by their passions and pursuits of pleasure whilst at the same time aware of the power of and need for adherence to chastity. The finite and balanced body remains an illusive and unobtainable ideal that Fletcher dramatises to explore polymorphic aspects of youth.

The Importance of Humoral Theory to Ideas of Youth

This section introduces cultural perceptions of the constant fluctuations in the youthful humoral body. My title quotation for this chapter comes from *The Discoverie of Youth and Old Age* (1612). According to the anonymous author of the pamphlet, youth "glorieth in pride, swelleth with envy, boasteth of its strength, sacrificeth to its owne faire face, it is carried along with self love, and so becomes worse then a very foole" (7). Youth was understood as a period of a young man's life that was steeped in and governed by excess; an increasingly destabilising and disruptive state of existence. Youth was characterised by its pursuit of pleasure, and was a time of life without moral regulation according to moralists, that defined a body that was both uncontrollable and unstable. Youth was affected by the extremes of pride, envy, strength, and beauty, and all of these qualities resulted in a dangerously unstable humoral body that was constantly steeped in excess. A disrupted body often resulted in disruption to society as the author of the pamphlet realised: "youth is alwaies litigious, & troublesome" (8). Youth was easily inflamed, excessively angry and excessively disruptive to conventional societal regulations, and "the control of youth was essential to social order more generally" (Griffiths, *Youth* 37). As will become apparent, Fletcher was fundamentally interested with dramatising the destructive impact that excessive aspects of youth culture can impart onto a community.

As a young man, Nathan Field would have been aware of the importance of regulating his own humoral body in the social world of London, as well as realising that his theatrical career required him to simulate a range of bodily passions in order to provide a convincing performance. Even though his theatrical passions are simulated, Field's performances of ungovernable bodies are dangerous, with his own bodily health at risk because of the significance that humoral theory possessed in the period. To simulate a lustful passion would require the actor's body to indulge in notions of excess whilst at the same time exercising extreme caution that he does not continue to act in a lusty manner offstage.⁸ Early modern men and women inherited a Galenic medical understanding of their bodies that ultimately resulted in the notion that the body was an unstable and constantly changing vessel that was subject to the sway of bodily humours. A sanguine body was marked by too much blood; a choleric with excessive yellow bile; a melancholic with an

⁸ See Chapter Five for a discussion of several incidents where Field does transfer elements of his theatrical performances into his social dealings.

overabundance of black bile; and a phlegmatic body with plentiful phlegm.⁹ As Gail Kern Paster reminds us, men's "bodies were thought to be hotter and drier, women's bodies colder and more spongy" (*Humouring* 77), meaning that men were therefore naturally subject to the consequences of excess bodily heat; anger and lust, both qualities are central to formations of youth identity and practices of youth culture, as discussed with regards to Bussy D'Ambois in Chapter One. But whereas Fletcher's depictions of lust and anger are just as destructive as Chapman's portrayal, Fletcher extends Chapman's representation by removing the aspect of fate governing an individual's life to centre on the crucial notion that, fundamentally, it was young men and women who were responsible for regulating their own bodies, not fate. Fletcher's interest in dramatising humoral theory therefore contributes to the thesis's development of youth culture and bodily excess.

There have been several recent scholarly studies that contextualise the importance of humoral theory to understandings of young men in the period. Essentially, humoral theory suggested that there were four humours in the body: blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile, which possessed qualities: dry, wet, hot, and cold, and these were the product of the following organs: heart, spleen, liver, and brain to affect an individual's personality (Crawford, *European* 101). Jonathan Gil Harris has analysed how the period was influenced by medical ideas that disease was understood as a state of imbalance in the body (*Foreign* 22), which marked the already unstable youthful body as a site of corruption. Young men would have been well aware of society's belief that regular orgasm was "good for the health of all" men and women (Fletcher, *Gender* 46), perhaps accounting for John Fletcher's preoccupation with sex in *The Faithful Shepherdess*.¹⁰ Fletcher would have been well aware that sexual intercourse altered humoral balance however, and his society promoted the idea that sex "damaged the mind and dried men out" (Crawford, *European* 120), perhaps signalling the contradictory signs of youth culture; sex made the young man, but also had the potential to corrupt him. Indeed, as Katherine Crawford has revealed, chastity in youth was advocated as the key to a "long, healthy life" (*European* 121), and it is apparent that Fletcher is engaging with the contemporary issues of his day. As Marx identifies, "the aesthetic quality of adolescent sexuality...makes it an ideal of...pastoral youth" (*Youth* 41), but Fletcher, however, suggests that youthful sexuality in the pastoral world is frightening and problematic. In this respect, the chapter develops Kate McLuskie's assertion that Fletcher was interested in dramatising "sexuality and sexual relations" (*Renaissance* 200), by suggesting a solution to her statement that it is difficult to interpret the play's "treatment of sexuality" (*Renaissance* 203), not with a concrete answer, but instead by realising that Fletcher's interest in humoral theory and youth culture problematises his engagement with sex.

⁹ For an extensive discussion of humoral theory, see Shepard's *Meanings*, especially pages 50-51.

¹⁰ For a discussion of Galen and sexual intercourse, see Chapter Two of Thomas Laqueur's *Making Sex*.

Humoral theory was central to ideas of bodily health in early modern England, and medical intervention, therefore, was designed to purge the body of excess humoral imbalance as Michael Schoenfeldt reminds us (*Bodies* 3), instilling the principles that good health emerged from good living (*Bodies* 7). Schoenfeldt's important assertion that all bodies were fluid, and needed to be purged regularly (36-37) perhaps helps to account for the lack of control apparent in Fletcher's dramatisation of young men and women. Paster's important study, *The Body Embarrassed* (1993), also promotes the importance of humoral theory to the lives of men and women in the period. Paster finds that the humoral body resembles Bakhtin's grotesque body (14), which aids this chapter's analysis of the humoral youthful body as a body dominated by excess.

Contemporary pamphleteers frequently drew attention to the links between humoral theory and the youthful body's willingness to transgress. Arthur Newman, a student from the Middle Temple, wrote *Pleasures Vision* (1619), which contains a dialogue between an old man and a youth discussing women. The young man derides the old man because the latter's "blood is cold" (46) and suggests that the old man is jealous because "youth, with lovely *Venus* [may] play" (46), implying that young men are dominated by bodily heat and are obsessed with engaging in amorous pursuits. The fact that Newman was a student at the Middle Temple ensures that he probably witnessed numerous young men's lustful transgressions. Samuel Rowlands in *Humors Ordinarie* (1607) mentioned how love turned a "gallant youth" from "mirth to melancholy", becoming "exceeding pale, leane, poore and thin" (E2r). Even though it is a witty jest-book, *Humors Ordinarie* records the bodily transformation apparent in youth when an imbalance occurred in the humours. George Whetstone's *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties* (1584), had previously warned "the yong Gentlemen, of the Innes of Court" that they should not "without checke...follow Dalliance" (A3v-r), stressing the need for bodily self-regulation. Thomas Wright, meanwhile, had written in *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1604) that "passions and sense are like two naughtie servants, who oft-times beare more love one to an other, than they are obedient to their Maister" (8), indicating that the period was well aware of the importance attached to humoral imbalance and the changeability of bodies. Fletcher was keen to engage with contemporary notions of the humoral body to centralise links with youth culture.

As we will see, Fletcher seems to have been fascinated by the youthful humoral body and how humours can enforce the way that young men act. This is evident in the fact that, despite Marx's assertion that pastoral as a genre pits youth against age (*Youth* 2), Fletcher deliberately sidelines old shepherds from his play, instead focussing on a group of young people. Robert Turner has briefly suggested that Fletcher's "shepherds contain within them their source of trouble – their passions – which they must struggle to control" ("Slander" 192), and this chapter seeks to extend his discussion to consider the complexities associated with youthful bodies. The young body is

difficult to regulate, and furthermore, is a body that is constantly fluctuating and has no finite sense of selfhood. An excessively unbalanced humoral body can signal a complete transformation from a balanced and controllable body into something monstrous. It is apparent, therefore, that humoral theory is closely linked to the thesis's speculative formulations concerning bodily excess and youth culture, and that youth identity is inherently performative, as depicted in previous chapters, with Fletcher's shepherds actively performing the excesses generated by humoral imbalance as a means of expressing ideas concerning youth culture. Paster has observed this transformative capability of the humoral body, which consists of a "bodily transformation from the inside out, from the mind's inclination to follow the body's temperature" (*Humouring* 87). Fletcher's shepherds, as we will see below, are governed by their unnatural bodies, which are the objects of constant policing from the Priest of Pan who attempts to regulate the young minds by cooling their body temperatures.

As Alexandra Shepard has commented, young "bodies were represented as dangerously overpowered by heat and moisture" (*Meanings* 51), according to humoral theory. The youthful body is notoriously difficult to regulate, whether this be in the form of internal or external attempts at regulation with a range of factors such as the time of day, diet, environment and exercise, all capable of inflicting humoral imbalance in the young (*Meanings* 51). The time of day is crucial in *The Faithful Shepherdess* because it is during the night and under darkness that the shepherds and shepherdesses seem to be affected by a series of dangerous humours that are difficult to police and regulate as well as damaging their youthful bodies. What is particularly important here is how destructive the bad humours are in the play. As we shall see below, the characters are at the total mercy of their humoral bodies and display no awareness that their behaviour is incorrect or dangerous to their own bodies. Furthermore, the characters that are subject to bad humours display no inclination to control or regulate them; such a thought does not even occur cognitively. All of this demonstrates that according to scholastic, philosophical, and medicinal knowledge, many men and women in the period were perceived to be at the total mercy of their humours and locked in a continual battle to ensure that they were humorally balanced and in control of their performative and changeable bodies.¹¹

Regulating Excessive Lust: The Humoral Body in *The Faithful Shepherdess*

This section begins with a close reading of several young men and women in Fletcher's play to explore the links between Fletcher's engagement with humoral theory as a means to dramatise an important aspect of youth culture: the performance and suppression of lust. It is the "extremes on a human spectrum" (Bliss, "Defending" 299) that Fletcher was interested in exploring to challenge and regulate excessive aspects of youth culture. Fletcher's engagement with an important aspect of youth culture, lust, is evident from the very outset of the play and it is a topic

¹¹ See Shepard's *Meanings* for a full discussion of the difficulties of maintaining an even-tempered body (53).

that dominates proceedings. It is the policing of these excessive bodily emotions that is the primary concern of Fletcher's play, which exemplifies Andrew Ettin's statement that the pastoral environment provides a constrictive fictional space for the poet to explore a range of intense emotions which are "internal...private, and seemingly inescapable" (*Literature* 21). It is the careful regulation of lustful bodies, instigated by the faithful shepherdess Clorin, that dominates the early part of the play. Every body in *The Faithful Shepherdess* is subjected to the sway of the humours. The young shepherdess Cloe is particularly affected by heated bodily humours and is utterly masculine in her quest to lose her virginity. After an unsuccessful attempt to get Daphnis to have sex with her, Cloe comments, "Is it not strange, among so many a score / Of lusty bloods, I should picke out these thinges / Whose vaines [are] like a dull river" (I.iii.146-8). Her own hot humoral body only encounters cool, and thereby effeminate men, who are not up to the task of relieving her of her virginity. Cloe immediately encounters a rather more willing shepherd, Alexis, who is easily corrupted by Cloe's lust, speaking "oh how I burne / And rise in youth and fier!" (I.iii.190-1), which entirely suggests the fluidity and changeability of young men. Once the hot humoral body is enflamed by lust, the passion takes control of the body, erupting, not only in bodily excess, but also in a vocal performance that documents the synthesis between desire and performance. Alexis' acknowledgment that he burns with fire signals this ungovernable passion that he cannot control, and coupled with the fact that he also draws attention to his own youthful identity, furthers the links between youth culture and performative excess, as demonstrated in the characters of Quicksilver and Bussy. Like the drunken Quicksilver, Alexis' monstrous body is unfamiliar and ungovernable and it is doubtful that he will be able to regulate his own body until his lust is quenched.

Fletcher suggests, however, that such ungovernable bodies are far from confined to the male sex, with young women also depicted in a similar fashion as their male counterparts, which further problematises this external stimulant that infects both male and female bodies. Cloe later remarks that her body is so governed by lust, that "It is Impossible to Ravish mee, / I am soe willing" (III.i.212-3), which reveals that Fletcher was engaging with contemporary discourse concerning Arcadia. As Bruce Smith suggests, Arcadia "is a place that stands for a time: its sensuous delights and youthful protagonists compose a metaphor for the sexual desires of adolescence" (*Homosexual* 122).¹² Amarillis, who is likewise heated with hot lustful blood at the mere sight of Perigot, scoffs at his rejection by speaking a soliloquy where she declares, "I must enjoy thee boy" (I.ii.192). Daphnis, meanwhile, attempts to regulate his own humoral body when faced with the prospect of being polluted by Cloe's lust. Daphnis says: "I will not entertaine that

¹² It is also important that Fletcher's play contributes to the increasing "heterosexualization" of the pastoral genre (Guy-Bray, *Homoerotic Space* 134).

wandering thought, / Whose easie currant may at length be brought / To a loose vastness” (II.iv.11-3), instead choosing to regulate and police his own rebellious blood:

I charge you all my vaines
Through which the blood and spirit take their way,
Locke up your disobedient heats, and stay
Those mutinous desires, that else would growe
To strong rebellion (II.iv.16-20).

Daphnis is aware of the need for self-regulation in youth to control and inhibit lustful desires from entering the bloodstream of the body against the will of the individual. Hot lustful blood is “disobedient”, “mutinous”, and rebellious, actively fighting against the temperate body; the fact that Daphnis realises the importance of fighting his own body so that the temptation to adhere to lustful impulses is rejected, surely suggests that an active part of youth culture was the ability for the individual to learn to regulate and control his own bodily excesses, rather than depicting Daphnis as an “immature adolescent” with a “fear of sex” (Finkelpearl, *Court* 106).¹³ The temptations for many young men, in particular, those newly apprenticed in the metropolis, must have been staggering, with prostitutes specifically targeting young men.¹⁴ Fletcher does dramatise those young men who have succumbed to their excessively lustful desires and one such character is the Sullen Shepherd. As Amarillis suggests, he is “One that lusts after every severall beauty, / But never yet was knowne to love or like” (I.ii.200-1) and is represented as a hyper-deviant individual, deeply dangerous to the health of society. With his body dominated by hot blood and bad humours, the Sullen Shepherd epitomises a negative extreme of youth culture: the individual utterly corrupted by lust who must remain an outcast on the fringes of the community.

The Sullen Shepherd is an extreme example of a body corrupted by excessive humoral imbalance. Governed by lust and at the mercy of his bad humours, the Sullen Shepherd has lost his ability to discriminate, instead choosing only to be a slave to his hot passion: “all to me in sight / Are equall, be they faire, or blacke, or browne, / Virgin, or careless wanton, I can crowne / my appetite with any” (II.iii.10-13). Fletcher reveals the polluted youthful body to revel in all of the negative aspects of youth culture, with the Sullen Shepherd’s lustful body a genuine threat to the harmony of the Arcadian retreat. This in itself is problematic, however, as men were expected to show virility to obtain normative routes to manhood, and Frederick Garber has found evidence in

¹³ However, Fletcher’s ambiguity is again apparent here as Finkelpearl observes, because at the end of the play, Daphnis is ranked with the “heroes” because he “has remained chaste” (*Court* 106). Fletcher, of course, was undoubtedly aware of moralists like William Gouge advising men against excessive sexual intercourse as it could cause ill health (cited in Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood* 76).

¹⁴ See Ben-Amos’s study *Adolescence and Youth* for further details of how prostitutes extorted money from young apprentices (201).

Christopher Marlowe's poetry that the pastoral space can be rendered erotic ("Pastoral" 448).¹⁵ However, Fletcher's Sullen Shepherd is so excessively driven by lust that his pursuit of shepherdesses amounts to plotted sexual assault, revealing Fletcher's problematising of bodily excess when considered in relation to youth. For Fletcher, male expressions of virility are utterly negative. This is evident in Fletcher's exploration of the theatrical aspects of youth culture, realised in the Sullen Shepherd's recognition that he must be an expert deceiver, fully able to perform a range of amorous and honest suits to a woman that his fancy leads him to: "Offer her all I have to gaine the jewell / Maidens so highly praise: then loath and fly, / This do I hold a blessed destiny" (II.iii.18-20). Once again Fletcher highlights the negative performativity of youth culture in a similar fashion to *Bussy D'Ambois* and *Eastward Ho*. Excited by the beauty of Amoret, the Sullen Shepherd debates how his humours could have led him to rape her: "if she had denied / Alone, I might have forced her to have tried / Who had bene stronger" (III.i.128-30). For Fletcher, such a moment reveals the helplessness of young men who are at the mercy of their bodily humours. Acknowledging that his "blood is up" (III.i.132), the Sullen Shepherd demonstrates his dangerously excessive body; dangerous to society, to women, and to his bodily health: "now lust is up, alike all women be" (III.i.135). With the Sullen Shepherd transformed into something monstrous, Fletcher does obliquely shift the blame from the shepherd by stating that his bad humours are to blame for his ungovernable body. By alleviating some of the monstrosity from the Sullen Shepherd, Fletcher reminds the youthful audience that any one of them could be considered a rapist for indulging in their excessive lust in attempting to perform erotic aspects of youth culture, and if anything, Fletcher suggests that an individual's inability to govern excessive lust requires the uttermost extensive self-policing to ensure that the first inklings of lust can never consume the youthful body.

In Act I Scene ii, four couples of shepherds and shepherdesses are gathered to await the coming of the Priest of Pan. The Priest regulates the lustful thoughts of the young men and women and controls their bodies with his discourse that champions the power of purity and chastity. It is not surprising that the Priest wishes to maintain the health of the young men and women. As Ben-Amos has revealed, shepherding was lonely work demanding "independence and endurance" (*Adolescence* 74). The Priest's speech is worth repeating in its entirety because of the rich range of external stimuli that he discusses which can easily create bodily imbalance in the young shepherds and shepherdesses. The Priest says:

Shepheards, thus I purge away,
 Whatsoever, this great day,
 Or the past houres gave not good,
 To corrupt your maiden blood:
 From the high rebellious heat,

¹⁵ For expressions of virility, see Shepard's *Meanings* (59) and Anthony Fletcher, *Gender* (92). Garber is referring to Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd" ("Pastoral" 448).

Of the grapes and strength of meat,
 From the wanton quicke desires,
 They do kindle by their fires,
 I do wash you with this water,
 Be you pure and faire hereafter.
 From your livers and your vaines,
 Thus I take away the staines.
 All your thoughts be smooth and faire,
 Be ye fresh and free as ayre.
 Never more let lustfull heat,
 Through your purged conduits beate,
 Or a plighted troth be broken,
 Or a wanton verse be spoken
 In a Shepheardesses eare:
 Go your waies y'are all cleare (I.ii.9-28).

Just as the youthful body is subject to several external stimuli that dangerously corrupt the correct flow of the bodily humours, it is the external influence of the Priest of Pan who can govern and police the youthful body back to normal. With the power of his chaste discourse, the Priest can “purge away” (9) what daily activities have corrupted the “maiden blood” (12). It is interesting that the Priest considers that the body is affected by the “high rebellious heat” of the sun (13); “the grapes” (14) – wine certainly did create humoral imbalance – and even the “strength of meat” (14), which all kindle the blood with “wanton quicke desires” (15). It is intriguing that the Priest literally cools down the young men and women with water, which appears to put out the humoral fire, changing the hot and choleric body into the cold and wet phlegmatic body. This quasi-baptism by the Priest effectively projects the re-born innocence of the shepherds and shepherdesses into beings no longer influenced by the heat in their “livers and...vaines” (19). They are cured by his language, regulated and free from “lustfull heat” (23) that will never more through their “purged conduits beate” (24). Fletcher introduces into the play a problematic moment which complicates ideas of young men and women self-regulating their own changeable bodies. The Priest of Pan’s blessing suggests that bodies cannot self-regulate, and that an external sedative is needed in order to achieve bodily harmony. This may well explain why Fletcher’s play, despite its insistence on self-regulation, in fact depicts a series of scenes where young men and women are at the complete mercy of their unhealthy bodily whims. It appears that youth culture can in fact be regulated and shaped by adult authority, however implicit or explicit such hegemonic fashioning may be, and partly explains the thesis’s belief that youth culture is not anti-patriarchal, since the adult social world of early modern England constructed and enabled youth culture to a certain degree.¹⁶

¹⁶ Similar periods of licensed misrule occurred in the early modern schoolroom, as documented in Chapter One.

The Priest of Pan, therefore, possesses a significant role in Fletcher's pastoral world because it is through his cleansing discourse that social harmony and good government is maintained. His actions allow negative aspects of youth culture to be expressed, but in a way that encourages self-policing from the individual as a form of repentance for bodily excess, whereby the individual observes their own bodily failings and offers appropriate chastisement as a partial means of atonement which is completed with his external blessing. Crucially, in Fletcher's play, after the Priest of Pan has suitably indoctrinated and thereby regulated the lustful thoughts of the young men and women and left the stage, Perigot, played by Field (Wren 476), and his lover Amoret are left alone. Perigot's conversation with Amoret becomes increasingly sexualised and 'hot', revealing his own fiery humoral body. It appears that the Priest of Pan has failed to regulate this particularly hot male body, or that Fletcher was keen to indicate that young men have inherently unstable bodies that can quickly become consumed by lust. Perigot praises the beauty of Amoret (I.ii.61-7), commenting that her "haire [is] more beauteous then those hanging lockes / Of young *Apollo*" (I.ii.68-9). Amoret is quick to regulate and chastise his language, interrupting her lover to suggest "Shepherd be not lost, / Ye are saild too farre already from the coast / Of our discourse" (I.ii.69-71). Perigot is slipping into lustful language, objectifying the body of Amoret and praising her overpowering beauty.¹⁷ Interestingly, Perigot's sensual discourse has no effect on Amoret, who, as a woman with a colder body, cannot be so easily heated with the excessive language of male youth. Perigot's hot body becomes a performative sign of the lust that bubbles through his veins, and this sign is vocalised in his language, thrust out of his body into an excessive appraisal of Amoret's charms.¹⁸

Perigot's unhealthy body is negatively swayed by lust, apparent in his alluring discourse, thereby centralising Fletcher's engagement with bodily excess and negative expressions of youth culture. Perigot embodies Zackariah Long's suggestion that Fletcherian protagonists "are typically fragmented, self-divided, and inconsistent" ("Uncollected" 33), but I argue that this is because of Fletcher's engagement with and understanding of male youth culture. Fletcher is critical of the young male body, evident in his depiction of Perigot's unstable humours. Perigot is heedless, or unable, to self-regulate his body despite Amoret's advice. Perigot says:

I take it as my best good, and desire
For stronger confirmation of our love,
To meete this happy night in that faire grove,

¹⁷ It is also intriguing that in this moment where Perigot is unable to contain his praise, he likens the beauty of Amoret to the body of the beardless and athletic youthful Apollo, surely a playful piece of metatheatricality from Fletcher, reminding his audience of the beardless young man beneath the feminine attire of Amoret.

¹⁸ Virgil's *Eclogues*, which would be familiar to every early modern schoolboy, are also racy in their erotic pursuits (see *Eclogue II* for example, where the older shepherd Corydon lusts after the young shepherd Alexis).

Where all true shepherds have rewarded bene
For their long service (I.ii.82-6).

Perigot, with his veins truly fired, attempts to gain a promise from Amoret that they will have sex that evening. Amoret however, is not swayed by Perigot's erotic discourse and is in control of her humoral body, which demonstrates that Fletcher's investigation of self-regulation clearly markets a gender agenda where women are able to police their own bodies far more effectively than men. This imparts this chapter's understanding of youth culture, with Fletcher keen to reveal that the young male body is prone to bodily excess, and that lust is a crucial component of male youth culture and its pursuit of adult masculinity that evades self-policing. This is evident in Amoret's reply to Perigot: "Deere friend you must not blame me if I make / A doubt of what the silent night may doe / Coupled with this dayes heat to moove your blood: / Maids must be fearefull, sure you have not bene / Washd white enough, for yet I see a staine / Sticke in your liver, goe and purge againe" (I.ii.87-92). Amoret is aware of Perigot's dangerously hot humoral body.

Perigot's parting speech to his lover states that:

When I leave to be
The true admirer of thy chastity,
Let me deserve the hot polluted name,
Of a wilde woodman, or affect some dame
Whose often prostitution hath begot,
More foule diseases, then ever yet the hot
Sun bred through his burnings, whilst the dog
Pursues the raging Lyon, throwing fog
And deadly vapour from his angry breath,
Filling the lower world with plague and death (I.ii.128-137).

Once again, Fletcher complicates the play's representation of male bodily excess. In an attempt to atone for his prior lusty discourse with Amoret, Perigot feels the need to scorn emphatically any association with other young men who are governed by lust. Perigot's language, which is excessive and like the social fabrication of youth culture, performative, problematically centralises the lust that it desires to eradicate. In performing chastely, Perigot only furthers his linguistic fascination with lust by desiring that his own lustful body achieve total pollution via copulation with a diseased prostitute that culminates via animalistic imagery in more bodily pollution in the form of plague, before death. It is a problematic and paradoxical monologue with which to praise chaste desires. Sunburnt in this context appears to be related to bodily humours, that is that the heat of the Sun makes one lustful and heats the blood to dangerous levels which cannot be controlled. The image of the dog is particularly pressing as early modern society believed that dogs carried the plague virus, adding further images of rotten decay and disease that are emitted from the body of the dog; its breath a foul vapour that brings "plague and death" (137), infecting and polluting, in this instance,

the pastoral haven.¹⁹ The following section explores Fletcher's engagement with the language of youth, bodily pollution, and humours in the emasculated body of Perigot.

Perigot's Hot Body: Youth Culture, Bodies, and Emasculation

This section investigates Fletcher's ideas concerning lust and emasculation. Perigot's reason, and manhood, is called into question when he loses control of his own body when he feels aggression towards what he believes to be the sexually charged Amoret; it is in fact Amarillis transformed into the likeness of Amoret. Even though these ideas had previously been depicted in drama, such as Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* (1600), where Claudio mistakenly believes that Hero is with Borachio (III.ii.95-105), and in literature, such as the false Una in Book I, and the false Florimell of Book III of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Finkelpearl, *Court* 104), Fletcher appears to be revising such moments to focus on the complexity surrounding young male bodies and the culture of which they are a part. Act III scene i focuses on Amarillis, transformed into an exact likeness of Amoret, as she attempts to seduce Perigot. Alone in the woods together, Perigot is seemingly in control of his bodily humours as the pair sit down together: "Twas only that the chaste thoughts might bee shoven, / Twixt thee and mee, although we were alone" (III.i.283-4). The heated and lustful body of Amarillis will not settle for chaste thoughts during this secretive meeting and becomes forcibly active; governed by excessive passion she makes a bold move on Perigot:

Come, *Perigot* will show his power that hee
Can make his *Amoret*, though she weary bee,
Rise nimble from her Couch, and come to his.
Here take thy *Amoret*, imbrace and Kisse (III.i.285-8).

The sexually aroused Amarillis throws herself into Perigot's arms, expecting to heat his blood and fire him into a performance of manly lustful sexuality.

Instead, Fletcher's problematisation of chastity immediately renders the young male body as effeminate, as the chaste Perigot asks bewilderingly "What meanes my love?" (III.i.289) to which the ungovernable body of Amarillis lustfully and hotly replies:

To do as lovers shud,
That are to bee injoyed not to bee woed.
Ther's nere a Sheapardesse in all the playne,
Can kisse thee with more Art, ther's none can faine
More wanton trickes (III.i.289-93).

Amarillis's youthful body, fired by lust, effectively reverses the conventional gender hierarchy of early modern England. Made bold by her lustful heat, Amarillis woos Perigot forcibly and in an aggressively masculine manner, which horrifies the chaste yet emasculated Perigot. Amarillis's

¹⁹ See Slack's monograph *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* for a discussion of the early modern belief that dogs, cats and pigs carried the plague (45).

unruly body champions a form of love that is purely sexual. She believes that lovers should have sex rather than spend time courting each other, attempting to fire Perigot's blood with such saucy suggestions that there is no other shepherdess that can kiss him "with more Art" (292). This may imply passion or perfection, and also that she is superior to any other shepherdess for the "wanton trickes" (293) that she is willing to perform. Fletcher's rendering of female lust as masculine in its frankness and aggression complicates the playwright's engagement with youth culture and bodily excess. If Amarillis's lustful body becomes masculine and active in seeking to obtain sexual pleasure, then Perigot's excessive chastity renders his body feminine, or, like Thenot, Perigot is unnerved by female desire.²⁰ Seeking sexual encounters, as seen in previous chapters, was a fundamental part of asserting identity in young men and formed a crucial aspect of youth culture. But Fletcher complicates the traditional dichotomies of masculinity. Just as excessive lust can be dangerous, resulting in a negative performance of excessive youth culture, excessive chastity is emasculating, rendering the young male body limp and effeminate. Perigot's regulation of his body therefore, in denying lust to govern his actions, in fact results in a performance of chastity, that, for Fletcher at least, further heightens the period's obsession that young men maintain a middle ground between lust and chastity.

Perigot is not interested by what he perceives to be a chastity test, wishing rather to die than dare to dishonour Amoret (III.i.293-5). This may seem strange considering how the earlier discussion in this chapter posed the idea that Perigot is in danger of succumbing to excessive lust. However, the strangeness is part of Fletcher's ploy to dramatise the fluid performativity of the young male body, a body that is constantly shifting from one extreme to the other. In self-regulating his body from the trappings of lust, Perigot enters another excessive state, that of extreme chastity that borders on the misogynistic; he is certainly fearful of women's sexuality. Amarillis's response amplifies the typical early modern misogynistic interpretation of women as dominated by lust and once again, she is forceful and governed by her desire to have sex with this young man:

Still thinkst thou such a thinge as Chastitie,
Is amongst woemen? *Perigot* thers none,
That with her love is in a wood alone,
And wood come home a Mayde (III.i.296-9).

This also poses further problems in attempting to categorise Fletcher's central ideas concerning young men and women, youth culture, and bodily excess. Even though Fletcher enables Amarillis to vocalise a masculine ideology, that all women are rampantly sexualised, the character of Amoret is evidence that not all women are governed by bodily excess. Amoret, after all, is able to regulate her own body to discard lustful humours – but – this in itself appears to instil lustful thoughts inside the body of Perigot, who appears aroused by her chastity. When confronted with a woman who

²⁰ As Lucy Munro suggested to me.

freely ignores any attempt to regulate her lustful desires, the exact opposite effect occurs in the body of Perigot – he in turn becomes excessively chaste and disgusted by female sexual desire. Perhaps the pastoral environment itself is also symbolic of Fletcher’s multifaceted ideas concerning bodily excess. If the haven of the woodland forest could be interpreted as a site outside of authority – as it is in Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* – then the environment itself could be considered excessive in its denial of boundaries that bind and unite communities, and thereby, a perfect site for extremes to flourish. Fletcher’s ideas concerning youth culture appear multifarious and confused, but perhaps that is precisely the point. If young men and women had the opportunity to engage with literature that informed them that their bodies were uncontrollable and unstable, then perhaps one fundamental question that circulated amongst young people was, why try to police what is essentially un-policeable? Perigot, so far, has been able to control his own bodily humours and has carefully regulated his temperature to ensure that his veins are not fired by the saucy discourse of Amarillis. However, Perigot becomes increasingly agitated:

Perigot. My true heart thou hast slaine.
Amarillis. Fayth *Perigot*, Ile plucke thee downe againe.
Perigot. Let goe thou Serpent, that into my brest,
 Hast with thy Cunning div’d, art not in jest?
Amarillis. Sweete love lye downe (III.i.301-305).

It is clear however, that despite regulating his body from lust during this exchange, Perigot’s anger is beginning to take control of his person and his passions are becoming harder to suppress and remain balanced. At the risk of further emasculating himself, Perigot’s excessive anger seeps out from his veins into an aggressive statement that flatly rejects Amarillis’s sexuality. Inflamed by an excess of yellow bile, resulting in a body dominated by excessive choler, Perigot begins to act in an uncontrollable manner, losing all traces of masculinity: “Then here I end all love, and lest my vaine / Beleeife should ever draw me in againe, / Before thy face that hast my youth mislead, / I end my life, my blood be on thy head” (III.i.311-4). In this heated decision, unable to control his passions and overcome with anger and grief, Perigot sinisterly suggests that he will commit suicide to prevent his misled youth being tempted again by the dangerous trappings of love. Such a moment perfectly captures the complexity with which Fletcher is dramatising the excesses and fluidity of youthful bodies. Perigot’s body has experienced feelings of lust, chastity, anger, and suicide; a whole range of extreme emotions that encapsulate the instability of youth as a life stage. For Fletcher, every performance of youth identity is tied to bodily excess.

As Perigot has been indoctrinated by the Priest of Pan to think that lust is a polluting sin, he takes it upon himself to regulate violently the lustful body of Amarillis. Such a moment, where youth culture demanded that action be taken by young men, is indicative of the performativity of

identity, and how ungovernable and rash the young could be.²¹ In a moment of extreme bodily excess, Perigot decides that “[t]his steele shall peirse thy lustfull hart” (III.i.318), attempting to plunge his knife into the heart of Amarillis. Amarillis manages to flee and the stage directions indicate that “*He runs after her*”, allowing for the Sullen Shepherd to appear and uncharm Amarillis so that her transformation is ended. Perigot appears, chasing in Amarillis and after observing that Amarillis is not the same woman that he chased off stage, at least to his deceived eyes, Perigot admits that he cannot control his passionate anger. Apologising to Amarillis, Perigot says “my rage and night / Were both upon me and beguild my sight” (III.i.333-4), drawing attention to the dangerous bodily state that his uncontrollable anger has put him into. Such a dangerous excess of anger is quickly demonstrated to the audience as the real Amoret enters and with the briefest of exchanges, Perigot stabs her before speaking, “Death is the best reward thats due to lust” (III.i.346), next fleeing the stage, an attack that Munro describes as a “sexualised, if not [a] figurative rape” (*Children* 129). It is, however, problematic to suggest that the moment that Perigot attacks the body of Amoret be a moment akin to rape, considering how excessively chaste Perigot is in the play. Perigot is a character fearful of sexuality and aware of the dangers of the polluting nature of bodily lust. It is difficult to account for the bodily excess of Perigot and why such a brutal form of policing lust is enforced by his character. It appears that Perigot attempts to regulate Amoret by inflicting a wound on her polluted body that allows the excess lust in her blood to pour out. No longer in control of his body and governed by anger, Perigot may represent the early modern fear of a man that cannot suitably regulate his own passions becoming beastly and monstrous, despite Finkelpearl’s assertion that the play “exonerates” him completely (*Court* 106) because of his “fanatical devotion to the sacred cause of chastity” (*Court* 106).

Such a bodily extreme would aptly demonstrate Fletcher’s insistence on the general themes of temperance and moderation with regard to love and sexuality in this play, whilst also ensuring that his text attempts to instruct the youthful audience about the importance of bodily self-regulation by staging excess. By engaging with negative forms of youth culture, such as excessive desire and erotic violence, Fletcher’s play once again reveals that the stage engages with aspects of early modern culture to inculcate the audience with correct ways of growing up. But it is also important that Perigot may act in an unmanly fashion precisely because of his inability to regulate his own lover (despite the fact that it is the lustful Amarillis rather than the chaste Amoret). This still ensures that youth culture and growing up are linked to learning how to continue patriarchal rule. As Shepard has suggested, male loss of authority over women often resulted in men scapegoating

²¹ See the discussion in Chapter Five of the incident in which Field and Beaumont took it upon themselves to violently right the wrongs done to Theophilus Field by Thomas Bradbury. The Shrove Tuesday riots are also evidence of young men performing ideas that were circulated in their culture. See Shepard (*Meanings* 99), Griffiths (*Youth* 147-161), and Ben-Amos (*Adolescence* 183) for further details.

women for the breakdown of authority (*Meanings* 80), and such societal ideas may suggest why Perigot isolates himself after attacking Amoret in the play after he has attempted, not only to kill himself, but also to kill her, since he has lost his place in conventional society because of his failure to construct a healthy and chaste relationship. It is evident that Fletcher's engagement with extreme bodies aims to amplify the grotesque in order to champion healthy aspects of youth culture. Perigot's emasculation at this moment, an outcast from conventional society, is the direct result of his inability to control and suppress the masculine lust of Amarillis disguised as Amoret. It is also important that once again, Perigot, despite possessing a dangerously imbalanced body, believes that he is acting according to his tuition from the Priest of Pan; that lust in youth is dangerous and needs to be regulated aggressively.²² Fletcher therefore reveals Perigot's failings to interpret correctly those teachings offered by authority figures.

