

A STUDY OF THE SALISBURY

COURT THEATRE

A Thesis

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BY

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Summary

The object of this study has been to present as complete a picture of the Salisbury Court theatre as evidence permits. Throughout the thesis, an effort has been made to avoid being influenced by preconceived impressions of the 'Elizabethan' or the 'Caroline' theatre, in the hope that variations between the Salisbury Court and generalised impressions of theatres of the times might be brought to light.

The history of the Salisbury Court theatre is significant for a number of reasons. Built in 1629, it was the last theatre constructed before the theatre closures of 1642, and the only one built after Charles I came to the throne. Thus it was the only truly Caroline playhouse. Richard Brome's contract with the Salisbury Court is important because it illustrates the details of the relationship between playwright and management. The story of the playhouse from 1642 until the Restoration presents a vivid picture of the players' struggles to keep their profession alive in the face of anti-theatrical activities of the government. Shortly after acting began once more in 1660, the Salisbury Court became the home of William D'Avenant's famous players. Thus the playhouse helped usher in the era

of the Restoration drama. Between 1662 and 1666, when the theatre was destroyed in the Great Fire of London, there was only scattered dramatic activity at the Salisbury Court.

Structurally, evidence indicates conformity with the generalized impression of the 'Caroline' theatre. The auditorium was roofed and provided seats at various prices. The most desirable seats were either in private viewing rooms or on the stage; next were those in the pit; while least desirable seats were in the gallery. Stage structure, like that of the auditorium, introduced no unique features. The stage consisted of a main platform, an upper stage, and a curtained area or rear stage which was probably part of the permanent structure. There were three entrances to the main acting platform, one at each side of the stage and one through the curtained area. In addition, there may have been a fourth entrance through a trap in the main platform. The walls of the stage were draped with hangings.

The Salisbury Court theatre seems to have drawn its audience from the upper levels of society- courtiers and their ladies, law students, and occasionally a country gentleman. The lowest members of the audience

were still high on the social scale. Citizens of London were important people, but even they sometimes found the cheapest admission price of one shilling too expensive. Apparently, the Caroline theatres fitted into a hierarchy based on the social positions of their audiences, with the Salisbury Court high up the scale and the Red Bull and Fortune theatres near the bottom.

Production techniques were, for the most part, Elizabethan in character. Most of the action was located on the main platform. The rear stage was used for discovery scenes and, generally, after the curtains opened, rear stage action flowed forward onto the main platform. Action on the upper stage was always coordinated with action on the main platform. Special effects - lighting, sound effects, and scenery - were held to the minimum. Poetry, rather than lighting and scenery, was used to establish night scenes and outdoor scenes. The one major exception to this convention was the staging of Thomas Nabbes' Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-37), which almost certainly required elaborate painted scenery which could be changed behind a proscenium arch fitted with curtains. This may well have been the first employment of changing painted scenery in an English theatre.

CHAPTER I

A Look at the Problem

The ascension of Charles I to the throne of England marked the beginning of a dramatic era which has come to be known as the Caroline period. Although writers of dramatic histories have, more often than not, included this period within the broader classification of Elizabethan, there are characteristics which set the Caroline period apart from all others. Clifford Leech describes these distinguishing features in this way :

...Charles I's reign can claim rank as a dramatic period because of two things: the new refinement of the court materially affected the drama of the playhouses; and a new school of writers, who came directly under this influence, took on the task of playwriting from their elders.¹

Certainly the masque, which was designed for the courts but by this time had found its way into the playhouse, represents an obvious concession to the court with its appeal to the visual rather than the emotional sense of its audience. In addition to

¹Clifford Leech, "The Caroline Audience," Modern Language Review, XXXVI (July, 1941), 306.

this emphasis on the spectacular, there is a greater tendency toward vulgarity and crudity than had hitherto existed, and a disappearance of the idealism that had characterised the drama of the Elizabethan period. Although it would be impossible to connect these last characteristics with "...the new refinement of the court," it is possible to reconcile the moral deterioration with the precarious state of the monarchy of the times.

The new school of writers to which Clifford Leech refers, includes Massinger, Shirley, D'Avenant, Ford and Brome. The last four embarked on their careers as playwrights at the very time when Charles I came to the throne.¹

There were, along with the distinctions already mentioned, other modifications in the theatrical picture which distinguished the new era from the preceding ones. The principal change was the gradual disappearance of the public (unroofed) theatre, with the inevitable result that the private playhouse became the theatre of the day. A trio of playhouses - the Salisbury Court, the Blackfriars, and the Phoenix - were the most prominent, and presented a majority of

¹Ibid., p. 307

the currently popular plays. One of these theatres, the Salisbury Court, was in one respect a more truly Caroline theatre than either of the others; it was the only theatre built within the limits of the period.

It is, consequently, the Salisbury Court playhouse with which we shall be concerned in this study. An effort will be made to present a historical, visual and theatrical picture of this playhouse from the available evidence. The interest here is not in generalities - that is in a generalised concept of the Caroline playhouse - but rather in this one playhouse.

This study, therefore, falls into a growing category of similar studies which was pioneered by George Fuller Reynolds in The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater. The present work is similar to that of Professor Reynolds in that it has, as a primary objective, the destruction of the generalised concept which has so often led to error in the past: that of "the Elizabethan playhouse," or "the Caroline playhouse". However, in addition to a study of the structure of the Salisbury Court stage, there are included here sections devoted to the history, the audience, and the structure of the building itself. An independent section has been devoted to the theatre

as it existed after the Restoration. It is hoped that the result offers a reasonably complete picture. The evidence on which this picture is based can be divided into two parts: first, plays which were presented at the Salisbury Court; and second, documents relating to the theatre and its times.

This investigation of the Salisbury Court theatre is not limited entirely to the Caroline period but extends through the Commonwealth to the Restoration. Information from the plays relates primarily to the Caroline period, for most of the plays presented there during the Commonwealth and after the Restoration were revivals of Caroline or pre-Caroline plays. Of the thirty-three Salisbury Court plays, only one, John Tatham's The Rump (1660), would fall outside the realm of Caroline or pre-Caroline.

In working with the plays, I have generally followed the system employed by Professor Reynolds in his investigation of the Red Bull. Thus, I have classified the plays as A, B, or C, according to their value as evidence.¹ I have deviated from this procedure, however, in my definitions of A, B, and C

¹George Fullmer Reynolds, The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater (1940), p. 5.

plays. An A play is one that was either written for the Salisbury Court playhouse, or was first performed there. Included in this group are plays which, although previously presented elsewhere and published in that form, were revised particularly for this theatre. I classify as B plays those other plays which were presented at Salisbury Court, but previously presented elsewhere. Their value is principally to substantiate claims based on A plays or on direct documentary evidence. C plays are those which may have been presented at the Salisbury Court playhouse, but about which definite evidence is not available.

A list of the plays presented at the theatre, as far as we know them, follows. This list contains information concerning production dates, authorship, publication dates, A, B, and C classification, and other pertinent data.

Play List of the Salisbury Court Playhouse

| Classification, Date of first Salisbury Court Production, and Author. | Title, date of entry in the Stationers Register and evidence for Salis- bury Court and acting date. | Editions |
|---|---|----------|
|---|---|----------|

A Plays:

(A-1)

1629-30

Randolph, Thomas

The Muse's Looking Glass

1638
(collec-
tion)

SR No entry

Printed in Thomas
Randolph, Poems &c.,
1638, 4^o, Sig. 2A1-M4.

The attribution of this
play to the King's
Revels at Salisbury
Court and the produc-
tion date of 1629-30,
depends on an argument
put forward by G. E.
Bentley, which is
summarised on pages
19-20 of this study,
q. v.

(A-2)

1631

Shirley, James

The Changes, or Love in
a Maze

1632

SR 1632 February 9.

Acted at Salisbury Court
probably in 1631, when
the play was licensed.¹

¹Alexander Dyce and William Gifford, eds., The
Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley (1883), I,
270.

The title page says:
"A Comedie, As it was
presented at the
Private House in
Salisbury Court,
by the Company of
His Majesties Revels."

(A-3)

1631 December
Marmion, Shakerley Holland's Leaguer 1632

SR 1632 January 26

The following statement
by Mabne, derived from
Sir Henry Herbert's
Office-book, fixes the
acting date:

"The play of Holland's
Leaguer was acted six
days successively at
Salisbury Court, in
in December, 1631 ..."¹

The title page says:
"An Excellent comedy as
it hath bin lately and
often acted with great
applause, by the high
and mighty Prince
Charles his Servants; at
the private house in
Salisbury Court."

(A-4)

1631 December - 1633
Marmion, Shakerley A Fine Companion 1633

SR 1633 June 15

The play must have been
acted after the Prince
Charles's men began

¹Joseph Quincey Adams, The Dramatic Records of
Sir Henry Herbert (New Haven, 1917), p. 45.

playing at the Salisbury Court in December 1631, and before the publication date in 1633.

The title page says:

"Acted before the King and Queene at White-Hall, And sundrie times with great applause at the private House in Salisbury Court, By the Prince his Servants."

(A-5)

1633

Nabbes, Thomas

Tottenham Court

1638

SR 1638 April 5

The title page of the 1638 edition says:

"Acted in the yeare MDCXXXIII. At the private House in Salisbury-Court."

The title page of the 1639 edition says:

"Acted in the private house in Salisburie-Court, by the Queenes Majesties Servants."

When both title pages are considered, it appears that the 1633 production was done by the Prince Charles II's men. Later the play must have come into the hands of the Queen Henrietta's men, who must have presented it during their stay at the playhouse - i.e. between 1637-1642.

(A-6. Not extant)
1633 October
Anonymous

II The City Shuffler ---

SR No entry

Probably acted at the
Salisbury Court in
October, 1633, when
the play was licensed
for the playhouse.

"1633 Oct. The Citty
Shuffler licensed for
Salisbury Court."¹

(A-7. Not extant)
1634 August 16

Doctor Lambe and the
Witches ---

SR No entry

Probably acted at the
Salisbury Court in
August, 1634, when the
play was licensed for
the playhouse.

The licence reads:

"An ould play, with
some new scenes, Doctor
Lambe and the Witches,
to Salisbury Court, the
16th August, 1634, - £1.0.0."²

(A-8. Not extant)
1634 November 24
Anonymous

The Proxy, or Love's
Aftergame ---

SR No entry

The following entry
appeared in the Office-
book of Sir Henry Herbert:

¹Ibid., p. 35

²Ibid., p. 36

"The Proxy, or Love's
Aftergame, was pro-
duced at the theatre at
Salisbury Court, November
24, 1634."¹

(A-9)

1635

Brome, Richard

The Sparagus Garden

1640

SR 1640 March 19

The title page says:

"Acted in the yeare 1635.
by the then company of
Revels, at Salisbury
Court."

(A-10)

1634-1637

Nabbes, Thomas

Microcosmus

1637

SR 1636 August 6

The fact that the
complimentary verses
were written by
Richard Brome, who
commenced work at the
Salisbury Court play-
house on July 20, 1635,
plus the publication
date of 1637, suggests
a production date within
the limits of the King's
Revels' second residence
at the playhouse, i. e.
1634-1637.

The title page says:

"A Morall Maske, Presented
with general liking at the
private house in Salisbury
Court ..."

¹Ibid., p. 36

(A-11)

1637-1640

Middleton, Thomas A Mad World My Masters 1608
1640

SR 1608 October 4

SR 1613 April 19

SR 1630 July 3

The play was first performed by the Children of Paules in ?1604-1606.¹ The A classification depends upon significant variations between the 1608 and 1640 editions which suggest that the later edition was derived from a play copy used at the Salisbury Court playhouse, rather than from the 1608 edition.²

The title page of the 1640 edition says:

"As it hath bin often acted at the Private House in Salisbury Court, by her Majesties Servants."

¹I have used the Chambers acting date here; see E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (1945) III, 439.

²The 1640 edition is not a page for page reprint of the 1608 edition. Different devices are used and there are a number of spelling variations. The following variations, however, are concerned with action on the stage, and it is from these that the play derives its A classification:

1. The 1640 edition contains a list entitled, "The Actors in the Comedy." (Sig. A4v). There is no such list in the 1608 edition.
2. The following stage direction appears in the 1608 edition:
"Enter two or three." (Sig. A4v.)
In the 1640 edition, the direction is more definitive:
"Enter two or three Watchmen." (Sig. B4r.)

(A-12)
1637-40

Sharpe, Lewis

The Noble Stranger

1640

SR No entry

The play was acted at the Salisbury Court by the Queen Henrietta's men, who began acting at the playhouse in October, 1637. Therefore, the play must have been acted sometime after October, 1637, and before 1640, when the play was published.

The title page reads:

"As it was Acted at the
Private House in
Salisbury Court, by
her Majesties Servants."

-
3. The following stage direction appears at the close of the second act of the 1640 edition:
"A Song, sung by the musitians, and after the Song, a Country dance, by the Actors in their Vizards to a new footing." (Sig. E_{2r}.)
No such direction occurs in the 1608 edition.
(See Sig. D_{2r}.)
 4. The following stage direction appears in the fifth act of the 1640 edition:
"They gaghim." (Sig. K_{1v}.)
No such direction occurs in the 1608 edition.
(See Sig. H_{3v}.)
 5. The following stage directions appear at the conclusion of the fifth act of the 1640 edition:
"The end of the fifth and last Act: marching over the Stage hand in hand." (Sig. K_{3v}.)

"The Catch for the Fifth Act, sung by Sir Bounteous Progresse to his Guests."
A song of four quatrains is then printed.
(Sig. K_{4r}.)
- Neither of these directions nor the song appear in the 1608 edition. (See Sig. I_{2r}.)

(A-13)
1637-1642
Goffe, Thomas

The Careless Shepherdess 1656

SR 1655 October 22

Gerald Bentley presents the following discussion concerning Timothy Reade, which helps us to fix the acting date of The Careless Shepherdess as 1637, or later:

"The evidence for his [Reade's] later career in the Queen's company is the reference to Reade as a Salisbury Court player in 1641 ('Frers' of the title evidently means Whitefriars or Salisbury Court, not Blackfriars) when Queen Henrietta's men were occupying that theatre. This change from King's Revels to Queen Henrietta's men is also indicated, indirectly, in the dialogue of Goffe's Careless Shepherdess. Landlord and Thrift are evidently talking about their joy in watching the same comedian, Reade. Landlord says that he saw the comedian on this stage, i.e. the Salisbury Court where The Careless Shepherdess was acted, and would like to see him act The Changeling again. Now The Changeling was the property of Queen Henrietta's men. Before Queen Henrietta's men had left the Phoenix, William Robbins had been famous in this role, but Robbins had apparently gone to the

King's men when the Queen's men came to Salisbury Court. Thus Landlord had seen Reade, Robbins' successor as comedian of Queen Henrietta's company, play the part of the Changeling for the Queen's company on the stage of the Salisbury Court some time in 1637 or later."¹

If Landlord was referring to a production of The Changeling dated after 1637, then The Careless Shepherdess, which had not been written at this time, must have been produced sometime after 1637, and before the closing of the theatres in 1642.

The title page says:

"A Tragi-Comedy Acted before the King and Queene, And at Salisbury-Court, with great Applause.

(A-14)

1637-1642

Shirley, James

The Politician

1655

SR 1653 September 9

Acted at the Salisbury Court playhouse during the stay of the Queen Henrietta's men, i.e. from 1637-1642.

The title page says:

"Presented at Salisbury Court By Her Majesties Servants."

¹Gerald Eades Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1941), II, 540.

(A-15)

1638

Brome, Richard

The Antipodes

1640

SR 1640 March 19

The title page says:

"Acted in the yeare 1638.
by the Queenes Majesties
Servants at Salisbury
Court in Fleet-street."

(A-16. Not extant)

?1638-1642

Lovelace, Richard

The Scholars

1649

SR No Entry

In Lovelace's Lucasta (1649),
the following appears:

"A Prologue to the Scholars.
A Comedy presented at the
White-Fryers."

The Epilogue is also printed
here.¹

Bentley attributes the play
to the Queen Henrietta's man
because Lovelace did not come

¹Although the pages of this edition are numbered in the proper sequence, the signatures are not. The Prologue and Epilogue to The Scholars are printed on three unsigned leaves falling between F4 and G. The collation follows: F4, *₁, *₂, *₃, *₄, G. The Prologue commences on Sig. *_{2r}, and the Epilogue concludes on Sig. *_{4r}. It may be that the printer had planned originally to print the whole play as a separate edition, but altered his plans after completing the work on the Prologue and Epilogue. Thus, when the time came to bind up the 1649 edition of the poems, he may have inserted the completed Prologue and Epilogue of The Scholars. This, however, does not explain Sig. *_r, *_{lv}, and *_{4v}, which contain other poetry. See Richard Lovelace, Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs &c. To Which is Added Armantha, A Pastorall. (1649), pp. 75-79.

London until c. 1638.
The probable acting date
would fall between c. 1638
and 1642, the date of the
closing of the theatres.¹

(A-17)

1639

Shirley, James

The Gentleman of Venice

1655

SR 1653 July 9

The play was probably acted
shortly after the licensing
date of October 30, 1639.²

The title page says:

"Presented at the Private
House in Salisbury Court
by her Majesties Servants."

(A-18)

?

Rider, William

The Twins

1655

SR 1655 June 30

SR 1662 July 16

This play is not mentioned
by Bentley in his The
Jacobean and Caroline
Stage; it is listed in the
Cambridge Bibliography
of English Literature
(Cambridge, 1940), I, 649.
In Biographica Dramatica,
the following relevant
passage appears:

"Langbaine suspects this
play to be much older

¹Bentley, op. cit. (1941), I, 253-54.

²Adams, op. cit. (1917), p. 38.

than the annexed date
1655 implies it to be ..."¹

The title page says:
"Acted at the Private House
at Salisbury-Court, with
general Applause."

B Plays:

(B-1)

?1634-1636

Anonymous

Sir Giles Goosecap,
Knight

1606
1636

SR 1606 January 10

Bentley attributes this to
the King's Revels without
evidence, perhaps because of
the 1636 publication date.
If this were a King's
Revels play, it would have
been acted sometime between
1634 and 1636.

The title page of the 1636
edition says:

"A Comedy lately Acted
with great applause at
the private House in
Salisbury Court."

(B-2)

?1637-

Middleton, Thomas
& Rowley, William

The Changeling

1653
1668

SR 1652 October 19

The title page says:

"As it was acted (with
great Applause) at the
Privat House in Drury-
Lane and Salisbury Court."

¹David Erskine Baker, Isaac Reed, and Stephen Jones,
Biographica Dramatica (1812), III, 361.

Plays performed at both Drury Lane and Salisbury Court were generally Queen Henrietta's plays, for no other company acted at both houses.

(B-3)

?1637-

Middleton, Thomas
& Rowley, William

The Spanish Gipsy

1653
1661

SR 1624 June 28 (?)

The title page says:

"As it was Acted (with great Applause) at the Privat House in Drury-Lane, and Salisbury Court."

Plays performed at both Drury Lane and Salisbury Court were generally Queen Henrietta's plays, for no other company acted at both houses.

(B-4)

1647 October 5/6
Beaumont, Francis
& Fletcher, John

A King and No King

1619
1625
1631
1639
1655
1661
1676

SR 1618 August 7

SR 1628 March 1

SR 1638 May 29

SR 1639 January 25

An attempt was made to present this play on

October 5/6, 1647, at Salisbury Court.¹ This may also have been the

¹Hyder E. Rollins, "A Contribution to the History of English Commonwealth Drama," Studies in Philology, XVIII, (1921), 283.

play in progress
when the theatre was
raided on New Year's
day, 1649.¹

C Plays:

(C-1)

?1631 December-

1634 July

Anonymous

Edmund Ironsides

1928
(Malone
Society)

SR No entry

This was a revival of
an old play. The MS
(B.M., Eg. 1994. fols.
96-118) fixes the time
as the third decade of
the seventeenth century,
and almost certainly the
Prince Charles (II)'s
Company at Salisbury
Court. The following
actors, Edward May,
Henry Gradwell, George
Stutville, and H. Gibson,
are mentioned in the MS.
May, Gradwell, and Stutville
were all Prince Charles'
men. There is no information
on Gibson. However, the only
time I know when May, Gradwell
and Stutville were in the same
company was while the Prince
Charles' men were in resid-
ence at the Salisbury Court
playhouse.²

¹J. Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928), pp. 40-41.

²Bentley, op. cit. (1941), I, 323.

(C-2)

1635

Glapthorne, Henry The Lady Mother

1883

SR No entry

The MS, dated 1638, is extant at the British Museum (Eg. 1994. Fols. 186-211). The MS carries the following licence:

"This Play Call'd the Lady-moth (the Reformacon observ'd) may b Acted. October the xvth. 1635 Will: Blagraue dep t to the m of the Revell."

Bentley offers the following argument for this being a Salisbury Court King's Revels play:

"The reference to the Salisbury Court (fol. 192^a), 'Now on my life this boy does sing as like the boy at whitefryers as ever I heard', probably indicates that the play was acted at that theatre, which was occupied by the King's Revels in 1635. The fact that the play was licensed by Blagrove, one of the builders of the theatre and payee for the company in January 1634/5, also suggests the King's Revels."¹

¹Ibid., I, 300.

(C-3)
?1635 July 20-
1636 May 12
Brome, Richard

The Queen and Concubine

1659
(collection)

SR No entry

The limits placed on the acting dates depend on the following evidence. First, Brome's contract at the Salisbury Court playhouse commenced on July 20, 1635, and second, there is evidence that the play was performed by the Salisbury Court King's Revels in this quotation:

"...Come then, let's away.
No longer Brothers of
the Bench wee'l be,
But of the Revels for
His Majesty."

On May 12, 1636, the theatres were closed as a result of the plague. They remained closed except for one week (February 24, 1636/37 - March 11, 1636/7), until October 2, 1637. There is no record of the King's Revels at Salisbury Court after the initial closing date of May 12, 1636. The evidence would suggest, therefore, that the play was acted after Brome commenced work under his Salisbury Court contract on July 20, 1635, and before the plague put a stop to the King's Revels activities at the playhouse on May 12, 1636.

Printed in Richard Brome, Five New Plays, (1659), 80.

(C-4)
?1637 October 2
Brome, Richard

The English Moor or
the Mock Marriage

1659
(collection)

SR 1640 August 4

The following quotation
from the Prologue
suggests that the play
was presented on or
shortly after October 2,
1637, when the Queen
Henrietta's men opened
at the Salisbury Court
playhouse immediately
after the plague closing
of May 12, 1636 -
October 2, 1637:

"Most noble, fair and
curteous to ye all
Welcome and thanks we
give, that you would call.
And visit your poor servants,
that have been
So long and pitiless unheard,
unseen.

Welcome, you'l say your
money that does do,
(Dissembling is a fault) we
say so too.

And your long absence was
no fault of your,
But our sad fate to be so
long obscure.¹

The title page says:

"A Comœdy as it was often
acted with applause, by
Her Majesties Servants."

Printed in Richard Brome, Five
New Plays (1659), 80.

¹Ibid., I, 241-43.

Fleay attributes Shirley's The Royal Master and Lovelace's The Soldier (not extant), to Salisbury Court, but in neither case does he introduce any evidence to substantiate his claims.¹ The title page of The Royal Master appears to contradict Fleay's contention, for it says: "... as it was acted at the new Theatre in Dublin: and before the Right Honorable the Lord Deputie of Ireland in the Castle." For neither play is there any positive evidence relating them to Salisbury Court playhouse beyond Fleay's claim. Therefore, these will not be admitted as evidence in this study.

Restoration plays presented at the Salisbury Court playhouse are listed in Chapter VII (see pages 256-59).

Turning now to the second division of evidence, i. e. the documents, the most important material that we have, to date, is a record of litigation between William Beeston, one-time owner of the Salisbury Court theatre, and the fourth Earl of Dorset, who owned the land on which it stood. Another series of legal proceedings, which has been

¹F. G. Fleay, A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559-1642 (1890), p. 360.

most rewarding as a source of information about the theatre, is that which took place between Beeston and two carpenters, Edward Fisher and Thomas Silver.

These lawsuits, on which a major portion of our information on the Salisbury Court is based, were, with one exception, first published by Peter Cunningham in The Shakespeare Society Papers.¹ The additional piece of legal material was located by Leslie Hotson after his examination of Cunningham's work.² The rest of the information on the Salisbury Court has come down to us from many and diverse sources. Prominent among these are The Office Book of Sir Henry Herbert, the State Papers and Stowe's Annals (1631 edition).³ A major part of this material has been assembled in one place by Gerald Eades Bentley, in his work The Jacobean and Caroline Stage.⁴

From this material, however, we have been able to derive only the sketchiest conception of this

¹Peter Cunningham, "The Whitefriars, the Salisbury Court, and the Duke's Theatres," The Shakespeare Society Papers, IV (1849), 89-104.

²Hotson, op. cit., pp. 100-13.

³Adams, op. cit., pp. 33-36, 81-84, and others.

⁴Bentley, op. cit., (1941), I, 302 and II, 684-89.

playhouse. A more lucid picture is obtained when the documents are considered in conjunction with evidence in the plays presented at the Salisbury Court. The result, though it still leaves many gaps, is a much more complete and useful picture.

CHAPTER II

A History of the Salisbury Court Theatre

The literary student of to-day walking east along Fleet Street from Aldwych towards Ludgate Hill passes on his left a statue of Mary, Queen of Scots, Johnson's Passage and the Cheshire Cheese; on his right he notices the Prince Henry VII room and the house of Thomas Hood. When he comes under that black shadow of shiny modernity that is the home of The Daily Telegraph, he might be tempted to turn down Salisbury Court toward the Thames and pay a visit to the Old Codgers Inn which overlooks Salisbury Square. There he will see a plaque listing the names of Johnson, Goldsmith and others of literary note who frequented this old public house with the modern press club facade. On the south side of the enclosed square is the large New-Grecian Times of India building. On the left hand corner of this structure is affixed a blue sign indicating in white letters that here is the "Site of the Salisbury Court Playhouse, 1629-1649."

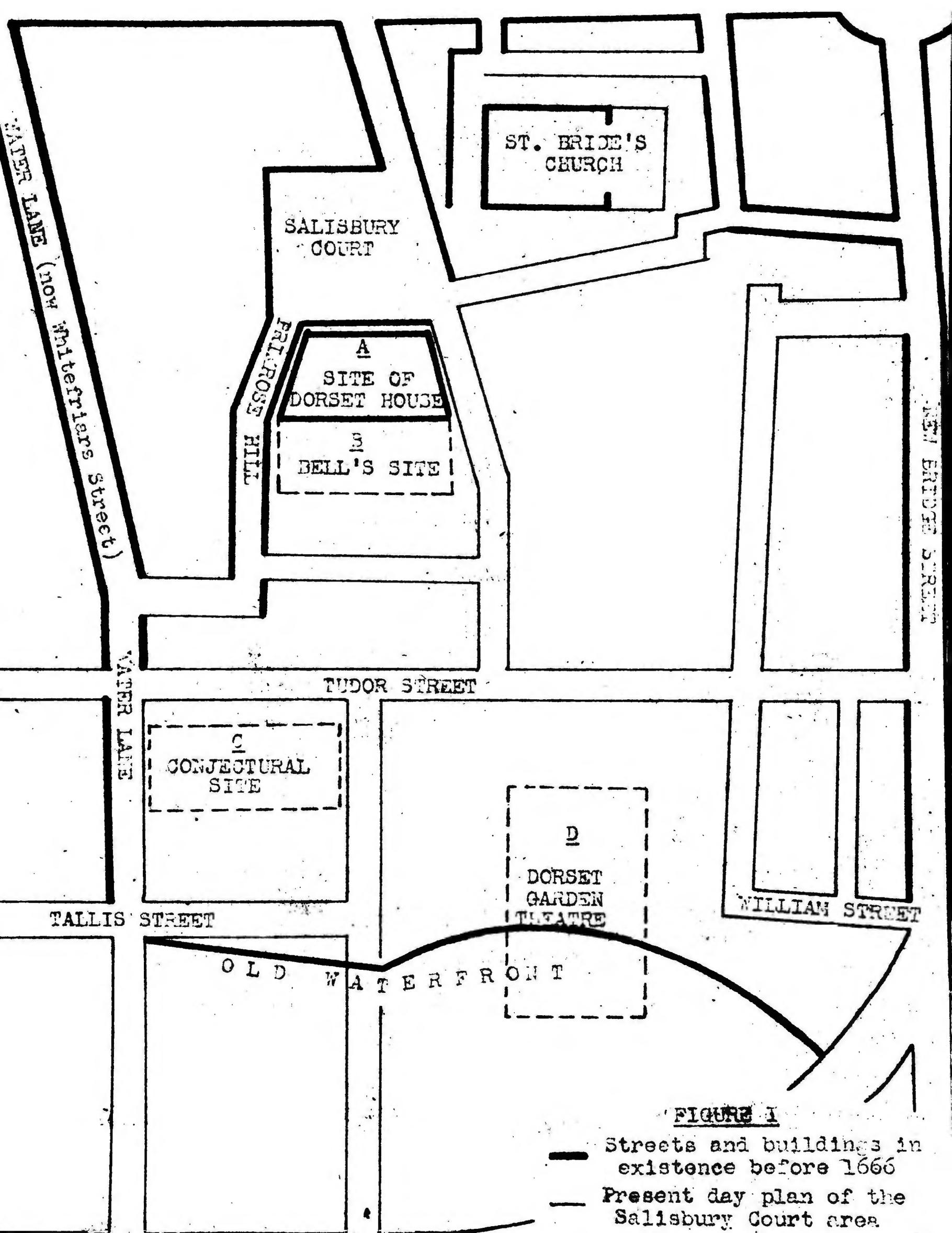
It is now known that the 1649 date is wrong. There is evidence that the theatre was in existence until the Great London Fire of 1666, when the Salisbury

Court playhouse , along with St. Bride's Church and Dorset House, was destroyed.¹ The dates of the Salisbury Court playhouse are therefore, from late in 1629 until August 28, 1666.

In addition to misdating the inscription on the plaque, the City of London has located it on the wrong site. A close scrutiny of two seventeenth century maps, Richard Newcourt's An Exact Delineation of the Cities of London and Westminster and Suburbs (1658) and Thomas Street and others' An Exact Survey of the Streets and Lanes and Churches Contained within the Ruin (December 1666), indicates that the plaque has, in fact, been placed on the site of Dorset House, (see Figure 1).² Walter George Bell, the noted London historian, has located the theatre immediately behind the site of Dorset House; but in doing this he has neglected to consider the important evidence contained in the indenture relative to the leasing of the property in 1629. This document supplies the following information; first, that the plot was

¹Walter George Bell, Fleet Street in Seven Centuries (1912), pp. 347-48.

²Both these maps have been reproduced by the London Topographical Society; Newcourt's in 1905 and Street's in 1908.



ST. BRIDE'S
CHURCH

SALISBURY
COURT

A
SITE OF
DORSET HOUSE

B
BELL'S SITE

TUDOR STREET

C
CONJECTURAL
SITE

D
DORSET
GARDEN
THEATRE

TALLIS STREET

WILLIAM STREET

OLD WATERFRONT

FIGURE 1

- Streets and buildings in existence before 1666
- - - Present day plan of the Salisbury Court area

one hundred and forty feet long by forty two feet wide with the longer dimension running from east to west, and second, that the plot was bounded on one side by "the wall of the great Garden belonging to the Mansion called Dorset house and [on the other by] the wall that severs the said court from the Lane called Water lane [now Whitefriars Street] ..."¹ Thus, Bell's location must be wrong, for the west boundary of his site is Primrose Hill rather than Water Lane, as was specified in the deed.

The problem then is to locate the site of the Salisbury Court playhouse. Considering the one hundred and forty feet east-west dimension and the specific reference to Water Lane, a more logical location would be the site indicated by letter C in Figure 1. There is an additional bit of evidence which supports this. The location of the Duke's Theatre, 1671-c.1720, (see letter D in Figure 1), is definitely established.² It is generally referred to as the Duke's house in Dorset Garden.³ If this

¹Peter Cunningham, "The Whitefriars, the Salisbury Court, and the Duke's Theatres," The Shakespeare Society Papers, IV (1849), 103-04. See also page 24 of this paper.

²Bell, op. cit., p. 313. Also Cunningham, op. cit., p. 109.

³Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama (1949), p. 218

area is indeed Dorset Garden, then Site C in Figure 1, could have as its east boundary "...the wall of the great Garden belonging to the Mansion called Dorset House..." Thus, in the light of the available evidence, the blue plaque would be better located if it were placed at site C.

The area surrounding this site is now one of narrow streets and back alleys, hardly wide enough for one of the news lorries to pass through with its load of paper from the nearby docks. The question must inevitably arise: why was this particular spot selected for the Salisbury Court playhouse and, indeed, what is the ensuing story?

In considering why this spot was selected by Richard Gunnell and William Blagrave, the builders and first managers of the Salisbury Court theatre, it becomes necessary to review briefly the theatrical history of the immediate area. The old Whitefriars playhouse had stood on a portion of the site of the Carmelite Monastery, west of Water Lane, possibly during the later sixteenth, and certainly during the early part of the seventeenth centuries. The first mention of a playhouse in this area is a reference by Richard Rawlidge to a suppression which has been variously dated. Chambers advocates 1596 but suggests

however, that Rawlidge may have written Whitefriars in place of Blackfriars, and thus cites as the first reliable evidence the register of St. Dunstan's, Whitefriars, dated September 29, 1607; "Gerry out of the playhouse in the Friars buried..."¹ Thus, we can be certain that there was a theatre in Whitefriars at least by 1607, and that it was still operating in 1621, when Sir Anthony Ashley, the landlord, evicted the players because their rent was overdue.² The important point here is that Blagrave and Gunnell, both experienced theatre men, must have been influenced by the precedent set by the Whitefriars theatre, and by the success of the Blackfriars, which was located a short distance away.

There undoubtedly were advantages, beyond the central location, that drew prospective theatre builders to this spot. On at least one occasion prior to 1629, an effort was made to erect a theatre in the immediate area, when on July 13, 1613, a fee of twenty pounds was paid to the Master of the Revels "...for a license to erect a new play-house in the

¹E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1945), II, 515-16 and 516n. 1.