As Lesel Dawson has suggested, bloodletting "is a principal cure for lovesickness; it released the lover's excess blood and the corrupt melancholy, and thus restored the balance of the four corporeal substances" (*Lovesickness* 19). Perigot's fear of contamination is coupled with a fear that his own blood and youthful body will be corrupted if he has sex with a lustful and unchaste Amoret. This further problematises Fletcher's engagement with youth culture on the stage; in one instance instructing young men against illicit sexual activity, but at the same time dramatising the instability of the youthful body so that its ungovernable state of existence naturally seeks sexual intercourse against the will of the individual who is powerless to regulate the excessive passion of lust. For Fletcher, unstable bodies result in unstable communities. The following section analyses Fletcher's complex and ambiguous characterisation of Clorin, who attempts to regulate young bodies in the pastoral world, often at the expense of expressions of individuality and youth culture.

Clorin, Chastity and Youth Culture

Clorin is far from the idealised heroine that Fletcher suggests his audience should champion as a paragon to embrace. The ambiguity attached to her character has been analysed by scholars who have been unsure whether to classify her as an archetype of the Golden Age of England under Elizabeth I, or a crafty ruler keen to crush the dissent and unrest in her pastoral society. If Clorin can be interpreted as a figure reminiscent of the England/Arcadia under Elizabeth I, then, as Proctor Williams suggests, *The Faithful Shepherdess* is politically motivated and praises James I. Williams comments, "what was needed and what Fletcher provided in the first decade of the reign of James...was a form which expressed in theatrical fiction the belief that in spite of potentially dangerous circumstances harmony and order would prevail in the end" ("Tragicomedy" 146). But this is also problematic. If harmony and order are restored in England/Arcadia, Fletcher suggests, it

²² In this respect Fletcher's play also shares parallels with Chapman's portrayal of Bussy who performs incorrectly through mis-learning. See Chapter One.

is through the suppression of individual identity and total subservience to a single authoritative ruler. What becomes apparent is that the collective humoral body of England requires careful policing, as McMullan's analysis of Fletcher's play reveals. McMullan suggests that Fletcher possibly experienced first-hand the Midlands Revolt of 1607, the effects of which are evident within the composition of *The Faithful Shepherdess*. McMullan suggests that Fletcher's play is the first by the dramatist "to represent the dangerous potential of popular unrest" (55). This further intensifies the problematic power that Clorin possesses in this pastoral world; the line is blurred which either marks her out as a benevolent and useful policer of youthful lust, or a tyrant who crushes any form of individual bodily pleasure.²³ If youth needs careful policing then the youthful England born at the start of Elizabeth I's reign also requires careful policing and control. Perhaps, rather than as a paragon of chastity, Fletcher's treatment of Clorin invites the spectator or reader to be wary of such an ambivalent ruler, she is certainly a powerful figure for shaping and regulating aspects of youth culture that are transitory and corporeal, debunking the myth that freedom can be sought in the forest rather than the city. This idea is supported by McMullan's analysis which argues that "Fletcher seeks ways to explore the complexities of government in the context of local unease and unrest, representing the possibility that mismanagement of the ramifications of changing property relations could lead to serious destabilization in the country" (55), and Sandra Clark has commented on the "extreme means" that the play presents policing chastity (*Plays* 30). The menacing undercurrent of the play is coupled with the fact that the action takes place during the darkness of night, and as Bliss observes, darkness "releases the full range of hidden desire and hopelessly confuses daylight's easy distinctions and temperate pairings" (302). Once the events of the night have been realised and daylight approaches at the start of Act V, the play returns to its central concern of the forceful coercion of bodies into regulated and passionless individuals. In this respect, the ending of the play is equally disturbing and controlling rather than liberating. Even after the frequently unstable humoral body has been regulated and coerced into chaste heterosexual union, all that is left for the couples to share is a cold and distant union that ultimately reveals separation; separation from the sensuality of the body and the positive aspects of youth identity. It is therefore useful to study Fletcher's engagement with youth culture and chastity via the character of Clorin.

Clorin has been curing and regulating the lustful and polluted bodies of the other shepherds and shepherdesses, particularly Cloe and Alexis. Clorin, having cured Alexis' wound, which she believes bled because he was excessively lustful in his pursuit of Cloe, warns the young pair against the dangers of lust. Clorin says:

²³ For further discussion of Fletcher's "uneasy...politics of the land" (54), see McMullan's *The Politics of Unease*, especially pages 54-55.

So hard it is lewd lust to cure,
 Take heede then how you turne your eye,
 On these other lustfully:
 And sheephardesse take heed least you,
 Move his willing eye thereto,
 Let no wring, nor pinch, nor smile
 Of yours, his weaker sence beguile (V.v.4-10).

Serving as a warning and an example of how difficult it is not only to police, but also to regulate the humoral body, Clorin suggests that it is the eye which is most at fault in inspiring lust. It is important that for Clorin, it is the female body and female actions that can quickly inspire lust and fire in the veins of a man with her physical gestures: a “wring”, “pinch” or “smile”, which importantly ascribes a negative aspect of male youth culture to coquettish women. Clorin’s discourse and potions are powerful however, and appear to have effectively removed all traces of lust from the young shepherds and shepherdesses. Alexis comments that:

I have forgot all vaine desires,
 All looser thoughts, ill tempred fires,
 True love I find a pleasant fume,
 Whose moderat heat can nere consume (V.v.13-6).

Clorin has successfully restored temperate and balanced humours to the body of Alexis, he is governed and ruled by a moderate heat that ensures that he is not in danger of slipping into excessive behaviour, excessive heat or excessive desires. Cloe too has experienced bodily regulation via Clorin’s potions, “And I a newe fire feelee in mee, / Whose base end is not quench to be” (V.v.17-8). Clorin, evidently pleased, says, “Joyne your hands with modest touch, / And for ever keepe you such” (V.v.19-20), conjuring images of betrothal. Problematically however, Clorin regulates the youthful bodies with an external stimulant – her potions. The young shepherds and shepherdesses do not engage in a form of self-repentance and self-regulation. It is only through powerful charms that their bodies become controllable and stable. Clorin’s medicine effectively creates a model for youth that is asexual, totally devoid of lust and feeling, leaving the world of the play with another humoral imbalance; that of an extreme form of and excessive display of chastity. This is particularly important for Fletcher’s engagement with youth culture in a play where experiencing any form of desire in youth appears to be utterly condemned. The shepherds and shepherdesses are not educated in this play, Fletcher’s faithful shepherdess Clorin and the Priest of Pan can only numb and prevent the young people from displaying their passions, rather than encouraging them to reject openly the paths offered by lust. Only Perigot appears to act with any sense of awareness of the dangers of bodily excess and genuine knowledge that he has sinned and attempts to achieve repentance and atonement inspired by his own acknowledgement of his faults (V.v.22-3).

It should already be apparent that Fletcher's play seemingly discards one form of humoral extremeness that is dangerously lustful, only to embrace a new extreme, one that is excessively and dangerously chaste. The ending of the play is dangerously controlling with the obsession of regulating youth becoming a form of destroying individuality that results in one collective impersonalised group, denied personal passions and feelings. Clorin's final words to the shepherds and shepherdesses are steeped with subliminally indoctrinating yet contradictory messages. Clorin informs the reformed Amarillis: "Yonge sheeheardesse now, ye are brought againe / To virgin state, be so, and so remaine / To thy last day, unless the faithfull love / Of some good sheeheard force thee to remove, / Then labour to be true to him" (V.v.158-62). Amarillis's virginal state is determined by her chaste or unchaste humours rather than sexual penetration. Fully restored to a temperate and regulated humour, Amarillis is healthy and pure. Confusingly, Clorin suggests that Amarillis emulate her own vow of chastity to her dying day before immediately contradicting that state by suggesting that Amarillis may succumb to a "faithfull love". However, Clorin's diction is indicative of her perception of male and female relationships, choosing to suggest that a faithful male love will force Amarillis to give up her chastity, just as the Sullen Shepherd has attempted to break her chastity throughout the play. After Amarillis has given up her chastity, Clorin suggests that she will have to labour to be true to her lover, suggesting that the sexual encounter will permanently fire Amarillis's blood, leaving her with a voracious appetite that will be difficult for her husband to police, revealing that bodily excess was a pressing concern for the social world of early modern England. Clorin concludes with a more general set of regulations for all of the young shepherds and shepherdesses to follow, policing blood and lust by advising that youth "correct the bloud, / With thrifty bitts and laboure" (V.v.172-3), recalling Touchstone's advice to Quicksilver in *Eastward Ho* that hard work is morally reforming for young people. But Fletcher's engagement with the youthful body is significantly different from those playwrights who produced *Eastward Ho*, because finally, the Priest of Pan cautions the youthful gathering in a fashion that appears to suggest awareness that youth cannot be controlled. The Priest says:

All your strength,
 Cannot keepe your foot from falling,
 To lewd lust, that still is calling,
 At your cottage, till his power,
 Bring againe that golden howre,
 Of peace and rest, to every soule (V.v.201-6).

It appears inevitable that the youthful body will be governed by hot blood and lust despite hard work being championed as a crucial component to enable bodily self-regulation, thereby confirming Fletcher's complex investigation into youth culture. Fletcher appreciates that some aspects of youth identity are negative, but at the same time champions the idea that excess is uncontrollable and that passions could be indulged to assert the sensuality of the body.

Despite the fact that she is able to control her humoral body in a manner that Perigot is unable to, it does not make Clorin the more appealing character. Whilst it is rather futile to suggest that Fletcher champions the characteristics of one character more than another, it is useful to comment on his keenness to explore the opportunities afforded by male and female excess in his discussion and contribution to youth culture. If Perigot can embody everything that makes young men's bodies so dangerously unstable in the period, then Clorin's excessive adherence to chastity is no solution to the problem. Clorin's decision to live a life of chastity is also problematic according to early modern medical theories that suggested that sex was medicinal for women. Without engaging in lawful sexual activity, Clorin risks poisoning and polluting her own body.²⁴ Yet in the world of the play, Clorin is worshipped as a cult figure. As James Yoch elaborates, "the self-imposed restraint Clorin illustrates and promulgates is part of the anatomy of decorum – just, temperate, religious" (Yoch 132). Clorin's humoral body is reminiscent of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth, the paragon of chastity and good government, qualities that James I did not possess. But Clorin's quashing and denial of youth identity and culture problematises Fletcher's apparently glowing dramatisation of a lost golden world. Finkelpearl's succinct observation is true; the world of the play "would be a heavily policed Arcadia" ("John Fletcher" 288) where youth is unable to flourish.²⁵ For McMullan, the close of the play where the Priest of Pan appears surprisingly acquiescent in handing over power to the "virgin priestess" Clorin, signals a further Fletcherian invocation of the Golden Age of Elizabeth (67). All the evidence suggests that Clorin is both a chaste paragon to worship and a problematic unstable body in the play, a figure who sets up a model of life that others are coerced into following at the expense of bodily pleasure and youth culture. The fact that Fletcher does not advocate Clorin's life model as a good example for young men and women to live by reflects the dark and problematic ideas circulating in this text concerning individual youthful identity. Fletcher's pastoral world is a collective world where freedom and individualistic expression are eradicated by authoritative powers, aided by the utter helplessness of the young men and women who cannot willingly control their own bodily passions and pleasures.

What harmony there is in *The Faithful Shepherdess* is problematically collective and instigated by Clorin rather than an individual pursuit of self-reformation. Such a strict policing occurs when at Clorin's solitary retreat, Clorin prevents a happy reunion between Cloe and Alexis. Clorin says of Cloe, "[t]ake her hence, / Least her sight disturbe his sence" (V.ii.101-2) suggesting that alluring sights can fire the blood of Alexis and pollute his mind. Clorin's fears are supported when an inflamed Alexis responds "[t]ake not her: take my life first" (V.ii.103). Clorin observes, "See his wound againe is burst: / Keepe her neere heere in the wood, / Til I have stopt these

²⁴ See Mendelson and Crawford's book, *Women in Early Modern England* (2003), especially page 25.

²⁵ For Fletcher's dramatisation of the golden world, see Yoch. "Clorin's backward-looking pose may be part of a young writer's attempt to place the venerable past within the new perspectives of the present" (125).

streames of bloud” (V.ii.104-6). Alexis’ blood is so heated and flowing through his veins to such an excess that his wound overflows with the lustful blood. Here is a prime example of Fletcher’s engagement with the excesses that the young were prone to in early modern England. Bodily excess is a fundamental part of youth culture, and it is an aspect that Fletcher has repeatedly dramatised as dominating and un-policeable. Clorin’s problematic ideologies are apparent here. She does not attempt to engage positively with lust or love in this instance, and her denial of youth culture is a denial of the pleasures of the body that she herself once succumbed to. Instead of attempting to regulate the bodily desire that Alexis and Cloe harbour for one another, Clorin’s solution is simply to send Cloe away with the very modern maxim, ‘out of sight is out of mind’. Such a flat rejection of the body, individual pleasure, and youth culture, renders Clorin an unsettling figure; she may be able to police bodily passions temporarily but neither her medicine nor her ideologies attempt to deal with the problems of bodily excess; instead she only offers a temporary placebo that hides rather than embraces the problem of youthful bodies. For Fletcher excess may well be natural, but the methods for denying bodily excess practised by Clorin are not.

Dramatising Youthful Excess and Inculcating the Audience

The problems of youthful excess and pleasure are explored by the young playwright Fletcher in *The Faithful Shepherdess* where the youthful bodies of the actors and audience members are subject to many of the passions that would have affected the young men growing up in early modern England. As Ettin and Bruce Smith have shown, pastoral poetry is convenient for young writers (*Literature* 28; *Homosexual* 94) to express and “shape the world of conventional experience” (*Literature* 40). Fletcher adheres to this motif, addressing the perils and pleasures of youth culture. As a conclusion, it is useful to explore one final important aspect of Fletcher’s engagement with bodily excess and youth culture: whether Fletcher’s dramatisation of excess is intended to inculcate the predominantly youthful audience watching the play in the Blackfriars. If Fletcher’s play was indeed a failure on the stage, then this would naturally suggest that any desire that the playwright may have fostered to educate and instruct his audience would have been a disaster, and that the moralistic message would have utterly failed. However, as we have seen, Fletcher’s ambiguous pastoral deliberately fails to provide a finite moral message, and therefore Fletcher never intended to inculcate the audience with a particular message about the power of chastity and the dangers of bodily excess. Instead, his ambiguous exploration of youth culture and identity invites the audience and the reader to question their own understanding of and participation in the social world that they live in, therefore inviting a retrospective assessment of individual identity and youthful ideologies. The fact that the play failed simply means that Fletcher did not

wish to provide a simplistic didactic message that either condemned or praised bodily pleasure. Instead, the audience are invited to formulate their own opinions. Where Fletcher's play failed was in the sense that the audience expected a particular type of play, and expected a particular message, which when undelivered, caused a hostile reception. Such was the ambiguity of Fletcher's treatment of bodily excess, lust, and youth culture, that possibly, the audience did not know *how* to respond correctly. Fletcher says this in his preface "To the Reader", where he writes of the audience, in "their error I would not have you [the reader] fall" (497). The audience "began to be angry" (497) because the play was "missing whitsun ales, creame, wassel and morris-dances" (497), suggesting that they originally expected a play of festive revelry like the versions of pastoral that they had read previously.

There are several examples from the play that support these assertions. As the Priest of Pan interrogates Thenot in the final act of the play, after finding the young shepherd returning from the woods as morning approaches, he expects that Thenot has been a slave to his lustful passions during the darkness. The Priest says:

Doest thou lay out for lust, whose only gaine,
Is foule disease, with present age and paine:
And then a Grave: these be the frutes that growe,
In such hot vaines that only beat to know,
Where they may take most ease and growe ambitious,
Through their owne wanton fire, and pride delitious (V.iii.21.6).

Once again, authority is wrong in this instance. This would be an acceptable speech were Thenot consumed by lust, but he is not. The audience are once again invited to formulate their own conclusions as to just how destructive lust is, and that denying the body all aspects of pleasure could produce more harm than benefit. It is worth recalling that for early modern surgeons such as Thomas Gale, heat stemming from the heart was also necessary for positive functioning; it was needed for reproduction. Indeed, the early modern man relied on lustful blood from his heart to maintain an erection. "This elevation [of the penis] proceedeth chiefelie of the arteries which come from the heart, for the heart giveth voluntarie motion to the sayd arteries" (qtd in Callaghan 55). Once again there is a fine line between excessive lust and controllable heat to be used to good effect in the creation of children and achieving bodily pleasure. Such contradictory messages problematise youth culture as a complex life stage, but may also account for the audience's frustration with the play.

The closest Fletcher comes to providing an explicit moral message is with regard to the Sullen Shepherd, but even this is problematic. The Sullen Shepherd cannot manage his heat in a productive manner, his body is dominated by lust for a lascivious sexual encounter and this provides Fletcher with ample space to explore excessive aspects of youth culture. As the Priest and Daphnis retire from view with Amarillis, whom they have saved from the hot pursuit of the Sullen

Shepherd, the latter, driven by lust for the body of Amarillis, enters and whilst searching for her body, says:

I am not bashfull virgin, I can please:
At first encounter hug thee in mine arme,
And give thee many kisses, soft and warme,
As those the Sunne prints on the smiling cheeke,
Of Plummies of mellow peaches (V.iii.116-20).

Fletcher's portrayal of this young shepherd suggests that he is an entirely negative example of youth culture in the period, encapsulated in his performance of ultimate bodily excess. Governed by lust, the Sullen Shepherd is stripped of his masculinity when the Priest of Pan reveals himself from his hiding space. The Priest says:

Monster, stay,
Thou that art like a canker to the state,
Thou livest and brethest in, eating with debate,
Through every honest bosome, forcing still,
The waynes of any men, may serve thy will,
Thou that hast offered with a sinfull hand,
To seaze upon this virgin that doth stand,
Yet trembling here (V.iii.132-9).

The Sullen Shepherd's body is excessively imbalanced to the point where his actions do not resemble that of a man's, he is monstrous, a cancer to the social world of the play, performing in a similar fashion to Quicksilver in *Eastward Ho*. As Ian Maclean comments, a monster is "something created *praeter naturam*, not in the ordinary course of nature" (30); the Sullen Shepherd is an unnatural body.

Furthermore, the Sullen Shepherd's body is so polluted that he infects the impressionable bodies of his fellow shepherds and shepherdesses, contaminating their veins. Such is his corrupting nature, that it is probably for this reason alone that the Priest of Pan absolves Amarillis from any blame in the night's wrongdoing, despite her lewd promise to the Sullen Shepherd. But once again ambiguity is crucial in the play's ultimate treatment of the Sullen Shepherd. In a play that seeks to police and regulate disorderly youthful bodies, the fact that he is merely sent away, banished from the pastoral retreat, is incredibly problematic (V.v.102-106). Clorin merely puts him from the "sight, / and memory of every honest wight" (V.v.105-106) rather than attempt to cure him of his lust. It would appear that Clorin's power to reform and regulate young bodies is limited; here is a body that cannot be regulated. Such a moment not only dampens Clorin's power as an effective regulator of lust, but also suggests to the youthful audience and readers that lust can be all-consuming and utterly destructive to bodies. Finkelp pearl realises that, barring the Sullen Shepherd, all the other shepherds and shepherdesses are "enabled or *persuaded* to lead virtuous lives" (*Court* 105; emphasis added). Social coercion, or regulating and controlling youth, is important therefore in

Fletcher's opinion. If Fletcher does attempt to inculcate the audience it would be in this moment, where the excessively lustful body is marked out as anti-social and anti-youth culture, and Perry has observed that "intemperance" does indeed disrupt the community (*Making* 62) despite the fact that Bruce Smith suggests that a "sojourn in Arcadia prepared Renaissance young men for adult lives of public action" (*Homosexual* 115). This is evidently something that Fletcher is deliberately quiet, and even uncertain about, and is especially important considering that the characters in the play "resemble those who make England what it is" (Finkelpearl, *Court* 103).²⁶ Fletcher thereby reveals not only that male youth culture is dangerous to women's bodies in its attempts to seduce and pollute, but is also damaging to their own bodily health and identity in the attempt to enter the adult world of sexuality and masculinity.

Fletcher is interested in exploring the unregulated bodies of young men and women in drama, but he is deliberately ambiguous and refrains from providing a clear, coherent didactic message with which to inculcate the youthful audience into channelling an acceptance of their own unstable bodies into a positive performance of youth culture and social masculinity that adheres to societal conventions and regulations. These ideas feed into and develop the previous two chapters which have sought to evaluate the theatre as a potential space where youthful identities and youth culture can flourish, be formulated, and regulated. Like Chapman, Jonson, and Marston, Fletcher invests in the theatre the power to influence and explore the social concerns of his age, and his engagement with youth culture in a seemingly remote, but actual contemporary pastoral setting furthers the links between the stage and society in early modern England.

Field's performance as Perigot raises some interesting ideas when considering the relationship between the actor and audience, especially since previous analysis of *The Faithful Shepherdess* often draws attention to the consensus that the play was initially a complete failure on the stage. The following discussion attempts to locate how audience members may possibly have interacted with the company's star actor, Field, overlooking the play's failure to assess how Fletcher's play can contribute to the discussion of youth culture. As Anthony Dawson suggests, the actor's body possessed the power to affect the physical bodies of the spectators during the performance of drama in early modern England (*Culture* 37), and Perigot as a character is similar in vein to several types of young male characters that Field had previously played for the company, as Appendix Three documents. However, Perigot is a complex character for demanding audience interaction as Perigot lacks the confidence and bellicosity of Bussy D'Ambois and is devoid of the humour evident in Quicksilver. This automatically ensures that Perigot may not be as appealing a character for some members of the audience who identified with those excessive traits of Bussy and

²⁶ See Louis Montrose's essay "Of Gentlemen and Shepherds" (1983) for Elizabethan pastoral conflicts between the gentile and the labouring.

Quicksilver as garish and outlandish aspects of youth culture, but nonetheless make for an exciting theatrical spectacle, and provide the spectator with knowledge that transgression should not be imitated. Perigot, on the other hand, as a lovesick young man, may speak more directly to some spectators which could result in a certain amount of unease elicited from the young men in the audience. If some of the young men in the audience were in love, then Perigot's transgressions and fears about chastity may well reflect their own actions and doubts. The spectators may identify aspects of their own self in watching Field perform as Perigot, and this could create personal engagement with the content of the play in a manner which was perhaps lacking in *Bussy D'Ambois* and *Eastward Ho*. Fletcher's exploration of youth culture, therefore, asks for a more personal and inquisitive reappraisal of youthful values from its young audience, spearheaded by Field. As a shepherd in the countryside, Field may appear distant from the Blackfriars audience firmly rooted in London society, but the themes of lust, pleasure, and bodily regulation are certainly topical to the stage's reassessment of youth culture. As Fletcher is deliberately ambiguous when it comes to depicting a moral message in his play, so too is his characterisation of Perigot, and thereby Field's own body underneath the costume becomes identifiable yet alien to the spectators. It is fitting that Field grappled with the moral issues associated with youth culture in the first two plays that he penned for the theatre, as Chapter Four discusses, and evidently sought to build upon Fletcher's ideas to educate and elucidate the audience watching his own plays in performance.

As has been explored above, it is evident in a play such as *The Faithful Shepherdess* that the life stage of youth in the period was characterised by dangerous bodily excess. Whilst Fletcher has many important ideas circulating in his play concerning youth culture and bodily excess, the ambiguous exploration of how young men and women perform on the stage and in society would suggest that Fletcher believes in the expressive capability of the pleasurable body, and that young men should be allowed a space to flourish and develop as healthy individuals. This can be evinced by his characterisation of Clorin, who although praised, is praised reservedly, and implicitly criticised for her excessive chastity. Whilst Fletcher may champion the expression of youthful pleasure, the other end of the spectrum would suggest that an indulgence in unregulated bodily excess is doubly destructive to the individual's body, and society, as the analysis of Perigot and the Sullen Shepherd above has demonstrated. The following chapter of the thesis turns to the plays of Nathan Field to develop and extend the discussion of youth culture and bodily excess. Field complicates our discussion of youth culture and excess because he appears to perpetrate strict regulations with regard to youthful excess whilst at the same time championing the positive aspects that youth culture can bring to early modern society. It is to this interface between the stage and society that the thesis turns next.

Chapter Four: Reforming Bodily Excess: Nathan Field's Reformation of Youth.

Previous chapters have explored the burgeoning youth culture that was prevalent in the children's acting companies with an exploration of a range of theatrical excesses portrayed by the body of Nathan Field to understand the types of bodily excesses that could harm the youthful body. It is my intention now, in the final two chapters of the thesis, to turn to the writings of Field to discuss how his own plays develop ideas of youth culture and bodily excess. It is the contention of this chapter that Field explicitly aims to regulate bodily excess and encourage young men to adhere to positive performances of youth culture, championing the links between the stage and society in the healthy development of young men towards adult masculinity, which in Field's plays, is achieved via marriage. Field's performances of roles of young men on the stage aid his own ideas of young people. To study Field's body as an actor is to study a young man. This chapter contributes to the thesis's understanding of youth culture and bodily excess by analysing Field's prefatory material in one of his printed plays and his plays *A Woman is a Weathercock*¹ and *Amends for Ladies*. The first section of this chapter analyses Field's prefatory material to discuss how Field engaged with the performative aspects of youth culture in relation to his 'performance' in print and how his own identity is marketed. Field adopts the language of youth to speak to the young men and women who would purchase his play, and see him on stage in the theatre, developing his own ideas concerning youth culture at the same time as he wishes to educate his readers and audiences. The second section of the chapter focuses on a detailed analysis of *Weathercock* and the body of the prostitute, Mistris Wagtaile, to understand the importance that Field placed on the stage as a crucial space for debating social issues and reflecting contemporary culture. For Field, drama is vital in inculcating young men into correct performances of youth culture, and this is the subject of the third section of the chapter, where a detailed discussion of *Amends for Ladies* focuses on Field's important notions of women and marriage reforming unruly male bodies. *Amends for Ladies* is also steeped in the language of youth and dramatises an entire scene full of excessive youth culture in a tavern (III.iv) to aid the audience in identifying negative youth identities to ensure that they themselves reshape their own values accordingly.

This chapter addresses Nora Johnson's recent statement, that "critics rarely pay attention to Field as a dramatist or to his single-author works" (*Actor* 55), and will constitute the first chapter length study of Field's plays. This chapter also develops M. E. Williams's suggestion that "Field in his writing assumes an active audience who, whilst becoming involved in the play's fictions, will also respond to the players as players" (*Play* 280) to suggest that Field's engagement with youth culture and bodily excess on the stage actively encourages his audience to respond to the potentialities that theatre possesses for shaping and regulating social and cultural identities. It also

¹ Hereafter referred to as *Weathercock*.

engages with Johnson's idea that Field's plays establish "the stage as a major force in the social construction of identities" (*Actor* 71) to assert that youth culture and bodily excess are of crucial importance to Field as he explicitly theatricalises his interpretation of young men's social values in a didactic manner that aims to ridicule negative appropriations of youth culture. In this respect, Field's plays, and his projected readers, epitomise Cyndia Clegg's suggestion that readers bought plays for edification and playwrights understood that the reader was someone to be taught ("Renaissance" 35). This chapter therefore finds that Field was concerned with marrying the cultural values of young men with the stage's potential to advance correct standards of behaviour. Importantly, Field explores young women onstage with the purpose of dramatising how young men *should* behave towards women in society, and Field thereby regulates unruly aspects of youth culture and masculinity. The idea that Field was keen to use the stage to educate young men has the support of Müller-Wood, who suggests that the theatre did hold up a mirror to the culture that it was a part of and finds that "rationality, sobriety and self-discipline" were key (*Theatre* 51). This chapter suggests that Field was keen to dramatise the social concerns of young men, and that Field exploited what Müller-Wood describes as theatre's didactic potential (17). As Grantley has shown, a study of the stage is in fact a study of the "*mentalities* of the society itself" (*Wit's* 208), and Field was aware of the stage's potential to comment upon the social and cultural values of England. I approach the study of Field's prefatory material and his plays in a development of Collinson's ideas concerning how the theatre constructs cultural identities, agreeing that theatricalising topics that were pressing in society helped to "identify the subject more sharply, answering perhaps to certain anxieties within society and even in the inner lives of individuals" ("Theatre" 168). In this respect, Field was keen to speak to and educate young men via the stage.

Field's first play, *Weathercock*, was initially performed in late 1609 by the Children of the Queen's Revels at the Whitefriars theatre. It was first printed in quarto in 1612 (Peery, *Plays* 57) (Figure 4).² Field's second play, *Amends for Ladies* was initially performed by the same company at the same playhouse in early 1611 and is very much a response to Field's first effort for the stage (Steele 58). *Amends for Ladies* appeared in quarto in 1618. Field was just twenty-two years of age when he wrote *Weathercock* (Peery 37), and both of Field's plays have much to say about youth culture, identity, and bodily excess. Field's *Weathercocke*, according to A. Ward, "bespeaks the confidence of youth" (qtd in Peery, *Plays* 35) and both plays "are alike characterised by a curious combination of recklessness and aplomb" (Ward, qtd in Peery 35), which Ward suggests is because Field "knew his audience as well as he knew the stage, and could safely indulge in the freedom permitted to an acknowledged favourite" (qtd in Peery 35). Rather than accepting Ward's proposition that Field revelled in such freedom afforded by the fact that he was a celebrity figure,

² All references to Peery in this chapter refer to *The Plays of Nathan Field* (1950).

this chapter will suggest that Field was far more concerned with shaping and regulating the behaviour of his audience. This chapter therefore aims to refute Johnson's claim that Field was like a "puppet" (*Actor* 63) in his writing of plays, and instead of accepting the view that Field merely imitates Chapman and Jonson, this chapter argues that Field's unique exploration of youth culture and bodily excess reveals his analysis of important social issues and young men's everyday lives. Rather than imitation, Field's development of Jonson, Marston, Fletcher, and Chapman's ideas concerning youth culture is indicative of the important functioning of the children's acting companies in dramatising the cultural concerns of young men, and Field maintains his own unique views on young men's social values. Field's engagement with shaping and regulating the bodies of his audience is achieved via an exploration of the negatives of youth culture when taken to extremes. As Ira Clark has stated, early modern comedies "present dominant, contesting, and potential modes whereby youth could and did establish and assert their manhood" (*Comedy* 14). Building upon Clark's observation, this chapter will propose that Field's youthful characters, in an attempt to assert their masculinity and identity, do so in ways that are laughable because of the excessive and unnatural nature of obtaining correct states of manhood. In attempts to acquire elements of masculinity, Field's young male protagonists partake in unhealthy aspects of youth culture that render their bodies un-masculine and in need of regulation, usually by women, in order to restore bodily harmony.

I begin with an analysis of Field's prefatory material to the 1612 quarto of *Weathercock* to understand Field's relationship with his reading public as opposed to a theatrical audience and to assess the reformation of youth that Field obliquely mentions. The conclusion to this section will evaluate the proposition that Field's prefatory material is in itself a reflection of the values of youth culture and an affirmation of Field's own identity, artfully constructed in a rich vein of humour that mirrors Field's construction of his target readership. This chapter then considers Field's reformation of youth in *Weathercock*, focussing on the body of the prostitute Mistris Wagtaile, as Field criticises youthful bodily excess. This is a point of pressing importance to the primarily youthful audience of the Whitefriars theatre, as the area was particularly notorious as a hive of sin in the early seventeenth-century (Bly, *Queer* 140), and Field's play has much to say on the subject concerning correct ways of living; a direct attempt to convey a moralistic code of conduct to the audience. Field was an intelligent dramatist in this respect as local "references and familiar details flatter the spectators into a sense of security, and to a consciousness of superiority" (Williams, *Play* 303). Field's creation of a consciousness of superiority is a clever device as it allows for the audience to assert their own cultural values into their spectatorship of the play at the same time as Field manages to instruct and reform the bodies of his audience via the dramatisation of negative youth culture that the audience are encouraged to reject. Finally, the third section of this chapter focuses

on Field's *Amends for Ladies* where the playwright's detailed investigation of youth culture and its impact on society permeates the entire play. Field presents a set of characters governed by bodily excess and the denouement is an exercise in regulating excess. As we will see in both plays, marriage is crucial for regulating youthful bodily excess and signals the commencement of adult masculinity. Field's plays are populated by young people and provide an interesting commentary on youth culture's intertwining with society's values, compared to the work carried out in previous chapters.

“Why Should I Write to You?”: The Body of Print

Weathercock contains prefatory material penned by Field. The first is a dedication to “any Woman that hath beene no Weather-Cocke” (Peery 68) (Figure 5) and the second, an epistle to “the Reader” (Peery 69) (Figure 6). The quotation heading this section comes from the second epistle, where, as we shall see below, Field appears irritated by the fact that the “Sale-man” (Peery 69) has demanded that he write something flattering to his prospective purchasers. However, the very fact that Field has been in contact with the “Sale-man”, would seemingly imply that he cared about the state of his plays in print, as Tiffany Stern records that only interested playwrights would visit the printing house (*Making* 141), which is further reflective of Field's own compelling ideas associated with regulating and reforming the bodily excesses of his readers. Just as Field's play focuses on regulating youthful bodies, Field appears keen in both epistles to stress the importance of regulating the reader's body via print. Both epistles specifically encourage the reading public to respond to the plays in a certain manner, and in a fashion whereby the body of the reader remains regulated and free from the dangerous excesses occasioned by misguided reading. In this respect, Field is different to Shakespeare, Jonson, and Middleton, in that his plays do hold up a looking glass to life in London and its popular culture (Yachnin, *Stage-Wrights* xiii) dramatising young men's cultural values. Field's encouragement in his epistles, in curbing bodily excess, is largely a result of the locale where his play was first performed; the Whitefriars district in London, a place of riot, debauchery, and excess, due to the numerous taverns and brothels that constituted the majority of urban life in the precinct (Deborah Young 75), and Field would have lived and worked amongst the prostitutes.

The Whitefriars area and its theatre became a social space that was a haven for the young. There is little extant information concerning the playhouse itself but it is likely that the Children of the Queen's Revels took up their residence in the theatre in March 1609 (Deborah Young 57).³ As will become evident, Field's epistles encourage bodily reformation at the same time as they reflect the spirit of his plays, which do record the types of individuals who frequented the Whitefriars

³ The most detailed investigation into the playhouse is Kelly Christine Steele's unpublished PhD thesis, *Terra Incognita: A Theoretical Reconstruction of the Whitefriars Stage* (2009).

district. Ben-Amos has recorded that apprentices frequently visited bawdy-houses in the Whitefriars area (*Adolescence* 201) and Field is writing to them, just as much as he writes to the young men who used to loiter in the street, generally chatting, telling jokes, and drinking (*Adolescence* 193). In this respect, Field's plays do confirm Shapiro's suggestion that dramatists writing for the boy acting companies attempted to regulate the behaviour of their audiences, often by ridiculing aristocratic ideals in comedies (*Children* 101). Field's plays, therefore, were printed with the audience and residents of the Whitefriars theatre and district in mind, and it is appropriate that the prefatory material would discuss unruly individuals. That the quartos of Field's plays record that they were to be sold in the areas of St. Pauls (Peery 67) and at Gray's Inn (Peery 159), is indicative of the largely young, commercial, cosmopolitan, and student based readership envisioned. It is apparent that the young members of the Inns of Court who attended the Whitefriars theatre were certainly well-educated in eroticism (Enterline, *Rhetoric* 128-129); such a vital component central to the very life of the district.

The purpose of the authorial preface, as Gerard Genette identifies, is "to ensure that the text is read properly" (197). The preface can also function as a means of courting the reader, "not only to enhance sales but to reduce the risk of misreading" (Raymond 95). Field appears to be writing with two types of audience in mind, and it is clear from the outset that Field appears hostile towards a non-theatrical audience. Field does not "perform" the conventional role that the Jacobean reader might expect. Instead, Field engages in a different type of performance, writing a rather playful yet mocking tirade against his readers, inverting the conventional functions of the preface which generally aimed to compliment readers, flattering them that they mattered (Dobranski 38).⁴ Even in publication Field believes in multifarious and destructive binaries that at once perpetrate and destroy the self, at once aiming to promote his play whilst simultaneously distancing himself from the quality and content, adhering to the traditional modesty topos common in seventeenth-century epistles.⁵ It is important that Field's literary performance is as multifarious as the roles that he performed on the stage, and the epistles are further evidence that Field continually adopts multiple voices throughout his career, in many ways epitomising the complex ambivalence frequently associated with young men's performances of masculinity in the period.

By indicating a preferred type of audience, Field simultaneously anticipates the desired reader of his play. This certainly complicates Johnson's suggestion that Field's writing is a "telling blend of emulation and critique of the sovereign author" (55). Field may well feel the need to

⁴ See Chandler's *Commendatory Verse and Authorship* (2003), where he suggests that "ideal reader[s]" were envisioned by publishers and authors (22).

⁵ See Michael Saenger's suggestion that the front matter "constituted an early, coherent, and very versatile system of advertising", which employed irony and humour to achieve a sale ("Birth" 197).

‘perform’ in front of his reading public, but instead of criticising the role of the ‘author’, it appears that Field was keen to inculcate his readers into an awareness of his own youthful body, and his concerns about the social performances of youth culture. In this respect, this chapter problematises Johnson’s assertion that Field’s authorship stems from a conflict between the role of the author and an actor (57) by focalising Field’s performative voice and body as the enablement of an exploration of excess and youth culture in society. As Lamb has suggested, fame is crucial to Field’s literary performances (*Performing* 133), and as a popular actor that young men would have idolised, Field was in an important position to influence and educate his audiences and readers. In his generic address to the seemingly homogenous readers, Field “set[s] the bar by which authors wanted readers to measure their reactions – are they discreet, impartial, or knowing enough?” (Dobranski, *Readers* 38). Field attempts to imagine how readers will respond to his play, and it is important to investigate how Field performs in his own preface to ensure that his play is read properly. In adopting the blustering language of a confident youth, Field demands that his youthful readers sustain their active engagement with the issues present in his play. It is crucial to remember Dobranski’s interpretations of dedicatory epistles and notes to generic readers, that both served as a “defense mechanism and a foregrounding of the audience’s activity” (39). Field’s defence is certainly geared towards favouring a theatrical audience as opposed to a printed readership but it is apparent that he holds important messages for both.⁶

As M. E. Williams suggests, Field was keen to create “bonds between spectators and players as they all become willing and active participants in a shared enterprise” (*Play* 281). Such bonds are crucial for inculcating positive ideas concerning young men’s social and cultural values and I develop Williams’s observation to understand Field’s ideas concerning youth culture in his plays, which are also apparent in his prefatory material. Williams’s useful observation that Field was always explicit in stressing how important his audience are in the creation of his plays (*Play* 280) is developed here to strengthen the thesis’s assertion that young men are explicitly spoken to in these plays. Field may well be “inspired by the demands of the marketplace” in the composition of his prefatory material (Johnson 67), but he is also keen to speak to youth. Field, perhaps unsurprisingly, finds fault with readers as opposed to a theatrical audience, possibly because Field felt that his sense of identity was firmly rooted in the theatre rather than as an author.⁷ Field writes: “Reader, the Sale-man swears, youle take it very ill, if / I say not somewhat to you too” (Peery 69), indicating that Field appears to be writing to the reader, not only out of convention but also under

⁶ See Munro’s essay “Reading Printed Comedy”, where she suggests that some Renaissance writers argued that “reading a play before seeing it detract[ed] from the pleasures of performance” (41).

⁷ Thereby inverting the discussion of the prefatory material discussed in Chapter Three that appeared in the printed quarto of Fletcher’s *The Faithful Shepherdess*, where the audience are criticised.

duress; the Sale-man forces Field to put into print a recognition of his readership, of which a large component were young, educated men (Reay 54; Spufford 10). It is intriguing that Field appears desperate to distance himself from convention and to alienate the readers of his play, especially as Marston, for example, had written to the “Equal Reader” in the printed quarto of *The Fawn* (1604). In stating that the readers would take it ill if he *did not* write to them, Field actively encourages them to support his literary efforts *by* observing this very fact in writing. Field continues: “Introth you are a stranger / to me; why should I Write to you? you neuer writ to mee, / nor I thinke will not answere my Epistle” (Peery 69), once again adopting the playful language of aggressive youth culture to maintain the reader’s attention by drawing attention to their own performances of youthful verbal dexterity.

The hostility towards writing for a readership that is unknown to Field is double-edged. Firstly, because Field was used to perceiving *how* he performs in the reaction that his audiences present in the theatre, thereby promoting his celebrity status as an actor. Importantly, as Laurie Ellinghausen has suggested, the “experience of purchasing and reading texts is in part indebted to knowing something about authors themselves and the conditions of their writing” (92), which raises the important idea that some potential purchasers of Field’s printed play had probably seen him acting and knew him as a youth actor performing the cultural values of young men. Field built bonds with the audience who visited the theatre, readers could be “stranger[s]”. Secondly, the disparagement towards readers may be a jovial mocking of literary conventions rather than an outright attack on readers themselves, and Elizabeth Heale has previously stated that self-assertion “is always fragile and self-effacing” (*Autobiography* 171), suggesting that Field’s playful but fragmentary prefatory verse is just as multifaceted and contradictory as the life stage of youth itself. This reinforces the very act of poetic authority that Kevin Pask describes as “a site of social contestation” (*Emergence* 3), with Field keen to appeal to his readers just as he is aware of the commercialisation of retail. But to complicate this, Field was experimenting with his authorial voice, developing and testing a rhetoric of youth, writing sentiments that would have been shared with other young men. The thinly-veiled derision of the profession is critical whilst maintaining good humour throughout.

Field was keen to defend his work from the common derogatory comments made against plays as well as championing the didactic benefits of hearing a play in the theatre. Ironically, his father, the Puritan preacher John Field, had previously lambasted the theatre and actors.⁸ John Field had written an angry letter to the Earl of Leicester condemning the Earl for supporting the evil plays

⁸ As Cressy has observed in *Literacy and the Social Order* (1980), concerned preachers warned congregations against reading dangerous books, which included playbooks (8).

and actors (Brinkley 6).⁹ But Nathan Field is keen to stress how his own play can in fact aid the development of individuals within society into embracing correct moral patterns of living, by regulating or banishing youthful excess. Such puritan heritage clearly influenced Field, and although not a puritan, Field frequently stresses the importance of his religious upbringing and appears keen to unite religion and the stage, as we will see in Chapter Five. “To the Reader” demonstrates Field defending the value of playwriting because plays not only reflect and comment upon society, they also seek to reassess its problems, thereby encouraging members of the audience and readers to live as obedient subjects to God and their country. Encouraging readers to take note, Field states: “For I tell thee Reader, if thou bee’st ignoraunt, a Play is not so ydle a thing as thou art, but a Mirrour of mens liues and actions: now, be it perfect or imperfect, true or false, is the Vice or Vertue of the Maker” (Peery 69). Field attacks those readers who are, in his opinion, ignorant enough to dismiss plays as worthless and unchristian pastimes, as ignorant and idle people themselves. Field argues that a play is not an idle “thing” on paper but an active and living piece that reflects the lives and actions of Jacobean men and women, furthermore encouraging the reader to examine the text actively (Dobranski 37), just as the audience actively interpret the theatrical performance.

In this respect, Field perceives a very clear purpose for the role of poetry in the period; it can aid and instruct, advancing Robert Matz’s idea that poetry could provide “profitable pleasure” (*Defending* 23). Of paramount importance for Field is that a play is a mirror of men’s lives and actions, as this strengthens the assertion that Field strongly advocated the use of the stage to critique, formulate, and regulate the social and cultural issues faced by young men. For Field, the stage dramatises its society, with the stage becoming a powerful source of education, social-analysis, and entertainment. But, Field’s playful ambivalence is crucial here, where it is not clear whether the “Maker” referred to is the playwright or the reader. If Field means the playwright, then he is absolving himself from vice; if the reader becomes the “Maker” then the possibility for lascivious misconstruction solely becomes the fault of the reader. If the reader does not like what he or she perceives, Field seemingly argues, then it is their ignorance of the society in which they live that is the problem and not the play.¹⁰ How the play decides to reflect society is down to the moral agenda of the playwright, Field argues. As we shall see below in the discussion of his plays, Field aims to promote virtue, chastising the vice of the polluted body of the audience and reader. If plays did indeed possess a considerable influence over the transmission and popularisation of proverbial and commonplace sayings into everyday discourse (Fox 132), then plays could also transmit and reinforce ‘correct’ forms of societal behaviour and encourage harmony within domestic

⁹ Brinkley’s source is “Letter to Lord Leicester,” *MS. Cotton*, Titus B. VII. fol. 22, British Museum.

¹⁰ Field may well be echoing Jonson here, who had written an epistle “To the Reader” in *The Alchemist* (1610) which stated: “If thou beest more, thou art an understander, and then I trust thee” (1).

relationships. In this respect, Field's prefatory material prepares the reader for the fact that "comedies enable a public probe of social problems" (Clark, *Youth* 27) as well as enabling the creation of a "public image" while debating social issues (Kiefer, *Writing* 66). For Field, this is via the performance on the page and stage of a youthful identity that addresses social and cultural values practised by young men in the period.

It is important to remember that Jacobean readers engaged in "rigorous reading practices" that included an active interaction with the book in the form of marginalia and errata lists (Dobranski 9). This is crucial when thinking of how a reader imposes their own reality onto the text that they are reading. After all, it is impossible to approach a text without a subconscious agenda affecting the way that the reader responds to the words on the page. Dobranski confirms my assumption when he writes that "reading, as reception theory has taught us, naturally depends on...speculation and inference; without an actively interpreting reader, a literary work remains a mere collection of symbols" (10). Field was, presumably, perplexed by imagining how the reader of his play will speculate and infer *his own body*, something which the theatrical audience perform when they watch him acting. The reader effectively *constructs* Field as well as their own response to the play when reading the printed edition, and whereas Field actively champions conservative theatre that instructs the audience and reader how to live appropriately, he is also doubly-aware that his own body is on display, not only in the theatre, where the audience read his body, but also in the body of print, where Field the author is readily available for consumption and liable for misreading if the reader is "ignorant" (Peery 69). This may indicate why Field was keen to speak to the readers of his printed play, as words on the page without prefatory guidance, could result in misguided appropriations of the content, whereas in the theatre, Field the actor physically maintains attention in the theatrical inculcation ascribed to the performance of youth culture.

Field continues to address his readers with mock disdain, writing that *Weathercock*

is yet, as well, as I can, *Quales ego vel Cluuienus*. Thou must needs haue some other Language then thy Mother tong, for thou thinkst it impossible for me to write a Play that did not vse a word of Latine, though he had enough in him (Peery 69).

Field concludes with a Latin phrase from Juvenal's *Satires* I.80 alluding to the poetaster Cluuienus of Juvenal's day (Peery 242), suggesting that Field refers to his own play as aping the conventions and themes of his contemporary playwrights.¹¹ There is also a haughty jest with the reader; Field makes the reader aware that although he is (in oppositional eyes) a lowly actor/playwright, he is still enviably educated. Field was quite formally trying to show off his skills in Latin and effectively speak to other young men in a language that they are entirely familiar with and is associated with youths' education, as Chapter One documented. Field, in concluding his epistle, provides an

¹¹ The Latin translates as "What kind of people [am] I or Cluuienus[?]"

interesting anecdote about how he felt towards his own first offering for the stage. He writes: “I haue beene vexed with vile playes my selfe, a great while, hearing many, nowe I thought to be euen with some, and they shoulde heare mine too” (Peery 69). The choice of “vile” to describe plays is strange, despite Field’s usage of the word probably implying that the plays are of “little worth or account” (*OED* 5.a) but may indicate Field’s attempt to discourage his readers from attending rival theatres. It is also worth noting that in 1612, Field was a leading shareholder in the company and would have played a crucial part in listening to and buying new plays and may have heard several “vile” attempts at playwriting. Perhaps Field could also be referring to “vile” plays that lack morals or are too saucy and forward in exciting the passions of theatrical audiences, encouraging them to laugh at and accept adultery, drunkenness, and lust. Finally, Field’s multifarious performative writing is evident with the fact that such prefatory material could also be functioning as playful self-depreciation. Even though the material is multifaceted, Field was keen to inculcate his readers. In this respect, Field provides a play that also engages with the vileness offered by his contemporaries, “nowe I thought to be euen with some, and they should heare mine too” (Peery 69) but differing in the sense that his own theatrical offering potentially champions a restoration of morality and a condemnation of bodily excess. It is also important to remember that Field was playfully adapting the conventions of the modesty topos with his fairly gentle mockery. Field perceived his own name as merit enough to warrant his play to be read, scorning the traditional dedications and conventions of the epistle in his own performative assertion of youth culture.

The final lines of the epistle also reveal a self-conscious anxiety from the ageing youth Field. In the final line addressed directly to the reader, Field apparently writes a short goodbye, ironic in the first printing of his first play for the theatre, bearing in mind he has been involved in the profession since the age of thirteen in 1600. Field writes: “Fare thee well, if thou hast any thing to say to me, thou know’st where to heare of me for a yeare or two, and no more I assure thee” (Peery 69). Whilst stressing that the readers will be able to find Field performing in the theatre, these lines are extremely cryptic, especially given the importance placed on posthumous remembrance by those involved in literary culture (Thomas, *Ends*, 236). Field seemingly writes about his envisioned departure from a child acting company. This would certainly explain why the audience would know where to find Field for “a yeare or two”: uncertainty was rising. Was Field looking at alternative careers for the future? This possibly explains Field’s ventures into management and shareholding. As a celebrity youth actor, Field possibly saw playwriting as a profession viable to him with his own vast acting experience. The closing remarks of the epistle ironically reveal Field’s own subconscious seeping through in his final words for the reader which once again displays the tension that Field felt for readers compared to theatrical spectators. It is unsurprising that Field informs the reader that if they have anything to *say* to him they will know

where to *hear* him for the next couple of years, indicating that Field's readers should attend his theatrical performances. Such a multifarious literary performance not only matches the aptness of Field's theatrical performance, which is also multivalent in the sheer number of different types of young men performed, it also captures the essence of youth culture; fragmentary, contradictory, multifunctional, and ambivalent.

There is a naughty and somewhat smug playfulness in Field's epistle that precedes "To the Reader" that reflects Field's own opinions of youth culture and identity. Field is *playing* to the reader, merely showcasing another dramatic performance in print. Field's dedication "To any Woman that hath been no Weather-Cocke", has much to say about youthful identity and bodily excess. Despite the fact that Field begins with the bold "I did determine, not to have Dedicated my Play to any Body, because forty shillings I care not for" (Peery 68), he does indicate that his youthfulness is one such factor why he has failed to land a patron for his literary efforts. The play is written "from so fameless a pen as mine is yet" (Peery 68), but the word "yet" seemingly indicates that Field expects to achieve fame via his literary output. The same youthfulness, however, is also stressed in a positive fashion on the title page. The quotation in Latin, from Juvenal, *Satires* (I.79) translates as "If talent is lacking, then indignation can fashion my verse" (Peery 62), suggesting that Field was writing with the ireful spirit of youth culture, and the vocabulary of youth further strengthens Field's relationship with young men. But besides the half boast, half self-deprecation evident in the opening lines of the epistle, Field does offer his own commentary on bodily excess for the remainder of the dedication. He writes "And / now I looke up, and finde to whom my Dedication is, I / feare I am as good as my determination" (Peery 68), because in Field's opinion *every* woman is a weathercock (at least in the Whitefriars district), so the play is dedicated to nobody.¹² Such a statement could suggest that Field was merely repeating the jokes of his contemporaries and modern scholarship may well feel inclined to label Field as misogynistic, but to do either or both, would be to ignore the content of Field's play, which in fact advances the correct response to this dedicatory epistle. *Weathercock*, is, as we shall see below, concerned with revealing the faults of women and men, and aims to reveal the failings of youthful bodies in exaggerated circumstances to propose a moral solution to the audience: instructing them how to live their own lives appropriately and without the dramatic excess evident in the play. In fact, it is entirely accurate to suggest that it is men who fare far worse than women in *Weathercock*, something Field was keen to suppress in the dedication, but with the correct reading of the play, both sexes will profit from Field's reformation of youth. Field may well be exaggerating his own dedicatory preface to the play in order to instruct the reader how to approach his play; to look for the excesses of the female

¹² Marston had penned a dedication to "the only rewarder, and most just poiser of virtuous merits, / the most honorably renowned Nobody" (1-2) in *Antonio and Mellida* (1599), printed in 1602. John Day had, more recently, in *Humour Out of Breath* (1608), written a dedication "To Signior No-body".

characters whilst bearing in mind that he had already, by the time of publication of *Weathercock*, written a play that champions women. *Amends for Ladies* had been performed shortly after the success of his first play, and the final part of the dedication asks women to look out for the printed play which does justice to their fidelity; a clever marketing ploy that sees Field advise, instruct, and advertise his literary works to the reading public.

Both epistles exploited and confirmed Field's own youthful identity and his relationship with print readership and theatrical audiences. They show Field writing as a blustering young man criticising women at the same time as he playfully markets his own credentials for starting a career as a playwright. Field, essentially, writes about youthfulness in a way that reflected the types of young men that he performed in the theatre, and those young men who he evidently felt were his target readership. Field's discussion of 'weathercock women' certainly reflects contemporary interpretations circulated amongst the young and the stage's preoccupation with staging inconstant women, but as the following section will explore, Field was equally concerned with regulating the male, as well as the female body.

“What a stir is here made about lying with a Gentlewoman”: Reforming and Regulating Bodily Excess in *A Woman is a Weathercock*

Critics have largely ignored Field's first play and there are currently no chapter or article-length studies of it.¹³ The play provides a compelling theatricalisation of youth culture. The quotation above is spoken by Mistris Wagtaile, and in this section I aim to reveal Field's unusual theatrical representation of a prostitute as a means of regulating youthful bodily excess. The play thereby instils a particular moral message into the minds of the primarily youthful audience in the Whitefriars theatre, especially because plays formed a crucial part of a student at the Inns of Court's education and life (Cook 110). Johnson has observed that, if Field did play the part of Scudmore, the play becomes “fascinatingly self-referential”, but this is because in Johnson's opinion, Field was a misogynistic tyrant (70). In refuting this claim and by suggesting that Field reforms the bodies of young men via women, inculcating them into correct performances of youth culture, we can move beyond the dangerous assumption that 'Field the actor' is 'Field the writer'. Even though Field played the part of Scudmore, he is *not* Scudmore. Field does, however, aim to educate his audience and partly this is achieved via Mistris Wagtaile. Field's discussion of prostitution attempts to reform the opinions of the audience just as much as Mistris Wagtaile undergoes a moral transformation herself. Even though Mistris Wagtaile is a pregnant servant of the Ninny household, her poverty and opportunistic sexual indiscretions with a large number of individuals ensure that her identity is that of a prostitute, rather than a servant.

¹³ See Appendix One for a synopsis.

Surprisingly, prostitution on the whole has received very little attention in literary studies of early modern England, as observed by J. Sharpe (*Crime* 158) and Mara Amster (xvi), and there has been no extended discussion of prostitution in relation to youth culture or child acting companies, despite the importance of prostitutes such as Franceschina in John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1604) and the sisters Florida and Felecia in Edward Sharpham's *The Fleer* (1606) to the early modern stage.¹⁴ In fact, Duncan Salkeld's monograph *Shakespeare among the Courtesans* (2012) is the only recent book-length discussion of prostitution, focusing on courtesans. It is all the more pressing therefore to focus on Field's dramatisation of a youthful prostitute because of where the play was staged – a notorious area famed for its bawdy houses (Salkeld 25), where up to nine prostitutes could reside in a single house (Archer 213) – and because Mistris Wagtaile is not a courtesan. Mistris Wagtaile is a shady character and we do not hear her particular history and do not receive details that might identify prostitution as her sole profession. Mistris Wagtaile may be a small-town part-time prostitute who merely sells her body to increase her income or a professional whore operating from a particular bawdy house, but has been sent out of London because of the plague. She is pregnant, and perhaps, like other prostitutes discussed by Sharpe, newly enters service in a household as a means of earning an income (*Crime* 39). As a member of the world's oldest profession (Amster ix), Mistris Wagtaile would be perceived as a deviant and anti-social individual who had become a prostitute because of her “lustful desires and inherently sinful nature” (Amster ix). Such a negative understanding of prostitution could also function as a political statement, with society deciding to place the blame on the individual, resorting to prostitution because of their own debased bodily desires rather than the fact that starvation or mistreatment may have forced a young woman to enter into a trade that was constructed less as a profession, and “more as an identity” (Amster ix-x).

Despite the fact that Florida and Felecia are reformed by marriage, like Mistris Wagtaile, Sharpham's prostitutes are of genteel birth compared to the lower-class poverty of Mistris Wagtaile and the artificial representation of Felecia and Florida ignores many of the ills that Field's prostitute vocalises. In this respect, Field presents a compelling survey of contemporary social ills, dramatising what Salkeld calls stories of “human misery” (61). Field's prostitute is never presented as sensual or alluring and straddles Quaife's description of the “vagrant whore” and the “village whore” (146), who operate as individuals earning whatever money they can from sexual indiscretions. John Marston's Franceschina, meanwhile, a “punk rampant” (II.ii.83), is a woman dominated by bodily excess in so grotesque a fashion that any claims to social realism are lost.

¹⁴ See Munro's introduction to *The Fleer* for further information on Sharpham (xi). Also important is an earlier play connected with Gray's Inn, Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* (1594), which features an otherwise unnamed money-grabbing Courtesan (IV.iii.45-57).

Field's prostitute is certainly a victim, and one, as we will see below, who receives the sympathies of the audience as she undergoes the regulation of her lustful body.

The audience first hear from Mistris Wagtaile in Act Two Scene Two, where, believing that she is alone onstage, she confides in the audience as to her plight and profession, commenting on the fuss made by Captain Powts's slander as the young page conceals himself to hear her speech. As M. E. Williams states, Field's "concern is primarily to maintain [the actors] contact with their audience" (*Play* 239), and I would argue this is because of his aims of encouraging the audience to actively participate with the content of the play. However, the page's choric commentary on Mistris Wagtaile's sexual digressions encourages the audience to gaze upon the body of the prostitute with both disgust and pity. The page, named Will, says: "Ah Gods will, are you at it, you have acted your Name too much, sweete Mistris *Wagtaile*" (II.ii.8-9), later calling her "ill Mutton" (II.ii.38) to her face and mocking the plight of the prostitute, who has recited a "scrowle of Beasts, Horses, and Asses, that have fedde upon this Common of" hers (II.ii.53-54). Will's vocabulary of youthful insult records how young men may have spoken about whores, and it certainly reveals the excessive bodily transgressions performed by Mistris Wagtaile. Will's own sexual immaturity is foregrounded when he admits that he has not, possibly because he cannot, dabbled with Mistris Wagtaile, recalling the philosophy that his schoolmaster taught him "*Ex nihilo nihil fit*" (II.ii.49-50), which translates as "nothing comes of nothing".¹⁵ Despite his harsh criticism of the sexual lasciviousness of Mistris Wagtaile, the page, like many crafty young men before him, is the first to suggest that Field's prostitute make the best of the situation by naming Pendant as the father, a "verie handsome Gentleman I can tell you, in my Lordes favour" (II.ii.56-57). His advice, taken on board by Mistris Wagtaile (II.ii.60-62), may seem to suggest that Field's prostitute is purely mercenary. However, the fact that Mistris Wagtaile is not only one of the earliest pregnant whores on the stage, but she is also genuinely concerned about her unborn child, alleviates the condemnation somewhat, highlighting Field's unique portrayal of a prostitute in a perilous situation (Quaife 91).

It becomes apparent immediately that Mistris Wagtaile is suffering from morning sickness, with her retching interrupting her attempts to speak: "haulke, hum, haulke, hum, oh, oh. This have I done for this month or two, haulke, hum" (II.ii.5-7).¹⁶ The retching continues, "Hawk, hawke, hawke, bitter, bitter, pray God I hurt not the Babe" (II.ii.21-22), revealing her genuine concern for the welfare of her unborn child. In this respect, her search for a husband to take care of her child could also seem to suggest the reforming powers of marriage that Field was concerned with in both of his plays, and it is important that Anne Haselkorn places Field in the category of the "Liberal

¹⁵ Will the page has evidently remembered the courtesans in works by Plautus and Terence (Salkeld 51) that he would have studied in the schoolroom.

¹⁶ Peery links "haulke" with nausea (*Plays* 253). The word is not in the *OED*.

position” with regards to prostitution (23). Such plays in this category perceive marriage as the reforming act to cure the whore, and this thereby strengthens the assertion that Field was keen to reform unruly bodies. The fact that Mistris Wagtaile suggests to the page that she has carried the unborn child out of the town “for feare of the Plague” (II.ii.44) is further suggestive of her concerns for the health of the child, which does arouse the sympathy of the audience into feeling sorrow at the plight of the poor prostitute, and perhaps encouraging them to control their own bodily passions and avoid using prostitutes.

The reality of prostitution in early modern England was more in accordance with Field’s portrayal of Mistris Wagtaile, and for many poor women could mean the difference between eating a meal or suffering from starvation.¹⁷ The lure of prostitution and the financial rewards that a stand-alone woman could earn must have initially been enticing for those who had suffered hardship and unemployment, before the harsh realities of such a life could accumulate. As Hubbard suggests, a “prostitute who often earned ten or fifteen shillings could amass savings far beyond those of ‘honest’ maids, although the pox was a serious occupational hazard, and the illegal nature of the work was a constant danger” (109), which may well explain why some prostitutes, once they earned enough to retire from the trade, retreated into more conventional lifestyles and reintegrated into society (Hubbard 109). As we shall see below, such a retreat from a deviant and excessively unstable bodily profession into the great social harmonizer – marriage – is one such way that Field was keen to show his audience the correct path to moral and societal salvation in the reformation of Mistris Wagtaile’s unruly body. Despite the fact that Field does present a reformed prostitute on stage, seventeenth-century London did allow prostitution as a profession to thrive, “fuelled by a large population of single, transient men” (Hubbard 225) and most of them were apprentices, servants, foreign merchants, visiting gentlemen, and young men from the Inns of Court (Hubbard 225, Griffiths, *Lost* 172-173), precisely the demographic audience who flocked to the Whitefriars theatre. Griffiths even suggests that prostitutes targeted a “youth market” (*Youth* 216), thereby strengthening this chapter’s suggestion that Field was keen to reform unhealthy aspects of youth culture. The picture painted thus far would suggest that Field was particularly interested in reflecting the contemporary social issues of his day on the stage, which would encourage his audience to question their own dubious personal lives and become convinced that bodily self-control was of chief importance during the life-stage of youth.

Despite the fact that the names of many of Field’s characters in his plays are allegorical, we should be careful that our understanding of Mistris Wagtaile extends beyond the obvious sexual connotations implied by her name, and that as a character she is more psychologically complex than

¹⁷ On the desperation attached to prostitution, see Hubbard’s monograph *City Women* (107) and Griffiths’s *Lost Londons* (150). See also Haselkorn’s *Prostitution in Elizabethan and Jacobean Comedy* (1983) where she writes about the struggle to survive (1-3).

merely defined by the movements of her hips, this is, a ‘wagtail’ – a harlot or courtesan (*OED* 3.b). It is also important to remember that the experience of prostitution differed immensely based upon gender, with young men using prostitutes gaining acceptance from peers into social spheres of unruly masculinity, whereas young women who dabbled with working as prostitutes risked isolation, disease, pregnancy, and punishment (Ben-Amos, *Adolescence* 203). As Susan Amussen has suggested, the “fathers of illegitimate children were joined by their families and friends in pressuring women to suppress information” (*Ordered* 112), and again, Field dramatises topical social issues of his day. Pendant not only forcibly silences Mistris Wagtaile from announcing that he is the father of the unborn child, his flat denial of paternity reveals a total lack of concern for both child and mother-to-be. Griffiths discusses illegitimacy and how some men threatened and offered money to pregnant women to “depart the parish or to lay the blame on another man” rather than name themselves as the father (*Youth* 284) and it is evident that Field was keen to engage with the ethics of the social practices of his day. The spectre of illegitimacy would also haunt Field in his own personal life, with contemporary rumour citing that he was the father to a child of Lady Argyll’s.¹⁸

After Mistris Wagtaile has stated to Pendant that he is the father of the unborn child, Pendant’s initial response reveals his refusal to reform the prostitute: “By me? why by me? a good jest ifaith” (II.ii.78), later speaking with more aggression, “Why, do you thinke I am such an Asse to beleieve nobody has medled with you, but I” (II.ii.80-81). Pendant fails to mention the child or Mistris Wagtaile’s health in the ensuing exchange, being more desirous to convince the prostitute that he is a poor choice of marriage partner, “I am not worth the estate of an Apple wife” (II.ii.90-91), and “thou art worse then mad, if thou wilt cast away thy self upon me” (II.ii.114-115). Perhaps aware of the perilous situation that he is in concerning his own lustful youthful body, Pendant resorts to conniving methods to ensure that he can be saved from marrying the whore. Pendant’s suggestion that Mistris Wagtaile lay the paternity of the child upon Sir Abraham’s head pleases the prostitute (II.ii.123), and Pendant appears content that he has avoided the burden of a wife and child: “By that Foole thou shalt save thy honestie” (II.ii.129). In this instance it certainly appears that Field’s sympathetic representation of prostitution, the antithesis of the money-grabbing harlot from early modern drama, whilst showcasing Mistris Wagtaile’s ingenuity in attempting to find a husband to restore her to a socially acceptable position, is in fact far from critical in the ensuing gulling of Sir Abraham. Mistris Wagtaile appears willing to reform her youthful body, and her actions for finding a fit husband are to ensure her own, and the child’s, survival in a hostile society. It is evident that it is Pendant who is the far more deviant and dominant character here, assuming

¹⁸ See Brinkley, *Nathan Field* (42). Brinkley’s source is a letter from William Trumbull to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, penned in 1619. Brinkley also records the title of a seventeenth-century epigram “Nathaniell Feild suspected for too much familiarity with his M^{rs}. Lady May” (42). There is no proof to quantify either allegation as fact.

control of Mistris Wagtaile's body to reject paternity by palming her off on the easily duped Sir Abraham, even though he inevitably aids Mistriss Wagtail in providing her with an escape from what could be significant hostility from the community (Quaife 123). The fact that her body is controlled by men, however, does confirm Salkeld's point that prostitutes existed as sites of exchange rather than individuals (7); Field's prostitute is subjugated by men socially and sexually. Just as Mistris Wagtaile's body has been purchasable by men, it is also regulated and controlled by Pendant, and will later be reformed by Sir Abraham.

It may seem strange, after reading the synopsis of the play, to suggest that a pregnant prostitute who effectively dupes an ignorant fool into marriage could occasion a form of reformation in a youthful audience, but Field's regulation of two youthful bodies, one a reformed prostitute and the other an immature gull who obtains masculinity by embracing marriage, certainly encourages the audience to channel their youthful identities and energies into ensuring that they are ready to contribute to society and acquire respectable adulthood. For Field, it appears that youthful bodily excess is absolved by marriage, with the young man acquiring honourable adult masculinity and leaving his youthful transgressions behind. Field's discussion of prostitution and the reforming powers of marriage are therefore far more complex than Haselkorn's suggestion that Mistris Wagtaile is simply "fobbed off in marriage" (18). The duping of Sir Abraham into marrying the whore in fact reforms both bodies, and centralises Field's belief that marriage is crucial for the normative functioning of society as it marks the successful start of honourable masculinity and the safe passage from youth culture to adulthood.¹⁹ Even though Mistris Wagtaile necessarily must be at her most performative during the scene where Sir Abraham overhears her erotomania (IV.iii.34-43), it is important to stress that Field's prostitute is deceptively devious for the sake of her own survival. Mistris Wagtaile's protestations of love elicit a remarkable reformation in Sir Abraham, who hears her "with standing teares" (IV.iii.33) and even though the gull is duped into believing that Mistris Wagtaile is madly in love with him, Sir Abraham does adhere to the expectations set out by society in offering marriage to the woman that he has dabbled with: "Live long and happy to produce thy Baby, / I am thy Knight, and thou shalt be my Lady" (IV.iii.102-103), before he concludes that Mistris Wagtaile "hast [his] heart" (IV.iii.105).

Despite this somewhat negative satire of the gentry, it is apparent that Field does value the reforming capabilities offered by marriage to young men, as by the close of the play, despite initial ire from Sir Innocent Ninnie and Lady Ninnie at Sir Abraham's boldness of choosing a woman

¹⁹ This is despite the fact that Pendant somewhat aggressively suggests that he will continue to dabble with Mistris Wagtaile after the latter's marriage to Sir Abraham. Alone on stage, Pendant suggests that "Sir Abraham now / I hope will buy the poole where I will Fish" (III.iii.131-132) before speaking to Mistris Wagtaile in IV.iii that "for pleasure, if I helpe you not to that as / cheape as any man in *England*, call me Cut" (IV.iii.13-14); Mistris Wagtaile fails to confirm, comment upon, or encourage any such notion.

from a low social station and his willingness to defy the wishes of his parents, marriage to Mistris Wagtaile is met with blessing (V.ii.192-196). Sir Abraham's boldness in making a claim for Mistris Wagtaile to be his wife, "Speake not in vaine, I am to sure to change, / For hand and heart are sure, *Ecce signum*, / And this have I done, and never lay with hir" (V.ii.207-209), reveals the reformation of the gulled knight as he enters into marriage and manhood content with his choice, despite his insistence on a miraculous conception that occurred during a dream. Mistris Wagtaile's pregnant body mirrors the state of many a bride at the altar, and her silence in this scene may well be because of her acknowledgment that she is socially inferior to the rest of the gathered party. But, importantly, she does kneel with Sir Abraham to receive the blessings of both of his parents: "Wel, wel, God blesse you" (V.ii.212), implying that she is seemingly content with the match and a devoted husband excited by the prospects for the unborn child (V.ii.215-216). Field has effectively reformed the body of the prostitute into the socially pleasing institution of marriage and whilst continuing the rich vein of humour against foolish knights as seen in *Eastward Ho* and the *Isle of Gulls*, Sir Abraham's ascent to manhood at the close of the play, whilst failing to provide an inner awakening of intelligence, does provide a contented man channelled into a match that reminds the youthful audience of the power of marriage in regulating bodies.²⁰

Further evidence of the reforming powers of marriage can be evinced by realising that Field's prostitute is also unwilling to ponder or discuss the possibility of an abortion, typically "one way that unmarried women could avoid the obloquy and shame of an illegitimate child" (Amussen, *Ordered* 115). This is further evidence of the positive moral message that Field implicitly writes into his play, whilst avoiding the fantasy of other early modern texts where the prostitute possesses an impregnable body. Field's portrayal is entirely realistic and sobering to the audience who were used to seeing plays that were "sensually celebratory" (Bly 2). Field's dramatisation of prostitution enables moral reformation rather than sensuality. Mistris Wagtaile's sickly body (II.ii.1-12) must have been a sharp reminder of the dangers of prostitution to the Whitefriars' audience. As onetime member of the Middle Temple, Sir Thomas Overbury, wrote in his pamphlet *Sir Thomas Overbury: His Wife* (1622), a prostitute over the age of thirty, "is the Chirugions creature" (H5r), suggesting that the young polluted body will eventually be unable to be made healthy once again, even by a skilled surgeon. The immorality associated with youth could become a permanent stain upon one's body unless self-regulation and reformation was sought after, and was crucial for Fletcher's understanding of youth culture as demonstrated in Chapter Three. As if suggestive of such an idea, Field importantly cures Mistris Wagtaile's coughing fit by the time that she woos Sir Abraham into marriage. With a willing reformation back into conventional society, Mistris Wagtaile's body is

²⁰ This can also be seen by the fact that young Scudmore is reformed by marriage at the end of the play to his honest Bellafront; Count Fredericke marries Sir John Worldly's daughter Lucida (V.ii), and young Nevill marries Kate (V.ii.83-84), conforming to the conventions of the comedic genre.

reformed from sickly to healthy. It should be apparent that Field's discussion of prostitution, although not entirely original, is certainly unusual. Perhaps of crucial importance, is the fact that Mistris Wagtaile appears as a sickly and diseased body rather than the skilled actor that Mara Amster mentions is characteristic of literary whores (xiv). Field's prostitute may well be able to disguise her true feelings and manipulate a male character, but the fact that that male character is presented as little short of a complete ignoramus and that Mistris Wagtail's sham performance of sorrow is instigated rather forcefully by a disgruntled, deviant Pendant, proves that Field's discussion of prostitution is problematic to say the least. Whilst Mistris Wagtaile may employ a little artifice in securing her own future happiness, it can hardly be said of her that she "baits her desires with a million of prostitute countenances and entisements" (H5v) like Overbury's whore. It becomes apparent that Field was keen to dramatise how young men's performances of negative youth culture exploit women.