²Ibid., p. 517.

Whitefriars..."¹ This plan, however, died in the Privy Council.² Certainly, one positive advantage of a site located between the River and Fleet Street is the easy accessibility by both land and water. An interesting statement, which has a direct bearing on this problem of accessibility, is found in Walter George Bell's The Great Fire of London in 1666:

From Fleet Ditch to Middle Temple Gate there was not a single wide street, and toward the river two only - Salisbury Court and Water Lane [Whitefriars Street] - were capacious enough to admit a cart. The rest were mere foot alleys giving access to the dense property built between the highway and the Temple boundaries, seldom more than seven feet dividing opposite houses.³

It is significant that the only two roads which could possibly have carried coach traffic to any building located off Fleet Street south to the River, and east and west for a considerable distance, were those which flanked the site of the Salisbury Court theatre. A vivid picture of the congested traffic situation at play-time can be derived from an Ordinance of 1633, which referred to the nearby Blackfriars theatre:

¹Ibid., p. 517

²Ibid., p. 517

³Walter George Bell, The Great Fire of London in 1666 (1920), p. 155.

Order of the Star Chamber, upon complaint of the inconveniences occasioned by the stoppage of the streets by carriages of persons frequenting the playhouse of the Blackfriars, 'their lordships remembering that there is an easy passage by water unto that playhouse without troubling the streets, and that it is much more fit and reasonable that those which go thither should go by water or else on foot, therefore, order that all coaches shall leave as soon as they have set down, and not return till the play is over, nor return further than the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard or Fleet Conduit. Coachmen disobeying this Order to be committed to Newgate or Ludgate.'¹

From these quotations it can be seen that the easy accessibility of the Salisbury Court area could well have been a deciding factor to Blagrove and Gunnell in the selection of a site for their new theatre.

The property in the vicinity of Salisbury Court possessed a legal immunity which must also have influenced the two men. Harbin says of this unique feature: "It was a Liberty to itself, and claimed to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the city. No arrests were to be made within the precincts."² This location, therefore, offered Blagrove and Gunnell a

¹Analytical Index to the Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia. Preserved among the Archives of the City of London (1878), pp. 356-57.

²Henry Harbin, A Dictionary of London (1918), p. 201.

freedom from legal interference similar to that in effect at Blackfriars. Considering the advantages offered by the site - i.e. easy accessibility and legal immunity - the project would appear to have been a sound one.

Another important factor was the vast experience of the two directors. Richard Gunnell was an actor, playwright, and owner of one of the twelve shares of the Fortune theatre. He numbered among his plays The Hungarian Lion and The Way to Content all Women, or How a Man May Please His Wife.¹ William Blagrave's theatrical experience was different from that of his partner, but in its way was just as useful; for he was deputy to Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels.² It would have been difficult to find two men better suited for the work at hand.

On June 24, 1629, Richard Gunnell and William Blagrave met Sir Henry Compton and Sir John Sackville, representing the Earl of Dorset, and signed a lease of a plot of ground in Salisbury Court. The terms of

¹Joseph Quincey Adams, ed., The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert (New Haven, 1917), pp. 26 and 28. See also Joseph Quincey Adams, Shakespearean Playhouses (1920), p. 368.

²Adams, op. cit., (1920), p. 369.

the contract stipulated a rent of twenty-five pounds for the first six months and one hundred pounds for for each year thereafter, the lease to terminate after forty-one-and-a-half years.¹

Shortly after Blagrave and Gunnell negotiated their lease, the Earl of Dorset leased an area including their plot to John Herne for sixty-one years at a flat price of nine hundred and fifty pounds.² This, in effect, made Herne the landlord to the property; that is, the rents for the theatre plot were payable to him.

The playhouse which Blagrave and Gunnell constructed cost one thousand pounds. Included in this was the cost of a dwelling house.³ Edmund Howes,

¹Gerald Eades Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1941), I, 283n. 7.

²Adams, op. cit., (1920), p. 370.

³Leslie Hotson believes it is in the fact that the play house and dwelling house were built together, thus allowing the manager to live on the premises, that we have the basis for calling the Salisbury Court play house a private theatre. See J. Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928), pp. 100 and 112-13.

in his 1631 edition of Stowe's Annales, described the situation in these words:

In the yeare one thousand sixe hundred twenty nine, there was builded a new faire Play-house, neere the white Fryers. And this is the seauenteenth Stage, or common Play-house, which hath beene new made within the space of threescore yeeres within London and the Suburbs. viz.¹

It was the last theatre built before the Civil Wars, and was one of the three most important Caroline playhouses; the others being the Cockpit and the Blackfriars.²

Theatrical activity commenced at the Salisbury Court probably before the end of the year 1629.

The initial production may have been Thomas Randolph's The Muse's Looking Glass (1629-30).

Gerald Eades Bentley presents a convincing array of evidence which would appear to validate this suggestion. He bases his argument on a statement made by that hyper-Puritan, William Prynne, who in his Histrionic Mastix said in a marginal note:

This objection as I have heard was much

¹Chambers, op. cit., II, 373.

²Ibid., p. 373.

urged in a most scurrilous and prophane manner in the first Play that was acted in the New-erected Play-house: a fit consecration Sermon for that Divels Chappell.¹

Prynne was here referring to a play in which "Puritans and Precisians" speak against plays and play action. Bentley, rightly, it would seem, concludes that the "New-erected Play-house" must be the Salisbury Court; for this was the only new theatre between the years 1617 and 1642.²

The problem now consisted of finding a play, dated about 1629, in which Puritans and precisians speak against plays. Although it is possible that the play in question may have been lost, Bentley's evidence for Randolph's The Muse's Looking Glass falls nicely into both the chronological and subject context. His conclusion follows:

I can think of no play written in or about the year 1629 which fits the description so well as Randolph's Muse's Looking-Glass, in which Puritans, Master Bird and Mistress Flowerdew, come upon the stage at the beginning and make ignorant and fanatical remarks in Puritan jargon about the audience, the actors, theatres, and all plays. They remain on the stage throughout the performance making foolish remarks, and at the end of the play are

¹William Prynne, Histrion-Mastix (1633), pt. I, 797.

²Gerald Eades Bentley, "Randolph's Praeludium and the Salisbury Court Theatre," Joseph Quincey Adams Memorial Studies (Washington, 1948), p. 778.

converted and determine to visit comedies hereafter for their own good.¹

Thus, Bentley builds a substantial case for the contention that Randolph's Muse's Looking-Glass was the first theatrical enterprise presented at the Salisbury Court theatre.

Bentley carries his case for Randolph's association with the playhouse in Whitefriars still further, and suggests that the playwright may have been the regular poet for this theatre during 1629 and 1630. It seems strange to think of a Cambridge Don being a regular writer for a professional theatre but, as Mr. Bentley so ably indicates, the evidence suggests a connection of a rather permanent nature with the Salisbury Court playhouse. He cites in support of this a portion of William Heminges' Elegy on Randolph's Finger:

And w^{ch} was worse that lately he did pen
vyle thinges for pigmeyes gaynst the Sonns of men,
The Righteous man and the regenerate
being laught to scorne thare by the reprobate.
'brother, sayd on, you spurr you^r Zeale to slow
to checke att thes thinges, when the learned knowe
Thes arre but scarrs: the woundes dothe deeper lye:
.....
The Pope has Iuglinge trickes and can vse slightes
to Conuerte Players Into Iesuittes.'²

¹Ibid., p. 779.

²Bentley, op. cit. (1941), II, 537-38.

This passage, in which Heminges describes the antagonistic attitudes toward Randolph held by certain Puritans, gives evidence of the playwright having written "vyle thinges for pigmeyes gaynst the Sonns of men." Bentley explains the reference to "pigmeyes" by the fact that two of Randolph's plays, Amyntas and the Muse's Looking-Glass, were licensed for the Children of the King's Revels in 1630. It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that the "pigmeyes" and the Children of the King's Revels were one and the same.¹

An element of doubt exists, however, as to whether the King's Revels were in fact at the Salisbury Court during 1629 and 1630. The belief that the company was in residence at the playhouse at this time depends on one piece of evidence, a letter dated October 24, 1629, from Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, which states that certain out-buildings had been leased by the Earl of Dorset "unto the master of the revels, to make a playhouse for the children of the revels."² Bentley casts some doubt on the idea that the playhouse was built for

¹Ibid., II, 538.

²Ibid., I, 284.

this company because of other inaccuracies in Gresley's letter. However, this piece of information does appear to establish Autumn, 1629, as the beginning of the King's Revels' stay at the Salisbury Court.

Little is known of the early years of the playhouse beyond the information here set forth. The theatre must have been closed by the plague from April 17, 1630 until November 12 of the same year, and again in the year following.¹ During the plague periods the dramatic companies often left London and toured the provinces.² Prolonged closure must have been very costly to the players, and the tours served to alleviate this and, in addition, to get them away from London at times of danger from the

¹There is a note in Sir Henry Herbert's office book indicating that the theatres had been closed but had reopened by June 10, 1631. Adams, op. cit. (1917), p. 64. Also Bentley, op. cit. (1941), II, 657-58.

²The criterion for closing the theatres because of the plague seemed to be, according to Bentley, based on a death rate of forty per week. This figure was not always adhered to, though the licences to the King's men in 1619 and 1625 specified that plays could be performed "when the infection of the plague shall not weekly exceede the number of forty..." See Bentley, op. cit. (1941), II, 652.

plague. There is no evidence, however, that the children of the King's Revels left Salisbury Court to go on tour during either of the aforementioned plague periods. John Tucker Murray, in his English Dramatic Companies, lists four provincial notices that may possibly refer to this company, but as Murray suggests, these revels companies were almost certainly provincial companies with no connection, beyond the name, with the London King's Revels.¹

By early December of 1631, the King's Revels had definitely left Salisbury Court, presumably to go to the Fortune; and their place was taken by the Prince Charles (II) men.

Our first information on this new company, a

¹The first of these provincial notices reads: "Item geven to a Companie of Players, called the Revells..." (Leicester, 1630). The other three notices were dated November 12, 1630, September 23, 1631, and December 20, 1631. The November 12th notice refers to a Robert Kimpton while the September 23rd mentions a Robert Knipton; they were probably one and the same man. Finally the last two notices, the September 23rd and the December 20th, were both found in Coventry. It would appear that the last three notices, and possibly all four, referred to the same company. It is unlikely that this company was the King's Revels of Salisbury Court; first because none of the names mentioned in the notices, Robert Kimpton (Knipton), Nathaniel Clay, Thomas Holman and John Carr, appear in the actors' rolls of the Company; and second, because the last two notices, the September 23, 1631 and the December 20, 1631, occurred after the date when the London theatres were permitted to renew operations following the plague closing. See John Tucker Murray, English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642 (1910), II, 251, 252, 318, and 386.

licence dated December 1631, was found in the Signet Office Docquet Book at the Public Record Office.

Following is a transcript of this document:

A lycence vnto Andrew Kayne And others by the name of Seruants to the Prince to exercise and practise all manner of plaies in their new playhowse in Salisbury Court (and not else where wthin the Citties of London or Westmer or the Suburbs thereof or wthin 5 miles Compasse of the same) and also in any other Cittie or borough wthin his Ma:^{ts} dominions or in any place heretofore vsed for that purpose Signified and p ro cur by the Lo: Visc: Dorchester.¹

Bentley cites two additional references to this licence, one of which established the date as December 7, 1631.² Thus by this date and possibly for a short time prior to this date, the Prince's men were at Salisbury Court.

The first sign of play production by this

¹Public Record Office, 2/90, C 82/2077; cited from Bentley, op. cit., I, 302.

²Norwich Court Books November 3, 1635, gives the following item: "This day Joseph Moore brought an Instrument signed by his Ma^{te} ... authorizing Andrew Kayne Ellis Worth and others to play Comedies in Salisbury Court & otherwthere wth in five miles of London And in all other cities &c." In the same records, under the date March 9, 1635/6, there appeared an additional mention of the licence: "A lycence signed by his Ma^{tie} ... whereby lycence is given to Andrew Kayne to Comedyes. Test 7^o Decembris Anno Septimo Caroli Regis." See Murray, op. cit., II, 358.

company at the Salisbury Court is a reference in the Office Book of Sir Henry Herbert concerning the receipt of one pound nineteen shillings as one-ninth share from six presentations of Shakerley Marmion's play, Holland's Leaguer (1631).¹ This information is interpreted by Malone to mean that the company was not financially successful in its first month at Salisbury Court. Just how unsuccessful they were can be ascertained by a reference to the Prologue of Thomas Goffe's The Careless Shepherdess (1637-42), in which we learn that the price of a seat in the cheapest part of the house was one shilling.² If we assume a hypothetical average admission charge of one shilling and six pence, two hundred and thirty four people witnessed Holland's Leaguer (1631) during its run of six nights (or an average of thirty nine spectators per performance). This estimate would seem to substantiate Malone's surmise. Additional evidence of the hard times at the Salisbury Court can be found in the Prologue to James Shirley's The Changes, which was licensed for this theatre on

¹Adams, op. cit. (1917), p. 45.

²Thomas Goffe, The Careless Shepherdess (1656), pp. 1-2. Sig. B_r-B_v.

January 10, 1632.¹

By mee salutes your Candor once againe;
And begs this noble favour, that this place,
And weake performances may not disgrace
His fresh Thalia; 'las our Poet knowes
Wee have no name, a torrent overflows
Our little Iland, miserable wee,
Doe every day play our owne Tragedy:²

This passage implies a low state in the morale of the company that presented this play at Salisbury Court.

Though the Prince Charles' men seem to have started rather feebly, there is some evidence to indicate an upsurge of prestige, for in May of 1632 eleven of the players were made Grooms of the Chamber.³ However, whether they ever achieved real success at the Salisbury Court is still very much a matter of conjecture. An explanation of the royal recognition may be found on the title page of Shakerley Marmion's

¹There is some question whether The Changes was performed by the Prince Charles' company, for the title page reads: "As it was presented at the Private House in Salisbury Court, by the Company of His Majesties Revels." This would imply the King's Revels rather than the Prince Charles' company, but Joseph Quincey Adams and Gerald E. Bentley both believe that there was a mistake on the title page and that the play was actually performed by the Prince Charles' company which was in residence at the Salisbury Court at the time in question. See F.G. Fleay, A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559-1642 (1890), p. 335. See also Adams, op. cit. (1920), pp. 374-78. Also Bentley, op. cit. (1941), I, 305.

²James Shirley, The Changes (1632), 4to., Sig. A4r.

³Bentley, op. cit. (1941). I. 309.

A Fine Companion (1631-1633), which proclaims:

Acted before the King and Queene at White-Hall,
And sundrie times with great Applause at the
private House in SALISBURY Court, By the Prince
his Servants.¹

If the same company acted the play both at the theatre and at Whitehall, its success, as indicated by the eleven appointments as Grooms of the Chamber, may have rested on this particular effort.

There is a further indication of this company's financial difficulties at the Salisbury Court in the fact that all three of the plays which we can connect with the theatre during their occupancy were published very soon after they were acted.² This rapid publication occurred despite the fact that there are no records of plague closings which might have created a need for money on the part of the players during 1632 or 1633. The publishing of these plays might indicate consistent piracy by various publishers at the Salisbury Court playhouse; but, in view of the

¹Shakerley Marmion, A Fine Companion (1633), 4to. Sig. A₁r.

²Holland's Leaguer was acted in December, 1631, and published in 1632; The Changes was licensed for acting on January 10, 1632, and appeared in the Stationers' Register on February 9, 1631/2; and Marmion's A Fine Companion was printed in 1633, presumably not too many months after it reached the boards.

desperate financial conditions which the evidence implies, it seems probable that the company sold their plays to remedy this situation.

Considerable doubt exists concerning the departure of the Prince Charles (II) company for their new home at the Red Bull, and the return to the Salisbury Court of the King's Revels. Evidence derived from the 1638 and 1639 editions of the play, Tottenham Court (1633), puts a confusing light on the problem. The title page of the 1638 edition says: "Acted in the YEARE MDCXXXIII. At the private House in Salisbury-Court," while that of the 1639 edition reads: "Acted at the private house in Salisbury-Court, by the Queenes Majesties Servants."¹ We must assume from this that the Queen's men inherited the play from an earlier Salisbury Court company, either the Prince Charles company or the King's Revels.

In October of the same year the anonymous play, The City Shuffler (1633), was the topic of a dispute which was mentioned by Sir Henry Herbert in his Office

¹Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), 4to., Sig. A2r. & T. Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1639), 4to., Sig. A2r.

Book:

Exception was taken by Mr. Sewster to the second part of *The Citty Shuffler*, which gave me occasion to stay the play, till the Company of Salisbury Court had given him satisfaction; which was done the next day, and under his hand he did certifie me that he was satisfied.¹

There is little doubt that this play was presented at the Salisbury Court, because in the same month it was licensed by Sir Henry Herbert for this theatre.² Unfortunately we do not know which company presented the play. F. G. Fleay attributed it to the King's Revels but did not trouble to enlighten us as to his source.³ Thus, there is no dependable evidence to establish the King's Revels at Salisbury Court during 1633.

It is not until July 1634, that we have authoritative information which fixes the company at Salisbury Court as the Children of the King's Revels. Richard Kendall, a wardrobe keeper of the company, gave the following list to Thomas Crosfield on July 18, 1634:

The Company of Salisbury Court at ye further end of fleet street against ye Conduit: The cheif whereof are 1. Mr. Gunnell a Papist. 2. Mr. John Yongue. 3. Edward Gibbs a fencer. 4. Timothy Reed. 5. Christopher Goad. 6. Sam Thompson. 7. Mr. Stafffield. 8. John Robinson.

¹Adams, op. cit. (1917), p. 20.

²Ibid., p. 35.

³F. G. Fleay, A Chronicle History of the London Stage (1890), p. 337.

9. Courteous Grevill. These are ye cheife whereof 7 are called sharers i.e. such as pay wages to ye servants & equally share in the overplus: other servants there are as
2 Close keepers (Richard
 (Kendall&c
 (Anthony
 (Dover 1

Although this list does not carry the name of the King's Revels, it is generally conceded to be this company because in three instances the list conforms with the King's Revels list which is found in the 1640 edition of the play Messalina, and because Richard Gunnell, whose connection as manager and co-builder of the theatre has already been discussed, was a member of the company.² Thus, from July 18, 1634, it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that the King's Revels were producing plays once more at the theatre in Whitefriars.³

It was on July 20, 1635, that one of the most interesting events connected with the history of this theatre took place. On this day, Richard Brome, the

¹Frederick S. Boas, ed., The Diary of Thomas Crosfield (1935), pp. 71-73.

²Bentley, op. cit. (1941), I, 285.

³Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book tells us of two anonymous plays in 1634 at Salisbury Court; Dr. Lamb and the Witches was licensed on August 16, while The Proxy, or Love's Aftergame was performed there on November 24. See Adams, op. cit. (1917), p. 36.

playwright, signed a three year contract to write three plays a year for the Salisbury Court theatre. In addition, he was to write prologues, epilogues, songs and revisions of old plays. In consideration of this, he was to receive fifteen shillings a week plus the first day's profit for each play.¹

From what we know of Brome's earlier history, he seems to have been well equipped for his new job. He must have been well acquainted with the theatrical world of his day. Ben Jonson said "I had you for a servant once, Dick Brome," in a note with which he prefixed Brome's A Northern Lass. F. S. Boas, in his work on the Stuart Drama, says of him:

...Brome was of good education and won the regard of Dekker, who styled him 'my son', and Ford, who signed himself his 'very friend'.²

Brome had collaborated with young Jonson and with Heywood and had done some writing for the King's men before signing his Salisbury Court contract.³ It can be seen that he had long experience as a

¹Clarence Edward Andrews, Richard Brome (New York, 1913), pp. 13-15.

²Frederick S. Boas, An Introduction to Stuart Drama (1946), p. 378.

³Ibid., p. 378.

playwright and friend of playwrights.

Beyond the writing of plays, Brome may have had other experience which would have enhanced his value to the managers of the Salisbury Court. Alwin Thaler contends that Brome may have been an actor prior to his signing the aforementioned contract. Thaler bases his belief on a Royal Warrant dated June 30, 1628, which is described as a:

Warrent to swear the Queen of Bohemia's players groomes of his Majesties chamber without fee, N 12. Joseph Moore, Alexander Foster, Robert Gylman, Richard Brome...¹

In addition to the above mentioned warrant, Thaler offers the following quotation from Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair (1614), in which Jonson calls the playwright "...his man, Master Broome, behind the Arras," thus suggesting an actor on the stage.²

Though the case presented by Thaler is inconclusive, it does seem probable that Brome had been an actor.

Brome's presence at Salisbury Court must have had an immediate effect on the fortunes of the playhouse. The Sparagus Garden (1635) alone earned the

¹Alwin Thaler, "Was Richard Brome and Actor?" Modern Language Notes, XXXVI (1921). 88-91.

²Ibid., p. 89. See also C. H. Herford and Evelyn Simpson, eds., "Bartholomew Fair," in Ben Jonson (Oxford, 1938), VI, 13.

remarkable sum of one thousand pounds for the company.¹ Within a year, however, disaster was to strike the people of London in the form of the plague. This outbreak had a crushing effect on the theatres, for on May 12, 1636, they were closed and, except for one week, were not to open again for almost seventeen months.² Sir Henry Herbert heralded this period of theatrical depression with the following notation in his office book:

At the increase of the plague to 4 within the citty and 54 in all. - This day 12 may, 1636, I received a warrant from my lord Chamberlin for the suppressing of playes and shews, and at the same time delivered my severall warrants to George Wilson for the four companys of players, to be served upon them.³

This was to be the death blow to the King's Revels company, for as Bentley states; "...there are no records of a London King's Revels after the plague of 1636-7, and I think we may take it for granted that none existed."⁴

The plague had disorganised London. On at least two occasions theatrical companies petitioned the

¹Andrews, op. cit., p. 14.

²Adams, op. cit. (1917), p. 65.

³Ibid., p. 65.

⁴Bentley, op. cit. (1941), I, 296.

government to allow the theatres to reopen; on another occasion the Cockpit was ordered to stop presenting plays illegally.¹ There can be little doubt that the period of enforced idleness was a severe financial strain for the companies. The money collected on February 18, 1637, by Richard Heton (manager of the Salisbury Court during these harrowing times) for three plays presented at Court over a year before, may have brought temporary relief.² It could not, however, stave off the chaos that brought on the break up of the King's Revels company.

On the second of October, 1637, the theatres were allowed to reopen once more. This was the signal for a hasty reorganisation among the players. It is reflected in an entry in Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book pertaining to the Cockpit and the Salisbury Court:

Mr. Beeston was commanded to make a company

¹Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1637-38, ed. by John Bruce (1869), pp. 98-99.

²Bentley, op.cit (1941), II, 472. On February 18, 1637, Heton was paid for three plays presented before the King by the Salisbury Court players (King's Revels) in October, 1635, and in February, 1636.

of boyes, and began to play at the Cockpit with them the same day.

I disposed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner, to Salisbury Court, and joynd them with the best of that company.¹

Sir Henry seemed to realise the need for authoritative action on his part, if the theatres were to thrash out their difficulties and get into production quickly. The four actors who were ordered to Salisbury Court, there to combine with the residue of the King's Revels, were "...the chief members of Beeston's old company at the Cockpit, Queen Henrietta's men. At Salisbury Court they joined the Queen's new company."²

The tenure of the Queen Henrietta's men at Salisbury Court is conspicuous for several reasons. First: their residence lasted for five years, or until September, 1642, when the theatres were suppressed as a result of the Civil Wars.³ This was the longest period of sustained theatrical activity by any one company at Salisbury Court. More important to dramatic history, however, was the presentation of

¹Adams, op. cit (1917), p. 66.

²Ibid., p. 66, n. 3.

³Hyder E. Rollins, "A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama," Studies in Philology, XVIII (1921), 270.

Thomas Nabbes' masque, Microcosmus (1634-37), which is believed by W. J. Lawrence to have been the first production on an English stage to involve the changing of scenes.¹ This development will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV. The first two and a half or three years seem to have been a period of prosperity for the theatre. In addition to the plays of Brome and Nabbes, the repertory included works of Shirley, Lovelace, Middleton and Rowley, and Lewis Sharpe.² A further indication of the company's prestige is the fact that they presented at least seven plays at Court and two at the Middle Temple during this period.³ The Salisbury Court was, indeed having its most successful years.

¹W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927), p. 339.

²Included in the Queen Henrietta's men's Salisbury Court repertory are Shirley's The Gentleman of Venice and The Politician, Lovelace's The Scholars, Middleton's A Mad World, My Masters, Middleton's and Rowley's The Changeling and The Spanish Gypsy, and Lewis Sharpe's The Noble Stranger. See Chapter I, pp. 7-11.

³On November 4, 1637 and again on October 13, 1638, Anthony Turner received ten pounds for plays presented in the hall of the Middle Temple by the Queen's Servants of Salisbury Court. See Charles Henry Hopwood, ed., Calendar of Middle Temple Records (London: Pbd. by order of His Majesty's Bench, 1903), pp. 151-52. See also Bentley, op.cit. (1941), I, 249.

Though theatrical activity appeared to be flourishing at the playhouse in Whitefriars, there was an undercurrent of dissension. Unrest came from several directions, but may well have stemmed from Richard Heton's vigorous attempts to gain dominance over actors and theatrical staff alike. Evidence of Heton's dictatorial intent can be found in his application for a patent as "Governor" of the Salisbury Court theatre. In this interesting document he says:

That the Pattent for electing her M^{ts}
Company of Comedians be granted only to my selfe...
and that if all or any of the Company goe away
from Salisberry Cort, to play at any other
Playhouse...they...cease to be her M^{ts} servants...
my selfe to be sole governo^r of the Company...

This settling of the service and Company
upon conditions certane, and of a knowne governo^r,
would be occasion to avoyd many differences and
disturbances that hapen both betwene the Company
and the housekeepers, amongst the Company them-
selves, and many generall discontents-to the
great credit of the house, and p·fitt of the
Company.¹

There appears to be little doubt, after reading Heton's application, that he and his employees were often at each others' throats. One manifestation of the confused situation may be found in the case of Richard Brome.

As Brome's exclusive three year contract neared its end, signs of his dissatisfaction found expression

¹Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 95-98.

ina short note appended to the published version of his play, The Antipodes (1638). Here he told his readers:

You shal find in this Booke more then was presented upon the Stage, and left out of the Presentation, for superfluous length (as some of the Players pretended) I thoght good al should be inserted according to the allowed Original; and as it was, at first, intended for the Cock-pit Stage, in the right of my most deserving Friend Mr. VWilliam Beeston...¹

Brome seems to have been burdened with troubles. This letter suggests a disagreement between the playwright and the players resulting from omissions "for superfluous length" when the play was staged. In addition, there are signs of previous discontent in the fact that The Antipodes was written for the Cockpit theatre. Possibly this was an attempt, on the part of the poet, to break his contract by writing for another theatre. Nevertheless, in August of 1638, Heton managed to sign Brome to a new contract, which included an increase in pay. According to the new agreement, Brome was to receive twenty shillings a week for his services for the next seven years. However, in the following year the Salisbury Court company refused one of Brome's

¹Richard Brome, Letter, The Antipodes (1640), 4to., Sig. I4v.

plays. This new disagreement appears to have terminated his connection with the theatre, and he soon joined his friend, William Beeston, at the Cockpit.¹

When the case of Richard Brome is considered along with Heton's application for Patent, it becomes increasingly obvious that the manager was a difficult task master. The residence of the Queen's men under Heton at Salisbury Court, although in many ways very successful, was marred by considerable dissension; this undoubtedly hindered their theatrical output until their last days in 1642.

The date September 2, 1642, marks the end of an era for British drama and, therefore, for the Salisbury Court theatre. With the coming of the Civil War, the effects on the theatre were immediate and devastating. A suggestion of the drastic changes to come was reflected in the Suppression Ordinance of September 2, 1642:

Whereas the distressed Estate of Ireland, steep'd in her own Blood, and the distracted Estate of England, threatened with a Coloud of Blood, by a Civill Warre, called for all possible meanes to appease and avert the Wrath of God appearing in these Judgements, and whereas publike Sports doe not well agree with

¹ Andrews, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

publike Calamities, nor publike Stage-playes with the Seasons of Humiliation, [it is therefore ordained] that while sad Causes and set times of Humiliation doe continue, publike Stage-playes shall cease, and bee forborne.¹

This enlightening quotation serves not only to indicate the theatrical situation, but also to reflect the unfortunate tempo of the times. The people were frightened and hoped to "...appease and avert the Wrath of God," which meant, of course, the closing of Prynne's "Devills Chapells," the playhouses.

The players, however, refused to be suppressed. Of the seven theatres in operation immediately prior to the war, four, the Fortune, the Red Bull, the Cockpit, and the Salisbury Court, contrived to present surreptitious performances at various times until 1660, when the theatres once more became legal.² There were numerous attempts at complete suppression, but they were never entirely successful.

In addition to the many efforts to stop their activities by legislation, there were other difficulties that must have tried the players severely. We have no definite information concerning the Salisbury Court itself, but "The Actors Remonstrance," which

¹Rollins, op. cit., p. 271.

²Ibid., p. 270-71.

was composed by players from this theatre, the Blackfriars, and the Cockpit, gives ample evidence of the many problems that faced them all.

These difficulties were intensified by the constant drain on theatrical man-power by the war itself. The Mercurius Britannicus of August 11, 1645, carried the following passage:

...the Players, who now in these sad times, have most of them of this side, turn'd Lieutenants, and Captains, as their fellows on the other side, have turn'd Deacons, and Lay-elders.¹

Somehow, in spite of the deterrents, both legal and otherwise, the players kept going. There were probably many reasons for this perseverance on the part of the harassed people of the theatre, but certainly one important element that kept the theatre alive at this time was that the public wanted to see plays. The players were satisfying a popular need.

By 1647, the war was considered at an end. The suppression law could now be disregarded - or so the players thought. Rollins tells us that "...the Salisbury Court, Cockpit, and Fortune playhouses are known to have begun performances, with little

¹Ibid., p. 274.

or no concealment, on a fairly regular schedule."¹ Unfortunately, we do not know which plays they were presenting, except that Beaumont and Fletcher's The Scornful Lady was one of them. It is quite likely that all, or almost all, of the plays presented were revivals.

However, the government was not in the least apathetic to this new outbreak by the players. On July 16th of the same year, the Lords and Commons passed a new ordinance of utter suppression and abolition of all stage plays.² That the players paid little heed to this new regulation is indicated by the fact that on August 11 "A Complaint was made of players acting plays publicly at the Fortune in

¹Ibid., pp. 279-280. Rollins quotes the following passage from "The Ladies, A Second Time, Assembled in Parliament" (August 13, 1647):

"The House then adjourned for the day, and on the morrow assembled againe, where the first thing they fell upon, was, a Complaint that was made against the Players, who contrary to an Ordinance, had set up shop againe, and acted divers Playes, at the two houses, the Fortune, and Salisbury Court."

See Bodleian, Wood 645A, 10.

²Ibid., p. 280.

Golding-lane and in Salisbury Court." The result was an order to the Justices of the Peace to enforce the law.¹

The players of the Salisbury Court openly flouted the new law. They went so far as to post playbills advertising a performance of A King and No King (1647) for either October 5th or 6th. The situation had taken on the characteristics of a big game; and it is very likely that a good portion of the crowd that gathered on the sixth of October for the promised performance came, not so much to see the play as out of curiosity to see whether the law of suppression would be enforced. The crowd was not to be disappointed, for the legal reaction was indeed vigorous. An excellent description of the raid that ensued appeared in Perfect Occurrences of Every Daie Iournall for the week, October 1st to 8th, 1647:

A Stage-Play was to have been acted in Salisbury Court this day [October 6] (and Bills stuck up about it) called A King and No King formerly acted at Black-Fryers ... about 8 yeares since, written by Francis Beaumont, and Iohn Fletcher.

The Sheriffes of the City of London with their Officers went thither, and found a great

¹Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1645-47, ed. by W. D. Hamilton (1891), p. 599.

number of people; some young Lords, and other eminent persons; and the men and women with the Boxes, [that took monies] fled. The Sheriffes brought away Tim Reede the Foole, and the people cryed out for their monies, but slunke away like a company of drowned Mice without it.¹

After this determined action by the authorities, it is likely that the players decided to give up their theatrical endeavours until the New Year, when the suppression ordinance was to lapse. At any rate, there are no records of any activity at Salisbury Court until that time.

With the termination of the legal bar on January 1, 1648, the Salisbury Court, along with the Fortune, the Cockpit, and the Red Bull, began once more to offer plays to the people of London. Retaliation, as might have been expected, was swift. A new ordinance was passed before the month was out ordering suppression of all plays and the removal of "...all their Boxes, Stages, Seats ... and make it [the theatres] unserviceable for acting any Playes..." On February 9, an even more severe law was passed which, in addition to the penalties already in effect, called for the public whipping of players who violated the law, and a five shilling fine to be levied on all spectators.² The legal bark, however, seemed to be

¹Rollins, op. cit., p. 283, n. 43.

²Ibid., pp. 286-90

far worse than its bite. As late as September 1st, the House of Commons was notified of daily stage performances "...at the Bull, or Fortune, or the private House at Salisbury Court."¹

The lenient attitude of the authorities continued in the war between the legal forces and the players. Even when the Salisbury Court was raided on New Year's Day, 1649, everyone - players, spectators, and officials - treated the event more as a huge party than as a police coup. The following account of the incident, which appeared in The Kingdome Weekly Intellegencer for the week commencing January 2, reflects this festival attitude:

But at Salisbury Court they were taken on the Stage the Play being almost ended, and with many Links and lighted Torches they were carried to White-Hall with their Players cloathes upon their backs. In the way they oftentimes tooke the Crown from his head who Acted the King, and in sport would oftentimes put it on again. Abraham had a black Sattin gown on, and before he came into the dust, he was very neat in his white lace pumps.² The people not

¹Ibid., p. 291.

²This may have been Abraham Ivory who was noted as an actor of woman's parts. See Bentley, op.cit. (1941), II, 481.

expecting such a pageant looked and laughed at all the rest, and not knowing who he was, they asked, what had that Lady done? They made some resistance at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, which was the occasion that they were bereaved of their apparel, and were not so well used as those in Salisbury Court, who were more patient, and therefore at their Release they had their cloaths returned to them without the least diminution...¹

In view of the severity of the laws against the players, it is difficult to imagine the men of Salisbury Court escaping with their costumes, but such was the case. The laws as written and the laws as applied at this time appear to have had little relation to each other. The treatment of the Cockpit company, however, was a sign of events to come.

Within a few months a crushing blow was to be dealt to the Salisbury Court theatre. Past events could hardly have prepared the players for such a drastic move as that made by the authorities when: "The play-house in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, was pulled down by a company of soldiers set on by the sectaries of these sad times, on Saturday the 24 day of March, 1649."² Fortunately, the connotation of "pulled down" was not the obvious one. In actual fact, the authorities were at long last enforcing

¹Hotson, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

²Adams, op. cit. (1920), p. 364.

the law of January 22, 1648. Thus the soldiers merely removed "...all their Boxes, Stages, and Seats ...and made it [the theatre] unserviceable for acting any Playes..."¹ The damage, therefore, was not irreparable, as the words "pulled down" implied; but the lenient attitude had finally vanished.

It would seem that the obstacles would now have proved insurmountable, and that the players must finally have admitted defeat; but, according to Hyder Rollins, this was not the case. He says regarding the struggles of the players: "From the large number of raids during the next few years it is evident that at the Red Bull and Salisbury Court theatre plays were given with tolerable frequency."² There were, however, new impediments to production at the latter theatre which must have held these clandestine performances to an absolute minimum.

These new difficulties threatened the future of the Salisbury Court to an even greater degree than did the attempts at prohibition by the government. They stemmed from the fact that Edward, the fourth Earl of Dorset, died in 1652, and that Richard, his son and

¹See page 61.

²Rollins, op. cit., p. 299.

successor, did not want a playhouse in the grounds of Dorset House. The struggles of the young Duke to eliminate this unwanted enterprise from his property culminated in a legal action being brought against him by William Beeston in an effort to secure control of the Salisbury Court. The date of the case was June 25, 1658. Beeston, in his complaint, presented a veritable well of information.

Beeston's object was, of course, to establish his title to the Salisbury Court theatre over that of the new Earl of Dorset. To accomplish this, he presented a history of his connection with the theatre. It will be remembered that John Herne held the original lease to the property and, therefore, received the rents from the players. After the theatres had been officially closed, the rents became rather irregular. Herne, consequently, determined to build a brew-house in an effort to give his investment some measure of stability. As might have been expected, however, there was a strenuous objection from the fourth Earl of Dorset. To prevent the construction of the proposed brew-house, he settled on a plan whereby William Beeston, one-time governor of the Cockpit, was to buy Herne's lease and continue operating the

Salisbury Court as a playhouse.¹ Although the deal was initiated and some money changed hands, Herne died (c. 1649) before it could be completed, having bequeathed his rights under the lease to his son.

It was at this time that soldiers removed the stage, boxes, and benches from the building and, as a result, Beeston temporarily lost interest in the scheme. In view of this change in events, young Herne reverted to his father's plan to establish a brew-house and called upon a man named Lightmaker to make the necessary alterations. Lightmaker removed the roof from the theatre when he learned of a new proposal by Beeston. Finally on May 25, 1652, Beeston, having twice pawned all his worldly goods in his efforts to gain title to the theatre, and having spent time in a debtors' prison as a result, managed to pay off Herne and Lightmaker.²

Beeston's troubles, however, had only begun, because the young Earl of Dorset had no intention of having a playhouse on the grounds of his London residence. Over six years of haggling (25 March 1652-6 November 1658) were to pass before the courts at

¹Bentley, op. cit. (1941), II, p. 373.

²Hotson, op. cit., pp. 101-03.

last granted an injunction securing the property for him. During this period it is most unlikely that any theatrical activity took place at the theatre. There is no final hearing available on this case, but it is definitely established that Beeston retained title to the Salisbury Court.¹

Although he now had possession of the building, it could hardly be called a theatre, since the acting equipment had been removed and the roof was gone, or considerably lowered. An expensive building job would be required if the Salisbury Court were ever to be used for acting on a profitable level again. Beeston, always short of funds, contrived somehow to get the job completed. In 1660 he secured a licence from Sir Henry Herbert permitting him:

...to Continue and Constitute the said... house called Salisbury Court Playhouse into a Playhouse... Provided that no person be admitted to act in the said Playhouse but such as shall be allowed by the Master of his Majestie's Office of the Revels.²

Armed with this authority he, on April 5, 1660, contracted with Fisher and Silver, two carpenters, to have the theatre rebuilt at a cost of one hundred

¹Ibid., pp. 103-06

²Ibid., p. 198.

and twenty pounds plus a mortgage on the structure. Included in the reconstruction was the replacing of seats and benches, and the raising of the roof thirty feet. The latter was undoubtedly to compensate for the damage done by Lightmaker in his attempts to convert the building into a brew-house.¹ The difficult task was completed in time for Beeston to open his new theatre, possibly by June 1660.²

Sir Aston Cokaine had remarked, in a prefix to the 1653 edition of Richard Brome's plays, that "...White Friars too shall flourish again."³ At the time this statement was written few things could have seemed less likely. The Salisbury Court, as Beeston then said; "...lay neglected and unused and became ruinous, and wanted repair."⁴ Yet Beeston's dogged perseverance enabled the theatre to be rebuilt and made Sir Aston Cokaine's prophesy come true. The Salisbury Court was to play an important part in ushering in the new theatrical era, the period of the Restoration drama.

¹Ibid., p. 108. See also Adams, op.cit., p. 381.

²Rollins, op. cit., p. 332.

³Adams, op. cit. (1920), p. 233.

⁴Hotson, op. cit., p. 107.

Thus, in the early summer of 1660, the Salisbury Court opened with an unknown company on its stage. The first play may have been John Tatham's The Rump (1660), which would have been appropriate after the suppressions of the past years; it was a satire on Parliament.¹ The first few months after the opening were probably difficult for Beeston. Even at this late date, plays were being suppressed. The following entry from the Calendar of State Papers serves to illustrate this:

The King to Sir William Wylde, Recorder of London, Sir Rich. Browne, Alderman, and other Justices of the Peace. Is informed that companies assembled at the Red Bull, Playhouse St. John's Street, at Cockpit Drury Lane, and at another in Salisbury Court, and perform profane and obscene plays, &c. Orders their rigorous suppression under heavy penalties.²

This item is dated August 20, 1660. Along with this difficulty were those of gathering a company and putting the theatre in condition for acting. Of equal importance was the additional problem of securing plays. During the Commonwealth, most of the plays which comprised the repertories of the playhouses had been sold to publishers. One man, Humphrey

¹Adams, op. cit. (1920), pp. 381-82.

²Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-61, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (1860), p. 196.

Moseley, alone controlled from eighty to ninety plays.¹ The problem facing Beeston was serious, for to obtain plays from monopolies like this, in the face of the intense competition from the Red Bull and the Cockpit, required large sums of money which he simply did not possess. When the players' customary disregard for legal technicalities is considered, it is not at all surprising to learn that a number of plays were performed at Whitefriars without the publishers' permission. Complaints were soon flowing into the office of Sir Henry Herbert. Although no record of Sir Henry's action on this matter exists, he must certainly have emphasised to Beeston and others who violated the permission that the piracy must stop.² Clearly a new arrangement was required if the playhouse was to continue operations.

A temporary solution to the dilemma materialised, in November 1660, when Beeston arrived at an agreement with Sir William D'Avenant, which allowed the latter to bring his company, the Duke's men, to act at Salisbury Court while their new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields was being completed. The new company was probably the finest that ever played at the theatre.

¹Alfred Harbage, "Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest," Modern Language Review, XXXV (1940), 291.

It was a composite group consisting of the John Rhodes' company from the Cockpit, with their leading actor William Betterton, and Sir Willism's own company, which had been presenting operas at Rutland House.¹ There is available, thanks to Samuel Pepys, a reasonably complete record of the activities of the Duke's men at Salisbury Court.

Pepys was an inveterate play-goer, and he listed in his diary no less than eighteen visits to the Salisbury Court. Often he was there for two nights running and sometimes returned to see a favourite play several times. Among the plays he saw were The Spanish Curate (1661), The Bondman (1661), The Changeling (1661), The Mad Lover (1661), and The Queene's Maske (1661). His entry concerning the latter, dated March 2, 1661, offers an indication of the popularity of the playhouse during the tenure of the Duke's men: "To Salisbury Court, where the house as full as could be; and it seems it was a new play 'The Queene's Maske'."² Sometimes Pepys was accompanied by his wife or a friend, but often he went by himself. Of all the plays that he saw at the

¹Hotson, op. cit., p. 177.

²Richard, Lord Braybrooke, ed., The Diary of Samuel Pepys (1924), I, 168.

Salisbury Court, he was most enthusiastic in his praise for Massinger's The Bondman, with Betterton in the leading role. He saw this at least three times and each time lauded it in his diary. For example: "To Salisbury Court...and saw 'The Bondman' done to admiration."¹ And on another occasion: "To Whitefryars and saw 'The Bondman' acted... But above all that ever I saw, Betterton do the Bondman best."² John Downes said of Betterton, who was in his early twenties at the time: "...his Voice being then as Audibly strong, full and Articulate, as in the Prime of his acting."³ Betterton, himself, liked the role so well that he prepared a special edition of the play.⁴ Generally, the picture of the Salisbury Court that Pepys presented suggests a thriving theatrical enterprise.

Time, however, was running out for Beeston's theatre. D'Avenant's company was soon to leave for its new playhouse in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The great day for D'Avenant and the Duke's men, but a sad one

¹Ibid., I, 174.

²Ibid., I, 168.

³John Downes, Roscius Anglicanus, ed. by Montague Summers (1929), p. 18.

⁴This refers to the 1719 edition.

for Beeston at Salisbury Court, is described by Harbage in this way:

June 28, 1661, was the grand opening day. There must have been some previous interruption of acting at Salisbury Court, for the first play presented at the new theatre had been rehearsed at Apothecaries Hall.¹

Harbage may well be right in his supposition that there was a break in the acting at Salisbury Court, because Pepys, after very regular attendance, suddenly stopped going to the theatre. April 6, 1661, was his last visit, almost two months before D'Avenant opened at the new theatre.²

Beeston was again left with an empty building. He may however have had time to engage a company to replace the Duke's men, and it is probable that the playhouse was in use soon after the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields opened. The new company was almost certainly that of George Jolly (Jolliffe), and it was probably this company to which Pepys referred on September 9, 1661, when he wrote the following in his diary:

"To Salisbury Court playhouse where was acted the first time ' 'Tis Pity Shee's a Whore', a simple play

¹Alfred Harbage, Sir William Davenant: Poet Venturer, 1606-1668 (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 148.

²Braybrooke, op. cit., I, 176.

ill acted."³ This brief criticism was the last entry Pepys made concerning the Salisbury Court, and it is possible that this marked his final visit. From events that followed, it would seem that Pepys' censures would have applied as well to the other efforts of the new company.

George Jolly's association with Beeston was not successful, for he left the Salisbury Court rather abruptly in November 1661. On May 8, 1666 Beeston said, in a complaint against the carpenters, Fisher and Silver, that:

...that the upper room in the said theatre Salisbury Court was framed and fixed so low that the spectators on the second seats could not discern the actors on the [st]age; and in many other particulars the said theatre was made so inconvenient and incommodious and unfit for the use intended that a company of good able players who had fixed themselves therein, after a short time for that reason deserted the said place and went and acted at another house; whereby your orator [Beeston] was able to make no rent or benefit at all of the said house, nor hath been since able to make any benefits thereof...

The "good able" company to which Beeston referred was undoubtedly George Jolly's. However, although Jolly and Beeston may both have attributed the company's lack of success to faults in the structure of the theatre, D'Avenant's men had played to good crowds

¹Ibid., I, 234.

under the same conditions. When this is considered along with Pepys' criticism, it would appear that Jolly's company was of a much lower standard than the Duke's men and, thus, did not attract the public.

Beeston still felt that a poor company was better than none and, therefore, brought a formal complaint against George Jolly. The immediate reaction by the Lord Chamberlain was to forbid Jolly's company from playing in their new quarters (possibly the Cockpit), until the matter was settled. The final decision on the case specified that: "George Jollye shall giue for his said Company of Players to Act stage playes in the Theatre belonging to W^m Beeston in Salisbury Court and not elsewhere..."¹ It is not known how much longer the unwilling Jolly and his company of Players adhered to this order of the Lord Chamberlain. They had definitely departed by the end of 1662, for a licence was issued prior to January 1, 1663, permitting; "George Jolly to raise a company of players for acting...throughout England, they staying only forty days in one place..."² Thus Jolly's had become a touring company with no permanent home.

¹Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Restoration Drama (Cambridge, 1923), p. 277, n. 2.

²Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1663-64, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (1862), p. 1.

From this time until the Great Fire in 1666, there was very little, if any, sustained theatrical activity at the Salisbury Court. Beeston, however, had not given up entirely. On August 29, 1663, and again on September 7, 1664, warrants were issued ordering the apprehension of William Beeston for acting without the proper authority.¹ He was, as always, in financial difficulty. This is evidenced by the fact that he had not paid off his mortgage to Fisher and Silver. He was once more in prison for debt when, on May 8, 1666, the carpenters brought an ejectment action against him for the long standing building debts.² This action was still pending when the theatre was wiped out in the Great Fire of London.³

On August 28, 1666, the Great Fire completely destroyed the Salisbury Court theatre along with Dorset House. Walter George Bell quotes the following brief description:

...on Tuesday about twelve o'clock...the wind high, blowed such great flakes, and so far, that they fired Salisbury Court and several

¹Nicoll, op. cit. (1923), p. 277, n. 6.

²Hotson, op. cit., p. 107.

³Ibid., p. 112.

of the houses between that and Bridewell dock...¹
Some idea of the intensity of the fire in this area
can be obtained from a passage dated September 7,
1666, from John Evelyn's Diary:

I went this morning on foote from White-hall
as far as London Bridge, thro' the late Fleete
Street...with extraordinary difficulty, clamber-
ing over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and
frequently mistaking where I was. The ground
under my feete was so hot, that it even burnt
the soles of my shoes.²

The Fire had utterly destroyed the theatre, and along
with it the papers, prompt books, and other items
connected with it. Dorset House was also destroyed
with its letters and family papers. Despite these
sad losses, much can be determined concerning the
Salisbury Court theatre from a search of the surviving
material.

¹Walter George Bell, The Great Fire of London in
1666 (1920), p. 115.

²William Bray, ed., The Diary of John Evelyn
Esquire, F. R. S. (c 1903), p. 395.

CHAPTER III

The Building: Its Structure

The marked increase in popularity of the drama among the courtiers of James I, and later of Charles I, brought a revolution in theatre construction. The elite of England's social hierarchy apparently demanded a more comfortable auditorium in which to witness plays - one that, among other things offered protection from the elements. The result was an increased popularity of the roofed theatre, and the gradual abandoning of the unroofed theatres. By 1609, six years after the death of Elizabeth, the King's men had adopted the Blackfriars playhouse as a base for winter operations, though they retained the Globe for summer productions; and by 1635 it is believed that the Blackfriars had become financially the more important of the two.¹ The degree to which the private playhouse had supplanted the public is illustrated by this brief summary presented by E. K. Chambers:

¹E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1945), II, 425 and 510. See also F. S. Boas, An Introduction to Stuart Drama (Oxford, 1946), p. 5.

The Blackfriars, the Cockpit, and the Salisbury Court were the most important of the Caroline stages, and in the post-Restoration houses, although these were on a larger scale than the 'private' houses of the past, the roofed model was invariably adopted.¹

The transition from the open-air to the covered playhouse was, for all practical purposes, completed during the reign of Charles I.

The private theatres had other characteristics that set them apart from the older playhouses. The mere existence of a roof had a limiting effect on the size of the building and, consequently, on the size of the audience. Inclement weather no longer led to great discomfort for the spectators and to the resulting disastrous decreases in gate receipts. Structurally items like seats in the pit, and viewing rooms acquired a new importance. The playhouse building was beginning to look like the theatre as it is known today.

The Salisbury Court, built in the midst of transition from the Elizabethan open air theatre to the relatively modern type that flourished during the Restoration, has been called a "quasi-Elizabethan house."² It does exemplify most of the pertinent

¹Chambers, op. cit., II, 373.

²W. J. Lawrence, The Elizabethan Playhouse and other Studies (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), p. 21.

changes that occurred in theatre architecture at this time. In this chapter, the primary concern is with the construction of the auditorium, first outside and then inside. Where did the playgoer sit and what were his surroundings when he visited the Salisbury Court? An effort is made to answer these and many other questions about this playhouse in the following pages. This chapter deals with the structure of the theatre (excluding the stage, which is discussed in Chapter V) during the period from its erection in 1629, until the building was partially dismantled by soldiers in 1649. The final years of the theatre, i. e. from 1649 until 1666, are treated in the section devoted to the Restoration. It is necessary to divide the investigation in this manner, so as to avoid the confusion which would ensue from studying jointly what were virtually two different theatres. The same division is adhered to throughout the remainder of this study.

The theatre was small, particularly when considered in relation to the large public playhouses. The exact dimensions of the plot on which it stood were one hundred and forty by forty-two feet. Joseph Quincey Adams offers these relevant remarks:

This plot, one hundred and forty feet in

length by forty-two in breadth, was small for its purpose, and the playhouse must have covered all the breadth and most of the length of the leased ground; there was no actual need of leaving any part of the plot vacant, for the theatre adjoined the Court, and 'free ingress, and regress' to the building were stipulated in the lease 'by, through, and on any part of the Court called Salisbury Court'.¹

Actually the theatre used the entire breadth of the plot, for when the building was renovated in 1659-60, the old walls were used and one of the rooms was to measure forty feet by forty.² Allowing one foot for each wall, the forty two feet would have been utilised completely. In addition, there can be little doubt that Adams was correct in assuming that the greater portion of the length was employed for the building.

Contemporary references to the Salisbury Court substantiate this impression of smallness. In the Epilogue to Thomas Nabbes' Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633). the following lines appear:

When others fill'd Roomes with neglect disdain
My little House (with thanks) shall entertaine
ye;
ye;³

¹Joseph Quincey Adams, Shakespearean Playhouses (1920), p. 372.

²J. Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928), p. 108.

³Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sig. K4r.

The Salisbury Court, though small, was not alone in this respect. This seemed to be a common characteristic shared by private theatres of the day. James Wright, in his Historia Histrionica (1699) presented this significant dialogue:

Love. What kind of play-houses had they before the wars?

True. The Blackfriars, Cockpit, and Salisbury Court were called private houses, and were very small to what we see now. The Cockpit, was standing since the Restoration, and Rhode's company acted there for some time.

Love. I have seen that.

True. Then you have seen the other two in effect, for they were all three built almost exactly alike for form and bigness.¹

The Salisbury Court was small, then, in relation to the theatres of today, but compared with other 'private' playhouses of its time, its size seemed normal.

Turning to the building itself, it is known that the walls were "...built or almost built of bricks..."² This information comes from Beeston's Complaint, and refers to the theatre in its dilapidated state after the soldiers had removed the interior fittings and Lightmaker had lowered the walls and roof in an attempt to convert the building into a brewhouse.³

¹James Wright, Historia Histrionica, ed. by William Carew Hazlitt in Dodsley's Old Plays (1876), XV, 408.

²Hotson, op.cit., p. 112.

This accounts for the phrase "or almost built," for the walls were in a state of disrepair. We can assume, therefore, that the walls of the original theatre were built mainly of bricks.

Concerning the other main external feature, the roof, there is little definite information. In addition to the reference to Lightmaker's lowering the roof, there is one other allusion to the Salisbury Court as a roofed theatre. James Wright mentions this theatre, along with the Blackfriars and the Cockpit, in the following passage:

Here [at Blackfriars, Cockpit and Salisbury Court] they had Pits for the Gentry, and Acted by Candlelight. The Globe, Fortune, and Bull, were large Houses, and lay partly open to the Weather, and there they alwaies Acted by Daylight.¹

There is the implication of a roofed auditorium in this statement. Beyond these pieces of evidence, there is nothing to indicate what type of roof the theatre possessed.

Thus, the playgoer, on approaching the Salisbury Court, would have seen a roofed rectangular brick building. It was set among trees as was nearby Dorset House. Walter George Bell describes the area in

¹Wright, op. cit., p. 408.

this way:

Immediately behind [Bridewell] spread the buildings and courtyards of the Earl of Dorset's town mansion, and on this south side of Fleet Street toward the Thames were glimpses of green trees in the Earl's gardens and in the wide demesne of the Temple. Wedged in close by Dorset House...was the Salisbury Court theatre...¹

An examination of Wenceslaus Hollar's View of London shows that the plot from Salisbury Court south to the river was indeed well covered with trees.² Unfortunately, the map was made from the south bank of the Thames, and distance combines with the trees to obscure details of the buildings in the area and make location of the Salisbury Court on these maps impossible.

At this point in the discussion, we enter the Salisbury Court theatre. Our primary interest here, as has been stated, will be with the auditorium. A passage from the Epilogue to Lovelace's The Scholars (A-16; ?1638-42) suggests the existence of more than one point of entry to the auditorium:

¹Walter George Bell, The Great Fire of London in 1666 (1920), p. 148.

²Wenceslaus Hollar, View of London, 1647 (London Topographical Society, 1906), Sheet II.

But we who ground th' excellence of a Play
On what the women at the doores wil say,¹

Perhaps Lovelace was implying the presence of more than one door-keeper at more than one door. W.J. Lawrence believed that this was the case for he said concerning this passage:

These lines testify that a progressive spirit actuated the builders of the last of the private theatres, for they indicate that in Salisbury Court, which dated from 1629, playgoers were provided with more than one entrance to the auditorium proper.²

There is a possibility that the playwright was speaking generally about door keepers at the many doors of all the London playhouses. Assuming, however, a minimum of two doors, it would seem logical to locate one in a position to serve sedan chair and coach traffic from Fleet Street along Water Lane, and another to provide for those spectators who came by water. The importance attached, to the river-borne element of the audience can be seen in an inducement offered to Beeston by the Earl of Dorset for buying up John Herne's share in the playhouse. Manager Beeston was to have, in return for this favour "...a passage to the water stairs through Dorset

¹Richard Lovelace, "Epilogue to The Scholars," in Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs etc(1649), p. 77.

²W. J. Lawrence, The Elizabethan Playhouse and other other Studies (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), p. 100.

Garden..."¹ It would seem, from this, that at least one door was located on the south side of the building toward the River. However, the evidence is inadequate and allows for only the most conjectural conclusions.

Once inside the theatre the spectator would have found himself in the pit. The pit was the equivalent of the stalls on the main floor of our modern playhouses. Those who sat in this part of the auditorium were gentlemen; they were referred to as "...Gentlemen oth' Pit..." by Richard Lovelace while James Wright said: "Here they had pits for the gentry..."² A most enlightening reference from The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42) serves first, to substantiate that the pit occupants were gentlemen, and second, to illustrate an amusing device sometimes employed by the players in which actors planted among the spectators suddenly entered into the activity upon the stage.³ In this instance, two actors have attempted to speak the Prologue, but both have forgotten their lines and have rushed from the stage in confusion.

¹Hotson, op. cit., p. 102.

²Lovelace, op. cit., p. 77, and Wright, op. cit., p. 408.

³Beaumont and Fletcher employed this technique in The Knight of the Burning Pestle, first acted in 1607, and later in 1635 by the Queen Henrietta's men at the private house in Drury Lane.

The Actor in the Pit laughs again, saying:
Faith Gentlemen, I'll leave your company,
Since none will do the Author Justice, I
Will something vent, though't be ex tempore. Exit.
.....

Enter the Actor that was in the Pit.
Actor. If I too should be out, this answer take,
I do not now so much repeat, as make.¹

In addition to mentioning the gentlemen in the pit and depicting an amusing theatrical episode, this passage implies several important features in the construction of the playhouse: first, it suggests that there was no easy way on to the stage from the pit - i.e. stairs or ramps - otherwise there would have been no need for the actor to exit and re-enter. There is also a suggestion that the stage was of such a height as to prevent the actor from jumping on to it from the pit, an action that would have been more of a shock to the audience and, therefore, far more effective. Instead, the actor exits and eighteen lines are spoken to permit him to get behind and enter upon the stage. The narrowness of the playhouse minimises the possibility of a corridor connecting the point of entry with the backstage area; presumably the

¹Thomas Goffe, The Careless Shepherdess (1656),
Sig. B4v.

actor would have had to go outside, around the theatre, and enter backstage through an outside door. Alternatively, there could have been a door at the side of the stage leading from the auditorium backstage.

A door into the backstage area could have been used by the actors: and it could also have served as a point of entry for those among the gentry who witnessed plays from the stage. Some doubt has existed whether the Elizabethan custom of stage seating was carried over into the Caroline period. There is concrete evidence that, before September 14, 1639, the date of Richard Heton's "Instructions Touching Salesbery Co^rt Playhouse," that a regulation was passed which prohibited this annoying practice. Heton, in outlining the compensations to be allowed the "housekeep^s" of Salisbury Court, said:

And one dayes p^rffitt wholly to themselves every year in consideration of their want of stooles on the stage, w^{ch} were taken away by his M^ts command.¹

This evidence of a regulation abolishing the custom of spectators sitting upon the stage, establishes that, as late as Charles's reign (1625-1649), people did witness plays from the stage of the Salisbury

¹ Peter Cunningham, "The Whitefriars, the Salisbury Court, and the Duke Theatres," Shakespeare Society Papers (1849), iv, 100.

Court.

There are two additional references from Salisbury Court plays which reinforce the aforementioned evidence. The first is from Randolph's Praeludium, recited at the playhouse when it was reopened after having been closed by the plague in 1630.¹ The character 'Gentleman' speaks, in a jocular vein, of the dangers of sitting on the stage:

...I would not sit on any stage 'ith towne
this twelve-month, for if they gape as wide
as they usd to doe, I should suspect a further
danger - there is nigh occasion to feare the
Actors will devoure the audience- ...²

There is, in this passage, a suggestion that the custom of stage seating prevailed in many of the contemporary theatres. The other reference in The Careless Shepherdess (1637-42), refers particularly to the Salisbury Court. In this instance, the stage action depicts members of a theatre audience milling about before a play. The scene is described as

¹"...the play houses were shut up in April 1630 and not permitted to be opened till the 12th of November, at which time the weekly bill of those who died in London of that distemper, was diminished to twenty-nine. See Joseph Quincey Adams, ed. The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert (New Haven, 1917), p. 64.

²Thomas Randolph, Praeludium ed by J. J. Parry in The Poems and Amyntas (New Haven, 1917), p. 227.

Salisbury Court. Landlord, one of the characters, rushes in pursuit of the other members of his party and proclaims:

I'll follow them, though't be into a Box.
Though they did sit thus open on the Stage
To shew their Cloak and Sute....¹

Apparent, in these lines, is the aversion that playwrights, actors and the balance of the audience felt towards this privileged group, an aversion that led to the abolition of the practice of sitting on the stage.

In addition to the pit and the stage, there were a number of other places where spectators could sit. The more important members of the audience probably sat in private viewing rooms or boxes. These select seats might have been ranged across the back or along the sides of the theatre at a height sufficient to enable the occupants to see over the heads of the pit spectators. William Beeston said, in his Complaint, that the carpenters were to "... firmly repair and amend the said theatre and all the seats and boxes and viewing rooms thereto belonging..." while in The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42),

¹Goffe, op. cit., Sig. B_{4v}.

'Landlord' says: "I'll follow them, though't be into a Box."¹ Such accommodation, therefore, did exist at the Salisbury Court. Another passage from The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42), affords information relative to the structure of these rooms. Spruce says:

Perhaps our presence daunteth them, let us
Retire into some private room, for fear
The third man should be out.²

From these lines, it would seem that a private room must have possessed some variety of screen which shielded the occupants from the inquisitive eyes of both the crowd and the actors. That such screens existed is established by another reference in the same play:

Landlord:...yet I did think
At last they would take sanctuary 'mongst
The Ladies, lest some Creditor should spy them.
'Tis better looking o're a Ladies head,
Or through a Lettice-window, then a grate.³

The picture that comes to mind is one of a series of window openings, forming the fronts of the viewing rooms. At least one viewing room was screened with

¹Hotson, op. cit., p. 108, and Goffe, op. cit., p. 8.

²Goffe, op. cit., Sig. B4v.

³Ibid., Sig. B3v.

lattice work behind which ladies of importance sat and viewed the plays in private.

Turning from the private rooms to the other seating arrangements, there is evidence which indicates a gallery, or balcony, possibly ranged immediately above the private viewing rooms. The pertinent passages come from The Scholars (A-16; 1638-42) and The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42). In the former, Lovelace referred to the gallery as catering to people with "hardned, sooty" hands.¹ On another occasion, he described the gallery audience as preferring fireworks and other sensational stagecraft as opposed to the gentlemen of the pit, who liked more subtle techniques.² In the latter play, Sparrow remarks

Preferring them before Balcony Ladies,
And other fonder vanities of this Age.³

The balcony ladies were apparently ladies of doubtful virtue. There was, undoubtedly, no lattice-work screening them from the many inquiring looks that

¹Lovelace, op. cit., p. 78.

²Ibid., pp. 77-78; see also pp. 108-09, q.v.

³Goffe, op. cit., Sig. B3v.

must have come their way from other parts of the house.

The seats in the pit and balcony and probably those in the viewing rooms as well, were simple wood benches. A passage from The Scholars(A-16; 1638-42) warrants attention once more in this connection:

But we who ground th' excellence of a Play
On what the women at the dores wil say,
Who judge it by the Benches, and afford
To take your money ere his oath or word
His Schollars school'd ...¹

It is possible that more comfortable seating existed in the more expensive sections of the house, but the stools provided for the stage spectators and the specification of benches are the only references to particular kinds of seats. These do not indicate any special concessions for important personages such as providing cushions or individual chairs.

There were staircases leading from the pit to the viewing rooms and balcony. Randolph, in his Praeludium, mentions such a set of stairs when one of his characters, a man of means, says he will "... walk downe the stayres, and chew the cud wth my serving men."² Thus, occupants of private rooms

¹Lovelace, op. cit., p. 77.

²Randolph, op. cit., p. 230.

and boxes could easily have descended and talked with their serving men, who would have been waiting below to drive them home.

A brief review of the material presented in this chapter yields the following picture of the Salisbury Court building. From the outside, the theatre appeared as a rectangular brick structure supporting a roof. There were probably two doors into the auditorium proper plus a door, into the backstage, used by actors and audience alike. In addition to these points of entry, there was a staircase which served those who occupied the private rooms and other upper level accommodation.

Seating at the Salisbury Court fell into several categories. Seats which were used by gentlemen of moderate means were in the pit. Here, as in other parts of the theatre, spectators probably sat on benches. The more adventurous members of the gentry sat on small stools placed upon the stage from which they annoyed the actors and spectators to such a degree that the practice was prohibited by law in or before 1639. More important onlookers sat in boxes or private viewing rooms. Women of quality sat in similar boxes and were often obscured from the public view by lattice-work screens. This

select seating was probably arranged around the periphery of the theatre in a way that permitted the gentry within to see the stage over the heads of the people in the pit. The cheapest seats were located in the balcony which was presumably built above the boxes and private viewing rooms.

Thus, the general outline of the building takes shape. There are, of course, many gaps, but the picture grows in completeness when an examination is made of the manner in which the building was used by the management and the audience.

CHAPTER IV

The Building: Its Use

This discussion of the use of the Salisbury Court theatre auditorium has two principal aims: first, to acquaint the reader with the type of audience at the playhouse and second, to illustrate the details of the theatre's management. In this chapter, the brick and wood structure takes on life as we see it in use as a house for the playgoer.

Dame Sybil Thorndike said in a recent lecture that "Theatre is necessarily a crowd being moved." She amplified this by saying that the purpose of the theatre was for the actors and the audience to experience communally a curve of emotion.¹ We can all appreciate, certainly, the importance of the audience to the theatre; and also the inadequacy of an investigation of a particular theatre without analysis of the audience. The reaction of the people in front to the activity on the stage is the test for actor, poet, manager, and theatre. A multitude of tastes must be satisfied if a theatrical enterprise

¹The lecture was given by Dame Sybil Thorndike at Birmingham University on December 12, 1950.

is to succeed; it is the audience then, that in the last analysis determines the type of plays, the style of production, and the kind of theatres. Thus a knowledge of the types of people that made up the audience was of the utmost importance to Richard Heton, Richard Brome, Anthony Turner, and others at the Salisbury Court theatre, and, therefore, of importance to this investigation.

The Salisbury Court theatre drew its audience from the top levels of society. People from the middle and lower income groups preferred to see plays at other theatres, for the Salisbury Court Court was expensive. ~~pr~~Even the shopkeeper apparently found the admission prices too much for his pocket-book. Thrift, a Citizen, the shopkeeper in The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42), illustrates this fact when he says:¹

¹Yet the Citizens were important people both socially and economically. Sir Thomas Smith places them immediately below gentlemen in the social hierarchy:

"Next to gentlemen, be appointed citizens and burgesses, such as not only be free and received as officers within the cities, but also be of some substance to bear the charges. But these citizens and burgesses be to serve the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporate towns where they dwell."

See Sir Thomas Smith De Republica Anglorum printed in part in John Dover Wilson, Life in Shakespeare's England (1949), p. 22. In The Antipodes (1638),

And I will hasten to the money Box,
And take my shilling out again, for now
I have considered that it is too much;
I'll go to th' Bull, or Fortune, and there see
A Play for two pence, and a Jig to boot.¹

The same social and economic division was indicated by James Wright in his Historia Histrionica (1699) in which the character Truman says:

Before the wars, there were in being, all these play houses at the same time.