It may seem even stranger to suggest that such a reformation of unruly bodies on stage could result in the regulation of the youthful unruly bodies that constitute the audience in the Whitefriars theatre, however, it is important to remember, as Stephen Mullaney suggests, that spectators "took an active part in the plays presented by the boys' companies...voicing their own objections, comments, quips, and quiddities as the drama unfolded" (*Place* 53). This would have continued at the Whitefriars theatre to ensure that the audience engage with the contemporary issues faced by young men and women in society that are dramatised by Field. The bond occasioned by the ties of theatrical illusion and watching topical and relevant social problems on the stage does ensure that the majority of Field's audience can make a connection with the unruly body of the prostitute. Whether the audience mend their own ways is a choice that they have to actively make themselves, as Field explicitly vocalises (if he did play the part of Scudmore,) at the end of the play: "Women forgive me; Men, admire my Friend" (V.ii.233). We should also remember that Field was keen to ensure that his audience actively engaged with the plight of Mistris Wagtaile and responded accordingly, something that Shapiro has stressed was important for all boy company plays, which typically imagined their audiences to be active participants in the performance of drama (*Children* 67). It appears that Field's multivalent dramatisation of prostitution complicates our understanding of youth culture. Field reveals how the negative performance of youth culture by young men can exploit women as well as damage the young male body. The content of the play ensures that the audience are encouraged to respond actively to Mistris Wagtaile's plight, and Field champions the performance of a healthy youth culture that culminates in marriage. Field's attempts at regulating the bodies of his audience appear genuine and this can be evinced in his second play for the company, *Amends for Ladies*, which is steeped in youth culture.

“Oh men! What are you? Why is our poore sexe / Still made the disgrac’t subjects, in these plaies?”: Reforming Youth in *Amends for Ladies*

Like Field’s first play, *Amends for Ladies* has largely been ignored by scholars. Typically, where the play has been discussed in scholarly articles, it is often the character of Moll Cut-purse (Peery 160) which is analysed.²¹ Importantly, Moll Cutpurse “was notorious in and around Whitefriars in 1611-1612” (Williams, *Play* 290), once again revealing that Field was keen to dramatise the social concerns, topics, and celebrities of his day. But, turning away from Moll Cutpurse, the play develops many of the ideas concerning bodily reformation and regulation explored in Field’s first play, but, whereas *Weathercock* dramatised the malleability of the female body enforced by men into correct social behaviour, *Amends for Ladies* explores how women are central in regulating unruly anti-social young male bodies. For M. E. Williams, Field presents a range of familiar scenarios to ensure that the audience warm to him as a playwright (*Play* 303). These common experiences, for Williams, ensure that there is “little didactic purpose” (303) in Field’s plays. However, this section of the chapter, in accordance with the ideas propositioned above, would argue against Williams in suggesting that Field’s plays do dramatise important social concerns that advocate moral regulation in audience members via a staged moral transformation of the characters. In this respect, Field speaks *to* young men as he encourages regulated youth culture as a crucial experience necessary for formulating adult masculinity. M. E. Williams does usefully suggest that “Field’s concern to connect actor and audience in as direct a way as possible is also indicated by the frequency with which he writes scenes in which a surrogate audience, more or less complicit with the real one, comments on the performances of fellow players” (*Play* 289). This would seem to suggest that Field does encourage the audience to question their own lives and relationships and cements the notion that Field values the stage as a crucial didactic tool for aiding the healthy development of young men.

Field’s *Amends for Ladies* is obsessed with regulating the young male body, and was evidently popular, reaching a second edition in 1639 (Peery 151; Lesser 36). Whether it is the barbarous treatment instigated by Lady Perfect’s Husband, Bould’s lusty pursuit of the Widow Lady Bright, or Ingen’s maltreatment of the Maid Lady Honor, the young male body is reformed by the actions of women. Field therefore makes amends for women in his second play, suggesting that harmony and respect between the sexes enables the healthy functioning of society, an idea that Anthony Fletcher stresses was crucial for all young men to ascribe to (*Gender* 97). Field develops the ideas concerning young men formulated by Chapman, Jonson, Marston, and Fletcher, to centralise an explicit inculcation of positive aspects of youth culture in a fashion unattempted by the

²¹ See Anthony Dawson’s article “Mistris Hic & Haec: Representations of Moll Frith” (385-391). See Appendix One for a synopsis of the play.

previous playwrights, also championing marriage as the enablement of honourable adult masculinity. Aspects of youth culture are also drawn upon in all three central relationships, and once again, excessive aspects that cause friction within society are regulated by the close of the play with marriage, or marital reconciliation, as will be explored below. The dangers of excessive youth culture are also evident in this play, with Field creating a scathing attack on the Roarers who embody every negative aspect of a youth culture of debauched excess.

The quotation that heads this section is spoken by Lady Perfect (II.ii.106-107), who has recently been informed by her husband's friend Subtle that her husband has employed him to test her chastity (II.ii.82). Disgusted by their actions, Lady Perfect's tirade reveals many important ideas that are central to Field's inquisitive analysis of male relationships in the play, especially as men needed to be conscious of the importance of retaining honour in marital life (Foyster, *Manhood* 66). Lady Perfect's suggestion that instead of women being made the subjects who succumb to "vices, follie, and inconstancie" (II.ii.108) in plays, "were men look't into with such criticall eies / Of observation, many would be found / So full of grosse and base corruption" (II.ii.109-111). Lady Perfect, such as her name implies, will not fail and commit infidelity because Field was far more concerned with making amends for ladies by revealing the faults of unruly men who are so gross in their performance of masculinity that they are in need of serious moral reformation. For Field, such regulation and reformation can only be instigated by the power of women in moulding wild young men into decent and respectable male members of society, exemplified by Lady Perfect's assertion that

It's not revenge for any wife, to staine
The nuptial bed, although she be yok't ill,
Who fals, because her husband so hath done,
Cures not his wound, but in her selfe makes one (II.ii.120-123).

Field's concerns with reforming men is evident in this quotation, where Lady Perfect identifies that her role is to regulate the body of her husband by curing the wound, rather than obtain revenge by adhering to his sinister plans.

The faults with the Husband and Subtle are evident in their polluted language which stems from their polluted young bodies, confirming Johnson's assertion that the play makes a "mockery of [the] male homosocial community" (74) and that Field was keen to reform unruly aspects of youth culture. The husband's assertion that "there is no woman in the world / Can hold out in the end, if youth, shape, wit, / Met in one subject, doe assault her aptlie" (III.i.4-6) is indicative of this. The derogatory statement about women is excessively aggressive, with the husband imagining how the young male body is built purposely to "assault" women when wooing, an idea that will be explored below when considering the character of Bould. The husband's insistence that Subtle must lie to her and, particular to youth culture, be creative in his discourse, bragging about "beating every man"

(III.i.15), being witty in speech (III.i.21) and singing “a song / Or two” (III.i.23-24) is further indicative of important aspects of everyday life crucial to youth. Subtle’s tactics, however, are deviant and present dangerously excessive aspects of youth culture that need urgent policing. Subtle’s advice to the husband, if he wants his wife to fail the chastity test, is that he “must use her roughly, / Beate her face black and blew, take all her cloth’s / And give them to some Punke” (III.i.26-28). Perhaps most frighteningly, the Husband retorts “All this I have done” (III.i.30), showcasing the unruly and dangerous aspects of ungovernable masculinity, negative youth culture, and the destruction of marital relations tied to the loss of manhood (Garthine Walker, *Crime* 66). Field’s satire, with its shocking portrayal of domestic violence, equally shocking to a seventeenth-century audience and a twenty-first century reader, encourages the audience to reform their own understandings of how they perform in their private lives, presenting domestic violence as something that functions as one of the darkest traits of excessive masculinity that erodes and emasculates all humanity from the young man who performs such despicable actions. This is complicated, as young men understood violence as vital for the maintenance of hierarchy and reputation (Shepard, *Meanings* 140).²² It also indoctrinates young men into performing patriarchy; young men are taught the value of marriage, not only for their own acquisition of manhood, but also for a healthy society too, and Griffiths confirms that marriage functioned as the border between youth and adulthood (*Youth* 140).

We have seen in Chapter Three that Fletcher champions the reforming powers of chastity, and Field advances Fletcher’s understanding of the moral reformation that can be instigated by supreme chastity. The excessively corrupt bodies of Subtle and the husband can only be restored to normative manhood by the virtuous reforming capabilities of Lady Perfect, despite the husband’s bizarre boast to his friend that he would like to hear that Subtle has had sex with her because “shee do’s so brag / And stand upon her chastitie” (V.i.10-11), exemplifying Foyster’s notions of the power of women’s words in marital relations (*Manhood* 55). Such a bizarre statement is further indicative of their unnatural manhood that requires reformation. With the husband concealed out of sight, Subtle becomes aware of the virtues of chastity as vocalised by Lady Perfect (V.i.119-122). Subtle vows, after asking for her pardon, that he

will never more,
Attempt your puritie, but neglect all things
Till that foule wrong I have
bred in your Knight
I have expeld, and set your loves aright (V.i.125-128).

²² For a discussion of marital violence, see Foyster’s *Manhood in Early Modern England* (180-184), Gowing’s *Domestic Dangers* (180-194), and Fletcher’s *Gender, Sex and Subordination* (192-198).

The husband, who has also undergone a moral transformation after hearing Subtle's conversation with his wife, "with weeping eies, [and] heav'd hands" (V.i.131) asks for her pardon. Lady Perfect's ability to regulate her husband and Subtle's unruly bodies with the positive power of speech is problematic with regards to her own body. Lady Perfect, shockingly, believes that her husband has "done no wrong to me, at least I thinke so" (V.i.135), and her decision to forget the chastity test that was instigated by her husband, seemingly will bless her husband and Subtle further, finalising their reformation. As the husband concludes at the end of the scene, "false friends are made true, by a true wife" (V.i.145), realising Hubbard's claim that the husband's love for his wife was crucial in the marital hierarchy (*City* 115) and signalling Field's belief that unruly young men can be reformed and inculcated into correct societal performances of masculinity by women. The fact that husband and wife will apparently achieve marital harmony because of the husband's reformation at the hands of his wife, provides evidence that Field was interested in presenting couples who do adhere to socially prescribed codes of conduct. The next section will look at Field's representation of a lusty youth obsessed with marrying a widow, with Field's portrayal of an honest widow allowing for moral reformation in the young man who courts her.

Bould is first introduced to the audience in disguise, dressed as a serving woman, Mary Princox. Bould's transvestite disguise, where he plays the part of an "eloquent old Gentlewom[a]n" (I.i.334) is adopted for the very reason that the young man believes that the way to win a widow is to get into bed with her, with Ira Clark suggesting that Bould is after her wealth (*Comedy* 92). His household role of getting the widow ready for bed – an intimate form of service (Fiona McNeill 205) – is dramatised on stage in act III scene iii, where curiously, the widow makes a number of suggestive sexual jokes as Bould, in the disguise of Princox, is undressing her, partly confirming the early modern stereotype of the lascivious widow. Lady Bright says that "if [men] be well laid *Princox*, one can- / not get them up againe in hast" (III.iii.13-14), and her sensuality is foregrounded later in the scene when she asks Bould "Which of all / the Gallants in the Towne would'st thou make a husband / of, if thou might'st have him for thy chusing?" (III.iii.83-85). The widow amplifies young men's anxieties about female friendship and conversation where men and sex could be discussed in private and gossip could be detrimental to men (Foyster, *Manhood* 60). This question enables Bould to suggest himself to the widow as the best eligible bachelor in town (III.iii.90-92), which Lady Bright is not too complimentary, "his haire / in's eyes like a drunkard" (III.iii.110-111). Despite this slight, the scene ends with Bould in high spirits as he prepares to go to bed with the widow "now is shee mine indeede" (III.iii.128). His misconception, that the way to win a widow is to get into bed with her, allows Field to ridicule ideas circulated amongst young men in the period that all contribute towards ideas of youth culture and youth identity. As a young man looking to assert his own sexuality, Bould's transvestite disguise is doubly dangerous; not only

because the act of cross-dressing emasculates his own youthful body, but also because when Lady Bright discovers that he is indeed a man, Bould's predatory sexual advances mark him as a rapist. Excessive desire would effectively destroy any trace of honourable manhood within the bold body of Bould, who lives up to the connotations of his name concerning sexual immodesty (Gordon Williams 48).

The pair return to the stage in act IV scene i, with the widow evidently having discovered offstage that Princox is in fact a man, young Bould. Lady Bright assumes a masculine form of attack, entering the stage with a sword in her hand that appears more potent and dangerous to Bould than his ridiculous attempts at asserting his masculinity by trying to engage her in sexual activity. In this respect, Field's widow is different from other widows who "presented themselves as helpless victims who lacked male protection" (Walker, *Crime*, 53), and it appears once again that Field is keen to dramatise strong women who educate and reform young men. Bould now learns that his supposition, that the way to woo a widow is to get her into bed, in fact produces the opposite effect, as Lady Bright says "Thou hast for ever lost mee" (IV.i.5). The amorous Bould, whether driven by lust or in fact genuine in his assertions, says "Send for a Priest, / First consummate the match, and then to bed / Without more trouble" (IV.i.9-11). Evidently it appears that Bould's young body is driven by lust because of the opportunity he has been presented with, with Field encapsulating young men's obsession with asserting masculinity through sexual intercourse. However, Bould does reveal that the widow did confess offstage to 'Princox' that Bould was the man whose "minde and body" (IV.i.15) she doted upon, and Bould's protestations that they both return to bed are declined (IV.i.18-25), the Widow rebuking him by stating that: "You have trusted to that fond opinion, / This is the way to have a widow-hood, / By getting to her bed" (IV.i.32-34). Furthermore, Lady Bright reveals the tendency for young men to boast of sexual conquest, and this language particular to youth, reveals a culture of young men exaggerating to peers for recognition and status. M. E. Williams suggests that such scenes are essential to Field as a dramatist: "Sexual humour is one of his most heavily used theatrical devices to unify and control and involve his spectators" (*Play* 318). The word control is important here in this instance, as Field attempts to regulate the opinions and bodies of his audience. By staging bodily excess, Field encourages the audience to participate actively in seeing his play, becoming a part of the performance and they are thereby encouraged to regulate their unruly bodies likewise. As the widow states:

Ahlas young man,
Shoulds't thou thy self tell thy companions
Thou hadst dishonour'd mee (as you men have tongues
Forked and venom'd 'gainst our subject sexe)
It should not move me (IV.i.34-38),

because Truth will guard her, and once again Field is keen to dramatise the negative aspects of youth culture, with young men eager to brag and lie to peers in attempts to assert their performative masculinity.

The widow importantly reveals a range of interesting ideas pertaining to youth culture and identity. Whereas sexual engagement may have given men bragging rights, it did so at the expense of women's reputation, with the young men degrading the women that they have sexual encounters with. Bould's retort that "Few widdowes would doe this" (IV.i.40) is fuelled by his ideas garnered from discussions with his peers about how widows *should* behave, an idea that was circulated in contemporary society as Ira Clark has revealed, with young men informed that widows were available for exploitation (*Comedy* 89). As Bruce Smith has importantly recognised, if the theatre was a place where young men could turn for instruction, particularly in framing their behaviour with peers (*Shakespeare* 40), then Field's centralisation of reforming negative cultural stereotypes is indicative of his reformatory stance concerning the negative performance of youth culture. Bould reveals his ideas pertaining to youth culture when he vocalises his belief that once he leaves the house "you'll laugh at me / Behind my back, publish I wanted spirit, / And mock me to the Ladies" (IV.i.44-46) and perhaps most upsetting and insulting to young men in the period, "call me childe" (IV.i.46), a literal stripping of masculinity. The widow, however, attempts to regulate and reform Bould's body and mind, stressing the importance that he will "hold a more reverent opinion / Of some that weare long coates" (IV.i.53-54), assuring him that "there are amongst us good" (IV.i.55). However, such attempts at reforming the lustful body do not appear to be initially successful, as Bould becomes more sinister suggesting that he will forcibly attempt the widow (IV.i.65-67).

As Bould becomes increasingly governed by lust, he reveals some particularly nasty conversations that he has held with his peers: "some of you I have heard, / Love not these words but force, to have it done / As they sing prick-song, e'ne at the first sight" (IV.i.107-109) and his own body appears to be dominated by lust, revealing that sexual violence and masculinity are intertwined, as demonstrated in Chapters One and Three. Such visceral aspects of youth culture are further evinced when Bould, not disgusted by his own suggestions of rape, goads the widow into crying out by saying: "How if no bodie heare you?" (IV.i.112). Realising that he is in fact powerless (IV.i.113-115), Bould is resigned to be turned out of the house, but not before the widow has confessed that she loves him but will not marry him because he is too young (IV.i.131-137), which was a point of controversy in the period, with neighbours and communities scrutinising such matches (Hubbard 254; Reay 12). The widow's attempts to regulate the body of Bould have failed; even outside the house Bould can only think, "Well, I must have this widdow, what e're come on't" (IV.i.141-142), suggesting once again that the youthful body governed by lust is unhealthy and

unmanageable. If women's purity, chastity, and words, are ineffective in regulating young male bodies, then for Field, it is marriage that ensures bodily stability in young men.

However, such errors in youth and the violent sexualisation of youth culture are discussed further in act IV scene ii, where Well-tri'd goads Bould as an effeminate boy for not making the most of his opportunity with the widow. Well-tri'd reveals the excessive sexual violence of youth culture by chastising Bould for his speed in attempting the widow in bed, reprimanding him by stating that Bould "should have let her slept first" (IV.ii.22). The aggressive sexuality dominates once again, when Bould reveals that the widow touched his breast and immediately realised that he was not a woman, before he had the chance to "violently...thrust her hand lower" (IV.ii.25-26). The bragging boasts of youth continue at the expense of women's honour and chastity, as Well-tri'd suggests that "*Tarquin* was a block-head, if he had had any wit and could have spoke, *Lucrece* had never been ravished, she would have yielded, I warrant thee, & so wil any woman" (IV.ii.41-44). It is evident that Field is satirising masculinities of excess, whereby youth culture degrades women into little more than sex objects waiting for young men to forcibly engage with for their own gratification. The fact that an educated youth, a young man with "wit", could use rhetoric to convince a woman to engage in sexual activity with him again centralises the language of youth that is forceful and aggressive in the assertion of its cultural values. However, Field does not ascribe to such ideas and in fact ridicules such misguided appropriations of youthful verbalisation. The extent of the satire suggests that Field is determined to reform unruly aspects of youth identity and culture into positive relationships with members of the opposite sex where each partner values the other. It is apparent that the women in *Amends* are intellectually on a different sphere compared to the men, who all need to be educated into acceptable relationships.

Even male-male social relationships in *Amends* are flawed as Well-tri'd and Bould come to blows because of the latter's failure to have sex with the widow. For Well-tri'd, Bould's lack of sexual performance renders his friend's body effeminate and far from being a part of the peer group, Bould will be barred from the group youth identity: "I shall blush to be seen in thy companie" (IV.ii.57-58). Well-tri'd's earlier condemnation: "if I had a sonne of 14 whom I had help't thus farre, that had serv'd me so, I would breech him" (IV.ii.35-37), with the breeching representing a literal casting back to childhood, also places Bould firmly outside of youth culture. Bould in this respect is reduced to a boy by his peers, failing to conform to the expected standards prescribed by the culture of youth. The fact that the pair almost come to blows and are then immediately apologetic is evidence of Field's awareness of the contradictory and performative aspects of youth culture. Field's satire evidently reveals that Well-tri'd is as faulty in his logic as Bould, and Well-tri'd's degrading opinions of women also mirror stereotypes that were accepted as truths by some young men. For Well-tri'd, the widow has played "such an obsur'd trick" (IV.ii.48)

and will in fact “abuse [Bould] horrible” (IV.ii.49) and suggest that he is “a faint-hearted fellow” (IV.ii.49). Well-tri’d’s assertion that “a widdow’s a weake vessell, and is easily cast if you close” (IV.ii.54-55) specifies the misconceptions prone to circulation in youth groups and Field ensures that both Bould and Well-tri’d must reform their opinions of women and society if they are in turn to undergo moral reformations into decent adulthood. Ira Clark suggests that this is crucial for a positive portrayal of Bould (*Comedy* 93) and reformation is achieved at the close of the play, and like *Weathercock*, it is marriage that enables bodily regulation and a safe passage into respectable masculinity, with Bould marrying the widow to the joy of the entire company (V.ii.244-250). Field does allow the gathered party to comment on the consummation of the marriage between Ingen and Lady Honor, where the “bed creak[s]” (V.ii.171) offstage, but it is not a salacious moment, instead it playfully encapsulates Field’s pressing concerns that normative youth culture enables the correct acquisition of honourable manhood.

Field’s criticisms of the excessive aspects of youth culture are dramatised in the scene with the Roarers: Whoore-bang, Botts, Teare-chops and Spil-bloud (III.iv). The young men, all swaggerers and riotous in their excessive consumption of alcohol, tobacco and profusion of shouted oaths, have gathered together in a tavern to play out their very own ideas concerning youth culture and identity. For the Roarers, youth culture should be dominated by boasting, bragging, swearing, drinking and whoring, and Field’s satirical painting of their identity is mocking rather than complimentary towards these performative aspects of a negative youth culture. The Turnmill whores called for by the young men “were among the poorest – and cheapest” in the city (McNeill 212; Grantley, *London* 107). The Roarers’ performance of youth culture encapsulates Shepard’s notion of a “male sociability of excess” (*Meanings* 94), that young men were keen to perform for peer respect. Such satire is reflected in their names that seem to profess violence and rough masculinities, but the fact that they all wear “severall patches on their faces” (III.iv.2-3) is indicative of their burly façades that are easily dominated by their whores, who “strike ‘em with Cans” (III.iv.72) and the Pox, which lays “ones nose as flat as a basket hilt Dagger” (III.iv.75). Evidently their performance of youth culture is damaging to their bodies. Botts, according to Peery, is suggestive of a “disease of animals caused by maggots” or possibly a “corruption of pox” (*Plays* 270). Both explanations emphasise the excess and unhealthy young bodies of the entire company of Roarers. These young men are evidently unruly men only in verbalising oaths, as their youthful bodies are physically and internally broken and decayed by the whores that they visit; their bodies eroded by excessive consumption and indulgence whilst their linguistic excess is insubstantial, and not genuine, revealing Field’s insistence that youth culture is performative and that young bodies are ungovernable, and drawn to sin.

Language, however, is so entirely bound up with youthful identity in this scene that when Lord Fee-simple curses the company with a “Dam mee” (III.iv.122), Teare-chops feels affronted that the Lord has stolen his own vocabulary and therefore his own identity, “use your owne words, Dam mee is mine, I am knowne by it all the towne o’re, d’ee heare?” (III.iv.123-124), focalising the importance of verbal performativity to an expression of youth identity and culture. Whilst Teare-chops’s insistence that language can be stolen is actually rather childish and indicative of the fragile and impersonated masculinity of excess that the Roarers parade, his concerns that Lord Fee-simple imitate his own sense of self does suggest that young men in the period were concerned with creating a language that was characteristic of and exclusively for use by youth, and Frances Shirley suggests that young men guarded individual oaths jealously and that they helped to create an outward appearance (56, 44). Such a vocabulary of youth is important for Field in the sense that it is performative, and often masks youthful failings. Field’s satirical portrait of the angry young men is complete when Well-tri’d admits that “manie a rorer thus is made by wine” (III.iv.146-147) with the ejection of the Roarers and Lord Fee-simple’s courage inspired by wine reminiscent of Quicksilver’s antics, as seen in Chapter Two. Lord Fee-simple’s drunken bodily state is also satirised when he begs Well-tri’d to accompany him to “goe breake windows somewhere” (III.iv.149), an activity particularly associated with unruly youths in early modern England that apparently identified bawdy houses (Gowing, “Language” 32), whilst also linking back to the young boy’s education where the schoolroom windows could be broken as a sign of rebellion. Both transgressive acts symbolise the performance of youth culture and masculine identity.

The satirical representation of youth culture in this scene does not mean that Field rejected youthful identities and culture. Instead, as mentioned above, Field actively promotes the reformation and regulation of youthful bodies into spheres of life that are beneficial for the good of society and the good of the individual, confirming Thomas’s suggestion that the young were frequently reminded of their duty to their communities in advice literature (*Ends* 25). Field was evidently interested in the “spiritual reform” that Kiefer mentions as an important part of the early modern stage (*Writing* 76), attempting to influence youth culture. The Roarers are ejected from the stage precisely because they exemplify a youth culture of excess that is dangerous and uncontrollable. Bould and Ingen, for example, are welcomed as portraying positive ideas concerning youth culture and identity, only after they have both been reformed by Lady Bright and Lady Honor, and it is important for Field that Lady Perfect’s existence is “approv’d the happiest life” (V.ii.300) because marriage offers the youthful body the ultimate moral reformation and the safest path to honourable manhood, even if characters such as the husband do need to be regulated and educated once entered into that state of life (V.i.144-145). Johnson suggests that the “play ends...in an un-decidable contest between authorial sadism and enacted subversion. Either *Amends*

for Ladies is a cruel hoax on women, or Lady Perfect performs a kind of ironic mimesis here, paradoxically carving out room for resistance from within her perfect adherence to gender norms” (74). As we have seen above, Field’s reformation of masculinity and negative youth culture may provide the solution to Johnson’s question here; it certainly problematises her labelling of Field as an authorial sadist. It appears that Johnson reads Field’s body and writings as literal performances, where in fact, as this chapter has shown, Field’s multifaceted performances, both on stage and in print, encourage reformation in the audiences and readers by staging excess for the purpose of ridicule.

Field’s two plays provide a compelling investigation into the regulation of the youthful male and female body into conventional members of society. Field’s plays centre on the lives and cultures of young people and it is important that both plays end with social harmony, typically achieved via multiple marriages, signalling the end of ‘youth’ for the men and women as they ascend to conventional and respectable adult life as Bruce Smith has shown (*Shakespeare* 86). Despite this being a convention of comedies, Field’s reformation of gender reveals him to be a playwright interested in the power of theatre to act as a moral guide for his audiences, inviting them to adapt and change their own ideas concerning youth culture as a life-stage that should be marked as a preparation for the responsibilities of adult life. Field suggests that it is perfectly acceptable and natural to make mistakes in youth, especially because the body is susceptible to bodily passions, as explored in Chapter Three, as long as the youthful body is effectively regulated of its excesses before entering adulthood. Heterosexual union for Field, acts as the great social harmonizer, curbing bodily excess and reforming youthful characters into respectable bodies, able to self-govern and exist as fully developed and healthy members of society, typically, with the help of one’s spouse. Whether it is the reformation of a prostitute or the distracted young Scudmore, or the didactic life lessons schooled to young Ingen and Bould, Field educates his characters as he expects his audiences and readers to be educated. Field, therefore, is similar to Shakespeare in how he imagines his audience to respond to the issues dramatised on the stage. As Bruce Smith suggests, “Shakespeare’s plays seem designed to restore both the characters and the audience to even temperament” (*Shakespeare* 133) and Field prescribes to this idea, channelling positive values associated with youth culture to inculcate the audience into an awareness of their importance to the functioning of society. This chapter has also revealed that Field’s own authorial voice is performative and multifaceted, finding that Field adopts the language of youth and engages with youth culture in his prefatory material to *perform* a range of identities, attracting readers whilst encouraging spectators to attend the theatre to watch him perform. Such ambiguity and contradiction has been a crucial component of youth culture, as all of the previous chapters have demonstrated, but Field appears keen to stress the important role that women play in channelling

healthy male youth culture. Field's ideas concerning social harmony and service will be explored in the final chapter of the thesis which studies his collaborative play with John Fletcher, *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613), alongside Field's letters.

Figure 4: Title Page to Nathan Field's *A Woman is a Weathercock* (1612).

A
**Woman is a Wea-
 ther-cocke.**

A New Comedy,
 As it was acted before the King in
 WHITE-HALL.

And diuers times Priuately at the
 White-Friers, By the Children of her
 Maiesties Reuels.

Written by NAT: FIELD.

Si natura negat faciat Indagnatio versum.



Printed at London, for *John Budge*, and are to be sold at
 the great South doore of *Panles*, and at *Brittaines*
 Burse. 1612.

Figure 5: "To Any Woman That Hath Beene No Weather-Cocke" from Field's *A Woman is a Weathercock* (1612).



To any Woman that
hath beene no Weather-
Cocke.

I Did determine, not to haue Dedicated my Play to any Body, because forty shillings I care not for, and aboue, few or none will bestowe on these matters, especially falling from so famelesse a pen as mine is yet. And now I looke vp, and finde to whom my Dedication is, I feare I am as good as my determination: notwithstanding I leaue a libertie to any Lady or woman, that dares say she hath beene no weather-Cocke, to assume the Title of Patronesse to this my Booke. If she haue beene constant, and be so, all I will expect from her for my paynes, is, that she will continue so, but till my next Play be printed, wherein she shall see what amendes I haue made to her, and all the sex, and so I end my Epistle, without a Latine sentence.

N. F.

Figure 6: "To the Reader" from Field's *A Woman is a Weathercock* (1612).

To the Reader.

R Eader, the Sale-man sweares, youle take it very ill, if I say not somewhat to you too, Introth you are a stranger to me; why should I Write to you? you neuer writ to mee, nor I thinke will not answere my Epistle. I send a Comedie to you heer, as good as I could then make; nor sleight my presentation, because it is a play: For I tell thee Reader, if thou bee'st ignoraunt, a Play is not so ydle a thing as thou art, but a Mirrour of mens liues and actions now, be it perfect or imperfect, true or false, is the Vice or Vertue of the Maker. This is yet, as well, as I can, *Qualeis ego vel Cluuienus*, Thou must needs haue some other Language then thy Mother tong, for thou thinkst it impossible for me to write a Play that did not vse a word of Latine, though he had enough in him. I haue beene vexed with vile playes my selfe, a great while, hearing many, nowe I thought to be euen with some, and they shoulde heare mine too. Fare thee well, if thou hast any thing to say to me, thou know'st where to heare of me for a yeare or two, and no more I assure thee.

N. F.

Chapter Five: Service, Friendship and the Youthful Body in Nathan Field's Writings.

This chapter develops the thesis's understanding of youth culture by analysing the important role that service played in the lives of young men in early modern England, and how the stage engages with the pleasures and pitfalls of service. It also extends the analysis of Nathan Field's ideas concerning the relationship between youth culture and the stage. The chapter achieves this by beginning with an analysis of two depositions, one that involved Nathan Field's brother Theophilus, and another that involved Nathan, Theophilus, and Francis Beaumont, to formulate ideas concerning the performance of service in early modern society. The second section of the chapter continues with a socio-cultural analysis of service by extending the discussion of the depositions into an original analysis of Field's epistles to Philip Henslowe and a preacher, Thomas Sutton, to develop ideas concerning the performativity of writing and the multivalent possibilities attached to performing service in theatre communities. Finally, the chapter extends this contextualisation by considering Field and Fletcher's dramatisation of service in *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613). The chapter finds that the playwrights maintain a deliberate ambivalence in their staging of youth culture and service, and such a fluid representation of the bonds formulated between master and servant, which can often be interpreted as friendship or erotic desire, complicate cultural paradigms of service and youth culture. Social and theatrical understandings of service are evidently changing in 1613, and Field and Fletcher are commenting on conceptions of didactic service, whereby masters can learn from servants, aiding the formulation of bonds of friendship as well as adhering to the traditional dichotomy of master/servant. The chapter analyses the relationship between the young page, Veramour, and two other young men, Montaigne and Laverdure, finding that each expects a particular type of performative service from the page which reveals the playwrights' cultural reimaginings of how young men should engage with service.

This chapter finds that male friendship, an important aspect of youth culture, can often produce intense bonds that can be interpreted as erotic desire. Field and Fletcher were keen to analyse this aspect of service, with Montaigne and Veramour sharing a relationship that is intense, yet largely lacks sexual desire, whereas Laverdure purely interprets service in a sexual fashion, by actively pursuing Veramour. This chapter therefore aims to complicate Bly's discussion of 'boy' actors commonly being made available for "male-male sexual liaisons" (*Queer* 70) by focussing on the multivalent erotic and sexual aspects of service. Field and Fletcher's linking of love, service, and erotic desire transcends traditional representations of young pages as bodies of "homoerotic desire" (Bly, *Queer* 83) by offering a complex dramatisation of youthful service, rather than camp titillation. I therefore depart from Mario DiGangi's interpretation that Laverdure "fears being punished as a sodomite because he intends to marry Veramour" (*Homoerotics* 17) to suggest that Field and Fletcher are problematising the multiplicities attached to performative youthful service,

and that rather than marriage, Laverdure is interested in pleasurable service from the page. This chapter asserts that David Mann oversimplifies Veramour and Montaigne's relationship, and reveals the complexity inherently attached to master and servant relationships, especially when both are young men. Mann writes that the play "articulates clearly and sympathetically the nature of the received neo-platonic tradition, as well as satirizing its use in contemporary drama" (*Shakespeare's* 94-95). Mann's analysis overlooks the blurring of friendship and service, which is certainly not articulated clearly in Veramour and Montaigne's relationship. To complicate matters further, as Ben Jonson read Martial's *Epigrams* to Field, Field would have been aware of the Ganymede master/servant relationship that Martial explicitly mentions (Saslow 156), which may explain the reappraisal of erotic service in *The Honest Man's Fortune*. Field and Fletcher are interested in complicating early modern notions of youth culture and service, confirming Griffiths's assertion that instead of a "guarantor of youthful subordination...the master/servant relation was on occasion inherently unstable" (*Youth* 298). The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is not to provide a finite answer that Montaigne, Veramour, or Laverdure are 'homosexual', or that Montaigne and Veramour's relationship is simply friendly rather than erotic. Instead, the analysis aims to provide evidence that the discourse of service is complicated and multifaceted, and early modern men and women understood it as being so, and that Field and Fletcher's dramatisation of service aims to promote youth culture's relationship with an important aspect of early modern life.