The Blackfriars and Globe on the Bank-side, a winter and summer house belonging to the same company, called The King's Servants, the Cockpit or Phoenix, in Drury Lane, called The Queen's Servants, the Private House, in Salisbury Court, called the Prince's Servants, the Fortune, near Whitecross Street; and the Red Bull, at the upper end of St. John's Street: the two last were mostly frequented by citizens and meaner sort of people.²

The Red Bull and the Fortune, therefore, were theatres catering to the less affluent people of London; and gearing their performances to plebeian tastes by

the Citizen is again referred to as a man of position when Byplay jokingly says:

"But as I am a Citizen by nature
(For education made it so) I'll use
Urbanity in your behalfe towards you."
Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. G_{4r}.

¹Thomas Goffe, The Careless Shepherdess (1656), Sig. B_{4v}.

²James Wright, Historia Histrionica, ed. by William Carew Hazlitt in Dodsley's Old Plays (1876), XV, 406-07.

offering "a jig to boot." However, from The Scholars (A-16; ?1638-42), we do know that the Salisbury Court theatre did draw a portion of its gallery audience from the people who worked with their hands - possibly the wealthier trades people of the City.¹

An idea of the great variety of social types represented in the Salisbury Court theatre audience can be ascertained from still another reference to the Praeludium to The Careless Shepherdess. The list of actors in the Praeludium represents a typical gathering at the playhouse:

The Actors.

Spruce, a Courtier. Spark, an Inns of Court-man. Landlord, a Country Gentleman. Thrift, a Citizen. Bolt, a Door-keeper.²

From various passages in the plays an impression of, the upper classes can be drawn; this impression is, of course, exaggerated by the playwrights, who often strove for humour at the expense of this element of their audience. Nevertheless, when some allowance is made for this exaggeration, a credible impression

¹Richard Lovelace, "Epilogue to The Scholars," in Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs etc. (1649), p. 78. See also p. 92, n. 1 of this study.

²Goffe, op. cit., Sig. B_{1r}.

attendance at a play, "some of the exempted Members of Parliament" were found at the January 1, 1649 performance at the Salisbury Court.¹ From the overdrawn caricatures presented by the poets we can begin to visualise these gaily-dressed men and women and the colour they must have added to the performances at the playhouse. The picture comes into sharper focus when we recall that some of the more daring members of the group sat on the stage in all their splendour.² They, like the spectators at the opera today, were very much a part of the spectacle.

Outside the theatre as well the wealthy people arriving and leaving must have been a grand sight in their colourful clothes. Often they travelled by coach as the following passage from Marmion's A Fine Companion (A-4; 1631-1633), indicates:

Littlegood. Doe make a Gallant of him or a Gull, either will serue, he may ride up and downe, and haue his Coach waite for him at the Playes and Tavernes...³

¹A fine of five shillings was to be assessed against the spectators found at a play. This law was passed on February 9, 1648. Ibid., p. 290. See also Ibid., p. 295.

²See Chapter III, pp. 88-91.

³Shakerley Marmion, A Fine Companion (1633), Sig. D4v.

A coach is again mentioned in connection with the theatre in this passage from the same play. The Captain says:

You understand me rightly, and I applaud your capacity; from thence, we must have a Coach attend at the doore, to carry us to a Play, and at night to a Bawdy-house.¹

The whole glittering occasion must have been very impressive to the less sophisticated members of the audience such as young lawyers or the tradesmen.

For many young lawyers the Salisbury Court must have offered a welcome relief from studies. It could hardly have been more convenient, being located within easy walking distance of Lincoln's Inn, the Temple, and the Inns of Court. Although the lawyers of Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple often invited professional players, including those of the Salisbury Court, to present plays in their Halls, the lawyers in training regularly went to the nearby Salisbury Court theatre.² The financial strain that these

¹Ibid., Sig. G2v.

²Charles Henry Hopwood says of plays at the Middle Temple: "These were frequent in the Hall on Feast days, such as Candlemass and All Saints' Days." On November 4, 1637, and again on October 13, 1638, players from the Salisbury Court theatre presented plays at the Middle Temple. In neither case were the plays identified. See Charles Henry Hopwood, ed., Calendar of Middle Temple Records (1903), pp. xx, and 151-52.

nights out exerted on the young men is illustrated by these lines spoken by Spark, the lawyer, in

The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42):

Faith Sir fasting night, and I did chuse
Rather to spend my money at a Play,
Than at the Ordinary...¹

Though the price was high, the young men certainly found their theatre a pleasant respite from routine.

In the play Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633), James, a young lawyer, says:

...I tell thee Sam, were it not for the dancing-
and Play-houses, I would not stay at the Innes
the hopes of a chiefe Iustice-ship.²

The young lawyers, located so near to the theatre and with their interest fostered by the plays in their own grounds, must have formed a very critical part of the Salisbury Court audience.

The picture presented by Thomas Goffe of the Country Gentleman in his character Landlord suggests what must have been the playgoer's most common impression of this often-portrayed character, i. e. a

¹Goffe, op. cit., Sig. B2r.

²Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sig. E2r.

pompous, conceited ass. Landlord gives himself away when he says:

God save you Gentlemen, 'tis my ambition
To occupy a place neer you: there are
None that be worthy of my company
In any room beneath the twelve peny. ¹

These remarks must have brought a good laugh from the audience for there were no seats in the house that cost less than a shilling. Another passage from the play evidences the same ridiculous conceit on the part of Landlord. He has just come to the conclusion that the play is not worth seeing:

Well, I will stay it out, though't only be
That I may view the Ladies, and they me. ²

Thus Goffe's character Landlord represents the stereotype of the Country Gentleman. Considering the conditions of travel in seventeenth century England, it is hard to imagine Country Gentlemen making many visits to the Salisbury Court playhouse. However, the following quotation from the writing of Sir Thomas Overbury indicates that the gentry of the home counties occasionally travelled great distances to London:

¹Goffe, op. cit., Sig. B_{2r}.

²Ibid., Sigs. B_{2r} - B_{3v}.

Thrift, the shopkeeper, was out of his depth financially in a theatre where the lowest admission price was one shilling. Certainly this high price must have served to keep many shopkeepers, and also those from less remunerative occupations, away from the Salisbury Court playhouse.

Thus far in this chapter, the interest has centred chiefly in the representative social types that frequented the Salisbury Court theatre. These people, as has been mentioned, exerted a definite influence on the happenings at the playhouse. An investigation of the tastes of the audience, and some of the problems, that arose in the attempts of the theatre folk to satisfy these tastes, serves to illustrate the amount of audience influence that existed. The most obvious concession to the public taste was, of course, in the selection of plays. A single example will serve to illustrate this point. During Shakespeare's time, there existed an ever increasing interest in continental subjects. This exotic tendency carried over into Jacobean and Caroline times and was fostered by Charles' proposed Spanish marriage to Henrietta Maria of France and by a variety

of books on foreign travel.¹ In the drama, this interest in things Continental is reflected in the fact that six of the Pre-Restoration Salisbury Court plays had European settings.²

Of greater difficulty than the selection of plays by the management was the problem of writing plays that would satisfy all parts of the audience. A number of passages from the plays suggest that this dilemma must have weighed heavily on the minds of the playwrights. Lovelace expresses the difficulty in these words from The Scholars (A-16; ?1638-42):

He [the playwright] should have wove in one,
two Comedies;
The first for th' Gallery, in which the Throne
To their amazement should descend alone,
The rosin-lightning flash, and Monster spire
Squibs, and words hotter then his fire.
Th' other for the Gentlemen oth' Pit,
Like to themselves, all Spirit, Fancy, Wit,
In which plots should be subtle as a Flame,
Disguises would make Proteus stil the same:

¹The following are examples of travel books of the times: James Howell, Instructions for forreine trevell, 1642; and Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary: containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelve dominions of Germany...Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland, 3 parts, 1617.

²Middleton's and Rowley's The Changeling and The Spanish Gypsy were set in Spain; James Shirley's The Gentleman of Venice was set in Italy; Lewis Sharp's The Noble Stranger was set in Italy; William Rider's The Twins was also set in Italy; and Shirley's The Politician was set in Norway.

Humours so rarely humour'd and exprest,
That ev'n they should thinke 'em so, not drest;
Vices acted and applauded too, Times
Tickled, and th' Actors acted, not their Crimes,
So he might equally applause have gain'd
Of th' hardned, sooty, and the snowy hand.
Where now one so so spatters, t'other, no!¹

Besides offering us an insight into the varied dramatic tastes of the audience and the problems that they posed for the Caroline playwright, this passage yields added information on audience characteristics. In the last line, the expression "so, so" appears. William Carew Hazlitt says that this was an expression of approval by the audience.² There seems to be little doubt that he is right, especially when the utterance is considered in its context. The spectators may well have chanted "so, so" in a manner similar to that of the Mexicans today when they shout the words "si, si" in violent outbursts of approval.

Lovelace seems to have been apprehensive of the audience's expressions of disapproval when he said in the Prologue to The Scholars:

¹Lovelace, op. cit., p. 77-78.

²Ibid., p. 112n. The words "so, so" are also used as an affirmative expression in Henry Glapthorne's The Lady Mother. See A. H. Bullen, ed., Old English Plays (1883), p. 119.

A Gentleman to give us somewhat, new,
Hath brought up Oxford with him to show you;
Pray be not frightened - Tho the Scaene and Gown's
The Universities, the Wits the Town's;
The Lines, each honest Englishman may speake:
Yet not mistake his Mother-tongue for Greeke,
For still 'twas part of his vow'd Liturgie,
From learned Comedies deliver me!
Wishing all those that lov'd 'em here asleepe,
Promising Scholars, but no Scholarship.¹

It would appear that the mere mention of learning or scholarship would have been enough to bring hoots of derision from the audience. On the whole the patrons of the playhouse seem to have been a highly critical, though not a particularly intellectual body of people.

This hyper-critical attitude on the part of the audience seems to have brought its share of rebuttal from the playwrights. Clifford Leech says in a general comment:

The gentry of the boxes were not content to exhibit themselves; they stooped to the art of criticism, and the playwright, wincing under the lash, often rebuked them for their arrogance in his prologues and epilogues.²

A number of these rebukes by the playwrights have been cited in the descriptions of the members of the Salisbury Court audience. Thomas Goffe made Landlord, the Country Gentleman, appear ridiculous in this passage

¹Lovelace, op. cit., p. 75.

²Clifford Leech, "The Caroline Audience," Modern Language Review, XXXVI (1941), 309.

which also serves as an interesting comment on the tastes of the country people:

Spar. ...
What part you think essentiall to a
Play?
And what in your opinion is stil'd Wit.
Landl. Why I would have the Fool in every Act,
Be't Comedy, or Tragedy, I 'ave laugh'd
Untill I cry'd again, to see what Faces
The Rogue will make: O it does me good
To see him hold out's Chin hang down his
hands,
And twirle his Bawble. There is nere
a part
About him but breaks jests. I heard a
fellow
Once on this Stage cry, Doodle, Doodle,
Dooe,
Beyond compare; I'de give the other
shilling
To see him act the Changling once again.
Thri. And so would I, his part has all the wit,
.....
Spar. ...
The Motly Coat was banish'd with Trunk
Hose,
And since their wits grew sharp, the
Swords are sheath'd.
Spru. Then playing upon words is as much out
Of fashion here, as Pepper is at Court.
Landl. Well, since there be nere a fool i' th'
Play,
I'le have my money again...¹

The shopkeeper and the Country Gentleman both indicate their distaste for any play without a fool. Discernible in this verbal slap at the two characters is the playwright's critical appraisal of the desires

¹Goffe, op. cit., Sigs. B2v-B3r.

²Lewis Sharp, The Noble Stranger (1640), Sig. A4v.

of his audience. The same critical attitude motivated Lewis Sharp in this statement from the Prologue to The Noble Stranger (A-12; 1637-40):

Our Country audience too will cry downe playes;
And why, there is not foole enough he sayes.
Gentlemen, y' are grown queasie too of late,
'Tis meere variety does satiate.¹

Here Sharp carries on with Goffe's theme relative to country people liking fools in their plays. There is also a suggestion in the phrase "...will crye downe playes," that the audience was very impolite in its criticism. The people, as we have seen, could indicate approval or disapproval by shouting "so, so" or "no" as dictated by their feelings. Sharp again expresses the poet's frustration at having to write for such diversified tastes in this impassioned outbreak from the fourth act of the same play:

Oh that I were in a Playhouse - I wou'd tell
the whole/ Audience of their pittiful, Hereticall,
Criticall humours .../ One loves high language,
though he understand it not; another/ what's
obscaene, to move the blood, not spleene: a
third, whose wit/ lyes all in his gall, must
have a Satyre: a fourth man all ridicu-/ lous,
and the fift man not knowing what to have,
grounds his o-/ pinion on the next man ith'
formall Ruffe; and so many heads,/ so many
severall humours; and yet the poor Poet must
find waies/ to please 'hem all.²

¹Lewis Sharp, The Noble Stranger (1640), Sig. A4v.

²Ibid., Sig. G3v.

The directness of this speech - i.e. the fact that it is an obvious lament by the poet to his audience - vividly illustrates the power of the spectators to influence occurrences upon the stage. There is much more to presenting a play, however, than providing the stage action. The administration and organisation of hundreds of problems, which are combined under the heading of theatrical management, must be overcome before and during the presentation of a play. Here, as with the plays, the desires of the audience are the governing factors, for the theatre manager, like the poet, must please the audience if he is to succeed.

Theatrical management, as used here, consists of the organisation and the administration of the theatre and its players and staff. The ultimate object is to get the play on stage under circumstances that will enable the people connected with the playhouse to earn a profit. It must be emphasised that the Salisbury Court theatre people were professionals and, therefore, that profits from the enterprise were requisite to their well being. This fact finds expression in a petition by The Queen Henrietta's men requesting that they be permitted to reopen after the plague closing of 1636-37:

Whereas her Ma^ts Players did by their humble Peti^{ti}on shew, that by reason of the Infec^{ti}on of the Plague in and neare about London they have for a long time, almost to their vtter vndoing (having noe other Imployment nor meanes to maintain themselves and their families) been restrayned from vsing their quality...¹

Management had to be efficient and production costs low if the theatre were to be successful. Managers at the Salisbury Court could not afford expenditures of a magnitude such as characterised the Court masques for which the bills sometimes ran as high as twenty thousand pounds, and for which costs of from two to five thousand pounds were the rule.² We can detect, in some of the Salisbury Court theatre evidence, managerial efforts to achieve elaborate financial organisation at the playhouse. This is especially true of Richard Heton's "Instructions Touching Salesbery Cort Playhouse, 14 Septem., 1639." (See page 133) The specific subjects to come under examination are the problems of securing a place for production, supplying it with a company of players, acquiring plays, advertising the performances, and managing the house.

¹Gerald Eades Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1941), II, 664.

²William Knowler, ed., The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches (1739), I, 167 and 177.

The first two points of investigation, the problem of securing a place of production and that of providing a company of players for the theatre, have already received considerable attention in Chapter Two. As we have seen, the problem of finding a suitable place to present plays became acute when the theatres were closed due to the plague. That Richard Heton appreciated this factor and was prepared to meet the problem it posed, is indicated in this passage from "Heton's draught of his pattent";

And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories Pastoralls, Maskes, Enterludes, Morralls, Stageplayes, and such like, to shew, act, and exercise to their best p^rfitt and comodity, as well wthin their foresaid playhouse in Dorset house yard, as in any city, university, towne, or borough of or said realmes and dominions, there to soiourne and abide, if at any tyme they wth their Company and Associates (whom o^r said servant Richard Heton shall thinke fitting to select) shall have occasion (by reason of sicknes in London or otherwise) to travell, to exercise publikely, to their best p^rfitt, comodity, and advantage, their aforesaid Comodies, Tragedies, &c., at all tyme or tymes, (the tyme of Divine service only excepted) before or after supper, wthin any townehalls, guildhalls, moot halls, schoolehouses, or any other convenient places whatsoever.¹

Heton seems to have anticipated most of the complaints

¹Peter Cunningham, "The Whitefriars, the Salisbury Court, and the Duke's Theatres," The Shakespeare Society Papers, IV (1849), pp. 98-99.

that might be directed against a touring company. He recognises the inadvisability of attempting to present plays during the times of divine services in the provinces, and gives in to it. On the other hand, he attempted to ensure that he would be allowed to present both afternoon and evening performances in nearly every conceivable type of hall.

In addition to plague times, there were other occasions when the players seemed to be willing to leave their playhouse to appear in other locations. Whether at Court or in one of the Inns of Court, payment to Salisbury Court companies ranged from a minimum of ten pounds to a maximum of seventeen pounds for each play presented.¹ This would have been enough money to attract the players. It must have been doubly attractive when considered in the light of the low overhead costs, for many of their expenses were paid by their hosts. At the Middle Temple, for example, the cost of long staves,

¹In 1634, the King's Revels received thirty pounds for three plays presented at Court in 1631; in 1637, they received fifty pounds for three plays presented at Court in 1635 and 1636; and in 1639/40, the Queen Henrietta's men received eighty pounds for seven plays presented at Court in 1638/39. See Bentley, op. cit., (1941), I, 249, 299, and 322. See also Hopwood, op. cit., pp. 151-52.

truncheons, and door-keepers was met by the Inn.¹ Certainly, the ten to seventeen pounds appears impressive when compared with the average of two pounds, eighteen shillings, and six pence that was earned by each performance of Marmion's Holland's Leaguer (A-3; 1631).² In addition, both Court performances and Inns of Court performances often took place on religious days.³ Thus, the players could earn money on days when plays may have been prohibited by law or curtailed by popular sentiment in their own theatres.⁴ Yet there were drawbacks to acting at Court, for payment often lagged a year or more

¹Hopwood, op. cit., pp. 151-52.

²Joseph Quincey Adams, Shakespeare's Playhouses (1920), pp. 375-76.

³June 15, 1633, the date the Prince Charles' men acted A Fine Companion at Court was a Sunday, while February 24, 1635/36, the date of the King's Revels performance of Love's Aftergame, was Ash Wednesday. Bentley, op. cit., (1941), I, 299 and 322. C.H. Hopwood says regarding the Middle Temple that plays were frequently presented on feast days, such as Candlemass and All Saints' Day. Hopwood, op. cit., p. xx.

⁵See Heton's statement (page 116) "the tyme of Divine services only excepted." and the following remark made in 1640 by Mr. Pierce: "I wish the Parliament would reform two things:

1. The sitting of the Council on Sunday afternoon
2. The having of plays on Sunday night." See Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1629-30. ed. by William Douglas Hamilton (1882), p. 212.

behind the date of performance. For the three plays presented at Court in 1631, by the King's Revels, the money was not forthcoming until June 1634/35. Delays of this nature must have been irksome to the often hard pressed players.

Before a company of actors could start work at a theatre, it must first have been licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office. If the licence granted to the Prince Charles' (II) men (see page 41) **is representative**, definite limitations were placed upon the company specifying exactly where in the City of London and suburbs acting could take place, but allowing freedom of choice in the provinces; the one further limitation being that the place utilised must have been previously used for acting. As to keeping a company in readiness at the Salisbury Court, we know that Richard Heton, while managing the playhouse, drew up an application designed to ensure that a company be ready to act there (see page 54). In the document entitled "Heton's draught of his pattent", are specified some of the manager's endeavours to keep the company fit for acting:

...Richard Heton, one of the Sewers of the Chamber to o^r deare Consort, the Queene, hath disbursed great somes of money in providing

a convenient Playhouse in Dorset house yard for her M^{ts} Comedians to practise and act Playes in, that they may be there resident and in readines for the said service when they shalbe comanded, and hath lykewise disbursed good somes of money for the maintayning and supporting the said Actors in the sicknes tyme [the plague], and other wayes to keepe the said Company together, wthout w^{ch} a great part of them had not bene able to subsist, but the Company had bene uterly ruyned and dispersed.¹

It would be interesting to know something of the manager's social service efforts among his players but, unfortunately, we possess no information on the subject beyond the hint in the passage above.

Heton was determined, however, that these investments should not be nullified by a player's leaving to take a more attractive job with another theatre. The "draught" continues:

That such of the company as will not be ordered and governed by me as their governor, or shall not by the M^r of his M^{ts} Revells and my selfe bee thought fitt Comedians for her M^{ts} service, I may have power to discharge from the Company, and, wth the advice of the M^r of the Revells, to putt new ones in their places; and those who shalbe soe discharged not to have the honor to be her M^{ts} servants, but only those who shall continew at the aforesaid playhouse. And the said Company not to play at any tyme in any other place but the forsaid playhouse without my consent under my hand in wryting, (lest his M^{ts} service might be neglected) except by speciall comand from one of the Lo. Chamberlaines, or the

¹Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

Mr of his M^{ts} Revells, &c.¹

Several of the problems facing the governor of the Salisbury Court playhouse are implicit in this quotation. It would appear that he had no effective power to discharge a player for incompetence, to hire a new player, or to prevent the players, either singly or in a group, from performing in other locations for other managers. If this was the case, the players could have contracted independently for jobs at Court or at the Inns of Court, leaving the Salisbury Court without a company on these occasions. There is some evidence that the manager of the playhouse hired the players as a group and exerted his control through the group's leader. Heton's name does not appear on documents relative to the Queen Henrietta's men presenting plays away from the theatre. Instead, we find Anthony Turner listed as the receiver of money paid for plays acted at the Middle Temple and at Court.² This suggests that Heton received nothing for these outside performances, thus explaining his desire for greater control over the players. Whether

¹Ibid., p. 99.

²See page 53, note 3. See also Bentley, op. cit., (1941), II, 608.

the application for patent was approved, giving Heton much needed authority over the actors, is not known, although we do know that the theatre enjoyed some successful years under his direction.

Occasionally, if the problems became too difficult for the managers to solve without help, the Master of the Revels would step in and restore the situation. Thus the Salisbury Court theatre was able to commence operations immediately after the crippling plague closure of 1636/37, because Sir Henry Herbert combined the Queen Henrietta's men with the remainder of the King's Revels to form a new Queen Henrietta's Company (see page 52). Dictatorial moves of this kind may not have pleased Heton and his colleagues, but they ensured that a company would be ready for acting at the playhouse.

Facts concerned with the recruiting of players for the Salisbury Court theatre are obscure. The first company for which we have players' lists was the Prince Charles' (II) men.¹ Of the eight players in these lists who can be considered experienced actors,

¹There are four relevant lists: that contained in a licence dated December 7, 1631; that appended to Holland's Leaguer dated December 1631; that which lists the players sworn Grooms of the Bed Chamber dated May, 1632; and that found in a petition dated December 10, 1632. See Bentley, op. cit. (1941), I, 321.

four (Andrew Kayne, Mathew Smith, Richard Fowler, and George Stutville) had been previously associated with Richard Gunnell at the Fortune theatre. Of the other four, three (Ellis Worth, William Brown, and Thomas Bond) had been at the Red Bull, and one (Joseph Moore) had been with the touring Lady Elizabeth's Company.¹ Two items are significant here; first, Gunnell's connection with both the Fortune and the Salisbury Court theatres, and second, the fact that four of the above-mentioned men had been with Gunnell at the Fortune. When these facts are considered in conjunction with the accepted belief that the King's Revels had just left the Salisbury Court for the Fortune, this movement of players between the two theatres might well have been accomplished by Gunnell for the good of his joint investments. This supposition gains support from the fact that, in 1634, the King's Revels returned to the Salisbury Court theatre with Gunnell heading the list of players.²

Of the eight experienced actors listed in Richard Kendall's record of the King's Revels, two (George

¹Ibid., II, 382, 392, 399, 439, 514, 577, 581 and 626.

²Ibid., II, 688.

Stutville, who remained after the Prince Charles' (II) men left the Salisbury Court, and Curtis Greville) were old friends of Gunnell's from the Fortune. Thus, Gunnell was able to keep a nucleus of old Fortune theatre actors at the Salisbury Court during his years of influence there which began in 1629 and terminated with his death in 1634.¹ Queen Henrietta's men, who began acting at the playhouse in 1637, have already been discussed as the company formed by the Master of the Revels from the residues of the companies at the Cockpit and Salisbury Court theatres.

Developing new young actors apparently did not greatly concern Salisbury Court playhouse managers. The Prince Charles' (II) list in Holland's Leaguer (A-3; 1631) mentions six boy players.² There is little information as to their previous history beyond the possibility that Robert Stratford may have been the son of William Stratford, long time associated with Gunnell at the Fortune.³ Of the six youths, two only have any theatrical connections on record. Samuel Mannery appeared on a 1639 list connecting

¹Ibid., II, 452, 457, and 581.

²Ibid., I, 321.

³Ibid., II, 579.

him with the Cockpit.¹ John Wright's name appeared as well and, of the six boys in Holland's Leaguer, he alone achieved even moderate success; he was an actor at the Red Bull during the Commonwealth. His reputation at this time warranted his being mentioned in a poem celebrating the rout of the Red Bull players on September 14, 1655.² From this, it would seem that the efforts by the people of the Salisbury Court to develop young talent during the stay of the Prince Charles' (II) men were only moderately successful.

With one exception, information concerning the other companies is of such an indefinite nature that it yields no satisfactory conclusions. The singular case is that of William Cartwright, Jr. He is mentioned by James Wright as a player at the private house in Salisbury Court.³ He was the son of Gunnell's old Fortune theatre associate, William Cartwright, Sr. Both father and son were in the Norwich list, which included many of the King's Revels. Young Cartwright continued his acting career during the Commonwealth, his name appearing as late as 1648 in connection

¹Ibid., II, 506.

²Ibid., II, 627-28.

³James Wright, "Historia Histrionica" in Dodsley's Old English Plays, ed. W. G. W. Witt (1876), 77-104

with the Cockpit theatre.¹

In summarising the information on the recruiting of players, attention is directed to two factors. First, and most important, Richard Gunnell's ability to attract his old Fortune theatre colleagues should be noted. This enabled him to provide the Salisbury Court theatre with a nucleus of experienced actors. In addition, the son of one, and possibly two, of his old associates found their way to the new playhouse; this suggested another way that Gunnell's old friendships yielded dividends. The second factor that should be emphasised is the apparent neglect, or in any event, the lack of success, in the development of young talent by the Salisbury Court theatre management.

Along with the job of providing players for the playhouse, the manager was confronted with the perpetual problem of supplying a repertory. Plays at the Salisbury Court can be divided into three categories depending on the source; first, those written by the Salisbury Court theatre poet, second, those written for the theatre by other contemporary writers, and finally, those old plays that were

¹Bentley, op. cit. (1941), I, 297 and II, 403 and 405.

that were revived at the theatre. From the manager's viewpoint, the first method offered definite advantages over the other two, for it provided a fairly constant flow of plays at a fixed price. In addition, prologues, epilogues, and songs were usually the poet's responsibility; he may even have been required to make revisions of other writer's plays. However, this method was not without its flaws, for, in the case of Richard Brome, only six of the nine plays specified in his contract were written.¹

Next to Brome, James Shirley was the most prolific writer of plays for the Salisbury Court theatre. Three of his plays, one for the King's Revels and two for the Queen Henrietta's men, were presented at the playhouse. There is no evidence, however, that relates Shirley to the theatre in any way other than as an occasional playwright. His work, therefore, falls under the second category. Nothing is known concerning the prices charged by playwrights like Shirley, Marmion, Nabbes, and others for the plays they wrote. Whether they contracted to write a play for the Salisbury Court theatre, or simply sold the completed

¹Clarence Edward Andrews, Richard Brome: A Study of His Life and Works (New York, 1913), p. 14.

plays is equally vague. This same lack of information prevails regarding contractual arrangements for revived plays. There is, however, evidence which suggests that some of the old plays needed considerable revision before they could be staged.

The anonymous 'C' play, Edmund Ironsides (C-1; 1631-34) presents an insight into the problems that faced the reviser of one of these plays. The difficulty was not so much to adapt the play to a new stage, but rather to alter the text to conform to a different set of censorship rules. Evidence as to the extent and nature of these changes is found in this statement by Sir Henry Herbert:

All ould plays ought to bee brought to the Master of the Revells and have his allowance to them, for which he should have his fee, since they may be full of offensive things against Church and State; ye rather that in former times the poets tooke greater liberty than is allowed them by mee.¹

Thus, it would appear that the reviser must have had to exercise considerable care in revising Edmund Ironsides if he were to conform to the stricter rules established by Sir Henry Herbert. The following passages were marked for omission, probably to avoid

¹G. M. G. , The Stage Censor (1908), p. 50.

censorship for political reasons:

England yf ever warr thy face doth spoyle
thancke not thy outward foe but inward frind
for thou shalt never pish tell that daye
when thie right hand shall make thie harte awaye¹

The hint of treason in this quotation would almost certainly have been sufficient cause for Sir Henry Herbert's withholding his permission. Libellous implications directed at the nobility brought about a delay in the presentation of Shirley's The Ball at the Drury Lane in 1632, while the objectionable passages were deleted.² The following lines were eliminated from Edmund Ironsides in anticipation of a similar action by the Master of the Revels: Cantus, the Danish pretender to the English throne is speaking:

Eare marke to know a tratorous vilane by/even
as abrand is to discrie a theef
these desperate persons for examples sake
these Ruffaines theis aldaringe lustie bloodes
these Courts appendixes these madcape laddes
these nothinge fearinge hotspures that attend
o^r Royall Courte tell them of hanginge Cheare<
theile saye yt is a tricke or two a bove ground<
tell them of quarteringe or the heading Axe<
theile sweare beheadinge is a gallant death<

¹Eleanor Boswell, ed., Edmund Ironside, Malone Society Reprint # 54 (1928), from British Museum, Egerton MS. 1994⁵, fol. 101b, p. 20.

²Bentley, op. cit. (1941), I, 228-29.

and hee is a dastard that doth feare to die[<]
But saie to them, yo^u shalbee branded[<]
or yo^r hands Cutt offe or yo^u nostrilles slitt^d

Of course, there could be no direct connection with a particular individual, in this case, but the implications of the passage were as pertinent to the Court of Charles I as to that of Anglo Saxon England and some among the nobles might, therefore, have taken offence. In the same way, the next passage was probably deleted because of uncomplimentary allusions to important church members. The Archbishop of York speaks of the Archbishop of Canterbury:

A rebell a prophane preist a Pharesie
A parrasite, an enimie to peace²

Sir Henry Herbert would hardly have approved a play containing passages that might easily have aroused the anger of important people of the time.

In addition to altering this play to avoid censorship, the reviser inserted act divisions breaking the play into five sections. He also added a stage direction and inserted the names of actors, thereby establishing the play almost certainly as a Prince Charles' (II) men's play. In the manuscript, the

¹Boswell, op. cit., Fol. 104a, p. 30.

²Ibid., fol. 106b, p. 40.

corrections and alterations took the form of marginal notes, while the deletions were simply lines drawn through the passages.¹ This play, therefore, illustrates some of the obstacles that had to be overcome before an old play could be revived at the playhouse.

Once the manager had secured a play, it had to be, as we have seen, licensed for acting by the Master of the Revels. This generally necessitated a payment of two pounds for a new play or one pound for a revival to Sir Henry Herbert, who, if he found nothing objectionable, granted permission for the play to be acted.² It remained, before the play could be staged, to inform the public of the necessary details.

Advertising at the Salisbury Court theatre was of several kinds. Long term advertising simply involved the posting of playbills. A contemporary news item from Perfect Occurrence of Every Daie Journall, dated

¹Ibid., p. vii.

²From Heton's 'Instructions' we know that two pounds was the accepted licensing fee. However, in Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book, there is a note that one pound was received for licensing the old play Dr. Lamb and the Witches at the Salisbury Court theatre. This conforms with the information in The StageCensor indicating that fees for new plays were two pounds and for revivals one pound. See Cunningham, op. cit., p. 100; Joseph Quincey Adams, The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert (New Haven, 1923), p. 36; and G. M. G. op. cit., p. 42.

October 1-8, 1647, said:

A Stage-Play was to have been acted in Salisbury Court this day [October 6] (and Bills stuck up about it)...¹

This quotation, which referred to the attempted performance of A King and No King on October 6, 1647, shows that bill-posting as an advertising method was used, as we should expect, by the Salisbury Court theatre management. Regarding the composition of playbills, Edmond Malone advances the following theory:

The long and whimsical titles that are prefixed to the quarto copies of our author's plays, I suppose to have been transcribed from the play-bills of the time. They were... calculated to attract the notice of the idle gazer in walks at St. Pauls...²

If this were the case during the Caroline period, we can assume that the name of the play, the theatre, the company and sometimes the author appeared as well as the time of acting. In "Heton's draught of his pattent," the manager refers to bill posting along with other significant advertising information:

And the same Comedyes, Tragedyes, &c.,
wth the tymes they are to be acted, to proclayme
in such places as afores'd wth drums, trumpetts,

¹Rollins, op. cit., p. 283, n. 43.

²Edmond Malone, Supplement to the Edition of Shakespeare's Plays (1780), I, pp. 38-39.

notorious for its high prices, and finally Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633). Speaking generally of the technique demonstrated in these plays, Miles said: The dramatists and companies knew "...the place would advertise the play."¹ Both the managers and the poets at the Salisbury Court theatre appear to have realised the importance of advertising. The above examples suggest the variety of techniques that were utilised to arouse public interest.

At play time the audience, which the men of the Salisbury Court had worked so hard to attract, presented problems which fall under the general heading of house management. The interest centres in the efforts of the staff to prepare the house for a performance, and, during the play, to look after the audience and cater for its comfort. The most important single source of information relative to house management problems is Richard Heton's "Instructions Touching Salesbery Co^rt Playhouse, 14 Septem., 1639." which is reproduced here in its entirety:

The difference betwixt the first Articles
and the last.

The housekeep^s enjoy not any one Benefit in
the last w^{ch} they had not in the first.

¹Ibid., p. 439.

And they paid only by the first.

1, All Repaires of the house.

2, Halfe the gathering plaçs

Halfe to the Sweepers of the house, the stagekeep^s, to the Poor, and for carying away the soyle.

By the last Articles.

We first allow them a Roome or 2 more then they form'ly had.

All that was allowed by the former Articles, and Halfe the Poets wages w^{ch} is 10s a week.

Halfe the lycencing of every new play w^{ch} halfe is also xx^s.