If there was one aspect of life that the majority of young men experienced in early modern England, it was service. For young men, service was perceived to be a crucial component of the healthy route to obtaining honourable masculinity and turning them into adults (Griffiths, *Youth* 292; Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence* 2).¹ Whereas Chapter Two focussed on one form of service, apprenticeship, this chapter will focus on other types of service available to young men as depicted in Field's collaborative play. *The Honest Man's Fortune* has received no extensive critical discussion, despite it containing some of Field's central ideas concerning youth culture and bodily excess that were expounded in the previous chapter.² By focussing on the dramatic representation of the figure of the young male page, a character that has received infrequent scholarly attention, this chapter seeks to explore a much neglected area of early modern studies: the links between service, youth culture, and excess. In literary criticism, the page character has typically received attention where a transvestite disguise is involved, such as Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* (1609) and

¹ See R. Richardson's useful survey *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (2010) for a discussion of servants and their activities from 1500-1800. See also Ann Kussmaul's study *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (1981).

² There has been much discussion concerning the authorship of the play. See Cyrus Hoy's discussion in his edition (4). Johan Gerritsen is "not at all convinced" of Massinger's presence in the play (*Honest xci*) whereas M. E. Williams assigns the entire play to Field (*Play* 144).

Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (1610). Field had, however, also explored the conventions of the heroine donning the disguise of a serving-boy in his own *Amends for Ladies* (1611).

This chapter proposes that excessive service can be defined as a state where the individual employed to perform service to a master transcends the conventional bond expected of him and associates qualities of friendship, love, and eroticism as crucial components of his working relationship, seeking to readdress DiGangi's suggestion that boy pages "are the subjects and objects of homoerotic affection" (*Homoerotics* 25). Even though DiGangi has explored "the homoerotic potentiality within the master-servant power structure" (*Homoerotics* 65), Field and Fletcher's exploration of excess warrants a new investigation as it complicates DiGangi's original findings, as friendship is centralised as a core component. Dramatisations of excessive service can appear unnatural in blurring the established boundaries, with the bodies of master and servant appearing open to a range of interpretations, all of which are intertwined and complex. The relationship between master and servant can acquire aspects of deviance in its erotic formulations, just as it can at the same time be likened to ideas of perfect friendship once excessive practices of service emerge. In many respects, therefore, this chapter proposes that early modern ideas concerning perfect friendship as something only shared by individuals of the same social background are being re-evaluated by Field and Fletcher. When Francis Bacon's *Essays* appeared in a revised edition (1612), Field and Fletcher would have been able to read "Of Friendship". Bacon's essay suggests that princes and kings "have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner" (*Essays* 139), and the playwrights seem keen to explore the potential for youth culture to create bonds of friendship between master and servant. If this could be considered normal behaviour, however, it is immediately complicated by Bacon's own ideas of service, as Alan Bray has suggested, with Bacon "apparently in the habit of having sexual relations with" them and rewarding them with excessive generosity that invited social condemnation (*Homosexuality* 49). Field and Fletcher's play is steeped in excessive service that transcends normative paradigms of master/servant relationships, and by exploring the problems associated with what happens in a relationship between master and servant when service becomes excessive, this chapter will highlight the importance of service in defining and encouraging youth culture.

Besides an exploration of service in *The Honest Man's Fortune*, this chapter will also offer the first study of Nathan Field's ideas concerning service and the theatrical profession, evident in three letters written to Henslowe, and a passionate defence of actors and acting addressed to Thomas Sutton, a preacher at St. Mary Overy. The study of these letters, written between the period of 1613-1616, will provide valuable ideas concerning Field's own interpretation of the use of his own body; his epistles remark on the importance of his own body in performing service to

Henslowe, and to God, and this chapter will seek to answer the question of what happens when the body and the letter are intertwined to offer and ask for bodily service. There is a further important aspect to ideas of excessive service in *The Honest Man's Fortune* and Field's letters that warrants commentary in this chapter. In both the play and the epistles, friendship is at the forefront of service. Bruce Smith importantly reveals how friendship itself is an ambivalent and transmuting quality in the period, frequently linked to erotic desire. Smith states that "male friendship and sexual attraction, far from being opposites, are two aspects of the same bond" (*Homosexual* 37). Such ambiguity can be found in Field's representation of friendship, which is at times erotic in *The Honest Man's Fortune*, but paternal whilst strongly linked to duty and commerce in the letters to Henslowe. Evidently, Field and Fletcher were keen to explore how service contains the potentiality for erotic desire, friendship and youth culture to intertwine and it is apparent that the theatre's dramatisation of service and society's cultural practices are interlinked.

This chapter therefore seeks to extend the recent scholarship on service by Judith Weil, Elizabeth Rivlin, David Evett, David Schalkwyk and Mark Thornton Burnett by focussing on an aspect of early modern master/servant relations that their studies have omitted to consider: what happens when service becomes excessive?³ Schalkwyk's *Shakespeare, Love and Service* (2008) suggests that service has a "strange connection with love in early modern England" (5) and I extend his discussion by investigating the excessive aspects of love. Burnett's *Masters and Servants in English Renaissance Drama and Culture* (1997) importantly suggests that literary texts for servants to read "played a key part in creating a servant culture" (9), and I extend Burnett's discussion to include an analysis of aspects of youth culture and excessive service on the stage. Excessive service both complements and complicates core issues concerning master/servant relationships, demanding that our understanding of the bonds between service, friendship, and sexuality be readdressed, particularly in the light of youth culture. Whereas Rivlin suggests that "service is fundamentally a representational practice, in which acting *for* one's master shades, often imperceptibly, into acting *as* one's master" (3) and that these imitative performances are called "aesthetic service" (3), this chapter focuses on what happens when master and servant do not switch places, instead assuming the same identity through the bonds of excessive service. The chapter therefore provides a fuller discussion of the "pervasive and close" (Evett 22-23) relationship between master and servant and seeks to readdress Weil's claim that "normal fusions of service with friendship might have had deadly consequences" (81) by exploring Field and Fletcher's complex but positive representations of faithful service.

³ See Weil's study, *Service and Dependency in Shakespeare's Plays* (2005) and Evett's *Discourses of Service in Shakespeare's England* (2005).

“A contemptible and odious ffellowe”: Theophilus Field and Service

Before investigating the forms of excessive service in *The Honest Man's Fortune*, this chapter will consider an incident that occurred in Cambridge in 1611 involving Field's elder brother Theophilus.⁴ The quotation that heads this subsection was Alexander Reade's opinion of Theophilus, and this one particular insult slung at the Doctor of Divinity was fairly tame compared to Reade's other accusations. The incident has much to say about bodily excess, friendship and service and is evidence that society's cultural practices could be commented upon and reflected in the drama of the period. Alexandra Shepard reports a suit being entered by Theophilus against Reade, another fellow at Pembroke Hall College, for the sum of £50 (Shepard, *Meanings* 116). The injury, which Theophilus felt he had received from false accusations made against him by Reade whilst the two men were in conversation in the fellows' garden, disgraced "his vocation as a man of holy orders" (qtd in Shepard 117).⁵ Intriguingly, Reade's accusations were about Theophilus's sexual misdemeanours involving not only women, but also young men.

The following details in the case prove interesting when considering ideas of service. Reade accused Theophilus of laying with a former servant of Theophilus's, Thomas Smith. Reade implies in this instance that Theophilus 'laying' with Smith was a wholly devious sexual act, despite the innocent circumstances with which the pair may have laid together, as Theophilus seemingly implied in his testimony. When Theophilus admitted that Smith had lain with him, Reade's reaction was to insult Theophilus further, labelling him "the skome [scum] of his order & Rancke, & that he was a contemptible and odious ffellowe". This suggests that Reade interpreted the bed sharing as an admission that sexual activity took place between master and servant. Theophilus denied that sexual activity took place, not the act of bed sharing, which as Shepard acknowledges, seems to suggest there existed a fair amount of intimacy between Theophilus and Smith (*Meanings* 117). There are vital issues concerning the ambiguous nature of service associated with the case, and it is uncertain how Reade became aware of the incident. Perhaps Reade witnessed the supposed act of sexual activity that occurred in Theophilus's bed, or Smith may have confided in Reade, informing him of how his master treated him. Crucial for the period's understanding of service would be determining whether Theophilus overstepped the accepted boundaries between master and servant, if sexual activity did take place. Importantly, Bailey suggests that sexual "intimacy between master and servant was not prohibited" (*Flaunting* 71) whereas DiGangi importantly suggests that "the highly loaded condemnatory term 'sodomite' would not, of course, apply to the orderly adult male who enjoyed a male friend or an attractive page" ("How Queer" 134). Perhaps Theophilus did not feel that requesting sexual intercourse with a servant was anti-

⁴ See Ian Atherton's entry in the *ODNB* for further details about Theophilus.

⁵ Subsequent quotations from the case are cited from Shepard's *Meanings of Manhood*, page 117.

social and against the rules of the master/servant hierarchy.⁶ We are also unsure of how the servant responded to his master. Perhaps young Smith relented to the embraces of Theophilus in an instance of excessive service, believing that if his thirty-six year old master, a figure of authority, desired to instigate sexual activity then he should just accept it. All of these observations are importantly dramatised by Field and Fletcher in their exploration of the relationship between Montaigne and Veramour to reassess cultural perceptions of service. It is important that we never hear from Smith, which may suggest that either his testimony was not considered important enough, or, that he decided not to speak up against his master's transgressions. It is of crucial importance that Theophilus appears more concerned with the damage that may be caused to his name by the insults, rather than supplying evidence that he did not "lay" with Smith. Reade's horror is not that Theophilus is a sodomite, but that this one particular bond between master and servant had overstepped the acceptable boundaries of his own conventional and social expectations of service and intimacy.

The case between Reade and Theophilus appears to have been dropped. Shepard reveals that "no depositions were taken and no outcome was recorded", considering the accusation that Theophilus lay with his serving boy as "ammunition in a malicious attack" (*Meanings* 118) that probably stemmed from some other dispute. In this particular instance, which appears to have been quashed as slander rather than a case of sexual assault, the ambiguous ties linking service and sexuality remain. As will become evident in the discussion of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, the above incident's engagement with friendship, service, and excess are re-evaluated by Field and Fletcher in an attempt to reimagine youth culture's important role in service. Whereas Smith is silent in the case above, Field and Fletcher dramatise the parameters of friendship, service and youth culture from a young man's perspective to readdress societal and cultural values. However, one other incident concerning Theophilus, Nathan Field, and Francis Beaumont, can provide further complexities surrounding the issues of service in accordance with youth culture and friendship. In 1604 Nathan Field, aged seventeen, and Beaumont, aged nineteen, were both in Cambridge to physically intimidate another man that twenty-nine year old Theophilus had upset, Thomas Bradbury (Hilton Kelliher 4). Young Nathan Field and Beaumont, performing their duties to Theophilus, acted like most stereotypical hot-headed youths in physically and verbally unsettling Bradbury, sharing in the "erotic of shared danger" (Shepard, *Meanings* 100). Such a moment, which Shepard suggests is an "assertion of manhood" (*Meanings* 125), accentuated the violent aspects of

⁶ See Orgel's discussion in his *Impersonations* and Bray's in his *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (48), where both analyse an incident of master-servant sexual activity that involved a labourer named Meredith Davy. Griffiths discusses a case where Thomas Woodford was sent to gaol in November 1606 for "'being accused to have committed sodomie with William Wood his servant, a boye of xiii yeares'" (*Youth* 271). Griffiths comments that we do not know whether "this was a case of mutual consent, abuse, or malicious prosecution" (271).

youth culture. The strength of Beaumont's friendship with Nathan is indicative enough in his desire to engage in youthful performances of aggression to defend the honour of the Field family. As Kelliher observes, Beaumont and Nathan Field were both eager to be enlisted to teach Bradbury a lesson (7).

The incident with Bradbury can enrich our understanding of early modern youth culture, with Beaumont and Nathan Field feeling obliged to perform a form of excessive service in intimidating Theophilus's provoker. Both of these cases complicate our understanding of society's definition of service and how multifaceted, but vital, it is. The depositions also provide compelling links with the performativity attached to youth culture, and Field and Beaumont 'perform' in the social space of Cambridge as if they were on the stage, again revealing that theatrical and social performances of youth culture are intertwined. Friendship is also a core component of Beaumont and Field's actions, and Field performed further forms of friendship and service in his literary and cultural engagements as a writer of epistles.

"yr most thanckfull; and loving freinds": Nathan Field, Friendship and the Politics of Service

The letters of Nathan Field to Henslowe and Thomas Sutton can provide information concerning ideas of service and friendship, as well as written performances of youth culture. The practice of letter writing has only recently received detailed critical attention.⁷ Whereas Alan Stewart has commented on the importance of letters to the everyday early modern world (*Shakespeare's Letters* 5), this section explores how Field's letters function as an extension of a bodily gesture that can inform our understanding of the servile nature of letter-writing. Whether it is a reminder of the importance of his own worth to Henslowe as an actor employed in one of his companies, or a passionate defence of the profession of playing to Sutton, Field constantly explores the links between service, identity, and youth culture, penning passionate epistles after the fashion he would have learnt at school.⁸ Field writes with a knowledge of the politics of service coupled to the art of rhetoric, understanding the value of his own services to Henslowe whilst aware of the service that he also owes to a man who has the power to discharge him from prison, and his letters are framed accordingly to stress the familial and the paternal aspects of their relationship. The politics of service are also apparent in Field's letter to Sutton, who in a sermon in 1616 performed a great disservice to Field and his fellow actors in denouncing them from the pulpit.⁹ Field's defence of his profession acknowledges the disservice that Sutton has performed with regards to his own

⁷ See James Daybell's monograph, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England* (2012) for an extensive survey of the practice of letter writing.

⁸ See Lynne Magnusson's important study, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue* (1999), which discusses the importance of epistolary manuals in framing the Elizabethan letter writer (61).

⁹ Appendix Two contains a transcript of Field's letter to Sutton.

parishioners, and Field can reclaim acting as a viable profession by observing his own debts of service to God, something which Sutton, as a master figure to Field as a servant in this scenario, seemed to have forgotten.

In around 1614, Field was imprisoned for debt along with Robert Daborne and Philip Massinger. Henslowe's importance as a figure who could be petitioned in times of need was not lost on Field, who penned a passionate letter asking for relief.¹⁰ The quotation that heads this section of the chapter is taken from a tripartite letter to Henslowe. Field wrote the majority of the entreaty, which also features a sentence from Massinger and Daborne, and this itself may be significant when considering the politics of service in letter writing. Field was certainly the most valuable member of the trio in Henslowe's eyes because without its star actor, the Lady Elizabeth's Men could not perform, and Henslowe would have been at risk of losing a significant amount of money.

The trio in prison may have understood Field's importance to Henslowe, thereby nominating him as the chief petitioner. As earlier chapters have revealed, Field's grammar school education and training as a youth in the theatre, both playing and writing a variety of parts, not only instilled in him crucial ideas of service, but also aided the creation of multiple voices to suit given situations. As Magnusson importantly writes, learning to write letters in grammar school encouraged pupils "to conceive of friendships and same-sex intimacies [as] performative and strategic" (70). This is apparent when Field employs the dual discourses of friendship and service to appeal to Henslowe, epitomising Stewart's assertion that letters were "the social glue that held firm friendships" (*Shakespeare's* 5). Field begins the epistle by observing the excess of the current situation that the trio find themselves in: "You vnderstand o[u]r vnfortunate extremitie and I doe not thincke you so void of christianitie but that you would throw so much money into the Thames as wee request now of you; rather then endanger so many innocent liues" (MS I f96r) (Figure 7). Field does not ask Henslowe to try to empathise with their plight, instead he writes that Henslowe is a compassionate and benevolent individual, affected by the fact that some of his own men are imprisoned: "*You vnderstand*" (MS I f96r; emphasis added). The situation is excessive according to Field; it is a situation that requires Henslowe's immediate assistance to curb the extremity and allow the men to return to normality. Field seems to write with an awareness of all three crucial components central to the practice of letter writing that Magnusson identifies, "humility and entreaty", 'pleasure and courtesy', and 'supposal and assurance'" (88), to ensure that Henslowe responds accordingly. Field's rhetoric is passionate and emphasises the trivial sum needed to release the men; it is an amount so small that Henslowe may have thrown bigger amounts into the Thames over the years. Field deliberately evokes the compassionate side of Henslowe's character

¹⁰ The letter, MS I f96r, deposited in Dulwich College, is available online at the *Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project*: <http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/images/MSS-1/Article-068/01r.html>. In this chapter, the letter will be referred to as (MS I f96r).

by stating that to ignore their plea would be to “endanger so many innocent liues” (MS I f96r). Such rhetoric appears excessive, and in a sense, theatrical, and Field is keenly aware of the importance of ‘performing’ on the page to elicit the correct emotional response from Henslowe, as he had done over the last decade on the stage.

Field therefore markets his youthfulness and dependency on Henslowe in the sense that he needs the assistance of a father figure, and actively writes with the voice of youth – passionate; respectful; performative. Field’s appeal observes Henslowe as a figure who has the power to free them from jail, but the statement is also political in subconsciously preying on Henslowe’s emotions; if he does not speedily free them, Henslowe will be acting like one devoid of “christianitie” (MS I f96r) in Field’s opinion, that is acting against the service that Henslowe owes to God. Field therefore cleverly inverts the mechanisms of service, both observing his own need of the services of Henslowe whilst at the same time reminding Henslowe of the service that he owes to God as a good Christian, performing acts of charity in helping the needy. Field seems aware that the act of writing epistles was important for friendships in the social world: “Powerful ‘friends’ had to be courted using strategic negotiations of distance and familiarity” (Shepard, *Meanings* 123). As Linda Anderson has suggested, “virtually any relationship can be described as service” (*Place* 34) in the early modern period, something that both Field and Henslowe were aware of.

The multifaceted layers of service continue to dominate Field’s epistle, however, as he reminds Henslowe of the services that Massinger and Daborne, as well as himself, can offer the entrepreneur as well as blurring the lines by obliquely stating what Henslowe also owes them in terms of financial service. Field writes, “you know there is xl [i.e., £10] more at least to be receaued of you, for the play, wee desire you to lend vs vl [£5] of that, wch shall be allowed to you without wch wee cannot be bayled” (MS I f96r). Field reminds Henslowe that Massinger and Daborne, as fellow collaborators, provide Henslowe with a service – writing a play – and that Henslowe owes them £10. But Field does not ask for £10, instead he begs Henslowe to bail them with £5, curiously inverting their situation as debtors in prison into a service that Henslowe *must* perform seeing as he already owes them money. The request becomes subliminally forceful, further reminding Henslowe of his own debts to the trio. As Magnusson importantly writes, relations formed in the writing of epistles are enactments of performances (88); something that Field would have been expert at producing, penning letters with rhetoric suitable for the situation. Just as Henslowe’s benevolence is needed as a form of charitable service to free the imprisoned men, Field reminds Henslowe that forms of service permeate all social interactions; Henslowe requires the services of the three men to make money.

Such an analysis of the epistle may sound fairly mercenary on Field’s part with Daborne and Massinger strategically complying to urge Field to pen the letter knowing his youthful celebrity

status and the use-value that Henslowe undoubtedly attached to him. But this would be to overlook the rhetoric of friendship that Field employs in this letter, a discourse that is not necessarily required as Field's tactical plea for £5 would probably have been enough to determine Henslowe's mind in sending the money. However, Field writes to Henslowe that the trio will acknowledge the elder gentleman as their "true freind in time of neede" (MS I f96r), again praising Henslowe for his Christian charity and "humanitie" (MS I f96r) in discharging them from prison. The ambiguities of service are evident here, much as they are in *The Honest Man's Fortune*, where friendship and service are intertwined. Just as it was unusual for master and servant to consider each other as a friend, Henslowe's position of authority renders him into the trope of master who functions as a much admired friend, at least to Field, tying friendship and service into a harmonious partnership in the theatrical community. If Henslowe offers the trio service twined with finance and friendship, it is also apparent that love enters the realms of service, again, as the discussion below will stress concerning Veramour and Montaigne. Field's letter will be delivered by a "Mr. Dauison" (MS I f96r), a mutual friend, who will bear witness to Henslowe's "loue" (MS I f96r) that he harbours for Field, Massinger and Daborne. This love between master and servants is reciprocal, with the trio promising to be ever Henslowe's "most thanckfull; and louing freinds" (MS I f96r), further amplifying the links between service, love, and friendship. It is not an erotic or sexual love, as is evident in *The Honest Man's Fortune*, but it does aid the idea that service is multifunctional and performative in early modern England. That Field himself attaches a crucial importance to friendship, service and love is evident in this epistle, especially so considering Daborne's cold and distant pledge to Henslowe that "the mony shall be abated out of the mony remayns for the play of mr fletcher & ours" (MS I f96r), which lacks the warmth of Field's writing. Massinger may also have attached love and friendship to ideas of service in the theatrical profession akin to master/servant relationships with his recognition of the importance of Henslowe's compassion and friendship to his own plight: "I have everfounded you a true lovinge freinde to mee" (MS I f96r).

A separate letter from Field to Henslowe reveals the love and friendship that Field attaches to service in the theatrical profession.¹¹ In a plea for bail, Field writes to "Father Hinchlow" (MS I f97r) (Figure 8) and the affectionate bonds of service are rendered into a familial bond from a "loving son" (MS I f97r) to his master/father figure. Such an exchange indicates the close knit nature of theatrical bonds, and in appealing to the elder man as a father figure, Field reveals the strength of his relationship with his manager in his confidence in referring to himself as a son of Henslowe's; a statement that would be impossible or refuted by Henslowe if the pair maintained only a distant relationship. Indeed, Grace Ioppolo has suggested that Henslowe and Field had a

¹¹ The letter, MS I f97r, deposited in Dulwich College, is available online at the *Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project*: <http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/images/MSS-1/Article-069/01r.html>. This letter will be referenced as (MS I f97r).

surrogate father and son relationship (*Dramatists* 37). In naming Henslowe as a father figure, Field also connects ideas of paternity with youth culture, with his youthful plea recognising the dependence on the older man as a benefactor. The fact that Field maintains, in his suit for £10, that he is “euer resolu’d to be” (MS I f97r) Henslowe’s loving son is coupled with his promise to do further service for Henslowe, seemingly making Henslowe’s expenditure worthwhile. Field writes that he will “make any satisfaction, by writing or otherwise” (MS I f97r) to repay the debts that he was “loath to importune” (MS I f97r) from Henslowe, once again positing his own body as one keen to perform service for his theatrical master, and aware of the debts that he owes him. Field is also astutely aware of his intended readership in both letters, and seems to ‘perform’ on the page with a pre-conceived knowledge of what type of letter will convince Henslowe to assist them. Field’s balance between the paternal and the commercial skilfully depicts Field as harmonising both in seeking Henslowe’s aid, but it is also problematic that the penned letters may in fact be performative; rehearsed words that lack sentiment. Writing, like youth culture itself, is performative.

Even in business negotiations with Henslowe, as seen in a letter from Field discussing the importance of Henslowe advancing Daborne money, Field again refers to himself as Henslowe’s “louing and obedient son” (MS I f130r) (Figure 9), further strengthening the idea that the pair maintained a close personal relationship.¹² Once again the word ‘love’ is invoked by Field as the central reason why Daborne has decided to keep his play, “as beneficiall a play as hath come these seaven yeares” (MS I f130r), for the Lady Elizabeth’s Men and not offer it to another rival company. It is “out of his loue he detaines it for us” (MS I f130r) which maintains this chapter’s suggestion of the links between service, love and friendship which permeate the theatre, despite the ambiguity surrounding Field’s excessive boast that Daborne’s play may be exceptionally good. It could well be a statement to lure Henslowe into advancing a payment in order to secure a play that could prove popular with audiences.

However, Field’s pen is employed in another type of service when writing to Sutton.¹³ It is a letter that is consciously aware of the fact that letter-writing was typically devoid of privacy (Stewart, *Shakespeare’s* 10), and seems designed for public reading. Daybell observes this is an important function of letters (12), confirming Field’s interest in the multi-purpose art of letter-writing in penning an epistle that is performative in the sense that it demands attention, like the actor’s body before spectators at a play. Sutton had arraigned the actors performing at the Globe

¹² The letter, MS I f130r, deposited in Dulwich College, is available online at the *Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project*: <http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/images/MSS-1/Article-100/01r.html>. This letter will be referenced as (MS I f130r).

¹³ All references are to Halliwell’s edition. Please see Figure 10 for the original letter, deposited in the National Archives.

theatre in 1616, and Field took particular offence. Field's letter to Sutton, which M. E. Williams calls an "elegant refutation" (*Play* 25), employs the politics of service by showcasing Field's own Christian beliefs and his knowledge that, in a world of service, it is God who unites everybody. Service to God is the highest form of pleasurable service for Field, encapsulated in his statement declaring, "how I love the Sanctuary of my God, and worship towards his holy alter" (7). Field's loving service is epitomised as perfect service, and his profession of acting is far from a career that marks a descent away from allowing acceptable service to religion. Just as the thesis has argued that youth culture explicitly aims to reform young men, scholars such as Huston Diehl have argued that the stage dramatised Protestant habits of thought to reform its audience (*Staging* 1), and it is evident that for Field, the stage possesses the ability to inculcate society, suggesting that he bears in his "soule the badge of a Christian" and will "practise to live the lief of the faithfull, wish to dye the death of the right-eous and hope to meete my Saviour in the Cloudes" (7-8). Field writes passionately concerning his own pleasurable service to God because he hopes to politically upstage Sutton, whom, Field argues, has performed a great disservice to God in lambasting the profession of acting and the many honest Christians within it. Field writes with pain that Sutton has previously resorted:

[T]o send forth many those bitter breathings, those uncharitable and unlimited curses of condemnacions against that poore calling, it hath pleased the Lord to place me in, that my spirit is moved, the fire is kindled, and I must speake, and the rather, because yow have not spared in the extraordinary violence of your passion particularly to point att me and some other of my quallity and directly to our faces in the publique assembly to pronounce us dampned, as thoughe you ment to send us alive to hell in the sight of many witnesses (8).

Sutton's excessive violence is commented on by Field as a great disservice to Field's own body, the profession of acting, and to God. Field, politically, reminds Sutton that God has chosen him to be placed in the profession of acting; a profession that does not prohibit him from performing favourable service. Sutton's personal condemnation of Field and his colleagues reveals Sutton's own disservice to God in publically damning the actors who attend the church.

Indeed, writing with the spirit of youth culture – "the fire is kindled" (8) – Field lambasts Sutton for the preacher's own "extravagant and unnecessary passions" (9), suggesting that the preacher has failed to regulate his own bodily excesses in his very theatrical performance of a sermon that requires the physical gesture of pointing out the damned actors. Sutton's unnaturalness, according to Field, reveals in its excessive passion an ignorance of the doctrine of Christ and it is with this in mind that Field actively attacks Sutton, accusing him of failing to serve his parishioners correctly:

Surely, Sir, your iron is so entred into my soule, you have soe laboured to quench the spiritt to hinder the sacrament and banish me from myne owne parishe church, that my conscience cannot be quiett within me untill I have defended it by putting yow in mind of your uncharitable dealing with your poore parishoners, whose purses participate in your

contribucion, and whose labour yow are contented to eate, howsoever yow despise the man that gaynes it, or the wayes he gettes it, like those unthankful ones, that will refreshe themselves with the grape, and yet breake and abuse the branches (9-10).

Field inverts Sutton's attack by suggesting that Sutton has failed in his duty to God by exploiting his role as a master of his parishioners and providing them with 'bad' service. In identifying Sutton's faulty logic – he will eat off Field's monetary contribution to the Church then lambast the means by which Field acquired that money – Field offers moral correction for the failings of service that Sutton preaches. Indeed, Sutton's failings are cited as increasingly violent in their actions, and Field writes of the "deepe, deadly and monstrous blemishes yow have cast upon me, such as indeed made us blush, all Christian eares to glow, and all honest hartes to admire att" (10-11), with Field again writing with the discourse of youthful assertion and a knowledge that this letter could be disseminated orally amongst a wider public; Field effectively responds to Sutton's sermon with a sermon of his own. Sutton's explicit condemnation of the actors, in attempting to reveal their wickedness, in fact renders his own body as monstrous and unnatural and Field deflects the attack with an accusation of his own, that Sutton's disservice to God and his parishioners is evident in his own violent discourse that affronts Christian ears with its savagery. Ultimately, Field trumps Sutton by suggesting that the theatre and religion are linked in the former's efforts to treat the Bible as a text to study "as [his] best parte" (11), which again reveals the performative nature of Field's life, whether it be in writing letters, studying the Bible, or in society aiding his brother. In reaffirming his ties as a religious servant, Field chastises Sutton with an important discussion of the role of service and the profession of acting. Field's performative epistles to individuals who maintained a sense of mastery over him explore the politics of friendship and service and reveal both to be important aspects of youth culture. Field is astutely aware that writing a letter shares many parallels with performing on the stage, and seems keen to utilise his skills in penning rhetoric that matches his youthful identity, epitomising Nora Johnson's claim that Field is concerned with his "public reputation" (*Actor* 64).

The final sections of this chapter focus on these core ideas in an analysis of the role of friendship, service and youth culture in *The Honest Man's Fortune*. What may initially appear devious in the relationship between the central protagonist Montaigne, and his young page Veramour, can inform and enlighten ideas associated with youth culture and service, and obtaining the correct relationship between master and servant, one that is built on friendship and love. In this respect Field and Fletcher provide a unique and rich text that champions friendship between master and servant – an idea that was certainly only valued by a minority in the period – probably because of their own unique apprenticeships in the theatrical world.

“Oh lad, thy love will kill me”: Excessive Service in *The Honest Man’s Fortune*

The Honest Man’s Fortune (1613) was performed by The Lady Elizabeth’s Men at the Whitefriars theatre (Gerritsen, *Honest* xli). This section reassesses the play’s importance to early modern studies as having much to say about service and ideas of youth and problematises further Field’s ideas concerning youth culture, service, and friendship that was apparent in the above epistles.

The quotation that heads this subsection is spoken by the honest man, Montaigne, to his young page boy Veramour (IV.i.81) and immediately reveals the complexity of their relationship. As master and servant, the excessive bond that the pair share is vocalised by Montaigne as a type of love that results in friendship. However, the social condemnation that such a bond could occasion immediately problematises this relationship as anxious, contradictory, and ambivalent. Montaigne does not elaborate on why such a love could cause his death, but it is the contention of this section to explore Field and Fletcher’s complex dramatisation of excessive and ambiguous service and how this relates to youth culture. Such a statement perfectly exemplifies the ambiguity that encapsulates the entire play and reinforces Griffiths’s suggestion that many master/servant relationships were “inherently unstable” (*Youth* 298). The play seems keen to problematise master/servant relationships, especially because during James I’s reign, “pages were understood to perform two functions, one public and official, the other private and sexual” (Saslow 159). Montaigne’s affections for his young page are excessive; they transcend the conventional boundaries of service, as defined in the first section of this chapter. But this is a reciprocal relationship and one that this chapter suggests diverges from Bruce Smith’s analysis of unproblematic friendships (*Shakespeare* 88), with Veramour also vocalising his love, affection and friendship for his master in a form of excessive service that is both, paradoxically, erotic and exemplary. Such ambivalence is rooted in the period’s core ideas concerning friendship and its potentiality for eroticism, as MacFaul has suggested (17), and, I assert, is also pressing for bonds formed through youth culture. Furthering the complexity, Bray importantly states that “homosexual relationships” did occur in friendships between master and servants (“Homosexuality” 54). If this was the case, and a sexual relationship was instigated, whereby the servant broke the boundaries of social status and order, then society would strictly condemn such a relationship (Joyce Macdonald 100). Ideas of erotic service frequently blur in the exchanges between Montaigne and Veramour, as we will see below, but the ambiguity over excessive service can be evinced from the type of service that Laverdure expects from Veramour. When Veramour lies, stating that he is in fact a woman disguised as a page boy, Laverdure’s response is to exclaim with rapture, “a woman? how happy am I? now we may lawfully come together without feare of hanging” (IV.i.280-281). This suggests that Laverdure has

initially pursued Veramour as a sexually desirable young man, and the fear of punishment for sexual activity with the boy has haunted Laverdure, not the fear of sodomy itself. This renders Laverdure into a figure more recognizable to the audience, as the sodomite was a “figure guilty of recognizable...excesses and indiscretions” (DiGangi, *Sexual* 31). Laverdure seemingly expects the same kind of sexual service whether Veramour is a young man or a young woman and the pleasure of sexual service is apparent in the bawdy quibble with master and servant reaching sexual climax together: “*come together*” (IV.i.281; emphasis added). It should already be apparent that ideas of gender, service, sexual intercourse, and friendship are all blurred in this play. Whereas Laverdure expects sexual service from the paradigm that he is the master, and therefore the servant cannot resist, Montaigne and Veramour’s relationship centralises erotic friendship where social boundaries of service are removed.

The Honest Man’s Fortune appears steeped in matters of excessive service, and of bodily excess. It is important to analyse why excess is a crucial part of Montaigne and Veramour’s relationship, and Laverdure’s pursuit of the boy. If Amiens can call Longaville, his newly hired servant, his “faithfull friend” (II.iii.51), then the play is useful for developing the thesis’s ideas about youth culture and service. Even though some masters and servants spent leisure time together and some referred to each other as “friends” (Ben-Amos, *Adolescence* 174), Field and Fletcher provide a compelling reassessment of the role that service played in the lives of young men. Whether it be through Montaigne chastising his servant Longaville (I.i.336-337), Amiens vocalising displeasure at Longaville’s boldness in offering service (II.iii.19), or the table-talk of Lamira’s servants, jovially discussing their mistress’s suitors (V.iii), the play circulates contemporary perils and pleasures of youthful service, often interspersed with intense emotional bonds. The warmth of bonds of service found in the play is testament to the playwrights’ values concerning master/servant relationships, which, in the period were multivalent, with the master potentially viewing servants “as cheap labour, a nuisance, an employee, a colleague, or friend” (Griffiths, *Youth* 320). Anderson suggests that servants could be depicted as “intimate friends” (40), but it is evident that Field and Fletcher were keen to complicate their own society’s understanding of friendship and service by investigating its potential for eroticism and how this relates to youth culture. If, therefore, Longaville and Amiens’s relationship can be constructed as a conventional example of early modern service, then Montaigne and Veramour’s relationship is certainly unconventional for the levels of pleasure experienced in the young page’s submissive service. Montaigne and his serving boy do share an intimate friendship which occasionally evolves towards an early modern form of same-sex desire as opposed to a conventional master/servant relationship, and it is this relationship that I will discuss here, expanding upon Kim Phillips and Barry Reay’s suggestion that “male

friendship was an important site of premodern homoeroticism. It was accepted and indeed expected that men would have close male friendships” (*Sex* 73).

The *OED* defines a ‘page’ as a “servant” (1), and a “boy or youth employed as the personal attendant or messenger” to someone of rank (2.a). Veramour’s relationship, as a personal servant to Montaigne, is undoubtedly going to be one of intimacy and closeness because of the nature of the tasks that he would have to perform, as Evett has identified (*Discourses* 122). In aiding Montaigne in getting dressed, Veramour’s bodily service becomes an intimate performance. Many members of the audience may have formed some opinion of the type of relationship that Veramour and Montaigne would share simply by observing the connotations attached to the name ‘Veramour’, and because of broader cultural understandings concerning the importance of service to life. Sandra Clark observes that Veramour’s name translates into “true love” (*Plays* 63), as does Mann (*Shakespeare’s* 95), with M. E. Williams meanwhile suggesting that Veramour’s name indicates “loving fidelity” (325), and the ambiguity evident in the pair’s relationship is apparent by the fact that “loving fidelity” suggest faithfulness in service, whereas “true love” is suggestive of romantic and sexual bonds, and Clark has strengthened this association by commenting that Veramour’s “devotion to his master is supreme” (*Plays* 63). Indeed, Field and Fletcher’s understanding of the word ‘love’ appears to be akin to the *OED*’s definition of: “A feeling or disposition of deep affection or fondness for someone, typically arising from a recognition of attractive qualities, from natural affinity, or from sympathy and manifesting itself in concern for the other’s welfare and pleasure in his or her presence (distinguished from sexual love)” (*OED* 1.a). This does help to interpret Montaigne and Veramour’s love for one another, but, despite this, their relationship does become excessive and erotic, as is discussed below. Indeed, the pair’s friendship is also complicated by the fact that ‘friend’ in the period could also mean “a romantic or sexual partner” (*OED* 6). Furthermore, Gerritsen suggests in his edition of the play that the name links with the Italian ‘*vera more*’ [‘true fashion’] (127). The page’s doting service is embodied in his very name, indicating that this play will focus on the discourses of service, friendship and love. But, there is also ambiguity surrounding Veramour’s name, which lends itself to the Latin ‘*vir amor*’ [‘man love’].¹⁴ Besides the more explicit demands of Laverdure, who is clearly sexually interested in the young page, Montaigne’s relationship with Veramour also spills over into a desire typifying love between men, even if that desire is not necessarily devious.