And one dayes p'ffitt wholly to temselves every yeare in consideration of their want of stooles on the stage, w^{ch} were taken away by his M^{ts} command.

We allow them also that was in noe Articles. Halfe for lights, both wax and Tallow, w^{ch} halfe all winter is near 5s a day.

Halfe for coles to all the Roomes.

Halfe for rushes, flowers, and stowings on the stage.

Halfe for all the boyes' new gloves at every new play and every revived play not lately plaid.

All the rest of the Articles are some indifferent Rules fitt to be observed for the generall credit of the house and benefitt of both Housekeep^s and Players.¹

From this document, we can achieve some idea of the pattern of activity for the housekeepers before, during, and after a performance at the Salisbury Court theatre. The general organisation appears to have been of two separate groups, the players on one side and the housekeepers on the other, with the

¹Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

manager of the playhouse in a position of overall command, His relation to the groups was not unlike that of a building contractor's with his various groups of workers. Heton's relations with the players appear to have been of this nature and it is conceivable especially in the light of the document above, that his dealings with the housekeepers followed the same bent.

The housekeepers had a number of jobs to complete on the day of the play. The rushes had to be spread on the stage, the flowers placed, and coal taken to the various rooms where fires were to be laid. It is interesting to note that the spectators at the Salisbury Court theatre watched the plays in comparative comfort even in the coldest weather. As curtain time drew near (probably at three in the afternoon as at the Cockpit theatre) the candles, "both waxe and Tallow," would have to be lighted.¹ When the people began to arrive, they were met at the door by "A Door-keeper, sitting with a Box..." who collected at

¹The play Sir Francis Drake was "Represented daily at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, at three in the afternoon punctually..." The Spaniards in Peru carried a notice specifying three in the afternoon as well. See James O. Halliwell, A Dictionary of Old English Plays (1890), p. 299.

at least one shilling from each person.¹ A warning bell was sounded and was repeated immediately before the action was to begin. This procedure is described in The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42):

Loud Musique sounds.

Spar. But hist, the Prologue enters. Landl.

Now it chimes

All in, to the Play, the Peals were
rung before.²

Throughout the play, staff members probably circulated among the spectators selling tobacco and pipes. In "The Actors Remonstrance", which was written by players from the Blackfriars, the Cockpit, and the Salisbury Court, they say that, in return for reinstatement, they will "...permit nothing but the best tobacco to be sold in the theatre..."³ Again, in describing their plight, they say:

The tobacco-men that used to walk up and down selling for a penny a pipe that was not worth twelvecence a horseload, are now found tapsters in inns and tipling houses.⁴

There may have been other hawkers as well, selling fruit and other items throughout the duration of the

¹Goffe, op. cit., Sigs. B_{1r} - B_{1v}.

²Ibid., Sig. B_{4r}.

³H. B. Baker, History of the London Stage and its Famous Players (1904), pp. 35-36.

⁴Ibid., p. 35.

play.

At the end of the performance, after the members of the audience had departed to the taverns in the neighbourhood, the housekeepers had to see that the playhouse was cleaned. Heton states that the housekeepers "...paid only by the first...Halfe to the Sweepers of the house, the stagekeep^s, to the Poor, and for carying away the soyle."¹ If we can depend on the information in the Epilogue to The Scholars (A-16; ?1638-42), the duration of the performance was about two hours. The significant passage reads:

The stubborne Author of the trifle, Crime,
That just now cheated you of 2 hour's time,²

If the play started at three and lasted two hours, it would end at five. The crowd would clear and the clean-up staff move in, bringing the day at the Salisbury Court theatre to an early close.

¹See page 134.

²Lovelace, Op. cit., p. 77. Sir Aston Cokain, in the complimentary verse prefixed to Randolph's The Muse's Looking Glass (1629-30), mentions two hours as the duration of this play. The relevant passage says:

The Stagyrite will be slighted: who doth list
To read or see't becomes a moralist;
And if his eyes and ears are worth thine ore,
Learn more in two hours than two years before.

W. C. Hazlitt, ed., Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph (1875), I, 174.

In this chapter, attention has been directed to the characteristics of the audience and to its influence upon the various phases of activity at the Salisbury Court playhouse. We have, until now, been concerned with the peripheral factors in the playhouse; now we go to its heart, the stage.

CHAPTER V

The Stage: Its Structure

It has already been said that the Salisbury Court playhouse was, in a sense, transitional. Its stage is of particular interest as it illustrates the slowness of the evolution from the open Elizabethan stage to the picture frame stage of the Restoration. The purpose here is to present evidence to establish those features of the Salisbury Court stage that were part of the permanent structure - i.e. the main platform, the rear stage, and the upper stage, and, where possible, to fix their locations.

The evidence to be presented comes from Salisbury Court plays and from various documents related to the theatre. The first category is by far the most extensive and it is from the stage directions of these plays that most of our conclusions will be drawn. Professor G. F. Reynolds, in The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater, is justifiably concerned about how literally the stage directions of early seventeenth century plays can be taken. He cites the work of W. J. Lawrence and E. K. Chambers as examples of how literally these directions were interpreted in the

past.¹ Reynolds, himself, appears to have been guided by greater caution, and in this study, an attempt is made to follow his lead. Even greater caution must, of course, be exercised about references in the dialogue of a play which might indicate a part of the stage, and, in this connection, the demands on the imagination of the audiences in the early seventeenth century must be constantly borne in mind. The limits thus suggested will explain, in part, the indefinite nature of the conclusions in this chapter.

The basic part of any stage, and its principal acting area, is the main platform. Concerning the size of the main platform at the Salisbury Court playhouse, we have little information. The interior width of the building was forty feet.² How much of this forty feet was taken up by tiring rooms or possible boxes for spectators is unknown. Professor Allardyce Nicoll, speaking generally on the private playhouses of the period, suggests that in view of the narrowness of some of the buildings: "...the stage may have

¹George Fulmer Reynolds, The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater (1940), p. 39.

²J. Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1928), p. 108.

filled all the space between the walls."¹ Thus, the main platform of the Salisbury Court playhouse was not more than forty feet across, although it may well have been considerably less.

The same uncertainty characterises our information about the height of the platform. A suggestion in Thomas Goffe's The Careless Shepherdess (A613; 1637-42) that there was no easy way for an actor to get from the pit up to the stage implies absence of ramps or stairs and the possibility of a considerable platform height.² Fortunately, information concerning other stage features is more conclusive.

There is a considerable amount of evidence concerning doors to the main platform. This material, suggests there were three separate entrances: one at either side of the stage and one in the centre. The following stage direction from Lewis Sharpe's The Noble Stranger (A-12; 1637-40), refers to the side entrances:

Enter King of Naples, on his head a wreath
of Bayes, as from Conquest, Honorio, Fabianus,
Philomusus, Callidus, Souldiers and attendents

¹Allardyce Nicoll, The Development of the Theatre (1937), p. 126.

²See pp. 87-88 of this paper.

at one side of the Stage: Morenzo, Princesse,
Clara, Marania, &c. at the other.¹

Again, as the play draws to a close with a display
of pageantry, the King and the Court enter from
opposite sides of the stage:

Enter King, Moronzo, Callidus, with Attend-
ents, at one side of the Stage, a Lord disguised,
as Prince of Portingall, Honorio, Fabianus,
Philomusus, disguised as Attendants at the other.²

In some cases, the playwrights were more definite
in their stage directions. Those listed below refer
to the stage entrances as "doors." The next passage,
from The Changes (A-2; 1631), says:

Enter at one doore Sir Iohn Wood-hamore,
and Master Goldsworth, at the other M. Gerard
and Master Yongrave.³

From Thomas Middleton's A Mad World My Masters (A-11;
1637-40), we find the following:

Exeunt at one doore.
At the other enter in haste a Footman.⁴
.....
Enter at one doore Sir Bounteous, at another
Gum-water.⁵

A similar direction appears in The Noble Stranger

¹Lewis Sharp, The Noble Stranger (1640), Sig. B_{1r}.

²Ibid., Sig. I_{2r}.

³James Shirley, The Changes (1632), Sig. B_{1r}.

⁴Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640),
Sig. C_{2v}.

⁵Ibid., Sig. G_{4r}.

(A-12; 1637-40):

Enter Honorio and Fabianus at one door,
Princesse and Clara at the other.¹

The quantity of evidence precludes question as to the existence of two entrances, one at either side of the stage. Further analysis of the Salisbury Court plays yields additional information about the structure of these entrances.

There is reason to believe that the stage entrances could be closed by conventional hinged doors. In any event, hinged doors are mentioned in the plays, both in the text and in the stage directions. In Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633), hinged doors are mentioned when George says:

How now maids? why left you the doore open?²

Later, in the same scene, Ciceley says:

Feare it not sir, but be sure you lie still.
Open the/ dore maid; and doe you heare? get the
key of the trunke/³

Less convincing is this stage direction from The Gentlemen of Venice (A-17; 1639):

¹Sharp, op. cit., Sig. F_{1v}.

²Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sig. G_{1v}.

³Ibid., Sig. G_{2r}.

Enter Malipiero, who knocks at the Doore,
to him a Servant.¹

Virtually all doubt as to the existence of hinged doors vanishes when additional evidence is considered.

The following evidence not only establishes hinged doors as part of the structure of the Salisbury Court playhouse but also introduces the possibility that these doors could be latched. In William Rider's The Twins (A-18; ?) is the following stage direction:

Enter Charmia...boults the door and sits down.²

In The Gentleman of Venice (A-17; 1639) we find this significant passage:

Enter Cornari, after him Claudiana.

Clau. Your pleasure sir; you did command my/
presence.

Cor. Are you come? you and I must not be
Interrupted Claudiana.

Clau. Why do you shut your chamber?³

Later in the scene Cornari says:

This key will make the Chamber free, I follow.⁴

In Scene iii, doors are again locked:

¹James Shirley, The Gentleman of Venice (1655),
Sig. A_{4r}.

²William Rider, The Twins (1655), Sig. F_{2v}.

³James Shirley, The Gentleman of Venice (1655),
Sig. G_{3r}.

⁴Ibid., Sig. H_{1r}.

Enter Cornari, leading his wife Veild.

Cor. Be bold, and take as lent this treasure
from me,

I must expect it back agen with interest.

(Locks the door and Exit

Flo. The dore is fast agen...¹

A question now arises as to how literally these stage directions should be interpreted. There can be little doubt as to the existence of some form of hinged door. In addition, there is the possibility that the doors possessed some form of latching device. It can hardly be assumed, however, that the doors could actually be locked. There was a chance of a door being accidentally locked at a crucial moment in a play and either delaying or completely upsetting a production. The important consideration, however, is that there was no apparent reason for having stage entrance doors that could be locked.

I think we may conclude that there were hinged doors, one on each side of the main platform. As to whether the doors could be latched or locked, no definite conclusion can be offered, although it would seem that the doors must have been secured against swinging freely.

About the size of the doors there is almost

¹Ibid., Sig. I_{1r}.

complete lack of evidence. At times, large properties requiring large stage entrances were used in the plays, but all these probably were got to the acting area by way of a central entrance rather than through the side doors.

A third entry to the main platform was possible through the rear stage. Professor George Reynolds outlines the rear stage problems as they apply to the Red Bull playhouse. After pointing out that the pictorial evidence - i. e. the Swan, the Messalina, the Roxana, and the Red Bull pictures - suggest little beyond a set of curtains or a bare wall, Reynolds introduces the suggestion that a movable curtained framework may have been used in plays requiring concealments or discovery scenes. Thus, he is able to reconcile the fact that such a space was a requisite to the successful production of a number of Red Bull plays, with the fact that there is no indication of a rear stage in the Red Bull picture which appears on the title page of Swetam, the Woman Hater¹. In the absence of any pictures of the Salisbury Court playhouse, the problem falls into two parts. First,

¹Reynolds, op. cit., pp. 133ff.

were discovery scenes required for the production of plays presented at the playhouse; if so, was the requirement satisfied by a large property such as a curtained framework, or by part of the permanent structure?

In answer to the first question, it can be demonstrated conclusively that discovery scenes were called for in plays at the Salisbury Court playhouse. Terms are used which designate alcove-like locations - a study, a cabin, a closet, or a cave - and imply an area that can be shut off by curtains. For example, in Holland's Leaguer (A-3; 1631), we find a scene which needs a concealed space. Capritio says:

Capri. Sure, this is the second part of the
Leager.
Twere best for me, to hide me in my cabin.
[Exit Capritio.

When the fight which Capritio has been seeking to avoid does not take place:

[Capritio peeks out.
Capri. Do wee take, or are we taken?
Trim. Nay wee do take.
Agur. Who's that? Capritio. where haue you
beene?¹

¹Shakerley Marmion, Holland's Leaguer (1632),
Sigs. L_{2r} & L_{3r}.

Similarly, a concealed space is implied in a scene from The Gentleman of Venice (A-17; 1639); Cornari is showing Florelli his lodgings:

Cor. You are just,
And I prefer that too, what will you say
To call that Lady Mistris, and enjoy her?
Shee's noble, to my knowledge, but enough
At this time. I must pray your kind excuse
If (whilst) you walk into this room
[Opening the hangings.

Flo. A fair one.

Cor. Which is design'd your lodging, I become
Your jailour, and make sure this Gallery
Til my return; be constant to your temper,
There shall be nothing wanting to procure
You safe, and pleasant hours.¹

It would have been possible to stage these scenes by using one of the side floors or hangings on the walls of the stage as the cabin or room, rather than a rear stage. However, in The Mad World My Masters (A-11; 1637-40), there is a closet scene in which some of the action occurs within the closet and in view of the audience:

Enter Gum-water with Folly-wit, in Curtizanse disguise, and maskt.

Gum. Come Lady, you know where you are now?

Fol. Yes, good master Gum-water.

Gum. This is the old Closet, you know.

Fol. I remember it well sir.

Gum. There stands a Casket, I would my yearly
revenue

¹James Shirley, The Gentleman of Venice (1655),
Sig. F3v.

may have involved the use of a property, not a rear stage. Alphonso says in the third act:

...In some cave
Ile hide my self.¹

Later still, this stage direction appears:

Alphonso creeps out of a cave.²

We have, therefore, in the reference to a cave nothing to suggest that this space was part of the permanent structure of the Salisbury Court playhouse.

It is the discovery scenes in the plays that yield significant evidence of a curtained area. The following stage direction establishes that such an area was required in the production:

A Curtain drawn, and Carolo discovered
asleep in a chair. Enter Julio with a sword.³

This scene represents the conventional use of the curtained area.

A scene in A Mad World My Masters (A-11; 1637-40), mentions curtains and the production probably required a rear stage behind the main acting platform. The scene opens with this stage direction:

¹Rider, op. cit., Sig. D_{3v}.

²Ibid., Sig. E_{1r}.

³Rider, op. cit., Sig. G_{2r}.

Voyces singing within.
Sir Boun. Ho, Gum-water!
Fol. Singlestone!
Within. Ienkin, wa, ha, ho.
within : Ewen.
Within. Simcod!
Fol. Footman! whewe-
Foot. O good your worship, let me help you good
old
Worship.¹

We have been warned earlier in the play by the disguised Folly-wit that he, Folly-wit, "lies bound in his bed..."² From this statement and from the remainder of the scene I reconstruct the stage arrangement as having Folly-wit bound in a bed in the curtained space, the curtains being open. The scene opens with the entrance of Sir Bounteous and the Footman who carry on a discussion concerning their recent plight in which Sir Bounteous was robbed and tied up along with his servants by the disguised Folly-wit, who now lies bound in bed. Sir Bounteous speaks:

If I bee not asham'd to looke my L.
i'th face, I'me a Saresen. my L.
Fol. Who's that?
Sir Boun. One may see hee has bin scar'd, a
pox on them for their labours.
Fol. Linglestone!
Sir Boun. Singlestone? ile neve answer to
that y faith.
Fol. Suchman!

¹Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640).
Sig. D4v.

²Ibid., Sig. D2v.

Sir Boun. Suchman? not that neither, i' faith;
I am not brought so low, though I be old.
Fol. Who's that in the chamber?
Sir Boun. Good morrow, my lord, 'tis I.
Fol. Sir Bounteous, good morrow; I would
give you my hand, sir, but I cannot come at it.
Is this the courtesy of the country sir Bounteous?
Sir Boun. Your lordship grieves me more than
all my loss;
'Tis the unnatural'st sight that can be found,
To see a noble gentleman hard bound
.....
Fol. Speak, what have I lost I say?
Lieutenant. A good night's sleep, my lord,
nothing else.
Fol. That's true; my clothes, come.
Lieutenant. My lord's clothes, his honour's rising.¹

[Curtains drawn

In the third act, another scene occurs which suggests the employment of a curtained area, although curtains are not mentioned. Nevertheless, the number and size of properties required would suggest that all was in place behind curtains which opened to allow the action to begin. The initial stage direction reads:

Viols, Galipots, Plate, and an Houre-glasse by her
[sic] . The Curtizan on a bed for her counterfeit
fit.
To her Master Penitent Brothel, like a Doctor of
Physicke.²

Probably the curtains were closed, allowing the bed to be removed while the play continued on the main

¹Ibid., Sigs. D_{4v}-E_{1r}.

²Ibid., Sig. E_{4v}.

acting platform.

Any doubt regarding the existence of a permanent or portable curtained area must certainly be dispelled by the evidence contained in Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-36), and The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42).

The printed copy of Microcosmus suggests a very elaborate production. A stage direction at the beginning of the play introduces a curtained space:

The Front.

Of a workmanship proper to the fancy of the rest, adorn'd with brasse figures of Angels and Devils, with severall inscriptions: The Title in an Escocheon supported by an Angel and a Devill. Within the arch a continuing perspective of ruines, which is drawne still before the other scenes whilst they are varied.

The Inscriptions

Hinc gloria
Appetitus boni

Hinc poena
Appetitus mali¹

It is impossible to determine whether the arch was part of the permanent structure of the stage. Nevertheless, the reference to "the arch" suggests something other than a temporary feature. The reference to "...a continuing perspective of ruines, which is drawne still before the other scenes," eliminates doubt as to a curtained area. The following stage

¹Thomas Nabbes, Microcosmus (1637), Sig. B_{2r}.

directions, which illustrate the use of the curtained area, are complete enough to require no comment.

Whilst the following song is singing, the first Scene appears; being a sphere in which the 4. Elements are figur'd, and about it they imbracing one another.¹

.....

They returne into the Scene, and it closeth.²

The second Scene is here discover'd being a perspective of clouds, the inmost glorious, where Bellamina sits betwixt Love and Nature; behind her the Bonus and Malus Genius.³

.....

Love and Nature return to the scene, and it closeth.⁴

During the following Song, the third Scene is discover'd being a pleasant arbour, with perspectives behind it, of a magnifique building: in the midst thereof Sensuality sits.⁵

Here the fourth Scene is suddainly discover'd being a Rock, with a spring of water issuing out of it. At the foot thereof a cave; where Temperance sits betwixt a Philosopher, and Hermite, a Ploughman and a Shepheard. Behind the Rocke a Lantscript.⁶

.....

¹ Ibid., Sig. Clv.

² Ibid., Sig. Clv.

³ Ibid., Sig. C3v.

⁴ Ibid., Sig. C 4r.

⁵ Ibid., Sig. D4r.

⁶ Ibid., Sig. Flr.

Temperance , with the rest of hers, being
return'd into the scene, it closeth.¹

Here the last Scene is discovered, being a
glorious throne: at the top whereof Love sits
betwixt Iustice, Temperance, Prudence and
Fortitude, holding two crownes of starres:
at the foote, upon certaine degrees sit divers
gloriously habited and alike as Ellysiij incolae;
who whil'st Love and Vertues lead Physander
and Bellamina to the throne, place themselves
in a figure for a dance.²

.....

The dance ended, they return to their first
order, whilst Love speaks the epilogue which done,
he is received into the scene, and it closeth.³

A number of facts are indicated by these stage directions.

First, the action in the curtained area coordinates
with action on the main platform. Secondly, a
curtained area of considerable size is implied by the
number of actors and the size of the properties
employed in the scenes. In the first scene, there
are four actors and a sphere; in the second scene,
there are five actors; in the fourth scene, there are
five actors, a rock, and a cave; and in the last scene,
there are five principal actors plus a number of
others sitting "upon certain degrees," and "a glorious

¹Ibid. , Sig. F2v.

²Ibid. , Sig. G4r.

³Ibid. , Sig. G4v.

throne. "

The stage directions suggest five separate discovery scenes spaced throughout the play so as to allow adequate time for the preparation of a rear stage setting. There can be no doubt at all these scenes required some form of curtained area.

In The Careless Shepherdess, there are four involved discovery scenes, none of which could have been satisfactorily staged without one, or possibly two curtained areas. After a lengthy prologue which utilises both main platform and pit, Act I begins:

Musique having plaid a little, Philaretus is discovered discontented on his Couch, whilst one sings the ensuing Song.¹

It is difficult to visualise this stage direction which follows a prologue spoken upon an apparently bare stage, applying to anything but a curtained or screened area. No direction exists for the closing of this scene, but it may well be that the action flowed forward on to the main platform, thus allowing opportunity for the preparation of the next discovery scene. Four scenes later, in Act II Scene i, a second discovery is staged; the stage direction reads:

¹Goffe, op. cit., Sig. C3r.

Sylvia discovered in her Bower singing.¹

I envisage this scene as employing a second curtained space, probably one of a portable nature placed on the main platform, because just such a structure is needed later in the play. In Act V Scenev the following staging is directed:

Enter Cleobulus like a Satyre courting
Arismena, Bracheus like another Satyr
courting Castarina²

A certain amount of action takes place, presumably on the main platform, and then:

Crying within

Lar. What noyse is that?
Phil. Some's strangled sure.
Cleob. Hear tis plainer now. They cry within
Brac. Let's in I pray.
Phil. All's well I hope. Exeunt in hast, and
enter againe
Cleob. We hear a noyse, but can
,Not tell where tis. Within Oh! Oh! Oh!
Phil. Harke!
Cleob. Its here abouts.
Lar. Oh horror!

Cleobulus drawes the curtain and findes Coridon and Rurius in a payre of Stocks their hands tied and their mouths gagged.³

Here is definite evidence of an acting area concealed behind curtains that could be opened or closed as required. In the next scene a stage direction occurs,

¹Ibid., Sig. D4r.

²Ibid., Sig. I4v.

³Ibid., Sig. I4r.

which refers to an arbour:

Arismena and Castarina retire
and fall a sleep in an Arbor
on the stage.¹

The location of this arbour "on the stage", seems to imply a movable structure. It is possible that the arbour was on the main platform throughout the whole performance, and served also as a bower. in Act II Scene i, when Sylvia is discovered in her bower.² It is possible that this bower was placed on the main platform through a trap in the floor, but I think this very unlikely. I believe, instead, that this arbour was a second screened space, distinct from the one which was employed in the previous scene. My reasons for this conjecture are two; first, that the time lapse of eight lines between the end of Act V Scene v, and the stage direction in Act V Scene vi, is hardly enough to allow for clearance of the rear stage and its re-setting for an arbour; secondly, the suggestion here of a movable structure in this stage direction. Such a suggestion is found in no other discovery scene except that of the cave

¹Ibid. , Sig. I_{4v}.

²Ibid. , Sig. D_{4r}. See also p. 157. this paper.

in The Twins(A-18; ?).¹

The Careless Shepherdess affords further evidence about the rear stage area. In Act II Scene v the curtained area is employed once again:

Enter Larissus.

Lar. Why by the current of you' Christall stream
I sate me down...

.....
Soft Musique within.

A Scene discovered wherein
Apollo is seen playing on his Harp, and two
Sybils singing. Apollo falls from his former
tone, and plays an Ayr, to which the Sybils
sing.²

A song follows, and then the stage direction:

Apollo's Scene closes up.

Lar. Be clearer Oracle, and leave me not
In doubt: What! are your gates already shut³

A considerable amount of information can be derived from this. Very important is the fact that this discovery scene definitely requires curtains, or some other method of closing off a space. It would appear that Larissus enters upon the main platform while the rear-stage curtains are closed. He hears soft music, "within". The curtains then open revealing Apollo playing the music on his harp. After a song, the curtains close once more leaving Larissus alone

¹See p.149 of this paper.

²Ibid., Sig. E_{4r}.

³Ibid., Sig. E_{4v}.

on the main platform.

My impression is that there was a permanent rear stage at the Salisbury Court playhouse, but there is no reason why the discovery scenes in the Salisbury Court plays could not have been staged with a movable device like that Professor Reynolds suggests for the Red Bull playhouse. However, my opinion is that if such a property existed, there would have been some reference to it either in the stage directions to the plays or in the property lists.¹ A cave for example, is mentioned as a property in Henslowe's Diary, and, therefore we know that at other playhouses cave scenes were sometimes staged before a portable structure. The only other stage direction implying a movable enclosed area is that in The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42), which reads: "...in an arbor on the Stage."² However, in other stage directions mentioned when a curtained or screened area represents a room, a closet or a chamber there is no suggestion of a movable structure. This lack of any other positive evidence of a movable device of the Reynolds' type

¹See pp. 215-18 of this paper.

²Goffe, op. cit., Sig. I_{4v}. See also p. 158 this paper.

at the Salisbury Court playhouse; and the necessity of some form of curtained area for the production of ten out of the fourteen pre-Commonwealth Salisbury Court 'A' plays, leaves me with the opinion that a permanent rear-stage did exist at the Salisbury Court playhouse. It is important to bear in mind however, that the existence of a permanent rear-stage at the Salisbury Court playhouse is not conclusively established. Therefore, throughout the remainder of this study this structure will be referred to as the curtained area, thus serving to remind the reader that a question does remain.

In addition to the entrances already described, there is a possible indication in the revised version of A Mad World My Masters (A-11; 1637-40), of a trap door. This is discussed in some detail by W. J. Lawrence in his Pre-Restoration Stage Studies. He says:

So, too, in A-Mad World My Masters, IV, i, the succubus, on being conjured to depart, "stamps and exit" - a succinct direction which clearly conveys to the initiated that she disappeared down a trap.¹

This is the only reference in any Salisbury Court play that can be construed to imply a trap door in

¹W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1927), p. 162.

the stage. E. K. Chambers, in The Elizabethan Stage, mentions several uses of traps in connection with the staging of plays in seventeenth century playhouses. He suggests that trees, an arbour, a pulpit, a tombstone, and a wayside cross may have been placed in position through traps. In addition, the trap could be employed as a grave, as a place in the lower regions from which spirits could rise, and finally as a cavity into which actors could disappear.¹ Salisbury Court playhouse plays supply us with three situations that warrant consideration in the light of Chambers' suggestions. In The Gentleman of Venice (A-17; 1639), the stage clears at the end of the fourth act and the fifth act opens:

The Duke's Gardens; Giovanni's armour hung
upon several trees.²

In scene two there is a shift to Cornari's house. No directions are given for getting the trees and armour off the stage, although this may have been accomplished in a number of ways. The trees might have been placed upon a rear stage, and the opening and closing of curtains would have solved the problem;

¹E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (1945), III, 107.

²James Shirley, The Gentleman of Venice(1655), Sig. I_{1r}.

the armour may have been carried on and off the stage by servants between scenes, or the properties could have been placed in position and later removed through one or more traps in the floor of the main platform.

Like the example cited above, reference to the arbour in Act V of The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42) lends itself to a variety of interpretations. The property is described as; "an Arbor on the Stage,"¹ and as I have already stated,² it is my view that it was in place throughout the performance.

The only other reference that has bearing on traps occurs in The Changeling (B-2; ?1637), and involves the appearance of a ghost. Here once more the stage direction is open to several interpretations. Beatrice and De Flores are on the stage:

Enter Alonzos Ghost:

Def. Ha! What art thou that tak'st away the light
'Twixt that starr and me? I dread thee not,
'Twas but a mist of conscience - All's clear
again. Exit.

Bea. Who's that, Deflores? Blesse me! it slides by,³

There is nothing in this stage direction to suggest

¹Goffe, op. cit., Sig. I4v.

²See p.158 of this paper.

³Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, The Changeling (1653), Sig. H1v.

anything but a conventional entrance for the ghost through one of the side entrances.

The evidence allows no positive conclusion about the existence of a trap-door in the stage of the Salisbury Court playhouse. Of the four plays cited, three could easily have been staged without a trap while the fourth, A Mad World My Masters, need not necessarily support the conjecture of W. J. Lawrence.

Evidence for an upper stage at the Salisbury Court playhouse comes only from the plays. Although the quantity of relevant material is not large, there can be no reasonable doubt that an upper stage did exist. Most of the evidence for an upper stage comes from stage directions containing the word 'above'. An example can be found in Shakerley Marmion's Holland's Leaguer (A-3; 1631). Trimalchio and Capritio have just rushed into the street from a bawdy-house having been stripped of their valuables by the inhabitants:

Trim. And whilst some strove to hold my hands,
The others diu'd in my pockets. I am sure,
There was a fellow with a tанд face, whose
breath
Was growne sulphurous with oathes and
tobacco,
Puft terror in my face. I shall neuer bee
Mine owne man againe.

attempting to make love to Isabell, and makes comments on what he sees. In this case, the playwright has allowed eight lines for Lollio, after his exit, to reach the upper level. After Lollio is directed to "Exit above" he appears again on the main platform after nine lines of dialogue have been spoken.¹

In The Antipodes (A-15; 1638), there occurs a much more elaborate use of the upper stage as a point from which to watch action on the main platform. The dramatic situation represented is a play within a play. The move to the upper stage is indicated nine scenes before it actually takes place. Letoy speaks to Diana and Ioylesse:

Let. He must not see
You yet; I have provided otherwise
For both you in my Chamber, and from thence
Wee'll at a window see the rest oth' Play,
Or if you needs sir will stay here, you may.²

In the next act, they appear on the upper stage and comment among themselves on speeches made below.

Letoy, Diana, Ioylesse, appeare above.
Per. Stand up you have our favour.
Dia. And mine, too?
Never was such an actor as Extempore!
Ioy. You were best to flye out of the window to
him.
Dia. He thinkes I am even light enough to doe it.

¹Ibid., Sigs. E_{2r} - E_{2v}.

²Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. H_{1r}.

Ioy. I could finde in my heart to Quoit thee at
him.

Dia. So he would catch me in his armes I car'd
not.

Let. Peace both of you, or you'l spoyle all.¹

Their conversation continues in this vein; finally
Letoy decides that he must go below and direct
activities there:

Let. So, now he's in. Sit still, I must goe downe
And set things in order.²

Twelve lines are allowed for Letoy to descend from
the upper stage to the main platform for his appearance
at the beginning of scene ten:

The soft musike playing. Ent. by two and
two, divers Courtiers, Martha after them,
like a Queene between two boyes in robes...
Letoy enters and mingles with the rest, and
seemes to instruct them all.³

When the pageant is over, Letoy calls up to Ioylesse
and Diana:

Let. And Letoy's wit cryd up triumphant hoe.
Come master Ioylesse and your wife, come downe
Quickly, your parts are next. I had almost
Forgot to send my chaplaine after them.
You Domine where are you?⁴

Fourteen lines are spoken before Ioylesse and Diana

¹Ibid., Sig. I_{3r}.

²Ibid., Sig. I_{3v}.

³Ibid., Sig. I_{3v}.

⁴Ibid., Sig. I_{4v}.

enter upon the main platform.

Another example of the use of the upper stage occurs in The Noble Stranger (1640). Honorio speaks:

Hon. These are the Princesse lodgings,
That her wondow! Come boy, breath
Out my sorrowes in a mournfull aire!

[A Song by the boy consisting of three quatrains.]

Enter Princisse above.

Prin. What Harmony is that? say who's below?

Fourteen lines of dialogue ensue giving the Princess and her woman time to descend to the main platform:

Enter Princesse and Clara.

Fab. See she's descended, with her the Mistris
Of my heart.¹

The Politician (A-14; 1637-42), has an interesting sequence of action in which an upper level represents the walls and gate of a city. This is the most involved upper-stage episode in any extant Salisbury Court play and therefore is worth considering in detail. Of importance is the manner in which the characters describe the various parts of the stage. The scene opens with the following stage directions:

Enter Prince Turgesius, Olaus, Cortes,
Reginaldus Soldiers

Pr. The Gates are shut against us Souldiers.

Ol. Let our Engines
Teare 'em, and batter down the walls.²

¹Sharp, op. cit., Sigs. C4r - C4v.

²James Shirley, The Politician (1655), Sig. G3v.

Discussion continues for thirteen lines, which brings us to the entrance of Getharus. He has been allowed sixteen lines altogether to get from the main platform to the upper stage. To continue:

Enter Gotharus on the walls Ho [rmenuſ] Aquin[nuſ]
Cor. Gotharus on the walls?¹

Forty-eight lines of dialogue ensue between the characters on the walls and those on the main platform, and then:

Enter King [on the walls] ²

At this point a prolonged discussion takes place between the two factions. Finally, the King issues an order to Gotharus and Aquinus:

King. Descend, Gotharus and Aquinus
To meet the Prince, while he contains
within
The piety of a Son, we shall imbrace him.³

No stage direction appears in the play instructing Gotharus and Aquinus to exyt. However, seven lines later Gotharus is on the main stage. This is the least time allowed for the ascent to, or descent from the upper stage in any Salisbury Court play. Generally, between twelve and sixteen lines were allowed for this

¹James Shirley, The Politician (1655), Sig. G_{3v}.

²Ibid., Sig. G_{3v}.

³Ibid., Sig. G_{4v}.

move. The action continues with this stage direction:

As the Prince is going forth, a Pistoll
is discharged within, he falls.

Pr. O I am shot! I am murder'd.

Ol. Inhumane Traytor, villaine.

Olaus wounds Aquinus

Go. So, so. his hand has saved my execution,
'Tis not safe for me to stay, they are both
sped

Rarely.

Exit

Ol. O my dear Cousin, treason, treason.

Ki. Where?

Ol. In thy own bosome; thou has kil'd thy Sonne,
Convey his body, guard it safe, and this
Perfidious trunk I'le have it punisht
Past death, and scatter his torn flesh about
The world to affright mankind, thou art
[To the King.

A murtherer. no blood of mine.

Re-enter Gotharus above.

Go. 'Tis done,
And all the guilt dies with Aquinus, false
By Olaus sword most happily, who but
Prevented mine this act concludes all feare.

Ki. He was my sonne, I must needs drop a teare.
Exeunt.¹

This quotation shows an extensive action between the upper stage and the main platform. In the Salisbury Court theatre plays I can find no examples of action on the upper stage when the main stage is not in use at all. This is important, for it indicates that the upper stage was used only as an auxiliary to the main platform and not independently, as J.C. Adams conjectures in his book on the Globe theatre.

¹Ibid., Sigs. H_{1r} - H_{1v}.

Indeed, the greatest care must be exercised in interpretation of stage directions. An example will help to emphasise the dangers of too literal interpretation. J.C. Adams attempts to argue that all scenes, which in a play occur in an upstairs room, were enacted on the upper stage.¹ Such scenes in Salisbury Court plays provide no support for Adams's theory. We take as an example a scene from A Mad World My Masters (A-11; 1637-40); this scene has already been referred to earlier as having probably been staged in the curtained area.² It will be recalled that Act III presents "The Curtezan on a bed for her counterfeit fit."³ She continues on the bed throughout an action that must have lasted for more than ten minutes.⁴ During this time six characters enter to her and exit, but throughout the Curtezan remains the central figure. There is no

¹Adams says: "In general after 1595 such scenes as would in reality have taken place in some room on the second level of an Elizabethan dwelling, tavern, prison or palace were presented above." John Cranford Adams, The Globe Theatre (1943), p. 275.

²See p. 151.

³Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640), Sig. E_{4v}.

⁴A rapid oral reading of this episode requires between eleven and twelve minutes.

doubt that the scene represents an upstairs location in the story, for Mistress Harebrain says:

My husband himselfe brought mee to th'
doore, walkes below for my returne; iealousy
is prick-eared, and will heare the waging of a
haire.¹

Presumably Adams would place this scene upon the upper stage of his theatre.

The upper stage at the Salisbury Court playhouse must have been at least seven feet above the level of the main platform. This height in addition to the height of the main platform above the auditorium suggests that, if action on the upper stage were to be visible to people sitting in the pit, it must take place well forward on the upper stage. All examples of upper stage action in Salisbury Court plays substantiate this. Keeping the action well forward and the actors either standing or in a sitting position would be even more important if the upper stage possessed a waist-high railing or the kind suggested in the Swan or Roxana drawing.²

Now if the scene in question (A Mad World My

¹Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640), Sig. F₃r.

²George Fullmer Reynolds, The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater (1940), p. ii.

Masters, Sigs. E_{4v}ff.) were placed on an upper stage, it would almost certainly fail, because the central figure, the Curtezan on a bed, would be invisible to spectators in the pit. For this reason, I believe that this scene, and any scene which employed a figure in or on a bed, must have been staged on the main platform.

Professor Reynolds emphasises the dangers in Adams's too liberal interpretation of the material in the texts of the plays:

Not only does Adams's theory show a fundamental misunderstanding of Elizabethan stage-craft; it seems to indicate a misconception of dramatic illusion in general. This is a late date to have to insist that dramatic illusion has little to do with an illusion of reality. Yet that is the basis on which Adams seems to be arguing all through his book.

.....
In short, Adams, in pursuing a literal realism, binds the Elizabethan stage as strictly as our own realistic drama - more strictly indeed, for even it does not place on an upper stage all scenes conceived as in second-story rooms.¹

My opinion is that the upper stage at the Salisbury Court playhouse was always used in conjunction with action upon the main platform; seldom, if ever, by itself.

Thomas Nabbes's Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-37)

¹George Fullmer Reynolds, "Was there a 'Tarras' in Shakespeare's Globe?" Shakespeare Survey (Cambridge: 1951), IV, 99.

proves that on at least one occasion steps were built to give an additional acting level.¹ The stage directions also tell of an elaborate scene mounted on a raised platform on which "...Bellamina sits betwixt Love and Nature; behind her the Bonus and Malus Genius."² A few lines of dialogue ensue and then this direction follows:

Whilst the following song is singing, they descend from the Scene and present Bellamina to Physander.³

"They descend from the scene" implies a raised platform. This impression is strengthened when a more elaborate stage direction from the last act is considered:

Here the last Scene is discover'd, being a glorious throne: at the top whereof Love sits betwixt Iustice, Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude, holding two crownes of starres: at the foote, upon certaine degrees steps sit divers gloriously habited and alike as Elysij incolae; who wilst Love and the Vertues lead Physander and Bellanima to the throne, place themselves in a figure for the dance.⁴

¹Thomas Nabbes, Microcosmus (1637), Sig. G_{4r}.

²Ibid., Sig. C_{3v}.

³Ibid., Sig. C_{4r}.

⁴Ibid., Sig. G_{4r}. A similar structure is used in the 'C' play, The Queen and Concubine (C-3; 1635-36), by Richard Brome. In scene two of the second act, the King welcomes Alinda, the Concubine to his court:

The visual picture which comes to my mind is of a throne surmounting a platform which can be ascended or descended by means of a short set of steps. In no other Salisbury Court 'A' play is there evidence of a raised platform. Possibly, the device was too cumbersome to be a standard feature at the playhouse.

Of particular importance to the staging of plays at the Salisbury Court is the question of hangings and curtains. These can be distinguished into two categories according to use; first, hangings on the walls of the stage which could serve, on occasion, as a hiding place for the actors; and second, curtains resembling stage curtains of today in that they closed off an acting space, and could be opened or closed as required. The latter have already been discussed in connection with the rear stage.¹ The former are referred to either as "the arras," or hangings, while the latter are called curtains or hangings. Thus "hangings" seems to have been a general term covering

The King descends, takes her up: the Lords
rise, all amazed.
Here as well there is a suggestion of a raised throne
or state. See Richard Brome, The Queen and Concubine
in Five New Plays (1659), Sig. D_{1r}.

¹See pp. 150-61 of this paper.

both categories.

An interesting feature of the use of hangings as hiding places is that a character often participated in the dialogue from his place of concealment. For example, in The Twins (A-18; ?), Jovis says:

Ile slip behind the hangings:
Sfoot she looks like a gamester that had lost all.

Charmia speaks and Jovis continues:

How shall I get away now, and she not see me?

Jovis solves his problem by saying:

Did your Ladyship call?
Char. What? are you eeves dropping?¹

It is possible that when an actor was behind these hangings it was supposed that he was almost completely invisible to other actors. In The Noble Stranger (A-12; 1637-40) also, the "arras" is used as a place of hiding from which characters enter into the dialogue. In act three, Callidus says:

... I over-
Heard them in the presence appoynt to walke
Here in the garden: now in yon thicket
Ile stay, to heare what language passes
Betwixt 'hem: if 'tbe of love, as I doe
Presuppose, my just revenge proves duty Exit be-
To my King: I heare 'hem comming, I hind the
must obserue Arras.
Enter Honorio and Princesse.²

¹Rider, op. cit., Sigs. B_{2v} - B_{3r}.

²Sharp, op. cit., Sigs. E_{1r} - E_{1v}

This passage serves also to illustrate the danger of too literal interpretation of the text of a play. The author definitely indicates as "the thicket" of his story, "the arras" in the theatre. Thus, we are once again reminded of the contemporary demands on the imaginations of early seventeenth century audiences.

Later in The Noble Stranger, is a scene in which two actors hide behind "the arras":

Enter Honorio and Fabianus at one doore,
Princesse and Clara at the other.¹

Honorio and the Princess declare their love for each other and then:

King and Callidus behind the Arras.

King. I am no longer able to containe -
Out Traytors.

Prin. Alas 'tis we are betray'd.

King. No; but by the gods deliver'd up to my just
rage.

Cla. We're all undone for ever!

Fab. Though he be the King, whose sacred name
I bow to, he shall not dare to wrong you.

Hon. Show'd the gods themselves come wrapt
In terror, I wou'd thus oppose 'hem.

King. You were best commit an out-^{both draws:}rage,
Where's our guard? Treason.²

In The Spanish Gipsy (B-3; ?1637), there is occasion for three people to find concealment behind "the arras".

¹Ibid., Sig. F_{1v} - F_{2r}.

²Ibid., Sig. F_{2r}.

The stage direction here states:

Enter Clara, Maria, and Pedro from behinde
the Arras.¹

There is no implication in these plays that the arras referred to anything other than a cloth hung on the walls of the stage.

The several companies of actors that worked at the Salisbury Court theatre prior to the Restoration appear to have presented their plays on a stage similar to that used by the Elizabethans. The principal acting area was a raised platform, not more than forty feet across and possibly less, which could be entered from two doors, one located at either side. There was a rear stage which could be shut off by curtains or left open to the audience. There was a third entry through the curtains draped across the rear stage, and a trap door may have been a fourth entrance. The rear stage was probably part of the permanent structure, although it may have been provided as needed by a curtained framework. There was also an upper stage built high enough above the main platform for actors to pass beneath it. Apparently the upper stage was invariably used in conjunction with action on the main platform.

¹Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, The Spanish Gipsy (1653), Sig. H₄r.

This outline of the Salisbury Court stage does not deviate from the accepted view of the stages of the period. The conclusion, therefore, must be that what we know about the Salisbury Court playhouse provides no evidence of innovation in stage architecture during its pre-Restoration history, that is 1629-1649.

CHAPTER VI

Production Techniques

The subjects to be discussed in this chapter are those connected with production: costumes, properties, scenery, music, and special effects. Before considering these topics, it will be well to say a few words about the tiring house, which is technically a part of the stage but, owing to its close connections with the subjects of this chapter, is best discussed here.

Thanks to Richard Brome, we have a fairly detailed picture of a tiring house which I believe was that of the Salisbury Court playhouse, in The Antipodes (A-15; 1638).¹ In a letter appended to the play, he says:

Courteous Reader, You shal find in this Booke more then was presented upon the stage, and left out of the Presentation, for superfluous length (as some of the Players pretented) I thoght good al should be inserted according to the allowed Original; and as it was, at first, intended for the Cock-pit stage, in the right of my most deserving Friend Mt. VWilliam Beeston, unto whom it properly appertained; and so I leave it to thyy perusal, as it was generally applauded, and well acted at Salisbury Court. Farewell, Ri. Brome.²

¹Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sigs. G_{1v}-G_{2r}.

²Ibid., Sig. L_{4v}.

The letter certainly implies that Brome was thinking of the Cockpit when he wrote the play. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the play described the tiring house at the Salisbury Court playhouse. We know from Brome's theatre contract that he had been at Salisbury Court since July 20, 1635, and we know from the title page of the play that it was acted at Salisbury Court in 1638. Thus the playwright had been associated with our playhouse for two and a half or three years prior to the staging of the play. If the play was written shortly before it was staged, one would suppose that Brome would have described the tiring house with which he had been most recently connected, that of the Salisbury Court playhouse. It is known that Brome remained at Salisbury Court until 1639, when one of his plays was refused, and he went to work for Beeston at the Cockpit.¹

In the third act of The Antipodes, Byplay tells of another character's mad incursion into the tiring house. This illuminating passage follows:

¹Clarence Edward Andrews, Richard Brome: A Study of his Life and Works, Yale University Studies in English, (New York: 1913), pp. 14-15. See also pp. 55 of this study.

costumes and properties, and we shall have to return to it in discussing these subjects. The first important evidence about the tiring house is that it contained a storage room for both costumes and properties, and second, the suggestion in the passage "Ith upper wardrobe" that the tiring house was built on two levels.¹

The upper wardrobe may have been on a level with the upper stage. It would appear from this passage that properties were stored on the lower level, presumably that of the main acting platform, while costumes were stored in the upper wardrobe, which in my opinion, was on a level with the upper stage. This certainly would have been the most sensible arrangement, allowing for the shifting of heavier properties without the confusion that would have taken place if the players had been changing costumes in the same area. Thus, stage directions like, "a table set forth, covered with treasure," could be carried out with the minimum confusion.²

A large collection of costumes, especially one

¹Wardrobe is defined in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, under the date 1711, as "A room in which theatrical costumes and properties are kept..."

²Richard Brome, The Antipodes, (1640), Sig. K_{3v}.

used often in dramatic production, requires considerable care. This is provided in our theatres today by the wardrobe mistress. From The Diary of Thomas Crosfield, we learn that when the King's Revels were acting at the Salisbury Court playhouse, this function was performed by two men, Richard Kendall and Anthony Dover. They were referred to as "2 Close keepers" and as "2. Keepers of the Wardrobe."¹ Crosfield elaborates in some detail on Kendall's background:

...of his particular state & education in his youth at Kirby Lonsdall where he served his Apprenticeship to a Talor, & afterwards went to Cambridge where he stayd but little, & then went to London where he became a servant to Sir W^m Slingsby - and nowe he is one of y^e 2. Keepers of the Wardrobe of the said Company [King's Revels] .²

The fact that Kendall trained as a tailor and later worked as a servant to a man of position suggests that he must have been well suited for his

¹F. S. Boas, The Diary of Thomas Crosfield (1935), 70-73. In The Actors Remonstrance (1643), which concerned actors from the Blackfriars, Cockpit, and the Salisbury Court, a passage occurs in which the wardrobe keepers are called tire-men: "For our tire-men and others connected to our wardrobe, with the rest they are out of service, our stock of clothes such as are not in tribulation for general use are being sacrificed to moths..." (H. B. Baker, History of the London Stage and its Famous Players (1904), p. 35.) Particularly interesting is the reference to "others connected to our wardrobe," which suggests a rather elaborate organisation in the back stage area.

²Boas, op. cit., p. 71.

job. Certainly, the problem of costume maintenance must have been well within his powers. Gerald Bentley offers the following comment on Kendall's background:

It seems likely that Kendall's position as a wardrobe keeper at Salisbury Court was related to his apprenticeship to a tailor. The information which he gave Crosfield suggests that the acting companies may have had more to do with the creation of their own costumes than has been suspected.¹

The suggestion that the King's Revels company may have made some of their own costumes is an interesting one. Some of the costumes used at the Salisbury Court playhouse were archaic in design, or otherwise unusual, and it would have been extremely difficult to come by them in a complete state. Manufacture by the wardrobe keepers may well be the answer to the question of how these costuming problems were solved.

Though the wardrobe keepers may have made some of the more unusual costumes, the players still must have obtained some of their clothing from other sources. An example of the borrowing of a church

¹Gerald Eades Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1940), II, 491.

robe, that caused trouble to the lender, is recorded in the Office Book of Sir Henry Herbert:

I committed Cromes, a broker in Longe Lane, the 16 of Febr. 1634, to the Marshalsey, for lending a church-robe with the name JESUS upon it, to the players in Salisbury Court, to present a Flamen, a priest of the heathens. Upon his petition of submission, and acknowledgement of his faulte, I released him, the 17 Febr. 1634.¹

Longe Lane was a centre of the cloth merchants' trade, and its westernmost end was a mile and three quarters from Salisbury Court.²

From the care and acquisition of costumes, we now turn to the costumes themselves. The evidence relative to the costumes employed by the several Salisbury Court playhouse companies will be discussed

¹Joseph Quincey Adams, ed., The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert (New Haven: 1917), p. 64.

²~~From Morley's~~ History of Bartholomew Fair comes the following quotation: "Long Lane at this time looks very fair, and puts out her best clothes with the wrong side outward, so turned for their better turning off; and cloth Fair is now in great request." See Thomas Burke, Streets of London through the Centuries (1940), p. 33. Sugden says of Long Lane: "It was chiefly occupied by pawnbrokers and old-clothes dealers." See E. H. Sugden, A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists (Manchester, 1925), p. 318.

under the following headings; costumes for the representation of people of various classes and positions, costumes of supernatural characters, and finally a few remarks on disguises.

Plays at the Salisbury Court theatre depicted people from all walks of life; there were literally richman, poorman, beggarman, thief; doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief, and many others. Unfortunately, we have costume descriptions for only a few of these, but we do have enough information to form some useful impressions. The costumes of Kings were what we should expect, consisting primarily of a crown and a robe. In The Antipodes (A-15; 1638), we have this brief description, previously quoted in connection with the tiring house:

Spying at last the Crowne and royall Robes
... with a reverend hand,
He takes the imperiall diadem and crownes
Himself King of the Antipodes...¹

Another description appears in The Muses Looking Glass (A-1; 1629-30), in which Tragedy, who is dressed as a King says:

¹Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. G_{1v}.

...I charge him stay.
My robe of state, Buskins, and Crown of Gold,
Claime a priority.¹

Thus, Kings appear to have worn crowns, a royal robe, and buskins. The most interesting items of apparel mentioned here are the buskins. These were buttoned boots designed to come up over the calf. They were made of any one of a variety of materials - leather, velvet, cloth of gold - and were often furred and trimmed with lace.²

Four different Queens and one impostor were presented upon the stage of the Salisbury Court playhouse. The costume of only one of these is described, however, and this only briefly. From The Antipodes (A-15; 1638), comes the following stage direction:

Ent. by two and two,
divers Courtiers, Martha after them, like
a Queene between two boyes in robes. Her train
borne up by Barbara ...³

The fact that the Queen in Brome's play wore a flowing

¹Thomas Randolph, "The Muse's Looking Glass," in Poems with the Muses Looking Glass and Amyntas (1638), Sigs. B_{1v}-B_{2r}.

²M. Channing Linthicum, Costumes in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries (Oxford: 1936), p. 247.

³Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. I_{3v}.

garment with a train is the only particle of information we possess describing the regal dress of women on stage at the Salisbury Court.

Some of the most informative costume descriptions in Salisbury Court plays deal with the dress of characters representing people of the classes which comprised the audience. As might be expected, these costumes sometimes provided a source of humour, and consequently were often extreme in both colour and design. An excellent example of this humour-producing device occurs in the account of Sir Gervase Simple's costume by two of the characters in The Changes (A-2; 1631).

The description follows:

Thor. His name?

Thum. Sir Gervase Simple.

Thor. Something of a blacke complexion, with a
weezell face.

Thum. The same Sir.

Thor. In a doublet of Orange-tawny
Satten, richly laced? and blew trunked hose
very suitable?

Thum. Ver right sir.

Thor. A long Italian Cloake came
downe to his elbowes, a Spanish Ruffe, and
long French stockings.¹

Earlier in the play, we are informed that Sir Gervase

¹James Shirley, The Changes (1632), Sig. K_{1r}.

also wears spurs.¹ Even in a colourful age, this costume must have been extreme - so much so that it could hardly have helped but arouse the laughter of the audience. Earlier in the play it is Sir Gervase's vanity concerning his dress that is the source of humour for he says:

... Thumpe, take off my cloak;
does my Rapier become
Me?²

Often costumes are the source of humour. In the Prologue to The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42) actors represent members of the Salisbury Court play-house audience. Thomas Goffe was apparently striving for laughs at the expense of audience fashions when he makes Thrift say to the Courtier:

Sir, by your powderd hair, and gawdy cloaths
I do presume you are a Courtier.³

Another example of costumes contributing to humour is found in A Fine Companion (A-4; 1631-33). The Captain and Lackwit are conversing in an ordinary:

¹Ibid., Sig. B_{2v}. Dyce describes the mullet in the passage, "...by this mullet," as a spur. See Alexander Dyce, ed., Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley (1833), II, 278, n. 3.

²James Shirley, The Changes (1632), Sig. B_{3r}.

³Thomas Goffe, The Careless Shepherdess (1656), Sig. B_{1v}.

Cap. That Tailor shall have custome, tell him
so; and one
thing more, now brother, for so I must
call you, we must
have all things in common, no difference
in the possession of
anything.

Lack. Pray explain that rule to me, I do not
understand you.

Cap. Why thus; this Hat is mine, and that yours,
as you conceive
now, but they are neither mine nor yours
upon the
premises; but may be transferr'd upon
occasion to either, as
thus, doe you conceive me? 'Tis usuall
amongst us.

Lack. 'Tis very well, is this all?

Cap. Ile make but one experiment more of your
appre-hension, and have done. Looke you!

They shift cloaks.¹

Later, when the time comes to pay the bill, the
Captain stacks three stools and balances poor Lackwit
on top. He then departs dressed in Lackwit's clothes,
leaving the foolish man to settle the account for the
drinks.²

Sometimes humour was derived from a reference to
a characteristic of a particular garment. For example
the slashes in the doublet, which were introduced to
allow for free motion in sword play and were retained
merely as a decoration, served as a source of humour

¹Shakerley Marmion, A Fine Companion (1633), Sigs.
G2v-G3r.

²Ibid., Sigs. G3v-G4r.

in The Changes (A-2; 1631).¹ Capritio, who is convulsed with laughter, speaks:

Cap. Hold my sides, my buttons!
Gol. Tis well your doublet's slash'd.
Cap. Ha, ha ...²

There are in the Salisbury Court plays many references to gentlemen's apparel. Following is a list of passages arranged under the appropriate article of clothing. This is not an exhaustive list, for such a list would be too repetitious and of little additional value.

I. Hats and Cloaks

(Refers to the son of a country gentleman)

Now sir be pleas'd to cloud your Princely
raiment
With this disguise.

Puts on a Cloake
and Hat.³

.....

Alv. What do you mean, sir?
San. This scarf, this feather, and this hat.
Alv. Deare Signior
San. If they be never so deare, pox 'o this
hot Ruffe; little Gipsie,
Wear thou that.⁴

¹Talbot Hughes, Dress Design (1920), p. 164.

²James Shirley, The Changes (1632), Sigs. F_{1v}-F_{2r}.

³Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. H_{1v}.

⁴Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, The Spanish Gipsy (1653), Sig. C_{4v}.

Enter a Wood nimph and sings to him, waving
a silver Rod o'r his head, and departs:
after that enters Corbo, in Alphonso's
clothes, with Alphonso's Sword, and
Carolo's Dagger naked by his side, trying
several waies to wear his cloak and hat.¹

(Heard from the tiring house)

Within (1. You must not wear that Cloak and Hat.
(2. Who told you so? I must.
(In my first Scene, and you must weare
(that robe.²

.....

II. The Doublet

(Franke and Changelove speak to Stitchwell)

Fran. Greater than if your maid should drop
the candle
On your festivall sattin doublet?
Change. Or Cats piss upon your Military
feather?³

.....

(Description of a stage fight)

Alphonso makes a thrust at Carolo, he
wards it with his dagger, and gets within
him, thrusts his dagger betwixt Alphonso's
doublet and shirt, he with conceit falls
down.⁴

.....

Phlegme A Physician. An old man, his
doublet white and black, trunk hose.⁴

¹William Rider, The Twins (1655), Sig. E1v.

²Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. D3r.

³Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sig. D4v.

⁴Rider, op. cit., Sig. D3r.

⁵Thomas Nabbes, Microcosmus (1637), Sig. B1v.

III. Garters

Careless, Spruse, with one garter untyed,
and a
Blacke Boxe at his girdle.¹

.....

(Sir Geff. being dressed by his servant)

Sir Geff. This garter is not well tied,
fellow:²

IV. Silk Stockings

Enter a Courtier.

1 Cour. This was three shillings yesterday,
how now!

All gone but this? six pence, for
leather soles

To my new greene silke stockings...³

.....

Histris tells of how the players ate
costumes and properties during the plague
closing of 1629

...a paire

Of silke stockings serv'd six of 'um from
June

To October.⁴

These passages give us an impression of the clothes
worn by the stage gentleman, Knight, or Gallant.

Cloaks, hats (sometimes plumed), doublets, ruffes,

¹Shakerley Marmion, A Fine Companion (1633), Sig. B_{3v}.

²Henry Glapthorne, The Lady Mother ed. by A.H. Bullen
in A Collection of Old English Plays, Vol. II, p. 113.

³Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. H_{4r}.

⁴J. J. Parry, ed., "Praeludium" in The Poems and
Amyntas of Thomas Randolph (1917), p. 226.

girdles, scarves, trunk hose, silk stockings, and buskins were all part of the male wardrobe at the theatre.

The most complete description that we have of a gentlewoman's costume comes to us by way of the Weekly Intelligencer. The complete passage was quoted in the second chapter of this study (see page 62). The following is of interest here.

Abraham¹ had a black Sattin gown on, and before he came into the dust, he was very neat in his white lace pumps. The people not expecting such a pagent looked and laughed at all the rest, and not knowing who he was, they asked, what had that Lady done?²

It is important to notice here that Abraham's make-up and costume were so realistically achieved that he deceived the crowd that surrounded him in the street. This suggests that as far as appearance was concerned boys could have played most female parts in a convincing manner. The use of satin as material for a gentlewoman's gown is mentioned in two passages from

¹Possibly Abraham Ivory. See Bentley (1940), op. cit., II, 481. The raid was wrongly identified by Bentley as having been on the cockpit. The complete passage quoted on pages 62-63 of this study establishes the playhouse as the Salisbury Court.

²J. Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1928), pp. 40-41.

Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633). In the first, Cicely in Bellamie's clothes, is described by Slip in this manner:

Why sir, Ciceley's no more plaine Ciceley but Ciceley in lac't sattin...¹

Later in the play, this passage occurs:

Iam. What Gentlewoman?
Tapst. Shee in the sattin gowne.²

Characters dressed in satin apparently represented women of considerable affluence.³

Lower in the social scale but still people of influence were the citizens. In A Mad World My Masters (A-11; 1637-40), we are given the stage version of a citizen's wife when penitent Brothel itemises the costume of Mistress Harebraine:

That face, that voyce, that gesture, that attire,
E'en as it sits on thee, not a pleate alter'd,
That Bexer band, the colour of that Periwig,
The Farthingale above the Navill...⁴

¹Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sig. D_{4r}.

²Ibid., Sig. F_{3r}.

³In the play Antonio and Mellida which was produced in 1599, a price of eleven shillings three and a half pence a yard is mentioned for satin. See Linthicum, op. cit., p. 123.

⁴Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640), Sig. H_{2v}.

The style of dress described here dates from before 1608, when the play was first published. The band was a form of collar worn by men. When women began to wear the band it lent a mannish quality to the costume.¹ Yellow bands were the fashion of ladies until about 1630. Apparently ladies of the Court discontinued wearing these bands after 1625.² The farthingale went out of fashion after 1617, and by the late twenties only country women were wearing them.³

Gloves were of course an indispensable part of a woman of quality's costume. That the players conformed to the dictates of fashion in this respect is evidenced by a specific reference to gloves in Richard Heton's "Instructions Toching Salesbery Cort Playhouse:"

Halfe for all the boyes' new gloves at every new play, and every revived play not lately plaid.⁴

¹Einthicum, op. cit., p. 157 and 157, n.4.

²Ibid., p. 157, n. 5.

³Ibid., 182.

⁴Peter Cunningham, "The Whitefriars, the Salisbury, and Duke Theatres, "The Shakespeare Society Papers (1849), iv, p. 97.

Although it appears that gloves were in wide use at the Salisbury Court playhouse, they came into the action of only two of the plays. In The Changeling (D-2; ?1637), Beatrice shows her disdain for De Flores by refusing to receive one of her gloves from him, which she had dropped:

Bea. Not this serpen. gone yet?
Ver. Look Girle, thy glove's faln,
Stay, stay, Deflores help a little.
Def. Here, Lady.
Bea. Mischief on your officious forwardness,
Who bade you stoop? they touch my hand no more:
There, for t'others sake I part with this,
Take 'um and draw thine own skin off with 'um.
Exeunt.¹

In The Lady Mother (C-2; 1635), the glove is to be worn as a favour:

Suc. I will intreat this glove which shall adorne
In fight my burgonett.
Cla. Some honest hostesse
Ere this has made a chamber pot of it.²

Summarising briefly, the costumes for representing women of quality on the Salisbury Court playhouse stage would have included gowns of satin, lace pumps, gloves, and possibly beaver bands, periwigs, and farthingales.

¹Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, The Changeling (1653), Sig. B_{4r}.

²Glapthorne, op. cit., 164.

The costume descriptions of people from other levels of society are of such a varied nature that I shall simply list below some of the more interesting ones.

I. Churchmen

Enter Curat richly rob'd, and Crown'd with Bays, playing on a Fiddle, many School Boys with Skarfes and Nose-gays, &c. then follow Gonzago, dress'd and Crown'd as Queen of the Girls...¹

Jul. I will not urge you to reveal your self:
you have the habit you
Desir'd to have.

Car. And I perswade my self a Fryers Gown and
Coole affords not
The felicity as does this to my heart...²

II. Sailors

Enter in Sea-gownes and Caps, Doctor, and Perigrine brought in a chaire by ²
Sailers: Cloaks and Hats brought in.³

III. Servants

[Sir Bounteous speaks of the servants of his household]

¹Richard Brome, "The Queen and Concubine," in Five New Plays (1659), Sig. K_{2v}.

²Rider, op. cit., Sig. E_{1r}.

³Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. E_{1r}.

[Steward]

Run sirrah, call in my chiefe gentleman i'th
Chaine of gold...¹

[Footman]

How now, linnin Stockins, and three-score
Mile a day, whose Foot-man art thou?²

Puh; passion of me, Footman, why Pumps I
Say, come backe.³

[Liveried Serving Men]

Fo1. I can hire blew coates for you all
By Westminster Clocke, and that colour
will be soonest
Beleeved.⁴

Enter Folly-wit like a Lord and his
Comrades in blew Coates.⁵

IV. Farm Women

Cleob. And then the beauteous Paragon your
wife

¹Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640)
Sig. C_{3v}.

²Ibid., Sig. C_{2v}.

³Ibid., Sig. C_{3r}.

⁴Ibid., Sig. B_{2r}.

⁵Ibid., Sig. C_{4r}. Bullen informs us that the
blue coat was the livery of serving men; see A. H.
Bullen, ed., The Works of Thomas Middleton (1935),
I, 1, 256n, 2.

With her Straw-Hat and Linsey-Woolsey
robe,
A Peticcoat has serv'd her twelve May
daies.¹

Cor. ...
Shall I marry such a lambs wool, gray-
coated, straw-hatted, hobnayl'd
hopper-arst wench as this?²

This selected list of costume descriptions will give the reader some idea of the considerable quantity and variety of relatively conventional clothing that had to be available for productions at the Salisbury Court playhouse. These could probably have been obtained from men like Cromes and his fellows in Long Lane.³

Among the more unusual costumes that were probably tailored specially for the players were those of supernatural characters and masquers. The reader will recall the excellent description of the devil's apparel in the passage from The Antipodes (A-15; 1638), dealing with the tiring house:

¹Goffe, op. cit., Sig. D_{1v}. Linthicum says of Linsey-woolsey: "In the drama, this material is always spoken of contemptuously." The price per yard in 1567, varied from six pence to a shilling. Linthicum, op. cit., pp. 81 and 123.

²Rider, op. cit., Sig. E_{2r}.

³See page 186, q. v.

Ith upper wardrobe, next to which by chance,
The civells vizors hung, and their flame painted
Skin coates; those he remov'd with greater fury,
And (having cut the infernall ugly faces,
All into mamocks)...¹

Brome mentions more than one vizor and more than one skin coat indicating that the players could have two or more devils on the stage at one time. In A Mad World My Masters (A-11; 1637-40), the succubus assumes the shape of Mistress Harebrain:

Enter the Devell in her shape, claps him on the shoulder.²

Later in the play, the devil's costume is described by Penitent Brothel in terms of the attire of Mistress Harebrain.³ Thus the devil could, on occasion, appear in conventional clothing of the day.

The masques, which were at the height of popularity at court and had been a common feature in plays for the past two decades, were, as we should expect, making an impression at the Salisbury Court playhouse. It is not surprising that Richard Brome, who had worked for Ben Jonson, should have utilised some of

¹Richard Brome, The Antipodes, (1640), Sig. G_{1v}.

²Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640), Sig. G_{3r}.

³See pages 196, q.v.

the characteristic features of the masque in his plays.¹ An illustration of this tendency appears in the following passage from The English Moor and the Mock Marriage (C-4; 1637):

Enter four Masquers with horns on their heads: a Stag, a Ram, a Goat, an Ox followed by four persons, a Courtier, a Captain, a Schollar, and a Butcher.²

Brome gives us another interesting description in The Antipodes (A-15; 1638). In this case, Barbara describes her Husband's costume which represents Jealousy:

Bar. My husband presents jealousie in the black and yellow jauntied sute there, halfe like man, and tother halfe / like woman with one horne, and asse-eare upon his head.³

In The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42), there is another reference to horns as a part of a costume. A group of satyrs are dancing around Graculus who says:

Nay use your pleasures, I'le bring her, or let me be gor'd to death with your Worships horns.⁴

The most complete development of the Masque at the

¹F. S. Boas, An Introduction to Stuart Drama (Oxford, 1946), p. 378.

²Richard Brome, The English Moor and the Mock Marriage (1659), Sig. B_{2r}.

³Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. L_{4r}.

⁴Goffe, op. cit., Sig. F_{2v}.

the Salisbury Court playhouse was Thomas Nabbes' Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-36), which indeed is subtitled A Morall Maske. Fortunately for us, the author has described the costumes in considerable detail. Following is the "DRAMATIS PERSONAE" with the details of attire as itemised in the text:

Nature. A fair Woman in a white robe wrought with birds, beasts, fruits, flowers, clouds, starres, &c. on her head a wreath of flowers interwoven with starres.

Janus. A man with two faces signifying providence, in a yellow robe, wrought with snakes, as hee is Deus anni; on his head a crowne. He is Natures husband.

Fire. A fierce countenenc'd young man, in a flame colour'd robe, wrought with gleames of fire. His haire red; and on his head a crowne of flames. His creature a Vulcana.

Air. A young man of variable countenance, in a blue robe, wrought with divers colour'd clouds. His haire blue; and on his head a wreath of clouds. His creature a Gyant or Sylvane.

Water. A woman in a Sea-greene robe wrought with waves. Her haire a sea-greene and on her head a wreath of segge bound about with waves. Her creature a Syrene.¹

Earth. A young woman of a sad countenance, in a grasse-greene robe wrought with sundry fruits and flowers. Her haire black, and on her head a chaplet of flowers. Her creature a Pigmy.

¹Thomas Nabbes, Microcosmus (1637), Sig. B_{1r}.

Love. A Cupid in a flame colour'd habit;
Bow and quiver, a crowne of flaming hearts, &c.