It is difficult to estimate Veramour’s age. As a young man in service, Veramour could range between the age of thirteen to early twenties (Griffiths, *Youth* 33; Ben-Amos, *Adolescence* 39), and Field and Fletcher appear to suggest that he is in his teens rather than the latter category,

¹⁴ Dr Astrid Stilma suggested the Latin links between Viramor and ‘man love’. In the manuscript from 1625, Veramour’s name is recorded as “Viramor” in stage directions (Gerritsen, *Honest* 9).

with his dependency on Montaigne compared to the other servants, Longaville and Dubois, who appear to be in their early twenties. Veramour's fidelity is expressed via a physical outpouring of tears because he "would not goe" (I.i.392) from his master's side. The sight moves Montaigne, and his term of endearment in labelling Veramour "my child" (I.i.393) exemplifies the classic master-father/servant-son relationship praised in early modern England that Bray has discussed ("Homosexuality" 50) and was apparent above in Field's letters to Henslowe. Fearing that Veramour is "yet / Unable to advise [his] selfe a course" (I.i.395-396), Montaigne embodies the stereotype of the caring master, dutifully concerned about the well-being of his servant and anxious to provide security for the young man, complicating Ben-Amos's suggestion that long-term personal attachments were typically lacking in master/servant relationships (*Culture* 59). Such performances of service seem conventional thus far, but Veramour's response to Montaigne's kindly gesture is the first evidence of many moments that expound a desire to provide excessive service. For Veramour, every day of service spent in the company of Montaigne is a "day of blessing" (I.i.402), a sentiment that initially appears unnatural, rather than excessive, especially after considering Michael Neil's suggestion that a "loyal servant became simply a 'part of his master'" (*Putting* 23). But, coupled to Veramour's statement that "I shall / Have so much lesse time left me of my life / When I am from you" (I.i.402-404), it blurs the boundaries of conventional service into something excessive. Veramour's insistence that he cannot survive without the company of Montaigne builds upon the early modern rhetoric of friendship and the idea of two bodies ruled by one soul, and of his fate if masterless. Immediately, then, excessive service appears twinned with ideas of friendship. As Veramour's speech continues, his desire to provide service to Montaigne appears concerned with the two young men remaining together, and, importantly, assuming the same identity. Veramour's passionate plea that in "the Winter I will spare / Mine own clothes from my selfe to cover you; / And in the Summer, carry some of yours / To ease you" (I.i.408-411), reveals a subconscious desire for the pair to bond via the sharing of clothes. As Montaigne's page, Veramour would already be wearing the livery of his master (R. Richardson 107), but the practice of providing his clothes for his master to wear in the winter, not only subverts the traditional master/servant dichotomy, it also showcases Veramour's desire to become a part of his master by providing sartorial service. Veramour's identity can achieve a closeness unrivalled by traditional master/servant relationships by shedding his own clothes to achieve a bond of intimacy with Montaigne. The servant willingly concedes part of his own sartorial identity to his master, who in turn will wear the clothes that identify the servant as his 'own', unifying both bodies into a mesh of service, friendship, and twinned identity. In this particular instance it is already apparent that Veramour's unnatural service renders such a master/servant relationship "deeply problematic"

(MacFaul 91), and demonstrates the potential for a status reversal to take place between master and servant.

The above incident can inform our ideas concerning youth culture on the stage, with Veramour in particular typifying the importance that young men placed on providing amiable service to masters and/or friends. Providing service therefore becomes an important route to attaining respectable manhood. As we have seen above, the willingness of Beaumont and Nathan Field to support and defend Theophilus's honour enabled them to obtain a form of aggressive masculinity that most young men strove for. In Field and Fletcher's play, Veramour does not engage in the erotics of shared violence when Amiens bursts onto the stage to threaten Montaigne to a duel. Instead, the page performs a further example of excessive service by risking his life to defend his master's body. Amiens's comment to Montaigne, that "[t]hou hast advantage of mee, cast away / This buckler" (I.iii.2-3), identifies that Veramour has thrust himself in front of Montaigne's body in the ultimate performance of service, offering his body to suffer the effects of a drawn sword rather than his master's. Veramour's proud boast, "Your Rapier shall be button'd with my heade, / Before it touch my Master" (I.iii.6-7), identifies the fidelity of service offered by the young man and the strength of affection that he holds for his master. It is evident that the play is deliberately blurring the distinctions between friendship, service and youth culture. If such an incident obliquely reveals the strength of the bond between these two men, then their later interactions in the privacy of each other's company demonstrates the blurry boundaries between service and excess, love and friendship. Even when in the company of his new mistress, Lamira, Veramour cannot refrain from eroticising the discourse of service when recalling Montaigne. In response to Lady Orleans's question of what he thought about his old master, Montaigne, Veramour, as the stage directions indicate, "*sighes*" (III.i.89). The lengthy expression of emotion and affection "Oh Madam———" (III.i.89) speaks volumes concerning the excessive desire that the page harboured for his former master. Lamira's checking rebuke, "[h]e made a wanton of you" (III.i.91), largely glossed over by Veramour, suggests that in her mind, Veramour's attachment to his master has been unnatural. Veramour's subsequent encomium, explaining the reasons why his "youth must love him" (III.i.92) revels in exchanges of excessive service. By stating that "liberty / Is bondage, if compared with his kind service" (III.i.93-94), Veramour channels the excess of service into a description of perfect friendship, a type of friendship that few men could expect to experience. In Veramour's opinion, Montaigne is a man

[o]f such a shape as would make one beloved,
That never had good thought; and to his body
He hath a mind of such a constant temper
In which all vertues throng to have a room (III.i.104-107).

In rendering Montaigne as a paragon of morality that chastises and reforms every individual, Veramour reveals the very perfectness of his own relationship with Montaigne, reinforcing Shepard's idea that the "homosocial infractions of male youth culture contained a largely unacknowledged homoerotic charge that contributed to their potency" (*Meanings* 126).

Montaigne's didactic enablement as a master who aids his servant in becoming a valued member of society is indicative of the strong bond the pair share. In many respects, such an ideal relationship is often the preoccupation of the patrons of acting companies and their actors, with the master/patron supposedly a model of virtue who profits both didactically and in entertainment, by the skills of their servant/actors. Youth actors would also be aware of the ideal bonds between themselves and authors, with authors functioning as masters and the actors as dutiful servants, to perform their plays and circulate authors' celebrity. Such analysis refutes Rivlin's claim that drama does not share the same goals as didactic literature discussing service (*Aesthetics* 13-14), with Field and Fletcher exploring the conception of service as a unique and powerful bond that enables ideas of positive youth identity to flourish. If the master's body inspires ideas of a perfect relationship, it is one where service encompasses friendship and love.

The erotics of service are exemplified in the same scene where Montaigne stumbles in wounded. Spying his former master, Veramour's immediate desire to offer service is tinged with erotic rhetoric that highlights the ambivalence between interpretations of service and love. When Veramour says, "oh that my flesh / Were Balme; in faith sir, I would plucke it off / As readily as this" (III.i.163-165) he identifies a desire for merging into the body of Montaigne. Veramour also recalls ideas circulated in many a grammar school in the period, with its teaching that the "classical world was replete with pairs of friends who each wished to sacrifice their lives in order to save their friend" (Marlow 113). If Veramour initially aimed for sartorial closeness with Montaigne, this latest proclamation of service exemplifies a desire for bodily unification, with both individuals bonded by the intimacy of sharing the same skin. The echoes of intimate friendship are evident here, suggesting that both service and friendship are linked together with a youth culture that praises masculine bonding. I suggest that the erotic overtones are then translated into a mixture of anamorphic sexuality and excessive service that both confirms and problematises Bruce Smith's discussion of sexual energy between master and servant (*Homosexual* 194). When Veramour exclaims to Montaigne, "Oh that I were a horse for halfe an houre, / That I might carry you home on my backe: / I hope you will love me still?" (III.i.197-199), he consciously invokes the rhetoric of affective service. In wishing to serve his master most effectively, a bodily beastly transformation enables the subconscious erotic undertones to be fore-fronted. But it is easy to read the deviance of such an exchange as an admission of same-sex desire on Veramour's behalf; it is troubling that the sexual politics of desiring Montaigne to ride upon his back are coupled with the refrain of "I hope

you will love me still?” (III.i.199). Naturally, this would arouse suspicion that Veramour’s attachment to his master is not as pure as originally indicated, but this could simply be a moment where the mixture of love, affection and service combine in a moment that marks Veramour’s excessive servility, rather than his excessive virility. Still, Veramour’s desire to “this burthen beare” (III.i.205) firmly regulates his body into the passive pathic; desiring but totally submissive. Such a conversation reminds us, as James Saslow suggests, that intimacy “between masters and their servants was a familiar topos in classical literature, with Ganymede frequently serving as a metaphor for relationships whose passion was at times emotional, at others physical, and often both” (*Ganymede* 155). Even though Veramour is never referred to as a ‘Ganymede’ in the play, it is apparent that he likens himself to the young cupbearer with his own desire for erotic service.

Montaigne is evidently fond of excessive service despite recognising that the bond that he shares with Veramour is unnatural. Montaigne has evidently forgotten the advice given in conduct literature in the period to householders who were warned not to mistake their subordinates for companions (Bailey, *Flaunting* 71). It becomes increasingly difficult to categorise this relationship. If excessive service engenders both feelings of virtue and bewitchment, can it be linked to a form of perfect friendship, or is it something much more deviant, linked to erotic desire and sexual attachment? Shepard has commented on perfect friendship, which was “likened to marriage” (*Meanings* 124), and Field and Fletcher evidently engage with the contemporary issues of their day to reassess youth culture and its excessive bonds of friendship that could permeate service. Perfect friendship in service is actively encouraged and admired by both playwrights. The relationship adds credence to, and problematises Bailey’s suggestion that “same-sex intimacy in the period [was] a significant social practice” (*Flaunting* 17) and I have been keen so far to avoid the use of the word ‘homosexual’ in relation to Montaigne and Veramour’s relationship. Montaigne and Veramour are not homosexual, and, like Theophilus, Montaigne would not recognise himself as a sodomite for desiring sexual relations with his servant. It is important, however, to speak about Montaigne and Veramour’s relationship in terms of sexual desire and erotic aspiration, and their conversation frequently reveals evidence of both types of attachment, further problematising excessive service as a state that blurs ideas of friendship and same-sex bonding.

Veramour and Montaigne continue their conversation alone and there is a marked difference in their discourse which is loaded with the language of friendship. Montaigne’s rhetoric marks the confidence of expressing affection towards his servant, enquiring, “Little world / Of vertue, why dost *love* and *follow* me?” (IV.i.48-49; emphasis added). Montaigne’s decision to observe and inquire firstly into why his page loves him is important, as initially Montaigne suggests that there is a clear division between both love and service (“follow”) and that he values and appreciates the thought that his servant possesses love for him. Montaigne has made no overt

protestation of love towards his servant, seemingly implying that he expects the love and service of all of his followers. Veramour's explanation of why he loves and follows Montaigne, not only suggests that the young man locates service and love as inseparable qualities, but also that excessive service engenders feelings of erotic desire:

Ile quit assur'd meanes, and expose my selfe
To cold and hunger still to be with you;
Fearlesse Ile travel through a wilderness,
And when you are weary, I will lay me down
That in my bosome you may rest your head,
Where whilst you sleep, Ile watch that no wild beast
Shall hurt or trouble you: and thus we'll breed
A story to make every hearer weep,
When they discourse our fortunes and our loves (IV.i.52-62).

The erotic overtones in Veramour's desire to serve his master are fully evident in this passionate speech which inverts the bonds of service. Veramour will find food and shelter, and fundamentally, take care of his master in a form of excessive service that reverses notions of masters providing means of sustenance for their servants. Instead of attracting attention for deviance in his desire to upset the traditional dichotomy of service, Veramour's desire to always abide with his master has much to say about perfect service, but also the image of Montaigne at rest with his head upon Veramour's breast is undoubtedly erotic. Veramour's desire for physical closeness with his master is mirrored in his desire for physical intimacy. In offering a form of excessive service in rendering his own body for Montaigne to repose upon, Veramour again identifies the sexual aspects of submissive service that denote him as faithful, but also excessively attached and attracted to his master. Whereas earlier in the chapter I debated whether Montaigne and Veramour's relationship could be likened to a close male friendship between peers on the same social standing, it appears from this exchange that their relationship transcends the normative bonds of friendship; that in itself is unusual for a master and servant, and instead channels service into a form of passive sexual desire. The coupling of Montaigne and Veramour is complete with Veramour's erotic desire to "breed" (IV.i.60) a story of such love that all hearers will be moved to tears.

Veramour and Montaigne's relationship recalls a 'perfect' friendship between Étienne de la Boétie and Michel de Montaigne, recorded in the latter's essay "Of Friendship". Montaigne the essayist's friendship is a "friendship so complete and perfect that its like has seldom been read of, and nothing comparable is to be seen among the men of our day" (*Essays* 92). Jeffrey Masten suggests that Montaigne's essay attempts to "negotiate the relation of male friendship and sexual love" (*Textual* 33), whereas Reeser importantly claims that "Montaigne tries to moderate his affection for La Boétie, which must mediate between expressing desire and falling into the vice of excess" (207). Field and Fletcher, however, seem keen to explore the bonds of friendship and

service in *The Honest Man's Fortune* and their depiction of a faithful relationship between master and page may be an attempt to dramatise the many complex ideas that Michel de Montaigne discusses in his essay. This chapter has focussed on the erotic aspects of Veramour and Montaigne's relationship, and importantly, Reeser suggests that Montaigne's essay finds its author linking same-sex sexuality with excess (190), and this warrants exploration below concerning the excesses of Montaigne (the character) and Veramour's friendship. The effect that Veramour's erotic discourse instils in Montaigne is striking, and his own retort reveals a complex and ambiguous sexual attraction to Veramour that exceeds the typical master/servant relationship. It is the first time that Montaigne has expressed any explicit desire for his young page and alerts the audience to the possibility of a sexual attachment between master and servant. Montaigne's curious response, "[o]h what a scoffe might men of Women make, / If they did know this boy" (IV.i.63-64), heightens the erotic aspect of their relationship. Montaigne suggests that Veramour's constancy surpasses the conventional love that a woman may express for a man, and this idea is not overly problematic, considering that many early modern commentators expressed a similar idea with regards to male-male friendship as something superior to a bond between a man and woman. But what makes Montaigne's statement all the more interesting, and therefore problematic, is that the response vocalises sexual attraction. Friendship and platonic love is acceptable between men, but Montaigne's statement does not make this division, and the suggestion that men would reject women on all accounts if they knew of Veramour's qualities seemingly implies that in terms of service, friendship, love and sexual relations, the young man exceeds all that women can offer. Even at court, such erotic relationships between young men and the King were evident, and commented upon (Hammond, *Figuring* 130). It certainly reveals an aspect of youth culture not yet considered in depth but evident throughout many of the previous chapters, that young men were desired as sources of comfort, friendship, and service in the period, and the drama of the boy companies showcases this as a central concern. It is also apparent that many of the 'manly' qualities associated with youth culture, such as same-sex association, eating and drinking with friends, and being bedfellows, were also recognised traits of the sodomite (DiGangi, *Sexual* 22), further complicating the bonds formed in youth.

The erotic attraction that Veramour harbours for his master is evident in his display of jealousy once Charlotte interrupts their conversation. In an aside, Veramour venomously says, "I have lost my voyce with the very sight of this / Gentlewoman" (IV.i.96-96), deeply upset that her arrival will signal the end of his loving discourse with Montaigne. Veramour's desire to keep his master's attention confined to his own person confirms his own erotic desire for his master and demonstrates his fear that a woman will tear the two apart. This certainly complicates Mann's suggestion that Veramour "is unaware of the urges of the flesh that so evidently affect his master

whenever a woman is on the horizon” (*Shakespeare’s* 96). It appears that Veramour is only too aware of bodily desire, as his jealousy reveals. Whereas Montaigne evidently possesses conventional heterosexual desires as well as erotic attachment to his page, Veramour’s misogynistic discourse reveals his own distrust of women as breakers of male-male friendship, and of his unconventional same-sex desire for his master that excludes women and typifies aspects of homosociality. Veramour’s attempt to convey his master away from the approaching Charlotte is curious for the subtle commentary that it raises concerning Montaigne’s character. Veramour’s statement to Montaigne, that “you were wont to be a curious avoyder of womens company” (IV.i.97-98) is ambiguous, despite the fact that, as Bruce Smith identifies, to “contrast the strength of male friendship with the weakness of erotic love between male and female was a standard *topos*” (*Homosexual* 35). ‘Curious’ in this instance could mean “careful” (*OED* 1.a) with Veramour suggesting that Montaigne was once keen to avoid the company of women, which would further heighten the master’s erotic attachment to Veramour and his other followers, or that Veramour is merely advising his master to be cautious, and to avoid the company of women, highlighting his own jealous agenda in channelling Montaigne’s attention and desire purely at himself. Veramour’s sexual jealousy is evident in his lambasting of women as both sexual and social predators of men, revealing much about young men’s ideas in the period concerning their own formative friendships that they developed with other men which denigrated the bond between men and women. In fact, Veramour’s sleight against women reveals a fear of a reversal of service, with the married man no longer the master. A married man would be entirely occupied with providing service to his wife, who usurped the position of master. Veramour’s statement that he would rather trust Montaigne “by a roaring Lyon, then a ravening woman” (IV.i.101-102) because “truly she devoures more mans flesh” (IV.i.104) is suggestive of his own fear that Montaigne will eventually enter the state of marriage where service will be due to his wife. To suggest that a woman is “ravening” conjures up imagery of a parasitical form of service where the woman as master devours her submissive husband. If Montaigne were to continue in the single life he would remain a master of devout servants who can offer better service and stronger love than his wife. The sexual implications continue in this exchange, with Veramour suggesting that a woman is “never silent but when her mouth is full” (IV.i.106-107), with the full mouth not only a reference to fellatio, thereby commenting on the sexual aspects of service and the animalistic devouring of men, but also a suggestion that a shrewish woman who constantly rails against her husband is only quiet when eating.

For Veramour, faithful service and erotic desire can be channelled together to provide perfect friendship, and is therefore a perfect performance of youth culture occasioned by service, providing pleasure for both master and servant, thereby strengthening the claim that Field and

Fletcher present a unique and important investigation into paradigms of service. If Veramour's relationship with Montaigne champions masculine pleasure, the young man's relationship with Laverdure certainly awakens the erotics of service and the devious pleasures admired by some who misuse service. The next section will explore what happens when excessive service achieves a particular level of social deviance by disrupting and challenging normative relationships between a master and a servant via sex.

"Thou art a pritty Boy": Pleasurable Service?

The section above has centralised the complex dramatisation of excessive service apparent in Montaigne and Veramour's relationship. However, Montaigne is not the only master that Veramour is forced to serve. Employed within the household of Lamira, Veramour is obliged to provide service to the odious courtier Laverdure. Veramour's relationship with Laverdure allows Field and Fletcher to explore notions of excessive service, but in this particular relationship, it is submission and deviance that trigger paradigms of unnatural service. The type of service that Laverdure expects from Veramour is of an entirely sexual nature, and the courtier's expectations are analysed here in light of his own understandings of pleasurable service, which this section affirms is attached to sex. Sandra Clark has previously observed that "the page role...in the main plot of the play, is an integral element in the aristocratic love-honour nexus, [but] in the subplot is treated very differently" (*Plays* 63), and this section aims to expand upon her suggestion via an exploration of the complexities of pleasurable service. As well as deviance, Field and Fletcher also ensure that Laverdure is the subject of much laughter, not only to the other characters on stage, but also to the audience. His name typifies this aspect of his character. Gerritsen suggests that as *La Verdure*, the courtier's name acquires meaning (*Honest* lxiv), with the translation from the French suggesting 'greenery' and 'greenness', therefore his name symbolises his gullible nature and informs the audience that his character is one they are expected to ridicule.

The quotation that heads this subsection is spoken by Laverdure (III.iii.200). It draws attention to an aspect of service reminiscent of Montaigne and Veramour's relationship, but in an entirely different context. Whereas the service that Veramour performs for Montaigne is pleasurable in the sense that both master and servant experience delight and profit in the performance of pleasure, Laverdure's expectation of pleasure from the services of Veramour is entirely devious. Waiting behind whilst Mallicorne and Lapoop leave the stage, Laverdure has Veramour in his thoughts: "The thought of this Boy hath much coold my affection to his Lady, and by all conjectures, this is a disguised whore; I will try if I can search this Mine" (III.iii.196-198). Laverdure's language identifies the type of service that he expects to obtain from Veramour; it is entirely of a sexual nature, confirming Bray's discussion where pages "seem to have been prostitutes, albeit established in the household, as much as they were servants" (*Homosexuality* 54).

Laverdure experiences difficulty in gendering his sexual desire and the above quotation is testament to his erotic confusion when it comes to determining gender. Laverdure admits that his desire for wooing Lamira is lessened by the thought of Veramour, and specifically it is the thought of the “Boy” (III.iii.196) that arouses his interest. But his sexual interest in the boy is apparently engendered by his supposition that Veramour is in fact a woman dressed in male attire. By referring to the object of his desire as a “Boy” (III.iii.196), “he” (III.iii.195), and “disguised whore” (III.iii.197), Laverdure blurs the boundaries between gendered erotic attachment and sexual desire that is so common on the stage. Referring to Veramour as a “whore”, and thereby rendering his body female, draws attention to the fact that many masters did attempt to have sexual relations with maidservants (Foyster, *Manhood* 88-89). Laverdure’s exploitation of submissive service is unquestionably devious, and his rendering of the young male and female body as a site for sexual activity reveals how central the aspect of sexuality is to ideas of youth culture and service. Just as youths were expected to assert their masculinity by engaging in sexual intercourse, Laverdure’s interest in Veramour reveals the vulnerability of service and the dangers of masters engaging in excessive mastery.

We have seen above Veramour’s vocalising of erotic interest in Montaigne, so the young man is evidently not averse to the bonds between men in same-sex desire, it is more the requirement of sexual service by Laverdure that denies Veramour pleasure in this transaction. Laverdure’s attempts to persuade Veramour to leave the service of Lamira and install himself as the young man’s new master is not perceived as an enjoyable employment prospect by Veramour. Fearing that he would have to lodge “in a brothell” (III.iii.214) or a “Baudy house, or worse” (III.iii.216), which again raises concerns that there were specific sites where young male prostitutes could be obtained – somewhere “worse” (III.iii.216) than a bawdy house – Laverdure attempts to pacify Veramour by insisting that the young man’s lodging would be in his “armes” (III.iii.215) and that he “shouldest lie with” him (III.iii.217). Veramour’s disappointment that Laverdure intends to lie with him is vocalised in his statement that he would “rather lie with my Ladies Monkey” (III.iii.218), because he has no sexual or physical interest in Laverdure. Veramour’s linking of service with sodomy is epitomised when he laments that “‘twas never a good World since our French Lords learned of the Neopolitans to make their Pages their Bed-fellowes” (III.iii.219-220), highlighting that the ‘Italian vice’ of sodomy has received importation into the realms of the world of the play, France, and the audience are expected to testify that it has also extended to England. The fact that master and servant can become bedfellows signifies a transgressive act with respect to the breakdown in hierarchies: of a significantly higher social standing, a master should not share a bed with his servant. In doing so, the young page erases social boundaries of power and service. With many a master making his page his bed-fellow, the spectre of sodomy, although obliquely hinted at in this

exchange, looms over the social paradigm of early modern service, especially as the *OED* records that a ‘bedfellow’ in the early modern period could often refer to one’s husband, wife or a concubine (2).¹⁵ Sodomy with your page becomes a part of the discourse of excessive service, with the master’s unnatural desires channelled into sexual activity with his servant, who, unsure of the bounds of service, is forced to engage in sexual service. Montaigne and Veramour’s relationship, in society’s opinion, is unnatural, but Field and Fletcher assert in this play that this should not be the case. Instead, the playwrights assert that Laverdure and Veramour’s relationship, which society constructs as a natural (even if unspoken) part of service should not be so. This importantly reveals that Field and Fletcher are actively engaging with the contemporary issues of their day and utilise the stage as a medium where service can be problematised before a youthful audience.

Laverdure’s attempt to use “strange meanes to quench strange fires” (III.iii.227), itself a statement that reveals the erotic excess and unnatural desires that dominate his character, finds pleasurable service in Veramour’s willingness to quench those fires when the pair next meet. Veramour’s rebuke, that Laverdure is the “troublesomest Asse that ere I met with” (IV.i.270-271) amplifies the unpleasurable aspects of erotic service, with Veramour haunted “like thy Grandames ghost” (IV.i.273) by the devious courtier. Laverdure’s physical demands of pleasurable service, encapsulated in his stalking and groping of Veramour, are an aggressive attempt designed to enable submissive service from the page. Laverdure’s physical embrace and kisses planted on the body of the youth (IV.i.275) reveal the sexual aspects of excessive mastery, taking liberties with the young man in the hope of obtaining service. Veramour offers a unique type of service to Laverdure, however, and in pretending that he is indeed “a woman” (IV.i.276-277), he renders Laverdure’s desire somewhat more normative despite the erotic excesses. Veramour has not heard onstage that Laverdure believes him to be a woman, and although servants were proverbially privy to much gossip and information concerning their masters and mistresses in the early modern household – as evident in the servants’ conversation (V.iii) – and even if Veramour was aware offstage of Laverdure’s suppositions, he may be stating that he is a woman for entirely different reasons other than offering Laverdure pleasurable service. The few scholars that have commented on the play have overlooked this lacuna, and Veramour may indeed admit to Laverdure that he is a woman because he believes that Laverdure is interested in sexual activity with him as a boy. In this respect, Field and Fletcher may well be subtly commenting on James I’s well documented passion for younger men. For Michael Young, “homosexuality and effeminacy were already linked in the public perception of James’s court” (*James VI 5*) fairly early into his reign, and it is evident that multiple forms of service are dramatised as conflicting aspects of youth culture in this play. Admitting that he is a woman may be a desperate attempt on Veramour’s part to disengage the

¹⁵ See Bredbeck’s analysis of sodomy as a sexual aberration stigmatised by male-male attraction (*Sodomy* 11).

erotic interest of Laverdure and be saved from carrying out sexual service with the courtier. Realising that Laverdure is just as ecstatic and interested in his young body now that he is supposedly a woman (IV.i.278-282), Veramour must change his tactics again and after firstly admitting to having fostered love for the courtier (IV.i.283), Veramour schemes by stating that “if there be not one Gentleman in this house, wil challenge more interest in me, then you can, I am at your disposeure” (IV.i.287-289). Desperate to avoid the un-pleasurable service, Veramour seemingly implies that Montaigne will challenge more interest in him, and the audience watching the play for the first time may well believe that Veramour is indeed a woman in disguise as Clark has stated (*Plays* 64), and that Montaigne will wed Veramour. However, knowing as we do that Veramour is in fact a young man and that his attachment to Montaigne reveals the strengths of bonds between masters and servants in the period, his suggestion that he may expect Montaigne to claim him as his own may reveal further erotic aspects of a desire to offer same-sex service to his true master. Such complexity is testament to the unique exploration of youth culture and service that Field and Fletcher employ in *The Honest Man’s Fortune*. The body of Veramour allows for an investigation of the page boy that compliments and complicates our understanding of early modern dramatic representations of service.

Excessive and pleasurable service are intertwined in the final moments of the play where once again Veramour’s body becomes the site of contention concerning gendered service. Laverdure returns to the wedding party with his intended bride-to-be, Veramour, dressed “*like a Woman*” (V.iv), and Montaigne’s sardonic “This, ’tis my Page sir” (V.iv.229) provides an important commentary on clothing as an unreliable signifier of gender. Just as Laverdure has seen through the clothing of Veramour to believe that the young man’s male attire is a disguise concealing his true feminine gender, Montaigne’s mocking statement reveals that the feminine clothes that Veramour dons are not enough to provide a convincing illusion. Presumably, by simply looking at Veramour’s face and thereby obtaining recognition, Montaigne is able to identify that his young male page is in drag. Montaigne’s blunt admittance that a ‘boy’ is underneath the disguise would create further laughter amongst the theatre audience who are used to having to imagine the theatrical illusion of a young man wearing women’s clothes as a real sign that the actor on stage is a ‘woman’. The audience are not given much scope to ponder on this, however, as the gender confusion increases with Veramour’s curious reply to his master: “No sir, I am a poor disguis’d Lady / That like a Page have followed you full long / For love god-wot” (V.iv.230-232). The gender politics of pleasurable service are realised in Veramour’s apparent revelation. At this point in the play the audience would not at all be shocked by Veramour’s antics, having seen the same resolution in many an early modern play before 1613.¹⁶ But even more curious is the shock that this statement sends throughout

¹⁶ See Clark’s discussion of the moment’s subversive possibilities (*Plays* 155-156).

the gathered pre-wedding party. Cries of “A Lady!” (V.iv.233) ring out through the company, but it is everybody’s silence on Veramour’s protestation of love for Montaigne (V.iv.231-232) that warrants attention. Whilst the audience are left wondering at this precise moment whether Veramour’s protestation of love coupled to his own revelation concerning his gender will sway Montaigne into abandoning Lamira, Veramour is clearly making a reference to *Philaster* (1609), as mentioned above. His declaration of love for Montaigne, when considered after the play has concluded that Veramour is indeed a young man, further intensifies the erotic aspects of pleasurable service, with the audience once again reminded of the love that has passed between master and servant throughout the play. For a brief moment it appears Veramour may be making one final attempt to win the love of his master by rendering his body female.

Such ambiguity surrounding the signs of gender identification continue, however, after Veramour has protested that he is a lady. Montaigne’s reaction to Veramour’s gender revelation is typical of this ambiguity and once again reveals Field and Fletcher’s interest in pleasurable service and the relationships between masters and servants. When Montaigne says that it “may be so” (V.iv.235) that Veramour is a woman, before expanding on his reasons for remaining uncertain by stating that “we have laine together, / But by my troth I never found her Lady” (V.iv.235-236), he reveals a crucial aspect of intimacy between masters and servants. The intimacy of sharing a bed also reveals further links between pleasurable service, with master and servant able to increase their bonds of friendship. However, it was an intimacy that would be considered “dangerous” (Shepard, *Meanings* 115) and asserts Field and Fletcher’s complex linking of friendship with service as multivalent, performative, and open to negative societal gossip. The practice of bed sharing also strengthens its associations with youth culture as a pivotal path on the route to obtaining manhood, with many young people sharing a bed with their friends, fellow apprentices, or fellow servants. However, Montaigne’s remark that the pair had slept together in the same bed is not the problematic part of his statement; the fact that Montaigne warily reveals that he “never found her Lady” (V.iv.236) suggests the lack of privacy between master and servant in sharing a bed, and in this particular instance that the young man’s privates acquired little privacy during the occasions that they laid together. In sharing a bed, and possibly observing Veramour’s genitalia through the nightdress that both men and women used to wear in bed in early modern England, as Catherine Richardson has stated (*Shakespeare* 97), Montaigne may have seen clear signs that Veramour is definitely not a woman. Given the erotic overtones of their previous exchanges, Montaigne’s admission of the pair sleeping together, although an entirely conventional practice in the period, cannot help but remind us of the accusations made against Theophilus Field by Reade. Montaigne’s statement, however, is passed over by the entire company, suggesting that the gathered party find nothing untoward or deviant in master and servant bed-sharing.

Finally, in discovering that Veramour's true gender is masculine, the company's decision to laugh out loud rather than openly condemn Laverdure for his sexual interest in a young page is also interesting. For the gathered party, it appears that the joke is on Laverdure for his ignorance in being unable to 'see' that Veramour is a young man rather than a woman, rather than the fact that he may be sexually aroused by the young page, and M. E. Williams coyly dismisses the moment by stating that Laverdure "has seen too many plays" (*Play* 296). In rendering erotic attachments between a master and servant the subject of mirth and collective laughter, Field and Fletcher problematise the moment in the play where a courtier almost marries a young man. If Veramour's desire for excessive service is constantly rendered as erotic desire for the company of his master and total submissiveness in being servile, then the youthful body becomes a body that is likewise malleable to the whims of masters whilst at the same time an agent of power; inspiring needs, friendship and desires from the master which are directed onto the body of the servant. The culture of service can therefore inform us about the pleasures of youth culture in and beyond the theatre, of forming bonds with older men as both masters and comrades and of loyalty and fidelity between men. Veramour and Montaigne's bonds of erotic service function in many respects in the same fashion as friendship between peers; it is one of intense affection, obligation and duty.

This chapter has revealed that service, friendship, eroticism, and youth culture, are all intertwined in early modern society and on the stage. The fact that the deposition involving Theophilus Field instigates questions about service that are both ambivalent and contradictory in their answers, and are in fact problematised in Veramour's relationship with Laverdure and Montaigne in *The Honest Man's Fortune*, is evidence that service was multivalent in its potentialities for formulating young men's social lives in the period. There are contesting and ambiguous forms of service reported in the depositions that this chapter has analysed, and in Field and Fletcher's play, ensuring that further study is needed on this important aspect of early modern life. Field's epistles reveal the politics at work in early modern letter-writing; subliminally persuasive in obtaining money from Henslowe in a manner which renders the manager of the Hope theatre into a figure who owes debts to his servants, Field, Massinger and Daborne, just as they owe him theatrical service. Field's epistle can defend accusations against it that friendship is merely professed in this letter to obtain financial reward by the genuinely intertwined nature of friendship, love and service that is apparent in further letters to Henslowe from Field, who appears to have placed a great value on love and service as seen throughout this chapter. This confirms Daybell's suggestion that "letters must not be seen as isolated texts, but were often in fact only a single part of wider social and textual transactions" (13), and evidently such wider social interactions occurred on the stage as Field and Fletcher's play reveals. But ambiguity must always remain: If Veramour's relationship with Montaigne is one of excessive service, then Field's letters to Henslowe also show

a form of excessive service, one of manipulating a rhetoric of friendship to obtain mastery. The letters are therefore theatrical in the sense that they reveal Field at his most performative, and like Veramour's problematic body, it is difficult to know when the performance stops and the truth emerges. If letter-writing can inform us about youth culture and the many tropes of style inherently employed by young men that realise the importance of love, friendship, and service, then Field's letters can also inform us that similar links existed within the theatre. Playwrights and managers constantly relied on friendship, love and service to establish a theatre that was viable and successful, but also one that in Field's particular case was an important profession in providing entertainment as well as instruction. His letter to Sutton is indicative of the intertwining of theatrical and youth culture to render service to God as one of the chief aspects of obtaining adult manhood. This chapter has revealed the importance of service to defining ideas of youth culture and identity, and the ambiguities that surrounded service are reflected in the youthful bodies of excess, both in the deposition featuring Nathan Field and Beaumont, and within *The Honest Man's Fortune* where service is tinged with pleasure, the erotic, and faithful service. If friendship and service are two crucial components of youth culture, then *The Honest Man's Fortune* and Field's epistles offer a unique reassessment of bodily excess that reveals the youthful body to be one that is socially and theatrically steeped in performances of service. The conclusion offers a reappraisal of the core ideas of theatrical and social youth culture and bodily excess in the boy companies.