Physander. A perfect growne man in a long
white robe and on his head a garland of white
Lillies and Roses mixt. His name $\chi\pi\omicron\tau\tilde{\nu}\sigma\phi\acute{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\chi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ -
arbes

Choler. A fencer. His clothes red.

Blood. A danver in a watchet colour'd sute.

Phlegm, A Physitian. An old man, his doublet
white and black; trunck hose.

Melancholy. A musician. His complexion,
haire and clothes black; a Lute in his hand.
He is likewise an amorist.

Bellanima. A lovely woman in a long white
robe; on her head a wreath of white flowers.
She signifies the soule.

Bonus Genius. An Angel in a like white robe;
haire & wreath white.

Malus Genius. A divell in a black robe;
haire, wreath and wings black.

The 5. Senses. Seeing a Chambermaid, Hear-
ing the usher of the Hall. Smelling a Huntsman
or Gardener. Tasting a Cooke Touching a Gentle-
man-Usher.

Sensuality. A wanton woman richly habited,
but lasciviously drest, &c.

Temperance. A lovely woman of a modest
countenance: her garments plaine, but decent &c.

| | | |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------|
| A Philosopher. | } | All properly habited |
| An Erimite. | | |
| A Ploughman. | | |
| A Shepherd. | | |
| 3 Furies. | | As they are commonly fancied. |

Feare. The cryer of the Court with a tipstaffe.

Conscience. The Iudge of the Court.¹

Hope and despaire. An advocate and a Lawyer.

The other 3 Virtues. As they are frequently exprest by Painters.

The Heroes. In bright antique habits, &c.²

At least thirty eight separate costumes are required for this production, and many of an elaborate nature. The cost would have been high, which may explain the title page's implication that it was not presented on the stage exactly as set down by the author.⁵

One feature of Salisbury Court productions that all parts of the audience must have understood was the convention of disguises. The immense popularity of disguises is illustrated by the fact that they were used in fourteen of the fifteen 'A' plays presented at the playhouse. As might be expected, the greatest number involved a man impersonating

¹Ibid., Sigs. B_{1r}-B_{2r}.

²Ibid., Sig. B_{2r}.

³The divergence between the text and the production on the stage at Salisbury Court is implied by a statement on the title page: "Presented with generall liking, at the Private House in Salisbury Court, and heere set down according to the Intention of the Authour, Thomas Nabbes." Ibid., Sig. A_{2r}.

another man. There are over two dozen separate instances of this while there are only twelve cases of a woman impersonating a woman, three impersonations of women by men, and one only of a man by a woman. The question to be considered here is, how realistic were these disguises?

Often, very little effort was made to accomplish the change of identity effectively. An exchange of garments was sometimes sufficient. For example, in Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633), this stage direction appears:

Enter Ciciley and Bellamie in one anothers clothes.¹

By far the most often used method consisted of simply donning a mask, vizard, or veil. The following passage, from The Antipodes (A-15; 1638), illustrates the use of masks:

Enter Letoy, Ioylesse, Diana, Martha, Barbara, in Masques, they sit at the other end of the stage.²

In a majority of scenes, however, in which a mask or the vizard was used, the deceivers are men, veils being the device used by the women characters. A

¹Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sig. D₃r.

²Richard Brome, The Antipodes, (1640), Sig. E₁r.

passage from The Changes (A-2;1631), is typical. The entrance direction makes no distinction, labelling all the disguises as masks:

Enter mask'd, Yongrave, Chrysolina, Gerard,
Aurelia, Thornay Eugenia, Simple, Bird...¹

The implication is that both men and women characters were masked. However, several directions for the characters to reveal themselves suggest that the first direction was not entirely correct, for they read:

Yon. discovers.
Chris. unveiles.
Aur. unveiles.
Ger. discovers,²
Eug. unveiles.²

Following are two passages, one representing each of the two principal devices. From A Mad World My Masters (A-11; 1637-40):

Enter the rest [Lieutenant, Folly-wit, and the
Ancient] vizarded.³

From The Queen and Concubine(C-3; 1635-36):

Enter Sforza and Petrucio, bringing Alinda
in a Chayre, veyl'd.⁴

¹James Shirley, The Changes (1632), Sig. K₂v.

²Ibid., Sig. K₂v.

³Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640), Sig. D₂r.

⁴Richard Brome, The Queen and the Concubine (1659) Sig. K₄r.

contained, "Vizors, Haires, and Beards."¹ Earlier in the same play a number of actors are heard speaking from within the tiring house:

Let. Go fetch 'hem then, while I prepare my Actors
Ex. Doc.

Within there hoe?

Within { 1. This is my beard and haire.
2. My Lord appointed it for my part.
3. No, this is for you; and this is yours,
this grey one.²

In The English Moor and the Mock Marriage (C-4; 1637), we find a beard used as a disguise by the servant,

Arnold:

Ar. And yet me thinks I know not how to look
The wide world in the face, thus on a sudden
I would fain get abroad, yet unknown.
Ra. For that Sir (look you) I have here, by chance
A false beard which I borrowed with a purpose
To Ha' worn't and put a jest upon your sadness.
Ar. Does it do well with me? Ar. puts on
Ra. You'l never have the beard.
One of your own so good: you look like Hector.³

A more complicated change, which also occurred on the stage, is found in The Politician (A-14; 1637-42). The dialogue suggests a most realistic representation. Gotharus is being pursued by the crowd and is in grave danger of being overtaken. His henchman, Sueno, walks on to the stage disguised. After his brief opening speech :

¹Richard Brome, The Antipodes (1640), Sig. G_{1v}.

²Ibid., II, i, Sig. D_{3r}.

³Richard Brome, The English Moor and Mock Marriage (1659) Sig. A_{4v}.

Enter Gotharus.

Go. I am pursued.

Su. My Lord Gotharus? worse and worse. oh for a
Mist before his eyes.

Go. You sha' not betray me, sir.

Su. Hold my lord. I am your servant, honest Sueno.

Go. Sueno. off with that case, it may secure me
Quickly, or -

Su. Oh my Lord, you shall command my skin.
Alas poor Gentleman, I'm glad I have it
To do your Lordship service.

Go. Nay, your beard too?

Su. Yes, yes, any thing.

Alas my good Lord, how comes this?

Go. Leave your untimely prating, help.
You'l not betray me.

Su. I'le first be hanged.

Within - Follow. follow.

Go. Hell stop their throats; so, so, now thy re-
ward.

Su. It was my duty, troth sir I will have nothing.

Go. Yes, take that, and that for killing of Haral-
dus.

[Wounds him.

Now I'm sure you will not prate.

Su. O murther.

Within - Follow. follow.

Go. I cannot 'scape. Oh, help, invention!
He bloodies himself with Sueno's
blood, and falls down as dead.¹

There is another instance, this one from The Lady
Mother (C-2; 1635), in which blood is used. Alexander
Lovell has fallen asleep after having consumed a
bottle of sack:

Enter Timothy, Grimes, Sucket, Crackby,
with flagons of wine.

¹James Shirley, The Politician (1655), Sigs. I_{2r} -
I_{2v}.

- Grimes. Quick, quick; make some plasters and
chapp em on his face: here, bind this
napkin about his hand; who has a garter,
lets see, to bind it up?
- Suc. Some blood¹, my sonn of Mercury, were
necesary for consummation of the jest.
- Crac. And here, Grimes, ty this cloath about
his head: oh, for some blood!
- Grimes. Here, I have prickt my finger.
- Tim. Let you and I, Mr. Crackby, goe to
buffitts for a bloody nose.
- Crac. No, no, you shall pardon me for that,
Tim; no, no; no boyes play.
- Suc. So, so; now set him in the chaires.
Hart of valour! he looks like a Mapp
oth world. Death, what are these?¹

Later, in the first scene of the second act, Lovell awakens and says:

...Umh, plaistered and bound up? bloody?
how comes this? ...²

There is nothing in either play to suggest how the blood was carried on to the stage, although it is known that in other playhouses it was sometimes contained in bladders or phials.³

Richard Brome's play The English Moore and the Mock Marriage (C-4; 1637), provides a scene in which

¹Glapthorne, op. cit., pp. 128-29.

²Ibid., p. 133.

³Reynolds cites an example of a bladder of vinegar being used in the production of Cambises in the 1560's; 3 violls of blood and a sheep's gather; and a decapitation in The Rebellion of Naples (1640), in which a bladder of blood and a bloody sponge were used. Reynolds (1940), op. cit., p. 40.

And pleasure must give way. Hold, take the
Tincture,
And perfect what's amiss now by your glass.¹

A few lines later Milliscent exits to complete her make-up. In the fourth act after Milliscent and Phillis have switched identities, Phillis has a grand entrance:

Florish enter Inductor like a Moor leading Phillis, (black and) gorgeously deck't with jewels.²

The bit of stagecraft which allowed Milliscent to leave the stage to add the finishing touches may suggest that a convincing make-up job could not be done in view of the audience.

In this discussion of costumes at the Salisbury Court playhouse, it is important to note how a character's attire aided communication. Beyond the mere indication of social position or occupation, costumes sometimes helped to convey humour.

Like costumes, properties help to communicate the meaning of a play to the audience, and like costumes they raise problems. A relatively complete list of

¹Richard Brome, The English Moor and the Mock Marriage (1659), Sigs. C₄ + 1_r - 2_r.

²Ibid., Sig. E_{3r}.

PROPERTIES

PLAY

Household Items:

| | | |
|--------------------|-------|--|
| Lanthorne | ..... | <u>The Twins</u> , Sig. F3v. |
| Torches | ..... | <u>The Changes</u> , Sig. K3v. |
| Tapers | ..... | <u>The Twins</u> , Sig. F2v. |
| Books | ..... | <u>The Antipodes</u> , Sig. C2v. |
| | | <u>A Mad World My Masters</u> , Sig. G2v. |
| | | <u>Microcosmus</u> , Sig. F3R. |
| | | <u>The Twins</u> , Sig. F2v. |
| | | <u>The Noble Stranger</u> , Sig. E2v. |
| | | <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> , Sig. C3v. |
| Letters and Papers | | <u>The Changes</u> , Sig. I2r. |
| | | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. H1r. |
| | | <u>The Politician</u> , Sig. A4v. |
| | | <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> , Sig. C3v. |
| Satchels | ..... | <u>The Antipodes</u> , Sig. E3v. |
| Pins and Feathers | | <u>The Muses Looking Glass</u> , Sig. A2r. |
| Keys | ..... | <u>The Changeling</u> , Sig. D3v. |
| | | <u>The Twins</u> , Sig. F3v. |
| A Bag | ..... | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. F4v. |

Weapons and Military

Equipment :

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|---|
| Swords | ..... | <u>The Antipodes</u> , Sig. E2r. |
| | | ----- Sig. G1v; |
| | | ----- Sig. G2v. |
| | | <u>Holland's Leaguer</u> , Sig. I1r. |
| | | <u>A Fine Companion</u> , Sig. I1v. |
| | | <u>The Twins</u> , Sig. C1r. |
| | | --- ----- Sig. C3v. |
| | | --- ----- Sig. G2v. |
| | | <u>The Noble Stranger</u> , Sig. F2r. |
| | | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. D3v. |
| | | <u>The English Moor and the</u> |
| | | <u>Mock Marriage</u> , Sig. E4 + 4r. |
| | | <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> , Sig. |
| | | B4 + 1v. |
| | | <u>The Lady Mother</u> , p. 180. |
| | | --- ----- p. 186. |
| Rapiers | ..... | <u>The Changeling</u> , Sig. D3v. |
| | | <u>The Changes</u> , Sig. B3r. |
| | | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. I3r. |
| Sword of lath and scabbard | .... | <u>The Antipodes</u> , Sig. H1r. |
| Poniard | ..... | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> , Sig. K2v. |
| | | <u>The Politician</u> , Sig. I2r. |

PROPERTIES

PLAY

Weapons (continued)

| | | |
|-------------------|-------|---|
| Daggers | ..... | <u>The Antipodes</u> , Sig. K2r. |
| A Sheath | ..... | <u>The Twins</u> , Sig. C3v. |
| A Knife | ..... | ----- Sig. D3r. |
| Spears | ..... | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> , Sig. H3v |
| Javelins | ..... | ----- Sig. K3r. |
| Mace | ..... | <u>The Antipodes</u> , Sig. G2v. |
| A Shield | ..... | <u>The Antipodes</u> , Sig. G1v. |
| Helmets | ..... | <u>The Antipodes</u> , Sig. G1v. |
| A Head Piece | .. | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> , Sig. K3r. |
| Armour | ..... | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. I1r. |
| Bows and Arrows | | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> , Sig. H4r. |
| | | <u>The Twins</u> , Sig. C2r. |
| Pistols | ..... | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. F2v. |
| | | ----- Sig. I3r. |
| | | <u>The Politician</u> , Sig. I1r. |
| | | <u>The English Moor or the</u> |
| | | <u>Mock Marriage</u> , Sig. D3v. |
| Gun | ..... | <u>The Changeling</u> , Sig. H2r. |
| Spade | ..... | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. D3v. |
| A Whistle | ..... | <u>The Sparagus Garden</u> , Sig. I2r. |
| Drums and Colours | | <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> , Sig. E2v. |

Out of Door Properties :

| | | |
|------------------------|-------|---|
| A Bush | ..... | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> , Sig. E1r. |
| Trees | ..... | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. I1r. |
| An Arbour ¹ | ..... | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> , Sig. I4v. |
| | | <u>Microcosmus</u> , Sig. D4r. |
| A Cave ¹ | ..... | <u>The Twins</u> , Sig. E1r. |
| | | <u>Microcosmus</u> , Sig. F1r. |
| A Rock | ..... | ----- Sig. F1r. |
| A Sphere | ..... | ----- Sig. C1v. |

Miscellaneous Properties:

| | | |
|----------------------|-------|---|
| A pair of Stocks | . | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> , Sig. I4r. |
| Coffins | ..... | ----- Sig. K4v. |
| | | <u>The Politician</u> , Sig. K1v. |
| A Tipstaff | .... | <u>Microcosmus</u> , Sig. B2r. |
| | | <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> , Sigs. |
| | | I2r & I3r. |
| A Cane | ..... | <u>The Politician</u> , Sig. E2v. |
| A Box of Black Paint | | <u>The English Moor or the</u> |
| | | <u>Mock Marriage</u> , Sig. C4 + 1r. |
| Rope | ..... | <u>The Gentleman of Venice</u> , Sig. F4v. |

¹It is possible that these were not properties but were simulated in the principal concealed area. See p. 149.

The property list yields some useful information. It has few items that were not in common use at the time or that otherwise would have been difficult to acquire. Exceptions may have been the "Out of Door Properties." However, the players could probably have manufactured these at very little cost. Furniture and table ware were becoming more readily obtainable. As early as 1587, William Harrison wrote this informative passage on the availability of costly furniture:

... now it [costly furniture] is descended yet lower even unto the inferior artificers and many farmers, who, by virtue of their old and not of their new leases, have for the most part learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine napery, whereby the wealth of our country (God be praised therefore, and give use grace to employ it well) doth infinitely appear we do yet find the means to obtain and achieve such furniture as heretofore hath been impossible.¹

From this it would seem that the players could have supplied their playhouse, either by borrowing or by purchase, with properties that could be found even in the homes of people of moderate means. Obtaining weapons may have been more difficult. Swords, for

¹William Harrison, Description of England, ed. in part by John Dover Wilson in Life in Shakespeare's England (1949), p. 268.

example, though an item of dress among the gentlemen of the times, were sometimes faked by the players.

Notice the following quotation from The Antipodes (A-15; 1638):

Per. Ile none o' this,
Give me that Princely weapon.
Let. Give it to him.
Sword It is a property you know my Lord,
No blade, but a rich Scabbard with a Lath in't.

The passage does prove that wood swords were sometimes used by the players and it is possible other weapons were also made of wood. There is no doubt that the players used wood to simulate other properties, for there is a reference in the Property List to paste board March-paines and wooden Pies.

It will be noticed that the list contains only properties which could be easily shifted by one or two men. There appears to have been simplicity of acquisition, storage, and shifting during the plays. Anything that might have created difficulty due to bulkiness or general unwieldiness was invariably referred to as off stage by the playwrights. Thus Shirley, in The Gentleman of Venice (A-17; 1639), creates a Venetian setting without resorting to the introduction of

¹Richard Brome, The Antipodes(1640), Sig. H_{1r}.

cumbersome properties. Cornari bids farewell to
Claudiana:

Cor. This becomes Claudiana,
I will thank thee in a kiss, prepare
The Gundelo!

Serv. It waites. [within]

Cor. And I on thee,
The treasure of my eyes, and heart. Exeunt.¹

The author here plays on the imagination of his audience and the result may well have been more effective than an attempt to introduce properties suggesting Venice on to the stage. The same technique is employed in The Twins (A-18; ?), in which horses, a staircase, and a deer are all mentioned as being off-stage.² This question of imagination versus realism brings us to the very important problem of scenery at the Salisbury Court playhouse.

The pros and cons of the question whether painted scenery existed in the theatre prior to that day in 1656, when D'Avenant's The Siege of Rhodes was presented at Rutland House, are familiar to all students of the theatre. My intention, therefore, is not to discuss this problem generally, but to present the relevant

¹James Shirley, The Gentleman of Venice (1655),
Sig. B3r.

²Rider, op. cit., Sigs. D4r, E4v, and F3r.

information as it pertains to the Salisbury Court playhouse. It must be remembered that a portion of the audience had probably been present at some of the court masques, and that their ideas regarding elaborate production must have been, to some extent, affected. In spite of this possible desire by the audience for sensational staging, I am inclined to think that play upon the imagination of the audience was the rule at the Salisbury Court playhouse, not the use of elaborate painted scenery. There was, however, one important exception to this rule, and that is Thomas Nabbes' masque, Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-36), which will be discussed presently.

My belief that the Salisbury Court players adhered to an Elizabethan concept of staging depends on two things: first, the absolute lack of anything resembling conclusive evidence for realistic outdoor settings in any of the Salisbury Court theatre plays with the above-mentioned exception, and second, the colourfully descriptive quality of much of the poetry connected with outdoor scenes. There is a garden scene in The Gentleman of Venice (A-17; 1639), which illustrates this. Cornari and Claudiana are walking together in the garden:

Enter Bellaura and Georgio.

Cor. Madam Bellaura the Dukes charge, is entered
The Garden, let's choose another walk.

Ex.

Bel. Why you are conceited sirra, does wit
Grow in this Garden?

Ge. Yea, Madam, while I am in't, I am a slip
Myself.

Bel. Of Rosemary or thime?

Ge. Of wit sweet Madam.

Bel. 'Tis pittie but thou shouldst be kept with wa-
tering.

Ge. There's wit in every Flower, if you can ga-
ther it.

Bel. I am of thy mind.

But what's the wit prethee of yonder tulip?

Ge. You may read there the wit of a young Cour-
tier.

Bel. What's that?

Ge. Pride, and shew of colours, a fair promising,
Deare when 'tis bought, and quickly come to no-
thing.

Bel. The wit of that rose?

Ge. If you attempt

Madam to pluck a rose, I shall find a moral in't

Bel. No Country wit?

Ge. That growes with pot-herbes, and poor roots,
which here

Would be accounted weeds, course things of
profit,

Whose end is kitchen Physic, and sound health;
Two things not now in fashion.¹

Here Shirley accomplishes two things, that of establish-
ing the location as a garden, while, at the same time,
creating humour. Another example, this time from
The Lady Mother (C-1; 1635), illustrates the poetic
method of establishing the scene. The Lady Mother

¹James Shirley, The Gentleman of Venice (1655),
Sigs. C_{4r} - C_{4v}.

is lamenting the lovers who she believes to have drowned:

T was here about; these are the poplars, this
The yewe he names. How prettily thees trees
Bow, as each meant to Consecrate a branch
To the drownd lovers; and, methinks, the streame
Pitt[y]ing their herse should want all funerall
rights,
Snatches the virgin lillies from his bankes
To strew their watry sepulcher. Who would
Desire an easier wafting to their death
Than through this River? what a pleasing sound
Its liquid fingers, harping on the stones,
Yeilds to th' admiring ear!¹

We have here a river, trees, and the sound of flowing water. Certainly the river was not represented upon the stage, and there is no need for the trees. To my way of thinking, a painted back drop depicting a river and trees would have placed limitations on the imaginations of the spectators, thereby destroying the effect of the poetry. A far more effective technique would have been to have the Lady give her speech facing the audience with the imaginary river flowing between each spectator and the lonely figure on the unadorned stage. This, it seems to me, would have allowed this passage, which Bullen calls the prettiest in Glapthorne, to produce the desired picture in the minds of the

¹Glapthorne, op. cit., V, i, 181-82.

audience.¹

Additional instances in Salisbury Court plays could be cited in which the playwright seems to be setting the scene by descriptive poetry. These, however, are similar to the ones mentioned above, and will not be quoted in full. The most appropriate to this discussion are the description of morning in the second act of The Twins (A-18; ?),² and the description of night in the first act of Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633).³ In my opinion, these passages, like that from The Lady Mother (C-2; 1635), were designed to play upon the imagination. The use of painted back drops in these scenes would not only have been contrary to the playwright's intention but would have had a serious restrictive effect on the spectators' imaginations.

On the other hand, I find it equally difficult to believe that, when the author went into a detailed description of painted back drops and a proscenium opening, as did Thomas Nabbes in his Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-36), the players would have jeopardised the success of the masque by utterly disregarding

¹A. H. Bullen, ed., A Collection of Old English Plays (1883), II, 181, n. 2.

²William Rider, The Twins (1655), Sig. C_{4r}.

³Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sigs. B_{1r} - B_{2r}. See also p. 248-49, q.v.

the playwright's wishes. It is not as though the masque were a new form. It was new only to the playhouses, having been long a popular form of entertainment at court. Would the players of Salisbury Court, faced for the first time with the problem of producing a masque in their playhouse, have disregarded the colourful example of the court masque with its painted back drops and shifting scenery? I do not think so. It is true that the title page suggests that the players did deviate from the playwright's text:

Microcosmus. A Morall Maske. Presented with generall liking, at the Private House in Salisbury-Court, and heere set down according to the Intention of the Author, Thomas Nabbes.¹

Variations from the playwright's purposes may have been introduced when the masque was presented, but these could have been of a minor nature rather than anything so fundamental as a complete re-working of the author's purpose.

If we can assume that Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-36), was presented upon the stage in a form not too different from the one suggested by the playwright, then there are grounds for following Lawrence's suggestion and

¹Thomas Nabbes, Microcosmus (1637), Sig. A₂r.

and terming the production "epoch-making."¹ The initial stage direction which was quoted in Chapter V bears mention again for it introduces production ideas that had hitherto not been used in an English playhouse:²

The Front.

Of a workmanship proper to the fancy of the rest, adorn'd with brasse figures of Angels and Devils, with severall inscriptions: The Title in an Escocheon supported by an Angel and a Devill. Within the arch a continuing perspective of ruines, which is drawne still before the other scenes whilst they are varied.

The Inscriptions

Hinc gloria
Appetitus boni

Hinc poena
Appetitus mali³

In this passage, there are two ideas revolutionary to playhouse staging of the times: the demand for a form of proscenium arch, and painted scenery which could be altered behind wings or curtains. Altogether five distinct scenes were presented in Microcosmus.

I visualise the above structure as having been built in one of two ways depending upon the structure

¹W. J. Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1927), p. 339.

²See p. 153, q. v.

³Thomas Nabbes, Microcosmus (1637), Sig. B₂r.

of the curtained area. If there was a permanent rear stage, the "Front" was probably mounted above it at the front of the upper stage. Thus, the curtains or wings with the continuing perspective could have been substituted for the rear stage curtains and could have been drawn, when necessary, allowing for scene changes in the curtained area. If the curtained area was a large property, such as a frame-work with curtains as Reynolds suggests, the structure in the play may have been of a similar nature and decorated as suggested by Nabbes.

Apparently the spectator, on taking his seat in the auditorium, would have noted an elaborately decorated arch surmounted by an escutcheon, in the centre and well to the rear of the stage. Within the arch, he would have seen a set of drawn curtains or possibly wings, designed to move in slots, upon which was painted a perspective of ruins.

The play opens with music accompanying the entrance of Nature and then Janus on to the main acting platform in front of the ruins. They converse and then four elements enter, converse, and then dance:

Whilst the following song is singing, the first Scene appears, being a sphere in which the 4. Elements are figur'd, and about it they sit imbracing one another.¹

¹Ibid., Sig. C_{1v}.

Following the song there is a short dialogue, and a dance, and then the stage direction:

They returne into the Scene, and it closeth.¹

This concludes act one and illustrates the method of presentation, which utilises, first, the main acting platform and then, the curtained area. The method is very much the same for the other four scenes.²

The stage directions in Microcosmus contain several references to scenic display of a kind that had previously not been seen in playhouses. In addition to the perspective of ruins, there were three other painted scenes; a perspective of clouds, a magnifiqu building, and a landscape. These were probably painted back drops.

If Microcosmus was indeed presented in a manner resembling that suggested here, the advent of elaborate painted scenery, and scene changes behind a form of proscenium arch, in the English theatre will have to be back dated about twenty years - from 1656, the date of The Siege of Rhodes, until c. 1636, the approximate productiondate of Microcosmus at the Salisbury Court playhouse.

¹Ibid., Sig. C1v.

²The relevant stage directions have been quoted on pp. 154-55, q. v.

However, scenery was ^{never} employed at the Salisbury Court playhouse with the possible exception of Microcosmus. The Elizabethan convention of allowing the poetry to set the scene in the minds of the audience seems to have been followed. It is my belief, however, that, in the case of the masque, Microcosmus, the established techniques of the court masques were introduced into a playhouse for the first time. If this is true, the little playhouse off Salisbury Square has indeed played its part in theatrical history.

The production of Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-36), a masque, naturally required a considerable amount of music. To a lesser extent, however, music played a part in most of the plays produced at the Salisbury Court playhouse. For example, fourteen of the fifteen 'A' plays presented at the playhouse call for some form of musical support. The musical activities at the Salisbury Court theatre will be examined from two points of view; first, the instruments themselves and second, a brief consideration of how they were used.

What instruments were used by the musicians at the Salisbury Court playhouse can be determined to a considerable extent by reference to the plays. A list of the instruments mentioned in the plays follows forthwith.

INSTRUMENTS USED AT THE SALISBURY COURT PLAYHOUSE

| INSTRUMENT | PASSAGE | PLAYS |
|---------------------|--|--|
| Antique Instruments | "...playing on antique instruments, out of tune." | <u>Microcosmus</u> Sig. B3v. |
| Cornets | "Mer. ... Music strike aloud And cuckolds joy, with merry pipe and crowd." "They dance to musick of Cornets and Violins." | <u>The English Moor or the Mock Marriage</u> Sig. A2v. |
| Drums | "Hearke how the souldier with his martiall noise, Threatens your foes..." "Enter Captain, Drum and Colours, King and Sforza, Souldiers." | <u>The Antipodes</u> Sig. I3v. <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> Sig. C2v. |
| Fiddle | "Enter Curat richly rob'd, and Crown'd with Bays, playing on a fiddle, many school Boys..." "Musike softe Lov. .. Umh, where is this fidle?" | <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> Sig. I4 + 2v. <u>The Lady Mother</u> p. 132. |
| Harp | "Soft Musique ... Apollo falls from his former tone, and plays an Ayr, to which the Sybils sing | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> Sig. E4v. |

| INSTRUMENTS | PASSAGE | PLAY |
|---------------------|---|---|
| Hautboy | Hoboyes (To open scene) | <u>The Antipodes</u> Sig. F1v. |
| | Hoboys "Hor. The Queen comes on, Joy in that face appears" (Entry in procession) | <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> Sig. B1r. |
| | Hooboys "The meaner Satyres play on the <u>Hooboys</u> ... in a distracted way. Phil. Strange Musique! Lar. The screech-Owles Dirge ere death, Having plaid thus dis- tractedly they play some acurate lesson. | <u>The Careless Shepherdess</u> Sig. K3v. |
| | Haughboies "Exit in State" | <u>The Antipodes</u> Sig. I4v. |
| | Haughboyes "Hearke how the City, with loud harmony, Chaunts a free welcome to your majesty." | <u>The Antipodes</u> Sig. I3v. |
| Lute | "Melancholy. A Musician ... a Lute in his hand.." | <u>Microcosmus</u> Sig. B1v. |
| Sowgelder's Horn | "A sowgelders horn blown. Tes. What hidious noise is this." | <u>The English Moor or the Mock Marriage</u> Sig. B1v. |

| INSTRUMENTS | PASSAGE | PLAY |
|-------------|---|---|
| Organs | "A song to the Organs." | <u>A Mad World</u> <u>My Masters</u> Sig. D1r. |
| Recorders | "A solemne lesson upon the Recorders." | <u>The Antipodes</u> Sig. L3r. |
| | "Recorders." Cap... Charme with heavenlier notes our eares." | <u>The Changes</u> Sig. K1v. |
| | "Enter King, Horatio etc." | <u>The Queen and Concubine</u> Sig. L4 + 1v. |
| | "Recorders. Enter Hymen and the Lovers." | <u>The Lady Mother</u> p. 196. |
| Trumpet | "Hearke how the souldier with his martiall noise Threatens your foes..." | <u>The Antipodes</u> Sig. I3v. |
| | "Enter Rebels with a Trumpet before the Coffin marching." | <u>The Politician</u> Sig. K1v. |
| Violins | "Mer.... Musick strike aloud And cuckolds joy, with merry pipe and crowd. | <u>The English Moor or the Mock Marriage</u> Sig. B2v. |
| | They dance to musick of Cornets and Violins." | |

The list of instruments indicates that no unusual instruments were used by the Salisbury Court musicians. Eleven of the instruments are to be found in Shakespeare's plays. The other two, antique instruments and the sowgelder's horn, may well have been special effects by conventional instruments. The references indicate the uses to which the various instruments were put. For example, the trumpet, alone or with the drum, frequently heralded some form of martial display. The recorder, with its flute-like quality, was used to establish a joyful or melancholy mood.

The most common use of music appears to have been to herald the entrance of important characters or to introduce a scene. In addition to the examples in the reference column, a variety of stage directions indicate this use, for instance, "flourish," "sennet flourish," "loud music," and "soft music." Sometimes the same kind of musical effect accompanies the ~~exits~~ as well. Often the musician helps to establish the mood for a scene. Thus, the King, in The Politician (A-14; 1637-42), says:

This musick doth but add to my melancholy.¹

¹James Shirley, The Politician (1655), Sig. C_{2r}.

The mid-seventeenth century playwrights of the Salisbury Court playhouse, like the Elizabethans before them, fitted songs into their plays in much the manner of the modern operetta or musical comedy. Thus, in The Noble Stranger (A-12; 1637-40), Honorio requests a song as he waits below the Princess's window:

Hon. ... Come boy, breath
Out my sorrowes in a mournfull aire:

Song.

Boy. Tell me Jove, should she disdain,
Whether were it greater paine,
Silent in thy flames to dye,
Or say I love, and she deny.

[2 quatrains]

Enter Princesse above.

Prin. What Harmony is that? say who's below?¹

The lover's lament fits perfectly into the context of the play. In Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633), there is a song in a different mood. Bellamie has been running away from pursuers in the night. It is now nearly dawn and she hears a song in the distance:

..... Singing within a farre off.²
The Song within

Wat a dainty life the milke-maid leads!
When over the flowery meades
She dabbles in the dewe
And sings to her cowe;

¹Lewis Sharp, The Noble Stranger (1640), Sig. C₄r.

²Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sig. B₂v.

And feels not the paine
Of love or disdaine:
She sleeps - the night though she toyles in the day.
And merrily she passeth her time away

The fourth Scoene

To her [Bellamie] Ciceley, as going to milking.¹

How well the playwright uses the milk-maid's song to change the mood of his play from one of darkness and panic to one of pastoral calmness as the new day dawns. There are many other examples of songs used by playwrights to establish the desired mood for their plays, but it is hardly necessary to cite them. I know of no instance in the Salisbury Court plays where music or songs are introduced without furthering some purpose in the play.

The same may be said of the dances. They were introduced as a part of the play, not as a separate item of entertainment. Little can be determined from the plays regarding the type of dances presented at the playhouse. Only one dance is mentioned by name, the cinquepace in Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-36). Blood says to Tasting:

Blood. This leg's not right.
Tast. I know it. 'Tis my left.
Blood. Carry your toes wider.
Tast. Take heed that I foote not you.
Blood. Now do your cinque passe cleanly.²

¹Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638) Sig. B3r.

²Thomas Nabbes, Microcosmus (1637), Sig. E2v.

This was a lively dance generally associated with the galliard, although Baskervill suggests that it was sometimes a part of various country dances as well.¹

His description of the dance is worth noting:

In the galliard the unit of action is the cinquepace, corresponding to six beats of music. The cinquepace according to Arbeau's account, consists of four movements of the feet followed by a "cadence" which is made up of a leap ("sault majeur") and a final "posture". ... The dancer, for example, raises one foot in front or behind or across the other, and so on. At the same time, with the foot which bears the weight he makes a "petit sault". This gives the characteristic hopping motion of the galliard. Such a dance calls for considerable strength and dexterity, Arbeau describes it as a dance for young men.²

In addition to the cinquepace, there are two references to country dances. The first, from Microcosmus (A-10; 1634-36), simply calls for "A familiar Country dance."³ The second, from A Mad World My Masters (A-11; 1637-40), is only a little more informative, but is worth noting for it appeared only in the 1640 edition of the play, and not in 1608. Thus, it would appear that the dance

¹Charles Read Baskervill, The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song and Dance (1929), p. 364.

²Ibid., p. 341.

³Thomas Nabbes, Microcosmus (1637), Sig. E_{1r}.

was added to the production when the play was presented at the Salisbury Court theatre:

A Song, sung by the musitians, and after the Song, a Country dance, by the Actors in their Vizards to a new footing.¹

An interesting controversy appears to have been raging about the jig, that dance of country folk and lower class city people. Although jigs were still being presented in some of the plays at the Salisbury Court playhouse, a critical attitude must have been held by a portion of the audience; a view that found expression in the plays. Baskervill cites a portion of the epilogue to The Court Beggar (1653), which refers to The Antipodes (1638). and The Sparagus Garden (1635). His note on the subject is of importance here:

The poet, he [Swaynwit, the country gentleman] says, "has made prety merry Jigges that ha' pleas'd many. As (le' me see) th' Antipodes, and (oh I shall never forget) Tom Hogden o' Tanton Deane. Hee'l bring him hither very shortly in a new Motion, and a new paire o' slops and new nether stocks as briske as a Body-lowse in a new Pasture." This epilogue, referring to Sparagus Garden of 1635 and Antipodes of 1638, seems to satirize the interest shown by men without taste in elements of plays that resembled jigs.²

¹Thomas Middleton, A Mad World My Masters (1640), Sig. E₂r.

²Baskervill, op. cit., p. 319 n.1.

A statement in The Lady Mother (1638), suggests that the jig was already out of date:

Suc. ... Oh those playes that I have seene of youre,
with their Jiggs...¹

This would add support to Baskervill's limitation of the period of popularity of the jig at or about the close of James' I's reign.² A more important passage on the jig, suggests that audiences at Salisbury Court were above this form of dancing. The passage was quoted earlier in the discussion of audience tastes (see pp. 97-98). Thrift, the citizen in The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42), has rebelled against both the play and the price at the Salisbury Court playhouse. While retrieving his money from the cash box, he says:

I'le go to th' Bull, or Fortune, and there see
A Play for two pence, with a Jig to boot. Exit.³

Once more there is agreement between the implication in this passage and a general statement by Baskervill:

The jig was the darling of the groundlings,
not the literati.⁴

All in all, from the limited information at our disposal, it can only be concluded that dancing at the Salisbury

¹Glaphorne, op. cit., p. 131.

²Baskervill, op. cit., p. 1.

³Goffe, op. cit., Sig. B_{4v}.

⁴Baskervill, op. cit., p. 1.

Court playhouse was generally of a more genteel quality than dancing at the Red Bull or Fortune, although, on occasion, jig-like dances were still presented.

Before leaving the subject of music at the Salisbury Court playhouse, it is necessary to say a few words about the musicians themselves. Whether the following information applies to this playhouse, or to the Blackfriars or the Cockpit, is uncertain, for a part of it comes from The Actors Remonstrance (1642), which refers to all three playhouses, while the remainder comes from the 'C' play The Lady Mother (C-2; 1635). Nevertheless, the information is of sufficient interest to warrant mention here. In The Lady Mother, a musician named Jarvice is mentioned. The scene is a tavern; Sucket speaks:

Ever, ever, whilst you live, Jarvice; the
dauncers alwayes payes the musike.¹

Gerald Bentley advances the suggestion that Jarvice was the name of a man, not a character, probably a musician for the King's Revels at the Salisbury Court theatre.² The dialogue does seem to be closely connected with the theatre. In an earlier passage, Sucket

¹Glaphthorne, op. cit., p. 132.

²Bentley, op. cit. (1940), II, 482.

says concerning the songs to be presented by the musicians:

But are they bawdy? come, sir, I see by your simpering it is you that sings; but do not squeake like a French Organ-pipe nor make faces as if you were to sing a Dirge. Your fellowes may goe behind the arras: I love to see Musitions in their postures imitate those ayrey soules that grace our Cittie Theaters, though in their noats they come as short of them as Pan did of Apollo.¹

Whether the playwright was writing about musicians from a playhouse is open to question, but it is known from The Actors Remonstrance (1642), that musicians did sometimes earn good money at taverns:

Our musique, that was held so delectable and precious, that they scorned to go to tavern under twentie shillings for two hours, now wander with their instruments under their cloaks, I mean such as have any.²

A further reference from The Lady Mother (C-2; 1635) tells us the number of men that were in the group.

Sucket is speaking:

Pay the Musick? umh, where are they? let me see, how many's of you, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6: good, can any of you daunce?³

¹Glaphthorne, op. cit., p. 129.

²"The Actors Remonstrance", in H. B. Baker's History of the London Stage and its Famous Players (1904), p. 35.

³Glaphthorne, op. cit., p. 130.

No attempt will be made to draw any conclusions from this information. The material is introduced primarily because of its possible connection with the Salisbury Court playhouse, and secondarily, because it offers us some insight into the musical activities of the times.

We have seen how costumes, properties, scenery and music all helped to enliven Salisbury Court productions for the audience. In addition to these, there were other special effects which played on the senses of the audience and helped to create an appealing picture. These were of two kinds, auditory and visual.

Sound effects at the Salisbury Court playhouse were produced by voice, musical instruments, and explosives. In addition, there were numerous instances of "Knocking within." Of voice-produced noises, those of people shouting in the distance are the most common. For example, during the pursuit in Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633), this line appears:

Within. Follow, follow, follow.¹

This direction is repeated four times in the scene as the pursuers draw closer. A similar situation occurs in The Twins (A-18; ?). Here the direction distinguishes between a nearby noise and one in the distance:

¹Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court (1638), Sigs. B1v - B2r.

So ho, ho, ho - (within a far off) So, ho, ho, ho...
(within) so, ho, ho.
So ho, ho, ho - Enter Silvio and Philagris.¹

It would appear that we could follow the passage of Silvio and Philagris through the woods in the distance until they arrive in front of the audience, by the variations in the intensities of their voices. There are two instances of bird sounds, but neither comes from an 'A' play, and neither suggests that any great talent was required for the imitation. The stage direction from The Queen and Concubine (C-3; 1635-36), is simply "Birds Chirp", and there is no knowing whether this was rendered by voice or whistle.² In The Changeling (B-2; 1637-), a more informative direction appears:

Lol. Cuckow, cuckow.³

Little skill would have been required to produce the off-stage vocal noises at the Salisbury Court playhouse, the principal problem being that of timing.

Most often used of the musical sound effects were various forms of bells, although once again the references come from doubtful plays. The most effective use

¹Rider, op. cit., Sig. C_{2r}.

²Richard Brome, The Queen and Concubine (1659), Sig. D₄ + 3_r.

³Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, The Changeling (1653), Sig. E_{2r}.

of bells comes from the final act of The Changeling (B-2; 1637-). This is the scene in which Beatrice and De Flores are accosted by Alonzo's ghost:

Enter Beatrice. A Clock strikes one.
Bea. One struck, and yet she lies by 't.¹

Beatrice goes on to speak of her sins and suspense grows as she waits to hear the results of her substitution of Diaphanta, her maid, in her husband's bed:

Bea. ...Heark by my horrors,
Another clock strikes two! Strike two.
.....
Enter Alonzo's Ghost:
De. Ha! what art thou that tak'st away the light
'Twixt that starr and me? I dread thee not,
'Twas but a mist of conscience - All's
clear agen. [Exit.
Bea. Who's that, Deflores? Blesse me! it slides by,
Some ill thing haunts the house...List
oh my terrors,
Three struck by St. Sebastians.
Struck 3 a clock.²

Following this the fire alarm is sounded, and a bell rings which is identified as the fire bell. The playwright, here used bells to signify the passage of the night. The cumulative effect of the bells must have added considerably to the feelings of suspense that must have encompassed the audience throughout the scene.

¹Ibid., Sig. G_{4v}.

²Ibid., Sigs. H_{1r} - H_{1v}.

(B-2; 1637-) directs, "The piece goes off."¹ The fact that the audience did not see these shots fired may indicate that a simple fire cracker was used rather than a more dangerous blank charge in a pistol. Fireworks were sometimes used in the plays, for in the Epilogue to The Scholars (A-16; 1638-42), the actor speaks of:

The rosin-lightning flash, and Monster spire
Squibs, and words hotter than his fire.²

In spite of this passage, it would seem that the use of explosive noises at the Salisbury Court playhouse was very limited.

With the exception of music, sound effects at the Salisbury Court playhouse were used sparingly. The plays suggest nothing in the sound effects field that would have created any great problem for the players. The most frequently-encountered, by far, were effects that could have been easily produced by the unaided actor.

When we come to consider visual effects at the Salisbury Court playhouse, the question inevitably

¹Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, The Changeling (1653), Sig. H2r.

²Richard Lovelace, "Epilogue to The Scholars," in Lucasta and other Poems (1649,)p. 77.

comes to mind: was there any form of elaborate control over the lighting? It is known from Richard Heton's "Instructions Toching Salesbery Co^rt Playhouse...", that "...lights, both wax and tallow," were used to the value of ten shillings a day,¹ while it is suggested in The Careless Shepherdess (A-13; 1637-42), that poets may soon be compelled "...to snuff the candles," to earn a living.² W. J. Lawrence says, in a statement regarding lighting in private theatres:

Though ... the private theatres had a method of procuring darkness by clapping down the auditorium shutters, it was too elaborate a process to be resorted to for momentary effects..³

Lawrence goes on to express the belief that night effects were produced by poetic suggestion in the plays. Certainly there is sufficient evidence in Salisbury Court plays to warrant a like conclusion for this playhouse. A passage which apparently was designed to create an imaginative night effect occurs in Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633). Torches were introduced later in the play, but I do not believe the stage was darkened in any way. The scene depicts a night flight by Worthington and Bellamie:

¹Cunningham, op. cit., p. 100.

²Goffe, op. cit., Sig. B3v

³Lawrence, op. cit. (1927), p. 130.

In this scene of sixty-three lines, there are no less than sixteen distinct references which suggest darkness and night. It would have hardly been necessary or, for that matter effective, to introduce so many allusions of this nature if an efficient method of light control did exist at the playhouse. In the second scene, torches are introduced which reinforce the impression of night:

Enter Vncle, servants and tenants with lights,
as pursuing them.¹

The third scene depicts the coming of dawn in a passage of descriptive poetry, spoken by Bellamie:

The day begins to breake, and trembling light,
As if affrighted with this nights disaster,
Steales through the farthest ayre, and by degrees
Salutes my weary longings.²

Throughout the first three scenes of this play, the effort of the playwright appears to have been to establish the time as night, principally by the use of descriptive speeches. My impression is that such profusion of night images would be necessary and effective only if its purpose was to make the audience imagine a place of darkness.

Often night is suggested merely by the mention of

¹Ibid., Sig. B_{2r}.

²Ibid., Sig. B_{2v}.

torches. An example of this technique occurs in
The Noble Stranger (A-12; 1637-40):

Prin. It grows late, lets to our Chamber.
Cal. Lights there for the Princesse. Ex. omnes.¹

Then, as dawn comes, Honorio speaks the following lines:

Hon. See Aurora puts her Crimson blush,
And with resplendent raies guilds ore the
top
Of yon aspiring hill the pearly dew
Hangs on the Rose buds top, and knowing it
Must be anon exhaled, for sorrow shrinkes.
Itselfe into a teare: the early Larke,
With other winged Choristers of the Morne,
Chanting their Anthems in harmonious aires:
Let those whose sleepes are sound, and quiet
as
The dead of night, rise and partake these
sweets
This place affords, they are not for me to
joy in.²

Here, as in the passage from Tottenham Court (A-5; 1633),
the appeal is to the spectators' imaginations, once more
suggesting that it was the poetry, not light control,
that established the scene for the audience.

The analysis of production techniques at the
Salisbury Court playhouse illustrates two important
points; first, the essential simplicity of these
techniques, and second, the considerable dependence
upon poetic and musical suggestion to establish the

¹Sharp, op. cit., Sig. C3r.

²Ibid., Sig. C3v.

desired special effects. The conclusion, therefore, must be that the playwright and not the producer was still the master, and that appeal to the ear rather than the eye was still of prime importance at the Salisbury Court playhouse. This theatre conforms, indeed, to Richard Flecknoe's description of "those former times," to be found in A Short Discourse of the English Stage (1664):

Now, for the difference betwixt our Theatres and those of former times, they were but plain and simple, with no other Scenes nor Decorations of the Stage, but onely old Tapestry, and the Stage strew'd with Rushes,¹ with their Habits accordingly, whereas ours now for cost and ornament are arriv'd to the height of Magnificence; but that which makes our Stage the better makes our Playes the worse perhaps, they striving now to make them more for sight than hearing, whence that solid joy of the interior is lost, and that benefit which men formerly receiv'd from Playes, from which they seldom or never went away but for better and wiser than they came.²

¹In Richard Heton's "Instructions Touching Salesbery Co^rt Playhouse, 14 Septem., 1639," he specifies, "Halfe for rushes, flowers, and Strowings on the Stage." Cunningham, op. cit., p. 100.

²Richard Flecknoe, "A Short Discourse of the English Stage," ed. by J. E. Springarn in Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1908), II, 95.

CHAPTER VII

The Rebuilt Playhouse

The Salisbury Court playhouse, as Pepys knew it after the Restoration, was a new structure built upon the walls of the old. It will be remembered (see Chapter II, page 63) that soldiers "pulled downe" the theatre in 1649. Beeston, in his Complaint against the Earl of Dorset, tells us what actually happened:

... divers soldiers by force and arms entered the said play-house, cut down the seats, broke down the stage, and utterly defaced the whole building.¹

Thus the interior structure of both the stage and the auditorium was severely damaged. Later in the proceedings Beeston describes how Lightmaker "entered upon the said house and premises and took down the roof of the said house and was disposing of it to a brew-house."² From these two statements it would appear that a considerable amount of rebuilding would have been required before the playhouse would have been ready for use after the Restoration. The structure of this rebuilt playhouse constitutes the subject of this chapter.

¹J. Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928), p. 101.

²Ibid., p. 103.

The evidence concerning the structure of the rebuilt Salisbury Court playhouse is more definite than that encountered thus far in this study and, consequently, allows for a more direct approach. J. Leslie Hotson, in Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (1928), discusses in considerable detail a Chancery bill and answer involving William Beeston and the carpenters, Fisher and Silver.¹ Fisher and Silver, who carried out the building repairs on the playhouse, brought a bill of ejectment against Beeston for non-payment of the resultant debt. Beeston, in turn, brought a bill of complaint against Fisher and Silver to have the bill of ejectment stopped, alleging, among other things, that the work of the carpenters was of an inferior quality and that Beeston, as a result, was damaged two thousand pounds, or far beyond the value of his debt. Fisher and Silver, in their answer, present an itemised account of the work to be done and the materials to be used. No final decision was handed down on the case for the playhouse was burned down before litigation could be concluded. A considerable quantity of valuable information about the structure of the playhouse is to be found in the bill of complaint and the subsequent answer. This

¹Hotson, op. cit., pp. 106-14.

material, along with Hotson's conclusions, will be reviewed here plus a number of my own conclusions drawn from the same evidence.

Plays produced at the theatre are of less value as sources of information about the rebuilt playhouse than they were for the original structure. Of the ten plays that we know were presented at the rebuilt Salisbury Court playhouse, one only, The Rump (A-1; 1660), is an 'A' play. Eight others were revivals of pre-Restoration plays, while one, Love's Quarrell (April 6, 1661), is not extant. In no case, can an edition of any one of these plays be related directly to a Salisbury Court playhouse production. Thus, these plays are of interest primarily as they fill out the history of the playhouse and reflect audience tastes rather than as sources of information about the structure. The Salisbury Court playhouse post-Restoration repertory, as far as we know it, follows:

| Classification, Salisbury Court, Acting Date, and Author | Title and Evidence for Acting Date | Editions |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------|
|---|---------------------------------------|----------|

(A-1)

1660

Tatham, John

The Rump, or the Mirror
of the Late Times

1660

1661

Acted many times with
great applause at the
Private House in Dorset
Court.¹

(B-1)

9 Feb. 1661

Beaumont, Francis
& Fletcher, John

The Mad Lover

1647

(Collection)

9 Feb. 1661. "Creed and I
to Whitefriars to the
Play-house, and saw "The

1679

(Collection)

Mad Lover," the first
time I saw it acted,
which I like pretty well."²

S.R. 1646 Sept. 4

S.R. 1683 Aug. 21.

(B-2)

23 Feb. 1661

Middleton, Thomas
& Rowley, William

The Changeling

1653

1653

1668

23 Feb. 1661. "Then by
water to White-friars to
the Play- and there saw
'The Changeling' "³

S.R. 1652 Oct. 19.

¹John Tatham, The Rump (1660), Sig. A3r.

²Richard Lord Braybrooke, ed., The Diary of Samuel Pepys, F.R.S. (1906), I, 163.

³Ibid., I, 166.

- (B-3)
1 Mar. 1661 The Bondman 1624
Massinger, Philip 1638
1 Mar. 1661. "To White- 1719
fryars and saw 'The Bond-
man' acted; an excellent
play, and well done. But
above all I ever saw,
Betxerton do the Bondman
best."¹
- 19 Mar. 1661. "Mr. Creed
and I to White-fryars,
where we saw 'The Bondman'
acted most excellently, and
though I have seen it often
yet I am every time more
pleased with Betertons
action."²
- 26 Mar. 1661. "To Salisbury
Court, and I and my wife
sat in the pitt, and saw
'The Bondman' done to
admiration."³

- (B-4)
2 Mar 1661 Love's Mistress or the 1636
Heywood, Thomas Queen's Masque 1640

2 Mar. 1661. "After dinner
I went to the theatre,
where I found so few people
(which is strange, and the
reason I do not know) that
I went out again, and so to
Salisbury Court, where the
house as full as could be;
and, it seems it was a new
play, 'The Queen's Maske'

¹Ibid., I, 168.

²Ibid., I, 171.

³Ibid., I, 175.

wherein there are some good humours: Amongst others a good jeer to the old story of the Seige of Troy, making it to be a common country tale. But above all it was strange to see so little a boy as that was to act Cupid, which is one of the greatest parts in it."¹

25 Mar. 1661. "After that, I and Captain Ferrers to Salisbury Court by water, and saw part of the 'Queen's Maske.' "²

(B-5)

16 Mar. 1661

Fletcher, John &

Massinger, Philip

The Spanish Curate

1647

16 Mar 1661. "To Whitefryers, and saw 'The Spanish Curate,' in which I had noe great content."³

(B-6)

1 Apr. 1661

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife

1640

1 Apr. 1661. "To Whitefryars, and there saw part of 'Rule a Wife and have a Wife,' which I never saw before, but do not like it."⁴

(B-7)

2 Apr. 1661

Fletcher, John

[corrected by Shirley]

The Night Walker or the Little Thief

1640

2 Apr. 1661. "So to Whitefryars, and saw 'The Little

¹Ibid., I, 168.

²Ibid., I, 173.

³Ibid., I, 171.

⁴Ibid., I, 175.

Thiefe,' which is a very merry and pretty play, and the little boy do very well!"¹

(Not extant)
6 Apr. 1661
Anonymous

Love's Quarrell ?

6 Apr. 1661. "Creed and I to Salsbury Court, and there saw 'Love's Quarrell' acted the first time, but I do not like the design nor words."²

(B-8)
9 Sept. 1661
Ford, John

'Tis Pity Shee's a Whore 1633
1744

9 Sept. 1661. "To Salisbury Court play house where was acted the first time 'Tis Pity Shee's a Whore,' a simple play and ill acted."³

In The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage Leslie Hotson presents a most useful discussion of the rebuilt theatre liberally supported by quotations from Beeston's Bill of Complaint and the Answer by Fisher and Silver. The most important passages from the Bill of Complaint follow:

... on or about the latter end of the year 1659, - when it was known that his Majesty was like to return and the times for such ingenious exercises began to open, - your orator was minded

¹Ibid., I, 175.

²Ibid., I, 176.

³Ibid., I, 234.

to repair and amend the said house, and make it fit for the use aforesaid. Whereof one Thomas Silver and Edward Fisher, carpenters, having notice and being desirous to do the said work (or rather, indeed, to defeat your orator of his interest in the premises, as by the sequel it will appear), they or one of them repaired to your said orator and desired to be employed in the said work, and proffered to take a view thereof, and that they would do the same upon very reasonable terms, and would stay for their money till such time as your orator could with conveniency pay the same, or to that effect.¹

As a result of this meeting, Fisher and Silver were, according to Beeston, contracted to:

... build and erect over the said theatre or stage a large Room or Chamber for a dancing school, forty foot square, which was to be done with good, sufficient, and substantial timber; and... firmly to repair and amend the said Theater and all the seats and boxes and viewing rooms thereto belonging, and ... also raise the roof of the said house thirty foot higher than it was; and some other things agreed upon.²

Beeston alleged, however, that all was not completed as stipulated in the agreement, for:

... when your orator and some friends and workman of his came to view and consider of the said building and new alteration, your orator and his friends and workman found that they had done the said work contrary to the said Agreement ... for whereas they were... to raise the said roof, and to make such

¹Hotson, op. cit., p. 108.

²Ibid., p. 108.

great large room for a dancing school as aforesaid, the said workman had not only raised the said roof, but had also instead of the said large room made eight little rooms with partitions and posts thereto that went up to the roof, to help support the roof because the scantlings that they put in were so weak that they would not support the roof. And the upper room [sic] in the said theatre was framed and fixed so low that the spectators on the second seats could not discern the actors on the [st]age; ... And your orator was forced at his own costs and charges to make the said room three foot higher ... And your orator was also forced at his own costs and charges to alter most of the boxes and seats in the said house, and the galleries there, and the stage, and most of the said house, which cost your orator near one hundred pounds. And all or most of the joists in the pit, and the chiefest pieces of strength that supported the fabric, and all the timber belonging to the Cellars and private rooms, and the timbers belonging to the dwelling house and over the stage, and many other pieces of timber in other places of the said house were his (your said orator's) own materials; and yet the said Silver and Fisher do reckon for the same to your said orator as if they had been bought and provided by them.¹

Fisher and Silver in their Answer present an itemised list of the work to be done under the agreement and the rates of cost per unit of material. There is a considerable quantity of material therein concerning the structure of the rebuilt playhouse:

... the walls thereof, whereof were then already built or almost built with brick, that is to say:

¹Ibid., p. 108-09.

- a) the two upper floors and the roof thereof the full extent of the same building, and
- b) a staircase without the walls.

[These] were to be of such height and bigness as the complainant should appoint; and [they] should ashlar the same roof and make

- c) seats or degrees and
- d) doors, and hang the same with iron hinges in the same playhouse as the said complainant should likewise direct and appoint, and make
- e) windows therein, both transome and clear story lights as occasion should require...

That the scantlings of the timber thereof should contain upon the square as followeth viz:

- a) the beams or girders, and posts supporting those girders, 10" x 10" (only the girder which should support the dwelling house of the complainant should contain 12" x 10"),
- b) and the joists of the same floor, 6" x 3" and the joists to lie not above 14" asunder;
- c) and that the railing plates, principal rafters, and purlin of the roof should contain 8" x 6";
- d) and the single rafters 4" x 3", and should not stand above 13" asunder;
- e) and the collar beams of the roof to contain 8" x 4"
- f) and the upright posts of the ashlaring, 6" x 4";
- g) the quarters, 4" x 2";
- h) the principal posts of the staircase should be 6" x 6";
- i) the interlices [tie beams?] and braces thereof 6" x 4";
- j) the quarters, 4" x 2";
- k) the rafters, 4" x 3";
- l) and that the stairs should be made of inch thick elm boards; and that all the rest of the said work should be done with fir or deal timber; and that these defendents should cover and lay all the floors and seats or degrees with whole deal board; and find and provide the nails wherewith the same work should be nailed; and should finish the same by or before the four and

twentieth day of June the next following [that is 24 June, 1660].¹

In addition, Fisher and Silver went on to claim:

... that they did finish the same according to the agreement above mentioned; and that the said complainant did order them instead of the dancing school to make it into several little rooms with partitions therein.²

The costs for the renovation were to be assessed according to the following scale:

- a) for flooring the seats or degrees ... 40s a square
 - b) " the roof 30
 - c) " the ashlaring and doors 18
 - d) " the ceiling joists 12
 - e) " the staircase 30
- and proportionally less for less than 1 square.
- f) for every window light 2s.6d.
- [and] for the stairs, door cases, and all other works, such rates as should be thought fit by two indifferent men who should view the same.³

From this material a number of important facts concerning the Salisbury Court playhouse become apparent.

Hotson, in his conclusions, points out that the building had brick walls and that, in all probability, Lightmaker had lowered these walls to the first floor level. He defends the conjecture in the following manner:

¹Ibid, pp. 10-11.

²Ibid., p. 111.

³Ibid., p. 111.

Lightmaker must have lowered the roof to the first story, for Beeston's plan included raising the roof "thirty foot higher than it was." Thirty feet is a serious alteration in the height of a building about forty feet in width.¹

Although this is in no way certain, we can determine the following additional information concerning the basic structure of the building. In Fisher's and Silver's 'Answer' they indicate that they agreed to complete:

The two upper floors and the roof thereof the full extent of the same building...²

When this statement is considered in conjunction with the stipulation by Beeston that the building was to be raised thirty feet, it would appear that the two were referring to the same alteration. Thus, each of the upper two stories would have been about fifteen feet in height. Furthermore, if Hotson is correct in his supposition that one story remained after Lightmaker's alterations, then the rebuilt playhouse would have been of three stories.

There is no way of determining the height of the first story, but if there were a stage platform and an upper stage (the existence of an upper stage is

¹Ibid., p. 113.

²Ibid., p. 110.

open to question, see pages 269-70), a ceiling height of at least twenty feet would have been required. The height of the building under these conditions would have been in excess of fifty feet.

From the 'Complaint' we learn that the building possessed a cellar and was supplied with water, for at one point Beeston spoke of altering "all the timber belonging to the cellar,"¹ while at another point he accused Dorset of hiring plumbers "who digged up the ground [and broke the conduit] which conveyed water to your orator,"² The top story of the building was planned as a dancing school to measure forty feet by forty, but this room was in fact turned into eight smaller rooms, much to Beeston's displeasure. One could probably have gained access to this upper level by utilising "a staircase without the walls," which was mentioned by the carpenters in their "Answer".³

The building was surmounted by a gabled roof. This fact can be definitely established by an examination of the list of structural members presented by the two carpenters in their 'Answer'. For example, there were

¹Ibid. , p. 109.

²Ibid. , p. 104.

³Ibid. , p. 110

rafters, interstices, collar beams, ashlaring, and the purlin of the roof, all technically part of the gabled roof.¹ The building was fitted with "windows therein, both transome and clear story lights as occasion should require..." and was to have "doors and hang the same with iron hinges in the same playhouse..."² Finally, there was the dwelling house belonging to the owner about which Hotson says:

This lodging of the owner probably extended over the stage, and lay behind the upper stage. My ground for this conclusion is the reference to the great girder, 12 x 10 inches, "which should support the dwelling house," and the fact that certain timbers are described as "belonging to the dwelling house and over the stage."³

I do not feel that the evidence substantiates Mr. Hotson's view as to the location of the dwelling house. First, the 12 by 10 inch girder could just as easily have supported a dwelling house over the cellar rather than over the stage. Secondly, in the statement

¹A rafter is defined in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary as one of the sloping timbers sustaining a roof sheeting or covering; interstices are tie beams; collar beams are horizontal beams which connect the rafters and keep them from sagging; a purlin is a timber or piece laid horizontally on the principal rafters of a roof to support the common rafters; while ashlaring refers to the process of inserting short upright quarterings in garrets between the rafters and the floor, to cut off the angles formed by the rafters.

²Ibid., p. 110.

³Ibid., p. 113.

"belonging to the dwelling house and over the stage," the conjunction 'and' seems to set the dwelling house apart from a position over the stage rather than locating it there, as Hotson suggests. There is no evidence, beyond that already mentioned, which has a bearing on this problem. It is true that, in a rectangular structure 140 by forty two feet, there are only a few places where a dwelling house could have been placed, but the evidence would support a location at one end of the playhouse, utilising perhaps twenty feet of the length of the ground floor. This would still have left one hundred and twenty feet for the stage and auditorium, which should have been adequate.

What can be determined concerning the auditorium of the rebuilt playhouse? First, there were seats, boxes, and viewing rooms.¹ Beeston speaks of altering "most of the boxes and seats in the said house, and galleries there, and the stage..."² He also mentions "joists in the pit..."³ There is a hint in the carpenters' reference to "seats or degrees", that the floor of the auditorium may have been stepped in such a manner as to allow spectators on rear degrees to see

¹Ibid., p. 108.

²Ibid., p. 109

³Ibid., p. 109.

over the heads of those seated farther forward.¹
Finally, Beeston, in complaining of the inadequate height of the upper room says that "spectators on the second seats could not discern the actors on the [st]age..." indicating that there were at least two rows of seats in this room.²

Information concerning the stage of the rebuilt playhouse is unfortunately lacking in the above-mentioned documents, and only one play, The Rump (A-1; 1660), can be admitted as evidence in this connection. In view of the limited evidence, it would be well to review briefly some of the problems relative to the staging of The Rump. Material regarding the structure of the stage is discussed here as it relates to the question of stage entrances, the upper stage, and the rear stage. The stage directions leave no doubt as to the existence of at least two entrances on to the main acting platform, one at either side of the stage. The following are of interest in this connection:

Enter a Corporal and Souldiers after him in
a confus'd manner, as from their several Lodgings. §
.....

¹Ibid., p. 111.

²Ibid., p. 108.

³John Tatham, The Rump (1660), Sig. F_{3r}.

Soul. Oh brave Collonel! [Exeunt.

Enter Prentices at the other end of the Stage, crying Whoop Cobler, Whoop Cobler; and he pursuing them.¹

.....

Enter Mrs. Cromwell and the Lady Bertlam; they meet at several doors.²

.....

They go out, and come in again at the other end of the Stage.³

In addition to establishing the existence of the two doors, the latter stage direction indicates the presence of a back stage passage connecting the two doors.

Regarding the possibility of an upper stage being a part of the permanent stage structure at the playhouse, there is only one piece of evidence, and this is of a very doubtful nature. During the hectic fourth act, which consists of a series of mad pursuits over the stage, this direction appears:

Enter Huson, again persuing the Prentices; they continuing to cry Whoop Cobler; Turnep tops are thrown at him as from House Tops; Boys run in.⁴

Although the turnip tops could have been tossed at

¹Ibid., Sig. F_{4v}.

²Ibid., Sig. H_{4v}.

³Ibid., Sig. B_{2v}.

⁴Ibid., Sig. G_{1r}.

Huson from one of the side doors, there is the suggestion that they were thrown from above, implying that the thrower may have been on the upper stage, or up above that.

As for a rear stage, there is nothing in the play which required such a structure. There are no discovery scenes mentioned, and none implied. When large properties were used, they were almost always set forth upon the stage, for example:

A piece of Wood is set forth, painted like a pile of Faggots and fire, and Faggots lying by to supply it.¹

.....

a Form is set forth.²

.....

Racks are set out one turns the spit with the Rump on't.³

There is, therefore, no extant evidence for a rear stage at the Restoration Salisbury Court playhouse, although one play is insufficient to warrant any positive conclusion.

The evidence which has been considered in this chapter leaves the impression that Beeston's playhouse,

¹Ibid. , Sig. I3r.

²Ibid. , Sig. I3r.

³Ibid. , Sig. I3r.

in the rebuilt state, fell below the requirements of the times. William D'Avenant and Thomas Killigrew were building new structures that apparently eclipsed in size and magnificence the little playhouse in Salisbury Court.¹ Thus, with the destruction of this playhouse in the Great London Fire of 1666, we can mark the close of the theatrical era of the small private Caroline theatre.

¹On June 28, 1661, D'Avenant opened his new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, while, in 1663, Killigrew moved into the great new Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. See Alfred Harbage, Sir William Davenant: Poet Venturer, 1606-1668 (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 148; and George Freedly and John A. Reeves, A History of the Theatre (New York, 1947), p. 161.

CHAPTER VIII

The Summing-up

The Salisbury Court theatre is not particularly important on account of the plays presented there. Nevertheless, study of it provides a useful picture of the transition between two more interesting dramatic periods, the Elizabethan and the Restoration.

The playhouse is of interest for several reasons. Built in 1629, it was the last playhouse constructed before the closing of the theatres in 1642. Thus, it was, chronologically, the only truly Caroline playhouse; and theatrical activity there must have been indicative of contemporary dramatic trends. Of particular importance is the story of the Salisbury Court playhouse after the theatre closures in 1642. We see at Salisbury Court the tenacity of the actors, who, in spite of the raids on the theatre, persisted in attempts to act plays.

After the Restoration, the struggles of William Beeston to re-establish the playhouse indicate the difficulties that had to be overcome

before acting could begin once more. The playhouse's brief period of success while D'Avenant's company was playing there was followed by a time of comparative inactivity. During this period only two performances, both surreptitious, are recorded after September 9, 1661.¹ Here is evidence of the completeness of the theatrical monopoly held by William D'Avenant and Thomas Killigrew, a monopoly that did much to lower the standard of Restoration drama.²

The Salisbury Court theatre appears to have been preferred by the upper classes, and apparently the actors made considerable efforts to satisfy the tastes of their clientele.

The auditorium with its seats for various purses, its viewing rooms, and lattice screens for

¹On September 9, 1661, Pepys saw 'Tis Pity Shee's a Whore at Salisbury Court. Only two further attempts to act are recorded. These are dated August 29, 1663 and September 7, 1664. See Richard, Lord Braybrooke, ed., The Diary of Samuel Pepys (London, 1924), I, 234; see also Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Restoration Drama (Cambridge, 1923), p. 277, n. 2.

²Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama (1949), p. 218.

ladies, may have been quite elaborate. The construction of the stage, however, appears to have been of the simplest, and indicates no marked variation from basic Elizabethan stage structure.

Theatrical activity at the playhouse appears to have been governed by a similar lack of innovation. Poetic suggestion, to a considerable degree, took precedence over elaborate scenery, sound effects, lighting, and more modern production devices. The only possibility of a major deviation from this practice was the production of the masque, Microcosmus, probably by the King's Revels. If this play was presented with the elaborate scenic display specified by the author, then we must back-date the advent of changeable painted scenery in the English theatre from 1656 to 1634-36, when this play was produced.

The purpose of this study has been to test the applicability to the Salisbury Court playhouse of the generalisations so often applied to playhouses under the headings of "the Elizabethan,"

or "the Caroline" theatre. In some instances, particularly in that of stage structure, there appear to be no deviations from these generalisations. However, in the case of the audience, certain aspects of staging, and possibly in the structure and arrangement of the auditorium, the playhouse does appear to possess unique features.

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