Figure 7: Letter from Nathan Field, Robert Daborne, and Philip Massinger to Philip Henslowe. MS I 96r. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

III 337 96
 Mr Henslowe
 you understand o^r unfortunate extremitie and
 I doe not thinke you so void of christianitie,
 but that you would throw so much money into the
 flames as we request now of you; rather then
 endanger so many innocent lives; you know
 there is w^{ch} more at least to be recovered of
 you for the play, we desire you to lend us
 w^{ch} of that, wh^{ch} shall be allowed to you without
 wh^{ch} we cannot be bayled, nor I play any more
 till this be dispatch'd, it will loose you w^{ch}
 ere the end of the next weeke, beside the hin-
 derance of the next new play, pray s^r consider
 our cases wth humanitie, and now give us cause
 to acknowledge you our true friend in time of
 neede; we have entreated Mr. Parison to
 deliver this note, as well to witnesse yo^r love,
 as o^r promises, and alwayes acknowledging to
 be ever
 yo^r most hartfull; and loving friends,
 Nat: Field
 The more shall be abated out
 of the money remayned for the
 play of m^r Aeschylus & owne
 Rob: Daborne } I have ever founde you
 a true loving friend
 Philip Massinger } m^r & m^r soe sweet a suite
 that we have not the heart to write you will note
 the m^r & m^r soe sweet a suite
 the m^r & m^r soe sweet a suite

Figure 8: Letter from Nathan Field to Philip Henslowe. MS I f97r. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

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77

Ja^ms Henslow,

I am unfortunately taken on an execution of
 30^l. I can be discharged for 20^l, & I have
 from a friend, if now in my extremity you
 will venture 10^l more for my liberty, I will
 never share penny till you have it again, and
 make any satisfaction by writing, or otherwise
 if you can devise, I am bound to importune
 because I know your disbursements are great
 nor must any know I send to you, for then my
 creditor will not free me but for the whole
 bond. I pray speedily consider my occasion, for
 if I be putt to use other means, I hope all
 men, & yourself will excuse me, if I formerly
 I cannot procure so honest, as towards you, I
 ever resolv'd to be

yo^r loving son Nat: Field

Figure 9: Letter from Nathan Field to Philip Henslowe on behalf of Robert Daborne and himself. MS I f130r. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

355 Mr. Henslowe: 130

Mr. Daborne and I, have spent a great deal of time in conference about this plot, which will make as beneficial a play as hath come these fourteen years. It is out of his love he detains it for us, only it is desired in hand, for which we will be bound to bring you in the play finished upon the first day of August. We would not lose it, we are so assured a hope of it, and on my knowledge Mr. Daborne may have his request of another company; pray let us have speedie answer, and effectual, you know, the last money you disbursed was justly paid in, and we are now in a way to pay you all so, unless you seeke for want of small supplies, will putt us out of it, againe, pray let us know when we shall speak with you; Till when and Ever I rest

Yo^r loving and obedient Son: Nath. Field

Figure 10: Letter from Nathan Field to Sutton the Preacher (1616) (1). Image reproductions with kind permission of the National Archives.

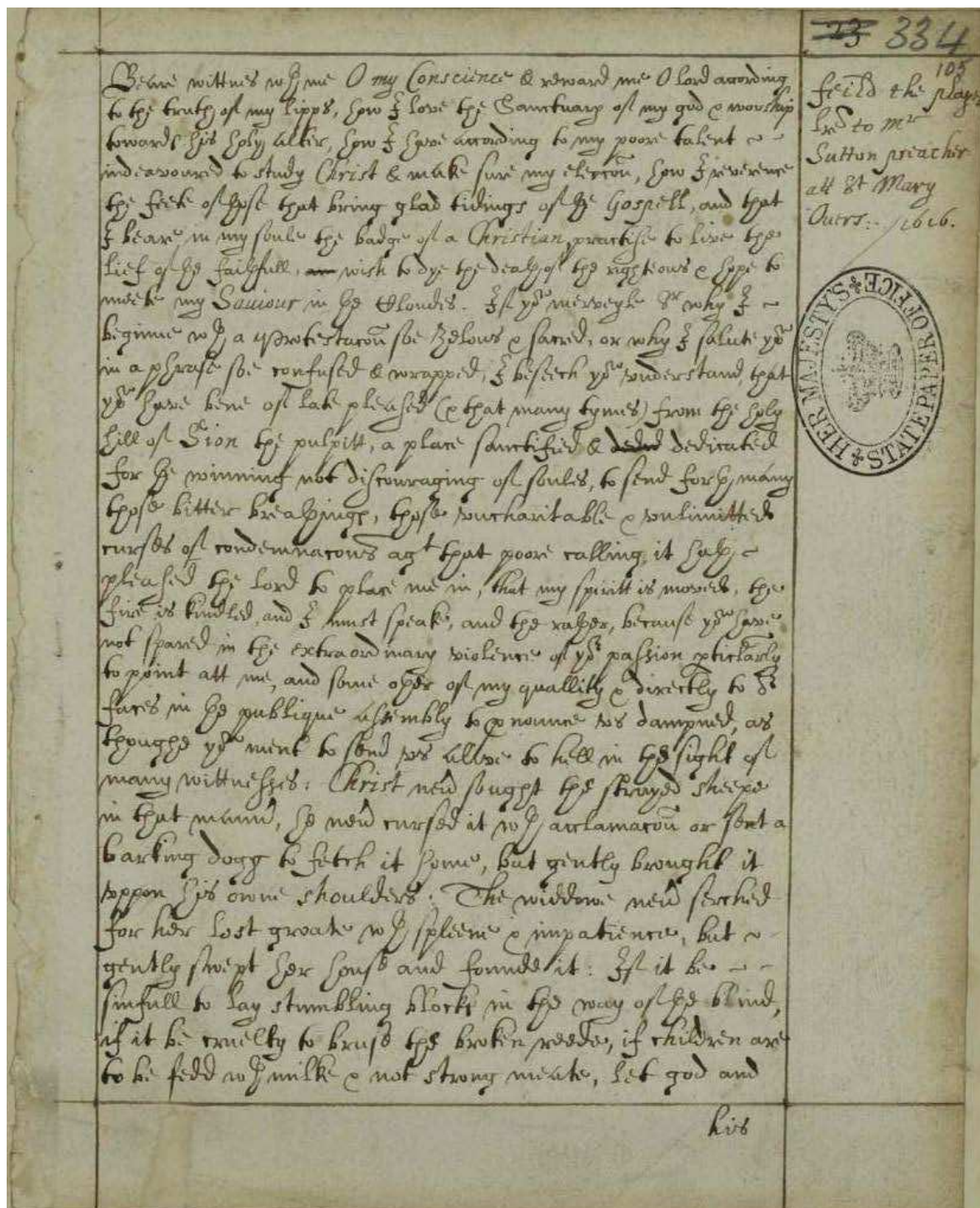


Figure 10: Letter from Nathan Field to Sutton the Preacher (1616) (2). Image reproductions with kind permission of the National Archives.

His worshipping tell y^e, whether y^e have not sinned in judging the
 simplicity of a sould from the subtilty of y^e better doctrine, by
 laying in their wayes y^e extravagant & passionate passions:
 whether y^e have ^{not} bene much to inflame the soulds of
 others, that brought into the Church hard & minded of
 sorrow & submission: and whether y^e have not bene a
 displeasure must to yourselfe as w^{ch} depression, instead of
 adding us w^{ch} instruction: Surely if y^e have so entered
 into my sould, y^e have so laboured to quench the spirit, to
 hinder the sacrament & banish me from myne owne churche
 church, that my conscience cannot be quiett w^{ch} me
 untill I have defend it by putting y^e in mind of y^e charitable
 dealing w^{ch} y^e have promised, whose must participate in
 y^e contradiction, & whose labour y^e have troubled to hate,
 howebeit y^e despise the man that gaynes it, or the waye to
 gette it, like the unthankfull owle, that will not take
 the morsell w^{ch} he grasps, & yet breakes and abuse the
 bannet. And y^e have me so that for defence of my
 possession in patience and humblity of spirit I exhortate
 a little w^{ch} y^e, wherein I desire y^e to understand, that I
 enter not the list of contention, but only take hold of the
 sword of the Altar in myne owne defence, and strike to
 wipe of the spots, deadly & monstrous blinshes y^e have
 cast upon me, such as indeed made me blush, all christian
 heart to glow, & kill the worst heart to admire at. You would
 w^{ch} low w^{ch} I stand against you, when y^e have so farre to
 finde the register, wherein I sould be written damned, &
 I make no question, so confident am I of my selfe in the
 deity and passion of Christ, who suffered for all mine

Nathan

Figure 10: Letter from Nathan Field to Sutton the Preacher (1616) (3). Image reproductions with kind permission of the National Archives.

Sinne, not excepting the playes, ^{thought} in the time before now some
 that if you had only charity cast you eyes to reason you might more
 easily have found some written in the book of life, and
 given is my faith the stronger, because in gods whole parliament
 with I have studied and my best eyes I find not any trace
 of life except damned, damned, & damned (your faith)
 damned damned, may not expressly spoken against,
 but only by abuse & bad use of them, and in that point I
 defend not ours, nor should have disagreed with you, if
 you had only shew all the corrupt branches, & not laid you eyes
 to the roots of the tree: Now you conclude it damnable, &
 because in the old world or after in the time of the
 patriarchs, Judges, Kings, & prophets they were not played,
 why then was a time when was not smile in Israel, and
 all smiles gone for damned, a sinfull conclusion; Now
 you conclude it damnable, because that in the time of Christ
 and his Apostles, it was not particularly insisted & reminded
 to after ages? Why neither Christ, nor they by their letters
 & patents incorporated either the Murther, Drapery, Gouldsmith
 or a hundred trades & mysteries that all his day are lawfull,
 and would be very sorry to have the sentence of damnation
 pronounced against them, & simply because they live in such a
 trade, and yet they are faultie in all professions, for all
 have Sinne, may be freely spoken against. Now you ~~conclude~~
~~conclude~~ conclude from damned, because that in the
 reign of Tyrant Caesar they suffered banishment: So
 did because he had more thought & more dislike
 to employ himself. But of Caesar, of David, that
 was lawful amongst his great enemies some time
 to

Conclusion: “Your Best Actor. Your Field”: Early Modern Youth Culture, Celebrity, and Performativity.

In *The Subject of Tragedy*, Catherine Belsey writes that fictional “texts do not necessarily mirror the practices prevalent in a social body, but they are a rich repository of the meanings its members understand and contest” (5). This thesis, in its entirety, has revealed that Belsey’s statement can be problematised with regard to how the early modern stage formulates and regulates youth culture. As the thesis has revealed, the stage dramatises the social and cultural concerns attached to being a young man in early modern England, inculcating and fashioning young men’s identities in the process. In staging youth culture, and the concerns of young men, the theatre reveals the performativity of masculinity in early modern England. The thesis has demonstrated that bodily excess is inherently a core component of youth culture, and that the stage often dramatises young men engaging in transgressive acts in order to illustrate to the young audiences the perils of uncurbed youth. It has argued that Nathan Field is an important figure to consider when analysing the stage’s engagement with youth culture. With a career spanning at least thirteen years in a child acting company, the thesis has revealed that Field’s engagement with the cultural ideas associated with youth in his day, and his own reassessment of youth culture in his playwriting career, are crucial for changing the way that we think about the operating practices and importance of child acting companies.

I have used the phrase ‘youth culture’ to talk about young people’s social and working lives in early modern England, interpreting the phrase as a performative shared space for peers to assert culturally formulated identities. Such a discussion of youth culture in the previous chapters has naturally explored young men’s attitudes to alcohol, sex, lust, love, their changing bodies, education, violence, service, work, and theatre, which the thesis has shown are all important factors in developing a cultural identity of youthful masculinity. Of particular importance to future scholarship is the idea that the interaction between the stage and the audience formulates and regulates youth culture, and whereas didactic readings of plays tended to lose credence after the 1980’s, this thesis would suggest that it is now an apt time to reappraise such notions. I have argued that by staging bodily excess, the theatre comments on the pastimes, identities, education practices, status, and culture of youth, effectively discussing all aspects of being a young man in early modern England. The five chapters presented here have found stimulating answers to the research questions posed in the Introduction. The thesis has demonstrated that in acknowledging the fact that child actors would be considered youths in the period, their plays speak to and problematise cultural and social understandings of how young men made sense of the world that they lived in. As can be seen in Appendix Four, the relatively large number of occasions where the words ‘youth’, ‘young’, ‘young man’, or even ‘teen’ appear is striking, indicating that dramatists engaged with the topics

and issues surrounding young men in society in their plays. However, even when a play such as George Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* only features the word 'youth' once, it does not mean that the play has little to say about youth culture. In fact, it is quite the opposite, as Clermont D'Ambois, the protagonist, is a young man seeking to assert his own values in a corrupt society, and the play deals with many problems faced by young men growing up in early modern England. This partly explains why the word 'youth' is not needed to describe Clermont – everybody in the play-world, and the audience, know he is a youth. The thesis has also found that just as peer groups could be formed in the schoolroom, university, or Inns of Court, the theatre allowed for a shared space for youth culture to be performed and discussed, by characters on stage and audiences in the theatre. Always intertwined with these discussions of youth culture, somewhat fittingly, has been a young man: Nathan Field. As an ignored figure in his own right, much like literary discussions of youth culture, Field should now be considered as an intriguing individual who can enhance our understanding of early modern theatre practices and the stage's engagement with its society.

The thesis has shown that youth culture is ambiguous, contradictory, and fluid. The reasons why the playwrights studied here have chosen to maintain such a complicated dramatisation of young men's social lives functions as a constant reminder to the youth of early modern England that the opportunity for transgressions was constant and that the path to respectable adult masculinity was fraught with difficulties. Chapter One demonstrated this in its focus on a young man easily corrupted by malevolent individuals. In failing to adhere to humanist principles, Chapman's dramatisation of Bussy is a stark reminder to young men of the importance of maintaining social poise and is indicative of Chapman's interest in young men. Chapter Two found that Chapman, Jonson, and Marston were keen to ridicule youthful bodily excess in the character of the drunken Quicksilver, promoting apprenticeship as an important strand of youth culture that aids the transition from youth to adult. Chapter Three asserted that John Fletcher also engaged with youth culture in a fashion that aimed to inculcate an awareness of a range of youthful identities, whilst problematising the young male body as a site of inherent fluctuations that are, in fact, almost impossible to police. For Fletcher, youth culture was ambiguous, contested, and immune to authoritative policing. His ideas were importantly revised and ultimately refuted by Nathan Field in Chapter Four. As the chapter revealed, Field, like his predecessors, is interested in regulating the bodies of his youthful audience by staging excess, but is also interested in focalising the importance of positive aspects of youth culture that created a harmonious and efficient society. These ideas were developed in Chapter Five where Field and Fletcher dramatised society's concerns with friendship and service to promote new values associated with youth culture that aided the functioning of society. Even though Field was very much on the fringes in the first three chapters,

Field's performances of young men on the stage aided the development of his own ideas about young people and contributed to the thesis's discussions of youth culture and bodily excess. In studying Field's performances of young men as an actor, the thesis has studied the values and identities that encapsulate the difficult concept of youth culture and found that performativity is a crucial component of young men's identity, whether it was on the stage or in society.

That youth culture was such a fundamental part of, and a crucial concern of the early modern stage, ensures that there is much future work needed to increase our understanding of young men's important relationships with the theatre and society. Whereas other scholars have recently looked at European youth culture, much more work is needed on the theatre's relationship with youth culture and the royal court of Prince Henry, for example.¹ Henry is an interesting figure in this respect, and although a study of his own relationship to youth culture was outside the scope of the thesis, future work would benefit from evaluating his relationship with the early modern boy companies. Henry was incredibly popular, and the cult surrounding him "began to grow almost the moment he set foot in London" (Lawhorn 133), making him an attractive figure for further study on celebrity youth culture. Scholars have only recently started forming tentative links between Henry and the boy acting companies, such as Hillman, who suggests that at least one contemporary reader thought that Chapman's *Byron* plays from 1608 were speaking to Prince Henry (32) and Samuel Daniel's *Philotas* may also function as a stark warning to the Prince against military aspirations (Hillman 34);² Shona McIntosh suggests that *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* also spoke to Prince Henry ("Massacre" 328), urging him to "cultivate toleration and learning" (344). It is evident therefore that these plays were speaking *about* youth and *to* youth on all aspects of society, whether a student, apprentice, or a young prince. Chapman therefore was evidently interested in the young prince, and therefore youth culture on a wide social spectrum.

The ideas formulated here concerning Nathan Field also warrant further investigation. It would be useful to work on Field, Fletcher and Massinger's collaborative plays to see how 'youth' is staged in the King's Men's repertory. It would be compelling to explore whether *The Fatal Dowry*, *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, *The Knight of Malta*, and *The Queen of Corinth* discuss young men in the same fashion as the boy acting companies, and whether Field, Fletcher and Massinger are still equally interested in regulating and reforming bodily excess. It is also time to investigate youth culture in Shakespeare's plays and the range of bodily excesses that dominate the young men in his plays to enhance our understanding of how the public theatre speaks to youthful audiences.

¹ See Brigden's essay on "Youth and the English Reformation" and Natalie Zemon Davis's essay on youth groups in sixteenth-century France.

² In about 1604, George Chapman became "Sewer-in-Ordinary, an attendant at table (and food taster) to Prince Henry, and from this time the Prince was the focus of a number of his literary works" (MacLeod 85).

Equally important for future scholarship is the work needed on young women's contribution to youth culture in the early modern period, both in terms of drama, and society.³ Finally, scholarship should also turn its attention to young men who performed on the stage in early modern England to further investigate the stage's potential as a cultural space for the performance of ideas and identities, particularly with regards to plays such as Robert Taylor's *The Hogge Hath Lost His Pearl* (1614). Taylor's play (Figure 11), performed at the Whitefriars theatre in 1613 by "certaine London *Prentices*", may have featured actors like Nathan Field training the young men, but for now, this must remain speculative. We do know, as Janet Clare records, that the apprentices had "secretly" learned their parts and performed the play before a "specially invited audience" (171). The fact that the play was "demanded in print" (Clare 171) soon after it was performed suggests its appeal to other young men. Knowing that the "city offered a number of outlets for youthful dramatics" (Whitney 187), scholarship should also investigate plays such as Wentworth Smith's *The Hector of Germany* (1615) (Figure 12) which was acted by a "Companie of Young men of this Cittie" to develop this thesis's interpretation of theatrical youth culture.

In this final part of the conclusion, I wish to cement the thesis's understanding of youth culture by drawing together some closing thoughts on Nathan Field, celebrity, and performativity. The thesis has discovered that a crucial part of Field's identity is his performativity, whether it was on the stage or on the page, and his multiple voices complement an interpretation of youth culture. Just as youth culture is inherently linked with performativity, Field's own authorial voice is performative, tied to his interpretation of what the circumstance requires him to write, and therefore we should be cautious in trying to find the 'real' Field in his work. Essentially, it is a construction that doesn't exist in reality. As we have seen in the thesis chapters, Field may well mention his weak muse in commendatory verses for Jonson's *Volpone* and Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*, but he can also write aggressively to the reader in his own printed play, tactfully to Henslowe, and with religious erudition to Sutton, showing Field's voice is constantly 'performative' to suit the demands of his readers and audiences. In a commendatory verse written for Jonson's *Catiline* (Figure 13), for example, gone is the childishness and fallibility evident in previous verses. Instead, Field writes a confident verse in praise of his beloved friend. Field's multiple voices are linked to youth culture, just as his performativity is, but the latter is evidently intertwined with early modern ideas concerning celebrity. Even though the word was not available to use in early modern England, it is evident, as the title quotation to this conclusion implies, that the audience were expected to 'know' Field on-stage and part of the attraction in going to the Blackfriars, Whitefriars, or the Hope theatre would have been to see this young man. The quotation in my title, from Jonson's

³ Although it is pleasing to see the recent appearance of Jennifer Higginbotham's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Sisters* (2013), and a forthcoming monograph from Deanne Williams, *Shakespeare and the Performance of Girlhood* (2014).

Bartholomew Fair (V.iii.87) may simply draw attention to Field's popularity, and functions as a moment where Jonson inscribes into his play the simple fact that Field was an outstanding actor, rather than an instance of Jonson likening Field to a puppet (Nora Johnson 58-59). However, the fact that *Leatherhead* suggests that his best actor, the puppet young Leander, is "extremely beloved of the womenkind" (V.iii.90), may suggest that Field's celebrity also encouraged sexual advances from women in the audience, and Field's name was linked in his lifetime with illicit affairs with Lady May and Lady Argyll (Brinkley 42). There is, of course, no proof that these rumours were anything other than the early modern equivalent of tabloid celebrity gossip. Besides notorious scandal, the comedy jest penned by Henry Parrott (Figure 14) in his *Laquei Ridiculosi: or Springes for Woodcocks* (1613) highlighting a young actor's social and sexual misdemeanours, has been interpreted to be a direct hit at Field, according to Munro (*Children* 52) and Peery (*Plays* 23), thereby strengthening Field's engagement with youth culture and a celebrity culture where the public interpret his body as one full of excess. As mentioned above, there is no proof that these bodily transgressions were actually committed by Field, but they do provide a compelling link between youth culture and performativity. Finally, a later printing of Chapman's play *Bussy D'Ambois* from 1641 (Figure 15) praises Field's skills as an actor: "Field is gone / Whose Action first did give it name" (15-16), immortalising the youth actor.

The thesis has shown that Field was interested in reforming bodily excess at all levels of society, and his engagement with youth culture is also reflected in his collaborative play with Fletcher, *Four Plays in One* (1613). The play, performed before the new King and Queen of Bohemia (Frederick, and James's daughter Elizabeth)⁴ stages bodily excess in relation to Honour, Love, and Death, and produces a framing device where the onstage spectators – actors performing the roles of the King and Queen of Portugal – comment on what they have learnt from each play as an interlude. Field and Fletcher are evidently commenting on the youthful courtly values to be practised and avoided by Frederick and Elizabeth. Field had also maintained a link with the monarchy, not only through his frequent performances at court, but also in a special performance for James entitled *The Entertainment at Britain's Burse* (1609) where Field performed aspects of youthful identity and maintained his celebrity status in front of the royal audience, including the young Prince Henry and Charles.⁵ Field played the role of the Key Keeper and greeted James, Anna, Henry, Charles, and Elizabeth, and they would possibly have been aware that it was Field who acted as the "compass" (282) to guide them, and the fact that Field was chosen to be a part of the entertainment, and to be the first actor to speak to the royals, indicates that he was well-known and admired by those with literary and courtly connections by 1609. Field maintained links with the

⁴ As Dr Martin Wiggins suggested to me.

⁵ See James Knowles's edition of *The Entertainment* in Dutton's edition of *Epicene*.

royal court, and the four Inns of Court, as he performed in an entertainment for the installation of Charles as Prince of Wales on November 4th 1616 (*REED: Inns*. II. 744-745). In his plays, however, Field, leaves the world of celebrity behind to explore youth culture. In particular, although his predominate interest was in male youth culture, Field was keen to dramatise young women's concerns for the purpose of staging how young men *should* behave in society. Evidently, then, Field aimed to speak to young men in his reassessment of their cultural values, but ultimately the stage encouraged the performance of patriarchy and promoted masculine authority. We do have evidence that young men personally related to the plays that they saw on the stage, linking events to their own lives. Young men like Robert Tofte, who attended a performance of *Love's Labour's Lost* in 1598, felt that plays spoke to them about their own social and personal dilemmas. Tofte records in a poem that he felt extremely sad during the production where the rest of the audience were happy and enjoying the comedy, as he likened the content of the play to his own failed wooing of a woman.⁶ The fact that Tofte writes in his *Alba: The Month's Mind of a Melancholy Lover* (1598) that "This *Play* no *Play* but *Plague* was unto me" (G5r), and "To everyone (save me) twas Comickall, / Whilst Tragick like to me it did befall" (G5r) suggests that the content of the play resonated with Tofte's own personal experiences at that moment in time. Not only did young men relate to the explorations of youth culture dramatised by the child acting companies, ultimately, authorities were very wary of youth culture as a site of contestation and unrest. The fact that several plays for the child acting companies were censored, or instigated forcible reprimands from the state, suggests how transgressive the staging of youth culture with politics and social issues was felt to be by the authorities. Janet Clare records that *Poetaster*, *Cynthia's Revels*, *The Malcontent*, *Eastward Ho*, *The Isle of Gulls*, *Philotas*, *Epicene*, *The Conspiracy of Byron* and *The Tragedy of Byron* all received censorship or performances were suppressed.⁷ Youth culture was evidently important and integral to early modern life and thought, and Field was keen to dramatise the imperative issues of his day.

In his film *Romeo and Juliet* (1968), Franco Zeffirelli successfully showed that youth actors can command an incredibly powerful presence. As René Weiss records in his Introduction to the play, Zeffirelli picked "two unknown teenagers" (83), fifteen year old Olivia Hussey as Juliet, and seventeen year old Leonard Whiting as Romeo (83). The film is still powerful today, but despite the successful performances by the teenage actors, critics of the early modern period haven't explored the right questions concerning the capabilities of the young actors in the early modern children's acting companies. This is perplexing considering the modern-day success of the company *King*

⁶ See G. R. Hibbard's edition of the play, pages 1-2.

⁷ See Clare's book, *Art Made Tongue-Tied by Authority* (1990).

Edward's Boys from King Edward's Boys school in Stratford-upon-Avon, where young men aged between eleven and eighteen perform a range of early modern drama, and the recent youth company set up by the Globe theatre, London.⁸ Both will continue to increase our understanding of the practices of youth actors on the stage. Just as these modern productions and companies are evidence of youth culture and the fashioning of youth identities, this thesis has shown how youth culture was a crucial component of the early modern stage and integral to the commercial and social life of the metropolis, formulating and regulating youthful values and cultural ideals. This study of youth culture has found that young men played a vital aspect in early modern communities, whether they be theatrical or social, and the fact that young men were a crucial component of the audience, as well as being a physical presence on the stage as actors, further reveals why this topic is important for furthering our understanding of the operating practices of the private theatre companies. Youth culture was dramatised by every playwright writing for boy companies in early modern England to comment on the important stage of growing-up. The fact that bodily excess was staged as a means to inculcate young men against negative aspects of youth culture, further links the stage as a powerful and vocal social force, moulding and shaping the practices and values of young men. That Field engaged fully with these issues, whether it was as an actor on the stage, a writer producing plays for the theatre, or as a young man practising his own youthful values outside in a range of early modern communities, makes concrete the idea that youth culture was a vital performative space for young men to gain a sense of their purpose in society and aided the development of healthy adult masculinity. Just as youth culture was performative, Field's performances earned him celebrity status, and it is fitting that Field died at the age of thirty-two, solidifying his immortality as a perpetual icon of youth.

⁸ Marston's *The Malcontent* opens in April 2014 at the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse.

Figure 11: Title Page from Robert Tailor's *The Hogg Hath Lost His Pearl* (1614).

THE
HOGGE
HATH LOST
HIS PEARLE.

A Comedy.

DIVERS TIMES
Publikely acted, by certaine
LONDON Prentices.

By ROBERT TAILOR.



LONDON,
Printed for Richard Redmer, and are to
be solde at the West-dore of Paules
at the signe of the Starre.
1614.

Figure 12: Title Page from Wentworth Smith's *The Hector of Germany* (1615).

THE
 HECTOR
 OF
 GERMANIE,
 OR
 THE PALSGRAVE,
 PRIME ELECTOR.

A New Play, an Honourable Hystorie,

As it hath beene publicly Acted at the Red Bull,
 and at the Curtaine, by a Companie of
 Young men of this Citie.

Made by W. SMITH, with new Additions.

Historia .vita Temporis.

L O N D O N,

Printed by Thomas Creede, for Iofias Harrifon, and
 are to be folde in Pater-Noster Row, at the
 the Signe of the *Golden Anker*. 1615.

W. Smith.

Figure 13: Nathan Field's Commendatory Verse to Ben Jonson's *Catiline* (1611).

To his worthy beloued friend Mr.
BEN. IONSON.

HAD the great thoughts of *Catiline* bene good,
 The memory of his name, streame of his bloud,
 His plots past into acts, (which would haue turn'd
 His Infamy to Fame, though *Rome* had burn'd)
 Had not begot him equall grace with men,
 As this, that he is writ by such a Pen:
 VVhose inspirations, if great *Rome* had had,
 Her good things had bene better'd, and her bad
 Vndone; the first for ioy, the last for feare,
 That such a *Muse* should spread them, to our Yeare.
 But woe to vs then: for thy laureat brow
 If *Rome* enioy'd had, we had wanted now.
 But, in this Age, where Iigs and Dances moue,
 How few there are, that this pure worke approue!
 Yet, better then I rayle at, thou canst scorne
 Censures, that die, ere they be throughly borne.
 Each Subiect thou, still thee each Subiect rayles.
 And whosoever thy Booke, himselfe disprayses:

Nat. Field.

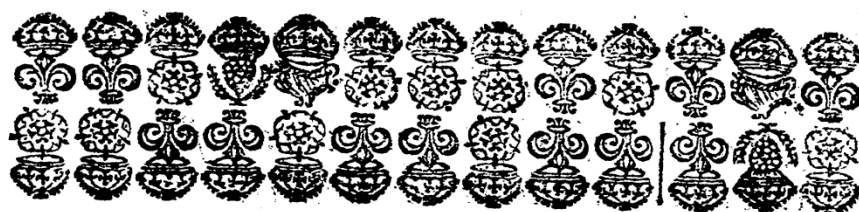
Figure 14: From Henry Parrot's *Laquei Ridiculosi: or Springes for Woodcocks* (1613).

Epigrams.

45

—*ortus novus urbe Britannus.*

VHo braues it now as doth yong *Histrion*?
Walking in Pauls like to some Potentate,
Richly replenisht from the top tot'h toe;
As if he were deriu'd from high estate:
Alas, ther's not a man but may descry,
His begging trade, and bastard faculty.

Figure 15: The Quarto of Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* (1641).

Prologue.

Not out of confidence that none but wee
 Are able to present this Tragedie,
 Nor out of envie at the grace of late
 It did receive, nor yet to derogate
 From their deserts, who give out boldly, that
 They move with equall feet on the same flat;
 Neither for all, nor any of such ends,
 Wee offer it, gracious and noble friends,
 To your review, wee farre from emulation
 (And charitably judge from imitation)
 With this work entertaine you, a peece knowne
 And still beleev'd in Court to be our owne,
 To quit our claime, oubting our right or merit,
 Would argue in us pove.ry of spirit
 Which we must not subscribe to: Field is gone
 Whose Action first did give it name, and one
 Who came the neereſt to him, is denide
 By his gray beard to ſhew the height and pride

Appendix One – Play Synopses

Chapter One – *Bussy D'Ambois*

The audience are immediately introduced to Bussy D'Ambois, a poor unemployed soldier, who vocalises his belief in the importance of virtue in man's life. Monsieur, King Henry III's brother, enters, informing the audience that he has followed Bussy and has use for him at court, believing that the young man can be easily corrupted in his attempts to take the crown. Bussy is highly critical of court life and is not persuaded by Monsieur's arguments. Monsieur sends his steward Maffé with 1000 crowns to bribe Bussy. Bussy accepts them, after hitting Maffé in the face. We next see Bussy in the following scene at the court of Henry III, wearing courtly attire. Bussy enters into sexually aggressive courtship with the Duchess of Guise, angering her husband the Duke of Guise. Bussy's aggression overflows when he challenges three courtiers, Barrisor, L'Anou, and Pyrrhot to a duel. Bussy kills Barrisor and L'Anou, and is the only one left standing after the six man duel. King Henry pardons Bussy after Monsieur appeals on his behalf.

With the assistance of Friar Comolet, Bussy begins an adulterous affair with Tamyra, wife of Count Montsurry. Bussy later becomes a favourite of King Henry, much to the hatred of Monsieur and the Guise who begin to plot his downfall. Monsieur, Montsurry, and the Guise, all hold separate conversations with three maids-in-waiting, Charlotte, Annabel and Pero, to formulate a plan that links Bussy's name with sexual scandal by suggesting that he has been having an affair with the Duchess of Guise, with the hope that King Henry will eject him from the court. Out of earshot of the others, Monsieur learns the truth from Pero, that Bussy has actually been having an affair with Tamyra. Bussy meets with Monsieur and aggressively implies that Monsieur has been plotting King Henry's death, and that that was the true purpose for Monsieur employing his service at court with the 1000 crowns.

Monsieur suggests obliquely to Montsurry that Tamyra is unfaithful, sending Montsurry into a rage. Montsurry confronts his wife, who strictly denies the accusations. Monsieur boasts that he will reveal all to Montsurry in a letter. Bussy, with Friar Comolet, attends Tamyra in a secret meeting, with the trio intent on finding out the contents of the letter that Monsieur has written to Montsurry by conjuring up several demons, including Behemoth and Cartophylax. Now certain of the adultery, Montsurry is convinced by Monsieur and Guise to force Tamyra to summon Bussy to her chamber and assassinate him there. Montsurry forces Tamyra to write to Bussy in her own blood, stabbing her and torturing her on the rack. Friar Comolet enters and witnesses the excessive violence, and appalled, dies of shock. Montsurry disguises himself as the Friar and vows to deliver the letter in person to Bussy, but before he can do so, the Friar's ghost visits Bussy to warn him of the impending danger. Behemoth is conjured again by Bussy where he is warned that if he obeys

Tamyra's summons he will be assassinated. Bussy does go to Tamyra, where he manages to kill one of his would be assassins, before duelling with Montsurry. Bussy wins the duel and is about to let Montsurry live, when a pistol is fired from behind Bussy, critically injuring him. Bussy dies, and Montsurry and Tamyra fail to reconcile.

Chapter Two - *Eastward Ho*

Eastward Ho begins with the goldsmith, Touchstone, arguing with his gentle-apprentice, the somewhat roguish and unbridled Quicksilver. Touchstone's other apprentice, Golding, is everything that Quicksilver is not; dedicated to his apprenticeship and eager to please his master. Touchstone has two daughters, the mild and obedient Mildred and the economically and materially obsessed Gertrude. Gertrude makes a marriage match with Sir Petronel Flash, a new-made Knight, believing that Sir Petronel can increase her social standing. Sir Petronel is penniless, however, and marries Gertrude for her dowry. Touchstone, in the meantime, makes an honest match between Golding and his daughter, Mildred. Quicksilver enters drunk after a night of revelry celebrating Sir Petronel Flash's marriage and is promptly dismissed by Touchstone. Quicksilver retires to his second father-figure, the old usurer, Security, and with Sir Petronel, puts into motion a plan to sail to Virginia to make their fortunes. Sir Petronel sends his wife eastward to his 'castle' promising to meet her there, however, no such castle exists. Quicksilver and Sir Petronel plan to cuckold Security by stealing away his wife, Winifred, onto their boat to Virginia. Winifred will be disguised as the lawyer Bramble's wife.

The crew bound for Virginia spend the evening drinking in a Tavern before heading out onto the Thames during a storm. Slitgut, who is positioned at the lookout point Cuckold's Haven, comments upon the shipwrecked party swimming in the Thames and landing at different points to safety. After their boat capsizes, Winifred is rescued by the Drawer and conveyed safely home. In the meantime, Golding, within twenty-four hours of being released from his apprenticeship, is admitted to the most select rank of the Goldsmith's Company (Van Fossen 166). Gertrude, with Mistress Touchstone, Touchstone's wife, return from their voyage eastward realising the deception. Gertrude is far from humble, however, and refuses to beg for her father's forgiveness. Quicksilver and Sir Petronel are taken up on Touchstone's charge of felony and are sent to the Counter by Golding. In prison, Quicksilver becomes a repentant and reformed sinner. Golding, aware that Touchstone will be unmoved by Quicksilver's repentance, feigns his own arrest so that Touchstone will come to the Counter and witness the genuine repentance of his former apprentice Quicksilver.¹ The final scene is one of reconciliation as Touchstone is moved by Quicksilver's repentance and

¹ The fact that Golding wishes to come to the assistance of his fellow apprentice could in itself be a further aspect of the play's commentary on youth culture, with Golding keen to help out a fellow young man, who, in the early modern household, functions as a quasi-brother considering both serve the same master.

drops the charges against the imprisoned men. Gertrude enters and humbly begs forgiveness which is granted and she is reconciled with her erring husband. Quicksilver makes amends to his mistress, Sindefy, with the promise of marriage.

Chapter Three – *The Faithful Shepherdess*

Fletcher's play begins with a scene of mourning. Clorin, who initially, at least, appears to resemble the faithful shepherdess of the play's title, has buried her lover in an arbour and vows to remain constant to him, residing near his grave. The play turns to the fortunes of the numerous couplings of shepherds and shepherdesses; Perigot and Amoret, and Amoret may also credibly be the titular faithful shepherdess; Amarillis, who is in love with Perigot; the otherwise nameless Sullen Shepherd, whose unregulated lust marks his insatiable sexual desire for several shepherdesses; the likewise sexually lascivious Cloe, who, desperate to lose her virginity, attempts to woo both the chaste shepherd Daphnis and a more willing accomplice, Alexis. Meanwhile, Thenot is in love with Clorin's chastity.

Amarillis and the Sullen Shepherd collaborate to break the pairing of Perigot and Amoret with the aid of a magic well that transforms Amarillis into the exact likeness of Amoret. In the meantime, Cloe has been frustrated by her inability to lose her virginity and is thwarted further when, attempting to retreat to a safe place with Alexis, they are interrupted by the Sullen Shepherd. Taking a fancy to Cloe, the Sullen Shepherd stabs Alexis leaving him injured on the ground before Cloe and the Sullen Shepherd, disturbed by the entrance of the Satyre, run away separately. The bodily transformation that Amarillis undertook has been successful and Perigot mistakes her for Amoret. Alone together, Amarillis tries to engage in sexual activity with Perigot. Perigot, disgusted by the unchaste desires of the fake Amoret, attempts to wound Amarillis. Running away, the Sullen Shepherd manages to reverse the transformation, leaving Amarillis in her proper shape. Perigot stumbles across the genuine Amoret and stabs her, leaving her to die before the Sullen Shepherd flings her body into the well.

Amoret is saved by the God of the River, who heals her wounds. Amoret vows to faithfully follow her lover. Perigot, thoroughly distressed, attempts suicide but is saved by the intervention of Amarillis who reveals the plot to Perigot. In the meantime, the injured Alexis is taken to Clorin to be healed. Perigot and Amoret meet again and Perigot inflicts further violence on his lover, stabbing her in uncontrollable anger. Amoret's body is found by the Satyre who rushes her away to Clorin. Clorin meanwhile, has experienced unwanted attention from Thenot. Clorin engages in a sham performance to cast him off; pretending that she is willing to accept his love protestations, Clorin's retreat from chaste constancy disgusts Thenot who rails against her before leaving.

As morning approaches, the Old Shepherd and the Priest of Pan begin searching for the missing shepherds and shepherdesses. They arrive at Clorin's sanctuary where they encounter the injured party that now also consists of Cloe, the Sullen Shepherd, and Perigot. Curing the shepherds and shepherdesses' wounds and 'bad humours' (except the Sullen Shepherd who cannot be policed), Clorin ensures that all lovers are reunited at the close of the play.

Chapter Four – A Woman is a Weathercock

The play begins with Scudmore² reading a letter from his sweetheart, Sir John Worldly's daughter, Bellafront, which informs him that she must leave him.³ Scudmore's friend Nevill enters and informs him that Bellafront is to be married to the wealthy but old Count Fredericke. The audience are then introduced to many of the supporting characters in the play. Two of Sir John Worldly's daughters, Kate and Lucida, also have admirers, and Kate is due to marry the merchant Strange in the same ceremony as Bellafront and Count Fredericke. Kate has another suitor, however, the melancholic Captain Powts. Lucida has no interest in marriage and is courted by the fool Sir Abraham Ninny, who along with his father, Sir Innocent Ninnie, and his mother, the grotesquely obese Lady Ninnie, make up the wedding party.⁴

The projected wedding ceremony does not progress as smoothly as planned. Unbeknown to all and in the confidence of the audience, Nevill adopts the disguise of a Parson and 'marries' Bellafront to Count Fredericke and Kate to Strange. Outside the church, Scudmore lambasts all of women-kind in an angry soliloquy before disappearing, whereas Captain Powts waits for the wedding party to emerge so that he can slander Kate in front of her supposed husband Strange, informing the group that he has had frequent sexual intercourse with the new bride before making a swift exit. Meanwhile, the audience finally hear from the pregnant prostitute, Mistris Wagtaile, who has been silent thus far despite being on stage.⁵ Appearing unwell and plagued by a cough, the prostitute sets about trying to name the father of her unborn child. The rascal Pendant, convinces

² Despite the lack of concrete proof, it seems entirely appropriate to speculate that Field would have played the part of the young romantic lead, Scudmore. The part corresponds to previous roles that Field had performed in the children's companies. M.E. Williams suggests that Field played the role of Nevill but this is also purely speculative without justification, apparently made because Williams prefers the role of Nevill to that of Scudmore (30). My speculation that Field would have played the part of Scudmore does have support from Nora Johnson (70). Lucy Munro also recently suggested that Field played the part of Scudmore ("The Whitefriars Theatre" 120).

³ Field is undoubtedly inviting his theatrical audience to recall Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's play *The Honest Whore: Part One* (1604), which also features a 'Bellafront' as the titular character.

⁴ The printed quarto of 1612 provides a *Dramatis Personae* (Peery 68) which contains the inconsistency in the spelling of the surname of Sir Abraham and Sir Innocent.

⁵ The printed quarto of 1612 states 'Mistris Wagtayle' in the *Dramatis Personae* (Peery 68) whereas the text of the play refers to her as 'Wagtaile'.

Mistris Wagtaile that Sir Abraham is a better choice for her to pursue as he is wealthy and too much of a fool to deny paternity. Pendant and Wagtaile therefore hedge their bets that Sir Abraham will make the prostitute an honest woman by offering her marriage.

At the post-wedding feast, Bellafront confines herself to her room. Scudmore manages to gain private access to her where a furious row ensues, which concludes with Bellafront threatening to commit suicide if Scudmore cannot free her from the married state that she has, it appears, rather unwittingly entered into at the request of her father. Scudmore's response is blunt and uncaring, urging Bellafront to carry out her intended course of action. Meanwhile, Pendant has been successful in cozening Sir Abraham into a meeting with Mistris Wagtaile, and Strange, in bizarre circumstances to gain access to Captain Powts, adopts a disguise, informing Powts that he is his own murderer under instructions from Kate who has freely confessed to Powts' accusations. Scudmore and Nevill meet where Nevill provides further promises that he will let Scudmore gain access to Bellafront, with the help of disguising Scudmore like a "Vizard-maker" (V.i.93). Strange, still in his adopted disguise as a soldier, manages to obtain a confession from Captain Powts that his accusations against Kate are false, whereby the two promptly fight with Strange injuring Captain Powts before carrying him on his back to make all amends. In the meantime Sir Abraham declares his love to the prostitute and promises to marry her.

The masquerade takes place in a similar fashion to Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* (1600), where the disguised Scudmore privately reveals himself to Bellafront; the two make a hasty exit unobserved by the rest of the party. Scudmore hastily returns unmasked with Bellafront, who wields two pistols, and bringing in the correct Parson. In a hasty resolution, all is revealed and all forgiven, with Scudmore reunited with and married to Bellafront. Nevill takes Kate for his bride; bizarrely Lucida takes Count Fredericke for her husband, and Sir Abraham is tied to Mistris Wagtaile. The play concludes with Scudmore begging for forgiveness from women-kind.

Chapter Four – Amends for Ladies

The play begins with a conversation between the characters of the Maid (Lady Honor), Wife (Lady Perfect) and the Widow (Lady Bright), who debate which of their lives is the happiest. The Maid's suitor, Ingen, enters, and the pair argue.⁶ The audience are introduced to the Husband of Lady Perfect and his friend, Subtle, Bould, disguised as a waiting-woman named Mary Princox, the ignorant would-be roarer Lord Fee-simple, and his friend and would-be educator, Well-tri'd. The honest citizen, Seldome, enters to the party and informs them that Ingen is to be married (much to the horror of Lady Honor).

⁶ Ingen's name, according to Peery suggests "In born" or "noble" (270). His name also lends itself to ingenuity, craftiness, and cleverness, which would seem to negate Fiona McNeill's assertion that the name is suggestive of "Ingle" (203).

Husband and Subtle talk alone and Husband confides in his friend concerning his jealous fears that his wife cannot remain faithful to him. Husband invites Subtle to test the chastity of his wife by attempting to woo her. Left alone on stage, Subtle cannot believe his luck as he had wished to cuckold his friend before this opportunity arose. In Seldome's shop, the audience meet his wife Grace (another faithful wife). Mall Cut-purse makes a cameo appearance to deliver a letter to Grace from a would-be lover, Sir John Love-all, which Grace utterly rejects. Grace lambasts Mall with some stinging insults before the latter exits the shop. Lord Proudly, the Maid's brother, enters the shop and also attempts to woo Grace; Grace again rebukes the offered proposal.

The Husband puts his plans into action by accusing his wife of adultery with Subtle, which of course, being false, Lady Perfect denies. Left alone on stage with Subtle, Lady Perfect rejects the former's insistence that her husband is jealous as well as rejecting his protestations of love. Meanwhile, Lady Honor decides to follow Ingen disguised as an Irish foot-boy to find out exactly who his intended bride-to-be is. The reader is immediately let-in on the jest when the stage directions identify that Ingen's bride-to-be is no more than his brother Franck disguised as a woman (Peery 188). For now, however, Lady Honor is duped and believes that Franck is the 'woman' that Ingen will marry. In the meantime Lord Proudly, Lord Fee-simple, Well'tri'd, Lady Bright, and Lady Perfect, all express shock at Lady Honor's disappearance. The audience learn further particulars of the Husband's barbaric treatment of his wife in order to make Subtle's attempt on her chastity successful, much to Subtle's delight.

Lord Proudly enters to Ingen, believing that he has abducted Lady Honor. Both draw their swords before Ingen reveals Franck's disguise. This, however, does not pacify Lord Proudly who believes his sister has been stowed away by Ingen, and the pair plan for a duel to take place the next morning to settle the matter. Just as one disguise has failed, Bould's disguise as Mary Princox appears to have aided him in obtaining his desires, as act III scene iii shows the pair getting ready for bed. Act III scene iv takes place in a tavern, where the audience are introduced to the Roarers Whoore-Bang, Botts, Teare-Chops, and Spil-Bloud, all mere braggarts. Well-tri'd appears with Lord Fee-simple, eager to teach him the ways of roaring. The scene ends with Well-tri'd and Lord Fee-simple beating the roarers out of the tavern, Lord Fee-simple pleased with his new found courage. Meanwhile, Bould's plans have not come to fruition as Lady Bright uncovers the disguise and chases him from her chambers with a sword in hand. The Widow stands firm despite Bould's sexual advances, and sends him out-of-doors despite the fact that he is not fully clothed. Bould meets Subtle outside who mistakenly believes that Lady Perfect has entertained young Bould.

Well-tri'd and Lord Fee-simple have crashed at Bould's lodgings during the night. Well-tri'd and Bould conduct a plan whereby Bould will pretend that he is to marry another woman to provoke the Widow into jealousy and this woman will be Lord Fee-simple in disguise. Lord Fee-

simple is convinced to go to the church in disguise under the false pretence that he will wed the Widow himself.

Thanks to the Maid's scheming, Lord Proudly is arrested before the duel can take place, but not before he has observed the Maid (still disguised as the Irish footboy) with the sergeants, causing him to believe that Ingen is behind the arrest warrant. The Maid steals away to inform Ingen of the turn-of-events but Lord Proudly has escaped the sergeants and stabs the Maid. Ingen wounds Lord Proudly in the arm and the pair fight their duel, only stopping when the Maid enters to take off her disguise. Proudly forbids her from marrying Ingen, and tactically, the Maid casts away Ingen's love (for fear that if she advocate him as her choice of husband, the fighting will continue). Meanwhile, Subtle lies to the Husband, informing him that his wife has been unfaithful with him. The Husband does not believe him and pretends to leave the room (hiding to witness how Subtle talks to Lady Perfect). Subtle's final attempt to convince Lady Perfect to have sex with him fails and he begs for forgiveness. Overhearing this, her husband also appears and begs for forgiveness.

The final scene sees the characters gather together for the weddings, with the old and ill Count Fee-simple set to marry Lady Honor and Bould set to marry his mystery woman. Lady Honor swoons to hear that her lover Ingen has fled to France, believing her unchaste. Ingen enters to the party disguised as a Doctor, along with a Parson, in order to tend to Lady Honor. Ingen departs off-stage with the Parson to the room where Lady Honor is resting in bed. Suspicions arise and the gathered party peer in through the locked door to see how the Doctor is getting on with his patient. The gathered party witness the Parson marrying Lady Honor to Ingen and then watch as the pair consummate the marriage, Franck standing-by with pistols in case anybody should try to interrupt. In the final moments of the play, the Widow and Bould are married and Count Fee-simple, deprived of his original bride is encouraged to marry Bould's substitute bride. Count Fee-simple, therefore, kisses his own son to the merriment of all the company. The play ends with Lady Honor concluding that her state is the happiest in life because the Maid and the Widow are now wives.

Chapter Five – *The Honest Man's Fortune*

The play begins with a sense of injustice. The Duke of Orleans, a jealous individual, resents Montaigne (the honest man of the title) because of Montaigne's previous courtship of the Duchess of Orleans before her marriage to the Duke.⁷ Taking his lands, the Duke of Orleans reduces Montaigne to poverty. Montaigne bears his treatment without rage and despair, and seeks to satisfy the lawyers and creditors who swarm around him. Montaigne's followers, Longaville and Dubois are requested by their master to leave his service in search of better, although Veramour, his page,

⁷ Even though the play is set in Paris and character names are chosen accordingly, Lamira and the Duchess of Orleans, whose name is Bianca, also suggest an Italian influence (Gerritsen 127).

remains with him.⁸ In the meantime, the Duke accuses his wife of adultery with Montaigne. When her brother, the Earl of Amiens, hears this, he immediately attempts to make amends by instigating a duel with the Duke. Before the Earl of Amiens can unsheathe his sword, the Duchess admits to her brother and husband that she is guilty as charged. The Earl of Amiens, in shock, runs out of the room, upon which point, the Duchess immediately withdraws her confession, revealing to her husband that she lied to prevent the duel from taking place. The Duke, uncaring now that Montaigne is ruined, casts her out of his house. In the meantime, the Earl of Amiens bursts in upon Montaigne and challenges him to a duel for his supposed adultery. The Duchess swiftly enters and informs her brother that she lied about her infidelity. Disgusted by the dishonour she has caused, the Earl of Amiens flees in a rage. In a curious incident, Montaigne submits the Duchess to a chastity test, which being virtuous she passes, rebuking his unchaste advances, and Montaigne advises her to seek out the assistance of a country gentlewoman, Lamira, sending Veramour into her service.

In need of service, Longaville and Dubois hatch a scheme to follow the Earl of Amiens and the Duke of Orleans respectively. The audience are introduced to Laverdure, a courtier, Lapoop, a sea-captain, and Mallicorne, a deviant citizen.⁹ All three scheme to obtain the last of Montaigne's money. Now in the service of the Duke of Orleans, Dubois is employed to murder Montaigne as the Duke learns incorrectly from Laverdure that Montaigne is planning on murdering the Duke. The trio of sharpers, Laverdure, Lapoop, and Mallicorne, with Dubois, find Montaigne arrested for debt. A scuffle ensues, and Dubois aids Montaigne's escape, with Montaigne incorrectly believing he has killed an officer in his flight. Montaigne arrives at Lamira's country house and enters into service there, where he is reunited with Veramour. In the meantime, Longaville delivers a challenge of a duel from the Earl of Amiens to the Duke, which the Duke accepts. Mallicorne, Lapoop, and Laverdure arrive at Lamira's house with the intention of wooing her, insulting Montaigne in the meantime. Laverdure, however, appears far more interested in Veramour, convincing himself that the young page is in fact a woman in disguise.

⁸ Gerritsen calculates that Montaigne possesses the largest speaking part in the play with 572 lines. Longaville is the second largest role with 371 lines (Gerritsen 127). Gerritsen's assertion that "there can hardly be a doubt" that Field played the role of Montaigne (128), is not as clear cut as he would make out. We should be cautious of giving Field the largest part in the play on the grounds that he wrote the majority of the scenes. Gerritsen does acknowledge that the "part was not perhaps as much in the dashing young lover line as Field could have wished" (128) and I would suggest that Longaville is a far more plausible character for Field to play, especially noting that Longaville is a variation of the type of character that Field had been playing throughout his career, much more akin to Bussy, Scudmore and Ingen than Montaigne. Longaville is playfully cheeky with the audience on his side and takes control with the firing of the pistol to 'kill' the Duchess precisely the type of scene stealing moment relished by Field. Antonia Southern suggests that Field presumably would have played the part of Montaigne (129).

⁹ In typically Fieldian fashion, many of the characters names are indicative of their personality traits. Gerritsen suggests that the name 'Mallicorne' could be based on the French *malitorne*, a boor (*Honest* 127). M. E. Williams claims that the name is associated with "blighting harvest and with cuckolds" (*Play* 325). Lapoop's name is "comic in its combination of military with bawdy allusions" (M. E. Williams, *Play* 325).

Charlotte, Lamira's serving woman, interrupts the loving conversation shared by Veramour and Montaigne in order to woo the latter. Montaigne accepts her love. Longaville arrives with news of the impending duel between Amiens and the Duke and the party rush off to prevent the tragedy. Laverdure and Veramour remain behind, where Laverdure forces Veramour to confess that he is in fact a woman disguised as a page. Harsh words are exchanged at the duel and despite the protests of Montaigne and Amiens, Longaville fires a shot from his pistol in the direction of the Duke. Supposedly, his aim is off, and the Duchess falls to the ground. Moved by the sight of his apparently dead wife, the Duke repents and Longaville smugly reveals that he had fired a blank and that the Duchess has merely fainted. With the Duke and Duchess happily reunited, Lamira invites everyone back to her house with the intention of choosing herself a husband on the following day. At the banquet, Montaigne is asked to nominate which member of the gathered party is the fittest to wed Lamira. He chooses Amiens, but in a reversal of fortunes, Lamira decides that she will pick her own husband, choosing Montaigne. Charlotte wooed Montaigne on Lamira's behalf. The three sharpers promise to return Montaigne the money that they obtained from him and the Duke restores his lands. In a comic moment, Laverdure enters with Veramour as his bride-to-be, only to be ridiculed by the entire company when it is revealed, after physical inspection, that Veramour is in fact a boy. The play ends with the promise of further celebrations.

Appendix Two – Nathan Field’s Letter to Sutton

Transcribed from *The Remonstrance of Nathan Field*. 1616. Ed. J. O. Halliwell. London, 1865.

“The Remonstrance of Nathan Field”

“One of Shakespeare’s Company of
Actors.

Addressed to a Preacher in Southwark, who had
Been Arraigning Against The Players
At The Globe Theatre In
The Year 1616.

Now First Edited From The Original Manuscript
Printed Anno Domini’,
1865

[p.7] “Beare wittnes with me, O my Conscience, and reward me, O Lord, according to the truth of my lipps, how I love the Sanctuary of my God, and worship towards his holy alter; how I have according to my poore talent indeavoured to study Christ and make sure my eleccion, how I reverence the feete of those that bring glad tidings of the Gospell, and that I beare in my soule the badge of a Christian, practise to live the lief of the faithfull, wish to dye the death of the right- [p.8] eous and hope to meete my Saviour in the Cloudes. If yow merveyale, Sir, why I beginne with a protestation soe zelous and sacred, or why I salute you in a phrase soe confused and wrapped, I beseech you understand, that you have beene of late pleased (and that many tymes) from the holy hill of Sion the pulpit, a place sanctified and dedicated for the winning not discouraging of soules, to send forth many those bitter breathings, those uncharitable and unlimited curses of condemnacions against that poore calling, it hath pleased the Lord to place me in, that my spiritt is moved, the fire is kindled, and I must speake, and the rather, because yow have not spared in the extraordinary violence of your passion particularly to point att me and some other of my quallity and directly to our faces in the publique assembly to pronounce us dampned, as thoughe you ment to send us alive to hell in the sight of many wittnesses. Christ never sought [p.9] the strayed sheepe in that manner, he never cursed it with acclamacion or sent a barking dogg to fetch it home, but gently brought it uppon his owne shoulders. The widdowe never searched for her lost groate with spleene and impatience, but gently swept her house and founde it: If it be sinfull to lay stumbling blocks in the way of the blind, if it be cruelty to bruse the broken reede, if children are to be fedd with milke and not strong meate, let God and his working tell you, whether you have not sinned in

hindering the simplenes of our soules from the suckicis (sic) of your better doctrine, by laying in their ways your extravagant and unnecessary passions; whether you have not bene cruell to inflame those hartes with choler, that brought into the Church knees and minds of sorrow and submission: and whether you with deperacion, insteede of feedinge us with instruccion. Surely, Sir, your iron is [p.10] so entred into my soule, you have soe laboured to quench the spiritt to hinder the sacrament and banish me from myne owne parishe church, that my conscience cannot be quiett within me untill I have defended it by putting yow in mind of your uncharitable dealing with your poore parishoners, whose purses participate in your contribucion, and whose labour yow are contented to eate, howsoever yow despise the man that gaynes it, or the wayes he gettes it, like those unthankful ones, that will refreshe themselves with the grape, and yet breake and abuse the branches. And pardon me, Sir, if that for defence of my profession in patience and humbleness of spritt I expostulate a little with you, wherein I desire yow to conceive, that I enter not the list of contencion, but only take holde of the hornes of the Altar in myne owne defence and seeke to wipe of those deepe, deadly and monstrous blemishes yow have cast uppon me, such as indeed made us [p.11] blush, all Christian eares to glow, and all honest hartes to admire att. Yow waded very low with hatred against us, when yow ransacked hell to finde the register, wherein our soules are written dampned, and I make noe question, soe confident am I if my parte in the death and passion of Christ, who suffered for all mens sinnes, not excepting the player, thoughe in his tyme there were some, that if yow had with charity cast your eyes to heaven yow might more easily have found our names written in the book of lief, and herein is my faith the stronger, because in Gods whole volume, - which I have studied as my best parte, - I find not any trade of lief except conjurers, sorcerers, and witches (ipso facto) damned, nay not expressely spoken against, but only the abuses and bad uses of them, and in that point I defend not ours, nor should have disagreed with yow, if yow had only strooke att the corrupt branches, and not laid your axe to the roote of the tree. [p.12] Doe yow conclude it damnable because in the olde world or after in the tyme of the patriarches, Judges, Kinges, and prophetts, there were noe players, why, Sir, there was a tyme there was noe smith in Israel; are all smithes therefore damned? a sinfull conclusion! Doe yow conclude it damnable, because that in the tyme of Christ and his Apostles, it was not peculiarly justified and commended to afer ages? Why neither Christ, nor they by their letters Pattentes incorporated either the mercer, draper, gouldsmith or a hundred trades and misteries that att this day are lawful, and would be very sorry to heare the sentence of damnacion pronounced against them, and simply because they are of such a trade, and yet there are faultes in all professions, for all have sinne may be freely spoken against. Doe yow conclude them damned, because that in the raigne of tyrant Caesar they suffered banishment: which he did because he had worse [p.13] thoughtes and more divelische desseires to imploy himself: But our Caesar and David that can vouchsafe amongst his

grave exercises some tyme to tune himnes, and harken unto harmeless matters of delight, our Josua that professeth (howsoever other nacions doe) he and his household will serve the Lord, holdes it noe execrable matter to tolerate them; and how ungodly a speech it is in a publick pulpit to say that he maynteynes those whom God hath damned, I appeale to the censure of all faithfull subjects, nay all Christian people; or doe yow conclude them damned because the woman you sited (perhaps) out of legenda Auria that comming to a playe was possessed with an evill spiritt, and tolde by the devill, that he could have had noe power of her, but that he tooke her uppon his owne ground, which you strayne to be the playhouse; I pray, Sir, what became of all the other audience they were all uppon the same ground? were they all pos- [p.14] sessed? Truly, Sir, in my religion it is dangerous to hearken to the divell, damnable to beleieve him, and to produce his testimony to prove the poore members of Christ dampned, God deliver me from an argument soe polluted or an imaginacion soe abominable; but could you have inferred that uppon this silly woman (for such weakness the Divell trieth his conclusions) the finger of the Holy Ghost had come as unto Baltasar, and written, “thou art possest for seeing a play,” I would eiyh Jeromy have kneeled until my knees had bene as huffes to repeat soe faltie a profession: But (God willing) noe instance grounded uppon the Divell, father of lies, shall make me ashamed of it, with a State soe Christian and soe provident are pleased to spare and none repines att, but some few whose Curiosity outwayeth their charity; but rather the [p.15] better conceited because the Divell dislikes it, holding it for a general Maxime, that the sclanders of the wicked are approbacions unto the godly.”

Inscribed – Field the players letter to Mr. Sutton, preacher at St. Mary Overs., 1616.

Appendix Three – Nathan Field’s Roles in Plays for The Children of the Chapel, The Children of the Queen’s Revels, and The Children of the Whitefriars.¹

Where there is no critical support in determining the role that Field played in a performance, I have conjecturally assigned a role that reflects the type of character that we know Field *did* play. Please consult Appendix One for explanations of why I differ in some attributions of Field’s roles compared to other critics.

The Children of the Chapel (1600-1602):

Title of Play	Author	Year of Performance	Role that Field Played
<i>Love’s Metamorphosis</i>	John Lyly	1600	Ramis
<i>Cynthia’s Revels</i>	Ben Jonson	1600	Amorphus ²
<i>The Contention Between Liberality and Prodigality</i>	Anon	1601	Prodigality ³
<i>Poetaster</i>	Ben Jonson	1601	Tucca ⁴
<i>All Fools</i>	George Chapman	1601	Rynaldo
<i>May Day</i>	George Chapman	1601	Lodovico
<i>Sir Giles Goosecap</i>	George Chapman	1602	Sir Cuthbert Rudsbie
<i>The Gentlemen Usher</i>	George Chapman	1602	Vincentio
‘ <i>Jerónimo</i> ’ Possibly <i>The Spanish Comedy, or The First Part of Hieronimo</i>	Thomas Kyd?	1602	Horatio

¹ The list of plays taken to constitute the repertory for all three acting companies is taken from Edel Lamb’s *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre: The Children’s Playing Companies (1599-1613)* (xi-xii) and Lucy Munro’s *Children of the Revels* (167-169).

² Robert Meriwether Wren, *The Blackfriars Theatre and Its Repertory, 1600-1608* (170); Antonia Southern, *Player, Playwright and Preacher’s Kid: The Story of Nathan Field, 1587-1620* (53).

³ The role of the young, blustering suitor after money is typically Fieldian. Prodigality’s language is also similar to Field’s next role of Tucca. Prodigality says “Come on, my bulchin, come on, my fat fatox, / Come porkeling, come on, come prettie twattox” (V.i.974-975).

⁴ Robert Meriwether Wren, *The Blackfriars Theatre and Its Repertory, 1600-1608* (170).

The Children of the Queen's Revels (1603-1608):

Title of Play	Author	Year of Performance	Role that Field Played
<i>The Malcontent</i>	John Marston	1603	Malevole ⁵
<i>Law Tricks</i>	John Day	1604	Julio
<i>The Dutch Courtesan</i>	John Marston	1604	Freevill
<i>Bussy D'Ambois</i>	George Chapman	1604	Bussy D'Ambois ⁶
<i>Parasitaster; or The Fawn</i>	John Marston	1604	Nymphadoro
<i>Philotas</i>	Samuel Daniel	1605	Philotas
<i>The Widow's Tears</i>	George Chapman	1605	Lysander
<i>Eastward Ho</i>	George Chapman, Ben Jonson, John Marston	1605	Quicksilver ⁷
<i>Monsieur D'Olive</i>	George Chapman	1605	Monsieur D'Olive
<i>Sophonisba</i>	John Marston	1606	Syphax
<i>The Case is Altered</i>	Ben Jonson	1606	Paulo Ferneze
<i>The Fleer</i>	Edward Sharpham	1606	Petoune
<i>The Isle of Gulls</i>	John Day	1606	Demetrius
<i>The Knight of the Burning Pestle</i>	Francis Beaumont	1607	Humphrey ⁸
<i>Your Five Gallants</i>	Thomas Middleton	1607	Primero
<i>The Faithful Shepherdess</i>	John Fletcher	1607	Perigot ⁹
<i>Cupid's Revenge</i>	Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher	1607	Ismenus
<i>A Trick to Catch the Old One</i>	Thomas Middleton	1608	Witgood

⁵ John Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time* (115).

⁶ John Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time* (197); see also Nicholas Brooke's Introduction to the Revels Play (liv).

⁷ Robert Meriwether Wren, *The Blackfriars Theatre and Its Repertory, 1600-1608* (233).

⁸ M. E. Williams, 'Nathan Field', *ODNB*.

⁹ Robert Meriwether Wren, *The Blackfriars Theatre and Its Repertory, 1600-1608* (476).

<i>The Coxcomb</i>	Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher	1608	Ricardo
<i>The Conspiracy of Charles, Duke of Byron</i>	George Chapman	1608	Byron
<i>The Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron</i>	George Chapman	1608	Byron

The Children of the Whitefriars (1609-1613):

Title of Play	Author	Year of Performance	Role that Field Played
<i>Epicene</i>	Ben Jonson	1609	Truewit ¹⁰
<i>The Scornful Lady</i>	Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher	1610	Young Loveless
<i>A Woman is a Weathercock</i>	Nathan Field	1610	Scudmore ¹¹
<i>A Christian Turned Turk</i>	Robert Daborne	1610	Ward
<i>The Insatiate Countess</i>	John Marston, William Barksted, Lewis Machin	1611	Rogero
<i>The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois</i>	George Chapman	1611	Clermont D'Ambois ¹²
<i>Amends for Ladies</i>	Nathan Field	1611	Ingen
<i>The Honest Man's Fortune</i>	Nathan Field, John Fletcher	1613	Longaville

¹⁰ Antonia Southern, *Player, Playwright and Preacher's Kid: The Story of Nathan Field, 1587-1620* (118).

¹¹ Nora Johnson, *The Actor as Playwright in Early Modern Drama* (70).

¹² Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels* (152).

Appendix Four – A Numerical Record of the Usage of the Word ‘Youth’ in the Repertories of The Children of the Chapel, The Children of the Queen’s Revels, and The Children of the Whitefriars.¹

The following tables document the usage of the word ‘youth’ in the repertories of the three playing companies studied in the thesis. The final column, entitled ‘Variants’, records instances such as ‘young man’ which also relate to ‘youth’.

The Children of the Chapel (1600-1602):

Title of Play	Author	Year of Performance	Number of Times that ‘Youth’ Appears	Number of Times that Variants of ‘Youth’ Appear
<i>Love’s Metamorphosis</i>	John Lyly	1600	5	young = 4
<i>Cynthia’s Revels</i>	Ben Jonson	1600	5	young = 11
<i>The Contention Between Liberality and Prodigality</i>	Anon	1601	0	young = 1, younger = 1, lads = 1
<i>Poetaster</i>	Ben Jonson	1601	1	young = 9, younger = 1
<i>All Fools</i>	George Chapman	1601	9	young = 21, younger = 3
<i>May Day</i>	George Chapman	1601	6	young = 18, youngest = 1, lad = 1
<i>Sir Giles Goosecap</i>	George Chapman	1602	3	young = 6, younger = 2, youngest = 1
<i>The Gentlemen Usher</i>	George Chapman	1602	3	young = 15, youthful = 1,

¹ The list of plays taken to constitute the repertory for all three acting companies is taken from Edel Lamb’s *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre: The Children’s Playing Companies (1599-1613)* (xi-xii) and Lucy Munro’s *Children of the Revels* (167-169).

				younger = 1, lad = 1
<i>'Jerónimo'</i> Possibly <i>The Spanish Comedy, or The First Part of Hieronimo</i>	Thomas Kyd?	1602	1	young = 3, youthful = 1, lad = 2,

The Children of the Queen's Revels (1603-1608):

Title of Play	Author	Year of Performance	Number of Times that 'Youth' Appears	Number of Times that Variants of 'Youth' Appear
<i>The Malcontent</i>	John Marston	1603	8	youthful = 1, younger = 1, young = 17, teens = 1
<i>Law Tricks</i>	John Day	1604	8	young = 14, youthful = 3
<i>The Dutch Courtesan</i> ²	John Marston	1604	5	young = 1, young man = 1
<i>Bussy D'Ambois</i>	George Chapman	1604	1	young = 4, youthful = 1, youngest = 1
<i>Parasitaster; or The Fawn</i>	John Marston	1604	16	young = 28, younger = 4, youthful = 1, lad = 1
<i>Philotas</i>	Samuel Daniel	1605	13	youngman = 3
<i>The Widow's Tears</i>	George Chapman	1605	3	young = 14, younger = 1
<i>Eastward Ho</i>	George Chapman,	1605	5	young = 17,

² The play also contains a character named 'Young Freevill'.

	Ben Jonson, John Marston			younger = 2, youngest = 1
<i>Monsieur D'Olive</i>	George Chapman	1605	0	young = 5, younger = 2
<i>Sophonisba</i>	John Marston	1606	3	young = 2, young men = 1, youthful = 2
<i>The Case is Altered</i>	Ben Jonson	1606	4	young = 9, younger = 1
<i>The Fleer</i>	Edward Sharpham	1606	4	young = 7, younger = 4, lad = 1
<i>The Isle of Gulls</i>	John Day	1606	7	young = 12, youthful = 1, younger = 1
<i>The Knight of the Burning Pestle</i>	Francis Beaumont	1607	17	young = 5 young man = 3
<i>Your Five Gallants</i>	Thomas Middleton	1607	3	young = 1, lad = 2
<i>The Faithful Shepherdess</i>	John Fletcher	1607	13	young = 26, younger = 1, youthful = 1, lad = 1
<i>Cupid's Revenge</i>	Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher	1607	8	young = 13, younger = 1, youthful = 2
<i>A Trick to Catch the Old One</i>	Thomas Middleton	1608	6	young = 15, younger = 1, youthful = 1, lad = 1
<i>The Coxcomb</i>	Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher	1608	3	young = 13, younger = 1
<i>The Conspiracy of Charles, Duke of Byron</i>	George Chapman	1608	0	0

<i>The Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron</i>	George Chapman	1608	0	young = 1
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The Children of the Whitefriars (1609-1613):

Title of Play	Author	Year of Performance	Number of Times that 'Youth' Appears	Number of Times that Variants of 'Youth' Appear
<i>Epicene</i>	Ben Jonson	1609	4	young = 4, youthful = 1, lad = 2
<i>The Scornful Lady</i>	Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher	1610	5	young = 18, younger = 2, youngest = 1, lads = 2
<i>A Woman is a Weathercock</i>	Nathan Field	1610	1	young = 13, youngest = 1
<i>A Christian Turned Turk</i>	Robert Daborne	1610	2	young = 5
<i>The Insatiate Countess</i>	John Marston, William Barksted, Lewis Machin	1611	7	young = 7, youthful = 1, younger = 2
<i>The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois</i>	George Chapman	1611	1	youthful = 1
<i>Amends for Ladies</i>	Nathan Field	1611	4	young = 17, younger = 2, lad = 2
<i>The Honest Man's Fortune</i>	Nathan Field, John Fletcher	1613	8	young = 8, younger = 2, lad = 4

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